

**IPHS International Planning History Society**  
**I.T.U. Urban and Environmental Planning and Research Center**

## **14<sup>th</sup> IPHS Conference**

12–15 July 2010 Istanbul, Turkey

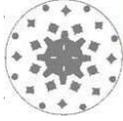
**U R B A N   T R A N S F O R M A T I O N :**  
**C O N T R O V E R S I E S ,   C O N T R A S T S   a n d   C H A L L E N G E S**

**CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS**

**VOLUME 2**

Istanbul, 2010

Taşkışla



**IPHS**

International Planning History Society



**ITU**

Urban and Environmental Planning and Research Center

**ISBN 978-975-561-375-8 (tk), ISBN 978-975-561-378-9 (c.2)**

---

**© 2010 Urban and Environment Planning and Research Center, ITU**

---

All rights reserved. Reproduction of this volume or any parts thereof, excluding short quotations for the use in preparation of reviews and technical and scientific papers, may be made only by specific approval of the editors. Copyright of each individual paper resides with author(s). The editors are not responsible for any opinions or statements made in the technical papers, nor can be held responsible for any typing or conversion errors.

#### **Editors**

---

Nuran ZEREN GÜLERSOY, Hatice AYATAÇ, A. Buket ÖNEM, Zeynep GÜNAY  
Kerem ARSLANLI, Kerem KORAMAZ, İrem AYRANCI

#### **Graphic Design**

---

A. Buket ÖNEM, Özhan ERTEKİN, Kerem Yavuz ARSLANLI, T. Kerem KORAMAZ, Zeynep GÜNAY

#### **CIP**

---

IPHS Conference (14th :2010 :Istanbul, Turkey)  
14th IPHS conference: urban transformation: controversies, contrasts and challenges: proceedings /ed. Nuran Zeren Gülersoy –  
Istanbul : İ.T.Ü.,2010.  
3c. : ill. ; 24 cm.  
ISBN 978-975-561-375-8 (tk)  
ISBN 978-975-561-378-9 (c.2)  
1. City planning-Congresses. I. Zeren Gülersoy, Nuran  
HT166.I58 2010p

Printed in Turkey by Cenkler, Istanbul, Turkey

14<sup>th</sup> IPHS Conference  
**URBAN TRANSFORMATION:**  
CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

Istanbul, Turkey, 12–15 July 2010

**EDITORS**

**Nuran ZEREN GÜLERSOY**

**Hatice AYATAÇ**

**A. Buket ÖNEM**

**T. Kerem KORAMAZ**

**Zeynep GÜNAY**

**Kerem Yavuz ARSLANLI**

**İrem AYRANCI**



## Sponsors



ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY



ISTANBUL METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY



ISTANBUL 2010 ICOC AGENCY



THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL  
RESEARCH COUNCIL OF TURKEY



I.T.U. DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION



THE CHAMBER OF ARCHITECTS OF TURKEY



TURKEY CHAMBER OF URBAN PLANNERS



THE BUILDING INFORMATION CENTRE



SAKIP SABANCI MUSEUM



VEHBI KOÇ FOUNDATION



**WELCOME NOTES**



## Welcome Note from The Mayor of Istanbul



ISTANBUL METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY



Ref: M.34.O.IBB.O.71.16-0515/T.N. 2781483

Nuran ZEREN GULERSOY  
Head of Urban and Environmental Planning and Research Centre  
ITU Faculty of Architecture  
Taskisla - Taksim, 34437 ISTANBUL TURKEY  
Fax: +90 212 251 78 31

07.04/2010

Dear Ms. Nuran ZEREN GULERSOY,

I would like to express my great pleasure that Istanbul will be hosting the 14<sup>th</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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 “14<sup>th</sup> 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 237<sup>th</sup> 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**

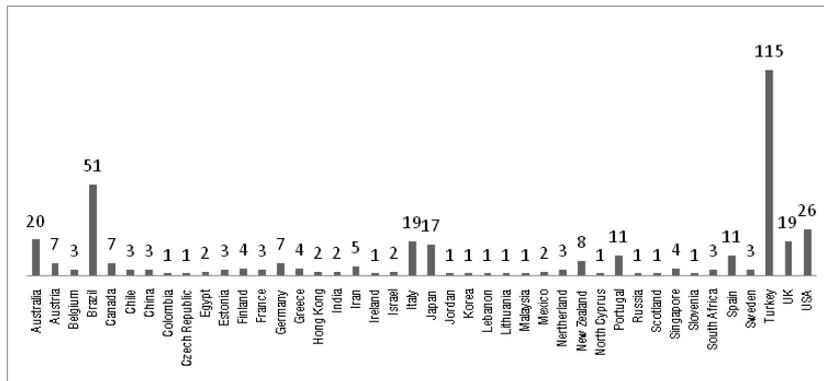


14th International Planning History Society Conference will take place in Istanbul, between the dates July 12-15 2010 in a city which has been the cradle of civilizations with eight thousand years of history and a geographical focal point of all humanity.

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 Chamber 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

---

<b>URBAN TRANSFORMATION AND THE URBAN SPACE</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>The Urban Littoral Frontier: Land Reclamation in the History of Human Settlements</b>	<b>3</b>
Brian J. HUDSON	
<b>Transformations to Lisbon's Terreiro do Paço</b>	<b>11</b>
Diane BRAND	
<b>Urban Renewal, Masterplanning and Design Information Management: The Case of the Auckland Waterfront Masterplan</b>	<b>23</b>
John G. HUNT	
<b>The Contemporary Waterfront, from City to Park</b>	<b>35</b>
Matthew BRADBURY	
<b>New Drawings for the Urbanism Security and Diversity in Urban Public Spaces in Portugal</b>	<b>45</b>
Carla Pinto da SILVA, Tânia Beisl RAMOS	
<b>The Research on the "Guard Town" Settlement Pattern of the Coastal Defense Towns System in Ming Dynasty - A Case Study of Pu Guard Town, Zhejiang Province, China</b>	<b>55</b>
Luo YINAN, Ning GAO, Chen HUA, Ge DANDOG	
<b>The Research on the System of Coastal Guard Towns in Ming Dynasty - A Case Study of Puzhuang Guard Town, Zhejiang Province, China</b>	<b>67</b>
Ning GAO, Yinan LUO, Ma QIAN, Chen HUA, Prof.	
<b>Public Space in Sao Paulo: Some Different Approaches</b>	<b>79</b>
Stamatia KOULIOUMBA	
<b>A Global and Local Narrative Collide: Traditional Distribution of Land Rights in the Contemporary Cultural Landscape of Bali</b>	<b>91</b>
Jocelyn WIDMER	
<b>Greening Viennese Urban Fabric: Urban Renewal and Street Improvement</b>	<b>103</b>
Betul BRETSCHEIDER	
<b>Towards Sustainable Urban Futures: Evaluating Urban Sustainability Performance of the Gold Coast, Australia</b>	<b>113</b>
Fatih DUR, Tan YIGİTCANLAR, Jonathan BUNKER	

<b>The Paths of the City, the City of Paths: Urban Transformations in São Luis, Maranhão, Brazil</b>	<b>131</b>
Marluce Wall de Carvalho VENANCIO	
<b>Landfills in Vitória, Espírito Santo, Brazil: The Protagonist and the Creations</b>	<b>143</b>
José Francisco Bernardino FREITAS	
<b>To Deal with Complexity. Istanbul City of Muses. Architecture, Infrastructure, Archaeology: Spreading the Culture of Transformation</b>	<b>159</b>
Antonella CONTIN, Alessandro FRIGERIO, Francesca GUFFANTI	
<b>Modern Urbanism and Architecture in Brazil: The Emergence and Growth of New Concepts in the Vargas Era. A Look at the Capital, the City of Rio De Janeiro</b>	<b>171</b>
Vera Ferreira REZENDE, Fernanda AZEVEDO RIBEIRO	
<b>Buildings and Urban Form: Investigating Buildings with a Positive Urban Transformation Dimension</b>	<b>183</b>
Cátia SANTANA, Madalena Cunha MATOS	
<b>A Theoretical Study on Modernity and Transformation in Architecture</b>	<b>197</b>
Salahaddin Yasin SHWANY, Ahmad Sanusi HASSAN, Faris Ali Mustafa, Susan Tahir ISMAIL	
<b>Different Visions for the Same Cities, Translations and Apropriations of Urban Ideologies in Minas Gerais, Brazil</b>	<b>209</b>
Fabio Jose Martins De LIMA, Raquel Von Randow PORTES, Raquel Fernandez REZENDE	
<b>The Role Played by the Architect-Engineers from the City of São Paulo in Defining the Field of Urban Planning. São Paulo – Brazil: 1920-1960</b>	<b>217</b>
Maria Stella BRESCIANI	
<b>Appropriating Modernism: Apartheid and the South African Township</b>	<b>229</b>
Errol HAARHOFF	
<b>Suburban Transformation and New Urbanism: The Evaluation of New Settlement Areas in Istanbul According to the New Urbanism Movement</b>	<b>241</b>
Aysegül Didem ÖZDEMİR	
<b>The Republican Aparatus in the Configuration and Reconfiguration of the Public Space: Comparative Analysis of the Four Rail Roads of the West São Paulo (Brazil)</b>	<b>253</b>
Marta ENOKIBARA	

<b>How to Achieve Sustainable Conservation in the Historic Housing Neighbourhoods of Istanbul?</b>	<b>265</b>
Müge AKKAR ERCAN	
<b>The Building of Istanbul Docks 1870-1910. Some New Entrepreneurial and Cartographic Data</b>	<b>277</b>
Vilma HASTAOGLOU-MARTINIDIS	
<b>The Privatisation of Rural Heritage in New South Wales</b>	<b>291</b>
Paul Anton RAPPOPORT	
<b>Urban Physical and Social Transformation in Heritage Districts: Case Study of Shiraz- Iran</b>	<b>303</b>
Pirooz HANACHI, Somaieh Fadaei NEZHAD	
<b>The Percieved Impacts of Tourism Development at Cultural Heritage Sites- Mardin Sample</b>	<b>319</b>
Elif GÜNDÜZ, Rahmi ERDEM	
<b>Joseph-Antoine Bouvard in São Paulo, 1911: Antecedent Events and Repercussions</b>	<b>331</b>
Roseli MARTINS D'ELBOUX	
<b>The Dilemma of Cultural Heritage - Urban Renewal: Istanbul, Süleymaniye and Fener-Balat</b>	<b>345</b>
İclal DİNÇER	
<b>3D Visualization of Transformation in the Historic Townscape: The Case of the Zeyrek Urban Historic Site</b>	<b>359</b>
Turgay Kerem KORAMAZ, Nuran ZEREN GÜLERSOY	
<b>A Historical Approach to Avenida Presidente Vargas Project in Rio De Janeiro: Challenges and Controversies Towards a Responsive Future</b>	<b>373</b>
Andréa BORDE, Andréa SAMPAIO, Maria Cristina CABRAL	
<b>Problems in Creating Social Space and Suggestions for their Solution: The Case of Nicosia, the Only Remaining Divided Capital City in Europe</b>	<b>385</b>
Zehra ÖNGÜL, Banu TEVFİKLER ÇAVUŞOĞLU	
<b>Cultural Heritage, Urban Projects and Planning Legacy: An Implicit Normative Dimension in Urban Space of Rio De Janeiro Central Area</b>	<b>399</b>
Andrea SAMPAIO	

<b>An "Area-Based Approach" in Urban Regeneration Projects: Konya Sample</b> Neslihan SERDAROĞLU SAĞ	411
<b>transforming the region, transforming the city: three brazilian studies of the 1950's</b> Sarah FELDMAN	425
<b>Redefining / Reconstructing The "In – Between": An Urban Transformation Scenario for the Haydarpasa Harbour, Istanbul</b> Devrim IŞIKKAYA	439
<b>The Importance of a Triple Bottom Line Approach for Safeguarding Urban Water Quality</b> Ashantha GOONETILLEKE, Tan YİĞİTCANLAR	451
<b>History and the Configuration of the Architectural Repertoire from Brazilian Architects Travelling to Europe in the Early XX. Century</b> Josianne CERASOLI	463
<b>The Construction of the Eixample in the Transformation of Contemporary Barcelona Revision Through Two Admitted Misconceptions</b> Manel GUÀRDIA, Josep-Maria Garcia-FUENTES, Nadia FAVA	473
<b>Urban Identities Dissolving into the Changing Consumption Culture</b> Kadriye DENİZ TOPCU, Güven BİLSEL	489
<b>Replacing Place in Planning History</b> Lineu CASTELLO	503
<b>Functional and Physical Analysis of Bulgurlu Street in Beşiktaş (Ortaköy)</b> Ali Fatih UYSAL, Mine ULUSOY, Emine ÖZŞAHİN YILDIZ	517
<b>Transformation of Public and Private Space in Porto Alegre During the First Half of the 20th Century</b> Celia FERRAZ DE SOUZA, Maria Soares de ALMEIDA	531
<b>Genius Loci and Genius Saeculi: A Sustainable Way to Understand Contemporary Urban Dynamics</b> Luisa BRAVO	543
<b>From Mild Climate's Architecture to 'Third World' Planning: Richard Neutra in Latin America</b> José Tavares Correira DE LIRA	555

Beijing Transformed (Again): An Exploration of the 2008 Olympic Building Program—Eroding the 'Figure' of a City or Opening Public Ground? Jennifer SMIT	569
<b>URBAN TRANSFORMATION AND THE SOCIETY</b>	<b>585</b>
Suburbia Against Socialism. United States Proposals for the Metropolis of the Twentieth Century Maria Margarita GONZALEZ CARDENAS	587
The Relation between Retail Activity Transformation and Social Sustainability: A Case Study of Bahçelievler 7th Street, Ankara / Turkey Özge YALÇINER ERCOŞKUN, Burcu ÖZUDURU	599
Transformation of Public Space Leads to Transformation of Neighborhood Identity: A Case Study for Evaluating the Effect of Urban Space Transformation In Tehran on Neighborhood Identities Majid Mansoor Rezaee FOUMANI, Shabnam ESMAEILY	611
Persistence and Gentrification In Rattanakosin, Bangkok Heng Chye KIANG, Nayada NAKHASIT, Davisi BOONTHARMr	627
Spatial Characteristics of Social Exclusion of the Turkish Community in Deventer, The Netherlands Özlem GÜZEY, Nevin GÜLTEKİN, Ogan KIRSAÇLIOĞLU, Erman AKSOY, Ela ATAÇ	641
<b>URBAN TRANSFORMATION ECONOMY AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT</b>	<b>657</b>
The Economie et Humanisme Movement: The Politicization of Urban Planning in Brazil after the Second World War Maria Cristina DA SILVA LEME	659
Urban Transformation Measures: Interpolation of Land and House Prices in Istanbul Elif ALKAY, Turgay Kerem KORAMAZ	671
Transformation of Istanbul's Urban Structure and its Impact on Real Estate Prices Tuğba ŞENTÜRK, Vedia DÖKMECİ	683
<b>INDEX</b>	<b>699</b>



# URBAN TRANSFORMATION AND THE URBAN SPACE



## THE URBAN LITTORAL FRONTIER: LAND RECLAMATION IN THE HISTORY OF HUMAN SETTLEMENTS

**Brian J. HUDSON** *Adjunct Professor Dr.,  
School of Urban Development, Queensland University of Technology  
b.hudson@qut.edu.au*

### INTRODUCTION

Describing the early development of the city we now know as Istanbul, Professor John Bagnell Bury wrote;

*“Constantine was more successful perhaps than he had hoped in attracting inhabitants to his eastern capital. Constantinople was dedicated in A.D. 330 (May 11), and in the lifetime of two generations the population had far outgrown the limits of the town as he had designed it. The need for space was partly met by the temporary expedient of filling up the sea, here and there, close to the shore, and a suburban town was growing up outside the Constantinian wall (Bury, 1923)*

Bury was probably correct in believing that increasing population pressure and the consequent demand for more space to accommodate related urban development were among the reasons for this expansion into the sea. He was wrong, however, in describing the reclamation of littoral areas on the fringes the city as “a temporary expedient”, for its land area continued to be enlarged in this way over the following seventeen centuries. Much of this foreshore infilling has probably been the unintentional result of waste disposal. Nowland observes that around the superb natural harbour of the Golden Horn the land slopes steeply to the shore where “almost everywhere there is a ‘strandflat’ bench at sea level. This feature is apparently artificial, and results from the continual dumping of refuse in the water” (Nowland, 1961). Around the world, the reclamation of land from the sea and other water bodies, such as lakes, rivers and wetlands, has long been undertaken for several reasons. The demand for additional space to accommodate urban growth is one, but there are other incentives, often overlooked, that are no less important. Land reclamation for urban expansion is the subject of Hudson’s book, *Cities on the Shore: the Urban Littoral Frontier*, from which the title of my paper is taken (Hudson, 1996). What follows is a brief survey of the role of reclamation in the history of human settlements, and some thoughts on this continuing process in the light of contemporary issues including climate change, rising sea levels, environmental impact and heritage concerns. As illustrations, examples are drawn from different places at various time periods.

### THE LITTORAL FRONTIER: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

#### The Contested Margin

As Hudson explains, the urban waterfront may be regarded as the littoral frontier of human settlement. Typically, over the years, it advances, sometimes retreats, where terrestrial and aquatic processes interact and frequently contest this margin of occupation. A notable example of retreat is the English coast between Flamborough Head and the mouth of the Humber. Here the advance of the sea has caused the

disappearance of some thirty townships since Roman times. Among these lost towns is Ravenser Odd. Formerly more important than the nearby port of Kingston upon Hull, it was swept away by the sea and had disappeared by the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Hayton, 2006). Because most towns and cities are sited beside water bodies, many of these urban centres on or close to the sea, their physical expansion is often constrained by the existence of aquatic areas in one or more directions from the core. It is usually much easier for new urban development to occur along or inland from the waterfront. Where other physical constraints, such as rugged terrain or precipitous mountains, make expansion difficult or expensive, building at greater densities or construction on steep slopes is a common response. This kind of development, though technically feasible, is usually more expensive than construction on level or gently sloping land, however. Moreover, there are many reasons for developing along the shore or riverfront in preference to using sites further inland. Among these are access to navigable water, opportunities for trade and commerce and for fishing.

### **Reasons for Reclamation**

Motivation for reclaiming land from water bodies varies from place to place and time to time. In ancient Tyre, built on a small offshore island, the limitations of space on that narrowly constricted site were, no doubt, the main reason for its high density multi-storey buildings and the creation of more land by reclamation. On Teesside, where Middlesbrough grew rapidly with its development based on the iron and steel industry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, reclamation along the river and out into the estuary was mainly a means of waste disposal. Here the made land was a by-product of the dumping of slag from the iron and steel works and dredgings from the River Tees. Until the latter part of the twentieth century, little use could be found for much of the land created in this way. Among the reasons for this were the problems associated with building on poorly consolidated silt and mud and the absence of deepwater frontage (Le Guillou, 1978). Even where there are large tracts of undeveloped land available, the high cost of developing sites that present serious construction difficulties is often reason for creating new land from adjacent areas that are permanently or periodically under water. Another motive is the relatively high value of artificially created land close to the urban centre when compared with the value of existing developable space at a greater distance inland.

Pressure to create space for development is not the only motivation for urban expansion into aquatic areas. Commonly, urban places on the margins of the sea, estuaries, rivers or great lakes are, or were once, ports where shipping played an important role in the economy. The need for deep waterfronts to allow ships to berth alongside the quay and for adjacent space to accommodate various port facilities has encouraged the advance of the urban land area across marginal shallows in ports around the world. The space and locational demands of port related industry and commerce, too, have contributed to this process.

Often closely related to these developments is the generation of waste, including domestic refuse, unwanted industrial by-products, site formation and demolition debris and harbour dredgings. From very ancient times, the foreshore has been used as a disposal area for waste from nearby settlements, a practice that continues on a huge scale today. Land formed in this way has long been used for urban development, despite problems that can arise from the nature of the dumped material and the way in which it is deposited. Disposal of waste material is a major factor in the creation of new

urban land. Pollution of the foreshore and other water margin wetlands has encouraged the idea that the reclamation of these areas may be desirable on public health grounds.

#### **From Neolithic to Twenty-first Century**

Istanbul receives no mention in Hudson's book, but this large and ancient city appears to be typical of coastal settlements that have expanded their sites partly by reclaiming land from coastal shallows. Recent archaeological discoveries have revealed that human occupation of what is now Yenikapi, in the historic core of Istanbul, dates from the Neolithic period between 6400BC and 5800BC, at a time before the Bosphorus Strait had formed and the Marmara Sea was a lake. Evidence suggests that these people had abandoned the nomadic hunting lifestyle, making farming and fishing their chief occupations. They lived beside a river, their settlement sited next to a swamp where small tools, pieces of wood and bones were found during recent excavations (Rainsford, 2009, Watson, 2009). It was in environments such as this that the earliest examples of wetland reclamation mentioned by Hudson were found.

The infilling of small coastal inlets that commonly occurred in places such as Liverpool's Pool and San Francisco's Yerba Buena Cove was a feature of Constantinople's urban development from its early years. The formerly important harbours of Eleutherios, Kontoskalion and Bucoleon, on the southern shore of the city, were among those that disappeared in this way. As happened elsewhere, this process gradually smoothed out the irregularities of the original coastline, replacing former bays with level land which became part of the historic urban core (Gül, 2009, Maclagan, 1968) One of the most outstanding examples of this kind of development is Boston, Massachusetts where the infilled Town Cove became the site of Faneuil Hall Market. In consequence of nineteenth century advances in mechanical and civil engineering, it became possible to undertake much more ambitious reclamation schemes. The most famous of these was the infilling of Back Bay, begun in 1857, which created one of the city's most expensive neighbourhoods. With the completion of this project near the end of the nineteenth century, the land area of Boston had been tripled by reclamation since the city's foundation in 1630. Much of the modern city beyond the historic core also stands on reclaimed land, including large parts of South Boston and East Boston. The latter neighbourhood was greatly enlarged by landfill for the construction of Logan International Airport. Reclamation for urban development commonly changed the physical form of the land in ways other than just extending it over areas formerly covered by water. Again, this is well exemplified by Boston where excavation for fill material levelled several hills, including most of the Trimountain ridge. Fashionable Beacon Hill is a much reduced remnant of this once prominent feature of the Boston skyline (Whitehall, 1968). Among the many other cities where coastal land reclamation, often combined with the levelling of hills, played a major role in urban expansion are San Francisco, Rio de Janeiro, Cape Town, Mumbai and Hong Kong.

In environments very different from those just discussed, cities such as Venice and Amsterdam developed and expanded on land created in other ways. Here in low lying wetlands near the mouths of rivers, canals were dug to facilitate drainage and provide fill material to raise levels. Buildings were constructed on thousands of tree trunks used as piles driven into the marshy ground. Other cities that developed on wetland sites where canals were used for drainage as well as for transport are St. Petersburg and Bangkok. Somewhat similar development occurred at Tenochtitlan, the Aztec capital that eventually became Mexico City. In this case the settlement expanded from its

original site on an island in a lake set high among mountains well inland from the sea. Chicago and Toronto are more recent examples of cities that have reclaimed land from lakes in order to create space for urban development.

It is clearly evident that urban expansion by reclaiming land from the sea and lakes has a long history, one that has been recorded in many different parts of the world. Indeed, Hudson suggests that it is a process far more common than has been generally recognized hitherto. He points out that most human settlements are sited close to, often beside, water, frequently on the banks of rivers and streams. Even where these watercourses are quite small they are commonly encroached upon. In villages and towns around the world, the local stream has been controlled, often straightened and confined between artificial banks, reducing its width and allowing the strips of useful land thus created to be used in a variety of ways. We see this on a larger scale in cities such as London where the street known as The Strand reminds us that the River Thames was once much wider than it is today. Nearby stands the seventeenth century York Watergate which originally provided access between the now vanished York House and the river that was formerly much used for passenger traffic. As a result of the construction of the Victoria Embankment, completed in 1870, the historic watergate is now separated from the Thames by a strip of reclaimed land about 140 metres wide.

Ports which developed at sites lacking natural deep water harbours have a strong incentive to reclaim the foreshore. This is particularly so where at low tide extensive mud flats are exposed separating the town or its port from the water's edge. Even for relatively small vessels, it is usually preferable to have berths where there is a permanent depth of water that allows them to remain afloat at all states of the tide. The simplest way to achieve this is to construct a jetty or mole that extends from the shore into permanently deep water. This was Port of Spain's first response to the problem when the original Amerindian fishing village started to develop as Spanish Trinidad's major town in the eighteenth century. The coast here was fringed by extensive mangrove swamps and at low tide a broad muddy foreshore extended in front of the growing settlement. To facilitate shipping, a mole of earth was constructed extending over 200 metres into the harbour. At the seaward end of this structure there was a wharf built of local timber (Ottley, 1970). The mole was, in fact, a narrow strip of reclaimed land aligned at right angles to the shore. Eventually, more extensive reclamation absorbed the mole, creating a wide strip of made land fronted with a quay. This is still known as South Quay, although it is now just a street, distinguished by an old lighthouse, a block inland from the present waterfront. Port of Spain's modern dock area is lies on a much larger reclaimed site immediately to the west.

The much older town of Southampton traces its history as a sea port back to Roman times, but, like Port of Spain and many other ports around the world, its modern dock system has developed away from the original town quays. Southampton's historic Town Quay, like Port of Spain's South Quay, is now a street separated from the present waterfront by a strip of reclaimed land. Southampton's fortunes fluctuated over the centuries but during the Victorian era it grew to be a major world port, the main British terminus of the transatlantic passenger liner route and the 'Gateway to the Empire'. The development of the port reflected the requirements of the much larger ships and the onshore facilities that expanding international trade and modern communications demanded. The need for deepwater quays and adjacent land for roads and railways, together with space for handling goods and passengers, encouraged land reclamation on a very large scale. This was made possible by the technological advances of the

Industrial Revolution. The main method of reclamation was dredge and fill, this process deepening the shipping channels as well as providing material for raising levels behind retaining walls of more solid construction (Coughlan, 1979). From the nineteenth century, this method became common in port developments around the world. Among the important exceptions where dredge and fill was relatively little used is Hong Kong, its deep harbour mainly free of wide fringing mudflats.

From its foundation by the British in the eighteen forties, Hong Kong's reclamations were undertaken for a variety of reasons. It was recognized at the very beginning that developable space had to be created by cutting down hills and using the excavate material to reclaim land from the sea. From the earliest days, the foreshore was used as a dumping ground for rubbish or all kinds. In addition, waterfront lot holders made irregular extensions into the harbour to create deep water frontages for their vessels. By interfering with tidal currents, this aggravated the pollution of the foreshore which was caused largely by the discharge of sewers above the low tide mark. Soon Hong Kong's waterfront became unsightly and smelly, a condition that many felt was injurious to public health. It was mainly on the latter grounds that proponents of the Praya Reclamation Scheme (1889 – 1904) argued for this ambitious project but there can be little doubt that it was really a speculative land development in which the profit motive provided the main incentive (Hudson, 1978, 1979).

The profit motive continues to drive land speculation, including speculation in land that has to be won from the sea. No more dramatic examples can be found than the three Palm Island developments and the similar scheme known as The World on the coast of Dubai. The first of these artificial island developments, Palm Jumeira, was begun in 2001 but this was not the first large scale land reclamation to have helped transform the booming city of Dubai. In the 1960s, Dubai embarked on two major projects that changed what was little more than a small fishing village into a large metropolis. The first was the dredging of Dubai Creek to improve access by boats and dhows, at the same time adding significant amounts of land to the central area. The second was the creation of Jebel Ali Port, claimed to be the world's largest artificial harbour. In the 1990s the iconic Burj Al Arab Hotel was built on an artificial island after which came the more ambitious Palm Island and World projects (Elsheshtawy, 2010). The following much quoted information conveys some idea of the scale of these developments. The three palm tree-shaped artificial islands represent the largest reclamation projects in the world. Palm Jumeira Island is 25 square kilometres in area and increases the Dubai coastline by 78 kilometres. Palm Jebel Ali Island is expected to accommodate 1.7 million people by 2020 (the total population of Dubai in 2008). Palm Deira Island will become the world's largest artificial island and will have a population of over a million people.

## CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

### Conservation of the Natural Environment and Heritage Areas

Promising to outdo Dubai, South Korea's Saemangeum reclamation began with the construction of probably the world's longest seawall, the 33 kilometre structure completed in 2006. Here a waterfront city, Ariul, is planned for construction on a 6,730 hectare site, occupying 24 percent of the land to be reclaimed from the Saemangeum estuary. This development threatens wetlands of great environmental importance, particularly because of their function as a stopover for migrating birds. Conservationist

are continuing their campaign to halt this huge development and preserve the wetlands threatened with destruction (Kang, 2010). Today the loss of wetlands is regarded as a major environmental threat. The value of these biologically important ecosystems is now widely recognized and projects that involve their destruction by reclamation are commonly opposed. In Hong Kong, where reclamation from the sea and coastal wetlands reclamation has long played a vital role in urban development as well as in the extension of agricultural land, the internationally important Mai Po Marshes on the southern shore of Deep Bay are now protected as a nature reserve. Across the bay lies the growing city of Shenzhen where the demand for building land has led to the reclamation of wetlands for urban development, indicating the probable fate of the Mai Po Marshes in the absence of government protection. In recent years, the Hong Kong Government has come under increased pressure from environmental groups including some particularly concerned about coastal development in the region. Founded in 1995, the Society for the Protection of the Harbour is trying to halt the reclamation of Hong Kong Harbour which, over the past 150 years has reduced this once magnificent expanse of water to a relatively narrow channel. The more recently established Save Our Shorelines organization seeks to protect what remains of Hong Kong's natural coast and to promote its enhancement and improved public access where it has already been developed.

Conservationists concerned with architectural and townscape heritage issues are also among those who often oppose waterfront development schemes that involve reclamation. As long ago as 1965, D.F. Wood observed, "Since the oldest portion of many cities is along the water, it is often a candidate for renewal treatment because of its age, if for no other reason" (Wood, 1965). There are several reasons in addition to age for the continuing redevelopment of the historic waterfronts of towns and cities around the world. Apart from the incentive of getting the most economic value out of prime real estate, finding solutions to urban traffic problems and the perceived enhancement of the city image are among the reasons for waterfront redevelopment. Decayed dockland areas provide opportunities for profitable investment that can take the form of impressive new buildings, while it is often tempting to put a road along a city's waterfront to solve traffic congestion problems. This commonly involves further reclamation on waterfront sites that have experienced a succession of advances over time. Many examples at various scales can be found across the world from China to the Caribbean (Chen, 2009).

### **Climate Change and Rising Sea Levels**

A more indirect affect of human action on coastal settlements is climate change and consequent rising sea levels. The increasingly frequent inundations of Venice on its reclaimed site are well known but it was the flooding of New Orleans in August, 2005 that gained world attention to the potential disasters that might lie ahead for low lying cities on coasts around the world. Located, like Venice, on a deltaic site, New Orleans developed along natural levees of the Mississippi, expanding onto lower, swampy ground behind the relatively elevated riverfront. Over the years the levees were artificially raised and strengthened while urban expansion was facilitated by systematic city-wide reclamation and forced drainage using a network of dredged canals and pumping stations to convey storm water to the Mississippi and Lake Pontchartrain. As in Venice and elsewhere, land subsidence is a major factor in the vulnerability of New Orleans to problems of flooding but rising sea levels and increasing frequency and severity of storms are threats which face waterfront cities around the world, many of

them built largely on land that was won from the sea by reclamation (ASCE, 2007). In addition to increasing danger from the effects of climate, parts of the world are under constant threat of tsunamis which was brought to world attention by the disastrous Indian Ocean event of Boxing Day, 2004 and, more recently, the Chilean earthquake of 27 February, 2010.

## CONCLUSION

The reclamation of land from the sea, lakes, rivers and wetlands can be regarded as normal rather than exceptional in the development of human settlements great and small. From the earliest times to the present, villages, towns and cities have expanded on land won from areas previously under water permanently or periodically. The motivation for this varies. Perhaps the earliest reclamations were the merely the result of waste disposal, accumulations of rubbish dumped on the margins of rivers, lakes and swamps and in coastal shallows. Later, extensive areas land was reclaimed by the dumping of a much wider range of waste material, including domestic refuse, site formation and demolition debris, harbour dredgings and industrial waste. Reclamation to make room for urban development has occurred widely, especially where cities are built on constricted sites. The artificial creation of high value urban land close to both the city centre and the port has long been a major factor in waterfront development. Reclamation has also played a major role in the construction of docks, typically involving the dredging of rivers, estuaries and bays and the deposit of the dredged material and other material as fill. Coastal shallows have often been filled in order to extend land out towards deep water and create quays where ships can lie alongside at all states of the tide. Polluted foreshores and swamps regarded as unhealthy have also been reclaimed as a public health measure but, with growing appreciation of the important ecological role played by wetlands, opposition to their destruction has grown in recent decades. Nevertheless, around the world reclamation for urban development continues on an ever more ambitious scale. This is occurring despite the threats posed by climate change and rising sea levels. The threat of destruction by tsunamis is another environmental hazard that faces low lying coastal settlements in some parts of the world. At a time of enormous advances of land into the oceans by reclamation on an unprecedented scale, the possibility of retreat along large stretches of the urban littoral frontier looms ever larger. In future, the history of the urban littoral frontier may become more about retreat than advance.

## REFERENCES

- Bury, J. B., (1923), *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian*, vol. 1, London: Macmillan, pp. 69 – 70.
- Nowland, J. L., (1961), The Port of Istanbul, *The Scottish Geographical Magazine*, vol. 77, no. 2, p. 68.
- Hudson, B. J., (1996), *Cities on the Shore: The Urban Littoral Frontier*, Pinter, London.
- Hayton, R., (2006), History of Ravenser Odd, URL: <http://www.yorkshirehistory.com/RAVENSER/index.htm>, accessed: 11/02/2010.
- Le Guillou, M., (1978), *A History of the River Tees 1000 – 1975*, Middlesbrough: Cleveland County Libraries.

- Rainsford, S., (2009), BBC News; Istanbul's ancient past unearthed, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7820924.stm>; Watson, I., (2009) CNN International, Tunnel links Continents, Uncovers Ancient History, URL: <http://edition.cnn.com/2009/WORLD/meast/0921/turkey.bosphorus.tunnel.marmaray>, accessed: 8/02/2010.
- Gül, M., (2009), *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul; Transformation and Modernisation of a City*, London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies; Maclagan, M., (1968), *The City of Constantinople*, London: Thames and Hudson.
- Whitehall, W.M., (1968), *Boston: a Topographical History*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, Cambridge, Mass. and London: Belknap Press.
- Ottley, C.R., (1970), *The Story of Port of Spain From The Earliest Times to the Present Day*, London: Longman Caribbean.
- Coughlan, J., (1979), "Aspects of Reclamation in Southampton Water", B. Knights and A.J. Phillips (Eds), *Estuarine and Coastal Land Reclamation and Water Storage*, Farnborough, Saxon House, pp. 99 – 124.
- Hudson, B. J., (1978), "Paul Chater and the Praya Reclamations: Wetland Development in Hong Kong 1887 – 1930", *Journal of Oriental Studies*, vol. 16, nos. 1 7& 2, 1978, pp. 79 – 86; Hudson, B.J., (1979), "Coastal Land Reclamation with Special Reference to Hong Kong", *Reclamation Review*, vol. 2, 1979, pp. 3 – 16.
- Elsheshtawy, Y., (2010), *Dubai: Behind an Urban Spectacle*, London & New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Kang, H., (2010), The Korea Times, 'Ariul' to Become Waterfront city in Saemangeum Site, URL: [http://211.234.100.245/www/news/nation/2010/01/113\\_59932.html](http://211.234.100.245/www/news/nation/2010/01/113_59932.html), accessed: 12/02/2010.
- Wood, D.F., (1965), "Renewing Urban Waterfronts", *Land Economics*, vol. 41, no. 2, p. 141.
- Chen, Y., (2009), "Transformation of Waterfront Space in Asian Cities: Macau, Hong Kong, Shanghai", The 4<sup>th</sup> International Conference of the International Forum on Urbanism (IFoU), Amsterdam/Delft, *The New Urban Question – Urbanism beyond Neo-Liberalism*, pp. 597 – 606; Dodman, David, Post-independence optimism and the legacy of waterfront redevelopment in Kingston, Jamaica, *Cities*, vol. 24, no. 4, 2007, pp. 273 – 284.
- ASCE, (2007), *The New Orleans Hurricane Protection System: What Went Wrong and Why*, A Report by the American Society of Civil Engineers Hurricane Katrina Review Panel. Reston, Virginia: American Society of Engineers.

## TRANSFORMATIONS TO LISBON'S TERREIRO DO PAÇO

**Diane BRAND** Associate Professor,  
Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand  
diane.brand@vuw.ac.nz

### **ABSTRACT**

*After a devastating earthquake, tsunami and fire in 1755, Lisbon's Terreiro do Paço, or Palace Square, was transformed by the Marquis of Pombal into a state of the art 18th century urban space called Praça do Comércio. This paper looks at the configuration and use of this space from the 16th to the 18th century, tracing customary, ceremonial and institutional events, with particular reference to the role of ephemeral architecture in reconfiguring the space's relationship to either river or land. An analysis of the paintings in Lisbon's Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Navy Archives), Museu da Cidade de Lisboa (City Museum of Lisbon) and the Museu Nacional dos Coches (National Coach Museum) shows the square transitioned over two centuries from a space fully engaging the Tagus to a condition that captured the space and engaged it with the reconstructed city quarter behind.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

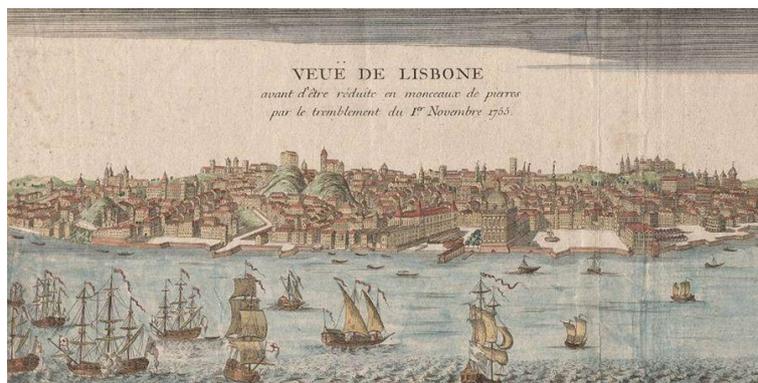
The paper aims to show how, over several centuries, the Terreiro do Paço has transitioned from a space where customary uses have fully engaged the River, to a condition where the space has been reclaimed by the city beyond. This transition had as much to do with various institutional presences as it did with the ephemeral structures which graced the space during state occasions and sought to re-orient the square towards either city or sea. A range of ceremonial and institutional occasions will be examined, including royal and religious processions, autos da fé and commercial exchange. Each occasion had a suite of ephemeral architectures which altered the space of the square for a particular purpose, sometimes using the adjacent water to good effect, sometimes not. Only upon the completion of Pombal's post-disaster design did an axial resolution for the space finally settle the directional thrust of the square, and transform the excess and terror of the past into a static and bureaucratically neutral place right at the heart of Portugal's capital.

Zucker (1959) makes the case for Pombal's eighteenth century state of the art waterfront square as an example of a dominated square where the River Tagus acts as a fourth façade, providing the square with its spatial emphasis. While this was true of the Praça do Comércio in its ultimate form, an analysis of paintings from Lisbon's Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Navy Archives), Museu da Cidade de Lisboa (City Museum of Lisbon) and the Museu Nacional dos Coches (National Coach Museum), which depict the space from the fifteenth century onwards, reveals a more complex story of functional re-configurations, ephemeral enhancement and diverse ceremonial use, all of which impact on the reading of the space.

### **THE WATERFRONT SQUARE IN LISBON**

The waterfront square in Lisbon has traditionally functioned as an urban maritime nexus. A 1650 plan of the city shows the flat tidal zones of the river banks hosting a

necklace of waterfront spaces from Belém, near the mouth of the Tagus, to the city core (*Figure 1 Panorama of Lisbon before the 1755 Earthquake* (authors unknown) Museu da Cidade de Lisboa). The square is an enduring tradition in Portuguese urbanism (Teixeira and Valla, 1999, 315). In Lisbon the principal waterfront square has been variously known as O Terreiro do Paço (Palace Square) (pre-1755), and A Praça do Comércio (Commercial Square) (post-1755). In 1755, Lisbon was hit by a series of disasters. A devastating earthquake, tsunami and fire killed more than 10,000 people (of a population of 250,000) and destroyed 20,000 homes, churches and civic buildings including the Ribeiro Palace which was located adjacent to the Terreiro do Paço.



*Figure 1: Panorama of Lisbon before the 1755 earthquake [author unknown] Museu da Cidade de Lisboa*

Each pocket of waterfront space relates to a major institutional presence which has a functional interface with the water. These include the royal arsenal, the royal palace, the customhouse and the market. These waterfront zones of public space are so fundamental to the life-blood of the city that they have endured the physical reconfigurations wrought on the town's steep hillsides by Romans, Visigoths, Moors, and Christians, and remain resistant as primary structural elements in the urban landscape (Rossi, 1982). The principal square, Terreiro do Paço, developed around the royal palace on land which, up until 1170, had been submerged beneath an inlet of the Tagus (Gutkind, 1965, 62).

*Figure 2 View of Terreiro do Paço before the 1755 Earthquake* [Dirk Stoop] shows the daily bustle of commerce, exchange and gathering rather than a grand ceremonial occasion. The image shows courtiers processing in coaches, clergy and noblewomen promenading on foot, people congregating at the well, men weighing and carrying goods to be loaded into the holds of ships at anchor, cavaliers riding horses, troops exercising and children walking their dogs. While this provides us with a glimpse into the 17th century habitual use of the space and its crucial relationship to the river, it is the Palace which transforms the space into a transition zone between river and city.

*Figure 3A Topographical Plan of the City of Lisbon* [Carvalho and Mardel] from 1755, shows the post-earthquake plan of Lisbon superimposed onto the pre-earthquake plan of Lisbon. Over the next two centuries the waterfront square was transformed from a water-oriented space to a landlocked one. Terreiro do Paço evolved from a, water oriented space in the 17th century to a, land-oriented space in the 18th century. The

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

elongated form of the space in the 15<sup>th</sup> century with its geometric configuration (Carita 1998), its long edge to water, multiple access points to the river via piers and bridges and the dense impermeability of the rear wall were yet to be transformed by architecturally articulated hierarchies of enclosing facades and a symmetrical and axial Renaissance plan.



Figure 2: View of Terreiro do Paço before the 1755 earthquake [Dirk Stoop] Museu da Cidade de Lisboa

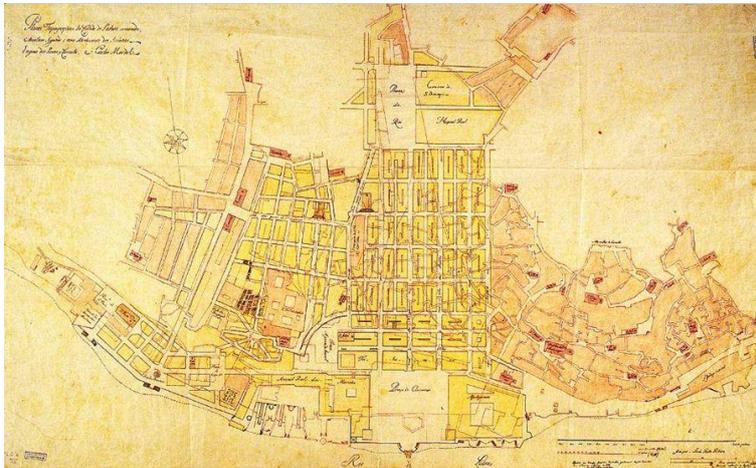


Figure 3. A Topographical Plan of the city of Lisbon [Carvalho and Mardel] 1755 Museu da Cidade de Lisboa

## TOWARDS THE TAGUS

The royal palace dominates the entire western side of the Terreiro do Paço and therefore it is ceremonial use which prevails in the space, especially the arrivals and

departures of royals and foreign dignitaries. This naturally predicated a higher level of engagement with the Tagus . Smaller scale elements such as piers and bridges are positioned to direct the processional use of space into an ill defined square from the sea, the principal mode of travel for this maritime nation before the nineteenth century.

Naval predominance and royal hegemony are the hallmarks of many of the images of the Terreiro do Paço up until the early 18th century, where emphasis is given to the sea and vessels not the city. *Figure 4* *Panorama of Terreiro do Paço and the Disembarkation of Filipe II* [Lavanha] shows the spectacular arrival of the Spanish and Portuguese monarch in Lisbon. Half of the image is filled with the watery foreground in front of the square, and a mass of sailing vessels of all sizes and types swarming on the Tagus (the larger vessels appear super-sized for visual effect). The Palace and the temporary structures installed for the occasion are drawn at similar scale to the ships, giving them the sense of being beached objects or vessels themselves, rather than part of the medieval crust of the city. Other buildings fade into the uniform grain of the town behind with only the churches registering a higher order of detail and importance. Techniques of graphic projection shift to give emphasis to the square and the river which are depicted in perspective while the city is shown in elevation behind.



Figure 4. *Panorama of Terreiro do Paço and the disembarkation of Filipe II* [Lavanha] Museu da Cidade de Lisboa

Graphic embellishment, such as the finely rendered texture of the waves at the bottom of the picture and billowing plumes of canon fire at either extremity, focus the eye on the bottom half of the frame. There is a concentration of activity in this zone with barques, barges, fishing boats, and row boats moving in different directions on the page. The bows of these vessels point to the King's ceremonial barge at the pier. The scene shows lateen rig and square rig vessels sailing in contrary winds to achieve this effect while the myriad of ensigns unfurl to the east in a westerly wind. As with the portolan chart representations of exotic foreign destinations this image evokes the natural and mythical worlds. In the left-hand foreground there is a dolphin, a massive lobster, a mermaid and a Neptunian figure carried by seahorses across the surf. A compass, its needle adorned with an anchor, decorates the centre bottom of the image.

The square is articulated with a centrally located dais and an entrance arch at the land edge of the pier extending into the Tagus. These 'sets' function as props to direct the procession into the city beyond. West of the dais is a grid of supersized columns that

extends to the northern and western walls of the square. Crowds are dwarfed by these monuments and cluster like ants at the river's edge to glean a view of the on-water festivities. The river in this instance is the expandable fourth facade to the square and a space which can effortlessly double and treble the scale of any important spectacle.

Bridges were also common threshold devices for marking the moment of transition between the land and sea. A bridge structure was a permanent fixture on the arsenal side of the palace and was lavishly adorned for state occasions. *Figure 5 The Embarkation of Princess Catherine of Portugal the Wife of Charles II King of England* [1622] shows the Princess of Portugal and wife of the King of England leaving the Palace via this bridge. Dom João V also had a long, elegant and sumptuously decorated bridge built to honour the arrival of his bride Dona Maria Sofia Isabel of Bavaria in 1687. The structure's myriad of arches decorated in crimson velvet and gold.



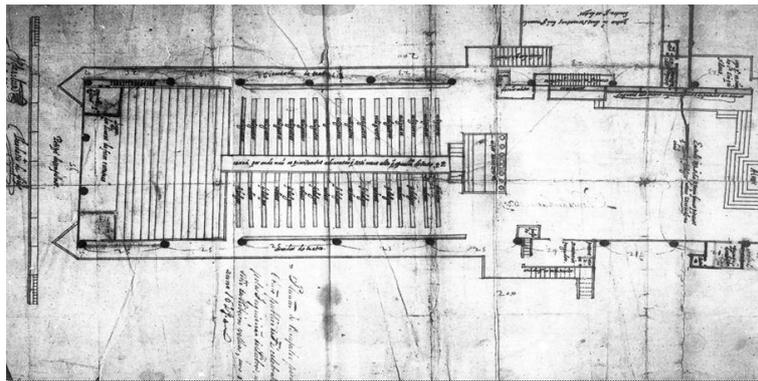
Figure 5. *The embarkation of Princess Catherine of Portugal the wife of Charles II King of England* [1622] Museu da Cidade de Lisboa

The foregoing discussion highlights the authority of the Portuguese monarchy and its ceremonial use of the river and the square as a theatre for state events. The royals enjoyed a long tradition of urban maritime ceremony related to the arrival and departure of monarchs and foreign dignitaries in Lisbon. The harbour arena and the waterfront square were spatially contiguous and provided an ideal arena in which to stage the significant events of public life. The court maximised the juxtaposition of a spacious landscape setting with regal pageantry and extravagant maritime ceremony became an all important ongoing public relations exercise for a minor European monarchy.

## CLOSURE AND CRUELTY

On occasions involving sacrifice or death, the Tagus was separated from the space for functional or scenographic reasons. In such instances the space became a closed square (Zucker 1959, 9), an inwardly focused theatre for the macabre rituals of death and punishment. In 1536, amid the post-Reformation climate of Catholic intolerance of Protestant heresies, the Portuguese empire was granted permission to follow Spain's inquisitional practices and hunt out and punish infidels. Jews, Muslims and anyone else contravening the church's teachings were exiled, forced to convert as 'new Christians' or became victims of the inquisitional machinery. The church under royal patronage became an ecclesiastical authority with unlimited power of arrest, trial and punishment. The autonomous body of the Holy Inquisition emerged from Lisbon's sacred places into the public realm and, because of its proximity to royal authority, the location of choice was the Terreiro do Paço.

These public rituals, which enacted a metaphor of trial and judgement blatantly aligned with the last judgement (Flynn 1991, 285-286), were called *auto da fé* (act of faith), and they cast a pall over the public and private lives of Lisbon's citizenry. The first *auto da fé* in Portugal was staged in 1541 (Sariva, 1956, 182). Over a period of 143 years 38 autos were held and 1379 people were burned. Between 1642 and 1683 all autos were held at the Terreiro do Paço (Branco, 1969, 293). Unlike the modest medieval ceremonies for the excommunication of religious dissidents that predated them, the *auto da fé* were robust and collective occasions involving hundreds of participants, enacted in the Terreiro do Paço on well planned specially built elevated structures. These raked platforms, referred to respectively as tiered benches of honour and infamy, gave expression to an earthly hierarchy of power and debasement, with the inquisitors (displacing the nobility) and heretics being seated at the top of their respective scaffolds above the central stage. *Figure 6* shows a carpenter's drawing of the stage of an *auto da fé* from 1629. The numbers of guilty swelled as the inquisitions proceeded at pace, with the escalating persecution of recently converted Jews requiring more frequent and more extravagant commemorations of religious devotion and state fealty. The *auto da fé* of June 1756 in Lisbon was devised as a collective atonement for the earthquake of the previous year (Voltaire, 1795, 15).



*Figure 6. Drawing of the stage of an auto da fé [1629] Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa*

The choreography and scenography of the occasion deliberately sought to engage the guilt of the population. The event was dramatised by a purposeful and solemn procession from the church or prison to the square, and symbolised in the ephemeral structures which represented God's terrestrial pecking order. The processions were orchestrated to pass through the main streets of the city and resemble civic processions and royal entries. Properties adjacent to the public square were controlled by the inquisitors who allocated viewing rights to constituents. Flynn explains in the context of Spain, the potent mix of corporal sacrifice and public setting:

In Counter-Reformation Spain, it was the fear of hell and its torments brought on by centuries of meditation on the Apocalypse that produced the Inquisition's frightful theater of cruelty. Standing on platforms erected in the center of urban life, victims of the autos de fé embodied the sin that weighed on the minds of the public. With their acts of contrition, they purged communities of religious guilt and with their blood; they appeased the wrath of a vindictive God. (Flynn, 1991, 296)

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

A prototypical stage from 1634 which abutted the Ribeiro Place's west facade was described as being 30.8 metres long and 19.8 metres wide (Branco 1969, 294). Two terraced banks of seating flanked the space where the trials and executions took place and there were separate access stairways (some concealed and privileging direct access to the palace or church behind) for individuals of different rank (royals, clergy magistrates etc). The stages for the condemned were also multi-levelled to reflect a hierarchy of misdemeanour with the most despicable at the top. Nautical imagery was invoked with carpenters' descriptions of the structures mentioning 'masts' to support 'sails' which protected the stage from sun and rain (Bethencourt, 1992, 61). 'Costumes of infamy' or sambenitos were also part of the spectacle. These featured mitred hats and decorated tunics which signified the form of execution. For example those with flames pointing down indicated the wearer had repented and would be strangled before being burnt.

*Figure 7 Execution of Criminals Condemned by the Inquisition in the Terreiro do Paço Bernard Picart [sixteenth century] shows the convicted being burned alive. Higgs (1999, 123) speculates that this image depicts the burning of sodomites in Terreiro do Paço with an all male audience, coaches and no spectators cramming the windows of the Palace. It is a representation which is atypical of the genre, where elaborate stage settings and costumed participants were normally carefully managed and documented.*



*Figure 7. Execution of criminals condemned by the Inquisition in the Terreiro do Paço Museu da Cidade de Lisboa [Bernard Picart] sixteenth century*

Typically, the auto was executed on a higher stage for the full view of the crowds with the victim well elevated above the flames to make the death slower and more excruciating. This arrangement exploited the water as a natural backdrop to invoke the presence of another world, and the ceremony was left until the day's end or evening for the light and colour of the flames to contrast more dramatically with the dark sky and foreboding waters beyond. An eye-witness account of a British national resident in Portugal in 1707 reports the horror of the event and the uncomfortable proximity of royal viewers:

Heytor Dias and Maria Pinteyra were burnt alive and the other two first strangled. The execution was very cruel. The woman was alive in the flames for half an hour, and the

man above an hour. The present King (João V, 1706-50) and his brothers were seated at a window so near, as to be addressed to a considerable time, in very moving terms by the man who was burning...but all his entreaties could not procure him a larger allowance of wood to shorten his misery and dispatch him. (Higgs, 1999, 122)

The spectacle of the public auto da fé diminished in the late 17th and early 18th century in Portugal, and finally ended in 1821. The practice returned to the churches, cloisters and tribunal headquarters from whence it came, although official lists of stigmatised individuals were still being circulated well into the late 18th century.

In the autos da fé the obsession with the procedural, scenographic and theatrical aspects of the event was calculated to manipulate and maximise the drama and the fear of the occasion. Closure of the space was important to firstly create a functioning amphitheatre and secondly to seal the place off spatially from the real world beyond, thereby creating a royally sanctioned entertainment zone of suspended consciousness, behaviour and voyeuristic pleasure outside the norm (Boyer, 1994, 86).

## TOWARDS THE TOWN

The 1755 All Saints' Day earthquake in Lisbon was comparable in scale [an estimated 9.0 on the Richter scale] and international impact to the 2006 tsunami in South East Asia. Shocks were felt throughout Portugal, Madeira, the Azores, and as far away as Finland and North Africa. Tsunamis affected the Caribbean and the Atlantic coasts of England and Ireland. Aid came from Portugal's colonies and her allies and trading partners England, Germany and Holland. Strategically local merchants donated a 4% surcharge on imports to the relief effort.

The man in charge of reconstruction effort, the Minister of State, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, the future Marquis of Pombal, was decisive and commanding in his response to the disaster relief and the forward planning of the city. The city was surveyed, new construction prohibited and looters were publicly hung. Monasteries and public squares were filled with the homeless, and tent cities occupied by merchants and nobles sprouted. The military engineer to the court Manuel da Maia presented four options investigating variations of street widening, ground re-levelling, adjusted building heights, all contributing to a radical new block morphology, residential building typology (Barreiros, 2008) and sense of urban scale (Rossa, 1998). The plan proceeded with a new gridded layout for the Baixa quarter based on planning precedents in Northern Europe. A prefabricated, technically innovative and stylistically simplified four storey building type was developed which ingeniously incorporated fire walls and earthquake resistant timber frames.

The Terreiro do Paço was reconstructed and renamed the Praça do Comércio (Commerce Square) *Figure 8*. The Bragança dynasty and the Jesuits whom Pombal had previously sought to disempower were displaced by the city's economic elites; the merchants and bankers. The space encompassed business, city government, customs and exchange in an effort to stimulate trade and industry, and rebuild Portugal's flagging fortunes.

The reconstruction of Lisbon presented an opportunity to integrate the waterfront square into the urban fabric. The new, monumentally scaled proposal reclaimed more land, used symmetry and architecture to integrate a complex of buildings embracing the space into the urban fold, and created a powerful central axis penetrating into the

city behind via Rua Augusta, thereby linking the square to the Rossio (Lisbon's other principal square) beyond. Pombal's project redressed the problems which had beset the Terreiro as an urban square, but in doing so ruptured the longstanding bias the space had towards the water.



*Figure 8. Praça do Comércio [Diane Brand] 2004*

## CONCLUSION

Urban theorists (Rykwert, 1976 and Kostof, 1991, 37-41) have identified the symbiotic relationship between the city's public spaces as containers and festivals as urban ceremony, arguing that the city form and its institutions are modified by ritual use just as the pageant itself is directed by the physicality of the built environment it occupies. Viscentini (2008) shows convincingly how the design and placement of buildings and public spaces fronting the Grand Canal in Renaissance and Baroque Venice was influenced by the ceremonial demands of the Doges.

The Terreiro do Paço transformed over two centuries from a sea directed space to a land directed one through reclamation, redesign and changes in adjacent uses. The royal command of the space occurred at the intersection of Lisbon's hegemony during the age of discovery and her global colonial reach as a maritime power. As a sea oriented space the arrangement worked, but once ashore, land ceremonies struggled for choreographic and scenographic clarity except when completely closed from the water for the killing rituals of the auto da fé. In spite of being unwieldy this configuration came closest to demonstrating the possibilities of the rich overlapping of city and river when the urban, technological and cultural conditions were right.

Urban change was sudden and dramatic when it came and the 1755 earthquake provided the ultimate opportunity for the Marquis of Pombal to restructure not only the space, but also the institutional guardianship of the place, while simultaneously creating a state of the art urban square. The transition illustrates not only the morphological change of the square as it evolved over time, but also the effect of an abrupt change in institutional adjacency and the impact on the consequent ceremonial use of the space. In resolving the urban design issues of the space the new proposal made the ephemera of the past redundant.

Ultimately the demise of the Terreiro do Paço and the ephemeral paraphernalia of ceremony was cataclysmic in natural, political, and architectural terms, and had far reaching implications for ceremonial use. While the formal relationships with the Tagus were enhanced by an enlightenment makeover, the ceremonial and functional connections from which the vitality of the location was derived were denied continuity. The bureaucratic functions of urban government and the pragmatic concerns of trade and commerce were no longer driven or mandated to routinely showcase their activities in the public realm, and the bustling port was now developing to the west of the Praça itself.

Urban waterfronts are typically zones of power given their territorial scarcity and technological and strategic commodity. They are therefore zones of competition. The Terreiro do Paço was a royal space which transformed, almost overnight, into a commercial one. The Terreiro do Paço epitomised the rich possibilities of layering different types architectural space over a short physical distance between a city and water. The Baixa and Praca do Comércio were exemplars at the time of a new monumental urban square and the technically innovative redevelopment of an urban quarter. This paper highlights that the convergence of institutional presence and ceremonial practice on urban waterfronts is mutable and as subject to the ebb and flow of the urban aspirations of the cities they serve as the itinerant flotillas they host.

## REFERENCES

- Barreiros, M.H. (2008) "Urban Landscapes: Houses, Streets and Squares of 18<sup>th</sup> Century Lisbon", Journal of Early Modern History, 12, 205-232.
- Bethencourt, F. (1992) "The Auto da fé: Ritual and Imagery", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 55, 155 - 168.
- Bonnemaison, S. and Macy, C. (Eds) (2008) Festival Architecture (London, Routledge).
- Boyer, M. C. (1994) The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments (Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press).
- Branco, F. C. (1969) Lisboa Seiscentista (Lisboa, Câmara Municipal de Lisboa).
- Flynn, M. (1991) "Mimesis of the last judgment: The Spanish auto de fe", Sixteenth Century Journal, 22, 2, 281-297.
- Carita, H. (1998) Lisboa Manuelina e a Formação de Modelos Urbanísticos da Epoca Moderna, 1495-1521, (Lisboa: Instituições Portuguesas -- UNL-Universidade Nova de Lisboa).
- Gutkind, E. (1965) International History of City Development Volume 3, Urban Development in Southern Europe: Spain and Portugal (New York, Free Press).
- Higgs, D. (1999) Queer Sites : Gay Urban Histories Since 1600 (London ; New York: Routledge).
- Kagan, R. (2000) Urban Images of the Hispanic World 1493-1793 (New Haven, Yale University Press).
- Kostof, S. (1991) The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History (London, Thames and Hudson).

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

- Rossa, W. (1998) Beyond Baixa: Signs of Urban Planning in Eighteenth Century Lisbon (Lisbon, Instituto Portugues do Patrimonio Arquitectonico).
- Rossi, A. (1982) The Architecture of the City(Cambridge Mass., MIT Press).
- Rykwert, J. (1976) The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World (London, Faber and Faber).
- Saraiva, A. J. (1956) A Inquisição Portuguesa (Lisboa, Europa América).
- Teixeira, M. C. and Valla, M. (1999) O Urbanismo Português : Séculos XIII-XVIII : Portugal-Brasil (Lisboa, Livros Horizonte).
- Viscentini, M.A. (2008) "Festivals of State: the Sceneography of Power in late Renaissance and Baroque Venice", in: S. Bonnemaison and C. Macy (Eds) Festival Architecture(London, Routledge, 74-112).
- Voltaire (1759) Candid, or All for the Best (London, J. Nourse).
- Zucker, P. (1959) Town and Square from the Agora to the Village Green (New York, Columbia University Press).



## URBAN RENEWAL, MASTERPLANNING AND DESIGN INFORMATION MANAGEMENT: THE CASE OF THE AUCKLAND WATERFRONT MASTERPLAN

John G. HUNT, Prof.

University of Auckland, New Zealand  
j.hunt@auckland.ac.nz

### ABSTRACT

*In the context of a very limited body of literature on urban masterplanning processes, this paper presents a case study of the recently completed masterplanning process for the urban waterfront of the city of Auckland, New Zealand. The focus of the paper is on the management of design information during this process. The paper outlines the workshop-based collaborative decision-making of the masterplanning team, and in particular the management of the shift from the problem-focused design brief development of the initial workshops to the creative design work undertaken in later workshops. The importance of developing overarching design themes to guide the decision-making process, and the potential for these thematic statements to link the design brief priorities with subsequent design-generative work, and to knit together design work at different scales within the masterplan, is identified. The paper concludes by assessing the case study process in relation to the characteristics of successful methodologies for urban renewal projects suggested by Mayer et al (2005).*

### INTRODUCTION

The Auckland city waterfront, like urban waterfronts in many cities, is undergoing significant change. In anticipation of both functional and physical changes, the waterfront has been the subject of a number of studies and at various points key stakeholders and the public at large have participated in consultative processes. The most recent and most significant of these was undertaken jointly by the Auckland City Council (responsible for the waterfront public realm ) and the Auckland Regional Council (responsible for the waterspace and the wharves and other built structures within the waterspace, and through a subsidiary company for the operation of the commercial port area.) The outcome was the publication in December 2005 of the "Auckland Waterfront Vision 2040" document, containing a strong public dimension to the consultation on which the document was based.

The Vision2040 document signaled a political commitment to manage the future development of the waterfront in a way that would meet wider public expectations as well as commercial imperatives associated with a working waterfront. However, the document stopped short of offering an integrated physical interpretation of the overarching vision that it set forth, and in the period following its release several independent development projects for parts of the waterfront continued to be promulgated. These included the expansion of the commercial marina facility at the western end of the waterfront (Westhaven), proposals for a reconfigured and possibly relocated America's Cup base in an area known as the Viaduct Harbour, the expansion of ferry terminal facilities located at the foot of the city centre's principal street, and a proposal in 2005 for a rugby stadium to accommodate the recently secured Rugby

World Cup event (to be held in 2011). This latter project attracted significant public debate (both for and against the proposal) and following successful public opposition to the project the City Council resolved to prepare a strategic masterplan for the five kilometer length of the waterfront that has direct functional and/or physical links to the city centre. This strategic masterplan would provide a basis for deciding on future development projects and as a basis for waterfront precinctual and site-specific masterplans. The strategic masterplan would also need to accommodate the already developed masterplan for a brownfields area (Wynyard Point) towards the western end of the waterfront. By virtue of the close links expected between the Vision 2040 document and the strategic masterplan, it was possible for the masterplan design team to look beyond the ten to twenty year budget timeframes in terms of which the City Council typically operates, and identify longer term initiatives. These included a waterfront light rail option, a significantly extended pedestrian and cycle network, and ways in which currently inaccessible land used for commercial port operations might eventually be converted for public use.

The draft masterplan was published in August 2007 and was the subject of a further round of public and stakeholder consultation. Following this consultation the finalized masterplan has generally been positively received by a number of stakeholders and has been formally adopted by the City Council (although it does not have statutory authority.)

## **FROM WATERFRONT VISION TO PHYSICAL PROPOSALS: ORGANIZATION OF THE MASTERPLANNING PROCESS**

The challenge that faced the City Council is perhaps best expressed as how to prepare a masterplan that would demonstrably address the multiple outcomes from prior stakeholder and public consultation while also offering an inspired urban design proposal, capable of fulfilling the aspirational vision advanced in the Vision 2040 document of a waterfront as a "world-class destination that excites the senses and celebrates our sea-loving Pacific culture and maritime history" and as "a place for all people, an area rich in character and activities that link people to the city and sea."

In describing the masterplanning process the focus of this paper will be in relation to this dual obligation to both previously defined stakeholder and public expectations and requirements on the one hand and to delivering a high quality (indeed visionary) urban design outcome on the other. Such an account has potential value in contributing to knowledge development in an area where (as Bell 2005, p.82) observes, despite growing use of masterplans, "little academic attention has been given to this type of plan making." A key issue becomes how to organize the decision making process to ensure that the myriad of stakeholder requirements and expectations needing to be addressed in the final masterplan are not overlooked, while at the same time ensuring full opportunity for the creative capabilities of the design team to be brought into play in the conception and development of that masterplan. Without the former the risk is of information loss during the design phase of the process and a deficient design outcome. Without the latter the risk is of plan that fails to excite and inspire.

In response to these two kinds of consideration the waterfront masterplanning process was structured around a clear sequence of ten workshops held between 2<sup>nd</sup> March and 15<sup>th</sup> May 2007. Workshops 1, 2 and 3 focused on the development of a "strategic framework" document that incorporated a design brief. These workshops align with the

first phase of the masterplanning process advocated by CABE (2004). Workshops 4, 5 and 6 were devoted to developing a high level (conceptual) masterplan proposal based on a number of key themes (initially referred to as “the big ideas”) developed by the design team, and to identifying the key urban design elements (initially referred to as “key design moves”) in response to these themes. Within the context of the understandings developed by design team members during the first three workshops, the focus of this second phase of the process was to encourage lateral thinking and creative design responses. The stated aim of workshop 6 was “to complete a waterfront masterplan vision”, expressed by way of a conceptual plan for the whole of the waterfront, before addressing the various precincts in greater detail. These precinct-based studies were undertaken during workshops 7, 8 and 9. The final workshop reviewed the outputs from these precinctual studies in relation to earlier conceptual work for the waterfront as a whole, in order to ensure consistency and integration between them.

In addition to the preplanned sequence of workshops, a further distinctive aspect of the process was the constitution of the masterplanning design team and the role of a core group within the team. A decision was made to constitute the team entirely of persons with urban planning and urban design expertise, rather than to include stakeholder representatives. A core group comprising seven City Council staff with planning, urban design, transport and property development expertise was joined by an external group comprising three members of the Council’s independent urban design panel and a fourth person with an established reputation for high quality urban development projects. The City Council’s urban design group manager chaired the twelve person team. The decision to have a core group carry out work in preparation for each of the workshops and in instances to circulate this prior to these workshops, ensured that the relatively short time for each workshop could be used to maximum benefit. This also ensured that the depth of collective knowledge held by members of this core group (by virtue of prior involvement in waterfront related workstreams within the City Council) was captured during the workshop process. The limited time availability of the external group members was a further consideration in organizing the process in this way.

## **DEVELOPING THE ‘STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK’ AND MASTERPLAN DESIGN BRIEF**

As noted above, a decision was taken to adopt the broad structure for the masterplanning process as advocated by CABE (2004, sections 2.2, 2.4). The CABE process identifies an initial phase as the preparation of a ‘strategic framework’. This is a potentially misleading term, and certainly in a New Zealand context could be confused with a strategic urban design framework (being a high level plan prepared prior to a masterplan). The CABE guide (p.32) explains that as the term ‘strategic framework’ is not in common use it has been adopted to describe the initial stage of the process, in which a masterplanning brief is developed. In the case of the Auckland waterfront project the strategic framework document began as a background document capturing the available information and summarizing outcomes from prior investigative studies on topics as diverse as existing and projected resident, worker and visitor populations; existing open space provision benchmarked against other cities; projected needs of the cruise ship industry, and so on. During the early workshops this framework document was further developed to include a masterplan design brief.

The design brief was structured in away that sought to both capture existing information and new information generated in the early workshops, and to do so in a way that clearly differentiated between different types of information. A tabular format was adopted, organized in terms three columns: 'principles', 'priorities' and 'recommendations'. Principles were derived initially from the Vision 2040 document, in which a number of so-called 'principles' were identified, and these were supplemented with similar kinds of statements derived from other waterfront proposals and policy documents and from the initial masterplanning workshops. A total of eighty five such principles were identified. A number of these were high level aspirational statements and as such had no immediately obvious impact on the physical form of the future waterfront, while others had sufficient precision to be treated as urban design objectives. In order to provide greater focus for the masterplanning work these principles were restated as a smaller number (sixteen) of masterplan priorities. The third category – masterplan recommendations – expanded on the sixteen statements of priorities, and represented the detailed brief for the design phase. A total of 147 such recommendations were identified, reflecting the complex nature of the waterfront and its functions. In the context of urban renewal projects Mayer et al (2005, p.405) refer to this as “system complexity ... the many interdependent physical and social variables in the urban system”, in contrast to political complexity.

Each of the categories of information (principles, priorities and recommendations) included in the masterplan brief was organized under seven headings that related to the whole of the waterfront and a further five headings for each of the waterfront precincts as defined in the Vision 2040 document. Waterfront-wide categories were as follows: activities; transport, access and links; public open space, water space and access; views; heritage; built form and design; and environmental sustainability. Precincts were identified as the Port Area, Central Wharves, Viaduct Harbour, Wynyard Point, and Westhaven. An example page from this part of the strategic framework document is reproduced in Appendix 1.

## **FROM BRIEF TO MASTERPLAN: THEMES AND URBAN DESIGN ELEMENTS**

An important moment in any design process is the point at which the process shifts from being problem- focused to solution-focused. The early stage of the solution-focused, design-generative, phase needs to distance itself from the micro-thinking that typically characterizes the later stages of any design brief development, in order to adopt a holistic and expansive stance towards the project. In the case of the Auckland waterfront masterplanning process this was achieved by devoting the fourth workshop to identifying what were initially referred to as the “big ideas” for the whole of the waterfront (and which were subsequently relabeled as “themes”). These were to be high level or abstract notions that would be sufficiently powerful and all-encompassing to drive the subsequent more detailed decision-making process. Each member of the masterplanning team was asked to come to this workshop with his or her own list of three or four “big ideas”, to ensure that multiple perspectives would inform the group-agreed final list. In order to encourage creative responses there was no expectation that each of the big ideas would need to be justified by its proponent against the previously agreed masterplan brief. On this basis the workshop identified five such thematic ideas as follows:

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

1. *Working waterfront*: recognition that waterfront currently accommodates a diversity of marine- related commercial activities and operations and that this is integral to its distinctiveness and future viability
2. *Auckland's playground*: recognition that the waterfront also hosts and supports a variety of recreational activities, including land and water-based organized events and spectacles
3. *Waterfront access*: the need for the waterfront to become more publically accessible than has previously been the case
4. *Cultural threads*: celebrating the cultural dimensions of the waterfront, both historical and contemporary
5. *Sustainable design showcase*: the potential for the future waterfront to become a sustainable environment, and wherever possible to demonstrate the means whereby this has been achieved

The fourth workshop concluded with a group exploration of ways in which these themes might be physically interpreted, in anticipation of the focus of the fifth workshop, in which the key urban design elements for each theme were to be identified.

Between the fourth and fifth workshops the core group returned to the masterplan brief and checked how the sixteen statements of masterplan priorities might relate to the five themes arrived at during the first of the design generative workshops. This was an important check on the capacity of the (yet to be developed) masterplan structured in terms of these five 'big ideas' to also accommodate the priorities established in the masterplan brief. While the design generative process which leads to such a masterplan needs to be able to transcend the inevitable limitations of the design brief, at some point that generative process must be reviewed for its comprehensiveness in relation to the originating brief. Table 1 below reveals the way in which the sixteen priority statements of priorities variously associated with the seven briefing categories (noted previously) were redistributed amongst the five themes identified by the design team, suggesting that this list of themes was comprehensive in relation to the brief.

At the fifth workshop the design team discussed and elaborated the previously established five 'big ideas' and identified some fifty urban design moves (subsequently referred to as 'elements') that would support these five themes. Conceptual diagrams were developed during this and subsequent workshops with the aid of a whiteboard, in order to give focus to the group discussion. Following this workshop the core group prioritized these elements either as "waterfront transforming proposals" or as "supporting proposals" and these categories were further examined at the sixth workshop, with the intention that this would provide sufficient material for an initial masterplan proposal. However, at this sixth workshop the team decided to defer the production of such a plan until after the outcomes of each of the precinct based workshops had been completed. There are several different explanations for this departure from the intended path. Possibly team members felt that each of the themes needed to be tested in the context of more detailed precinctual studies before committing to them. Possibly the team felt that the list of transforming and supporting proposals were sufficiently clear in their implications for any masterplan to avoid the need to synthesize them into an overall plan at this point in the process. Alternatively it could have been felt that taken together, the list of sixteen transforming proposals" and thirty one "supporting proposals" represented an insufficient basis for generating an

initial masterplan. Whatever the individual reasons, the whole team was sufficiently confident to move on to the greater detail of masterplans for each of the precincts without such an overarching plan at this stage.

Table 1. Relationship between design brief priorities and masterplan themes

Design Brief category	Priority statement	Assigned to theme
1. Activities	1.1 support working waterfront	1
	1.2 promote working waterfront as a distinctive experience	1
	1.3 develop waterfront as major visitor attraction	2
	1.4 functional requirements of working waterfront to be prioritized in masterplan	1
2. Transport, access and links	2.1 pedestrian focused waterfront	4
	2.2 public transport to support accessible waterfront	4
	2.3 enhance existing transport hub adjacent to central waterfront	4
3. Public open space, water space and access	3.1 create open space network that achieves public access to waterfront	2
	3.2 develop hierarchy of open spaces associated with water spaces	2
4. Views	4.1 recognize views and sightlines as important for "sense of place" and distinctive identity of waterfront	4
5. Heritage	5.1 protect and enhance intrinsic heritage and local character	3
	5.2 re-establish historic connection between Queen Street and Queens Wharf	3
	5.3 retain distinctive character areas but reconnect and reintegrate these	3
6. Built form and design	6.1 built form to enhance public open space and water spaces	2
	6.2 future waterfront as showcase for high quality architecture	2
7. Environmental sustainability	7.1 take all steps needed to create a sustainable waterfront	5

## PRECINCTUAL PLANNING

The outcome of the sixth workshop was an agreed set of transforming and supporting proposals in terms of which each of the waterfront precincts could be considered in more detail. (Refer to Appendix 2 for an example sheet from this document.) Workshop 7 was the first of the precinct-focused design sessions and addressed the Westhaven area, home to the largest marina facility in the southern hemisphere, to maritime industries operating along its eastern edge, and incorporating public recreational boating facilities and water spaces. The marina had been recently purchased by the City Council in order to control the future development of this highly visible part of the urban waterfront. The marina is also an important source of revenue for the Council and its future development is expected to be consistent financial performance requirements. The design team was provided with the outcomes of earlier studies which addressed

marina expansion in this context, and in response to this issue and a number of other challenging conditions existing within the precinct, the team developed design proposals which have more recently informed the preparation of a firm masterplan proposal, currently being implemented. As well as schematic drawings, the outcomes from this workshop (and each of the other precinctual workshops) were recorded in terms of priorities and urban design elements/proposals under each of the five thematic categories previously established, thereby ensuring that the outcomes from these precinctual workshops would build on and extend the information base established in the earlier workshops. In the case of the Westhaven precinct, the extent of this precinct-specific list (17 priorities and 29 elements) is indicative of the value of this workshop session.

Workshop 8 addressed the Wynyard Point and Viaduct Harbour precincts. While these together represent a large portion of both the land area and waterfront edge within the whole of the urban waterfront zone, Viaduct Harbour development is largely complete (stimulated by earlier Americas Cup events based here) and a comprehensive urban design proposal exists for the Wynyard Point area and its hinterland (together now referred to as the Wynyard Quarter). The reduced outcomes from this workshop (8 priorities and 11 elements) reflect the extent to which the future of these parts of the waterfront has largely been determined.

Workshop 9 addressed the central wharves and container port areas and identified some 17 priorities and 22 elements. Home to Auckland's historic port, the central wharves precinct includes wharves that were originally extensions of the city's principal north-south streets. Currently these wharves accommodate a mix of public and port (private) activities, although there are signs that the Port Authority will progressively relinquish the use of this area in future and perhaps eventually confine itself to the container port that dominates the eastern end of the urban waterfront zone.

Following the precinct-based workshops the core team developed an overall plan incorporating the drawn and written outcomes of the various workshops, for discussion and review at the final workshop.

## PREPARATION OF THE MASTERPLAN DOCUMENT

The draft version of the masterplan document was prepared within three months of the final workshop, with minimal resources required for its production. While the presentation drawings were separately commissioned, the structure and content of the masterplan document closely reflects the outcomes of the ten workshops. Following the presentation of the plan itself, the five themes are effectively employed to explain the underlying intent of the overall plan, with the masterplan features that are a response to each theme highlighted in a tailored version of the overall plan, and with brief descriptive text in support. (Figure 3 shows the plan prepared for the theme of *waterfront access*.) Each of the precincts (referred to in the final document as 'masterplan areas') is then addressed by way of a more detailed plan, together with textual and graphic depiction in terms of each of the five themes. In this way the connections between the overall plan and its component areas are made evident, being in effect knitted together by means of the five themes. The thematic rationale for each of the urban design elements is also evident.

The draft document was the subject of a further round of stakeholder and public consultation and a final version of the masterplan has since received political endorsement.

The following images illustrate the waterfront location and the masterplan proposal.

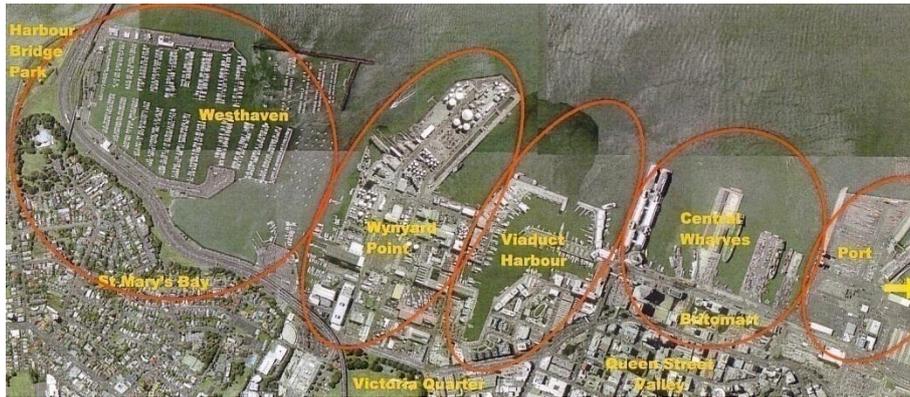


Figure 1 Aerial photograph indicating waterfront precincts

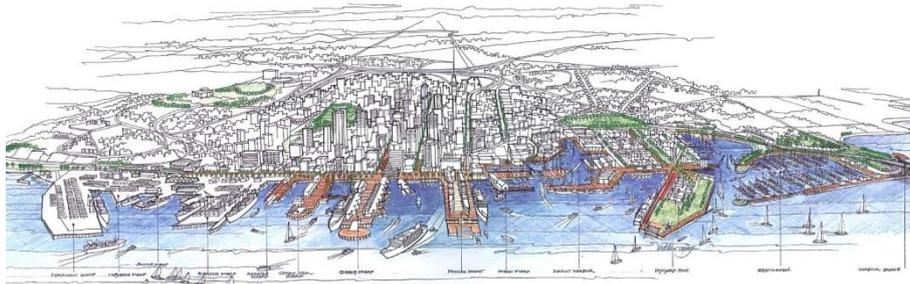


Figure 2 Aerial sketch of masterplan proposal



Figure 3 Masterplan showing pedestrian promenade, cycle and light rail routes, and proposed linking bridges



Figure 4 View from Westhaven towards Port area at eastern end of waterfront



Figure 5 Public access to the working waterfront: the North Wharf fishing fleet

## CONCLUSIONS

The process followed for the development of the Auckland waterfront masterplan has been driven by a concern to manage project information complexity in a way that achieves an effective design decision making process. This effectiveness can be thought in a number of ways. A key consideration noted at the outset of this paper is

the risk of information loss – the failure to capture relevant information during the process or to retain it once captured. Project information, once captured, also needs to be organized in a way that assists the design team member to grasp its significance in the context of the design task. Taken together, these two considerations approximate to what Mayer et al (2005, p.406) refer to as the *integrative* characteristic of successful methodologies for decision making in urban renewal projects, and it can be argued that the decision making process for the case study project has been a highly integrative one.

Effectiveness can also be measured in terms of the extent to which productive interactions between team members are promoted during the decision making process. This became a feature of the workshop sessions, to the extent that while discussions were intensive they were also conflict free, suggesting that the process allowed for negotiation between design team members as and when required. Mayer et al have also identified the importance of *interactive* and *transparent* processes, and while their work also covers the political dimension of urban renewal project complexity, it can be suggested that such attributes are no less important when the design challenge is confined to what these authors have referred to as 'system complexity'.

Mayer et al also suggest that effective methods will be *fast and easy to use*. While acknowledging that considerable work was undertaken by some core team members between successive workshops, it could be argued that the total time required of most team members was modest in comparison to the complexity of the waterfront masterplanning task, and that there appeared to be no confusion regarding the purpose of each of the steps involved. These represent further measures of decision making effectiveness.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, effective decision making will need to balance the rigour of reasoned thinking with the creativity that is intrinsic to all successful design- based processes. In respect of rigour it will be evident from the preceding descriptions of the case study project that this was a pre-occupation throughout the decision making process. While Mayer et al do not refer to decision making rigour directly, their mention of the need for *authoritative* processes, meeting recognized analytic standards, implies such a need. However, on the matter of creativity these authors are silent. While recognition of this aspect of decision making was implicit in the focus and sequence of workshops, any claim that the Auckland waterfront masterplan represents a creative outcome must be for others to judge

## REFERENCES

- Auckland City Council (2007) CBD Waterfront Masterplan: linking people city and sea
- Auckland Regional Council & Auckland City. (2005) Auckland Waterfront Vision 2040
- Bell, D. (2005) "The Emergence of Contemporary Masterplans: Property Markets and the Value of Urban Design," Journal of Urban Design 10,1,81-110.
- CABE (Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment) (2004) Creating Successful Masterplans: a guide for clients
- Mayer, I., van Bueren, E., Bots, P. and van der Voort (2005) "Collaborative decisionmaking for sustainable urban renewal projects: a simulation – gaming approach", Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design 32,403-423

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

Appendix 1. Excerpt from the masterplan brief

Waterfront wide category: <b>TRANSPORT ACCESS AND LINKS</b>		
<b>Principles</b>	<b>Priorities</b>	<b>Recommendations</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strengthen links between the waterfront and adjoining areas- particularly the CBD.</li> <li>• Improve pedestrian and cycling connections and opportunities.</li> <li>• Ensure passenger transport services and supporting infrastructure, including water-based services, are fully integrated into future development.</li> <li>• Design streets to provide a safe and pleasant environment for pedestrians, residents and workers.</li> <li>• Ensure future development is within the capacity of the existing road network.</li> <li>• Keep a grid-based street pattern to improve connectivity and accessibility.</li> <li>• Strengthen connections between Victoria Park and the Wynyard Point.</li> <li>• Ensure consideration of issues and options related to the future harbour crossing do not compromise achieving the vision.</li> </ul>	<p>Achieve a showcase pedestrian focused waterfront environment that has seamless pedestrian connections to the CBD and the city.</p> <p>Create passenger transport services that support access to the waterfront and the CBD.</p> <p>Enhance Britomart as the regional transport hub with medium and long-term consideration for expansion of passenger transport services.</p>	<p>2.1 Develop a continuous pedestrian promenade around the entire perimeter of the waterfront including waterside access around the perimeter of wharves, reclamations and beaches.</p> <p>2.2 Reduce barriers to north-south pedestrian movement to ensure easy access between the waterfront, CBD and suburban areas of Freemans and St Mary's Bay.</p> <p>2.3 Design a legible and fine-grained street environment with visual and physical connections that strengthen the relationship between the harbour, waterfront, CBD and suburban areas.</p> <p>2.4 Design Te Wero opening bridge for pedestrians, cyclists and passenger transport to connect Quay Street to Jellicoe Street while also allowing marina activity in Viaduct Harbour and events to occur on Te Wero Island and the proposed marine events centre.</p> <p>2.5 Provide dedicated cycle lanes along the entire perimeter of the waterfront.</p> <p>2.6 Consider the parking needs of public attractions on the waterfront.</p> <p>2.7 Road freight movements through the CBD should be minimised.</p>

## Appendix 2. Example of theme-based urban design elements/proposals

Theme 3: CULTURAL THREADS		
Design brief priorities	Elaboration of theme	Urban design elements
<p>Protect and enhance the intrinsic heritage and local character qualities (including urban form, activities and heritage items) that contribute to the distinctive qualities of Auckland's waterfront.</p> <p>Create a physical, visual or symbolic connection between Queen's Wharf and Queen Street to re-establish access between the waterfront, CBD and wider city.</p> <p>Create a waterfront masterplan that achieves a seamless integration with the Britomart masterplan, Wynyard Point masterplan, Westhaven masterplan (when completed), Queen Street Valley and Quay Park areas while retaining distinctive environments that express the history and character of each area.</p>	<p>Includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Heritage interpretation</li> <li>- Showcase creativity and innovation,</li> <li>- Heritage items along the waterfront</li> <li>- heritage connection to CBD,</li> <li>- Maori sites, stories and biodiversity,</li> <li>- maritime history, art and sculpture,</li> <li>- great architectural design,</li> <li>- geology,</li> <li>- colonial sites and stories,</li> <li>- historic shoreline,</li> <li>- seafaring legends and history,</li> <li>- sense of place.</li> </ul>	<p><b>Waterfront transforming proposals</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Development of an east-west heritage waterfront axis associated with the port, fishing and marine activity. Achieved by retaining heritage/character buildings/structures, interpretative material, artworks, retention of the original 'finger' wharves, retention of some activities in their original locations (ferries, fishing, marinas) – all connected by the waterfront boulevard.</b></li> <li>2. <b>Development of a heritage precinct that connects the CBD with the waterfront including:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Britomart and Queen Street</li> <li>- old town (Fort, Shortland and Lorne Streets)</li> <li>- west town (Hobson, Federal Streets)</li> </ul> <b>by protecting groups of character/heritage buildings, restoring the original waterfront lane network.</b> </li> <li>3. <b>Maori culture and interests represented through interpretation centre, place/street names, sustainability objectives such as water quality, art/sculpture, indigenous planting on waterfront.</b></li> </ol> <p><b>Supporting proposals</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Visitor attractions – theatres - indoor, outdoor, amphitheatre</li> <li>- Heritage interpretation - to convey a continuum of waterfront history along entire length – possible link to major Auckland interpretation centre.</li> <li>- Artworks/sculpture along entire waterfront – could express both Maori, colonial and contemporary culture</li> </ul>

## THE CONTEMPORARY WATERFRONT, FROM CITY TO PARK

**Matthew BRADBURY**, Senior Lecturer  
Landscape Architecture program, UNITEC  
mbradbury@unitec.ac.nz

### **ABSTRACT**

*The transformation of the 19th century mercantile port infrastructure into a new urban waterfront dedicated to the service economy and personal consumption has developed into a global model of urban development. The intention of this paper is to examine a recent tendency for the current model of waterfront development to change from one based on a traditional European urban planning model to one based loosely on that of the park. To highlight the move between the two modes of design production, the author uses six waterfront cases studies and focuses on how the provision of public space and problems of waterfront contamination are addressed.*

*The paper begins by looking at three dockland redevelopment projects from the mid 1980's to the present day. The development of public space within these three case studies is examined and the trajectory of a greater engagement with the public realm is discussed. The lack of commitment for the problem of environmental remediation is also considered. Three waterfront projects from the 2000's are then examined, the idea of the park as an alternative design trope is proposed, a new definition of the park is suggested to include infrastructural concerns. The author argues that by rethinking the waterfront as a landscape, the development of a fully public and environmentally engaged waterfront city is possible.*

### **LONDON DOCKLANDS**

The first major waterfront redevelopment in Europe was the London Docklands. For a hundred years the greatest port in the world, and the living proof of the power and reach of the British Empire, the docklands occupied 21 km square kilometres in the East End of London (London Dockland). Abandoned in the early 1960s for a new port located at Tilbury, the Docklands lay derelict for over twenty years. By 1981 the then conservative government set up the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) to redevelop the area. The creation of a specific body funded by the government and outside of the normal regulatory process was allied with the designation of the former docks as an 'enterprise zone' an area where any business that established in this zone could be exempt from property rates and subject to a simplified planning regime. These devices, a central organisational body and a liberal planning and tax regime in effect establish a country within a country, a Danzig zone. This concept would go on to become an extremely successful model for economic regeneration zones in many countries (Meyer, Han, 1999).

The best-known part of the Docklands redevelopment is Canary Wharf. The Canadian developers, Olympia and York initiated this project in 1985; the site was the old West India Docks on the Isle of Dogs (Canary Wharf). This development came to symbolise the radical change of London industry. With banking deregulation in 1986, London completed the change from a mercantile port for the empire to the financial service capital of Europe. The economic premise of Canary Wharf was to accommodate this

new industry. Its location next to the City, and with the provision of a PT connection, the Dockland light railway, to make the connection concrete, connecting the City to the Docklands, generated an economic rationale for the location (Williams, Stephanie. 1993).

The master plan by SOM proposed a neo Beaux Arts parti, a strong perpendicular axis from the river along the line of the old wharf to a new building, a central tower, One Canada Wharf. Designed by Cesar Pelli, this tower was the largest in Europe, and came to dominate the development and become a central reference point. The axis was occupied by a long green public space that was consciously modelled on the traditional London Square. The building programme was set out to line the central axis with two lines of flanking building.

To the Thames, the axis was subdivided into two large public spaces, Cabot Square, defined by twenty storey buildings and Westferry Circus, closer to the river, surrounded with ten storey buildings. The public spaces were comprehensively detailed and an extensive landscape programme was instigated. Other public space in the development were located in smaller 'pocket parks' positioned on the cross axis. Between the new building and the surrounded docklands were placed a number of urban promenades.

While the central park axis was successful in terms of design thinking and detailing, the pervasive commercial nature of the surrounding building, there is no public building programme; library, or art gallery, within the project, has lead to a critique of the 'publicness' of the public space. This quality is made all the more evasive by the panoply of private security and surveillance that encompasses the development. And a closer examination of the design qualities of the space itself reveal, perhaps with the distance of 30 years, a particular 1980's generic North American Post Modern frisson. It also would be churlish to complain of the absence of an environmental agenda in a development this old. However it does seem curious, particularly in the light of subsequent dockland projects, that while the development is surrounded by water, the dockland waterways on three sides, the Thames on the fourth, the Canary Wharf building programme largely turns its back on the water and instead concentrates its attention on the central park space.

## MELBOURNE DOCKLANDS

The Melbourne Docklands redevelopment begun in the mid 90's is in many ways a comparable project to the London Dockland development and a useful case study to see how that development model has changed over ten years. The site, the old Melbourne docks, is to the west of the Melbourne CBD and defined by Spencer Street, Wurundjeri Way and Charles Grimes bridge to the east, CityLink to the west and Lorimer Street across the Yarra to the south. The impetus behind the development was driven by many of the same factors that drove the London Docklands development, the abandonment of the docklands in the 1960's with the advent of containerisation and its location near the commercial heart of Melbourne (Melbourne Docklands).

The Dockland development was initiated by the Liberal (Conservative) government of Jeff Kennet in the early 1990s (Dovey, Kim. 2005). The first major development in the area was the building of the Docklands Football Stadium located next to the Spencer Street Station (now the Southern Cross Station) The location of the stadium, at the edge

of the CBD, was a conscious decision intended to attract the public to the docklands. Ashton Ragett McDougal was appointed as master planners for the entire district. The Docklands was broken into a number of zones, Central City Studio, a film production hub, Waterfront City, New Quay, Yarra Edge, Digital Harbour, Victoria Harbour, and Bateman's Hill. The development of each zone was then tendered to private developers who put together a building and public space programme.

The best known design case study within the Melbourne Docklands is Victoria Harbour. It occupies 28 hectares and is surrounded by 3.7 km of waterfront (ETNCOM. 2005). The zone forms a peninsula bounded by Collins and Bourke streets that have been extended west into the Docklands and famously, meet at an apex. Running north/south behind the apex, is the Harbour Esplanade, a 2.1 km, 12 ha, road link from the northern gateway, the City Link, to the Charles Grimes bridge at the Yarra river. The Docklands Park, 2.5 ha, broadens the Harbour Esplanade near the Collins Street extension. The park encompasses a broad programme of social activities; picnic areas, BBQ facilities, playgrounds, and sculpture.

The Harbour Esplanade and Docklands Park form a north/south backbone to Victoria Harbour, they link the stadium, waterside promenade, parks, footpaths, roads and tramlines. The original design by Richard Weller and ARM drew these disparate functions together with a layered plan of common planting, public space, common materials and a graphic layer of painted lines and letters laid promiscuously over promenade, path and road, imposing a commonality across the disparate spaces (ARM). Landscape architects, Rush Wright, developed this initial design by pushing the landscape qualities of the Dockland Park with a looping connecting path linked to topographic transformations; mounding up to 6 m high, and the planting of native trees especially araucarias. The path also traverses stormwater-cleaning ponds that will take contaminated water from the surrounding roads (Rush Wright).

In contrast to the innovative design thinking about how infrastructural space, roads paths, PT, parks, can be used and transformed along the Harbour Esplanade, the actual public areas on the waters edges are treated as more generic space. An architectural configuration of a two-storey base of restaurants and shopping and 10 storey plus towers of office or residential apartments forms the urban edge. An extensive public sculpture programme animates the actual promenade space. Environmental remediation of the pollutants on the site is acknowledged but limited to the dealing with the contaminated run off from the new roads, the traditional problem of port pollution, contaminated seabeds and polluted stormwater run off from surrounding urban areas are elided.

## **HAFENCITY**

The HafenCity, Hamburg, docklands redevelopment project started at the beginning of the 2000's and planned to finish in the 2020's shows how the dockland redevelopment model has become refined over twenty years. The master plan for the development of the docklands was subject of an urban design competition in 1999, the winners were a joint Dutch/ German team, Kees Christiaanse /ASTOC (HafenCity Master plan). The development, when completed, will link the traditional city centre of Hamburg with the river Elbe. The total size of the development is 155 hectares, of which the land area is approximately 100 ha. The site is demarcated by the Kaiserhöft to the west and by the

Elbe bridges to the east. The land is mostly owned by the city of Hamburg with the Deutsche Bank owning an area to the northeast of the development.

The aim of the project was to build a new waterfront city on the north Elbe with a mix of apartments, offices, retail, an overseas passenger terminal and cultural buildings including a science museum and a new concert hall. The net building area is 60 ha and when fully built out, the gross floor area is expected to be 1.5 million to 2 million square metres. The area will be developed into a number of different quarters. Each quarter will have a particular character, made up of a mix of public space, residential and office buildings and cultural facilities. In the western part of the development, mainly occupying the old wharfs, are the Am Sandtorkai, Brooktorkai, Dalmannkai, Kaiserkai, and Strandkai quarters. The central part of the development will be around the Magdeburger Hafen. To the east are the Oberhafen and Baakenhafen quarters (Stiftung, Montag. Raume, Urban. 2008). The development timetable is strategically timed to start at the south-western end and proceed to the east to try and avoid piecemeal development. Existing buildings especially historical warehouses in the Sandtorhafen harbour are preserved. The new city is outside of the city dyke; the flood protection for the old centre of Hamburg, so care has been taken to ensure the lower parts of the new building programme are protected from flooding. The flood levels are expected to be 4.4 and 7.2 m above the MSL. The new building programme of HafenCity is expected to resist floods of 7.3 m above the MSL, all construction sites are raised to 7.5 m above the MSL. The public space provision for the new city is approx. 6 ha. The main public spaces will be promenades along the waters edge. There are also a variety of public squares and parks proposed through out the site. The first areas to be completed are the Sandtorkai and Dalmannkai. Two new cultural buildings are located in this area. The first is an international maritime museum located in a renovated building at the Kaispeicher, the second a new concert hall for the Elbe Philharmonic Concert Hall placed on the rooftop of the Kaispeicher, a building on the Kaiserhöft. The building, designed by Herzog and De Meuron, is 106 m high and provides a 2200 seat auditorium.

The major built public spaces are the Magellan Terrassen in the Traditionsschiffhafen and the Marco Polo Terrassen in Grasbrookhafen, designed by the late Enric Miralles of EMBT. The public space takes the form of a series of terraces that lead down from the Grosser Grasbrook to the water and then extending the public space out into the harbour with series of floating concrete pontoons (EMBT).

HafenCity is an ongoing project that demonstrates a number of similarities with previous dockland redevelopments. The building of new urban layout based on a grid pattern, the use of a building programme to define urban space, and the treatment of waterfront promenade as a generic public space clearly demonstrate the linking of other dockland developments.

From other waterfront projects we can also see the links in the restoration of existing wharf/warehouse structures and the insertion of a new cultural building programme, concert hall and museum, into the existing building fabric. One important development of that theme is the proposed science museum, a heroic 70 m high '0' shaped building by OMA near the end of the Strandkai on the Elbe. This purpose of this building is clearly indebted to the Bilbao Guggenheim (and before that to the Sydney Opera House) the iconic building on the waterfront signalling 'progress' (OMA).

What is perhaps unique about this project is a growing awareness of the larger landscape and especially landscapes conditions. This is demonstrated by the new public space created by EMBT. The Magellan Terrassen and the Marco Polo Terrassen actually engage with the specific landscape conditions of the site, both the location of the space by the water and the specific landscape condition of site flooding. Rather than treating the water simply as a spectacle for passerby's, Miralles's use of floating pontoons extends the public space into the littoral, extending the public usage and making explicit both tidal movement and the possibility of flooding.

These three dockland redevelopment show how the original model of waterfront redevelopment has been modified in many ways to engage more fully in the public realm through the addition of cultural buildings and a more connected use of public space. These moves all point toward a more nuanced understanding of the public realm. However the place of public space, in this model of waterfront development, is still vestigial, it's role is to service the real estate demands of the building development, the surrounding flats and offices. The other major critique of this model of waterfront development is how well known waterfront environmental issues; such as of stormwater pollution seabed contamination continue to be ignored.

## NEW WATERFRONTS

Turning from these conventional models of waterfront development, we see a new generation of projects from the mid 2000's that are engaging both in the provision of public space with environmental remediation through a connection with a fundamentally different organisational trope of waterfront development. Instead of the traditional European city type, waterfront designers are turning towards the landscape and in particular the park as a way of coordinating the site, allowing for a freer engagement with the public realm and generating a real engagement with the necessity of public infrastructure to cope with environmental problem around waterfront developments. Of course these suggested functions of the park are not new, F.L. Olmsted's design for the Emerald Necklace in Boston addressed many of these issues. Designed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century as a new park for the citizens of Boston the project was also a real estate speculation opening up a new area of the city for private development and a huge landscape mechanism to clean the highly polluted stormwater from the old city by cleaning the water through wetlands and reed beds along a restored river. (Emerald Necklace)

Three waterfront developments from the 2000's; the Brooklyn Bridge Park, the Barcelona Forum and the Jeddah master plan, demonstrate how an engagement with the landscape, can produce a new waterfront urbanism by connecting to the public realm and environmental infrastructures. 'Here, the term landscape no longer refers to prospects of pastoral innocence but rather invokes the functioning matrix of connective tissue that organises not only objects and spaces but also the dynamic processes and events that move through them. This is landscape as an active surface, structuring the conditions for new relationships and interaction among the things it supports ' (WallAlex. 1999)

## BROOKLYN BRIDGE PARK

The Brooklyn Bridge Park is a 34 ha. site located on the Brooklyn waterfront, New York. Brooklyn Bridge, Furman Street, and Atlantic Avenue form the boundaries to the main

site. The docklands were a typical 19th century industrial waterfront, made up of 6 piers, one on reclamation the others built on piles, that was backed by warehouses, accessed from Furman Street (Brooklyn Bridge Park).

The project to transform the old industrial waterfront into a park has been driven by a concerted community effort (Gastil, Raymond W. 2002). The financial configuration of the project is explicitly constructed to make the site financially self sustaining, that is the design, construction, and maintenance of the park are not paid for by City Hall but are rather backed by commercial development of parts of the site. Provision has been made for two residential towers that will be located in two blocks adjacent to Furman Street at the Brooklyn Bridge and Atlantic Avenue ends of the site. These sites will occupy about 10 % of the total site area. The designer of the master plan, landscape architect Michael van Valkenburgh, started the project in 1998. Van Valkenburgh parti is an interesting combination of the traditional and pragmatic. Van Valkenburgh treats the Furman street edge as a kind of green buffer, using earth mounding and planting to channel visitors to the new waterfront. The six existing piers are each treated as different landscapes. The park user can choose what sort of landscape/social/cultural/sports experience they want, ranging from a recreation of a native salt marsh on Pier 6 to a multi sports programme on an artificial turf lawn on the neighbouring Pier. Pier 3 offers a traditional park experience of lawn and playgrounds while Pier 2 offered another programmed sport surface. Overall the design uses the traditional park typology, grass, trees, and a rolling topography to signal the public nature of the transformed site (Michael van Valkenburgh).

What makes the Brooklyn Bridge Park so interesting is that it presents the dockland restoration not as an overwhelming real-estate development opportunity but as a serious, large-scale public space that starts to approach the size and effect of the 19th century Park. The new landscape structure offers the traditional pleasures of the park, sports, picnics, promenades, and playgrounds, in effect the succour of the park that Olmsted invented. The Brooklyn Bridge Park also responds to the larger landscape through the recreation of native wetland and salt marshes alerting the visitors to the long disappeared local biota and providing new habitats for native fauna. The project also acknowledges localised landscape effects especially the movement of stormwater across the site. Stormwater is collected and stored in a horizontal buried tubes, the water is then gradually released in an irrigation programme.

While Van Valkenburgh uses the tradition park type to provide public space in the city, other project attenuate the idea of the park to expand the possibilities of the traditional structure to include the new challenges and possibilities of the early 21<sup>st</sup> century city.

## THE BARCELONA FORUM

The Barcelona waterfront has a number of splendid case studies that might be in microcosm a history of late 20<sup>th</sup> century waterfront development. From the Sola Morales waterfront redevelopment at the start of the Ramblas, to the Barcelona Forum, opened in 2004, the Barcelona foreshore is a physical demonstration of innovative urban thinking into how waterfront regeneration can contribute to the development of new public space for the city.

The last of the projects, The Barcelona Forum, is at 214 ha, the largest. In urban terms it forms the long anticipated link of the Diagonal, the long cut across the Cerda grid, to

the Mediterranean. Utilising the concept of the 'event' to generate the impetus for a public works programme, (something they had learnt with the running of the Olympics in 1996). The notion of another event, this time a forum of ideas, a kind of cultural Olympics, helped to generate the construction of the latest waterfront project. The project also represented an opportunity to rethink the integration of a cities waste infrastructure with the urban fabric. Rather than the traditional approach, where this infrastructure is to be hidden away, the designers of the Forum took the occasion offered by a major refurbishment of Barcelona's sewerage plant as an opportunity to integrate the plant both spatially and formally with the city.

The Forum also had a more traditional building programme of public buildings and parks. A new convention centre designed by the Swiss architects Herzog and de Meuron and holding 3200 people was located at the intersection of the Diagonal and the Forum. Along the newly reclaimed sea edge are placed a number of specific public spaces, a waterfront park, designed by FOA, a beach / esplanade designed by Beth Galli, and a stair/plaza covered by a vast solar panel/ pergola.

If we took a section through this vast project, say from the end of the Diagonal to the Mediterranean, we can see how the usual waterfront urban typology of a building defining the edge of a public space which in turn forms a littoral, has been subverted through a process of urban stretching and thickening. The building edge of the conference centre refuses its traditional civic role as an boundary to the public space through the use of a particular form, a huge triangle, and its particular colouring and materiality. The building instead embraces the inward, closed nature of the typical conference centre. The public space between the conference centre and the sea is 'thickened' becoming a topography/ roof for the renovated sewerage works underneath. The sea edge seems more traditional, a grand stair leading to the sea; a vast gateway /pergola marking this moment. Yet the 'archway' is also a huge solar panel array that supplies enough energy to power the whole of the Forum site. The urban space is moulded like a new topography that is 'deep' with infrastructural components, the vast solar array and the renovated sewerage plant.

The project attempts to make a new kind of public space through an engagement with the immediate infrastructural requirements of the site, the ability of the site to supply power for its own needs and the renovation of a sewage work that produces water clean enough to swim in, to produce an infrastructural landscape new public space for the inhabitants of Barcelona.

## JEDDAH MASTER PLAN

The last project I will examine is the Jeddah Master plan developed by Wilkenson Eyre and Arup's in 2007 (Jeddah Masterplan). It is a waterfront development project that uses the remediation of a serious environmental problem, the existing pollution of Jeddah Bay, as driver for the design of a new waterfront. Engaging with a fundamental environmental problem of the site, how to flush polluted water out of the bay and introduce clean water, the designers have developed a solution of almost diagrammatic purity. An atoll is built at the mouth of the bay, seawater is treated within the atoll, then tidal forces are used to both introduce the cleaned water into the bay whilst taking the polluted water out. This radical rethinking of an environmental problem within a coastal landscape has really only been made possible by the newest form of 20th century

waterfront development, the reclamation and formation of offshore islands as new land as seen in the Dubai reclamations, the Palm and the World.

The urban consequences of this new landscape are two fold, the old city and waterfront of Jeddah can be restored, while the building of the island atoll outside the bay provides new real estate opportunities.

Here we start to see how a remediation landscape that connects to 'natural forces', and forms; tidal flows, the atoll, and water remediation techniques, can be used to form a new kind of waterfront, and answers contemporary real estates concerns, the restoration of the old city, the provision of luxury villas. The project addresses environmental concerns by recognising the larger landscape, harnessing those conditions to form a new landscape, one simultaneously of consumption and remediation.

## CONCLUSION

By refocusing our view of the contemporary waterfront through the lens of the landscape we are able to address many of the issues that other models of waterfront development find structurally difficult to encompass. The landscape, an open field upon which larger forces; social, cultural, economic, and environmental play out, offers a way for the contemporary designer to fold these larger issues into the pragmatics of waterfront development.

## REFERENCES

- ARM. Retrieved from [http://www.a-r-m.com.au/projects\\_MelbDocklands.html](http://www.a-r-m.com.au/projects_MelbDocklands.html)
- Brooklyn Bridge Park. Retrieved from <http://www.brooklynbridgepark.org/>
- Canary Wharf. Retrieved from [http://www.som.com/content.cfm/canary\\_wharf](http://www.som.com/content.cfm/canary_wharf)
- Dovey, Kim. (2005). *Fluid City: Transforming Melbourne's Urban Waterfront*. Routledge, London, UK.
- EMBT. Retrieved from [http://www.mirallestagliabue.com/project\\_video.asp?id=67&idv=680](http://www.mirallestagliabue.com/project_video.asp?id=67&idv=680)
- Emerald Necklace. Retrieved from <http://www.cityofboston.gov/parks/emerald/>
- ETNCOM. (2005). *Waterfront spectacular: creating Melbourne Docklands: the people's waterfront*. Roseville, NSW. Australia.
- Gastil, Raymond W. (2002). *Beyond the Edge: New York's New Waterfront*. Princeton Architectural Press, NY NY, USA.
- HafenCity Master plan. Retrieved from <http://www.hafencity.com/en/glossary-i-m/masterplan.html>
- Jeddah master plan. Retrieved from <http://www.metacafe.com/watch/bg-131985/jeddah/>
- London Dockland. Retrieved from <http://www.lddc-history.org.uk/>
- Michael van Valkenburgh. Retrieved from <http://www.mvvainc.com/>

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

Melbourne Docklands. Retrieved from <http://www.docklands.com/cs/Satellite?c=VPage&cid=1179455173298&pagename=Docklands%2FLayout>

Meyer, Han, (1999). City and Port: urban planning as a cultural venture in London, Barcelona, New York and Rotterdam: changing relations between public urban space and large-scale infrastructure. International Books, Utrecht, The Netherlands.

OMA. Retrieved from [http://www.oma.eu/index.php?option=com\\_projects&view=project&id=763&Itemid=10](http://www.oma.eu/index.php?option=com_projects&view=project&id=763&Itemid=10)

Rush Wright. Retrieved from <http://www.rushwright.com/rwa/rwa.html>

Stiftung, Montag. and Raume, Urban. (2008) Riverscapes: Designing Urban Embankments. Birkhäuser Architecture, Munich, FRG.

Wall Alex. (1999). 'Programming the Urban Surface'. Recovering Landscapes. Princeton Architectural Press, NY, NY, USA.

Williams, Stephanie. (1993). Docklands. Phaidon Press, London, UK.



## NEW DRAWINGS FOR THE URBANISM SECURITY AND DIVERSITY IN URBAN PUBLIC SPACES IN PORTUGAL

**Carla Pinto da SILVA**, *PhD Student*  
Technical University of Lisbon, Portugal  
carlavaleria@netcabo.pt

**Tânia Beisl RAMOS**, *Researcher*  
Technical University of Lisbon, Portugal  
taniaramos@fa.utl.pt

### **ABSTRACT**

*In a holistic approach, urban design aims a good structure of the built environment and believes in the issues of theory and crime prevention.*

*The current urbanism is not oriented to diversity. There are countless examples of urban ghettos, through spatial segregation, strengthening cultural prejudices and reinforcing racism and xenophobia.*

*The ostensive police vigilance is one of the measures adopted, but it has been confirmed as an inadequate solution. The model only reinforces the system - violence and crimes -, producing an aggressive environment and, in turn, increasing the costs of security. The theme is often referred in the media. Without no assurance or determinism, but knowing that the relationship between physical form and social practices has mutual influence, it can be possible to minimize any negative impact the security of urban space. The answer is to act on the previous time forcing the proactive action, using the preliminary draft in order to minimize any negative impact of insecurity in urban areas. Being continuous in time, these strategies can reduce the rate of crime and fear.*

*By the other hand, a large number of studies have shown that certain types of crime, and the fear or feeling of insecurity induced by them, can be reduced throughout the improvement of urbanistic and architectural plans in the maintenance of the built environment. The relevance of the theme of urban security has increased including Portugal.*

*The paper aims to identify urban areas from the perspective of urban safety in Portugal and contribute to the knowledge of the binomials: physical and social diversity/urban safety and spatial segregation. The article focuses in two case studies in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area: (a) a critical neighborhood in 'Almada', and (b) a Leisure Centre/Camping in 'Costa da Caparica'.*

*The analytical form consists in an approach that combines safety, diversity and urban design. Considering that urban space is transformed over time and is characterized by the evolution of morphological and functional form, the study intends to analyze the physical configuration and the metric present on scale of urban design.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

The urban safety has attracted the attention of the world, and Portugal is no exception. The country has increasing rates of crime, but on the one hand, has sought answers for fighting the problem, supported by studies that explore the relationship between the urban morphology and the use of the space. To seek this purpose the study combines

the theory and the effective prevention of crime. The start point consists in knowing that the insecurity generated by an urban area has a double sense: the vulnerability of the victim and the possibility for the offender.

## **URBAN SPACE, VOLUMETRY AND SOCIAL PRACTICES**

To associate the design of public spaces with urban safety means to examine the physical shape of the city, resulting from the relationship between urban planning and architectural volumetry. If this analysis also includes the social practices of different groups of people, we'll search for the importance that urban safety assumes, in the use of these spaces.

On the one hand, a large number of experiments have shown that certain types of crime, the fear induced by them or the feeling of insecurity, can be reduced through better urban design or by maintaining built environment (COELHO, 2007). In the other hand, with a social diversity, the spaces do not allow or encourage the coexistence of people (STÜRTZE, 2005). In fact, the current planning is not oriented to diversity. There are several examples of urban ghettos where cultural prejudices, racism and xenophobia are reinforced through spatial segregation. The ostensive police patrolling is one of the measures taken to solve crimes problems, but it has been confirmed as unsuitable solution.

Despite this emphasis in linking physical form and social practices, it cannot be said that there are guarantees or determinisms on trying minimize the negative effect of the security of urban space. The analysis of the issue shows that acting on the previous moment (in the project), can be a solution.

But in the most cases, environments that are already built and inhabited require interventions. How to combat the crimes problems in these cases? The working method consists on redesign proposals supported by urban design, looking for special strategies to encourage the social diversity and reduce crime rate and fear.

## **URBAN SECURITY AND DIVERSITY**

This paper consists in an analytical approach that associates design responses, pointing out public spaces. First of all, the space studied must establish connections with the adjacent neighborhoods. These 'links' must be attractive to invite people, "clearly providing a hierarchy of spaces from public spaces open to everyone, to semiprivate spaces intended for specific geographical and demographic groups, and to private spaces intended for individuals dwellings" (MARCUS and SARKISSIAN, 1986). Second, it is not enough to provide urban spaces and assume that residents and visitors will use them appropriately. This concept of territoriality is not only a physical barrier but also a psychological one. In this way, the design solution is not a certainty, but a guideline that will encourage the articulation between the various groups that use the city.

The cities host a significant proportion of population and improve competitiveness, including the immigrants. It is necessary to fight for factors that encourage respect for diversity, knowing that social diversity is based on three realities: (a) the unique nature of each individual; (b) the interdependence of individuals and societies that integrate and; (c) the dynamics of each society, each culture, *i.e.*, the changes can be fast or

gradual, but will always affect different members of society, reflecting the differences in terms of status.

It is crucial that the urban design be the link between social justice, mobility, growth of population and immigration. To answer problems of security and diversity in public spaces it is necessary to start solving the small problems, specific actions addressed step by step, whose solution strategies clearly show how we think and produce a pleasure city? One approach is "... to discover special moments in the life of a city, to see that each city can be better." (LERNER, 2003).

## URBAN DESIGN AND CRIME

The urban design organizes the urban form through the arrangement of morphologic elements of space. It is possible to know the space by the way these elements are sequentially structured. (PRINZ, 1984; KOHLSDORF, 1986; LAMAS, 1993).

To identify the morphologic elements of space means to know their 'parts'. In the scale of urban design, and in the cases studied in this paper, the design process involves: (a) the topography of the pavement; (b) the buildings which different typologies allow to organize different spaces recognized in the territory, such as large buildings and small houses; (c) the 'plot' relates how a building is related to the pavement. It indicates the percentage of construction; (d) the block indicates the assemble of buildings; (e) the facade (colors and materials); (f) the streets, considering the way they connect others parts of space; (g) squares when intentionally designed; (h) spaces remains that are not intentionally designed; (i) the trees and the planting, enclosing streets or indicating the routes; (j) urban furniture, considering the lighting, seats, garbage boxes, traffic signals, transport protection of 'bus stop', etc. The proposed analyze focuses on functional and morphological evolution of these spaces, based on the physical configuration and the metric/proportion (KRÜGER and TURKIENICZ, 1986).

A study relating crime, modern neighborhood planning and housing design was developed (RAMOS, 1997). The proposal aimed to know how the modern neighborhood in Lisbon organizes the spaces looking for patterns of relationship between urban design and crime. It concluded that the crimes in these modern neighborhoods occurred in streets with movement, *i.e.*, where the most number of people choose for walking. Otherwise, the cars robbers occurred in streets used by youth and placed far away from the movement.

## TWO URBAN SPACES IN ANALYSIS IN PORTUGAL

The paper identifies two case studies located in Portugal: the Leisure Centre with Camping in *Costa de Caparica* and the Neighborhood of *Alto da Cova da Moura*. Both cases are situated in Lisbon Metropolitan Area (Figures 1 and 2). Despite the different social and physical characteristics, both examples have the same concerning: the urban safety. The first one is a public association – Inatel (1935) -, focused to social tourism, cultural and sports activities to the elder people. The second case is an informal urban agglomeration originates in the 1974' Revolution in Portugal, and has an insufficient capacity for social cohesion and existence of marginality. The two cases constitute relevant areas to be analyzed and redesigned looking for a better conditions of safety use.



Figure 1: Map of Portugal  
 Source: [http://europa.eu/abc/europeanountries/eu\\_members/portugal/index\\_pt.htm](http://europa.eu/abc/europeanountries/eu_members/portugal/index_pt.htm)



Figure 2: Lisbon Metropolitan Area  
 Source: <http://www.crn-lisboa.pt>

### LEISURE CENTRE WITH CAMPING IN COSTA DE CAPARICA

The Town of *Costa de Caparica* is a coast city in the Municipality of *Almada* (Figures 3 and 4). It is a tourist location with Atlantic beaches in the full length of the western limits. The small urban centre was elevated to town in 1985, and in 2005 the city occupies an area of 10.7 square kilometers, with 11,708 inhabitants, 7,3% of the municipality.

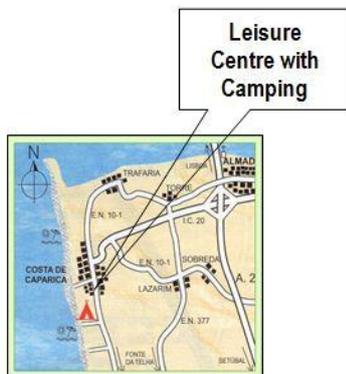


Figure 3: Costa de Caparica/Leisure Centre/Camping  
 Source: [www.inatel.pt](http://www.inatel.pt)



Figure 4: Costa de Caparica/Leisure Centre/Camping  
 Source: Google Earth

Is the town with the largest number of migrant population, 7.800 inhabitants, and a floating population in the summer months. The town receives 35.000 visitors, in average during the summer. The Inatel Leisure Centre is located around 10 km from Almada in the south bank of the *Tejo* River. It has good quality of leisure infrastructure and

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

equipment for business. The evaluation focused on the influence of physical and morphological organization of leisure facilities in the security of the users (Figure 5). In this context it was given greater importance in the solutions to prevent intrusion, aggression or theft (PINTO DA SILVA, 2010).

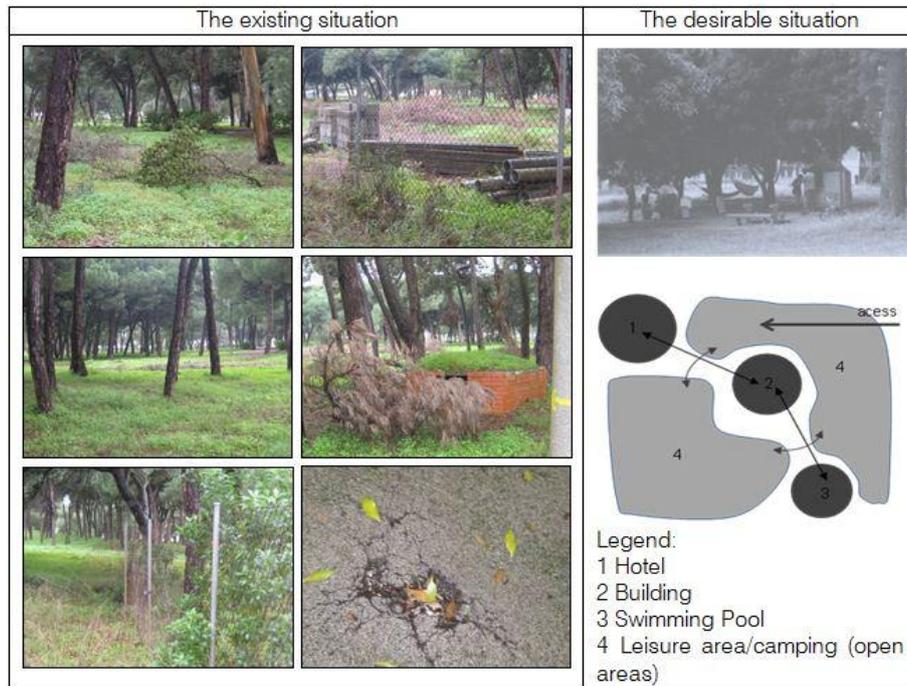


Figure 5: Images of Leisure Centre and Camping of INATEL - The existing situation: neglected areas  
 Source: Carla Pinto da Silva; The desirable situation: maintenance of equipment of leisure and routes connections linking open areas/buildings/swimming pool.

The evaluation results indicated the following Action Points (Table 1).

**NEIGHBORHOOD ALTO DA COVA DA MOURA**

The Neighborhood Alto da Cova da Moura, (Cova da Moura), is an illegal urban agglomeration, situated in the Municipality of Amadora (Lisbon Metropolitan Area). It has, nowadays, more than 6.500 inhabitants. It was one of the first city to be built in Portugal after the Revolution of 25th April, 1974. It is considered a youthful neighborhood: 50% of the population is under than 20 years old (CÂMARA MUNICIPAL DA AMADORA, 2006).

## Action points: Inatel Leisure Centre - Costa da Caparica

1. Maintenance of the built environment such as: painting buildings and walls, replacing broken tiles, broken windows, and fences in the pedestrian routes;
2. Public lighting adequate;
3. Sgnage should be standardized;
4. Parking well defined both, in terms of number of places and in terms of areas of pedestrian crossing;
5. Physical barriers should be distinguished clearly - systems of access, footpaths and roads;
6. Vegetation must be adequate to different uses. And garbage points must be present;
7. Ambiguous spaces (suitable to more than one type of utilization), should have a clear identification as well as the hours of function;
8. Spaces suitable for children should have a clear indication of appropriate ages and hours of function. The equipment should be in good condition;
9. Trees and gardens that provide excessively privacy should be subject of study of security;
10. Delimited spaces for gardens can be a factor for inclusion, to the extent that there is a lower incidence of graffiti and vandalism;
11. Elements that are not part of the built environment, causing visual confusion, should be removed, such as the remnants of unfinished works.

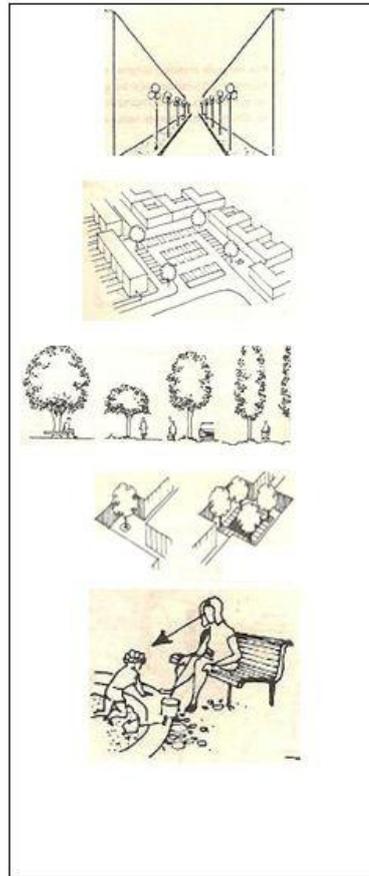


Table 1: Action points and examples of how to create a urban design that increase the security  
Source of images: Prinz (1980).

Cova da Moura owes its growth to a privileged location and accessibility, very close to the capital, Lisbon. The area is served by three major highways (IC19, CREL and CRIL) and the suburban train infrastructure of Sintra. The inhabitants majority are Africans: 75% are Cape Verdeans, the others are Guinean, Angolan and Portugueses still coming from the north and center of the country, and in recent years, workers from Eastern countries (MALHEIROS, 2006). The majority of the male labor force works in civil construction (44.5%), and women work mainly in domestic service. The aerial image of Cova da Moura urban fabric allows us to understand the natural slope (Figures 6 and 7), which defines a particularly steep hill on the North side and lower situation in other points (SPINDLER, 1981).



Figure 6: Aerial Image - Cova da Moura 2003  
Source: Câmara Municipal da Amadora DAU-SIG



Figure 7: Aerial Image - Cova da Moura 2003  
Source: Google Earth

It is today one of the most troubled area of Lisbon Metropolitan Area, not only for dwellings already illegal (Figure 8), but due to high population density, about 306 inhabitants per hectare.

The existing situation



The desirable situation

Recover the morphologic elements of urban design (street, square, building, etc); care the lighting, the pedestrian routes, gardens, youth leisure spaces

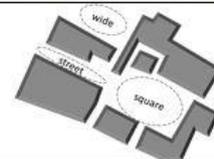


Figure 8: Recent Images of 'Cova da Moura' Neighborhood - The existing situation: abandoned areas.

Source: Aurélio Nogueira; The desirable situation: urban design that recovers the morphologic elements of built environment (street, square, etc).

The evaluation has showed the following problems (Table 2).

Table 2: Identifying problems and morphologic elements of urban areas that require actions.

Problems identified: Cova da Moura Neighborhood	
1.	Urban infrastructure, social facilities, sports areas and green spaces;
2.	Existence of serious deficiencies in existing buildings regarding to stability and robustness;
3.	The vandalism and sale of illegal drugs is a constant worry that increases the isolation;
4.	High spatial density promotes the spread of social pathologies;
5.	Degree of closure related to the ability to run away from an area, where the surfaces (walls) are too close, is increased by poor or nonexistent public lighting;
6.	Public areas have mixed use without worrying about limits to the private use;
7.	The color or lack thereof, influences the design of spaces;
8.	The streets of the neighborhood do not have sidewalks. It is necessary care the maintenance, lighting, clear signage, promoting the use of urban space through accessibility with movements of connectivity and permeability.

Representation of methods of study

## NEW DRAWINGS FOR THE URBANISM IN PORTUGAL. A COMPARATIVE SYNTHESIS

Two case studies were presented in this paper. Both indicated serious problems of safety according to different functional programs: *leisure area* and *housing neighborhood*. The morphologies of the interventions are different. In the first, the topographical situation assumes an important element. The local edges are delimited. The tourism installations, the swimming pool and the hotel building are surrounded by a large green planted area. This 'green' area has huge dimensions, and occupies about 75% of total area. This larger space can facilitate different sorts of activities used by camping and daily visitors. It is the first intervention area. The place is also the reason for crimes complains: robbers. The suggestions to improve this area are presented based on new projects: walking and cycling routes, play areas, sports facilities, barbecues, resting area, children's playgrounds areas, etc. Spaces for recreation should be placed on the border of the neighborhood so they can be used by people outside the neighborhood, fostering interaction. The importance of urban design to avoid the possibility of crime and the social improvement is presented by these measures. The second case, Cova da Moura Neighbourhood, is characterized by grouped housing blocks, structuring informally designed streets. There is a deep lack of

everything (Table 3). The main action is to identify morphological elements of space that can be pointed out as references in the local area. Another action consists in regenerating the areas with bad conditions to sports and play areas to youth and to children, the majority of the population. These case studies show that certain types of crime or the fear induced can be reduced, by improving the urban design, or the maintenance of the built environment (COLQUHOUN, 2004; CROWE, 1991). Existence of sanitary infrastructures, education, health, housing, leisure activities, physical environment, including local jobs are the measure of welfare of the citizens. Safety is included too and has attracted the attention of the people by all the world, Portugal included.

Table 3: Comparative Synthesis

	Leisure Centre/Camping (Inatel) <i>Costa de Caparica</i>	Neighborhood of <i>Cova da Moura</i>
<b>Maintenance of Public Spaces</b>	Incipient	Absent
<b>Parking</b>	Without Distinction	Absent
<b>Signaling</b>	Absent	Absent
<b>Streets</b>	No Maintenance	Absent
<b>Physical Barriers</b>	Absent	Absent
<b>Afforestation</b>	No Maintenance	Absent
<b>Green Area</b>	Without Distinction	Absent
<b>Children's Playground</b>	Absent	Absent
<b>Infrastructure</b>	Existing	Incipient

## REFERENCES

- Câmara Municipal da Amadora (2006) *Diagnóstico para intervenção Sócio-Temporal. Operação Cova da Moura*. Iniciativa Bairros Críticos, Lisbon.
- Coelho, A.B. (2007) "Cities Desired and Safe (I): the housing problem became the problem of the city". Article published in the Journal *Infohabitar* Group Inhabiting, Lisbon. Portugal.
- Colquhoun, I. (2004) *Design Out Crime. Creating Safe and Sustainable Communities*. Architectural Press, Elsevier.
- Crowe, T.D. (1991) *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design: Applications of Architectural Design and Space Management Concepts*. Butterworth-Heinemann, Boston.
- KOHLSDORF, M. E. (1986) *Manual de Técnicas de Apreensão do Espaço Urbano*. University of Brasília, Textos Universitários, PROED.
- Krüger, M. and TURKIENICZ, B. (1986) *Medição da continuidade espacial urbana* in Anais do II SEDUR – 'Seminário sobre Desenho Urbano no Brasil' University of Brasília, Brasília, pp. 141-152.
- Lamas, J. R. G. (1993) *Morfologia Urbana e Desenho da Cidade*. Textos Universitários de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Edição da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian e Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica e Tecnológica, Lisbon.
- Lerner, J., (2003) *Acupuncture Urban*, Publishing House, Record. Curitiba, Brazil.

- Malheiros, J. et al. (2006) *Diagnostic Report: Synthesis and Characterization of Bairro Alto da Cova da Moura*, GAT Cova da Moura (policopiado), Amadora, Portugal.
- Marcus, C. and SARKISSIAN, W. (1986) in *Housing as if people mattered. Site Design guidelines for medium-density family housing*. University of California Press, USA.
- Pinto da Silva, C. V. (2010) Relatório sobre Segurança para o Centro de Férias da INATEL, da Costa da Caparica, Lisbon.
- Prinz, D. (1984) *Urbanismo II. Configuração Urbana*. Portuguese Edition, Lisbon. Original Edition, Städtebau, Band 2: Städtebauliches Gestalten (1980) Germany.
- Ramos, T.L.B. (1997) *Planeamento e Morfologia dos Espaços Urbanos dos Bairros de Olivais e Telheiras: Organização Espacial e Configuração Física*. Master Dissertation in Urban and Regional Planning. Technical University of Lisbon.
- Spindler, K. (1981) *Cova da Moura*. Von Zabern, France.
- Stürtze, A. (2005) '*Urbanism and Violence*'. Article published by Daily Gara Basque. November 13, San Sebastián.

## THE RESEARCH ON THE “GUARD TOWN” SETTLEMENT PATTERN OF THE COASTAL DEFENSE TOWNS SYSTEM IN MING DYNASTY - A CASE STUDY OF PU GUARD TOWN, ZHEJIANG PROVINCE, CHINA

Luo YINAN, *MA. Student*  
Zhejiang University, China  
luoyinan19840721@163.com

Ning GAO, *PhD. Student*  
Zhejiang University, China  
tintin1980@126.com

Chen HUA, *Prof.*  
Zhejiang University, China  
huachen1212@zju.edu.cn

Ge DANDOG, *Zhejiang University, China*

### ABSTRACT

*The coastal defense towns system in Ming Dynasty is in accordance with the system of “Guard town”—a special military system created in Ming Dynasty, the main feature of which is “keeping the families together, and making soldiers as people”. Also “Guard town” has become a distinctive of the geographical units, forming a kind of particular type of settlement, with blending functions of defense, residence and farming. In this paper, Pu Guard Town is taken as a case study. Pu Guard Town is the main town in Puzhang Guard Towns system, which is the existing relatively complete system located in China’s southeast coastline. The research tries to demonstrate the layout characteristics of “Guard town” settlement patterns based on military capabilities and the creation of daily life environment. The research is conducted on two spacial dimensions, the external morphological features and the internal morphological features of Pu Guard Town settlement. As to the external dimension, the research is about the choose of town location, form and scales, composition of external facilities, and the spatial layout relationship between various type of Guard Towns around. The paper mainly focuses on the internal morphological features of Pu Guard Town. On one hand, under the influence of the “Guard town” system, we research about the characteristics on formation of interior space, composition of the castle structure, configuration of function facilities, pattern expression and composition of spatial elements (eg. town walls, streets, squares, buildings, etc). At the same time, the migration and multi-culture integrations brought by the “Guard town” system have formed the unique local culture, which has a significant impact to the forming and changing of settlement patterns. On the other hand, with the historical changes, the original military and political functions have declined. The adjustment of demographic composition and emergences of more secular buildings also have a great impact on the changes of the internal morphologic pattern in Pu Guard Town. Tracing the origin, with the analysis of Pu Guard Town settlement pattern, there is a preliminary analysis on the unique achievements of “Guard town”, which appeared in ancient Chinese towns under a special form of military organization. These achievements include the historical evolution of “Guard town”, settlement planning, living environment composition, construction technology and art, as well as regional folk culture. Meanwhile, on this basis, with the changing circumstances of the history and regime, a new town*

*develops based on the ancient pattern of Pu Guard Town. In the face of the multi-issues such as the conversion of urban functions, the expansion of spatial scale, as well as the protection and continuation of historical and cultural heritage, we will be able to form an effective planning-oriented and measures to solve these issues for Pu Guard Town.*

## INTRODUCTION

Puzhang Guard Towns coastal defense towns system, the preservation of Ming Dynasty facilities system, is composed of two center Guard Towns, two castles, two strongholds, three patrol agencies and 18 radiative distributed beacon towers, this infrastructure system is of high values with its complete structure and wide spread in Southern coastal areas, and it provides great detailed material and historical evidence for the study of the system of "Guard town" in Ming Dynasty. Pu Guard Town, as the center of the invasions facilities system, is a special settlement pattern based on the military function as well as daily living function.<sup>1</sup>



Figure 1 Satellite image of Pu guard town

## MOTIVATIONS OF SETTLEMENT PATTERN GENERATED

### The System Formation

In order to fight against Japanese pirates, Chu Yuan-chang, the first emperor of Ming Dynasty, accepted Liu Ji's proposal and founded the "Military Law"— set up Guard Towns in transport hubs and important satellite towns, thousand household bureaus of defense in small islands and isolated gateways; hundred household bureaus of defense in strategic pass with narrow space that have limited soldiers' capacity.

The coastal town as a military hub, the formation of which is to consider the main military supplies first, defining "keeping the families together, and making soldiers as

<sup>1</sup>Zhejiang University Urban Planning Institute, (2010) Important heritage site under state protection Puzhuang Guard Town Conservation Planning

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

people " as the main feature of the military system, so it not only has the characteristics of ancient military defensive cities ,but also has the property of new immigrants castle. In face of frequent attacks by sea pirates, the Guard Town should have strong military deterrent effects, therefore, its scale, materials, and the proportion of the visual all highlight upright majesty and sacred momentum. Meanwhile, the ancient fortified city hierarchy was reflected in its arrangement: the axis of symmetry, foursquare city, internal main Street of cross, street network in a grid of breakdown step by step, then located temples, government offices, libraries and other public men constructions in intersection of the grid layout. <sup>2</sup>

Considering the need of farming and arranging living facilities, the urban plan of the coastal defense towns of Ming Dynasty created various settlement patterns , Guard Town has thus become a distinctive geographical unit, a special settlement type which involves the functions of Apartments defense, residential and Farming

In the early Ming Dynasty, Pumen thousand household bureaus of defense was set up when the Jinxiang Guard towns were set up at the same time, built by Lord Tang He at AD 1384, and completed in three years, which has " 14 thousand household bureaus of defense officials, 1232 soldiers. "<sup>3</sup>



Figure 2 Intangible cultural heritage in Pu guard town

### Cultural Influence

Because of the implementation on hereditary military system, its resident location rarely changes, and it has close connection with the locality. " Keeping the families together "is one of the main features of Guard Town, so every set of a Guard Town or 1000 families was bound to bring some immigrants because of military reasons. The number of those immigrants was large, and they live in the surrounding of Guard Town.generally they do not intermarry with the local residents, so it strengthened the living atmosphere in the city and maintained a strong culture sergeants, residents gradually generated the family tradition of military service, then a number of generals' magnificent mansions were brought out besides the Government Office, barracks,

<sup>2</sup>Ling Yilin and Li Wei,(2007) "A study on pattern expression for Ming Dynasty coastal defense town in south of the Five Ridges," *Shanxi Architecture* 33, 30, 46-47

<sup>3</sup>Cangnan County Records Office, (2007) *Cangnan County Records*

houses and temples. " Making soldiers as people " policy combined the foreign culture of the Central Plains, the nomadic culture and the culture of Fujian , finally a new regional culture was generated.<sup>4</sup>

These features of Guard Town make it firmly attached to the located land. These relatively independent and centralized social groups, which had different cultural backgrounds with the local, ensure the cultural features of Guard Town could be preserved in a long time.

## EXTERNAL SPACE FORM

### The site layout

Pumen area is of mountainous and hilly terrain, as having various changing terrain and small plain, in the region there are some peaks such as the major Heding Mountain (elevation 990.0M), Ming Mountain (also known as Beacon Hill, elevation 846.0M), Hezhang Rock (elevation 717.0M) and so on. Southeast coastline varies with multi bays, and the Pu Bay is the largest gulf among them.

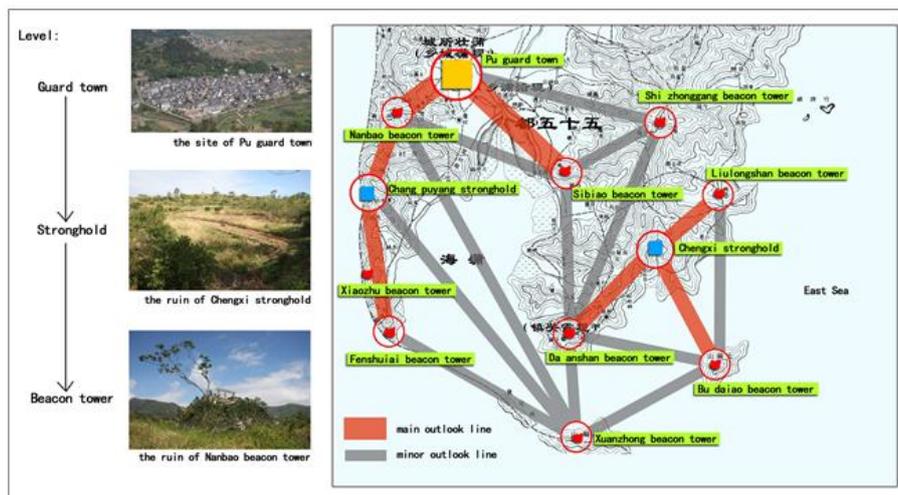


Figure 3 External facilities distribution of Pu Guard Town

According to the military theory above, Pu Guard Town is in the appropriate level of terrain, geography, and its natural environment is unique as in front of coastal waters, which provides bright, favorable sight to observe the enemy at sea, and easy to liaise with other fortress, control the enemy, as well as convenience for transportation of supplies and fishermen's operations at sea. Outside the Pu Guard Town, there are continuous mountains, which make it a place of dragons and tigers, as well as a good place for station and practice, where it is free to fight or to guard, so this area has been relatively calm. This showed the rich war strategist's familiarity with the geographical

<sup>4</sup>Guo hong, (2003) "Ming Dynasty guard towns immigration and regional culture change," *Collections of Essays on Chinese Historical Geography* 18, 6, 150-155.

environment, experience and strategic vision ,so could achieve the purpose of "set to keep its solid risk" .

According to the description of the geomancy theory, Pu Guard Town ,strongly fits yin yang of the Dragon Cave, North backing mountain and south near water, surrounded by mountains and rivers.So it is thought to be a auspicious place.

**The composition of external facilities**

According to mention of Record of Pingyang County during the Republic of China: "Puzhang Guard Towns: Changpuyang Stronghold, Chengxi Stronghold, Xiaozhu Watchtower (can be a stream of Jiangnan Town, etc.), Xuanzhong Beacon tower, Sibiao Beacon tower, Nanbao Beacon tower, Fenshuiai Beacon tower ", combing outlook lines and regional integration divisions, Pucheng settlement had the jurisdictions of the Nanbao Beacon tower, Xiaozhu Watchtower, Daanshan Beacon tower, Sibiao Beacon tower, Xuanzhong Beacon tower, Budaiao Beacon tower, Liulongshan Beacon tower, Shizhonggang Beacon tower, Fenshuiai Beacon tower to form a three-dimensional military view corridor and space as the domain of defense system.

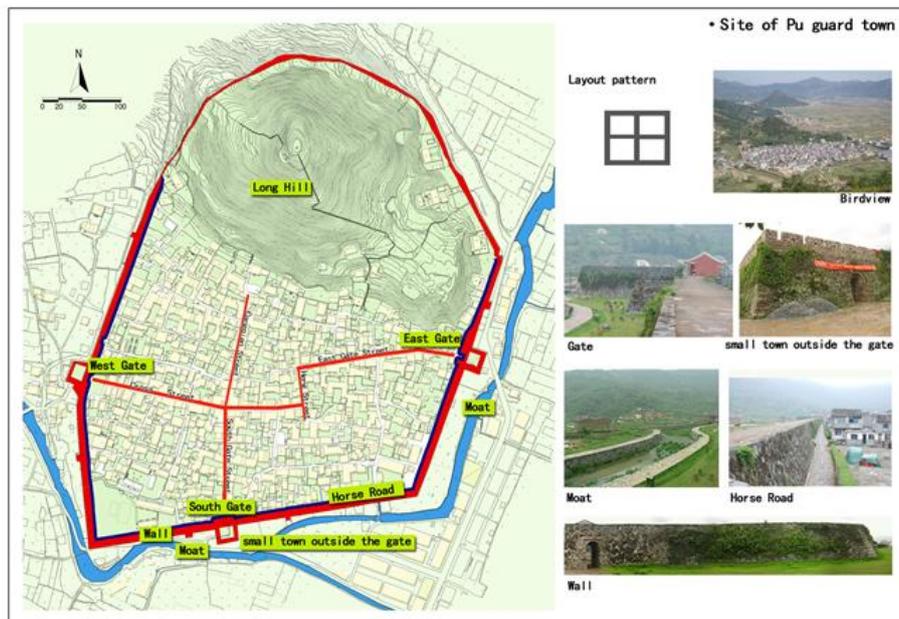


Figure 4 Layout Shape of Pu Guard Town

**External contour form**

As the center of Puzhuang Guard Towns invasions in the facility system, the external facilities of Pu Guard Town is composed in "wall + moat + gate + barbican" defense mode.

The scale of Pu Guard Town'wall is "five li and thirty steps of circumference, fifteen feet high, twelve feet wide in wall base, three gates, six hundred and ten stacks, six enemy

units, twenty two barracks." The extant Pu Guard Town is irregular rectangle, long in south to north, short in east to west, except the north wall building back against on to the Long Hill's trend, the other three sides are in flat ground, surrounded by a moat in a considerable size. The other three sides of the wall are preserved intact while the north side is serious damaged, up to 1800 meters. Walls made with concrete and pounding, irregular stones pack inside and outside in puzzle of junction, the profile was trapezoidal, as the width of bottom is 6.5 meters, top 5 meters, and 5.3 meters high.

The north wall of Pu Guard Town is built back upon the mountain, so it is no need to set up a gate outside the city, the others directions are all equipped with Protection Gates, they are Weiyuan Gate, Zhengyang Gate, and Yixian Gate. The gates were built with a tower on the top, those Towers and Gates are similar in shape and size, such as these towers are three-bay hard roof style wooden buildings, and the gate and Protection Gate are all built with regular bluestone and strip stone arch, but the door opens towards different directions, as their central axis's are at right angle, barbicans are set between them, and outside each Protection Gate there is an enemy unit, and in the east, south and west outside the city moat and suspension bridge exist.

The town Horse Road is set inside walls of the Guard Town, at the same time when the city was set in two years of Hong Wu (1387), which is right beside the east, south and west walls, as the important transportation and military installations in Po Zhuang, also the main road for garrison officers and men of the city to come and go in the gates, towers, enemy units, the barbicans. The surface of the road is paved with pebbles and stones, which make it smooth with 2-4 meters wide every period. They are preserved rather well maintaining the Ming pattern.

## INTERNAL SPACE FORM

### Militarization Facilities

The remains of the militarization buildings in Pu Guard Town have been damaged. Once as a military settlement, it has the indispensable buildings and facilities in Pu Guard Town such as: military institutions, such as thousand household bureaus of defense in the northeast region; military ancillary facilities, such as military supplies warehouse and barracks room in the southwest region, grain depot in the north region; also temples, ancestral halls and other public buildings. The temples account for the greatest number, which are so common in the Guard Town as Town Gods Temple, Yangong temple, Matsu temple and other representatives of different faiths all around the city, reflecting a eclectic, lively, unique picture of life and folk culture with the demographic composition of complex non-commissioned officers and soldiers castle faith god.

Military constructions are generally at a significant location, such as inside the gate, in the intersection of the main street and so on. They are usually facing the south, with a large and exquisite figure, which impact the city space form.

### The Street Pattern

Pu Guard Town street layout takes the Cross Street as the center, basically around the "田" shaped design of the distribution. North to the south foot of Long Hill, the Town Gods Temple is before this axis, extending south to the South Gate of the wall as North-south Straight Street, then take a public well in the centre as dividing line to extend to

the East and West Gate forming the East-west Straight Street, the region of the two streets intersected calls Cross Street. Gates of East, South and West through the gate Straight Street, barbican, retaining gate, extend to the outside of the city. The center of the Cross Street remains the cornerstone, marking the beginning of the construction of Pu Guard Town in Ming Dynasty. In addition to the Guard Town back from the hillside, the other three sides are set in Horse Road, around the walls inside, the other lanes in the city neighborhood settings are "田" type box which divided space into four regions again. Inside the Guard Town, East Gate, South Gate, West Gate, Cangqian, Cross, Heng streets and Faxiang (formerly Wachang Lane), Tiexieju, Shecang, so many of the Lane, and the ring road connect the circle road, crossing and extending in all directions, providing a defense facilities for the military, even when the case was lost, or to lure the enemy to depth, the scope for maneuver in the street fighting, attacks from both inside and outside could easily be taken in surprise.

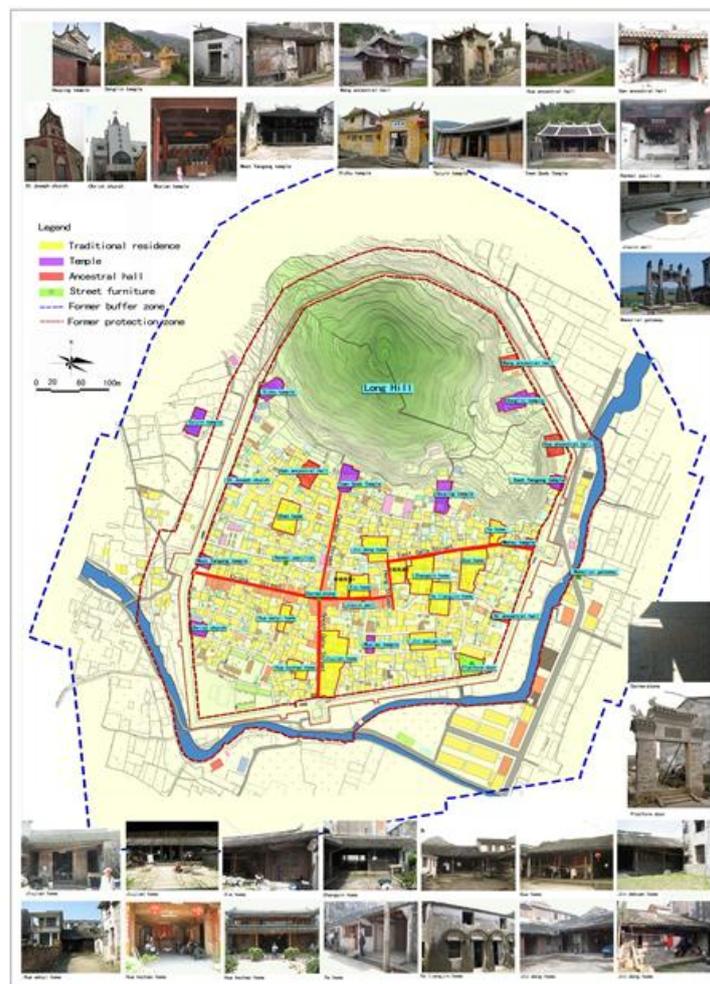


Figure 5 The street pattern and main architecture distribution of Pu guard town

Internal neighborhood space of Pu Guard Town is strict symmetry, and only in front of the temples, ancestral halls, thousand household bureaus of defense and other public buildings, it breaks the layout to locate the square grid there. Main Street and Square form the landscape visual axis, while the viewer goes into the open area he would have different points of view, dynamically expressing the landscape series of castle residents' communication space.

### **Residence**

Architectural features are always formed under the influence and domination of a certain natural and social conditions. Pu Guard Town preserves a large number of residential buildings built in the period of Qing Dynasty, basically rebuilt after the border restoration in the 20th year of Qing Emperor Kangxi (AD 1684), old buildings stand one by one. There are more than 1,000 existing traditional houses since Qing Dynasty, which includes 18 blocks of residential construction of important heritage value. The economy, culture and population of Pu Guard Town developed to its peak in the period of Qing Emperor Guangxu (AD1736-1796), formed "Jin, Chen, Ye, Hua" four prominent families. Jin house locate in North-south Straight Street, Hua in west, east of the city is the Ye's and Chen's area. The residential architectural style still remains basically unchanged until now.

Pu Guard Town full account for building in the local natural environment conditions, also demonstrates the common characteristics of a coastal construction. For example, to prevent flood, with each retaining wall in front of all; to prevent typhoons, houses are built in comparatively low real, in relatively dense; to prevent sun, trails winding through quiet. Meanwhile, due to the limited area of the Guard Town, housing and furnished focus, compact, and even the general's official residence, which extend in double depths, bay width is small and the patio is only four water landing by a form of small roof space to meet the exclusive use in the rain. However, behind this common characteristic, we can see the different geographical and cultural city, folk characteristics of residential buildings. Pu Guard Town also preserves the origin to all corners of the sergeant who brought about by the unique local culture, a combination of folk culture as an important part of Fujian and Zhejiang culture. The language of the ancient city is also very unique, which is the "living fossil" for the study of ancient "military language".

### **Municipal Facilities**

Pu Guard Town also has a large number of wells and large open ditch through the inside and outside of the city, for drinking, washing, fire protection use of the people in the city.

Drainage ditch as an important channel for Pu Guard Town is set when the Guard Town built at the 20th years of Ming Emperor Hongwu (AD1387), the Guard Town formed the system with reasonable planning and compact layout. Drainage channel is divided into two parts: one are the drainage channels around the Guard Town, located between the inside of wall and Horse Road, run along the wall, flowing through the wall gates barbican into the moat from north to south; the other part are the street drainage channel in the side of street, run along the road flowing into the north-south main trunk roads which are known as the south gate and lamp Lane Street, and then flow into the south moat through the south gate and water gate of Earth Temple near lamp lane Street. The Guard Town drains are open ditches, the width of the main trunk is 1.5-

2.5m, 1.5m deep, general ones are 1-1.2m wide, or 0.5-0.8 m ,or 0.3-0.5 m, depth is 1m, or 0.5m, ditch sides are using stone to assemble, to the road surface using the stone puzzles.

There are totally about 72 wells, large or small, located in the residential buildings all around the Guard Town.



Figure 6 The well distribution and style in Pu guard town

## CONSERVATION PLANNING

With the analysis of Pu Guard Town settlement pattern, there is a preliminary analysis on the unique achievements of "Guard town", which appeared in ancient Chinese towns under a special form of military organization. These achievements include the historical evolution of "Guard town", settlement planning, living environment composition, construction technology and art, as well as regional folk culture. Meanwhile, on this basis, with the changing circumstances of the history and regime, the original military and political functions have declined. The adjustment of demographic composition and emergences of more secular buildings also have a great impact on the changes of the internal morphologic pattern in Pu Guard Town. In this cognitive basis, a new town develops based on the ancient pattern of Pu Guard Town, in the face of the multi-issues such as the conversion of urban functions, the expansion of spatial scale, as well as the protection and continuation of historical and cultural heritage, we will be able to form an effective planning-oriented and measures to solve these issues for Pu Guard Town.

### Protection-Oriented

Pu Guard Town settlement space is in a state of multicultural coexistent but as a unified whole. This multi-culture, various types of construction, and multi-historical patterns and

the maintain of population composition and density of living, form as necessary conditions for the diversity of Guard Town space.

Therefore, as one of the coast defence cities that defined as the precious historical and cultural resources in Fujian and Zhejiang, Pu Guard Town settlement requires protection and recovery of authenticity of the re-use. The planner should try to understand the specific meaning of city space and cultural background, organize specific elements of construction according to its own laws, and replace some of the original features to fit the industrial development of the Guard Town at the same time, making the spatial form develop in a sustainable way.

Table 1. Conservation measures for Pu guard town settlement

Type	Name	Conservation measures	
Main heritage (important heritage site under state protection)	Pu guard town	Heritage body (Wall, Moat, Horse road)	1. Conservation zone: Prohibit construction; Demolish unapproved and temporary buildings; Repair heritage site protectively; 2. Buffer zone: Control construction; Preserve, improve, reform and demolish buildings with the situation assessment; Control building height; 3. Horizon environment coordination zone: Control space horizon gallery and main viewpoints; Construction with local traditional style and craft; Control building height; 4. Rehabilitate environment 5. Reconstruct road in town with traditional material 6. Organize display track of heritage site;
		Heritage component (Historic district, Traditional architecture, Wall Street)	1. Renovation and restoration main Historic district; Add business service function; 2. plan protection and restoration scheme for traditional architecture and street furniture 3. Rehabilitate environment 4. Layout display areas in main traditional architecture;
Subordinate heritage (components of the facilities)	Stronghold	1. Conservation zone: Prohibit construction; 2. Buffer zone: Prohibit construction; Prohibit felling; 3. Horizon environment coordination zone: Control space horizon gallery and main viewpoints; Construction with local traditional style and craft; Control building height; 4. Rehabilitate environment 5. Organize display track of heritage site;	
	Beacon tower	1. Conservation zone: Prohibit construction; Repair heritage site protectively; 2. Buffer zone: Prohibit construction; Prohibit felling; 3. Horizon environment coordination zone: Control space horizon gallery and main viewpoints; 4. Rehabilitate environment	
Intangible Cultural Heritage	Dialect, Folklore, Manual skill, ...	1. Protect traditional dialect, cuisine culture and life custom extended; 2. Provide religionary and cultural stages; 3. Organize folk cultural organization;	

### Planning Measures

Pu Guard Town contains a wealth of heritage value, a reflection of China's Ming Dynasty military culture related to the military, Feng shui, literature, folk beliefs miscellaneous heritage. First of all, it needs government's support for a conservation plan, to clean-up history heritage systematically, and control construction sites, so that the principal heritage and surround cultural relics and traditional pattern could get the effective protection, regulation and utilization.

Characteristics of long-term military geography is more determined by its local comprehensive cultural, folklore and folk beliefs of important spiritual place, reflects the local flavor and customs of the residents still living with the residents to keep in close contact, is still deeply affected areas of traditional cultural activities and the lives of the villagers field awareness, and thus bred as Pu Guard Town regional characteristics and cultural, the protection of intangible cultural heritage and support the regional community and physical environment of Carrier, the protection of cultural diversity. The essence of the settlement is not in the external form, but in the internal life, only a settlement with life is the true "living" settlement.

Learn from successful cases of the protection of ancient cities at home and abroad to restore the settlement's clean look, create a good environment for investment and tourism, and increase awareness of Pu Guard Town and its history and culture of the coastal defense system in Ming Dynasty.

## REFERENCES

- Cangnan CountyRecords Office, (2007) Cangnan County Records
- Zhang Tingyu, (1974) A History of the Ming Dynasty
- Zhang Yuhuan, (2003) History of the Chinese city.
- ChinalCOMOS, (2002) Principlesforthe Conservationof Heritage Sitesin China
- Zhejiang University Urban Planning Institute, (2010) Important heritage site under state protection Puzhuang Guard Town Conservation Planning
- Guo hong, (2003) "Ming Dynasty guard towns immigration and regional culture change,"Collections of Essays on Chinese Historical Geography18, 6, 150-155.
- Ling Yilin and Li Wei,(2007) "A study on patternexpression forMing Dynasty coastal defense town in south of the Five Ridges," Shanxi Architecture33, 30, 46-47
- Guo hong, (2003) "Embodiment OF A Distinctive and UniqueGeographic Unit—Guard Town Records in Ming and Qing Dynasty,"Journal of Chinese Local Records 2, 80-84.



## THE RESEARCH ON THE SYSTEM OF COASTAL GUARD TOWNS IN MING DYNASTY - A CASE STUDY OF PUZHUANG GUARD TOWN, ZHEJIANG PROVINCE, CHINA

**Ning GAO**, *PhD. Student*  
Zhejiang University, China  
tintin1980@126.com

**Yinan LUO**, *MA. Student*  
Zhejiang University, China  
luoyinan19840721@163.com

**Ma QIAN**, *Associate Professor*  
Zhejiang University, China

**Chen HUA**, *Prof.*  
Zhejiang University, China  
huachen1212@zju.edu.cn

### **ABSTRACT**

*Puzhuang guard town built in Ming Dynasty is the existing fairly complete system of coastal defense towns in China's southeast coast. Actually, instead of a separate town, Puzhuang guard town is a set of great and spectacular coastal defense towns system. The study involved historical background, geographical location, structure and transformation of the special towns system, in which the structure of the system was the focus of the study.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

The most famous defense system in northern China is Great Wall, correspondingly, in southern China, coastal defense towns system was set up in order to prevent harassment from pirates. The military defense system based on coastal towns established by Ming Taizu Zhu Yuanzhang around 1380 is the first complete coastal defense towns system along the country's coastline in the history of China, in which, Puzhuang guard town which retained relatively complete structure and form is the existing fairly complete system of coastal defense towns in China's southeast coast. Actually, instead of a separate town, Puzhuang guard town is a set of great and spectacular coastal defense towns system which contains a number of fortresses, beacon towers and other facilities in the ground. The study involved historical background, geographical position, structure and transformation of the system.

### **BACKGROUND OF THE SYSTEM**

The process of coastal defense towns' construction and transformation not only had military significance but also involved household registration and immigration, taxes and state farming, religion and religious organizations, civil-military relations, trade and transport and so on.

Early Ming Dynasty (1368), the emperor built his capital in Nanjing in China's southeastern coastal area which was the Government's main sources of revenues. The invasion of pirates threatened to the security of Ming Dynasty's political and economic center, which made the government can not sit by. So the emperor decided to carry out large-scale coastal defense construction.

Ming government divided the coastal area into seven defense zones which covered the whole coastline of China. The fortification facilities of each defense zone were planned and built according to geographical location and terrain features. In which Fujian, Zhejiang were the key zones. Puzhuang guard town was under the jurisdiction of Zhejiang defense zone. The construction of coastal defense fortification facilities of Ming Dynasty matched the military system. Guard towns system was the most basic military organizational system in the early Ming. Usually there were several guard towns in one defense zone, about 5,600 sergeants in one guard town. And there were five thousand household bureaus of defense (about 1120 sergeants) and several hundred household bureaus of defense (about 112 sergeants) in one guard town. The total population of each guard town was about 56,000 including dependents. Guard town was the defensive stronghold and command center [1]. Shown in figure1 below.

"Sergeant" of guard towns was a fixed job, also a permanent organization system. Sergeant was hereditary, the whole sergeant family moved to the designated guard town and served for the army from generation to generation [2]. So the guard towns system provided the stable source of troops, and reserved forces in order to prepare assignment. Guard towns practiced state farming system. Sergeants and their families farmed and fed themselves by the land, seeds, cattle and other means of production got from State. The state farming system was actually a kind of form of state development, so the guard towns were not just purely military organizations, but the geographic units with military and cultural characteristic which had great influence to the development of regional culture [3]. These military immigrants and their descendants who came from the same place and lived together had significant impact on the local education and culture, customs, dialects, folk beliefs and so on. And their base became a unique cultural and geographical unit which was so different with other around regions. For example, the dialect of residents lived inside the wall of Pu guard town (locally known as the "inside town dialect") had great difference with the dialect of residents lived outside the walls of Po guard town (locally known as "outside town dialect") [4].

In the development process, due to geographic location, military system, national policy and other reasons, the guard towns usually became the local political, economic and cultural center, and promoted the rise of cities and towns. Most of these towns in the Ming and Qing dynasty had sustainable development, and became the basis for today's distribution of the local towns. Pu guard town, the core of Puzhuang guard town system, had been the center of the region before 1950. The guard towns had been maintained to the early Qing Dynasty, and then were changed and combined into counties by a large scale.

## GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF THE SYSTEM

Puzhuang guard town is located in Pu door region, Cangnan County, the southernmost coastal region Zhejiang Province. In Cangnan County, except the northern region is plain, the southern and western region are mountains, the eastern has winding

coastline with the length of 155km, harbors, marine outfalls. Sea transport is very developed. Pudoor region had been ancient military site from Tang Dynasty with advantageous terrain, which guarded the marine outfall, backed mountains. In about AD 860 (Tang Dynasty), Pudoor garrison was set up; in AD 1090 (Song Dynasty), Pudoor region was guarded by troops; in about AD 1387, the first Ming emperor began to construct guard tow system in this region [5]. Most towns in this system which covered most of the coastline and nearby islands usually were backed by mountains and faced the sea, closed to the harbor, estuaries and post road where easy to defend, difficult to attack with a very vast field of vision. Shown in figure 1 and figure 2 below.



Figure 1 Puzhuang guard town system location,



Figure 2 Puzhuang guard town environment,

Pu guard town is located longitude 120 degrees 24 minutes, north latitude 27 degrees 14 minutes. Being located the junction of Zhejiang province and Fujian province, the place had always been the coastal defense strategic location. In Ming Dynasty, Pu guard town was only 500 meters from the sea, and was the great pass which stopped the pirates invading inland of the south of Zhejiang province and east of Fujian province after landing. According to military theory, Pu guard town had the appropriate terrain elevation, unique geographical and natural environment, broad perspective. It is favorable to observe the enemy from the sea and liaise with other fortress, control the enemy, transport supplies and fishing operations at sea. Outside of Pu guard town, there were rolling hills where were good places for crouching tiger hidden dragon, and for station troops and practice. So this area had been relatively calm. This showed strategist with rich war experience and strategic vision were familiar with the geographical environment, and achieved a "setting risk to keep its solid" purposes.

Other defense facilities were mostly backing mountains and overlooking the sea, like Zhuangshi guard town, Cheng menzhu castle, Baiwan castle; stronghold, patrol agency, battlement and beacon tower were all at the control points of overlooking sea and covered the whole area. The coverage of the entire town system is about 550 square kilometers and involves the southern mountain region and coastal areas of Cangnan county.

## STRUCTURE OF THE SYSTEM

### System Components

After 180 years of construction, the multi-level, large depth coastal fortification system gradually formed which combine guard town with stronghold, patrol agency, battlement and beacon tower. There were complex relationships between various components which were at different levels in the system in accordance with the different geographical location. The system had high integrity and clear focus which facilitated mutual support of all fortified points; setting up fortification facilities according to the enemy's situation and terrain; paying enough attention to the system's in-depth configuration and composition of multi-channel fortification line. Therefore, due to the particularity of the military system, different from the common method in the past just study one or several different town body of the entire system, this study introduced the concept of field area which means the absolute range of bodies in the system and the space guarantee the integrity of the system and the echoing of facilities to described the system more comprehensive. Puzhuang guard town consists of two center guard towns, two castles, two strongholds, three patrol agency and eighteen beacon towers distributed radially, shown in figure 3, figure 4 and table 1 below.



Figure 3 Puzhuang guard town facilities distribution,

Table 1. Puzhuang Guard Town Components

	Level	Name	Town Area(Ha)	Radiation Area(Ha).	
Puzhuang Guard Town System	Guard town	Pu guard town	24.9	50	
		Zhuangshi guard town	11.2	45	
	Castle	Baiwan castle	1.5	10	
		Cheng menzhu castle	0.27	5	
	Stronghold	Chengxi stronghold	1.5	10	
		Chao puyang stronghold			
	Patrol agency	Guifeng patrol agency	1.8	6	
		Dage patrol agency	0.198	6	
		Zong litou patrol agency	0.41	6.7	
	Beacon tower	Nanbao beacon tower, Sibiao beacon tower, Shi zhonggang beacon tower, Fenshui beacon tower, Da anshan beacon tower, Xuanzhong beacon tower, Bu daiao beacon tower, Liulong beacon tower, Jianshan beacon tower, Da paoshou beacon tower, Gaoyang beacon tower, Da shikeng beacon tower, Tianliao beacon tower, Che lingtou beacon tower, San bulei beacon tower, Shi jiadun beacon tower, Lei'ao beacon tower, Nantou beacon tower			



Figure 4 Puzhuang guard town facilities distribution,

## SYSTEM STRUCTURE

According to the location and function, these facilities of Puzhuang guard town can be divided into cordon town, island town, coastal town and seaport town. Cordon town was the alarm and inspection system, including patrol agency and beacon tower which usually scattered in the advantageous locations of coastal frontier and areas easily landing and the vicinity of the must pass through road for pirates after landing. Army

and militia stationed here and patrolled day and night. In case the enemy, relying on these engineering facilities to against pirates while alarming and gain time for the rear defense. Island town controlled the main islands and channels and against water forces according to the size and terrain characteristics of the islands. Coastal towns were usually set up in the coastal areas easily attacked by enemy, along the coastline and had a certain depth. Seaport town usually combined with barriers blocking estuary, formed multi-channel defense line and protected inland area. Guard town, castle, stronghold and patrol agency were usually linked by roads, connected with the other guard towns of coastal areas and formed a whole anti-pirates defense system of east China coastal which echoed each other.

Guard towns is the main body of the towns system, the defensive positions and command centers, including Pu guard town and Zhuangshi guard town. Pu guard town built in AD1384 was the center of defense facilities of Pu door region in Ming Dynasty, and one of the most complete military facilities, an important historical, military, and cultural development witness. The streets, lanes and wells of Pu guard town with irregular rectangular plane and integral town wall are still well preserved at the initial pattern. There are several beacon towers outside Pu guard town which quickly spread the situation of enemy at sea to the guard town. Zhuangshi guard town built in AD 1387 with irregular rectangular plane. North of the guard town was built along the hillside and the other three sides was built on flat land. Due to the influence of typhoon and the lonely topography at the beach, it's hard to defense pirates. So, Zhuangshi guard town was abandoned. Initial streets no longer exist, only stream from west to east, town god's temple, three old wells and a few folk houses are preserved. South and west town walls retain the basic integrity and the rest damaged, shown in figure 5 below.



*Figure 5 Pu guard town and Zhuangshi guard town,*

Castles were built spontaneously by common people for fighting against pirates with a smaller scale, including Baiwan castle, Cheng menzhu castle. Baiwan castle is surrounded by mountains, facing the bay, guarding the seaport, was a major frontier checkpoint of Chixi bay with important geographical location and military value. Baiwan castle has rectangular plane and well-preserved castle walls and doors, shown in figure 6 below. Cheng menzhu castle with irregular rectangular plane was built by Zhu family in early Ming. Until now, the majority of residents in the castle and neighborhood named Zhu. Only part of the castle walls and water system are preserved.

Strongholds usually had smaller scale than guard towns, lower stronghold walls, and training fields for soldiers' drilling, including Chengxi stronghold, Chang puyang stronghold. Chengxi stronghold's plane is almost square. The length of north-south wall is about 120 meters, and east-west is 100 meters. The walls were made with stone. Now, the stronghold is completely abandoned. Except part of the land used to grow

crops, the rest are covered by trees and weeds, shown in figure 7 below. Chang puyang stronghold still need to research.



*Figure 6 Baiwan castle,*



*Figure 7 Chengxi stronghold,*

Patrol agency which responsible for inspection between pedestrians, fight against smuggling and arresting thieves located in main arteries and strategic areas, had jurisdiction over 100 archers. It was flexible to set up or withdraw patrol agency, because archers of patrol agency were local armed forces and came from local farmers without state financial support. Because of the limited number of regular troops, it was impossible that guard town spread through the vast rural area. So patrol agency made up the shortage of guard town system, became an important supplement to guard town. Guifeng patrol agency was built in AD 1393 to strengthen the coastal defense system. The training field and walls of Guifeng patrol agency had been destroyed, but the size and profile are preserved. Guifeng patrol agency with important geographical location and military value located in the middle position between Puzhuang guard town and Zhuangshi guard town. It's a good place for stationing troops and training with hidden terrain, shown in figure 8 below. Dage patrol agency, guarding Yanpobay, the plane is slightly square, and the area is 1980 square meters. Now, Dage patrol agency is covered by various plants, leaving only residual site. Zonglitou patrol agency is slightly slender shape. The length of north-south wall is about 30 meters, and east-west is about 110 meters.

Beacon towers were mainly used for observation and alarm, located in the highest terrain. Burning smoke during day and firing during night when enemy invade. The visible smoke and light were used to alarm to the surrounding areas as well as higher. Beacon towers also can be used for against enemy. 18 beacon towers were divided into

Pu guard town beacon tower system and Zhuangshi guard town beacon tower system according to regions and observation lines. Shown in table2 below.



Figure 8 Guifeng patrol agency,

Table 2. BeaconTowers Position and Perspective

Name	Position and perspective	Name	Position and perspective
Pu guard town beacon tower system		Zhuangshi guard town beacon tower system	
Nanbao beacon tower		Jianshan beacon tower	
Xiaozhu beacon tower		Da shikeng beacon tower	
Da anshan beacon tower		Da paoshou beacon tower	
Sibiao beacon tower		Gaoyang beacon tower	

continuing

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

Name	Position and perspective	Name	Position and perspective
Pu guard town beacon tower system		Zhuangshi guard town beacon tower system	
Xuanzhong beacon tower		Leiao beacon tower	
Bu daiao beacon tower		Shijia beacon tower	
Liu longshan beacon tower		Tianliao beacon tower Che lingtou beacon tower	
Shi zhonggang beacon tower			
Fen shuaii beacon tower		San bulei beacon tower	

**TRANSFORMATION OF THE SYSTEM**

Coastal defense system of the Ming Dynasty emphasizes on fortification facilities, with both in-depth configuration and composition of multi-channel. Making use of this system, the Ming Dynasty won more than 50 years coastal calm period. Guard townssystem contributes to a large scale population gathering in Pu guard town, thus promotes continuous economic prosperity. However, since the Qing Dynasty, rulers carried out closed-door policy, blocking sea areaand compelling coastal residents moving 10 Chinese miles to inland. So the coastal defense system on southeast coast gradually declined [6]. Also the military position and the political status of Puzhuang guard town experienced a corresponding decline. People were not allowed to remove the belt areauntil AD 1681. Since then, Pu guard town again became a regional center.

Nevertheless, in 1950, due to the adjustment of national administrative divisions, the administrative center transferred, and the political and economic status of Pu guard town once again declined, and economy of Pu door region developed slowly. Fortunately, the basic city pattern of Puzhuang guard town in Ming Dynasty stayed fully alive. In addition to a complete system of coastal defense, several center towns such as Pu guard town, Baiwan castle survived with the original fortification pattern and a number of historic buildings. Besides, the Puzhuang guard town system is integrated cultural relics reflecting military, geomantic omen, literature and folk beliefs, which is related to military culture of the Ming Dynasty. And the system is also an important cultural carrier of immaterial heritage.

Pu door region lagged relatively behind township building, and there have been few new construction projects since the planning control by the end of the century. As a result, the guard towns, castles, strongholds, beacon towers didn't experience a large-scale construction, agricultural landscape in villages was well kept, mountains and terrain surrounding were kept away from destruction, views with historical military role and were well retained, and overall regional environment that bear facilities system were kept integrity. But with population increase and lack of necessary maintenance to old houses, requirements of alteration and new construction have increased. New problems were raised such as: expansion of construction land; conflict of new buildings and the surrounding environment; extrusion of heritage. And these result to encroachment and destruction of historical environment to varying degrees. Meanwhile, in recent years, Puzhuang guard town started to develop the tourism industry as an important measure to revive the local economy, which is bound to set off the construction of tourism facilities, and also the climax of the development of tourist attractions. Therefore, faced with the dual pressures of regional development and influx of tourism population, the city system of Puzhuang guard town needs to explore new suitable development. Because of the rich layers and numerous facilities of the military town system, and also the specific requirements over regional view environment, it becomes particularly important to protect the intact unobstructed sight corridor between the facilities and the existing town pattern in the process of city expansion. Therefore, the research over Puzhuang guard town especially the internal relationship between the various components is the foundation of the formulation of development & protection policies in the region.

Because of the wide geographical area, complex administrative unit, the traditional ancient city protection plan can not meet the needs of protection and development of the guard towns system. Therefore, on the base of study about the system's level and structure, a new kind of planning approach which co-ordinate the various components of the system from the perspective of regional development must be considered. This will be the next step.

## REFERENCES

- [1] Guo hong and Yu cuiyan, (2004) "The System of Commanding Stations and Military Control Administration Division in the Ming Dynasty," Military Historical Research 4, 78-87
- [2] Gao yisheng, (2009) "Ming Dynasty Coastal Defense Town Dapeng Ancient City," Shanxi Architecture 35, 8, 35/164.
- [3] Chen chunsheng, (2007) "The Coastal Defense of Teochow in the Early Ming Dynasty and Its Historical Effect (Part One)," Journal of Sun Yatsen University (Social Science Edition) 47, 2, 24-32.
- [4] Guo hong, (2003) "Ming Dynasty guard towns immigration and regional culture change," Journal of Chinese Historical Geography 18, 6, 150-155.
- [5] Song xuan, (2005) "Ming Dynasty Coastal Defense Relic in Zhejiang Province," Cultural Relics of the East 14, 3, 62-68.
- [6] Zhang jinkui, (2007) "A Preliminary Analysis of Ming Dynasty Guard Office Registrars System," Palace Museum Journal 130, 2, 118-126.



## PUBLIC SPACE IN SAO PAULO: SOME DIFFERENT APPROACHES

Stamatia KOULIOUMBA, *Dr.*

University of Sao Paulo, Brasil  
kouli@uol.com.br

### ABSTRACT

*Sao Paulo is one of the most interesting Latin American Cities nowadays. Several recent studies have focused on this city through distinguished approaches, such as its cultural diversity, multiple ethnicities, social and economical contrasts, as well as its different spatial arrangements. Globalization has also modified its importance in the international context, bringing a new light to World Cities' hierarchy (Koulioumba, 2002). In this sense, this article aims at discussing some of the contemporary approaches to the use of public space, particularly to some social and cultural exchanges that are happening mainly in Sao Paulo's central area, including, for example: streets, squares, parks or meeting points; open air markets; street shopping and shopping centers. Our main objective is to point out how recent urban transformations have contributed, on the one hand, to change some forms of social coexistence, destabilizing life in community, as suggested by Baumann (2008) as well as legitimizing individualism, as presented by Richard Sennett. However, it has been noticed, on the other hand, that well established social networks stimulate sociability and public space use, especially in some places where historical, economical or cultural associations dominate, in spite of the advances of globalized Capitalism. For this paper, three different situations in Sao Paulo's city will be analyzed: Augusta Street, Shopping Center Higienópolis and Bom Retiro, a central based and immigrant neighborhood, as well as some other examples. Therefore, we hope to leave some contributions to the public space debate.*

### INTRODUCTION

The present article aims at analyzing the public space in Sao Paulo city through some distinguishing approaches. In the past decades, dealing with such questions is becoming something more and more complex. On the one hand, it has been noticed a substantial increase in shanty towns ('favelas'<sup>1</sup>), edge cities, shopping centers and business centers, during the 80's and 90's, revealing a social-spatial fragmentation of the territory that promotes a confined urban life, restricted to controlled, protected and vulnerable situations, of either high or low income classes (Rolnik, 2001). On the other hand, it is been observed that the traditional city center is suffering from a severe degradation, popularization and diversification process (Frúgoli Jr., 1995).

We can also identify the constitution of some new urban centralities<sup>2</sup> and the emptiness of others, due to profound changes in socio-economical aspects, such as, the new

---

<sup>1</sup> The rise of 'favelas' in Brazil and Sao Paulo is a recent phenomenon. According to the site 'Sao Paulo 450 anos', in 1973, only 1% of Sao Paulo's total population lived in 'favelas'. In the 1980's, this number grows to 4%, reaching 8% (1,15 million) in the beginning of the 1990's. In 2000, according to a study developed by the Municipality and the Centre for Metropolitan Studies, there were 2.018 'favelas' with 378.863 residences for 1,16 million inhabitants.

<sup>2</sup>FRUGOLI JR. H. *Centralidade em São Paulo: trajetórias, conflitos e negociações na metrópole*. São Paulo: Cortez/ EDUSP, 2000. In this book, the author argues about some urban centralities in

international labor division that establishes itself, comprising time-space<sup>3</sup>, and conferring a significant value to World or Global Cities, like Sao Paulo (Sassen, 1994; Koulioumba, 2002). Therefore, as suggested by Carlos (2004), *"The city's production such an enterprise appears based on a model inspired by vehicles, prioritizing the existence of empty spaces for circulation, where individual private transportation dominates with all its strength (...) In such a context, public space transforms itself – becoming meaningless because it is more limited and imposes new ways of appropriation – streets utilization, for example, where meeting points are vanished, breaking up with old neighborhood relationships, as well as encouraging some decrease in sociability"* (p. 71).

However, on the the other hand, it has been verified that well-established social networks stimulate sociability and public space use, particularly in some areas, where historical, economical and cultural associations dominate. In such a way, heterogeneous neighborhoods, regarding their uses, socio-economical diversity, as well as distinguished architectural and urban landscape tend to be more intensified in terms of social relations, according to Jacobs (2000), in her famous book entitled 'Death and life in great American Cities'. These, among some other topics, will be discussed in the following paper.

Many authors have been responsible for discussing such important topics, like *public space* and *the right to the city*, through critical literature (Arendt, 2000; Benjamin, 1996; Lefebvre, 1991). Others have dealt with the poetical aspect of the 'man lost in the mob', wandering around Paris, London or Berlin nineteenth century streets', or simply moving through imaginary cities (Baudelaire, 1952; Calvino, 1991; Poe, 1944; Bresciani, 1982). In the last decades, nevertheless, many other intellectuals have spent a lot of attention to this theme, among them architects and urban planners, philosophers, social scientists and anthropologists (Habermas, 1984; Jacobs, 2000; Sennet, 1998, Frúgoli Jr., 1995; Serpa, 2007; Abrahão, 2008; Canevacci, 1993). In spite of this, we do not mean here to develop a deep analysis on the theme, but use some concepts to further improve the debate.

Therefore, one can say in general words that *"(...) public space is considered to be that one which, inside traditional urban territory (especially in capitalist cities where private is predominant), reflects common use and collective possession (that belongs to public sector). The street is, consequently, a public space per excellence<sup>4</sup>".* Hence Carlos (2004) considers the street as an enlightening element, through each one can think of it as a place for exchanging experiences, routines, conflicts, dissonances, as well as, revealing an urban dimension, based on strategies of subsistence and life, pointed by simultaneity of emptiness and fullness, of sounds and noises from distinguished temporalities (p. 54).

But, even more, *"(...) the street is also the ideal place for evoking citizenship, in the sense it can be the place for vindicating struggles. It also gives visibility to different social projects, and in spite of being only an accumulation of different times, it is a virtual and*

---

Sao Paulo. Firstly, he talks about the old city center, located nearby Sé's Cathedral and its surroundings; secondly, deals with Paulista Avenue axis, the main financial and commercial center between 1960's and 1980's; and, lastly, Luiz Calos Berrini Avenue axis, the most recent economical and financial center of Sao Paulo, located in the southwest region of the city.

<sup>3</sup> HARVEY, D. *A Condição Pós-Moderna*. 6ª edição. São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 1996.

<sup>4</sup>[http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Espa%C3%A7o\\_p%C3%BAblico](http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Espa%C3%A7o_p%C3%BAblico).

*open possibility for building up another social project*" (Ibid, p. 55). Thus, public space is the site for collective socialization and it establishes a dialog among diverse sectors of city's population, besides being the proper location for pointing out social differences. In other words, as Bauman (2009) presents:

"A space is 'public' in the sense it allows free access to men and women without previous selection. No exclusive pass is required, and no entries or exits are registered. For that reason, someone's presence in a public space is anonymous, and the ones that find themselves in there are foreigners to each others (...). Public spaces are sites where strangers gather themselves. In such a way, they condensate – and, even to say so, end up – distinctive traces of urban life. It is in public sites that urban life and everything that distinguishes other forms of human socialization reach its most completed expression, with happiness, pains, hopes and feelings that are so characteristically" (p. 70).

So, public spaces can be defined as spaces for circulation (like a street or a square), spaces for entertainment and recreational activities (like a square or an urban park), for contemplation (like a public garden) and for preservation or conservation (like a huge park or even an ecological reserve), where the right of coming and going is total. But, as pointed out by Dias (2005), traditional public spaces have acquired new meanings and connotations in recent times. What occurs is, according to this author, an 'introversion of space', followed by the emergence of introspective spots with superior environmental qualities rather than the city itself.

"Air conditioned and protected spaces simulate public spaces instead of trying to translate them as part of their internal environment. Shopping centers, museums and supermarkets are the new spaces of socialization and attractiveness and are very much connected to the logic of consumption, either of cultural or mass industrialized products, that built up the twentieth century city and that still reverberates in the twentieth first century" (Dias, 2005).

As a result, it can be observed a clear erosion of public and private life's balance, that previously gave some support to capitalist societies, in Sennett's (1998) and others analysis. Because of this, as suggested by Serpa (2007), "(...) we are moving towards individualism as an ideal way of life, instead of an even more decadent collectiveness" (p. 35). When one agrees to move public spaces into islands of 'uniformity', one generates an even greater obstacle for sharing and living social differences, contributing to weaken all possible dialogs and pacts, as discussed by Bauman (2009: 71). Public space restricts itself, thus, into an unusable remaining location among private's space portions (Ibid, p. 71). In other words, public space transforms itself in a collection of privatized spaces, where each social group does not share the territory, but instead, divides it, in such a way that users contribute to amplify the private sphere of public space, sharpening a mutual strangeness of privatized territories (Serpa, 2007: 36).

Brazilian case study, better described below, tends to exaggerate even further this trend, according to Dias (2005). In this author's opinion, there is a reduced existence of public spaces that are severely restricted to limited and shy elite. Public national policies, on the other hand, do not give enough importance to the construction of public spaces, directing most efforts to the creation of rentable spaces specially designed for semi-public or private entertainment (Ibid, p. 7). Most proposals are characterized by

punctual 'revitalizations' of urban centers<sup>5</sup> that have followed an international pattern, recreating hermetically safe atmospheres, free of any kind of conflicts.

### **BRAZILIAN CITIES: WHERE IS THE PUBLIC SPACE NOWADAYS?**

Matos e Silva (2008) shows that city centers' are not the same as two decades ago. Along with this writer, in many Brazilian cities, state governments have designed rehabilitation projects for city centers', but many of them follow a perverse and segregationist logic, essentially anchored in tourism. In the example adopted by him, he analyses Aracaju, a city located in Northeast Brazil. HotelPalace, sidewalks of Joao Pessoa street, cinemas, Cacique Tea House and other representative spaces in city center are not the same anymore since Riomar Shopping opening, in 1989, in a nearby area. Central areas have been suffering a decline of public use, that not even some frustrated revitalization experiences, including the creation of a 24 hours street, have avoided such a trend. Though the pseudo-modernization myth introduces new dynamics to the existent city, recreating, on the other hand, artificial spaces that are unable to deal with cultural diversity and social plurality that use to take place vigorously in historical city centers.

Another interesting example is the case of Pelourinho, situated in the Historical Center of Salvador, Bahia's capital state. This central area possesses a historical and symbolic value that includes several relevant buildings. However, since the 1960's, Pelourinho went through a political, economical and social degradation, thanks to the emergence of new commercial and industrial centers located in new geographical neighborhoods, as the Iguatemi Shopping Center and many shops across the seashore between Barra and Pituba neighborhood. Marginality and prostitution face to face with historical building deterioration took place in the subsequent decades. It was not until the recognition of UNESCO of this area, as an important human legacy in the beginning of 1990's that Pelourinho restarted to become a vigorous and vibrant area again, mainly directed to a cultural and touristic demand (Crepaldi, 2002). Nevertheless, costs for such an urban requalification project were extremely high, including the removal of low-income residents. Currently, one can notice a visible loss of social diversity. In relation to this, Matos e Silva (2008) summarizes saying that a new way of organizing city center is taking place in the main Brazilian cities:

"We have lost the capacity of learning and socializing with people from different social and cultural classes, because we do not have spaces in cities where socialization can happen. We gave up of public space and have decided for privatized and 'purified' spaces – in a Shopping Center or University Campus, for example, that fundament themselves around consumption. Spaces do not allow to practice the art and ability of sharing public life".

Thus, Serpa (2007) says that there is a general trend, either in Brazilian cities, or in world cities, to invest in 'visible' public spaces, mainly in centralized and touristic areas where a partnership between public and private sectors are welcome. Such proposals follow, as a consequence, a taste for gigantism and for the 'great spectacle' in terms of

---

<sup>5</sup> HARVEY, D. *A Condição Pós-Moderna*. 6ª edição. São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 1996. In the chapter of his book, entitled: 'The Post-modernism in the city', the author argues about Baltimore's revitalization, in the United States, that has inspired several other urban requalification's.

architecture and urbanism<sup>6</sup> (p. 26). Or furthermore, as Dias (2005) reinforces, “(...) *the aim at transforming each city into a new place in the world culture, either as a great historical and cultural center like Paris, London or Berlin, or even enlightening small cities such as Bilbao city, in Spain, for example, is a trademark of new European urbanizations that complete the previous with spectacular urban objects, such as new buildings, parks and public spaces created by the most famous names of contemporary architecture*”.

## PUBLIC SPACE IN SAO PAULO: YESTERDAY AND TODAY<sup>7</sup>

“Sao Paulo is today a city of walls. Its inhabitants do not risk to have a house without fences or barriers to protect their respective windows. Physical barriers surround public spaces: houses, buildings, parks, squares, financial districts, commerce and schools. As the high-income (elite) classes move to highly protected areas, they abandon few remaining public spaces to the poor or homeless, and the number of spaces for public meetings from people of different social groups decreases considerably” (Caldeira, 2000).

Public space utilization in central areas, in Sao Paulo’s case study, points out to be problematic, especially in recent times, as shown by Frugoli Jr. (1995). According to him, the old city center has changed into a more heterogeneous use and a crescent deterioration process, mainly due to internal migration from Brazilian northeast. These people characterize themselves as ‘informal street community’, based on principals of solidarity and social strategies of surviving (Frúgoli, 1995: 70).

These factors conducts to the consolidation of a ‘street culture’, that differs enormously of a ‘publicized culture’, once the first “(...) tends to be against any kind of institutional formalization, operating according to informal principles, based on certain forms of transgression, that are strategically inserted in a body of rules and codes (...) which are normally in conflict with official public order” (Ibid, p. 70). On the other hand, ‘publicized culture’ aims at using space in a predefined mode or minimally consensual, introducing a kind of sociability that is connected to debate’s practice and ideas’ exchange, conflicts’ resolution, culture’s acquisition and public opinion formation (Ibid, p. 71).

In the last decades, Sao Paulo has suffered profound restrictions in public space use, either in elite or low-income class areas. In relation to the first ones, a new pattern of sociability has been identified founded on ‘confined spaces’ (restricted residential areas, financial centers), protected by security systems that change completely residents’ routine. Shopping centers<sup>8</sup> are also, since the 1970’s, important areas designed for entertainment and consumption of the high-income classes. Recently, nonetheless, because of increasingly violence in city’s streets, shopping centers are been built in distant areas, where the poorest population lives, characterizing an alternative for leisure and sociability (Frúgoli Jr., 1995).

---

<sup>6</sup> ARANTES, Otilia. *Urbanismo em fim de linha*. São Paulo: EDUSP, 1998. In this book, the author talks about some international examples where the city is used as a stage for ‘spetacular’ urban interventions as well as a fascinating architecture.

<sup>7</sup> ABRAHAO, Sérgio Luís. *Espaço Público: do urbano ao político*. São Paulo: Annablume/ FAPESP, 2008. The author traces comprehensive and broad panorama about public space in Sao Paulo. He also offers in his book an interesting literature review on the topic.

<sup>8</sup> FRUGOLI JR., H. & Pintaudi, S. M. (org.). *Shopping Centers: espaço, cultura e modernidade nas cidades brasileiras*. São Paulo, Ed. UNESP, 1992.

Regarding the low-income classes, as presented by Serpa (2007), it has been noticed a privatization of the few public spaces (particularly in the case of social housing complexes). There is also a devaluation of public space in the outskirts, due to precarious maintenance and/ or inexistence of such places. Then, the meaning of public space as a potential are to discuss and to increase citizenship debate is becoming rare there. The following examples aim at discussing some points.

## **SOME RECENT CASE STUDIES IN SAO PAULO: AUGUST STREET, SHOPPING PÁTIO HIGIENÓPOLIS AND BOM RETIRO'S NEIGHBORHOOD STREETS.**

### **AUGUSTA STREET**

An important commercial street of Sao Paulo that establishes a connection between the center and Jardins neighborhood, Augusta Street represents a vivid portrait of contemporary street use as a public space. This street was very significant during the fifties and sixties, when it use to concentrate along its 3.000 meters of extension some of the most sophisticated shops in the city. In the seventies, however, Augusta Street lost its importance, because of the establishment of the first shopping malls in Sao Paulo, like Iguatemi. Its prestige was ruined simultaneously with the city center. The area was transformed into a prostitution and drugs zone.

But in the last two decades, Augusta has become a research object for sociologists and anthropologists interested in its social dynamism and variety of uses that has transformed the place into a 24 hours moveable feast. As pointed out by Revista Veja Sao Paulo (2009), in the last four years it was a 40% increase in nightclubs and related activities there. Nowadays, only in the central portion of Augusta Street, there are 52 bars, 18 discos and 16 restaurants (p. 34). Nevertheless, the street does not 'work' only at night. Daily services that vary from hairdressers to laundries and sewing offices, as well as cultural activities (cinemas, theaters and galleries), have been responsible for assuring its population heterogeneity, either of residents<sup>9</sup>, or of peasants.

"In Augusta everything is a blend. You can walk by normally to five star hotels, that has one of city's best cuisine, to ruined old houses, and little mansions that announces promiscuous adventures: mixed saunas, only for adults, massage only for men. Next to them, without break for air breathing, elementary or medical schools that when are closed make their innocent public of students mixed up with prostitutes the same age as them. Everyone socializes with everybody" (Canevacci, 1993: 196).

That is the reason why some authors, like Canevacci (1993), while analyzing this city, spend some time to write about Augusta Street. For this author, this street represents the '*crème de la crème*' of Sao Paulo. It is there that empirical structuralism presented by Levi-Strauss, allows a straight relationship between past and present, mentally

---

<sup>9</sup>Rent in the area has gone higher than in other areas of the city. Between 2005 and 2009, average rent rates in Sao Paulo increased 35%. In the same period, rent for a small studio went up from 330 reais to 600 reais (82% increase) and for a one-bedroom flat varied from 590 to 930 reais (58% increase) (Veja Sao Paulo, 2009: 41). Good public transportation options have also contributed to rent rates increase.

connecting different times and locations among them (p. 196). Therefore, its hybrid characteristics are clearly distinctive from the hermetically closed spaces of the city, presenting a possibility of an interesting debate about the public space in Sao Paulo.

Another approach can also argue that Augusta Street brings back some important elements of the '*flanêrie*', posted by Baudelaire in the nineteenth century, because any time of the day and night, coming and ongoing is a constant move, allowing symbolic exchanges among foreigners<sup>10</sup>. So, in spite of its fragmentation and chaotic meaning, it is important to underline that this path shows an internal coherence, due to its communicative urban flows (Canevacci, 1993: 198). Consequently, Augusta Street can be understood as a '*miniaturization*' of the whole city, what makes me remind a description of it, said by a regular user: "*What is the purpose of going to New York. Augusta is New York!*".

## SHOPPING PÁTIO HIGIENÓPOLIS

Opened in 1999, Shopping Pátio Higienópolis is a commercial center designed for A-level<sup>11</sup> social classes, situated in Higienópolis, a traditional high-class neighborhood class since the nineteenth century, when it was still a residential area of the elite. This shopping center construction generated huge protests by the residents that were afraid of public space deterioration and traffic explosion in the surrounding area. Another critical point occurred in respect to some preserved historical buildings nearby the shopping mall. After a long debate among residents and businessmen, that thought the houses were going to be demolished, Shopping Pátio Higienópolis direction decided to buy and refurbish them.

In spite of the problems, mentioned above, what catches up our attention are the different forms of sociability that happens in such a building. Officially, this is a private space with some semi-public areas that include coffee shops, restaurants, theater, cinemas, gym and specialized services. Also some special places were designed for dogs. Third age people go very often there, either for a coffee or just to chat. Young people meet after school. Mothers go sightseeing with their babies, especially during the mornings. And, finally, adults that either work or live nearby use the shopping mall for diverse purposes, including eating.

In other words, initial objection to a shopping center in the area has been transformed into one of the main entertainment options in the neighborhood. Some statistics show that most of the users are residents, on the contrary of the majority of other shopping centers in Sao Paulo that have a very distinctive public. In consequence, Shopping Pátio Higienópolis is an extension of resident's homes and a continuation of some

---

<sup>10</sup> FRUGOLI JR, H. Em *Sociabilidade Urbana* (2007) refers to GEORG SIMMEL, in his famous writing dated by 1908, entitled '*L'Etranger*'. This last author says: "(...) *the stranger metaphor conducts to the idea of fragility in social relationships based on intimacy and distance. This can also be applied to the cities' inhabitants, because depending on where and when they meet to each other they translate the condition of being strangers to themselves*" (p. 48).

<sup>11</sup> According to some statistics offered by Shopping Pátio Higienópolis web site, around 65% of its users belong to an A class (high-income consumers). This Shopping receives monthly an average public of 1.626.000 persons, from them 22%, are between 17 and 24 years old, 25% between 25 and 34 years old, 18% between 35 and 44 years old and, finally, 35% are 45 years old or over.

squares that characterize the neighborhood (Vilaboim Square, Buenos Aires Square, etc.).

So, this shopping center recreates in its interiors the idea of some public spaces, such as squares, corners, streets, where social contacts can occur safely away and very distant from ethnical, social and religious conflicts. This can also be translated into shopping center's imaginary, once its own name carries the false idea of being a 'patio'. It is interesting to observe that some of squares' names, outside the shopping center, where used to name each of its floors. Finally, by welcoming dogs (even a competition for dogs was installed recently) in its interiors, Shopping Patio Higienopolis permits extending some public activities into the semi-public/ private sphere.

Nevertheless, it is worth saying that not everything is allowed there, and that sociability suffers from severe constrains and restrictions for those that do not follow the rules, as pointed out by Frúgoli Jr. (1995) in many of his studies about shopping centers. For him, shopping centers create spaces of 'public access', but they are not effectively public, because there is a private control by each respective administration (p. 95). The myth of security is another point to be taken into account. This January, not even a rigid internal security scheme has avoided some thefts to invade such shopping center. This fact shows that highly controlled places are also vulnerable to violence. Thus it is not denying the city and its diversity that public space revival will happen.

Finally, we can argue that a shopping center is a falsification that deals with specific public, according to financial resources, time schedule, etc. of their users. *"Shopping centers use procedures of control and selection, but in a larger proportion compared with 'desert public spaces' of monumental architectural financial enterprises, or gated neighborhoods, where social diversity is lower"* (Frúgoli Jr., 1995: 102). In synthesis, streets are recreated inside a building in order to offer different opportunities of leisure, buying, services and entertainment, but with a limited social diversity compared to some streets, as for example, Augusta Street, or of an entire neighborhood, like Bom Retiro, where streets assume a predominant historical role.

## **BOM RETIRO NEIGHBORHOOD AND ITS STREETS**

Bom Retiro is an old neighborhood of Sao Paulo. It appeared in late nineteenth century, as a recreation and leisure area of the city, due to its location close to Tiete River. Several immigrants, from different nationalities have been living in this place since then. Recently, the neighborhood was chosen by Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico and Artístico Nacional (IPHAN), the National Historical and Artistic Institute, to be preserved nationally due to its ethnical and multicultural diversity, constituting one of the first examples of such a type in Brazil and in the world. Italians, Jewish, Greeks, Armenians, Koreans, Bolivians and several Northeast migrants constitute its approximately 25.000 inhabitants<sup>12</sup>. Its economy is basically structured around garment and textile industries, plus services and commerce related to them both. Something like 2/3 of the national garment is produced in this place. Also, other cultural and entertainment complete the huge hall of activities offered by the neighborhood to the general public.

---

<sup>12</sup> This neighborhood is characterized by medium/ low-income residents. There is a mixed population that consists of some immigrants and descendents, living in worthy modernist 60's and 70's buildings, as well as national migrants, Bolivians, etc., living in slums and/ or precarious homes.

Interesting study developed by Koulioumba (1993) showed that the architectural building constructions played a significant role to the diversity of uses. Since its origins, Bom Retiro tried to combine work and living together. Through the decades, this pattern of occupation was applied, with European Jewish immigrants and, more recently, with the Koreans. The neighborhood<sup>13</sup> reveals thus, up to nowadays, a huge complexity of elements that makes its streets so vibrant and important for the establishment of social, economic and cultural networks.

Nothing is invented. Everything is spontaneous. Since the ancient 'pletzale', a meeting point of Jewish men on the corner of Graça Street and Ribeiro de Lima Street (that does not exist anymore) to the informal commerce that permeates José Paulino, the main open air shopping street, where the Koreans immigrants have built modern shops. Therefore, one notices that streets assume a key role to social exchanges. Unlike Augusta Street, that has a varied public through all day, Bom Retiro presents a diverse social universe too. During the day, local street movement is marked by retail and wholesale consumers, who divide public space with Bolivian workers and local residents. Old ladies with their respective nurses share the squares with homeless in a sunny evening. Young people move quickly to one of the many courses offered in the neighborhood. Not very distant from there somebody is preparing a barbecue on a sidewalk, reuniting colleagues after a working day. On Saturdays, orthodox Jewish cross some bars where Koreans and national migrants are drinking a beer. In another situation, a Bolivian market is taking place inside a private parking lot, occupying as well half of the street.

Of course one can observe in addition to this some social conflicts. But a common solution can be found. Sidewalks and streets have the power, consequently, to translate the notion of being community member, strongly linked to some urban references in spite of some problems that might emerge. An increased local sociability modifies the place, transforming it into a diverse and plural area. One can verify as well some closeness among local social agents, even though they belong to different social groups.

That is why one can argue that if Augusta Street have the power to summarize contemporary cities' dimension, Bom Retiro can go further considering it can preserve as well some traditional values in parallel to some progress introduced by globalization. However, one should point also that Bom Retiro is not an ethnical neighborhood, like Liberdade, a famous Japanese place where several shops and restaurants are located. Bom Retiro is a unique example, somehow similar to what Jacobs (2000) has suggested in her book, because it is a diverse and plural neighborhood, not only socially, but also architecturally and economically speaking. The 'practice of the neighborhood', as Certeau (2008) writes, introduces, therefore, some fortuities in the place of necessities, making favorable the use of urban space.

---

<sup>13</sup> Certeau (2008) says that, "(...) the neighborhood can be considered as the progressive privatization of public space. It is a very important mechanism to ensure the continuity between what is more intimate (the residence's private space) and the unknown (the whole city of even the entire world). (...) a neighborhood represents the average term of a dialectical existence between the inside and the outside." (p. 42). The neighborhood is a place not intimate, nor anonymous: but neighbor." (p. 43).

## PUBLIC SPACE IN SAO PAULO: IS THERE STILL A WAY OUT?

Sao Paulo's configuration tend to establish certain modernized spaces, connected to a privatized spirit whereas public space is abandoned and left to deterioration, violence and a conflicted use, as said by Frúgoli Jr. For him,

“Public space, this imprecise dimension, but constantly present in urban life, reflects several sceneries in the main picture. Increased portions of high-income groups escape to protected and gated areas whereas a huge part of low-income population live in deteriorated areas, permeated by transgression” (Frúgoli Jr. 1995: 106).

Matos e Silva (2008) talks, in consequence, of the need to formulate public spaces, in order to improve coexistence among different people. This fact will help to build the construction of a civil order, based on freedom and solidarity, in public spaces designed to express citizenship and to develop sociability. The examples above mentioned aimed at showing different uses for public and semi-public spaces in Sao Paulo. We have noticed some radical changes in public space. Or as underlined by Carlos (2004), “*new metamorphosed space redefines uses and paces in space as well as daily life. But life does not change only because there are some urban renewals; one can observe in a modern world transformations in routine life, revealing new ways of using times and spaces – different social values, behaviors, women's role, leisure type facilities, etc. that constitute urban society*” (p. 104).

So, the greatest challenge consists in searching for solutions based on an internal model, as public spaces become extremely vital for Brazilian cities. It represents a place that strongly needs to be revalorized in opposition to such ‘introverted architectures and urban planning models’. We have intended to point out here the importance to construct a more equal and participative city. One that can permit the dissolution of segregated areas, bringing back to lights the complexity and dynamic that some of Sao Paulo's streets and neighborhoods contain. Only in this case, it will be possible to reinforce public space use by the whole city's population.

## REFERENCES

- Abraham, Sergio Luis. *Espaço Público: do urbano ao político*. São Paulo: Annablume/FAPESP, 2008.
- Arantes, Otilia. *Urbanismo em fim de linha*. São Paulo: EDUSP, 1998.
- Arendt, Hannah. *A condição humana*. 10<sup>a</sup> edição. Rio de Janeiro: Forense Universitária, 2000.
- Bauman, Zygmunt. *Confiança e medo na cidade*. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Ed., 2009. Tradução de Eliana Aguiar.
- Baudelaire, Charles. *Les fleurs du Mal*. Paris: Calman Levy, 1952.
- Benjamin, Walter. *Obras escolhidas I. Magia e técnica, arte e política – ensaios sobre literatura e história da cultura*. 7<sup>a</sup> edição. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1996.
- Benjamin, Walter. *Obras escolhidas II. Rua de mão única*. 5<sup>a</sup> edição. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1995. 3<sup>a</sup> reimpressão. Janeiro de 2000.

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

- Bresciani, Maria Stela M. *Londres e Paris no século XIX: o espetáculo da pobreza*. Sao Paulo: Brasiliense, 1982. (Coleção Tudo é história, n. 52).
- Caldeira, Tereza Pires do Rio. *Cidade de muros. Crime, segregação e cidadania em Sao Paulo*. Sao Paulo: Editora 34/ EDUSP, 2000.
- Calvino, Italo. *As cidades invisíveis*. Sao Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1991.
- Canevacci, Massimo. *A cidade polifônica: ensaio sobre a antropologia da comunicação urbana*. São Paulo: Studio Nobel, 1993. Tradução de Cecília Prada.
- Carlos, Ana Fani Alessandri. *O espaço urbano: novos escritos sobre a cidade*. Sao Paulo: Contexto, 2004.
- Certeau, Michel. *A invenção do Cotidiano 2*. Sao Paulo: Vozes, 1997.
- Crepaldi, Lideli. *Espaço Público e Privado: o Pelourinho no imaginário baiano*. PCLA – Volume 3, número 2, jan./fev./mar. 2002. In <http://www2metodista.br/unesco/PCLA/revista10/observatorio%2010-1.htm> Acessado em 29/03/2010.
- Dias, Fabiano. *O desafio do espaço público nas cidades do século XXI*. Arqtexto 061 – texto especial 312. Jun. 2005. In <http://www.vitruvius.com.br/arquitextos/arg000/esp312.asp> Acessado em 29/03/2010.
- Frugoli Jr., Heitor. *São Paulo: espaços públicos e interação social*. São Paulo: Marco Zero, 1995.
- Frugoli Jr., Heitor & Pintaudi, S. M. (org.). *Shopping Centers: espaço, cultura e modernidade nas cidades brasileiras*. São Paulo, Ed. UNESP, 1992.
- Frugoli Jr., Heitor. *Centralidade em Sao Paulo: trajetórias, conflitos e negociações na metrópole*. Sao Paulo: Cortez/ EDUSP, 2000.
- Harvey, David. *A Condição Pós-moderna*. 6a Edição. Sao Paulo: Edições Loyola, 1996.
- Koulioumba, Stamatia. *Influência dos imigrantes na arquitetura e evolução urbana de um bairro: Bom Retiro*. São Paulo: FAUUSP/ FAPESP, 1993. Iniciação Científica.
- Koulioumba, Stamatia. *São Paulo: Cidade Mundial? Evidências e respostas de uma metrópole em transformação*. Sao Paulo: FAUUSP, 2002. Tese de doutoramento.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *O direito a cidade*. Sao Paulo: Moraes, 1991.
- Matos e Silva, César Henriques. *Centro da cidade: o espaço público que perdemos?* Publicado no Cinform – 9 a 15 de junho de 2008 – edição 1313. In <http://cidades.gov.br/secretarias-nacionais/programas-urbanos/biblioteca/reabilitacao...> Acesso em 29/03/2010.
- Paquot, T. *L'espace public*. Paris: La Découverte, 2009.
- Poe, Edgar Allan. *O homem das multidões*. Porto Alegre: Livraria do Globo, 1944.
- Rolnik, Raquel. *Sao Paulo*. 1a Edição. Sao Paulo: Publifolha, 2001.
- Sassen, Saskia. *Cities in a World Economy*. Califórnia: Pine Forge Press, 1994.

Sennet, Richard. *O declínio do homem público*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1998.

Serpa, Angelo. *O espaço público na cidade contemporânea*. São Paulo: Contexto, 2007.

Veja São Paulo. *Augusta a 120 por hora*. 18 de novembro 2009.

450 ANOS SÃO PAULO. In <http://www.aprenda450anos.com.br>

## A GLOBAL AND LOCAL NARRATIVE COLLIDE: TRADITIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF LAND RIGHTS IN THE CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF BALI

Jocelyn WIDMER, *PhD. Student*  
University of Florida, United States  
widmerj@ufl.edu

### ABSTRACT

*The southern portion of Bali has been characterized by rice-terraced landscapes for centuries. This part of the island has had a long and conflicting tradition of intensive agricultural land-uses coupled with high population densities (Vickers 1996). The picturesque qualities of southern Bali's landscape have increasingly trumped the productive capabilities as land owners are able to make a better income by selling or leasing their land, investing the proceeds and living on the interest, than by growing rice (MacRae 2003). This is all compounded by the soaring international real estate market that has been a de facto step toward facilitating the systematic transfer of land from adat control to that of formal tenureship (Basiago 1995). Thus, as land uses change and customary land tenure gives way to market pressures, development remains central to local Balinese concerns.*

*Prior to President Suharto's New Order government, Bali flourished under a traditional land tenure system, albeit complex, that was held relatively intact even after Dutch colonization in 1908 (Tsing 2005). This traditional tenure system is an intricate agreement between the visible and invisible, the social and political, and the ecological and economic that is typical of the Balinese relationship with any systemic organization (Matthews and Selman 2006). To understand these relationships it is important to explore two intertwined narratives specific to the island of Bali. The first narrative tells the story of internal or local forces that have shaped the land tenure system over the past 100 years. The second narrative is the elaborate tale of the external or global forces that have shaped the image of Bali during roughly this same 100-year period. Aligning these two narratives reveals the surprising intersections when the narratives collide in contemporary Bali, where both the local tenure system and the global image of Bali have contributed to the development pressures on the island's landscape.*

*As Bali grapples with the prospect of becoming an international piece of real estate in the face of globalization, many of these forces are no different than during the Dutch period of colonization, the scholarly and artistic explosion during the 1930s, and the ramifications from the New Order government from the 1960s onward. Thus, the island's contemporary development pressures beg the same question as each preceding historically-significant period: Can Bali's cultural landscape survive amidst these development pressures? It is precisely this question that contributes to the image-making process where Bali is seen as a paradise. Yet images of paradise are not that unless they teeter on the verge of loss. At each historically-significant intersection of local and global forces at work amidst the colonial/post-colonial transition in Indonesia, the image of Bali has been cast in relief against a fragile landscape. Deconstructing how this image of Bali was created and how this landscape has come to be conceived as fragile is best understood by layering the economic, ecological, social, and religious functions protected and promoted by the adat tenure system with the economic, ecological, social, and religious meanings associated with this landscape.*

## INTRODUCTION

The southern portion of Bali has been characterized by rice-terraced landscapes for centuries. This part of the island has had a long and conflicting tradition of intensive agricultural land-use coupled with high population densities. The picturesque qualities of southern Bali's landscape have trumped the productive capabilities as land owners are able to make a better income by selling or even leasing their land, investing the proceeds and living on the interest, than by growing rice. This is all compounded by the soaring international real estate market that has been a *de facto* step toward facilitating the systematic transfer of land from *adat* control to that of formal tenureship (Basiago 1995).

Loosely translated, *adat* is the customary law that governs how individuals interact with the land. *Adat* has evolved in rural communities throughout the Indonesian archipelago as a local response to the variability in the resultant supporting environments (Hirsh and Warren 1998). In its general application, *adat* is characteristic of environmental management. However, under the nation's second President, Suharto (1967-1998) and his New Order government, Indonesia became a nation "dedicated to the obliteration of local places, local land and resource rights, and local knowledge" (Tsing 2005, p. 68). Thus, as land uses change and customary land tenure gives way to market pressures, development remains central to local Balinese concerns. Prior to Suharto's "anti-local regionality" (Tsing 2005, p. 68), Bali flourished under a traditional land tenure system, albeit complex, that was held relatively intact even after Dutch colonization in 1908. Varying to some degree across the island, the traditional tenure system in Bali is an intricate agreement between the visible and invisible, the social and political, and the ecological and economic that is typical of the Balinese relationship with any systemic organization. To understand these relationships it is important to explore two intertwined narratives specific to the island of Bali. The first narrative tells the story of internal or local forces that have shaped the land tenure system over the past 100 years. The second narrative is the elaborate tale of the external or global forces that have shaped the image of Bali during roughly this same 100-year time period. Aligning these two narratives reveals the surprising intersections when the narratives collide in contemporary Bali where both the local tenure system and the global image of Bali have contributed to the development pressures on the island's landscapes.

Beginning with Dutch colonization in 1908, at each historically-significant intersection of local and global forces at work thereafter, the image of Bali has been cast in relief against a fragile landscape. Deconstructing how this image of Bali was created and how this landscape has come to be conceived as fragile is best understood by layering the economic, ecological, social, and religious *functions* protected and promoted by the *adat* tenure system with the economic, ecological, social, and religious *meanings* associated with this landscape. In the Balinese village Ubud, this progression toward land as capital derives precisely from the function of and meaning toward the same cultural landscape. The composite footprint of Ubud today approximates the ritual and political geography of the nineteenth-century kingdom of Sukawati. Characterized by diverse ecosystems and control over most of an irrigation watershed, the last traditional ruler of this kingdom capitalized on this landscape to create a land tenure system that has repercussions even today amidst the area's immense development pressures.

What follows is an exploration into two concurrent narratives: (1) the history of land tenure in Ubud, Bali at a local scale pre-determined by Balinese spatial-orientation and

(2) reinforced by the global image of Bali. By way of bringing these two narratives together, this paper will address some of the surprising intersections of these two narratives. As Bali grapples with the prospect of becoming an international piece of real estate, part of its historical demise can be attributed to the evolution of the *adat* tenure system. A series of historical ironies have given way to the contemporary development pressures on Ubud's landscape. By exploring the two dominant narratives that have contributed to these development pressures, this paper will conclude by questioning how a number of these ironies resonate at the community level where participation is critical to addressing such development pressures.

### NARRATIVE ONE (LOCAL): A BRIEF HISTORY OF TRADITIONAL LAND TENURE IN BALI

Development literature typically treats the village unit as a single, homogenous entity. Balinese village structure is spatially, politically, and socially much more complex than any homogenous generalization, particularly in Ubud where development has led to one composite village of many *banjars*. Thus, it is important to understand the administrative divisions of land and power at a local scale in Bali. The *banjar* is a delineation specific to Bali and translates into 'neighborhood'. *The banjar is the primary secular social unit, whereas desa is the primary spatial and ritual unit (commonly, but somewhat misleadingly, translated as 'village') that binds a local community to the local landscape through collective responsibility to local deities (MacRae 1997). In the case of Bali, the village or desa level is not necessarily a natural unit of analysis. Treating it as such is done at the expense of recognizing modes of organization beyond and between villages that are especially characteristic of southern Bali. Spatially, the desa are bounded laterally (north and south or kaja-kelod) by the untamed space of the parallel river gorges and in the uphill-downhill direction by a neutral zone of cultivated land.*

*Historically, land in Bali was understood to be ultimately the property of the gods. Worldly tenure was never achieved outright. Often the exchange of labor and obligation to kings and local authorities who acted as brokers for the gods could grant one access to land (Mac Rae 2003). Locals could occupy and use land on what may best be understood as a leasehold basis that is hierarchical nevertheless. In general, productive land is privately owned, a right established initially by clearing and cultivation, later by capture and redistribution by local rulers, and currently by sale and purchase (MacRae 1997). Originally, land was made available to farmers for their subsistence in exchange not for a portion of the crop yield, but for certain services to the *puri*<sup>1</sup>. This mimicked a system of forced labor. Similarly, residential land was occupied subject to ritual obligations to the gods via the *desa*.*

The table below roughly approximates the following (from left to right): *Column 1*: land use type, *Column 2*: the traditional Balinese name for this land use type, *Column 3*: the prescribed spatial orientation imposed on the landscape<sup>2</sup>, and *Column 4*: tenure rights. However, the far right two columns are the most telling insofar as they illustrate the relationship between access to land in exchange for paying ritual obligation. *Column*

---

<sup>1</sup>*Puri* refers to princely houses with zones of political control, which were thought to be a direct connection to the Balinese gods.

<sup>2</sup>*Kaja-Kelod* is the most dominant spatial orientation in Balinese culture. It roughly approximates north and south, where north is always oriented toward Mt. Agung and south is always oriented toward the ocean.

5 depicts the social organization that occupies the land (as defined by columns 1-4), and *Column 6* specifies to whom the particular obligation of those represented in *Column 5* is oriented. The complex system of land, spatial organization, and obligation not only dominates trends in twentieth-century land tenure arrangements, but is particularly manifested in contemporary development pressures on the cultural landscape of Ubud.

(1) Land Use	(2) Traditional Name	(3) Spatial Orientation	(4) Tenure Rights	(5) Management/ Occupation	(6) In Exchange for Obligation
Household	<i>Pekarangan</i>	Kaja-Kelod	Communal	Individual Families	Gods via <i>Desa</i>
Village	<i>Desa</i>	Kaja-Kelod	Communal	<i>Desa</i>	-
Productive Land on Temple Grounds	<i>Laba Pura</i>	Kaja-Kelod	<i>Puri</i>	Individual Farmers	<i>Puri</i>
Productive Land	<i>Tanah Pecatu</i>	Kaja-Kelod oriented to Mt. Agung	<i>Puri</i>	<i>Subak</i>	<i>Puri</i>
Public Spaces	<i>Setra</i>	Voids in Kaja- Kelod scheme	Communal	<i>Banjar</i>	-

#### ***History of Traditional Land Tenure in Ubud, Bali***

Traditional land tenure in Bali is not consistent throughout the island. The foothill village of Ubud has an interesting history of land tenure and subsequent development, beginning with the charismatic late nineteenth-century ruler Cokora Sukawati. Through warfare, diplomacy and the exercise of personal charm, Cokora Sukawati steered the development of Ubud from the status of a small and peripheral village to the center of a vast strip of land from the sea to the lower edge of the mountain plateau (MacRae 1997). The death of Cokora Sukawati in 1919 marked the end of an extraordinary era during which Ubud moved from a local world of "seasonal rhythms and the ebb and flow of kingdoms" of a few square kilometers in size, to absorption into a vast colonial empire which brought it in contact with even wider forces of influence and processes of change (Warren 1993, p. 67).

#### ***The Onset of Colonial Taxation***

The Dutch took control of Bali in 1908 in their last attempt to tidy up their imperial hold on what is today the Indonesian archipelago. Ruling alongside the Balinese kingdoms for the most part, Cokora Sukawati was able to continue his tenancy/sharecropping arrangements with regards to land, as land continued to be granted to farmers in exchange for various services to Cokora Sukawati and the *puri*. A direct consequence of this system of labor management was that farmers during this time did not establish any rights to the land they were working. As a result today, few people own land in Ubud. Thus, Cokora Sukawati's legacy and the prosperity of Ubud during his reign is grounded in his ability to mobilize labor as well as control the resources, which included the productive, human, and ritual resources so integral to the culture of Ubud (MacRae 2003). In fact, what distinguishes Ubud today remains characterized by the abundance and geographical expanse of land held directly under the *puri*; the subsequent sense of loyalty to *Puri Ubud* throughout this area; and the landlessness of many Ubud residents

coupled with their distaste for manual labor—yet their talent for ritual and cultural production (MacRae 1997, Vickers 1996). However, by the time of Cokora Sukawati's death in 1919, the Dutch increasingly imposed their rule, particularly with the customary land tenure system established in 1922 when a colonial taxation system was introduced. This system was especially burdensome on landowners in Ubud who were forced to pay in Dutch currency. This created a hardship even on those few who held land privately, as land began to be transferred from smaller to larger landowners. Cokora Sukawati's tenancy/sharecropping arrangement did work to protect those farmers in compliance, however, because the *puri* served as a collective buffer against the direct affects of taxation to individual farmers (MacRae 2003). Nevertheless, the people of Ubud lived in constant fear of taxation, especially with the onset of The Great Depression when the world-wide demand for crops—particularly rice—declined. In fact, it was during this time that possession of a land title was more of a liability than a subsistence asset (Hendriatiningsih et. al. 2009). Thus, an increasing amount of land was given back to the *puri* so that its landholding only continued to amass under the male heirs to Sukawati's legacy. While the death of Cokora Sukawati began a long exchange of his predecessors trying to hold fast to his momentum locally, Ubud was developing from an external momentum fueled by the interests of Western artists and scholars alike, eager to cast their new-found paradise as an image for global consumption.

## **NARRATIVE TWO (GLOBAL): CREATING THE IMAGE OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPES OF BALI**

Expatriate residents developed and marketed to Europe and America Ubud's first enduring export product: The image of Bali as a natural, social and aesthetic paradise. Bali became an image that was exported all over the world, with cultural products as commodities and culture itself as a form of capital (Vickers 1996). Most of what is said and thought about Bali assumes a sort of genesis with Dutch colonization and official Dutch occupancy that dates to 1908. In reality, the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century was characterized by the Dutch and the Balinese coexisting on the island, but allowing the landscape to mark their separation. For the Balinese in the central and southern rice-growing, autonomous, village-based societies where the island's population was most dense, the division of the mountains created the illusion that the Dutch were not there (Vickers 1996). This division was short-lived once the Dutch seized control of the island at the turn of the twentieth century.

Tourism in Bali began at the turn of the twentieth century after Bali's independence was seized through a series of wars with the Dutch colonial powers that wreaked havoc on what was left of the traditional ruling kingdoms. Bali at that time was painted as "the ultimate tourist destination, culturally rich, with smiling people, an island of dances and temples to attract the wealthy of the world" (Covarrubias 1937, p. 21). Lured by the culture and traditions of the island, Dutch boats brought in roughly one-hundred tourists per month in the 1930s. This image was perpetuated during the 1920s and 1930s by mostly American artists and scholars. Artists Walter Spies and Miguel Covarrubias, musician Colin McPhee, and anthropologists Margaret Mead, Gregory Bateson and later Jane Belo and Clifford Geertz (to name a few) became part of a large troupe of individuals, schooled and trained in the production of culture, who have been instrumental in further refining the image of Bali. The arrival of these artists and scholars coincided with the 1931 Colonial Exposition in Paris where gamelon players and

Balinese dancers from a *banjar* near Ubud were on display for their exquisite music and dance. The connected artistic and academic elite, coupled with the overwhelming popularity of the Balinese at the Colonial Exposition in 1931, lured great numbers of privileged tourists from Europe and the US prior to World War II.

Since the turn of the twentieth century, the aim of the Dutch and then the Indonesian government has been to maintain the cultural image of Bali for the sake of tourism. The assumption has been that the landscape is more resilient than the culture. Even the World Bank experts who crafted the 1971 tourism master plan predicted that by 1983 the Balinese culture would succumb to tourism, but the image of Bali would remain as “a green and sumptuous garden” (Vickers 1996, p. 196). By planning for the economic potential of Bali as a cultural haven over the island’s fragile ecosystems, the World Bank and many other subsequent experts have failed to consider the inherent link and “complete feeling of harmony between the people [of Bali] and their surrounding” (Covarrubias 1937, p. 9). Unfortunately the Western tendency to divide nature and culture has been a difficult habit for many disciplines and professions to shake even in the twenty-first century (Mitchell and Buggey 2000, Fleming and Campbell 2007).

#### *The Cultural Landscape of Bali*

The idea of cultural landscapes has been popularized over the past twenty years to characterize place-based identity entrenched in a specific natural setting. Officially recognizing cultural landscapes as a distinct category on the World Heritage List in 1992 for the first time formalized landscape significance beyond the physical layers of land to ascertain the relationship between a culture and its surrounding environment. The World Heritage Committee’s definition maintains that cultural landscapes are “distinct geographical areas or properties uniquely representing the combined works of nature and man” (UNESCO 2008). There continues to be a need to understand the nuanced relationships to the land (and sea) that are tangibly and intangibly manifested in their interconnectedness (Matthews and Selman 2006).

The concept of cultural landscapes, then, is an intricate, systemic understanding of many sub-layers at work. Celebrating the patterns and processes at play in cultural landscapes, shaped at once by natural and cultural systems, shifts the focus away from a fragmented approach toward understanding the spatial organizations and land uses that are as much made possible by the human capacity to create, inhabit and maintain these as the natural systems at work (Longstreth 2008). Thus, by their very nature, cultural landscapes are not a model of stasis but a dynamic system in constant flux. This system produces layers of significance that call for ongoing interpretation in an effort to maintain cultural heritage. Often this interpretation is through the conscious and subconscious levels of community attachment. However, these layers of significance hold different meanings for different members of a community. Cultural landscapes are a collection of shared expressions, but not necessarily consistently held from one inhabitant to the next. Yet none of these layers is more or less significant than the others, and it is the collection that give meaning and ascribe significance particularly to these cultural landscapes of Bali. There is no “unit of analysis” for cultural landscapes (Groth and Bressi 1997, p. 143). The patterns and processes, community attachment, and collection of shared expressions cannot be understood at anything less than a systemic level.

Bali’s globally-fabricated cultural-natural divide disorients a world view that has been bound by the mountains and the sea for two thousand years. Exploring Bali in the

context of varying scales—from the island to the banjar/desa (neighborhood/village) level—one can see just how difficult it is to separate the natural and cultural when speaking of the cultural landscape of Bali. The cultural landscape of Ubud is articulated through the sawah, or wet-rice terraced landscapes that the southern portion of the island supports. The cultural landscape of southern Bali—and particularly Ubud—is a landscape divided by traditional Balinese thinking into two primary categories: (1) wild forests and (2) land that has been brought into human cultivation and ritual order. When this landscape is occupied by humans, “the forest is cut, social and spatial institutions are established and ritual processes initiated to maintain harmony between the human and the spiritual world” (MacRae 1997, p. 84). Scale, then, does not adhere to an exact measurement, but becomes a utilitarian product of human occupation, function, and use that varies as a culture adapts and evolves from external forces at work. In the contemporary cultural landscape of Ubud, scale is a spatial and cultural construct (but no less systemic) that closely aligns with traditional distributions of land and meanings associated with the landscape.

#### ***Definitions of Scale in a Spatially-Oriented Society***

Today, Ubud is a global village, where people, ideas and money from all over the world come together as outside forces meet a local village community. The development of this global village has for over a century been inseparable from links with foreign people and distant places. Ubud’s contemporary economy is based upon massive flows of foreign currency through tourism and handicraft exports (MacRae 1997). However, the global Ubud and the local Ubud are not mere inversions of each other. The collision of global and local coming together in Ubud is an untidy process of understanding what different culturally-understood increments mean in defining and managing a place. In fact, as an “analytic tools with which to think about the global picture” the idea of scale is still very “rudimentary” (Tsing 2005, p. 58). Considering cultural influences on the making of scale, it is important to remember that scale is not “just a neutral frame for viewing the world” (Tsing 2005, p. 58). Rather, scale is at once inherited, influenced and informed by all of the competing forces to whom this scale matters. In critically considering a place such as Ubud where these competing forces have been at work for over a century, it is tempting to dichotomize the local and global scale where “distinctions between local reactions and global forces, local consumption and global circulation, local resistance and global structures of capitalism, and local translations and the global imagination” have clearly morphed Ubud into what it is today (Tsing 2005, p. 58). Yet in the end, Ubud is one place, with one teleological progression, albeit influenced by many players and events, that has delivered the composite village into its contemporary disposition. Ultimately, it is how the residents of Ubud reconcile this teleological progression in the face of development pressures that threaten Ubud’s cultural and natural heritage, that will narrate the tale of how this landscape fares.

### **A COLLISION OF TWO NARRATIVES: CONTEMPORARY PRESSURES ON LAND USES**

Bali’s global and local scales come to heads when the narrative of traditional land tenure and the narrative of Bali’s global image collide. This process began in the 1960s with the institutional intervention by the national government as yet another scale placing its bias and jurisdiction over Ubud’s landscape. Leading up to this intervention, the waning agriculturally-based economy of southern Bali did little to support upholding

customary land tenure arrangements (Geertz 1963). As the 1950s progressed, there were several steep rises in the price of rice, yet productive agricultural land was the only guarantee of food and income. Furthermore, the population of Bali (and especially Ubud) had increased, although average landholdings were a fraction of what they had been based on farmers' avoidance of the Dutch taxation scheme in the earlier part of the twentieth century. As a result, the Balinese placed immense pressure on the provincial and national governments for a more equitable distribution of land. By 1960, the national government was persuaded to initiate a program of land distribution, or *Landreform* as it was commonly known.

*Landreform* was designed to reduce all large landholdings to a scale enabling landholders to still support their families while transferring legal title of the surplus to those, sharecroppers or tenants, who actually worked the land (Hendriatiningsih et. al. 2009). This system like many of the national initiatives, was marked by corruption and a lack of transparency. As a result, many of the largest landowners were able to circumvent the system, thereby retaining a high percentage—if not all—of their original landholdings. It is believed that approximately 75% of true landholdings in Ubud were reported under *Landreform* (Basiago 1995). While the allowable limit was seven ha. of *sawah* (irrigated fields) and 9 ha. of *tegal* (dry fields), the majority of *sawah* plots range from 2 to 4 ha. which is just sufficient to feed a small family (Hendriatiningsih et. al. 2009). This system ensured that most farmers had access to land of their own, but never achieved real equality of landholdings. *Landreform* only exacerbated pressures on land, as Ubud's local population continued to rise and tourism began to replace agriculture as the most lucrative sector.

#### **Current Land Crisis**

The current land crisis in Bali can be attributed to confounding factors associated with the growth of tourism, increased population densities, and the emergence of a middle class as a result of the former and comprised of the latter. The 1980s was characterized by the development of tourism in conjunction with a growing resident expatriate community. Since then, this growth and development has had both direct and indirect effects on land use, land value, and land tenure in Ubud. The growth of the tourism sector has led to a comprehensive shift of both land and labor from agriculture subsistence to tourism-based commerce (MacRae 2003). In turn, this has created a demand for street-frontage land through which restaurants and shops could have the most direct access to tourists along main thoroughfares. Thus, while dominant land uses have transformed over the past century, so too have relative valuations of different categories of land been drastically transformed. Not only is this evident in the street-frontage property, but also the market for secluded residential sites along sloping river gorges—traditionally undesirable land for agriculture. Landowners now stand to make a profit from land strategically located, rather than historically productive lands.

Despite efforts at the national level over the past fifty years, a unified land tenure system seems unlikely for Indonesia's traditional and formal structures. In spite of shifting to decentralized governance, land tenure remains highly characterized by its centrality. This is attributed to languishing effects of *Landreform* and subsequent national laws where the State has jurisdiction over lands traditionally belonging to the *puri* (Basiago 1995). Not only does this pose an imminent threat to the security of these lands, but also to the sustainability of Balinese culture that has been linked to these lands for centuries.

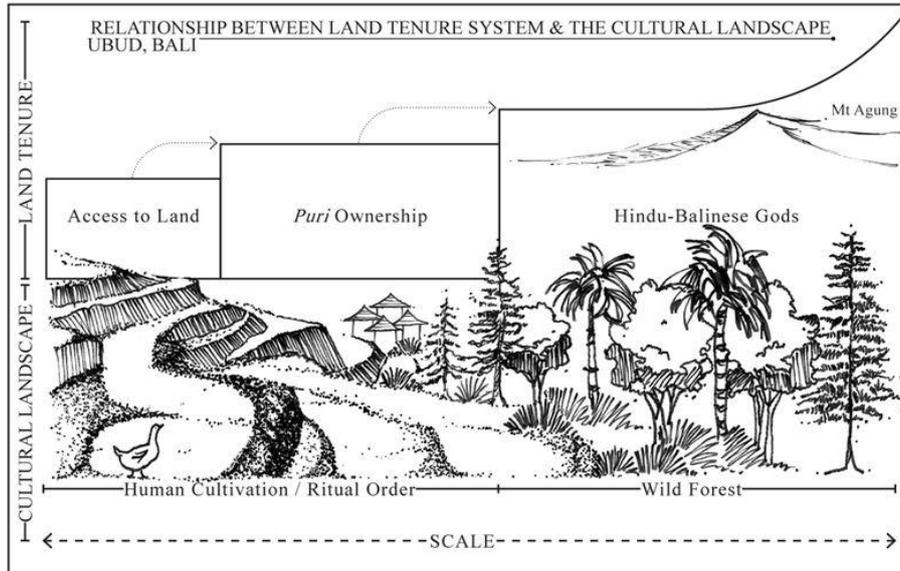
## LOCALLY ARTICULATED PRESSURES ON LAND USE

Understand the preceding two narratives in terms of those historical moments where they have collided brings into fruition the development pressures Ubud currently faces and those internal and external influences that have given rise to such pressures. Nevertheless, the collision of global and local has been anticipated. The traditional land tenure system and the external forces that have shaped the image of Bali as a tourism commodity collide as more of the wet-rice terraced landscape is consumed by the expanding tourism footprint. What this collision unexpectedly reveals is the potential layering of these two narratives, the scalar increments that coincide, and the moments of community identification that emanate from these concurrences.

Today, these highly engineered and ordered landscapes of southern Bali (Lansing 1991) resonate with more practical and even mundane challenges facing culturally-significant landscapes throughout the developing world. One issue of particular relevance to the island landscape today is the balance between development pressures brought on by the global narrative and cultural heritage management instrumental in maintaining the local narrative. The myth and mysticism of the Balinese landscapes are becoming increasingly juxtaposed with contemporary management practices, and the encroachment of tourism and development is the omnipresent threat to such historically-coveted landscapes (Lansing 1991). Balinese culture thus serves as an appropriate entry point into understanding the dynamic relationship between a culture that has been so inextricably tied to their landscape for centuries and how this heritage reconciles the collision of local and global today.

In the case of Ubud, the layers of significance tell a unique story of land ownership, use, value, and meaning that have cultivated the rice-terraced landscapes of southern Bali—particularly over the past century through two distinct narratives (global and local). *Figure 1* illustrates these layers of significance, and particularly how the history of land tenure in Ubud almost precisely overlaps the function and meaning associated with the landscape over this same period in history. The local narrative is represented by the land tenure continuum from left to right that progresses from local access to land to the Balinese belief that land is ultimately the property of the gods. The global narrative is represented by the cultural landscape continuum from left to right that progresses from a highly engineered and cultivated landscape to that small bit of land that remains untouched by the development footprint mostly brought about by tourism encroachment. Reading this illustration comprehensively then, from the far left of the graphic depicts local access to the productive lands, which is a highly engineered and ordered landscape, with spatial organization supporting the complex irrigation system. Despite locals' access to land, though, the productive (and later monetary) yields from this landscape do not belong to those who cultivate the land. Instead, this privilege is held by the *puri* of Ubud, who still today own most of the productive land in the composite village of Ubud (inherited first from Cokorda Sukawati's entrepreneurial prowess, and later by systems of colonial taxation and national reform). Yet no matter how productive or financially viable these landscapes are, they are ultimately determined to be the property of the gods. Even today as these landscapes diminish and worldly good fortune is bestowed upon those who sell land outright to foreign investors, the Balinese harbor a cultural and spiritual obligation to keep this system in motion. The system requires the balance between land that is cultivated for the purposes of ritual obligation (by way of productive yields), and wild forests that complement and support the delicate ecosystem thought by the Balinese to teeter on

the verge of imbalance as tourism and development looms. Scale is represented by the dashed line. This is to suggest that while there is no set scale at which this development can be offset, sustaining a portion of the existing landscape (cultivated and natural), Ubud's community interests lie in maintaining the cultural and natural heritage rooted in these landscapes.



This process of layering continues to question what the Dutch did in the 1900s, scholars and artists did in the 1930s, the New Order government did in the 1960s, and development experts today continue to question: Can Bali's cultural landscape survive amidst these development pressures? In fact, it is this question that actually contributes to the image-making process where Bali is seen as a paradise. Yet images of paradise are not that unless they teeter on the verge of loss. While there are no clear-cut answers to this angst that hovers over Bali and particularly Ubud, what is clear is that the scale of the institution should match the scale of the resource. In the instance of Ubud, the customary land tenure system has the capacity to do this, distributing lands spatially, socially, politically, and ecologically. Formal land tenure that champions the individual serves only to privatize and commodify land for interests external to those firmly rooted in the cultural landscape. If the cultural landscape of Ubud is to tell any other tale than a paradise lost, culturally-integrated methods need to be invoked so that that the narrative is internally articulated from a voice that derives from the very landscapes it aims to sustain.

## REFERENCES

- Basiago, A. D.(1995)"Sustainable Development in Indonesia: A Case Study of an Indigenous Regime of Environmental Law and Policy."*International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology* 2 (3):199-211.
- Covarrubias, Miguel.(1937)*Island of Bali*. Singapore: Periplus Editions.
- Fleming, Arlene K. and Ian L. Campbell.(2007)"Joining the Mainstream: A Practical Approach to Safeguarding Cultural Heritage in a Changing World." (Based on authors' work as consultants at the World Bank).
- Geertz, Clifford.(1963)*Agricultural Involution: The Processes of Ecological Change in Indonesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Groth, Paul and Todd Bressi, Eds.(1997)*Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*. Ann Arbor, MI: Edwards Brothers, Inc.
- Hendriatiningsih, S. et al.(2009)"Comparative Study of Customary and Formal Land Tenure System in Bali, Indonesia."*Surveyors Key Role in Accelerated Development*. Eilat, Israel.
- Hirsh, Phillip and Carol Warren.(1998)*The Politics of Environment in Southeast Asia: Resources and Resistance*. London: Routledge.
- Lansing, Stephen J.(1991)*Priests and Programmers: Technologies of Power in the Engineered Landscape of Bali*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Longstreth, Richard, Editor.(2008)*Cultural Landscapes: Balancing Nature and Heritage in Preservation Practice*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- MacRae, Graeme.(1997)"Global Village or Neo-Negara? Acting Global, Thinking Local in a Balinese Tourist Town." *Staying Local in the Global Village: Bali in the Twentieth Century*. Honolulu, HI:University of Hawaii Press.
- MacRae, Graeme.(2003) "The Value of Land in Bali: Land Tenure, Land Reform and Commodification."*Inequality, Crisis and Social Change in Indonesia*. T. Reuter ed. London: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Matthews, Robin and Paul Selman.(2006)"Landscape as a Focus for Integrating Human and Environmental Processes."*Journal of Agricultural Economics* 57 (2): 199-212.
- Mitchell, Nora and Susan Buggey.(2000) "Protected Landscapes and Cultural Landscapes: Taking Advantage of Diverse Approaches."*The George Wright Forum* 17 (1), 1-12.
- Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt.(2005)*Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connections*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- UNESCO World Heritage Committee.(2008) *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*. Paris: Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.
- Vickers, Adrian.(1996)*Bali: A Paradise Created*. Singapore: Periplus Editions.
- Warren, C. 1993. *Adat and Dinas: Balinese Communities in the Indonesian State*. Oxford and Singapore: Oxford University Press.



## GREENING VIENNESE URBAN FABRIC: URBAN RENEWAL AND STREET IMPROVEMENT

**Betul BRETSCHNEIDER**, *Assistant Professor*  
Vienna University of Technology, Austria  
office.bretschneider@chello.at

### **ABSTRACT**

*How can the Viennese Urban Renewal Model develop the ground floor zone of historical urban fabric? How can a comprehensive planning approach restructure and reuse the building blocks at ground level, including courtyards and street spaces?*

*Sustainable urban development requires more open and green areas, sufficient local supply, social infrastructure and convenient traffic solutions. All these characteristics interact with the ground floor zone, street spaces and common areas within the urban fabric of the city. The ground floor zone and surrounding open spaces establish the quality of life and are key to the image of the cities.*

*The city of Vienna, like a number of other cities, has a growing problem with vacant ground floors and deactivated desolate street (common) spaces. The negative influence of private traffic, and the disappearance of retail outlets are the main reasons for the current situation. The symbiotic relationship between the many user groups, local residents, small retail outlets and small-scale local economy are obvious. This coherence impacts on the quality of life in the neighbourhood. How and if is the historical urban fabric transformable and transferable?*

*The results of the investigations on Viennese urban renewal program in a 'block redevelopment' area are not only implementable on the existing urban fabric, but also on the new development areas in between. The findings are addressed not only to the urban renewal department and planners, but to all relevant City departments (urban planning, housing subsidy, traffic planning, environmental protection, architectural and urban design, green planning and business development), delivering transferable and typological planning procedures and methods.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

The city of Vienna, like a number of other cities, has a growing problem with vacant ground floors and deactivated desolate street (common) spaces. The vacancy in Vienna becomes noticeable and widespread only at the level of ground floor zone in the historical core areas of the urban fabric. This development does not proceed as dramatic as those completely empty buildings and blocks in some other post-industrial or post-socialist European cities. However the increasing rate of vacant ground floor areas at the street level shows that this development is not as harmless as it seems to be.

The quality and usability of ground floor zone and the public spaces in-between impacts the quality of life and image value of an urban area. The ground floor areas and their spatial structures amongst adjacent spaces such as courtyards, streets, squares and green spaces give the character of the urban quarters. Their neglect causes undoubtedly a depreciation of the environment and the surrounding neighborhood.

The local supply enterprises like groceries, small shops, workshops and small apartments have been the traditional uses of the ground floor zones in Vienna. In many areas of the city today, the ground floors are increasingly losing users and usability. The city of Vienna, like a number of other cities, has a growing problem with vacant ground floors and deactivated desolate street/common spaces. The negative influence of individual motorized traffic, and the disappearance of retail outlets are the main reasons for the current situation. The different user groups of ground floors such as inhabitants, retails and small-scale local economy exist in a symbiotic relationship.

## CURRENT SITUATION OF GROUND FLOORS IN VIENNA

The vacancy of existing ground floors means unused building resources. In addition, the vacancy of ground floors weakens the identification of the inhabitants with their neighborhood. This phenomenon can be observed in many cities. Their ground floor zones show, in spite of all the similarities of their urban structures, significant differences related to the nature of street spaces: such as height, width and design of the spaces between the building blocks, the intensity of the street parking and traffic, the legal regulations of rents and property matters.

The rising vacancy rate in ground floors due to the replacement and closure of small(est) enterprises creates not only in the so called 'problem zones' of the cities a downward spiral.

As already mentioned the city of Vienna, like a number of other cities, has a growing problem with vacant ground floors and deactivated desolate street/common spaces. In recent years, series of cultural and economical programs has been initiated to upgrade and revitalize the neglected ground floor facilities due to the long term vacancy.

On one hand the negative influence of the motorized street traffic and on the other hand the increasingly closures and displacements of enterprises in ground floors are the main reasons for the current problems.

## MIGRATION OF CITIZENS

The scarcity of available public or green areas causes an exodus from the core cities to the suburbs; Particularly the families with children. More land consumption, more infrastructure, new social institutions such as schools, kindergartens, public transport and more traffic are the common results. Moreover Vienna's population has traditionally weekend homes in the countryside. The young singles, elderly people and migrant households prefer to live in the core city areas. (Wiener Einkaufsstraßen Management 2007)

The exodus to the suburbs and the growing urban sprawl burden ultimately the city governments due to the rising infrastructure costs. The growing private traffic between the central areas of the city and residential areas around the city causes more motor traffic emissions; this development set further migration in motion: Circulus Vitiosus.

## STIGMATIZED BY TRAFFIC EMISSIONS

More than half of the population in Vienna claims to suffer from constant noise. Dust is further a serious problem. The longer distances between work, housing and traditional weekend houses cause more and more traffic. This means not only increasing

greenhouse emissions, but also a negative development of the street spaces in the urban areas. The controversial role of traffic planning and the conflicting objectives and trends of economic and environmental policy support the negative development. The small scaled urban traffic planning requires immediately new ways and innovative solutions, which are carried out by decentralized local politics.

### **SMALL(EST) ENTERPRISES AND STORE CLOSURES**

The retail spaces in the ground floor zones, which are not located in the main shopping streets, around the market places, in the pedestrian zones and on the traffic-calmed places, are no longer in demand and they become unused, stigmatized spaces.

The lack of retails in short distances causes more car traffic and insufficient local supply. The typical uses of the ground floors like retails, cafés and restaurants or small offices has the character of semi-public places. More vacancies in the ground floor zone cause less interaction between closed and open spaces, public and private spaces at the street level.

The small-scaled structures of existing local supply are increasingly weakening. More and more retails and other enterprises established in ground floors are closing. The local supply enterprises (like small business, retail and offices) are dependent on the current customers coming from their district.

The presence of the pedestrians on the streets vitalizes the street life, reduces motorized traffic and supports the local economy. The rate of small(est) enterprises is over 90 % in Europe: Vienna and other Austrian cities are in this case no exception. (KMU Forschung Austria)

### **MINI-GARAGES VERSUS RETAILS**

In the last years, the restructuring and re-use of the ground floors as small (mini-)garages for the new residential units, that have been built on the roofs historical buildings, changed the character of the street spaces and the ground floor zones .

The existing ground floor spaces are allowed to be converted into the closed small garages in last decade. The parking garages (mostly with 2 car parking places) in the ground floors, which often belong to the new users of the new penthouse apartments on top of the historical blocks.

These mini garages built in the former spaces of local supply and retails transformed in recent years the street facades of the street level into the death zones. The dark holes of garage entrances and exits has been turned to usual elements of ground floors not only of the new buildings but also at the historical façades of the building blocks.

The obligatory new car parking places for each new housing unit or new office areas play an important role in this development. The local politicians see the creating new parking space as the key to political success. Reducing the parking lots in the streets to create green/common places causes protest actions of the inhabitants.

To date the house owners and housing managements do not consider today the ground floors as profitable enough areas for retails and small enterprises are profitable enough and do not rent out to retails and small enterprises. The ground floors of the

new housing blocks are usually planned and used as service spaces like car parking areas and garbage rooms with introverted façades.

Higher rental income, higher yields, better marketing opportunities and available public construction subsidies (hearing wohnfonds\_wien 2006) are the basic motivations of property owners to convert the former shops and flats into the mini-garages.

Although the urban renewal and the urban planning authorities are obviously against this development, the relevant legal instruments are not existing to stop this process. The decision-making authority and responsibility lies in the hands of the local governments.



Figure 1 The new mini-garages and blind windows on the street level in Vienna

## VIENNESE URBAN RENEWAL FABRIC

Central city areas of Vienna is dominated by late 19th century block raster system (perimeter block development)

Vienna has a prevailing historical housing stock: over one-third of the dwelling stock and one-fifth of the building stock in Vienna built before World War I, between 1870 and 1910). 32.000 of 150.000 Viennese buildings belong the historical urban fabric. (Potyka 2006)

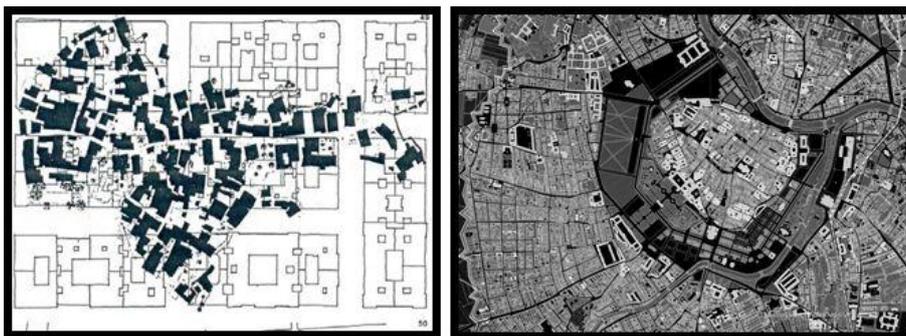


Figure 2 Transformation of urban structures in Vienna at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, R.Rainer

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the industrialisation, mass migration and construction of mass housing for new comers caused a extremely rapid change of the urban

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

structures of the city. The small scale building structures has been transformed into the perimeter block development.

These new structures of homogeneous block raster system of 19<sup>th</sup> century dominate the urban character of the city today. After the urgent reparation of the damaged buildings after the world war II and the construction of social housing projects of the periphery in the 60's, an intensive building regeneration program has been initiated by the urban renewal department of the city government. In the middle of 1970s, 300.00 housing units - about 30 % of the housing stock - had substandard quality. In 2002, after the modernization activities the rate of the substandard housing units without has been only about 10% (Statistik Austria).

In our time, the core city areas of high density historical urban fabric provide several functional qualities such as spatial flexibility for different users, for new functions, new lifestyles. The traditional (still) existing mixed uses in small scale, availability of local supply and public transport in walking distance provided by central location in the city are the further significant qualities of the historical urban fabric. The dynamic of social and ethnic diversity as well as the intensive cultural and social infrastructures makes these areas of the city more attractive especially for young singles, elderly people and migrant families.

The high demand for them in housing market and increasing market prices demonstrate this current tendency. A gentrification process starts after a block development program despite the rental regulations to keep the rental prices constant and to prevent the replacement of low-income inhabitants.

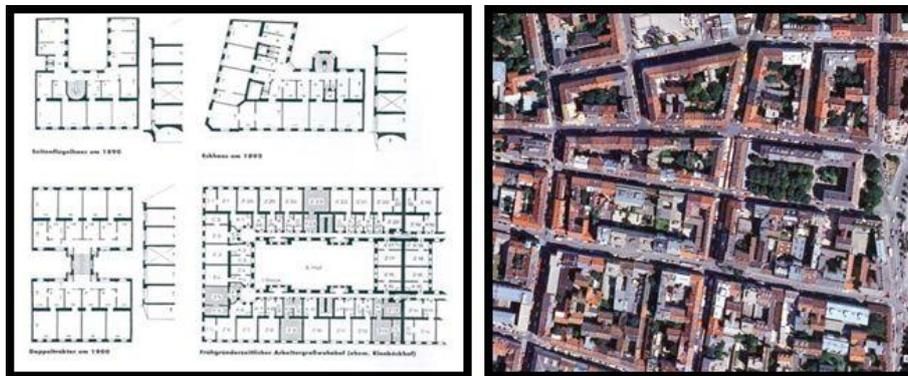


Figure 3 'Gründerzeit' Workers Housing (Bobek, Lichtenberger: Hoftypologie, 1978)

### URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAM FOR STREET-LEVEL IMPROVEMENT?

The block redevelopment program (so called Blocksanierung) of City of Vienna has been developed and implemented since the mid-1980s. The program targets a comprehensive improvement of entire blocks - of different private owners by combining housing redevelopment with other measures to improve living conditions in an selected neighbourhood. (wohnfonds\_wien 2010)

The block redevelopment program, which financed by housing act has two main aims (WWFSG 1989): The main intention of the program is the modernisation and

regeneration of historical housing buildings. The further targets are the comprehensive improvement of restructuring of whole districts, which are seen as problem zones due to the low housing and buildings standards and concentration of low-income-groups and migrants as well as improvement of the open spaces and street spaces. (Bretschneider 2008, Reichl, R. 2000)

The block renewal program instigated by the housing renewal authorities in Vienna is an regeneration model which also targets the improvement of ground floor zone related components like green areas, courtyards of the blocks, public spaces, streets and local supply. The following objectives such as:

- Opening the block courtyards of historical urban fabric to create accessible green spaces
- Creating common spaces between the building blocks, green parks and street spaces for different social groups of a urban renewal area
- Implementation of a block renewal management, coordinating stake holders, tenants, retail outlets and service facilities
- Redefinition of the density of urban fabric on the basis of the new master plans for the urban renewal area

are given as key assignments of a block renewal project by the urban renewal department of Vienna.

Although the urban renewal program is geared towards a comprehensive urban revitalization of the whole neighbourhood, its implementation has fallen short of target particularly with regard to ground floor zones and open spaces.

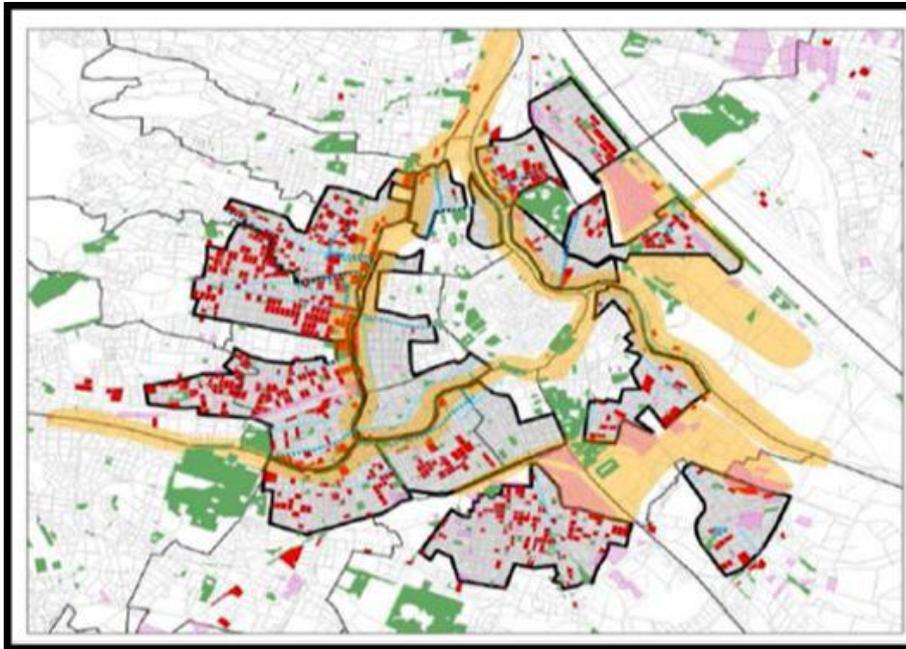


Figure 4 Target areas of urban renewal in Vienna; 2005, G. Berger, City of Vienna

The urban renewal targets remains rarely achievable because of contradictory interests of property owners, local politics and public planning authorities. Without a coherent modernization of the whole block area with open spaces and ground floor facilities, there is not enough sustainable success.

### STUWERVIERTEL AS BLOCK REDEVELOPMENT TARGET AREA

The case study on block redevelopment program delivers a series of strategies for the improvement and recycling of ground floor zones in the urban fabric of Vienna with all regulative, legislative and financial components in cooperation with the planning authorities operating in different fields of urban planning. The main target of the project is a sustainable restructuring and reusing program of existing blocks at ground level, including courtyards and street spaces- as a comprehensive planning approach.

In the context of the research project on Viennese block redevelopment program of urban renewal department of the City, the barriers and obstacles in planning processes has been analyzed to develop new methods and strategies and to help the program achieve its aims. The case studies in of European practice of urban renewal programs (Berlin, Leipzig and Basel) and the analysing of recent cultural initiatives has been some of the methods to define the way forward in planning.

A recent block renewal target area - Stuwerviertel in Vienna - has been analysed in a simulation and implementation model to test the feasibility of the planning solutions and methods of the case project, as well as to confirm the transferability of these, on the basis of Interviews with the planning, building and controlling authorities for urban renewal, urban development, building legislation, urban traffic and local organizations, residents, tenants, investors and stake-holders as well as field studies.



*Figure 5 Block renewal area 'Stuwerviertel' in Vienna*

The block renewal area is located between new urban development areas, surrounded by the water front development area (of the River Danube) the green recreation area Prater and a new housing area on the brown field of the railway company.

One of the most important objective of the block redevelopment projects to reduce the partly extremely high density of the urban fabric by partial demolition of the backyard blocks.

The findings of the case study are addressed not only to the urban renewal department, but to all relevant city departments (urban planning, housing subsidy, traffic planning, environmental protection, architectural/urban design, green planning and business development), delivering transferable and typological planning procedures and methods.

## ACTION PLAN FOR A COMPREHENSIVE BLOCK REDEVELOPMENT

Over the last few decades, the urban renewal program 'the block renewal' in Vienna had the physical building regeneration as prime objective. An extension of the current urban renewal practice is absolutely necessary to keep the mixed use urban fabric and to improve the quality of life in Vienna's high density urban areas in order to keep the households in the central areas of the city.

Greening and re-functioning of open spaces, reduction of individual traffic and new planning of street spaces should gain more importance in the target program of the block redevelopment program of the city government. Improvement of the public and semi-public spaces at the beginning of the urban renewal process enhance the acceptance of property owners to invest for their properties, because of better marketing potential.

Furthermore, a cooperative action plan which is carried out by all involved administrative departments of the city governments, specially by the decentralized local (district) governments, who are acting as both decision maker and investor for the public spaces and street spaces. The departments of funding for housing and for local micro-economy should really work together.

In this context, the following measures are addressed to the public hand and urban renewal authorities for reusing to revitalize the ground floor zone:

- cooperation by parties affected, involvement of local authorities, local politics, local community based organizations to reach the targets of the block redevelopment projects
- a better knowledge transfer, communication and cooperation of all departments of urban planning and urban politics
- further development of urban renewal methods to regenerate the neighbourhood as a whole
- special and effective subsidies and customized information services for the entrepreneurs to start and to develop small business
- more support and information for the greening measures in the courtyards and street spaces, specially for the active gardening of the inhabitants
- innovative measures for the reduction of car traffic and traffic calming methods
- extension of housing subsidies to support the non-residential uses in the ground floor zones
- abolition of the regulation of the obligatory car parking lots units within the building block, for the new built 'penthouses' on top of them
- Elimination of contrary strategies and practice of planning and legislative authorities
- new legal tools to provide the guaranteed implementation of measures (like common spaces for children and tenants in the ground floors, bicycle parking spaces and greening).

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

The following measures support retail and small(est) enterprises for reusing and transformation of ground-floor-zone:

- effective financial support for start-ups (in the ground floor-zone),
- active information and know how transfer (specially for migrant enterprises of ground floor-zone) but also for landlords and tenants
- less restriction of use for the ground floor zone (specially for smallest enterprises)
- no functional zoning for ground floors (open and flexible usability)
- sufficient financial support (subsidies) for the renovation of the non-residential-spaces of ground floors
- exemption from various fees, charges and rates specially for new comers (retail, small entrepreneurs) of ground floor zones
- controlling of rental price level not only for housing but also for commercial uses

Furthermore the following measures are addressed to public hand and public authorities for an efficient (re)use of ground floor-zone:

- cooperation of all players and stake holder; inhabitants, tenants, neighbourhood organizations, local authorities, local politics, local community-based organizations, house owners and NGO's
- unconventional architectural planning solutions
- elimination of contrary strategies and practice of planning and legislative authorities
- new legal tools to provide the implementation of measures (like common spaces for children and tenants in the ground floors, bicycle parking spaces, greening etc.)
- coordination and merging of different financial supports for housing, greening and business development.

The results of the case study are implementable measures for an enduring and sustainable restructuring of the ground level zone with new strategies for organization, regulation, planning guidelines and planning.

The block redevelopment area Stuwerviertel is still in a improvement and transformation process. The new subway station, the planned university campus in the adjacent green area Prater and new built housing facilities attract the quarter for the investors. Recently new users have established their offices in the ground floors of the historical blocks. The green park Max-Winter-Place in the middle of the quarter has been revitalized after a participation process. The property owner modernize the flats in the houses, mostly without having public subsidies. The urban change around the quarter transform the area very quickly. The future investigations will be focused on the speed of gentrification process and the level of income of the inhabitants. The main question will remain to answer, if the higher income groups as new-comers of the pilot area Stuwerviertel will change the rate of vacancy in the ground floors of and the quality of the street level in the next years.

## REFERENCES

- Bretschneider, Betul (2008) “win wi(e)n:block development ground floor zone: Optimization of the Viennese block renewal programm as a tool for a sustainable development of street level and open (public) spaces of urban fabric” Haus der Zukunft, bmVIT, 20-22
- KMU FORSCHUNG AUSTRIA: Regionaldatenbank, Statistik Austria, Hauptverband d. Sozialversicherungsträger, Observatory of European SMEs
- Statistik Austria (2007), Hauptverband der Sozialversicherungsträger, Observatory of European SMEs
- Potyka, H. et al. (2006) “Gründerzeit – International experiences”, unpublished research study, comm. by MA 19, City of Vienna
- Reichel, R. (2000) „Blocksanierung – Stadterneuerung Strategien in der konkreten Praxis“, Wohnbauforschung in Österreich, wbfö Nr.4
- wonfonds\_wien (2002) “Ecological Block renewal” Good practice UN-Habitat; [www.bestpractices.at](http://www.bestpractices.at)
- wohnfonds\_wien (2007) „Leitfaden Blocksanierung“, Vienna
- Wiener Wohnbauförderungs- und Wohnhaussanierungsgesetz WWWFSG (1989)
- Wiener Einkaufsstraßen Management - servicecenter geschäftslokale (2007) unpublished census/study of population structures in Stuwerviertel

## TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE URBAN FUTURES: EVALUATING URBAN SUSTAINABILITY PERFORMANCE OF THE GOLD COAST, AUSTRALIA

**Fatih DUR**, *PhD. Student*  
Queensland University of Technology, Australia  
f.dur@qut.edu.au

**Tan YİĞİTCANLAR**, *Senior Lecturer*  
Queensland University of Technology, Australia  
tan.yigitcanlar@qut.edu.au

**Jonathan BUNKER**, *Senior Lecturer*  
Queensland University of Technology, Australia  
j.bunker@qut.edu.au

### **ABSTRACT**

*Creating sustainable urban environments is one of the challenging issues that need a clear vision and implementation strategies involving changes in governmental values and decision making process for local governments. Particularly, internalisation of environmental externalities of daily urban activities (e.g. manufacturing, transportation and so on) has immense importance for which local policies are formulated to provide better living conditions for the people inhabiting urban areas. Even if environmental problems are defined succinctly by various stakeholders, complicated nature of sustainability issues demand a structured evaluation strategy and well-defined sustainability parameters for efficient and effective policy making. Following this reasoning, this study involves assessment of sustainability performance of urban settings mainly focussing on environmental problems caused by rapid urban expansion and transformation. By taking into account land-use and transportation interaction, it tries to reveal how future urban developments would alter daily urban travel behaviour of people and affect the urban and natural environments. The paper introduces a grid-based indexing method developed for this research and trailed as a GIS-based decision support tool to analyse and model selected spatial and aspatial indicators of sustainability in the Gold Coast. This process reveals parameters of site specific relationship among selected indicators that are used to evaluate index-based performance characteristics of the area. The evaluation is made through an embedded decision support module by assigning relative weights to indicators. Resolution of selected grid-based unit of analysis provides insights about service level of projected urban development proposals at a disaggregate level, such as accessibility to transportation and urban services, and pollution. The paper concludes by discussing the findings including the capacity of the decision support system to assist decision-makers in determining problematic areas and developing intervention policies for sustainable outcomes of future developments.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

As growing population, immigration from rural areas to cities and changing consumption pattern of the people are considered, expansion of urban areas and current unsustainable lifestyle qualities of people will still be top considerations of academic and political agendas. Population growth and urbanisation are necessary parts of effective and efficient economic growth policy. However, contingent

experiences of climate change, overutilization that exceeds carrying capacity of natural resources, health problems related to low physical activity or pollution, low quality urban services, diminishing quality of life, inequalities in highly populated urban areas, and so on point out the fact that surpassing solely economic development is not sustainable in the long term, and subordinated dimensions of development, social and environmental, should be embraced with economic counterparts. Economic, social and environmental considerations related to sustainable urban development (SUD) originate from the definition of sustainable development. After the Brundtland definition (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987), consequent sustainability debates have pointed out that economic interests and environmental considerations are not opposite or conflicting sides of development discourse, and in order to secure intergenerational equity, these sides should meet upon agreed mutual interests.

While SUD encompasses a wide range of urban planning interests, for example, sustainable urban economy, infrastructure and services, integration of communities, green attitudes, public participation, and governance, most of the SUD issues are discussed focussing on spatial considerations, particularly on the urban form and its effects on mobility patterns. Starting with the revelation this interdependence between the urban form and travel pattern of the individuals/households could make it possible to address causes of and intervention options to pressing sustainability problems. These problems consist of urban sprawl, high vehicle kilometres travelled (VKT) and auto dependence, low public transport patronage, transport related pollution, excessive land consumption, disruption of ecosystems, and so on. While rhetorical discussions related to these problems provides a conceptual framework to achieve a comprehensive approach, modelling studies are invaluable sources for identification of causal relationships between urban land use and travel demand.

In addition to the theoretical debates over sustainable development, measurement of sustainability level of an urban setting and use of the findings acquired by various assessment methods to generate integrated and acceptable policy measures embody practical dimension of SUD. Various impact assessment techniques have been mandated by government before the implementation of projects as a prospective evaluation tool. However, due to relatively technical and sophisticated procedures of these methods as well as drawbacks experienced in making social and environmental values tangible, sustainability indicators as a semi-structured and inherently subjective evaluation method have gained wide acceptance and become a standard exercise globally. Besides their use for monitoring and assessment of development strategies, they have provided a common base for public debate on the sustainability subjects and have been employed as a communication tool particularly by various local governments. While visualizing phenomena and highlighting trends (Warhurst, 2003), indicators reflect a scattered illustration of sustainability performance. Because of this, aggregation of indicators, at least categorisation as to the main dimensions, and providing an overall picture via a composite index have recently become another practical approach to sustainability evaluation. Even though composite indices have some methodological drawbacks (for example, different weighting procedures inevitably raise the question of methodological subjectivity, summation of distinct entities as if they have the same unit cause ambiguity about reliability of indices) and practical difficulties are encountered in different settings (generalisation of findings of indexing studies), the number of studies about its reliable application for diverse interests has been growing. Along with the spatial content of urban sustainability, it has

become a necessity to include the urban form related indicators in the urban sustainability assessment process. Particularly, developments in GIS technology have facilitated generation and evaluation of spatial indicators. Currently, GIS tools are used for descriptive analysis of urban settings and as a decision support tool. As such, it is possible to effectively exploit capabilities of a GIS platform to develop a sustainability assessment tool as well as a policy formulation and evaluation system.

Our research aims to develop a decision support tool which is used by local government specifically in Australia to generate effective policies towards sustainable urban development. The model presented here with a hypothetical case study employs a spatial indexing method and aggregates theoretically and politically relevant and valid indicators to an index value, reflecting sustainability performance of the urban settings. While it considers local sustainability objectives and policies, it also embraces universally accepted measures of sustainable neighbourhood design and mobility with analytical tools of GIS. The outcome of model, index value, will be used by planning agencies and councils in various ways. To name a few, to analyse of the best localities where overall sustainability level can be enhanced, or at least retained, with the new development, to diagnose of problem areas as to their poor sustainability performance and to generate area specific economic and social policies in solving these problems, and so on. The paper starts by defining sustainable mobility and urban form and explaining indicator and indexing base sustainability assessment techniques. Integrated Land use and Transport Indexing Model (ILTIM) is then explained by giving structural details of the model. The paper is concluded by presenting initial snapshots of a hypothetical example and by discussing the practical use and importance of the model.

## DEFINING SUSTAINABLE MOBILITY AND URBAN FORM

The interrelationship between urban form and transportation has been discussed for a long time and it is revealed that, at the operational level, changing lifestyle, attitudes and behaviours are the main drivers of urban form and transport related sustainability problems. In SUD, urban form discussion involves mainly density and mixed land use dimensions, acknowledging the urban sprawl problem. Furthermore, the car dependency and urban sprawl relationship is another popular subject in this respect. (Kenworthy et al., 1996; Banister, 1997; Banister et al., 2000; Low et al., 2003; Todd Litman et al., 2006; Shore, 2006). These studies make descriptive comparisons (i.e. transport and building energy use, VKT, public transport patronage, waste and pollution generated, community integration, and so on) between compact and dispersed city forms, which also corresponds to neo-traditional and suburban style urbanisation discussion, as can be seen in Figure 1. The principal function of urban consolidation via intensification and mixed use is that it reduces trip lengths and total travel, and also changes modal split from automobile dependent to public transportation and non-motorised means (Banister et al., 1997; Cervero et al., 1997; Ewing et al., 2001). Additionally, in terms of social equity and accessibility to urban services, Burton (2000) states that low density urban sprawl imposes economic and social burdens on low income groups towards deterioration of community sense and feeling powerless. It is also asserted that neo-traditional settlement forms satisfying high density and mixed use features are more sustainable than suburban type urban development (Banister et al., 1997; Cervero et al., 1997; Susan Handy et al., 2002). As given in Figure 1, conceptualisation of aforementioned good policies has revealed various urban form approaches, such as Urban Village (Newman et al., 1999), Transit Oriented

Development (Boarnet et al., 1997), Smart Growth (American Planning Association, 2002), Decentralised Concentration (Holden, 2004), New Urbanism (Katz et al., 1994), and sustainable urban matrix (Hasic, 2000).

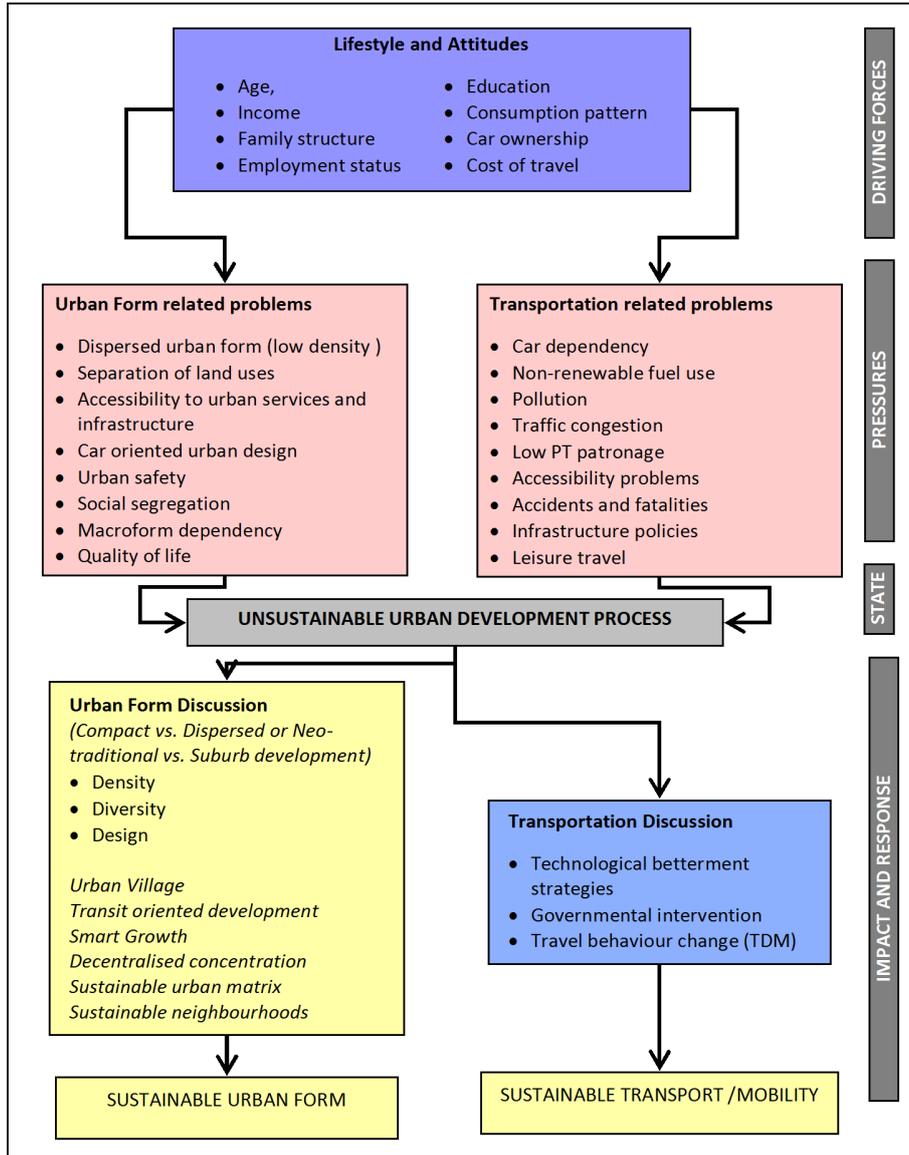


Figure 1. Driving Force-Pressure-State-Impact-Response framework for sustainable urban development

A considerable number of studies have investigated how the externalities of the current surface transport system (non-renewable fuel use and greenhouse gas emissions,

traffic congestion, low and unequal mobility, pollution, accidents and fatalities, degradation of ecosystems) may be minimised and/or internalised, while benefits of mobility are maximised and shared equitably through sustainable urban and transport development means (see Figure 1). Therefore, planning and management of transport infrastructure are central foci in the consideration of how the movement of people and goods might be configured according to a sustainable transport framework. In this regard, the efficient use of resources requires particular attention to economic, environmental and social dimensions. In practice, three action domains or elements of any transport activity – vehicle, infrastructure and user – need to be considered in the search for sustainable urban transport solutions (Figueiredo et al., 2001).

Betterment strategies for the first two elements (vehicle and infrastructure) mostly rely on technological improvements in alternative fuels, vehicle systems and surface transport infrastructure. With respect to the third (user) domain, alteration of users' travel behaviour in the interests of sustainability necessitates travel demand management (TDM) policies. The primary function of TDM is to reduce automobile travel demand, and it has become ubiquitous in urban transportation policies in Europe, Canada, Australia, and many areas of the United States. TDM mainly focuses on relationship between urban form and transportation, and socio-economic dimensions, such as household characteristics affecting location choice, daily and holiday travels, mode choice, acceptability of TDM policies, and so on (Ewing et al., 2001; Mindali et al., 2004; Holden, 2007).

## INDICATOR AND INDEX BASED SUSTAINABILITY ASSESSMENT

Two considerations demand attention in terms of how selected policies and projects have satisfied or are satisfying designated sustainability goals. The first is the need for a structure, common language or common understanding of sustainable development, on which all stakeholders agree. And the second is to find ways of assessing and measuring process (Brandon, 2002). The following section focuses on the latter issue in more detail.

## BACKGROUND

Due to growing demand from the public towards internalisation of environmental concerns into the governmental policies, starting from the early 1960s, different environmental assessment approaches have started to come to public agenda. Formalisation of environmental assessment methods dates back to late 60s, starting in the United States with The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969. By this act, environmental impact assessment (EIA) was required for land use planning endeavours which were likely to have environmental impacts (Wathern, 1998, pp.3-5). Following this, particularly the industrialised countries started to adapt EIA procedures to different contexts and contents as to their environmental considerations and/or priorities. However, a closer examination of EIA regulations reveals that there has been an agreement on its basic intentions and core elements (Jay et al., 2007). Moreover, cross boundary effects of environmental problems and the need for a new global development strategy, which then conceptualised as sustainability, were revealed at the UN Conference on the Environment in Stockholm in 1972. After the introduction of sustainable development concept by UN World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987 (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987), the

content and core elements of environmental assessment methods have become comprehensive and inherently complex. The critique of EIA due to its limited scope, which is applied generally at project level and this does not suffice broad environmental goals (Shepherd et al., 1996), and changing definition of sustainable development give rise to a search of new assessment methods. Relatively more recently, SEA method has been introduced and become one of the most debated subjects in the literature. Additionally, particularly in the arguments related to corporate level sustainability, triple bottom line approach was introduced by Elkington in 1996.

Indicator based environmental assessment methods also have a long history. The first initiative is dated back to 1929, when national indicators project was initiated by the US President Herbert Hoover, and was administered by Research Committee on Social Trends (Sawicki et al., 1996). Indicators as assessment methodology were founded in the 1960s and improved by the rationalist/system approach of the era. In the 1960s, the indicators were mainly quantitative and based on statistics. By the 1970s, a shift towards health, quality of life and environmental indicators, qualitative factors were beginning to be covered by different studies as shown in Table 1 (Coplak et al., 2003, p.64). By the 1990s, after the improvements in GIS technology, indicator-based sustainability assessment and indexing studies proliferated.

Table 1. History of indicator development

Time frame	Indicator area
1920s–1930s	Social indicators
1940s–1950s	Economic indicators
1960s	Quality-of-life indicators
1970s	Environmental and health information system indicators
1980s	Healthy communities and quality of life indicators
Current	Sustainability indicators

Source: (Innes, 1990; Hodge, 1997; Schlossberg et al., 2003)

## REVIEW OF THE SUSTAINABILITY INDICATORS

There have been various studies proposing different scopes and contents for sustainability indicators parallel to the growing interest on sustainability. Also, depending on the scale of the consideration, it is very common to see international, national, regional and local indicators defined for sustainability. At international level, the United Nations Commission for Sustainable Development and OECD have proposed comprehensive sets of environmental indicators linked with status of and change towards sustainable development. It helps to compare the status of sustainable development on international levels and advises future directions for solutions to global and local problems. Considering the main categories of environment, economy, society and governance, they focus on a number of common concerns, such as, demographic changes, economic development and consumption, climate change and energy, natural resources, sustainable built environment and transport, poverty, public health, social inclusion, security, institutional capacity, and so on.

The main difficulty faced while using indicators is to find a common unit and method of measurement leading to comparison of performance of the setting or policy package. Over the last decade there has been a growing effort towards structuring an international indicator system and monitoring process to make accurate comparisons

between countries. In the context of successful methodological and political application of indicators, the European Commission (EC) has defined a set of sustainable development indicators in its framework programmes. Following an evolving process, these indicators now are used by nearly all European countries and provide a benchmarking tool in comparing sustainability performance of each country.

In the context of finding a common unit for measurement, the Ecological Footprint (EF) approach could be considered as a fruitful example. As defined by Wackernagel and Rees (1996) EF documents the extent to which human economies stay within the regenerative capacity of the biosphere. The definition points out consumption or production perspectives related to the activities of nations, cities, or individuals as their role in non-renewable resource depletion. Popularity of this approach comes from its standardised measurement, global hectares, which could be employed when making national, regional, urban and individual comparisons (Wackernagel et al., 2006). Even if it is classified as biophysical accounting models (Gasparatos et al., 2007), in the assessment of local sustainability level, it is generally used as an indicator.

From regional and local perspectives, sustainability indicators reflect large scale environmental and economic considerations as well as local issues of urban sustainability. In general, the catchments, the habitats of endangered species and natural reserve areas define environmentally sensitive regions, and environmental sustainability considerations are highlighted at the regional scale. In terms of economic activities and urban communities, a divergent range of spatial units from metropolitan areas to small scale infill areas are the main subject of local level sustainability. In these studies there is a growing concern towards balancing environmental, economic and social dimensions of sustainability (Atkisson, 1996). At the local level, status and sustainability of local economy, residential and industrial consumption, recycling, energy security and renewable energy use, local pollution, preservation of ecologically sensitive areas and visual amenities, accessibility to urban services, demographic changes, immigration and integration of social groups, social and gender equity, urban poverty, quality of life and community sense problems, public security, participation level to local decision making process, education and literacy, and public health are the key indicator categories that could be found nearly in all sustainability assessment endeavours. Even if the content and scope of local indicators change from setting to setting, the prime intention is to include locally prominent issues in policy discourse as to their relevance to general sustainability framework and by this, to provide an extensive and inclusive communication platform (Atkisson et al., 2001; Astleithner et al., 2004).

Theoretical and practical qualities of the indicators are the main two domains has been covered in the literature. On the theoretical level, indicators should relate to sustainability and represent different domains of sustainability. On the practical front, they should refer to correct parameters that would be used for policy development and should have enough data background to be used for forecasting. Lautso et al. (2002) define these qualities as relevance (properly embrace the definition and theoretical basis of sustainability), representativeness (cover key issues related to different domains of sustainability), policy sensitiveness (help to formulate policies) and predictability (lead to model policy impacts). It is also emphasised that indicators should be scientifically valid, responsive to the changes in respective system, understandable, and flexible enough to encompass new knowledge and public perceptions (Maclaren, 1996). In relation to data availability and quality, they should be

as parsimonious as possible, but they should not suffer from omission of any key indicators. (Hák et al., 2007, p.6). Overall, the main advantage of using indicators is that they can be easily understood by the public and this offers a communication and collaboration means for public involvement in decision making.

#### Composite indexing approach and its spatial application

Gross Domestic Product (GDP), Gross National Income (GNI), and Consumer Price Index (CPI) are three well-known indices or metrics used to measure economic development and to make comparison between countries and even urban areas, if disaggregated data are available. These indices give overall status of an economy or wealth of a country; however, it is very hard to use them for social or environmental evaluation. To rank countries according to their development level using other than solely economic measures, UN has developed an index, Human Development Index (HDI), which aggregates life expectancy, education and knowledge (literacy and schooling), and GDP by giving equal weights to each item. Although HDI incorporates crucial social attributes with economic metrics to make a clear development definition, it does not comprehend ecological values. There are various studies trying to embody the three domains of sustainability but no one methodology or index which is accepted as sustainability assessment method exists.

The main characteristic of the indices is that in general, they do not have a unit, so that they are considered neutral and comparison between them is viable. Or, they have a unit (i.e. monetary units, ecological footprint, and so on) which make it possible to reflect the index with its original measurement. The procedure followed in the generation of the indices also points out the main weakness of the composite indicators. Components are assigned weights with the proportion of variances in the original set of indicators, and can then be aggregated using an addition or a functional nature. Weights are used to correct the information overlap of correlated indicators, as to ensure that the results do not display a bias (Hanafizadeh et al., 2009). From another perspective, excluding an indicator or variable from investigation inevitably corresponds to assigning zero weight to respective indicator (Atkisson, 1996). The weighting methodology carries value-dependent biases and, in some cases, weighting with linear aggregation causes substitution among indicators giving rise to acquiring overly-normalised index values (Munda, 2005). Moreover, aggregation of the indicators as an index can cause, in some cases, critical information losses which make it difficult to identify negative or positive changes in the indicator due to the offsetting effects of positive indicators on negative ones (Neuman, 2006).

Spatial indexing has been used by some disciplines for various purposes. Particularly, the widespread use of GIS has led the emergence of many indexing studies in the literature. Among all disciplines using GIS technology, environmental management is the area which spatial indexing with GIS has been most widely applied. Risk assessment of environmental assets (water, forest, and endangered habitats), catastrophes, pollution and suitability analysis for habitat are the subjects in which indexing is employed as the research method. This method has also been used in geography and urban planning by various researches to describe/explore urban issues. Particularly, indexing is used for the analysis and the visualisation of spatial segregation, accessibility to urban services and categorisation of geographic features, such as slope and relative distance to specified point(s).

When it is proved that unit of measurement, normalisation and relative importance (weighting) issues are solved by data analysis tools, indexing is a very resourceful method to visualise and to assess sustainability performance of an urban setting.

### INTEGRATED LAND USE AND TRANSPORT MODEL

As a spatial indexing endeavour, the specific aim of this study is to incorporate all related domains affecting urban mobility and propose a practical method that helps the decision making process. At a practice level, there are other dimensions of producing sustainable urban development policies. They are:

- Measuring and assessing the sustainability performance with urban sustainability indicators;
- Aggregation process of indicators to render a composite index;
- Using the composite index to aid policy making.

Initially, in order to clarify key concepts and consolidate the model structure, theoretical debates on definition and measures of the urban sustainability are identified. This procedure gives us a relevant, policy-laden and predictable set of indicators employed by other studies. Then, respective data related to these indicators are collected from various sources, such as, Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), Gold Coast City Council (GCCC), and Queensland Transport and Main Roads. Via the indexing module, factors affecting transportation demand is calculated via using factor analysis method. The structure of the model picturing related procedures is given in Figure 2.

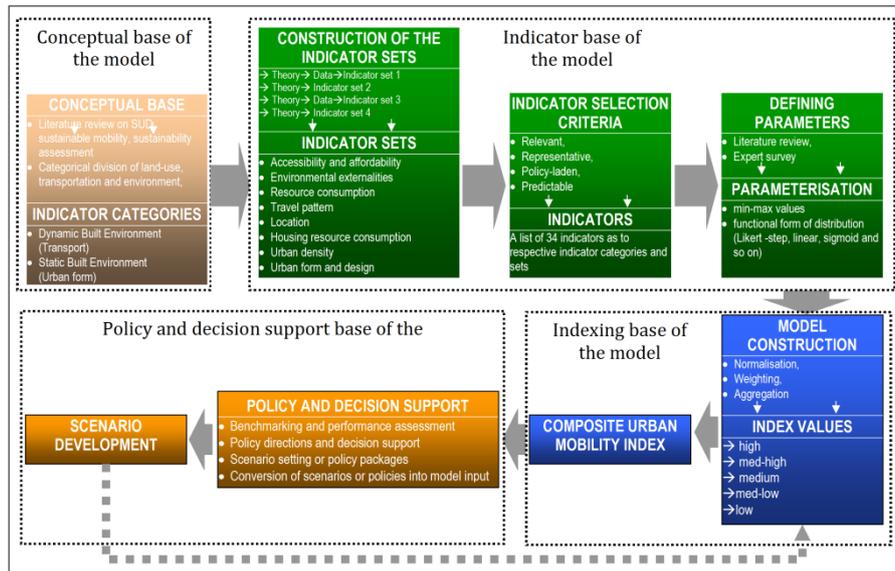


Figure 2. Structure of the indexing model

## CONCEPTUAL BASE AND DATA REQUIREMENTS OF THE MODEL

In order to clarify key concepts and consolidate the model structure, theoretical debates on definition and measures of urban sustainability should be identified. The concept of sustainability and its spatial or urban structure dimension constitute the theoretical foundation of this model. In terms of sustainable urban development and sustainable communities, urban form, mobility pattern and infrastructure provision are the primary issues connected to the environmental domain of sustainability. Even though they are widely used tools, the theory behind the indicator-based description of urban sustainability with scientific reasoning frames the structure of the research and has immense importance for the robustness and reliability of the proposed methods. The review of the literature and the best practice model and cases, the ILTIM Model accommodates two key indicator category areas of dynamic and static built environment. While the former involves mainly transportation infrastructure, specifically externalities of motorised travel and supply of non-motorised and public transport opportunities, the latter focuses on urban form and the resulting socio-demographic pattern of the city.

## CONSTRUCTION OF THE INDICATOR BASE OF THE MODEL

In this study, literature of urban sustainability indicators and institutional documents are reviewed and this process gives slightly over 1000, mostly overlapping indicators from different spatial scales (from region to neighbourhood). The main characteristic of the reviewed studies is that they first conceptualise urban sustainability issues, and then suggest compartments varying from general to specific domains. After that they define indicators under these compartments. Furthermore, even if the same wording is used for an indicator, definition and measurement of it may change among these studies. A synthesis of the literature findings has generated two main categories for the indicators. The main categories are employed to structure the indicator system. These two categories are separated into 8 themes and 34 indicators (Cervero et al., 1997; Newton et al., 1998; European Commission, 2001; Black et al., 2002; S. Handy et al., 2005; Christy Mihyeon Jeon et al., 2005; Gold Coast City Council, 2006; T. Litman, 2007; Allen, 2008). In Table 2, the structure and list of indicators are given.

## URBAN SUSTAINABILITY INDEXING SYSTEM OF THE MODEL

In this study, as the first step the relationship between indicators and urban sustainability will be clarified. For this, the representative variables in accordance to their individual and partially composite contribution to overall urban sustainability performance will be selected via factor analysis. Regarding the respective factors in the model, it would be possible to calculate the effects of main drivers on the dependent indicator.

The second step in the model is to normalise the values of each indicator before weighting and aggregation procedures. There are three widely used methods for normalisations (Singh et al., 2009). The first method is to use standardised distributions, such as the normal or t-distribution. Secondly, it is possible to convert all values into standard ordinal scale, e.g. Likert scale, or thirdly, linear arithmetic normalisation procedures could be employed using minimum and maximum values of the indicators. The main differences between these approaches are that they give different weights to

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

the values as to their difference from the mean value. Or, as in the Likert scale, the values are placed into distribution-free scale bringing researchers' or public perceptions into the normalisation procedure.

Table 2. Indicators of the model

Category	Theme	Indicator
Dynamic Built Environment	Accessibility and affordability	Access to public transport
		Transit service coverage
		Transit service density
		Public transport performance indicator
		Accessibility for those without a car
		Average portion of household transport expenditures
	Environmental externalities	Greenhouse gases from transport
		Emissions of heavy metals and polyaromatic hydrocarbons
		Exposure to traffic noise
	Resource consumption	Consumption of mineral oil products for transport
		Land area occupied by roadways/transport infrastructure
	Travel pattern	No of trips by car, public transport, walking and cycling
		Average speed by mode and distance
Off-street parking spaces per employee in CBD		
Static Built Environment	Location	Mixed land use ratio
		Housing and jobs proximity
	Resource consumption	Energy use
		Residential water consumption
		Solid waste generation
		Wastewater generation
		Stormwater reused
	Urban density	Average parcel size
		The number of residents per hectare
	Urban form and design	Number of intersections per square km
		Internal street connectivity
		External street connectivity
		Open space availability and accessibility
		Open space connectivity
		Pedestrian network coverage
		Pedestrian accessibilities
		Walkability, pedestrian friendliness
Bicycle network coverage		
Bike installations (cycle paths and parking)		
Traffic calming		

The third step involves the weighting of each indicator or factor. Various techniques such as multivariate analysis, factor analysis, public and expert opinion techniques, and so on, are employed for this procedure (Hass et al., 2002; Hák et al., 2007; Singh et al., 2009). The main consideration at this stage is to select robust method that evaluates weights as to their relative importance in the model or alternatively, in the decision making procedure. The latter consideration is the reason of public polls or the Delphi method.

The last step in the model is aggregation of the respective indicators to produce a composite index or set of indices. While simple additive rules are generally employed in the literature, it is possible to define a functional form for aggregation. As stated by Singh (2009) ideally, composite indices should remain relatively simple in terms of their construction and interpretation, and the choice of method employed in weighting and aggregation is ultimately dependent on the nature and scope of the particular study.

Several studies propose different methodologies to create a composite index. To name to few, they are factor analysis, principal component analysis, multiattribute utility analysis, analytical hierarchy process, concordance analysis technique, evidential reasoning, fuzzy logic and so on (Black et al., 2002; Lautso, 2003; Tanadtang et al., 2005; Zietsman et al., 2006; C. M. Jeon, 2007; Rassafi et al., 2007; Hanafizadeh et al., 2009). In this study, the factors extracted at the data reduction step will be used to create a composite index. In order to calculate a single index with individual factor scores, Hanafizadeh (2009) advises the conduct of a linear aggregation with weights derived from the sum of the variance portion of the factor explained by the indicator. It is also possible to weight factors equally or to use the weights advised by the experts. These different weighting options are the subject of sensitivity analysis of the model and are not considered further in here.

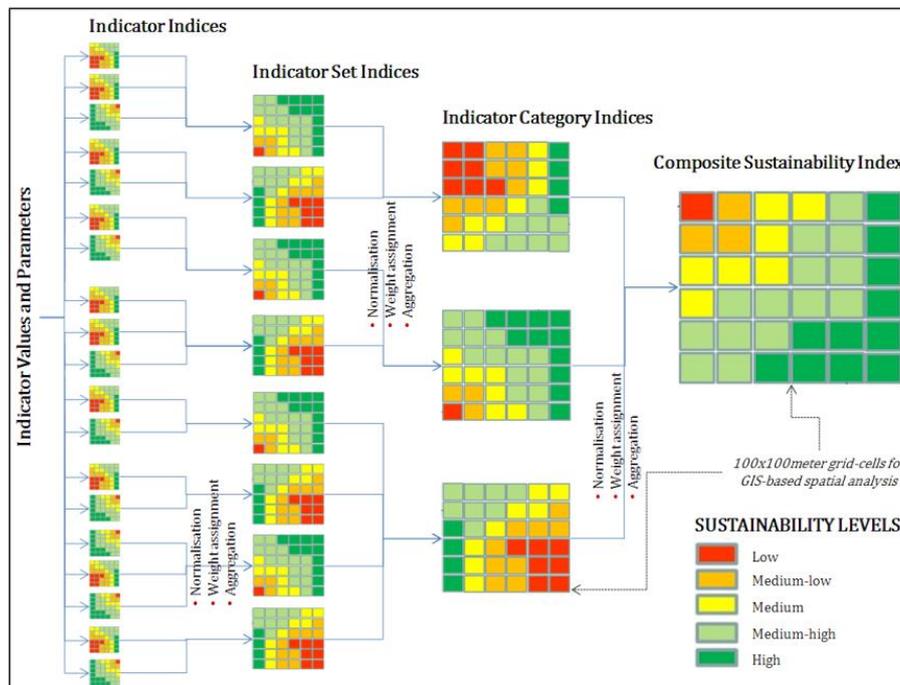


Figure 3. Composite Sustainability Indexing Structure of the ILTIM Model (Yigitcanlar et al., 2010)

For illustrative purposes, the figure above shows how the indicators are aggregated by the proposed spatial indexing model.

## POLICY AND DECISION SUPPORT SYSTEM OF THE MODEL

The index developed by the model will be used for benchmarking and performance assessment of urban sustainability level, its related policies and strategies, both current and future. This will allow for the review of the capacity and sustainability levels of current urban formation, and enable the forecasting of future scenarios. It will also enable the use of critical indicators for policy direction, strategic formation and as a

decision support system. The model will also be used for forecasting; future infrastructure scenarios can be evaluated using predicted data, such as the assessment on infrastructure plans in the South East Queensland Regional Plan and Program 2009-2031 (Queensland Department of Infrastructure and Planning, 2009).

This indexing model can be used for informing policy, strategy formation and also as a planning or decision support system. Some of the particular planning policy areas that the ILTIM Model is relevant to include: Planning and managing sustainable urban development; Planning the development of sustainable transport infrastructure and services; Planning for and prioritising sustainable urban infrastructure; Assessing the development applications; Designating conservation areas; Safeguarding existing environmental assets and values; Developing policies for sustainability and intervening with unsustainable development; Increasing awareness among the community via participatory planning mechanisms promoting urban sustainability.

The ILTIM Model has the communicative advantage of being easy to convey comparative levels of sustainability, making it a relatively simple exercise for both the general public and decision makers to understand.

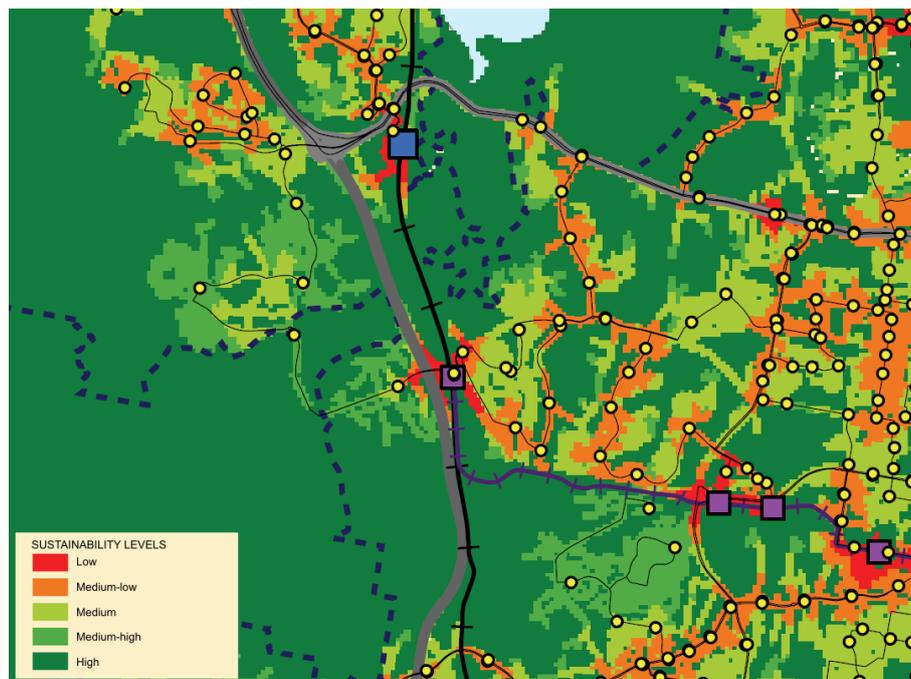


Figure 4. Sample Composite Indexing Map of the ILTIM Model (Yigitcanlar et al., 2010)

As the ILTIM Model is developed, at this early stage of the project it could only be tested with dummy figures in a case study Gold Coast, Australia. The main purpose of this dummy pilot study is not to measure accurate sustainability levels, but to see whether the model works properly and provides meaningful findings. Figure 4 demonstrates an example of the composite index developed for part of the Gold Coast City by using hypothetical data. Unsurprisingly the application of the model in a

hypothetical exercise in the Gold Coast showed that areas around major arterial roads and main activity centres generally have low sustainability levels compared to those close to green spaces and natural environment. This experiment has demonstrated that the model in the broad sense working properly and ready for minor adjustments and calibration.

## CONCLUSION

The research results demonstrate that it is possible to produce a viable local level sustainability assessment model, to apply the model to a major urban area (e.g., Gold Coast City), and to produce a mappable sustainability index. However, this paper only describes the first iteration and in this first run we only looked at the basic two key dimensions of urban sustainability (i.e., urban form and transport). Further research is anticipated, which will focus on enhancing the model by testing various indicators in order to best reflect comparative sustainability levels of urban localities. Decreasing the grid cell sizes and developing a parcel-based module of the model are among the improvements to be explored in future refinements. All these improvements will also be tested in several pilot studies, and several sensitivity analyses with different weightings will be conducted before the final adoption of the model to Gold Coast City Council's planning mechanisms. This example of sustainability indexing and assessment experience with hypothetical data has shown that the model has the potential to help planners and policy makers to embrace an integrated framework for locally adoptable sustainability policies. The model also employs an integrated view of urban dynamics and is not only an invaluable sustainability assessment model, but also a practical planning decision support system. When considered in the context of growing population, urban and environmental problems and climate change, the model has a potential to aid involved parties in forming sustainable urban and transport development policies and in monitoring their impacts on the environment.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The paper is a preliminary outcome of an Australian Research Council Linkage Project, ARC-LP0882637: Adaptation of Water Sensitive Urban Design to Climate Change, Changing Transport Patterns and Urban Form. The project is jointly funded by the Commonwealth Government of Australia, Gold Coast City Council, Queensland Transport and Main Roads and Queensland University of Technology. The authors would like to acknowledge abovementioned project partners and the research team's support.

## REFERENCES

- Allen, E. (2008). Clicking Toward Better Outcomes: Experience With INDEX 1994-2006. In R. Brail (Ed.), *Planning Support Systems for Cities and Regions*. Cambridge, MA: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.
- American Planning Association. (2002). Planning for smart growth, 2002 State of the States: a survey of state planning reforms and smart growth measures in order to manage growth and development. Retrieved 03/02/2009, from <http://myapa.planning.org/growingsmart/pdf/states2002.pdf>

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

- Astleithner, F., Hamedinger, A., Holman, N., & Rydin, Y. (2004). "Institutions and indicators – The discourse about indicators in the context of sustainability". Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, 19, 1, 7-24.
- Atkisson, A. (1996). "Developing indicators of sustainable community: Lessons from sustainable Seattle". Environmental Impact Assessment Review, 16, 4-6, 337-350.
- Atkisson, A., & Hatcher, R. L. (2001). "The compass index of sustainability: prototype for a comprehensive sustainability information system". Journal of Environmental Assessment Policy and Management, 3, 4, 509-532.
- Banister, D. (1997). "Reducing the need to travel". Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design, 24, 437-449.
- Banister, D., Stead, D., Steen, P., Akerman, J., Dreborg, K., Nijkamp, P., et al. (2000). *European Transport Policy and Sustainable Mobility*. London ; New York: Spon Press.
- Banister, D., Watson, S., & Wood, C. (1997). "Sustainable cities: transport, energy, and urban form". Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design, 24, 125-143.
- Black, J. A., Paez, A., & Suthanaya, P. A. (2002). "Sustainable Urban Transportation: Performance Indicators and Some Analytical Approaches". Journal of Urban Planning and Development, 128, 184-209.
- Boarnet, M., & Crane, R. (1997). "L.A. Story: A Reality Check for Transit-Based Housing". Journal of the American Planning Association, 63, 2, 189 - 204.
- Brandon, P. (2002). Foreword. In S. Curwell, M. Deakin & M. S. Symes (Eds.), *Sustainable urban development. Vol. 1, The framework and protocols for environmental assessment*. New York: Routledge.
- Burton, E. (2000). "The Compact City: Just or Just Compact? A Preliminary Analysis". Urban Studies, 37, 11, 1969-2001.
- Cervero, R., & Kockelman, K. (1997). "Travel demand and the 3Ds: Density, diversity, and design". Transportation Research Part D: Transport and Environment, 2, 3, 199-219.
- Coplak, J., & Raksanyi, P. (2003). *Planning sustainable settlements*. Bratislava: Slovak University of Technology.
- European Commission. (2001). *Towards a Local Sustainability Profile: European Common Indicators*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Ewing, R., & Cervero, R. (2001). "Travel and the Built Environment: A Synthesis". Transportation Research Record: Journal of the Transportation Research Board, 1780, -1, 87-114.
- Figueiredo, L., Jesus, I., Machado, J. A. T., Ferreira, J. R., & Martins de Carvalho, J. L. (2001). *Towards the development of intelligent transportation systems*. Proceedings of the 4th IEEE Intelligent Transportation Systems, Oakland (CA), USA.

- Gasparatos, A., El-Haram, M., & Horner, M. (2007). *The argument against a reductionist approach for assessing sustainability*. Proceedings of the International Conference on Whole Life Urban Sustainability and its Assessment, Glasgow.
- Gold Coast City Council. (2006). *Gold Coast Planning Scheme. Part 2 Desired Environmental Outcomes and Performance Indicators*. Gold Coast.
- Hák, T., Moldan, B., & Dahl, A. L. (2007). *Sustainability indicators: a scientific assessment*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press.
- Hanafizadeh, M. R., Saghaei, A., & Hanafizadeh, P. (2009). "An index for cross-country analysis of ICT infrastructure and access". *Telecommunications Policy*, 33, 385–405.
- Handy, S., Cao, X., Buehler, T. J., & Mokhtarian, P. (2005). *The link between the built environment and travel behavior: correlation or causality*. Proceedings of the 84th Annual Meeting of the Transportation Research Board, Washington, DC.
- Handy, S., Weston, L., Song, J., & Lane, K. M. D. (2002). "Education of transportation planning professionals". *Transportation Research Record*, 1812, 151-160.
- Hasic, T. (2000). A sustainable urban matrix: achieving sustainable urban form in residential buildings. In K. Williams, M. Jenks & E. Burton (Eds.), *Achieving Sustainable Urban Form* (pp. 329–336).
- Hass, J. L., Brunvoll, F., & Høie, H. (2002). Overview of sustainable development indicators used by national and international agencies, *OECD Statistics Working Paper 2002/2*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- Hodge, T. (1997). "Toward a conceptual framework for assessing progress toward sustainability". *Social Indicators Research*, 40, 1, 5-98.
- Holden, E. (2004). "Ecological footprints and sustainable urban form". *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 19, 1, 91-109.
- Holden, E. (2007). *Achieving sustainable mobility: everyday and leisure-time travel in the EU*. Hampshire, UK: Ashgate.
- Innes, J. E. (1990). *Knowledge and public policy: The search for meaningful indicators*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Jay, S., Jones, C., Slinn, P., & Wood, C. (2007). "Environmental impact assessment: Retrospect and prospect". *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 27, 4, 287-300.
- Jeon, C. M. (2007). *Incorporating sustainability into transportation planning and decision making: Definitions, performance measures, and evaluation*. Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta.
- Jeon, C. M., & Amekudzi, A. (2005). "Addressing sustainability in transportation systems: Definitions, indicators, and metrics". *Journal of Infrastructure Systems*, 11, 1, 31-50.
- Katz, P., Scully, V. J., & Bressi, T. W. (1994). *The new urbanism: Toward an architecture of community*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

- Kenworthy, J. R., & Laube, F. B. (1996). "Automobile dependence in cities: An international comparison of urban transport and land use patterns with implications for sustainability". Environmental Impact Assessment Review, 16, 4-6, 279-308.
- Lautso, K. (2003). The SPARTACUS system for defining and analysing sustainable land use and transport policies. In S. Geertman & J. Stillwell (Eds.), *Planning Support Systems in Practice* (pp. 453-463). Heidelberg: Springer.
- Lautso, K., Spiekermann, K., & Wegener, M. (2002). Modelling policies for urban sustainability. Proceedings of the 42nd Congress of the European Regional Science Association (ERSA), Dortmund.
- Litman, T. (2007). "Developing indicators for comprehensive and sustainable transport planning". Journal of the Transportation Research Board, 2017, 10-15.
- Litman, T., & Burwell, D. (2006). "Issues in sustainable transportation". International Journal of Global Environmental Issues, 6, 4, 331-347.
- Low, N., & Gleeson, B. (2003). *Making urban transport sustainable*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Maclaren, V. W. (1996). "Urban Sustainability Reporting". Journal of the American Planning Association, 62, 2, 184 - 202.
- Mindali, O., Raveh, A., & Salomon, I. (2004). "Urban density and energy consumption: a new look at old statistics". Transportation Research Part A, 38, 2, 143-162.
- Munda, G. (2005). Multiple Criteria Decision Analysis and Sustainable Development. In J. Figueira, S. Greco & M. Ehrogott (Eds.), *Multiple Criteria Decision Analysis: State of the Art Surveys* (pp. 953-986). New York: Springer.
- Neuman, M. (2006). "Infiltrating infrastructures: On the nature of networked infrastructure". Journal of Urban Technology, 13, 1, 3-31.
- Newman, P., & Kenworthy, J. R. (1999). *Sustainability and Cities: Overcoming Automobile Dependence*. Washington, D. C: Island Press.
- Newton, P., Flood, J., Berry, M., Bhatia, K., Brown, S., Cabelli, A., et al. (1998). *Environmental indicators for national state of the environment reporting – Human Settlements*. Australia: State of the Environment (Environmental Indicator Reports). Department of the Environment. Canberra.
- Queensland Department of Infrastructure and Planning (2009). South East Queensland Regional Plan 2009-2031, Available from <http://www.dip.qld.gov.au/resources/plan/SEQ/regional-plan-2009/seq-regional-plan-2009.pdf>
- Rassafi, A. A., & Vaziri, M. (2007). "Assessment of modal transportation sustainability: application of data envelopment and concordance analyses". Iranian Journal of Science and Technology Transaction B-Engineering, 31, B2, 179-193.
- Sawicki, D. S., & Flynn, P. (1996). "Neighborhood indicators: A review of the literature and an assessment of conceptual and methodological issues". Journal of the American Planning Association, 62, 2, 165-183.

- Schlossberg, M., & Zimmerman, A. (2003). "Developing statewide indices of environmental, economic, and social sustainability: a look at Oregon and the Oregon Benchmarks". Local Environment, 8, 6, 641-660.
- Shepherd, A., & Ortolano, L. (1996). "Strategic environmental assessment for sustainable urban development". Environmental Impact Assessment Review, 16, 4-6, 321-335.
- Shore, W. B. (2006). "Land-use, transportation and sustainability". Technology in Society, 28, 1-2, 27-43.
- Singh, R. K., Murty, H. R., Gupta, S. K., & Dikshit, A. K. (2009). "An overview of sustainability assessment methodologies". Ecological Indicators, 9, 189-212.
- Tanadtang, P., Park, D., & Hanaoka, S. (2005). "Incorporating Uncertain and Incomplete Subjective Judgments into the Evaluation Procedure of Transportation Demand Management Alternatives". Transportation, 32, 6, 603-626.
- Wackernagel, M., Kitzes, J., Moran, D., Goldfinger, S., & Thomas, M. (2006). "The Ecological Footprint of cities and regions: comparing resource availability with resource demand". Environment and Urbanization, 18, 1, 103-112.
- Wackernagel, M., & Rees, W. E. (1996). *Our Ecological Footprint: Reducing Human Impact on the Earth*. Philadelphia, PA: New Society Publishers.
- Warhurst, A. (2003). *Sustainability indicators and sustainability performance management*. Report to the project: Mining, Minerals and Sustainable Development. International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED). Warwick, England.
- Wathern, P. (1998). An introduction guide to EIA. In P. Wathern (Ed.), *Environmental impact assessment: Theory and practice* (pp. 3-28). London: Routledge.
- World Commission on Environment and Development. (1987). *Our Common Future*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Yigitcanlar, T., & Dur, F. (2010). "Developing a Sustainability Assessment Model: The Sustainable Infrastructure, Land-Use, Environment and Transport Model". Sustainability, 2, 1, 321-340.
- Zietsman, J., Rilett, L. R., & Kim, S. J. (2006). "Transportation corridor decision-making with multi-attribute utility theory". International Journal of Management and Decision Making, 7, 2, 254-266.

## THE PATHS OF THE CITY, THE CITY OF PATHS: URBAN TRANSFORMATIONS IN SÃO LUIS, MARANHÃO, BRAZIL

Marluce Wall de Carvalho VENANCIO, Assistant Professor  
State University of Maranhão, Brazil  
marluce.venancio@gmail.com

### ABSTRACT

*The original 17th century design of São Luís, Maranhão, Brazil presented regular blocks and lots laid out in a reticulated grid. This pattern created a compact and continuous urban tissue that prevailed until the moment that the process of modernization, in the 1970's made the city sprawl across undeveloped lands, the new neighborhoods diffusely distributed along an extensive road network. Although the Master Plan followed the modern urbanism principles it also recognized the value of the historic heritage and proposed its preservation. The city evolved into a city with multiples centers, spatially segregated neighborhoods, private shopping centers, and gated communities. On the other hand, the old compact city is currently a historic city center which is in the Unesco World Heritage list. It is important to say that the city center inherited and preserve the compact original city pattern as well as its multicultural diversity. When this process of modernization and historic heritage preservation began the city center was a very lively place, and it continues to be, even though it has been experiencing some abandonment and decay attributed to the exit of the affluent classes towards the brand new neighborhoods. It is well known that urban life has become the predominant way of living in the twentieth century. Nevertheless, two processes seem to occur simultaneously: on one side the compact city is giving place to a diffuse city in such a way that the disappearance of the city itself seems a strong possibility. On the other side, the city has been experiencing the return of its inhabitants to previously abandoned or degraded places by processes of urban requalification. With that context in mind, some questions arise: how is it possible to conciliate the diffuse city, its rampant privatization of public space and its gated communities, with the conservation of the old historic city center? Moreover, in what manner and in what measure, the production of those new places of living that induced a completely different spatial practice, influenced this process of decay in the city center? In this context, what is the role of the historic city center? Those are the questions addressed in this paper. The theoretical reference was Henri Lefebvre's theory of production of space. The study focused in the modifications that the city center suffers as a consequence of each change in the way of living. The first moment identified was the production of isolated neighborhoods, compounded by individual residences segregated by social classes. The second moment was the production of residential towers introducing the pattern of multifamiliar residences. The last movement is the production of enclosed neighborhoods and gated communities increasing the social and spatial segregation. This paper introduces the question of whether or not the permanence of the historic city center as a lively residential neighborhood could influence the entire city pattern, thus reviving the compact city.*

### INTRODUCTION

It is well known that urban life has become the predominant way of living in the twentieth century. Nevertheless, two processes appear to occur simultaneously: on one side the compact city is giving place to a diffuse city in such a way that the disappearance of the city itself seems a strong possibility. On the other side, the city has been experiencing the return of its inhabitants to previously abandoned or

degraded places by processes of urban requalification. With that context in mind, some questions arise: how is it possible to conciliate the diffuse city, the rampant privatization of public space, as Paquot (2006) says, and its gated communities, with the conservation of the old historic city center? Moreover, in what manner and in what measure, the production of those new places of living that induced a completely different spatial practice, influenced this process of decay in the city center? In this context, what is the role of the historic city center?

The twentieth century seems to have been divided exactly between those two processes says Secchi (2010): concentration and dispersion, continuity and discontinuity. The first, the compact city, which can be at the same time a magic place that gathers differences and a place that can grow at a very high proportion. This incontrollable growth brings pollution, traffic congestion, criminality and urban violence in such a way that the city can lose the very quality that made it attractive and desirable as a place to live.

The fear of multitudes, of immense conurbations, has been one of urbanism's most significant mottos in the 20th century says Secchi (2006). From hygienist's proposals to 20th utopias, such as the garden cities, and the modernist's des-urbanism to name just a few, urbanism has been seeking to make cities work by separating functions, in order to avoid an undesirable mix of uses, promoting in this process a well-known socio-spatial segregation (Secchi,2006).

On the other extreme, the discontinuity of the city over the territory appears also as a menace. The disperse city seems to defy the very concept of city. As Secchi (2006) points out, the idea of concentration, although inspiring fear, has organized urbanism's thoughts on the city and the urban society in such a way that it appears to be not only the city's univocal characteristic but the inexorable and predictable future for all cities. Is it possible that such belief concealed for a long time the transformations that the city experienced? Or, is it possible to say that the exacerbation of the fear of concentration led to dispersion? On the other hand, would the concern for that disappearance lead to concentration and continuity again, and is the coming back to the old cities centers a sign of that attitude?

Are urbanization and concentration on one side, and dispersion, sprawling, the dissolution of the city on the other? Or are these simply new ways of living? Or new city forms? Or, in the very moment that urbanization seems to prevail over other ways of living as Choay (1994) remarked, we are watching the death of the city and the reign of the urban?

The questions about continuity and discontinuity, compactness and sprawling are some of the aspects that oriented this study. This was done precisely because those two logics, the logic of making the compact city and the logic of building the horizontal and disperse city, are not only present but also both connected and disconnect in contemporary São Luis. The historic city center has proudly assumed its condition of World Heritage City. At the same time, the disperse city is evolving into a very segregated urban space, developing new residential enclaves, enclosed communities, which are isolated and firmly secured by walls and electric fences.

On one side, it maintained its original 17th century design of regular blocks in a reticulated grid. This pattern that created a compact and continuous urban tissue is now divided into two parcels, the historic center and a continuous expansion. This logic

prevailed until the process of modernization, in the 1970's, made the city sprawl across undeveloped lands, creating large areas dedicated to the production of housing, and the industrial areas and ports. Since then, the logic of the production of the urban space has been oriented and dominated by the new paths created, a brand new network of modern high speed ways, the new neighborhoods diffusely distributed along this extensive road network.

This was a period of modernization, driven by the industrialization that was supposed to rescue the city, and consequently the state of Maranhão from the bankruptcy it had been suffering since the first decades of the century. This failure had a strong impact in a city that had enjoyed a glorious and rich past when it was still a Portuguese colony.

In fact, São Luis had had a strong relationship with Europe because it was easier to go from there to Lisbon, due to its natural proximity. This relationship ended for several reasons at the end of the 19th century. First, the economy which was based in agriculture, collapsed. Then, the solution proposed by the state to face this adversity – to transform the state's economy from agricultural to industrial failed. The southern cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, which were better equipped in money and work forces, became the industrial and economic center. Secondly, the port itself, located in the Praia Grande, in the city center, the foundation core, was not able to continue functioning due to the accumulation of sand and other materials in the river. São Luís was literally isolated. This path of the city, the maritime path, was then abandoned.

## THE CITY OF PATHS

Time to introduce the theme chosen to conduct this study: the paths. They will appear in this paper either in the physical or abstract sense. In the physical sense, the paths are the ones used by people use to move around the city in their everyday activities. They are very different in form and allow different ways of apprehending the city, and different spatial practices as Lefebvre defines it, whether they are in the compact or in the disperse city. In fact, the changes in transportation and forms of displacement are frequently associated with urban transformations. Nonetheless, there are paths intended to give the city access to the world, that is to say, to make it capable of being part of the networks that make urban life possible and desirable. Finally, there are the paths that urbanism could choose to make the city a better place to live. These are the meanings of paths that will be used.

Resuming the debate, when the maritime path was abandoned, the city went into a profound economic crisis. São Luis became one of the northeast's poorest cities. That was the situation during the 1960's. However, at that time, the dictatorial federal government decided to promote development and modernization policies. The goal was to transform, as fast as possible, the Brazilian society into a modern industrialized society. São Luis was considered strategically located, as it had been in the colonial times for almost the same reasons: proximity to the industrialized countries, and to important raw materials, which at that time were the iron from the Carajás Mine in the neighbor state of Pará.

Once more the path was the maritime path, a new port, with a higher capacity was to be build: the Port of Itaqui. That was a project from the last decades of the 19th century, but was held off by political reasons and the southern economic dominancy until then. In this context, the prospect of resuming the economic trail of trading, exportation as

the primary activity was something to be celebrated. The development plan had the construction of this Port as a focal point.

Nevertheless, the port's location was far from the urban center. The second priority had to be the construction of the connection between them, the project dating from the 1950's. Until then, the city's transportation network was structured along two major routes: the Caminho Grande, the Long Path, and the railroad. The Caminho Grande was a very extensive road that linked the urban center, the foundational core, near the sea, to the interior of the Island of Maranhão, this path was used to connect it to the rest of the state as well as to the country itself.

In its first portion, beginning near the foundational core, there was the Grande (Long) Street: the place for commerce and residence until the 1970's. It is still a commercial center, although today the residential use has decreased significantly. The second half, in the first wave of modernization was transformed into a large avenue, a modern boulevard that became home to eclectic manors for the elite. It was quickly equipped with cable cars connecting the new suburbs to the city center, so that the city had an old colonial core, very well preserved, and a modern urban expansion which was interlaced with the old morphology and maintained the pattern of urban continuity. The urbanization occurred along the Long Path, in the portion of land between the two rivers.

The other route, the railroad, also connected the city with the country, and ran parallel to the Long Path, arriving at the city core. The new port, which was located far from the city center, in the other side of the Bacanga River, needed both a way to cross the river and access to the railroad.



Figure 1 The city between the rivers



Figure 2 The historic city center

That was the city at the second half of the 1960's, when an enormous economic growth oriented by the industrialization was expected. The construction of the port and of a new road network began. New paths were created to fulfill the needs for modern living: new high speed roads, and bridges over both the rivers compounded the new paths, all of them connected in the extensive road network that quickly would integrated the new conquered areas with the old ones. As in many other cities, particularly in the American continent, the city replaced the railroad, and the cable cars with the new motorized

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

vehicles. A new railroad was built specially for the new port, but it did not reach the city center anymore.



Figure 3 The road network



Figure 4 The bridge over the Anil River

Yet, the modernization of the city was an old dream, never fully realized because of the economic situation. Among the projects to modernize the city there was one that reunites the expansion of the road network and the conquest of unoccupied lands, that is to say, the lands between the Anil River and the sea, and the lands between the Bacanga River and the São Marcos Bay. This option would give this urbanization a specific characteristic; to be unlimited (Mesquita, 1958). This image gives the actual dimension of the proposal: in front of such an amount of free land the expansion could be endless. Thus, the construction of the endless city also began. This proposal was the basis for the new Master Plan elaborated in 1974 accordingly to the main federal guidelines for the desired urban development that would bring together the new industrial and modern society. As main objectives: to define the parameters and guidelines for environmental protection; to determine a land use regulation; to elaborate a transportation and traffic policy; and last but not least, to valorize the historic urban heritage.

The question of how to conciliate the existent city with the process of modernization was addressed with the proposal of the valorization of the historic heritage, preserving the colonial urban environment. The historic city was born. From that moment forward the colonial city, which was the city in where people live, will be the administrative and institutional center, and the civic center. The old buildings that were once used either for commercial and financial activities, or to shelter the homes of the elite, and that were left abandoned because of the economic failure, would all be transformed in governmental facilities, whether it was to be federal, state or municipal government. Or they would be turned into museums, cultural centers, or theaters.

Furthermore, besides this first change of uses, the main objective was to develop the "tourisme of art," said Viana de Lima (1972) who was a Portuguese architect that came in a Unesco's mission to São Luis aiming to analyze the economic context and the role that the historic city could play in the process of economic and urban development. That was, in fact, Unesco's second mission in São Luis. In fact, in 1966, when the

process of Brazilian modernization was initiated by the dictatorial federal government, the French architect Michel Parent, also from Unesco, was the consultant for the federal government. His mission was to conciliate the modernization process with the reminiscent colonial cities all around the country. At that time the proposal was the same: tourism as the tool to integrate the historic cities in Brazilian modern industrialized society. Michel Parent's mission report: « Protection et mise en valeur du patrimoine culturel brésilien dans le cadre du développement touristique et économique »- (Brazilian Heritage preservation and valorization in the context of touristic and economic development), as already stated in the title, points out exactly that the historic city was part of the process of economic and urban development, and that it plays an important role.

In addition to that use, the particular characteristics of the commerce in a small town such as São Luis, determined the definition of the historic city as the central business district, which completely suited the functionalist rationality of a city's segmentation in homogeneous areas, which was the very goal of a zoning process.

It seems that two paths for the city were determined: to preserve the existent city, now turned in a historic city to be used for touristic purposes; and to create a new modern way of living outside the boundaries of the existent city. Are they really different paths? Or did the latter incorporate the former?

The new modern city was materialized by the construction of a large amount of new housing subdivisions, compounded by single family detached residential dwelling, mostly financed by the National Housing Bank -BNH, scattered along the extensive road network, in such a way that the endless city was also the sprawled city. Each one planned for a different segment of the population: the land at the other side of the Anil River, on the north of the island, near the sea, designed for the most affluent segments. The other side of the Bacanga River received the low-income segments. The lands in the middle portion near the existent city were designated for the middle classes. (Ribeiro, 1999; Burnett, 2002)

A large part of the investment was employed in the construction of an infrastructure sometimes ten times larger than it was necessary for the subdivision itself, in order to prepare the surroundings for future urbanization. Some areas were designed to be institutional and commercial areas, although most of them were never constructed. Thus, considering the extension of the road network and the extension of urbanized land along it, even though there were enormous amount of land left between the new residential areas, the city could be assumed to be a great metropolis (Mesquita, 1958). Or at least the image of one.

In fact, the resultant city was an assemblage of fragmented and intricate labyrinths, as each residential area was isolated from each other if not in distance, at least because they were designed in such a way that they did not communicate directly. The traffic was organized around it, through the large and high-speed roads, defining the brand new and modern paths for the brand new city.



Preservation of the Historic City Center received a major investment in 1984, in that same year the construction of a new city center for the elite in the modern city begun. First, a shopping center was built in an affluent residential area that made the sophisticated stores leave the city center, followed by businesses and services such as medical clinics, attorney's offices, and others, including private schools. Some years later, in 1992 the municipal government, through a new Master Plan, consolidated this path by changing some land use regulations, to promote a higher density. The height of the buildings changed from six to fifteen floors, and, more important, the residential towers, the high-rise apartment buildings also grew in size and sophistication, which also happened to the leisure area in of them. Certainly, living in apartments was not a novelty but from that moment forward it captured the elite's attention and desire. Living in those residential towers became the new and coveted way of living: a new path to follow.



*Figures 6 and 7 The residential towers*  
*Source: Meireles Junior, 2008*

The elite, that up to that time had preferred to live in big and comfortable houses in the finest and noblest neighborhoods, embraced the new way of living, from the height of the residential towers, behind the walls, protect by the electric fences. Certainly, this new path increased the social and spatial segregation process, and strongly hit the old city center, increasing the evasion of its dwellers.



*Figures8 The roads in the new affluent residential areas*

The historic center, however, continued to receive investments, as well as the popular appreciation and admiration. The program succeeded in rehabilitating a precious urban historic heritage that turned immediately into an amazing cultural, and leisure area for São Luis and an international destiny for cultural tourism. Its entire population proudly celebrates the title of World Heritage City.



Figure 9 The new centralities



Figure 10 The new city from the city center

The city changed. The housing subdivisions turned into lively neighborhoods, even attracting to them the functional diversity that was supposed to be avoided, transforming the larger ones in either auto sufficient neighborhoods or new centralities for the city. These centralities demand the capacity of communicating with the immediate vicinity, which generates compactness once again. Even the creation of a new city center for the elite by increasing its density seems to work in that direction.



Figure 11 The new roads

Nonetheless, the pattern of increasing density and, in some extent, bringing back the pattern of continuity inside the more affluent residential areas, did not sustain itself for a long time. That is the case of the new elite's city center, which was declared saturated, meaning that the lands available will not give the same quality of privacy expected. The option was again to go searching for new unoccupied lands along the sea border. That was one of the paths followed by the real estate market.

Another path was the production of the enclosed communities, the residential enclaves that are now constituting a new way of living, attracting not only the dwellers left in the old city center but also the people from the neighborhoods originated from the old housing subdivisions. Of course, those residential enclaves differ in size, luxury, location and even if it is a single family unit or a high-rise building condominium. Their leisure area vary from the basic playground to a larger amount of "attractions" such as swimming pool, fitness academy, sauna, and specifics spaces to play many different sports, such as soccer, basketball, volleyball, skate, and others. Sometimes they include a movie theater, a space for teenagers, a party room, a reception room and everything the imagination can conceive, the main marketing technique for those residential condominiums being the amount of attractions each can offer.

The result is an even more fragmented space, with even more intricate labyrinths since those enclaves are fulfilling the gaps. The vacant urban lots are left by the disperse

urbanization by turning them into dead ends, separated and isolated, not by the large and high-speed roads, but with solid barriers – fortified walls, electric fences, all of that strongly controlled by security cameras and armed guards. In addition to that, a large part of the population was left out of this process, being obligated to live in ambiguous and precarious conditions, the inevitable other side of an urbanization that is guided and controlled by the market.

It was Lefebvre (1998) that pointed that the space is a product to be consumed. However, it is not a simple product. It is a social product, meaning that it incorporates social actions of actual subjects both individual and collective. It is also not a work of one moment, but a process in which interact three moments: the spatial practice, the representations of space and the representational space. Spatial practice is related with the realm of the perceived, it embraces the association between everyday life, daily routine and urban reality. Representations of space are related to the realm of the conceived. It is the conceptualized space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, among others. Finally, representational space is the space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols.

This conceptual triad perceived-conceived-lived certainly deserves a much more profound and accurate discussion. Nevertheless, thinking of it shows that to understand the urban transformations São Luis suffered it is necessary to consider the representations of space that oriented the plans and interventions in the city as well as the spatial practice developed in it, and its interactions.

Considering those aspects, it is possible to understand that in São Luis the representations of the space succeeded in creating a modern city with a historic city center that fulfills the role of civic and cultural center, as well as the function of a valued object in the industry of cultural tourism. On the other side, a close observation of the spatial practice, the way the inhabitants apprehended the historic city center as their place, especially if it is considered the other parcel of the city center, allows one to conclude that if the affluent segments abandoned it, many dwellers, which are not home invaders or the lower-income segments, as the representations of space consider them to be, stayed in the place and enjoy staying. Besides, the place is the commercial place par excellence for the majority of the city. The transformation it suffers is that it is not the elite's center anymore; it is everybody's center, the whole city center.

In addition to that, it is important to observe that the housing subdivisions of the BNH were transformed into auto sufficient neighborhoods and new centralities in a process that necessarily meant to reintroduce the diversity of uses, the approximation of residential and working areas to the once conceived residential only areas.

This approach leads to think about how the representations of space themselves are created. Certainly they belong to the scientific realm, generated by scientific methods, coordinate by scientific people. The question is whether or not this scientific realm can (and how it does) interpret and translate what is lived and what is perceived into the conceived space. In this sense, urbanism tends to think that what is conceived does represent the best way of living, the materialization of people's needs and desires. It still must be asked: for whom? Because, if it is well recognized that in the modern society, everything can be sold, everything can be bought, the space as a product will be sold and bought and thus submitted to the market and the capital influences. In such a condition it does not escape the influence of the articulation of the different

sectors of capital in determining the land use. And it does not escape a less perceived influence: the hegemony of a class. Or the ability that the classes in power have to dominate every sector of life including the space.

Thus, the representations of space created under the influence of that hegemony will conceive a space directly satisfying the needs and desires of the dominant segments of society. Or not. Because, Lefebvre admits, the hegemony do not avoid the critical knowledge, the science and the practice of science that are committed not with the hegemony of the capital but with the ampler interests of the majority of the inhabitants and with the construction of an equitable and democratic urban space.

Those are the paths that are open now in front of the urbanism in São Luis: To accept and condone the privatization of public space and enclosure of residential areas in maximum security condominiums; Or to embrace the production of public spaces, of social-spatial diversity as shown by the spatial practice in the historic center, in the city center, and in the popular neighborhoods.

## REFERENCES

- Burnett, C.F.L. (2008) "Além do Rio Anil. Urbanização e desenvolvimento sustentável: a sustentabilidade dos tipos de Urbanização em São Luís do Maranhão". São Luís: Universidade Estadual do Maranhão – UEMA.
- Choay, F. (1994) "El reino de lo urbano y la muerte de la ciudad", Ramos, A.M. ed. *Lo Urbano en 20 autores contemporáneos*, Barcelona: ETSAB, Edicions UPC, 2004, 61-72
- Lefebvre, H. (1991) "O Direito à Cidade". São Paulo: Editora Moraes Ltda.
- Lefebvre, H. (1998) "The production of space". 8 ed. Massachusetts.
- Lefebvre, H. (2000) "La production de l'espace". 4 ed. Paris : Anthropos
- Lima, A.V. (1972) "Rapport et propositions pour la conservation, récupération et expansion de São Luís/Maranhão". São Luis, mimeo.
- Mesquita, R.R. (1958). "Plano de Expansão da Cidade de São Luís". São Luís.
- Paquot, T. (2006) "Terre urbaine: cinq défis pour le devenir urbain de la planète," Paris: La Découverte.
- Prefeitura Municipal de São Luís (1977) "Plano Diretor de São Luís". São Luís: SIOGE.
- Ribeiro Junior, J.R.B. (1999) "Formação do espaço urbano de São Luís: 1612 – 1991". São Luís: Edições FUNC.
- Secchi, B. (2006) "Primeira Lição de Urbanismo". São Paulo: Perspectiva
- Secchi, B. (2010) "A cidade do século XX" São Paulo: Perspectiva
- Secchi, B. (2010) "Three stories for the XXth century. II International Ph.D Seminar on Urbanism", Barcelona, 27.06.05. In: <http://www.planum.net/topics/secchi-lessons.htm>, captured in 04/04/2010.



*This paper is part of the research project “From the colonial house to residential enclaves: permanencies and transformations in the ways of living in São Luis, Maranhão, Brazil” which is supported by the Foundation of Support to Research and to Scientific and Technologic Development of the State of Maranhão – FAPEMA.*

*Research team responsible for the photographs:*

*Students of Architecture and Urbanism:*

*Brito, Felipe; Borges, Raimundo; Freire, Giovanna; Rodrigues, Paulo*

## LANDFILLS IN VITÓRIA, ESPÍRITO SANTO, BRAZIL: THE PROTAGONIST AND THE CREATIONS

José Francisco Bernardino FREITAS, Architect

Espírito Santo Federal University – UFES, Brazil  
jfbfreitas@gmail.com

### ABSTRACT

*The Municipality of Vitória was originally made up of a chain of 34 islands surrounded by mangroves. Since colonial times, through a succession of landfills, the territory of Vitória has changed significantly, leaving out only a few stand-alone islets that have not been linked to the main island by land filling. In our earlier studies and published papers we identified and demonstrated that the changes in the government's argumentation regarding the Port of Victoria activities have been the main motivation for the successive "necessities" and reasons presented for land filling. Using the earlier research as a source, this study explores the official messages and reports that the executive government had sent to its legislative branch. It approaches issues on the development of Vitória, as related to the several landfills executed along the county borders. It focuses particularly the time period between 1900 and 2000, when such land filling activities acquire a representative proportion when compared to the actual surface of the Island of Vitória, presenting therefore a crucial role in the promotion of accessibility and sanitary conditions for the state capital city and, in more recent times, for the expansion of its territory. During the 1950s a major land filling project was undertaken, adjacent to the port area, forming a level area officially named Esplanada da Capixaba. The official argumentation presented for the works were the expanding port activities and their rising demand for increased space. This was the first time the government admitted the need for land expansion. Before that, the government-given reasons to justify landfills were either sanitation or accessibility. This study includes a brief account on the landfills carried out in the Vitória area, focusing on the Esplanada da Capixaba. It demonstrates that political determination countermanded technical recommendations and task priority in the selection of a location for and the building of the Port of Vitória and the resulting landfills. It reveals that the territorial build-up of Vitória has been guided by political force even when technical recommendations pointed toward the opposite direction. Such actions, resulting from political and administrative intents, be those of economical or social nature, have triggered, a set of interventions whose stated objectives not always were faithful to the original goals for the landfill occupation when it was actually achieved and it can be claimed that all those earthworks and embankments have altered in overwhelming ways the contours of Island of Vitória, imposing to her inhabitants financial, social, and environmental burdens. In short, it can be argued that the environmental problems Vitória now faces are a result of those earlier decisions for land filling within which the Port of Vitória was the main protagonist.*

### THE LANDFILLS AND THE ISLAND OF VITÓRIA: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION

The Island of Vitória, whose main assets were its closeness to a mountain range and the sea had its vocation as a harbor state capital city favored by this privileged geographical position, a feature that earmarked from the beginning its political and economic fate, its settlement, and its urban development. The present-day county area configuration, partly situated on an archipelago and partly on the mainland, presents

many alterations along its developmental process through which a number of the islets where joined to the mainland <sup>1</sup>. Figure 1 shows those alterations that were performed upon the Bay of Vitória coastline establishing a comparison between images from the 19<sup>th</sup>. and the 21<sup>st</sup>. centuries.

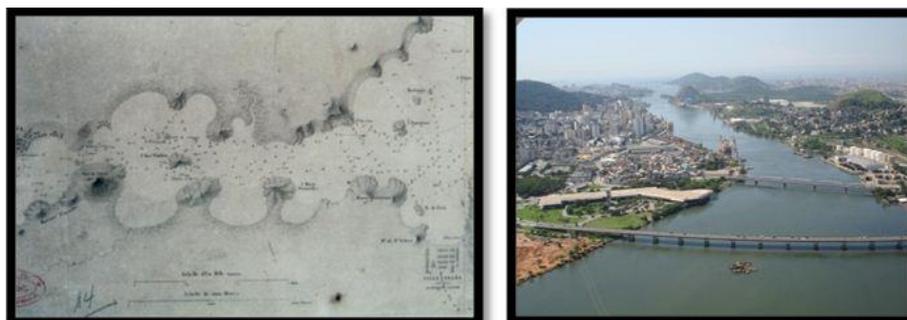


Figure 1 – Vitória and surroundings: Bay of Vitória and its coast line in a map of 1888 and a bird eye view photograph of 2009

Source: respectively [www.baiadevitoria.ufes.br](http://www.baiadevitoria.ufes.br) and author's archive

This study approaches issues on the development of Vitória, as related to the several landfills executed along the county borders and presents a detailed description of those landfills in the Port of Vitória and *Esplanada da Capixaba* areas. It focuses particularly the time period between 1900 and 2000, when such land filling activities acquire a representative proportion when compared to the actual surface of the Island of Vitória, presenting therefore a crucial role in the promotion of accessibility and sanitary conditions for the state capital city and, in more recent times, for the expansion of its territory<sup>2</sup>.

It is important to note that while the research on identifying the landfills in Vitória has made considerable progress, the study on government's purposes and achievements constitute work in process. Nevertheless, the outcomes of both analyses combined are worth publishing as an original piece of investigation and a means to further reflection on the subject. To offer contribution to the construction of Brazilian planning history, this paper adopts a rather descriptive approach for the gathering and the unraveling of data, mainly from government sources.

<sup>1</sup> According to such information as can be accessed at Vitória City Hall official page in the site, <[www.vitoria.es.gov.br/negocios/guia\\_investidor/geoeconomicos.htm](http://www.vitoria.es.gov.br/negocios/guia_investidor/geoeconomicos.htm)>, consulted on June 22, 2009, the county is made up by an archipelago of 34 islets and a mainland section located to the north of the main island, that is, the Island of Vitória. It is interesting to mention that said main island is very close to the mainland proper and is completely surrounded by a natural channel, making up what is referred to as the Bay of Vitória.

<sup>2</sup>For lack of data, the landfills performed on the county's mainland section, particularly those achieved in the UFES Campus, along the *Camburi Canal* and in the *Tubarão Port* area will be excluded from the following approach.

## FROM THE FIRST LANDFILLS TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE WORKS IN THE PORT

One of the first land filling activities we know about in the Island of Vitória happened between 1812 and 1819 in a stretch of land dubbed *Campinho* at the time, where nowadays *Moscoso Park* is situated and was intended to make easier the walking between *Porto dos Padres* and the *Santa Casa de Misericórdia*<sup>3</sup>. These works gave raise to other landfills because they changed the *Campinho* mangroves into a filthy shallows for their creation of obstructions that stopped the natural cleaning of the area by tidal flow movements, a situation which remained until the period between 1882 and 1888 when a landfill for sanitation was crammed into its innermost section<sup>4</sup>. Figure 2, taken from the cadastral town plan kept in Vitória City Hall Archives, illustrates the series of landfills examined in this study.

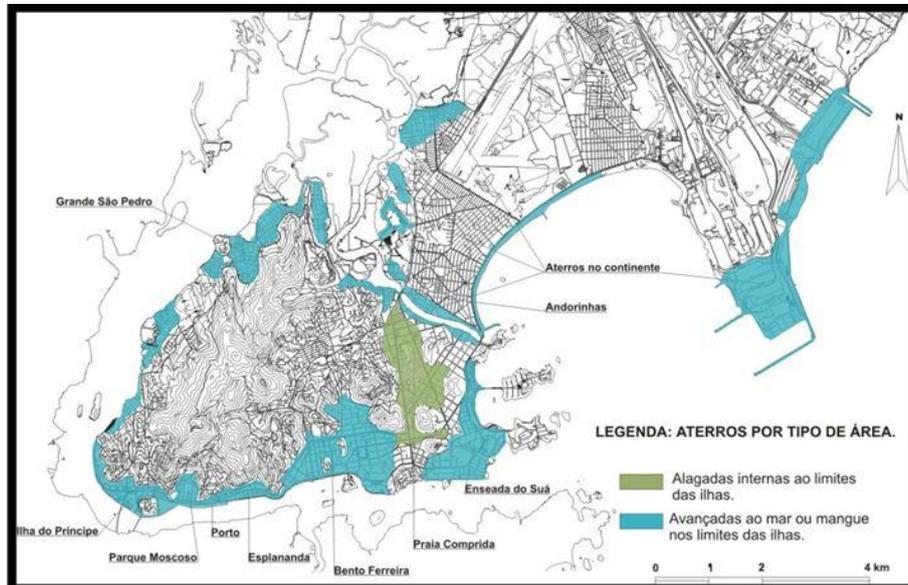


Figure 2 – Municipality of Vitória: Landfills within municipal boundaries  
Source: based on the Cadastral Town Plan of Vitória dated 2000

<sup>3</sup>DERENZI, Luiz Serafim, *Biografia de uma Ilha*, 2nd. Print, Vitória: PMV, *Secretaria Municipal de Cultura e Turismo*. 1996, p. 103. Another reference to a landfill prior to this date can be found in a license granted by the Bishop of Bahia, in January of 1755, for the building of the church of *Nossa Senhora da Conceição* in the area of *Prainha*. See DAEMON, Basílio Carvalho, *Descobrimento, História e Estatística da Província do Espírito Santo*, Vitória: Tipografia do Espírito Santense, 1849, p. 163.

<sup>4</sup>MUNIZ, Maria Isabel Perini, *Parque Moscoso: Documento de Vida*, 2nd. Print, Vitória, Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Espírito Santo, 2001. See also NOVAES, Maria S. de, *História do Espírito Santo*, Vitória, Fundo Editorial do Espírito Santo, undated. However, Elton pinpoints the beginning of such works in 1888, ordered by the then Province President, Henrique Ataíde Lobo Moscoso. See more details in ELTON, Elmo, *Logradouros Antigos de Vitória*, Vitória: IJSN, 1986.

Between 1889 and 1891, no data on land filling works in the area was to be found. Notwithstanding that, the Ordinance Code from the Appointed Government for the City of Vitória, planning for the betterment of sanitary conditions in the city, defines, among other goals, the draining of bogs and stagnant waters, landfills, the covering of open plots and ditches and water canalization<sup>5</sup>. Even then, as far down as 1906, a large section of this area was still under shallow flood waters, until the achievement of the works in 1910 and the urban development activities performed in 1912, under Jerônimo Monteiro's term in office (1908-1912)<sup>6</sup>. It is possible that such a long period taken to complete the *Campinho* earthworks might be justified for the government expenses with the placing of landfills in other sections of the city as well as with some different purposes.

Also in the end of that century can be cited the landfills destined to render possible the building of the lateral sections of the *Estrada de Rodagem* - today Vitória Avenue -, along the present day neighborhoods of *Jucutuquara*, *Santa Cecília*, and *Horto*, as well as those necessary to open a safe passage between the urban center and the *Praia Comprida* area. The landfills in the *Praia Comprida* area were determined under the authority of Muniz Freire (1892-1896), who decided that areas in the Island of Vitória should be employed for the city expansion toward the Bay of Vitória entryways. This expansionist intent was embodied by an invitation to the sanitation engineer Francisco Saturnino Rodrigues de Brito, who, in 1896, got involved in his first assignment with urban development through the creation of a project that intended the enlargement of the city of Vitória into an area five or six times larger than that occupied by the capital city nucleus by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup>. Century. Brito's proposal for Vitória was reported on his *Projecto de um Novo Arrabalde: dotado de serviços de abastecimento d'água e de drenagem* which, besides previewing the landfills necessary to make viable the *Estrada de Rodagem*, suggested the need of other landfill placements in the area to be included in the *novo arrabalde propriamente ditto*<sup>7</sup>.

That proposal for the *Arrabalde da Praia Comprida* does not consider the area made up by the *Bento Ferreira mangroves* as acceptable for human occupation and/or landfills. All the same, the *Estrada de Rodagem* ran along the border of this mangrove area and in the near future new fillings were crammed into there, resulting into the development of *Santa Maria Island*, *Monte Belo*, and *Bento Ferreira* neighborhoods, which will be commented upon further on in this study, beside the aforementioned works. The *novo arrabalde propriamente ditto* only came to receive restricted placements of landfills, often in isolated sections and with the particular purposes of promoting access to already developed areas, the building of squares, and the alignment of streets, during the municipal term in office of Henrique de Novaes (1916 to 1920). All the while said

---

<sup>5</sup>PREFEITURA MUNICIPAL DE VITÓRIA, *Código de Posturas da Intendência Municipal da Cidade de Victoria Capital do Estado do Espírito Santo*, Vitória: Typ. da "A Província", 1890.

<sup>6</sup>ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governador (1908-1912: Monteiro), *Exposição Sobre os Negócios do Estado no Quatriênio de 1908 a 1912 pelo Exmo. Snr. Dr. Jerônimo Monteiro Presidente do Estado no mesmo Período*, Vitória (no printer identification), 1912.

<sup>7</sup>BRITO, Francisco S. R. de, *Projecto de um Novo Arrabalde: dotado de serviços de abastecimento d'água e de drenagem*, Victoria: *Comissão de Melhoramentos da Capital*: Estado do Espírito Santo, 1896.

works were kept at during the following mayors' terms in office between the decades of 1920 and 1940<sup>8</sup>.

Within the scope of this goal of accessibility, during the last few decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the greatest longing of the *capixaba* [Espírito Santo State born] politicians was that of making Vitória independent of Rio de Janeiro, turning the assorted docking facilities for different kinds of ships in the Bay of Vitória into a single, large harbor. The first studies considering this port are dated 1881, but until 1906 the federal and state governments kept fighting upon technical, financial, and political arguments around the place where the aforementioned port should be built on, for which some indicated the mainland grounds all the while it was allocated by others on the Island of Vitória. Finally, the State Government Decree 5.951 from 1906 transferred the building works to Vitória<sup>9</sup>, after several assessments that clearly reveal their being based upon political platforms; all the same, the beginning of the works only happened between 1908 and 1912. They were interrupted in 1914 and only restarted in the Florentino Avidos Administration period (1924-1928). Landfills were placed in succession till, already in 1937, the first section of the wharfs was achieved; nonetheless, other landfills and ancillary works were still needed and the final conclusion was only reached in 1939, during Major João Punaro Bley's state administration (1930-1943)<sup>10</sup>, almost sixty years after the initial project was presented.

---

<sup>8</sup>PREFEITURA MUNICIPAL DE VITÓRIA. Prefeito (1916-1920: Novaes), *Mensagem apresentada à Câmara Municipal pelo Doutor Henrique de Novaes na Sessão de 1919*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1919; ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governador [State governor] (1916-1920: Monteiro), *Relatório Apresentado pelo Dr. Bernardino de Souza Monteiro, Presidente do Estado, de sua Gestão no quadriênio de 23 de Maio de 1916 a 23 de Maio de 1920, ao passar o Governo do Estado ao seu Sucessor, Exmo. Sr. Coronel Nestor Gomes*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1920; PREFEITURA MUNICIPAL DE VITÓRIA. Prefeito (1924-1928: Peixoto), *Mensagem Apresentada à Câmara Municipal de Vitória pelo Exmo. Sr. Octávio Índio do Brasil Peixoto, Prefeito Municipal, na Sessão de 31 de dezembro de 1927*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1927; ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governador (1924-1928: Avidos), *Mensagem lida ao Congresso na 3ª Sessão da 12ª Legislatura pelo Exmo. Snr. Presidente do Estado do Espírito Santo, Dr. Florentino Avidos, referente às realizações dos anos de 1925 e 1926*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1926; ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governador (1924-1928: Avidos), *Mensagem Final apresentada pelo Exmo. Snr. Presidente do Estado do Espírito Santo, Dr. Florentino Avidos, ao Congresso Legislativo, a 15 de Junho de 1928, Contendo Dados Completos de todos os Serviços Prestados no quadriênio de 1924-1928*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1928; ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governador (1928-1930: Aguiar), *Mensagem Apresentada ao Congresso Legislativo na 2ª. Sessão da 13ª. Legislatura em 07 de Setembro de 1929 pelo Doutor Aristeu Borges de Aguiar, Presidente do Estado do Espírito Santo*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1929; ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governador (1928-1930: Aguiar), *Mensagem Apresentada à Assembléia Legislativa do Estado do Espírito Santo, 3ª. Sessão da 13ª. Legislatura em 22 de Setembro de 1930 pelo Doutor Aristeu Borges de Aguiar, Presidente do Estado do Espírito Santo*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1929; PREFEITURA MUNICIPAL DE VITÓRIA. Prefeito (1928-1930: Avidos), *Mensagem Apresentada à Câmara Municipal de Vitória pelo Prefeito Doutor Moacyr Avidos, dando conta dos Negócios do Município no anno de 1929*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1929; and, PREFEITURA MUNICIPAL DE VITÓRIA. Prefeito (1937-1944: Monjardim), *Síntese Geral das obras realizadas no quadriênio 1937-1942*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1942.

<sup>9</sup>More details in FREITAS, José Francisco B., *Técnica versus Política na localização dos portos do Rio de Janeiro e de Vitória*, In *Anais do XXIII ENANPUR Encontro Nacional da ANPUR: Planejamento e Gestão de Território: escalas, conflitos e incertezas*, CD-ROM, Florianópolis, 2009, 18pp.

<sup>10</sup>ESPÍRITO SANTO, Governador (1930-1943: Bley), *Major João Punaro Bley (1930-1943) – Relatório apresentado ao Excelentíssimo Senhor Presidente da República, pelo Major João Punaro Bley, interventor federal no Estado do Espírito Santo – 1943*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1943.

Even before the harbor installations were completed, the need of transport for the state produce through the port led to the building of Florentino Avidos Bridge, in 1928, another action claiming for a landfill in the coastline of *Ilha do Príncipe*. From then on the contours of Island of Vitória grew increasingly changed. In the words of Aristeu Borges de Aguiar (1928-1930), quoting from page 169 of his Report,

*Considering that Vitória is a magnificently favored city by its scenic beauty, the help of man's handiwork to Nature was imposed in order to adapt it to the requirements of hygiene and beauty required by modern cities [sic] and to make it a close reflection to the greatness of the State. In addition, there is an imperative necessity for adopting an overall plan to orient the growth of Vitória along the principles of urbanism. [Literal translation].*

With these extra landfills and the bridge's being put into place, from thence all future urbanization planning included *Ilha do Príncipe* as an important business or residential area for Vitória<sup>11</sup>. None of the plans was ever implemented; for all that several small-size landfills were set into place until 1960.

It was during João Punaro Bley's term in office as federal interventor (1930-1943) that mangrove land filling in *Ilha do Príncipe* became significant, a process that was amplified by the Jones dos Santos Neves Administration (1951-1955) and its successors until that of the Cristiano Dias Lopes Filho Administration (1967-1971). Continuing the *Ilha do Príncipe* landfills, in the year 1960, during the term in power of Carlos Fernando Monteiro Lindenberg (1959-1962)<sup>12</sup>, a large landfill was placed in the northeast of said island on the stated goals of embellishment of the region and the conquest of new areas for the capital's expansion and growth. All landfills performed

<sup>11</sup>NOVAES, Henrique de, *Plano de Urbanização de Vitória*. In BRÍGIDO, Laerte Rangel, *O Município de Vitória sob Regime Revolucionário – Triênio 1930-1933*, Rio de Janeiro: Oficinas Alba Gráfica, undated; and ETUC (*Empresa de Topografia, Urbanismo e Construções Ltda.*, *Levantamento Cadastral e Plano de Urbanização da cidade de Vitória. Relatório dos Trabalhos*, Supervisionado por Hubert Alfred Agache, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1945.

<sup>12</sup>ESPÍRITO SANTO, Governador (1951-1955: Santos Neves), *Mensagem Apresentada à Assembléia Legislativa Estadual por Ocasião da Abertura da Sessão Legislativa de 1952 pelo Doutor Jones dos Santos Neves, Governador do Estado*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1952; ESPÍRITO SANTO, Governador (1951-1955: Santos Neves), *Mensagem Apresentada à Assembléia Legislativa Estadual por Ocasião da Abertura da Sessão Legislativa de 1953 pelo Doutor Jones dos Santos Neves, Governador do Estado*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1953; ESPÍRITO SANTO, Governador (1951-1955: Santos Neves), *Mensagem Apresentada à Assembléia Legislativa Estadual por Ocasião da Abertura da Sessão Legislativa de 1954 pelo Doutor Jones dos Santos Neves, Governador do Estado*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1954; ESPÍRITO SANTO, Governador (1951-1955: Santos Neves), *O Espírito Santo Trabalha e Confia 1951-1955*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1955; ESPÍRITO SANTO, Governador (1959-1962: Lindenberg), *Mensagem Apresentada à Assembléia Legislativa do Estado em sua Sessão Ordinária de 1959 pelo Governador Dr. Carlos Fernando M. Lindenberg*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1959 (no page number); ESPÍRITO SANTO, Governador (1959-1962: Lindenberg), *Mensagem Apresentada à Assembléia Legislativa do Estado na Abertura da Sessão Legislativa de 1961 pelo Dr. Carlos Fernando Monteiro Lindenberg, Governador do Estado*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1961; ESPÍRITO SANTO, Governador (1967-1971: Lopes Filho), *Um Estado em Marcha para o Desenvolvimento Governo Cristiano Dias Lopes Filho, Mensagem Apresentada pelo Governador Cristiano Dias Lopes Filho à Assembléia Legislativa, em 15-6-1968, encaminhando sua prestação de contas referente ao exercício de 1967*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1968. Also see ESPÍRITO SANTO, Governador (1967-1971: Lopes Filho), *Desafio & Proposta: Desenvolvimento do Estado do Espírito Santo – 1967-1970: Cristiano Dias Lopes Filho*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1970.

until 1967 were not sufficient for the area's sanitization and, in 1968, the Espírito Santo State Governor, Cristiano Dias Lopes Filho (1967-1971) appointed a team for the planning of urbanization and this group proposed another landfill employing materials obtained from the dragging of the bay, as already had the previous one. The urban project considered also the need of a second way of access to the mainland and included the plans for the building of a second bridge<sup>13</sup>, which required new landfills in 1977, this time in the northwest of *Ilha do Príncipe*. From the mid-Seventies to the beginning of the 1980s several landfills had to be placed so as to accommodate the accesses to this new bridge, as well as to allow a connection between *Santo Antônio* neighborhood, west of the port and Vitória's urban nucleus.

### THE PORT, THE ESPLANADE, AND THE ROADWAYS TO THE BEACHES

Campos Jr. indicates a shortage of available real estate during the 1940s in the business area of Vitória, comprised between the areas of *Cais Schmidt* and *Curva do Saldanha*. He considers that this area was already overbuilt at the time, pointing to the detected demand for plots and buildings in the downtown blocks<sup>14</sup>. A direct consequence of this hunger for new land were the landfills placed on *Esplanada da Capixaba* and the mangroves between *Forte São João* and the *Bento Ferreira* neighborhood which were performed from 1951 on. It is interesting to remember that several other landfills had been added to the *Esplanada da Capixaba* area during the Monteiro (1916-1920) and Avidos (1924-1928) administrations allegedly for health purposes<sup>15</sup>. For all the reasons presented on these lines, it was clear that these land filling activities already hid territorial expansion purposes, disguised under accessibility reasons, particularly on those promoted by Avidos's Upgrading Plan<sup>16</sup>.

In 1951, Santos Neves states,

*All of us feel the imperious need for supplying Vitória with the remodeling practices that are indispensable to the city's progress. This is mostly true in reference to the conquest of new areas for the city's growth through the reclaiming of the vast mangrove areas to be seen all along the coastline. [Literal translation]<sup>17</sup>.*

In an address given in the same year, Santos Neves points out that the area dubbed *Esplanada da Capixaba* had been chosen for the placement of a landfill having in mind the correction of water flows within the port's evolution basin, for the betterment of traffic conditions to *Praia Comprida*, the site for the *Novo Arrabalde* which, according to

---

<sup>13</sup>BONINO, P. *Revolução Urbanística em Vitória*. In *Revista Capixaba* nº 17, Vitória: julho 1968.

<sup>14</sup>CAMPOS JR., Carlos Teixeira de, *O Novo Arrabalde*, Vitória: PMV, *Secretaria Municipal de Cultura e Turismo*, 1996.

<sup>15</sup>In Monteiro's (1916-1920) and Avidos's (1924-1928) government reports the landfills are clearly justified for sanitation reasons.

<sup>16</sup>The landfills promoted all along the Florentino Avidos Administration included the opening of *Capixaba Avenue*, the extension of *Rua da Alfândega* and *Ladeira Pernambuco*, which are today, respectively, *Jerônimo Monteiro Avenue* and *Wilson de Freitas Street*; besides the *Mercado da Capixaba* was also built on ground taken from the ocean. More details can be found in ESPÍRITO SANTO, Governador (1924-1928: Avidos), *Op. Cit.*, 1928. Also see ELTON, Elmo, *Op. Cit.*, 1986.

<sup>17</sup>NEVES, Reinado and ACHIAMÉ, Fernando, *Jones dos Santos Neves – Com vistas ao futuro – Discursos: 1943-1954*, Vitória, *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Espírito Santo*, 2002, p. 212.

Santos Neves, already has its first dwellers from 1920 on, and for the facilitation of the outflow from the “*large road junctions*” in the north<sup>18</sup>.

Santos Neves’s Economical Upgrading Plan, to be achieved by means of more landfill building, not only aimed at the accessibility furtherance as mentioned above, but also targeted the conquering for the city of an area over which constructions could be built and therefore increment Vitória’s downtown business area. It should be herein observed that this is the moment in which, beside the need for water flow correction in the port’s evolution basis, another need surfaces, that of a commercial area to support the dockside activities provoked by its growth. Here the Port appears for the first time as the main protagonist for the justification of this new landfill section.

To Santos Neves’s abovementioned goals, the capital city’s modernization in consequence of the industrialization foreseen in his planning must be associated. This yearning for modernization is also explicit in his proposal for the occupation of the *Esplanada da Capixaba* district, in which the new streets are set on straightforward alignment, composed by broader blocks, with differentiated formats, but always more regular than those of the original occupation. These new blocks are instantiated in such a way as to partially adopt the already extant alignments in the old town, so as to promote a sense of continuity between the old and the new design. The 1954 Municipal Code establishes specific norms for said area, projecting it as a special business section, which comes to confirm the original intention of broadening the commercial zone through the setting up of this landfill as a supporting area for the Port of Vitória activities as well as the modernization intended for the capital<sup>19</sup>.

According to Santos Neves’s address to the Legislative Body on January 30, 1955,

*What with the dismantling of the nearby hills and the sands collected from dragging in the surrounding channel a vast area for the city’s urban expansion was filled. Facing the Capixaba grounds and leaving space for the unlikely continuation of the commercial wharfs, an approximate area of 96.000 square meters, in the very heart of the city, was conquered from the ocean. The terrain plotting, planned under all the requirements of modern urban technique, is already achieved. [...]. [Literal translation]<sup>20</sup>.*

---

<sup>18</sup>ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governor (1951-1955: Santos Neves), *Op. Cit.*, 1952. It is important to mention that nowadays the old *Esplanada da Capixaba* includes all the land between Jerônimo Monteiro Avenue and *Avenida Beira-Mar* that spans the area from the sidewalk in front of the Government Palace until the terrains around Saldanha da Gama Fort. It is also worth to mention that the study performed by the Nucleus of Studies on Architecture and Urbanism for the centennial of Saturnino de Brito’s project pinpoints the decade of the 1930s as that in which the project was finally implanted. More details can be seen in MENDONÇA, Eneida Maria Souza; FREITAS, José Francisco Bernardino; CAMPOS, Martha Machado; PRADO, Michele Monteiro; ALMEIDA, Renata Hermann de; and their team, *Cidade Prospectiva: o projeto de Saturnino de Brito para Vitória.*, Vitória: EDUFES/ANNABLUME, 2009.

<sup>19</sup>For further details, see PREFEITURA MUNICIPAL DE VITÓRIA [Vitória City Hall], *Código Municipal de Vitória: Lei nº. 351 de 24 de abril de 1954*, Vitória: Departamento de Imprensa Oficial, 1955. Also see LEME, Maria Cristina da S. (Coord.), *Op. Cit.*, 1999. See further MENDONÇA, Eneida Maria Souza, *Transferência de interesse no percurso da verticalização das construções em Vitória*, 2001, tese (Doutorado em Planejamento Urbano e Regional), Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo da Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2001.

<sup>20</sup>ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governador (1951-1955: Santos Neves), *Op. Cit.*, 1955. (no page number).

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

With this *Esplanada da Capixaba* landfill, added to all the other land fillings performed in the Bento Ferreira region, which will be mentioned further on in this document, according to Santos Neves's 1953 report, in less than two years, almost twice as much all the area conquered to the sea in all previous periods of her history was incorporated to Island of Vitória. Santos Neves, in his 1952 document argues that Vitória had a great potential for development as offered by the *Rio Bonito* electrical potential and the Port's refitting<sup>21</sup>. Figure 3 allows for the visualization of the *Esplanada da Capixaba* landfill proportions as concluded by the end of Santos Neves's term in comparison to present day landscape. In the 1960 picture middle distance the Port of Vitória can be seen and, in the background, loom *Ilha do Príncipe* and Florentino Avidos Bridge.



Figure 3 – Municipality of Vitória: Landfills in the *Esplanada Capixaba* region. Photograph of 1960 and of 2009

Source: respectively [www.baiadevitoria.ufes.br](http://www.baiadevitoria.ufes.br) and author's archive.

For sure the *Capixaba* landfill reached its target of increasing commercial activities in downtown Vitória, notwithstanding the fact that they redoubled their volume and caused the present-day bottlenecks due both to commercial and residential factors. It is possible to argue that as a direct result, the government began to search for another area to accommodate the seats of its powers, beginning from the second half of the 1970s<sup>22</sup>. To this trend can be added the need for the enlargement of dockside servicing areas prodded by the port development and that of its ancillary sectors as well, imposing the amplification of its dependencies with the building of large yards for mechanical repairs, carpentry, and sawmills which were installed in the *Bento Ferreira* area during the first half of the 1950s<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>21</sup>ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governador (1951-1955: Santos Neves), Op. Cit., 1952. Also consult ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governador (1951-1955: Santos Neves), Op. Cit., 1953.

<sup>22</sup>First, several state administration departments were dislocated, than those of the municipal executive and legislative, and, finally, the state legislation seat. More recently, José Inácio Ferreira (1999-2002), from the beginning of his State government administration, proposed the moving of the state executive seat to the *Enseada do Suá* landfill area, where is located, since the second half of the 1990s, the state Legislative Chamber seat. His argumentation was that the Anchieta Palace already presented severe building degradation problems and that the acquisition of a newer building to shelter the executive activities would be less costly than the old Palace's refitting. Public opinion, however, surged against the proposal, especially when the Town Hall administration was making efforts in the opposite direction to bring investments into the downtown area to fend off the potential emptying of Vitória's central area.

<sup>23</sup>ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governador (1951-1955: Santos Neves), Op. Cit., 1954.

Adopting this perspective it becomes possible to argue that all landfills placed in the *Bento Ferreira* grounds during the 1950s, which will be analyzed further on in this paper, are only developments of the *Esplanada da Capixaba* landfill works and, in last instance, consequences of the Port of Vitória landfills. To the present day, all information gleaned has revealed that the city owes its development to these landfill interventions; environment problems surface and result into alterations of Vitória's territorial configuration on a general scenery in which the Port is the main protagonist.

As a corroboration to this statement, the *Bento Ferreira* grounds have been receiving the placement of landfills over its mangrove areas from the *Forte São João* to the vicinities of the *Colégio Salesiano* with the clear purpose of furthering territorial expansion<sup>24</sup>, employing materials obtained from the dismantling of Santa Maria Island and some hillocks close by. For all that, these works were never finished due to the high costs required by the task and the remaining mangrove areas increasing suffer from the impossibility of receiving the former tide cleaning, in the same fashion already noted in the Moscoso Park neighborhood. In this case, the problem was partially solved by later land filling performed by individual dwellers involved in the irregular occupation of that region<sup>25</sup>.

In 1961, during the Carlos Fernando Monteiro Lindenberg Administration (1959-1962) the dragging materials from the port channels were employed for the placing of complementary landfills over those grounds as demonstrated by Figure 4. However, it is only in the 1980s that the *Forte São João*, *Ilha de Santa Maria*, and *Monte Belo* neighborhoods receive resources for the building of infrastructure from the *Projeto Cura*, created during the term of Mayor Carlos Alberto Lindenberg von Schilgen (1979-1981)<sup>26</sup>.

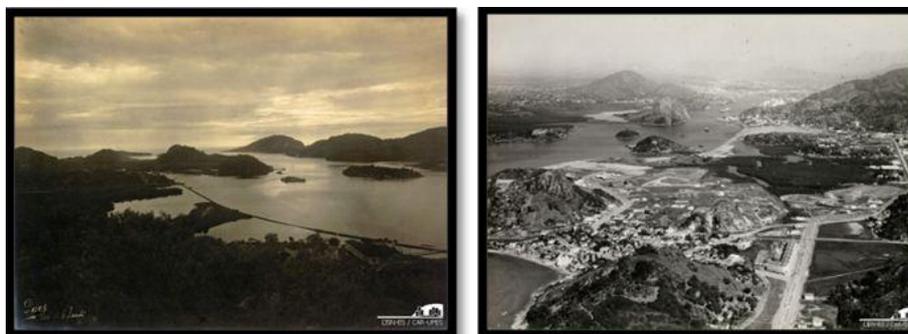


Figure 4 – Municipality of Vitória: Landfills in the region of Bento Ferreira. Photographs of the 1920's and of 1961

Source: [www.baiadevitoria.ufes.br](http://www.baiadevitoria.ufes.br)

<sup>24</sup>As early as 1945, the Bento Ferreira region was the target of authorities' attention, being included into an urbanization plan designed under Alfred Agache's supervision. See details in ETUC (*Empresa de Topografia, Urbanismo e Construções Ltda.*, *Op. Cit.*, 1945).

<sup>25</sup>VENTURIN, Luciano, and PROTTI, David, *Ilha de Santa Maria e Monte Belo*, Vitória: PMV, 1993 (*Coleção Nossos Bairros I*). These authors point out that the beginning of landfills with materials taken from Santa Maria Island and Monte Belo has begun as early as the mid-1920s.

<sup>26</sup>PREFEITURA MUNICIPAL DE VITÓRIA. Mayor (1979-1981: von Schilgen), *Relatório Apresentado à Câmara Municipal de Vitória no ano de 1979 pelo prefeito Carlos Alberto Lindenberg von Schilgen*, Vitória (no printer's name), 1979.

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

With the achievement of land filling works in the area of the *Novo Arrabalde* and the incorporation to the city of the *Bento Ferreira* neighborhood and its vicinities as far as St. John's Fort, thought began to be given, starting from the 1970s, to the conquering of areas in the *Praia do Suá*, northeast of *Bento Ferreira*, right in the entrance of The Bay of Vitória. In 1971, Arthur Carlos Gerhardt Santos (1971-1974) announced a new urban project for the *Praia do Suá*, to be performed by the *Companhia de Melhoramentos e Desenvolvimento Urbano (Comdusa)* and the new landfill activities were begun on 1972<sup>27</sup>.

The official argumentation on the performing of said works, according to the architect who authored the region development plan, Jolindo Martins Filho, in an interview given on January 2003, was that of stopping the passage of ocean currents between *Ilha do Boi* and the Island of Vitória, which allegedly provoked silting into part of the entrance to the channel responsible for the conservation of the Bay of Vitória, as well as eventually result into restricting the access to the Port of Vitória. These earthworks were finished in 1977 and, in the following 1979, during the Carlos Alberto Lindenberg von Schilgen Administration, a plan for structuring a government sector on the Suá landfill was proposed, transposing to said place all state administrative services and integrating this zone with the institutional activities already extant in the nearby *Ilha de Santa Maria* and *Bento Ferreira* levees. Figure 5 shows the territorial extension previewed for the incorporation of these areas to Island of Vitória as part of the seaside embankments already implemented and the landfills already concluded.



Figure 5 – Municipality of Vitória: Landfills in the Enseada do Suá region. Photographs of the 1970's and in 1993 with the landfill concluded

Source: Nucleus for Studies on Architecture and Urbanism - NAUJUFES.

During the same interview given on January 2003, Martins Filho claims that his proposal for the reclaimed area - *Enseada do Suá* - was meant to be a favored residential site to be built over the total extension of the covered area. However, from the very beginning, the local entrepreneurs became highly interested in the newly available land and this led to several alterations being made in the original project even before its official

<sup>27</sup>COMDUSA, *Companhia de Melhoramentos e Desenvolvimento Urbano, Plano de Urbanização da Praia do Suá*, Comdusa (mimeographed), Vitória, July 1972. Also see ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governor (1971-1974: Santos), *Mensagem à Assembléia Legislativa no governo Dr. Arthur Carlos Gerhardt Santos em 1972*, Vitória: (no printer's name), 1972.

acceptation, according to the conveniences of the aforementioned businessmen who acquired almost all of the area before the earthworks were even completed. The pressures then applied by the local entrepreneurs resulted into successive alterations until, in the year of 1979, during von Schilgen's term (1979-1981) surfaced the proposal of taking over the region for the government sector structuring plan. Therefore, it is important to mention that all those alterations were not restricted only to reasons of morphological nature, like those related to the road system or the proposed size for blocks and real estate, but also referred to the usage, consequently to the building typology intended for the area.

## THE CHOICES AND THE PROTAGONIST

It is interesting to highlight that almost every landfill mentioned above and performed around the Island of Vitória was implemented by means of hydraulic levees. In Vitória, the dismantling of hillocks or rocky outcrops for the reclaiming of flooded areas – the mangroves – was not a frequent practice, contrariwise to the prevailing practice in Rio de Janeiro. One of the few cases in which this occurred was in the vicinities of *Santa Maria* Island and *Monte Belo*, during the landfill of the area where present-day *Bento Ferreira* borough was built. Landfills in some sections in *Ilha do Príncipe* and *Curva do Saldanha* resulted also from sanitation landfills, where garbage was deposited before their covering with dirt and rocks and their crunching down together by bulldozers into hydraulic landfills. Other than these, the broader majority of earthworks was rendered possible through the employment of dragged materials from the Bay of Vitória, which had to be taken off from the access channel to the Port of Vitória to avoid its progressive silting. Therefore, it seems to be pertinent to retrieve some of the presented claims and to examine the relationship of said landfills with harbor activities in further detail.

As commented above, every time a new dragging in the Bay of Vitória is reported, the resulting materials seem to originate a new landfill. Along this study we have argued that, all things considered, harbor activities bore the major responsibility for the earthworks performed in the several Vitória districts. That important question that surfaces is what are the relationships entertained between harbor activities in Vitória and each of the landfills?

It can be argued that the relationship between the initial *Campinho* landfill and that in and around the Port of Vitória is associated with the early landfill placed upon *Porto dos Padres*. Without this, the *Lapa do Mangal* district would never have degraded and therefore, never would surface the "need" for the landfill that originated the *Campinho* area. As to the Portside Landfill, the building of a single wharf required the incorporation of *Porto dos Padres* landfill and that of those that followed along the Bay of Vitória so as to render the docks viable.

Therefore, ever since 1881, concurrent with the *Campinho* levees, the persistent conviction of the state government that the Island of Vitória would be the strategic point for the placement of the desired port, the need for new earthworks and embankments around the Island of Vitória is perceived. As the most immediate consequences, we might quote: firstly the expenses voted for the placement of landfills in the wharf area of *Ilha do Príncipe* for allegedly sanitary reasons, secondly the dragging of the Bay of Vitória with the stated purpose of deepening the access channel and thirdly the

broadening of access roads to the city, all of the them to enable the building of a bridge to connect the Island of Vitória to the mainland<sup>28</sup>.

The chain of landfills provoked by the works performed in the Port's construction was set mostly to the south of the city running toward *Vila Velha* County, as well as to the east, facing the beaches or to the west in the general direction of *Ilha do Príncipe* and *Bairro de Santo Antônio*. The placement of the Port on the Island of Vitória probably triggered the development of its present-day shape and possibly its growth orientation as well<sup>29</sup>.

It also turns out to be interesting to mention that official argumentation for the performing of landfills until the 1940s, for all that these incorporated areas to the county limits, which were above all destined to the development of harbor activities, was always based upon matters of accessibility and sanitary reasons<sup>30</sup>. For all this intention was expressed in Aguiar's aforementioned quoted excerpt (1929), this change of argumentation only was made explicit after the approval of the Economical Upgrading Plan in 1951 during the Jones Santos Neves Administration. Indeed, Santos Neves, in his address to the State Legislative Chamber on January 31, 1951, states about the need for the capital city's modernization<sup>31</sup>.

This modernization intent is directly associated to the existence of the Port of Vitória, due to the readiness that thus allowed the city of Vitória to relate directly with the main European centers. Therefore the city needed to look modern<sup>32</sup>, even if not being exactly so and technical arguments were not bound to set aside the political determination.

Studying the set of landfills we can again state that the district that spans the area between *Forte São João* and the present-day *Ilha de Santa Maria* and *Monte Belo* neighborhoods was also due to the demand for harbor activities' expansion, particularly for the works performed in the Port of Vitória. At the time, the demand for a servicing area where repairing yards could be built was the justification found for the beginning of

---

<sup>28</sup>ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governor (1924-1928: Ávidos), *Op. Cit.*, 1928. As a matter of fact that bridge was already contemplated in a plan approved in 1910 by the Decree 7.994, according to the Avidos message of 1926. For more details, see ESPÍRITO SANTO. Governor (1924-1928: Ávidos), *Op. Cit.*, 1926.

<sup>29</sup>Former studies, FREITAS (2002, 2003) substantiate a certain degree of indecision as to the city's development orientation, as such were based upon the analysis of authorities' speeches as expressed into reports and messages from the government along the period spanning from 1900 to 1950. Indeed, the proposal for the New Borough by Brito as early as 1896 after his invitation by Muniz Freire already suggested explicitly the intended orientation for the city expansion, despite the occupation of said area was only achieved during the 1930s and 1940s and their consolidation only undertaken during the 1950s and the 1960s. See more details in FREITAS, José Francisco B., *Intervenções Urbanísticas em Vitória, 1900-1950: Modernização e expansão territorial*, In *Anais do XXII Simpósio Nacional de História: História, acontecimento e narrativa*, CD-ROM, João Pessoa, PB, 2003, 12p. Also see FREITAS, José Francisco B., *Os relatórios e mensagens de governo e as intervenções urbanísticas em Vitória – 1930-1955*, In *Anais do IV Encontro da ANPHU-ES: História, representações e narrativa*, available at <http://anphues.cjb.net>, Vitória, 2002, 14p.

<sup>30</sup>FREITAS, José Francisco B., *Op. Cit.* 2003. and FREITAS, José Francisco B., *Op. Cit.*, 2002.

<sup>31</sup>See footnote n. 18 and NEVES, Reinado and ACHIAMÉ, Fernando, *Op. Cit.*, 2002, p. 212.

<sup>32</sup>A discussion about those features inherent to the modernization intended for Vitória between 1890 and 1940 can be found in: PRADO, Michele M., *A modernidade e seu retrato: Imagens e representações das transformações da paisagem urbana em Vitória (1890-1940)*, 2002, *Programa de Pós-Graduação em Arquitetura e Urbanismo*, Universidade da Bahia, Salvador, 2002.

the land filling tasks. Concerning the *Praia Comprida* region, despite Brito's project being presented as early as 1896, its occupation was only consolidated from the decades of 1950 and 1960 on, coinciding with the "need" perceived by Santos Neves of broadening the territorial extension in *Esplanada da Capixaba*. According to that authority, there was no longer space or areas available in the city's downtown district to respond to the movement generated by the port. Thence, harbor activities began to spread toward the beaches and landfill interventions were multiplied during that period. As to the region now occupied by present-day *Bento Ferreira* borough, a similar situation to that of *Lapa do Mangal* or to that of *Campinho* was repeated. The annexing of *Santa Maria* and *Monte Belo* islands to the Island of Vitória also rendered "imperative" [sic] the incorporation of this mangrove sector.

Adopting this viewpoint, it is possible to claim that the earthworks proceeded in the *Bento Ferreira* area during the 1950s also constitute an unfolding of the *Esplanada da Capixaba* landfill and a final instance of those land filling activities performed in favor of the Port of Vitória. To date, all presented data have revealed that the city achieved her development under the light of said land filling interventions, furthered by the Port aligned with political determinations.

As to the Suá Cove landfill it was evidence how much prevailed in the negotiations the interests of economical and political elites on the making of alterations upon Martins Filho's initial proposal. Besides, it is quite noteworthy the bonding of the "necessity" of Suá Cove landfill to the Port of Vitória requirements, whose accessibility depended upon not allowing the level of silting on the bay's entryway channel to raise.

To sum up, despite all the adverse conditions explicitly stated in the technical recommendations, the project for a new borough was implanted and the port was located on the island. All these actions, resulting from political and administrative intents, be those of economical or social nature, have triggered, as demonstrated all along this document, a set of interventions whose stated objectives not always were faithful to the original goals for the landfill occupation when it was actually achieved and it can be claimed that all those earthworks and embankments have altered in overwhelming ways the contours of Island of Vitória, imposing to her inhabitants financial, social, and environmental burdens.

## THE CHOICES AND THEIR OUTCOMES

It is worth pointing out that it emerges from the discussion that the objective of the government was not to transform landscape as such, although it has been done in a quite forceful way. Initially the government's concern with the landfills was to provide accessibility all around the occupied areas as well as solving the sanitation problems that the previous accessibility landfills had created. In this respect, as it surfaces from official documents, the understanding was that government was "adjusting" the landscape.

Not even when government started to promote earthworks, aiming at territorial expansion, the altering of the landscape appeared as an issue. The government's concern was simply the occupation of areas for territorial expansion. It was not until the late 1980's that environmental questions started to be raised, when some restraint in the establishment of new landfills was accepted and, as a result, the effects of the transformations in the landscape were recognized.

Mayor Vitor Buaiz adopted in 1989 a new policy dubbed “*priority inversion*” which was meant to grant living facilities to the population all the while the mangroves preservation was warranted as well. Therefore a new step was taken in the process through which landfill urbanization would be only promoted in such mangrove areas that had no capacity for self-recovery [sic]. It was the first time that, within the political milieu some preoccupation with the land fillings surfaced. As a result, from then on the start of new earthworks must be submitted to prior natural impact technical studies for environmental degradation risk.

In this respect, the explanation presented above demonstrated the volume, intensity, and unceasing succession of landfills performed in the borders of Vitória County and those alterations therein resulted upon the island’s geography (read also, its environment). For a final reflection on these landfills and their effects upon environmental issues, it is worth our while addressing to the discussion Brito promoted back in 1896.

Even when the sanitarian engineer Francisco Saturnino Rodrigues de Brito was not called upon to examine the harbor of Vitória’s location affair – this was some years before the final decision as to its placement – he took up the opportunity granted him in 1896 by José de Mello Carvalho Moniz Freire, then President of the State of Espírito Santo to weave some considerations on the decisions related to it.

Brito, as commissioned by Freire, in his report presented to the governor at the time his *Projecto de um Novo Arrabalde: dotado de serviços de abastecimento água e de drenagem* for the area chosen for the state capital city expansion was delivered, presented the governor almost an advertence relating to the area for expansion he had been assigned to develop his proposal upon and related his warning to the intended harbor for Vitória. In his introduction to the project, Brito seems to be foreseeing the future<sup>33</sup>,

*[...] The Government has weighed the advantages and disadvantages resulting from the preference for the employment of real estate on the island itself over the mainland plains situated both to the south and the north. [...]*

*The Government has not hesitated before the difficulties resulting from taking advantage of these plains, in other words, their adequacy to the end on target [the New Borough].*

*Indeed, it is not only a matter of taking up dry land, but rather to definitely conquer to the sea a certain area which is, until the present day, under the sway of high tidal flows.*

*We shall try to provide a swift depiction of said grounds and then we shall show how large is the economic endeavor spanned by the Government’s brave initiative. [...]*

*So that no doubt can remain about the inconveniences we are pointing at and which will interest so much the State’s commercial economy, we shall transcribe below the following opinion expressed by Mr. Laroche: [...]. [Literal translation].*

---

<sup>33</sup>See BRITO, Francisco S. R. de, *Op. Cit.*, 1896. pp. 10-12., for the following quotes.

[...] *"All those unavoidable consequences are detrimental to the building of harbors at river mouths or in the inner sections of estuaries.*

*The Italians say, in the form of a proverb, "Great lagoon, good harbor". This adage is absolutely right." (Seaside Diagrams, p. 206). [Bibliographic indication in the original] [Literal translation from French as in the Portuguese original].*

Brito kept harping on his arguments and, so there would be no possible doubt on the inconveniences related to the Government's "brave" initiative, he pinpointed and highlighted such problems as would be introduced by the placement of landfills in the area. In the same document, he concludes, in an almost prophetic fashion:

*This happens to be true for the excellent harbor of Vitória.*

*The works the Government already set into operation only conquer to the sea a relatively limited area, which could exert only little influence upon the whole.*

*These earthworks, all the same, appear to be only the beginning of more daring, future works and it is important to prevent such inconveniences as might then result to a harbor meant to become a first-class commercial trading center. [...]*

*Accepting, therefore, the filling of the mangrove districts with land as a solution for the City's future development problem, it is important to firstly solve that of the correction of those evils that are introduced from thereby opposing the aforementioned problems. [Literal translation].*

The aforementioned principles dealt with the problem of silting, the need for further land filling activities and, above all, with the political determinations behind these interventions. As a final musing, some doubts can be presented. Had Brito a chance to choose the area or to present his opinion, would that area be the most suitable for the implantation of the New Borough? What would Brito think about the final choice of location for the port of Vitória? Were Brito's considerations the forerunners of an environmental conscience?

We are not still prepared to reply to these queries, but the answers can be unveiled by further studies. What stays with us for certain is that those choices/decisions made by exclusively political reasons ended up by creating a territorial configuration rather different than that Vitória presented in the beginning and that all the environmental problems the city has been subjected to and that still has to bear and deal with are the results of those choices.

## TO DEAL WITH COMPLEXITY. ISTANBUL CITY OF MUSES. ARCHITECTURE, INFRASTRUCTURE, ARCHAEOLOGY: SPREADING THE CULTURE OF TRANSFORMATION

**Antonella CONTIN**, Assistant Professor  
Politecnico di Milano, Italy  
antonella.contin@polimi.it,

**Alessandro FRIGERIO**, Politecnico di Milano, Italy  
alefrigerio@hotmail.com

**Francesca GUFFANTI**, Politecnico di Milano, Italy

### **ABSTRACT**

*The aim of our research is to present a design method which may deal with complexity, enabling the development of awareness and the description and design of those urban transformation phenomena linked to a leap in scale, which has today given rise to radical changes in the building typologies and in the morphologies of urban spaces and landscapes. Our focus is re-thinking about the power of an identity image of the local space through the Milanese architectural and urban design method, beyond the Rationalist Movement, the experience of the Anglo-Saxon Urban Design and the new theories about the Recombinant Urbanism.*

*The Marmaray project belongs to a long-term strategy that expresses the effective dimension of the Istanbul urban archipelago and considers it as the net to enforce with intermodal nodes of urban intensity connecting with the local nets. Among these, Yenikapi is a site where various time perceptions, infrastructure, archeology, historical urban tissue and costal park need a synthesizing operation to express the attractiveness and power of place.*

*We are presenting a work on the reading and interpretation of urban tissues which tries to understand and classify analytically different urban moments, emphasizing the two main urban models of the city history –roman and ottoman – which represent, other than a geopolitical and chronological opposition, even a substantial socio-cultural difference in perceiving and organizing urban spaces. If the roman model set the geographical armature, the ottoman model was based on a special equilibrium between formal and informal spaces managed through different spatial devices (mahalle, naihye, kulliye) strengthening the polycentric structure of the city. In particular, the kulliye, religious and social welfare complex, highly charged with symbolic value, represent an interesting precedent for the study of urban genetic systems able to integrate rare functions at the net-city scale. It is a model that opposes – seeming more successful – a 19th century engineering perspective and does not find innovative ideas of urban space representing a valid alternative. These elements, which operate out-of-scale compared with the close-by urban tissue, are however able to manage it granting high livability and enhancing interactions. Starting by these studies, the multi-scalar dimension that our projects for Yenikapi propose has been made to react according to the formal/informal dichotomy, which linked the landmarks and big attractors to the dominant geographical orientation through a strong geometrical approach, while it produced a small-scale urban tissue based on ottoman building practices strongly related with the context.*

**INTRODUCTION: SAILING TO BYZANTIUM**

*An aged man is but a paltry thing,  
A tattered coat upon a stick, unless  
Soul clap its hands and sing, and louder sing  
For every tatter in its mortal dress,  
Nor is there singing school but studying  
Monuments of its own magnificence;  
And therefore I have sailed the seas and come  
To the holy city of Byzantium.  
(SAILING TO BYZANTIUM - W.B. Yeats )*

Why sailing towards Byzantium? The imagination of a place firstly comes through Geography. And Geography is above all about History, History of mental images as consensually stated to represent something which can interact with Self, but deeply rooted in the evidences of Archaeology. This is much more important now in the age of global. In this perspective Istanbul can be really perceived only through its Geography, through the imaginary perception which leads to discover its essence.

This is not a generic issue, because the description of a place to live in or to transform through an urban project inevitably takes the move from Geography. Wondering how the future Istanbul could be, which could be the role of Yenikapi in its development cannot ignore the value of that place, its specific location, where the roman harbour was, where a land reclamation process has been carried on, where a great infrastructural revolution is taking place due to the realization of Marmaray and its tunnel under the Bosphorus. It is essential to refer to a geographical interpretation to recognize Istanbul and Yenikapi within it as a place with a strategic role for relation.

The Myth tells about a woman, named Europe, disputed by two lands, one of Asia and one on the other side, the first one willing to protect her and the other one, for the will of Zeus, interested in taking her away on the waves of the sea, towards West, where she would finally go, riding a white bull. And then there is History, which set Constantinople in a precise geographical point, the Bosphorus, enforced by Epos and its stories of conflicts between East and West and which offered it the way to be the hub of a whole world as new centre of gravity, able to keep together the former Rome, the next Rome, different religions and different ethnic groups.

Geography, History and Myth combine today with an underground railway that for the first time links East and West giving the contemporary interpretation of this set of relations. Air and rail connections represent our specific way to relate the local and its topographical values to space and time issues which are completely detached, throwing into crisis the local world of common relations which then require proper and innovative mediations. Through the contemporary transformations the geographical topographical value and the strategical hystorical relational vocation have to be preserved and strenghtened: geography and history have to deal with the lighter but determinat issues of a brand new business idea.

## NET-CITY AND CULTURAL HERITAGE, DYNAMIC STRATEGIES FOR URBAN TRANSFORMATIONS



Figure 1 - The linear regional system (A.Frigerio)

Istanbul today is an urban region with 12 million inhabitants, centered on the Bosphorus and stretching linearly on the axis linking Sofia to Ankara, Asia and Europe (Figure 1). Its strategical position makes it an ever-changing centre of gravity for the relation between continents, countries, ethnic groups, religions. Its historical peaceful interaction among diversities is structured on original urban solutions jointed to social archetypes transposed in recognizable spaces. Istanbul is a city of intersections and diffused mobility. Saskia Sassen (Urban Age Congress, Istanbul 2009) explores these themes from a socio-economical perspective stressing how these inimitable qualities make it one of the worldwide most attractive cities. Its geography and history set it at the centre of a flux of capitals and people, in the interaction between Asia and Europe, which produces forms of knowledge that are fundamental to understand the heart of the networked flows in this age of different cultures articulation. Cities like this are cultural repositories of human capital, but in the interlacing between the *global* and a weaker and weaker *local* the final sense, according to Sassen, risks to be the one of *cityness*. This is the result, among other things, of an urban design school which hurriedly and passively accepted a western urban terminology on public space (Ömer Kanıpak, 2009) and consequently ignores the characters of dynamicity and un-planned of the ottoman public space structures, which in Istanbul is – and could continue to be – the effective socio-spatial matrix to decline the local/global relation (Güvenç and Ünlü-Yücesoy, 2009). Moreover, a progressive loss of power of the place is brought by big real estate investments oriented towards excessive iconic mega-projects or a senseless ottomanesque revival style (Sarkis, 2009).

This is a central issue, because the scale growth of the urban structure should be managed without damaging the socio-economical structure and the image/structure of the city: a conscious management of the landscape and the built cultural heritage is essential to preserve public interests even in this phase of prevalent private development of cities. According to Portugali: *“Cities should be seen in terms of networks stretching in time and space. For Portugali cities are at the very same time an interactive network of internal (cognitive) representations of the external environment, and external (material) representations of internally represented concepts, categories and images. So, the network evolves and develops by an interactive sequential interplay*

*between its internal and external elements, whose consequence is a sequential space-time, diffusion-like, process.* "This vision is particularly interesting if we consider it as an important criticism towards a purely economical or ecological vision of urban developments. *"For both models reality is an arena where plants animals individuals and collectivities compete and fight for survival and in a similar way for both the city is the arena for the urban process by which people as individuals and collectivities compete over the urban land use, either by means of an interplay of spatio-economic districts, or by means of ecological invasion and succession processes identified by means of Chicago type factorial ecologies (Berry and Horton, 1970)".*

The destruction of territory and city as urban phenomenon consists of the incoherent detachment between Geography and the ways of structuring the city and its mechanisms. This depends on not-sustainable dynamics produced by irresponsible developments driven by modern and contemporary utopias based on the value of speed. The contraction of time often brings to neglect the value of place, leading first to a denial of location (modernism *tabula rasa*) and then to self-oriented network logics whose interfaces are frequently badly managed. A project for the contemporary city needs a clear comprehension of its structure and dynamics in a multilevel analysis able to understand the laws of its urban metabolism and to produce a sustainable dynamic strategy to manage and to drive it. The scales ambiguity that prevents from naming casually aims and results of urban planning for the net-city implies the rooting of any attempts in a multidisciplinary frame which may support a complex decision-making process driven by a strong vision.

Understanding the power of a place means going through its history to grasp how the original ground was first inhabited, thus reinforcing its geographic endorsement (geography); how the population developed its settlements following ecological, economical, social and cultural dynamics, as showed by the evidences blended in the city texture (urban biography); how the fluxes of net-society, with their own logics, envelop access nodes located in the city, determining complex interfaces of various spaces and times (technology).

Designing the complexity of these urban transformation nodes considering them as heterotopias (Grahame Shane, 2005) allows to manage a wide spectrum of simultaneous scales of time and space through their typical characteristics: heterotopias are multi-pockets, able to host and relate variety in unity; they work through mirror-logics, reversing codes in terms of space and time; they are built by miniaturization of types and forms of the surrounding context. In this way they are able to offer new spaces to meet, exchange, live the city. Through these logics of complexity even the short-circuit determined by the archaeological remains, which do not belong anymore to the time of History, can find a place in the contemporary city, fostering positive and innovative interactions for the urban project.

In this perspective, a deep comprehension of urban metabolism may allow to proceed by results of analysis and present data, through objectives, to a powerful vision representative of the power of the place. The vision project, in fact, which is a cultural project, should be verified according to an ecological equilibrium to state its sustainability, according to an economical equilibrium, to state its feasibility and according to the equilibrium of fluxes in order to state its efficiency. Only thanks to a powerful vision it is then possible to build consensus among the actors and a virtuous

dynamic of interaction between public administrations and private investors able to deal with the dichotomy local/global.



Figure 2 Affective scenes from Yenikapi: past, present, future. (A.Frigerio)

Therefore, the duty of architecture will be to build an affective scene; the one of planning will be setting a close relation between public-city enhancement and real estate development (Figure 2). This could strengthen the feeling of adequacy between place and inhabitants, beginning to consider as a value, even an economical one, urban landscape as cultural built heritage, essential element to deeply understand the term 'public good'. *"Tangible and intangible values in urban landscape are important for local citizens as carries of meaning and identities." ... "In the above meaning the cultural built heritage is defined as a public good." ... "Strong conjunction between development planning and real estate development which increasingly have to be in the hand of local developers. Urban development planning has to be concerned with place rather than with space." ... "So the knowledge about individual preferences is critical for the valuation of urban landscape as a cultural built heritage and for understanding its public good characteristics" (Portugali).*

According to these ideas setting an architecture project for the key transformation areas of the city means acting for the renewal of the whole urban structure and its infrastructures and therefore involving important economical efforts and a cultural vision. A project which involves such a complex combination of economical, energetical and cultural investments of a territory must necessarily become the symbol of its vitality, its coat of arms.

## MARMARAY YENIKAPI: A SYMBOLIC PROJECT FOR ISTANBUL

*From the very beginning Constantinopolis was planned as a Gosstadt, set on a wide scale for what concerned the general urban plan as for the details.. (Krautheimer)*

The Marmaray project belongs to a long-term strategy that expresses the effective dimension of the Istanbul urban archipelago and considers it as the net to enforce with intermodal nodes of urban intensity connecting with the local nets (Figure 3). The Yenikapi area project is for Istanbul a great symbolic operation which will become a medium of urban regeneration. The roman city, the ottoman city, the modern city, the armenian presence, the archaeological heritage coexist in an unbalanced hierarchy which currently puts modernization and infrastructure above all the other values. In an urban metabolism perspective, the area is in a particular transformative condition to ride with the aim of developing its full potential. Potential of new urbanity with a dense grain

based on a layered thickness of signs (geographical endorsement, urban biography, infrastructural net) able to activate richer symbolic interactions. The theme has been proposed to young project-architects from Politecnico di Milano and worked out as a project of integrated functions, an interlace of urban tissues with different times and spaces, a comprehension of the urban biography, the conception of an urban scene set on a section strategy; all this in a perspective of creative redefinition of a complex and etherogenous urban landscape.

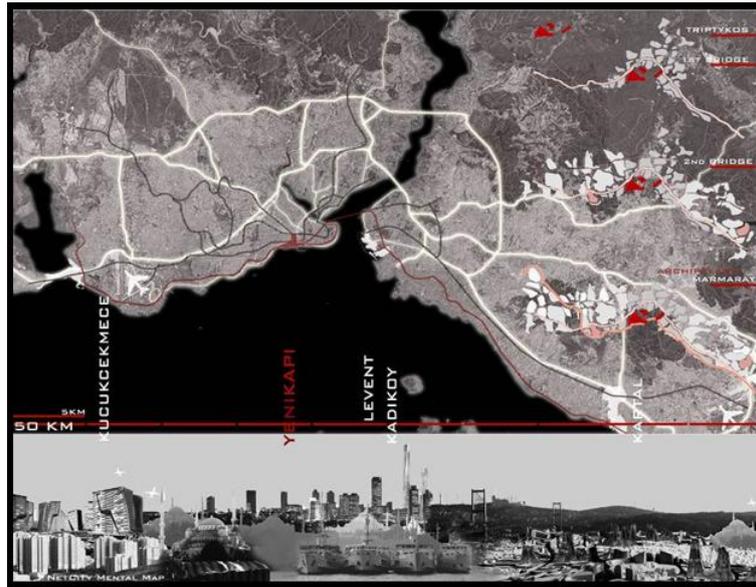


Figure 3 The metropolitan archipelago and its mental image. (A.Frigerio)

The great work of the Bosphorus tunnel, that in Yenikapi will have one of the most important epicentres, will join for the first time the two shores and worlds in alternative and synergy with the bridges. The project comes in this perspective: established on the past and enlivened by the present desired actions. It is a project of public space not only linked to a function, as multiscale and multifunctional hub, but moreover as conception of an attractive place, endowed by an affective value not only for inhabitants, but even for city-users, able to link real and surreal according to innovative lifestyles. It is a place which can be reached by the sea, from the different urban tissues that build Istanbul, but, today, especially from the underground level of the stations bringing there the movements linked to the net of the world cities. Moreover, the project will determine a new design for the coastline, will attract big investments becoming an economical node. Again, in the history of Istanbul it will be a place able to give a built form to the values of the place, revealing them to everyone as new psychological landscape. (Focillon)

Understanding Yenikapi means thinking about it as a harbour located at the foot of a hill and with the city looking towards the other site. This point, through the new layered infrastructural nets, will be for the first time in its history equidistant from various places of the world and for this reason potentially similar to other nodes of the global net-city.

However, in Yenikapi there is much more, there is even an archeological layering which intersects with the infrastructural one: a coexistence which is respectful but not subordinate. Archeology and nets do not dialogue, but interlock themselves with their different conditionings. This determines, in the project, the coming to light of new typologies of urban entities, in which the value of functional complexity of the layer-machine emerges, and here includes even the archeological value. This is the surplus value of an architectural depth which must include almost four different interlocked sets of layers: the railway platforms levels (pedestrian); the levels of the archeological remains; the actual levels of the urban relations (context); the new levels of the roof-gardens and top covering.



*Figure 4 - Morpho-typological analysis (A.Frigerio)*

This scenario reveals how the Chronicle of the present, the History of the long period, the Archaeology of the out-of-time need a syntesizing operation to foster the interaction of their specific values in order to build a new powerful identitarian image. The visioning operation brings to the evocation of the space of a multiscale and multifunctional heterotopia which qualifies the archaeological presences, integrates the anodyne space of the nets, builds the image of a new public realm and finally localizes it as a landmark perfectly fitted in the urban landscape. Only an etherotopic/etherochronic approach can make archeology interact to build a great vivid and sensual image which can be memorized in a mental map of the worldwide net as long-distance attractive device and locally as identity symbol to be proud of. The focus of the project for Yenikapi then should be to define a map able to produce value, dialectic scenario for the future, useful to drive the urban transformations according to a sustainable vision of urban metabolism. This deals with an effort to establish and preserve a higher life-

quality based on easier accessibility to a multiplicity of urban services, rare functions and especially values in a continuous construction and deconstruction of places, relations, identities as in the multiethnic and complex history of Istanbul, against a levelling globalization. Consequently, it might be the case to wonder which could be the real attractive function for this kind of megaform, if it still makes still sense to discuss in terms of function: market, shopping mall, station, museum are commonly known typologies that need to be reconsidered according to the stressed new complexity and scale. This new complexity requires a proper methodology for the urban analysis propaedeutic to the project. It will have to focus on urban morphology and syntax according to a landscape dimension which neglects the common relation insula/plot deconstructing the dense matrix of the city. This opens to the design of the new typological entities through innovative structural determinations, building envelope solutions, surprising inner landscapes and inside/outside interactions.

Our works proceed through a progressive scale focus which lead from the analysis of the regional geographical relations to the urban structure and biography investigation, to the local archetypal typological issues, passing through the careful consideration of technological nets of infrastructure, needs and desires. Each scalar focus contributes to the development of the project suggesting directions, measures, intentions.

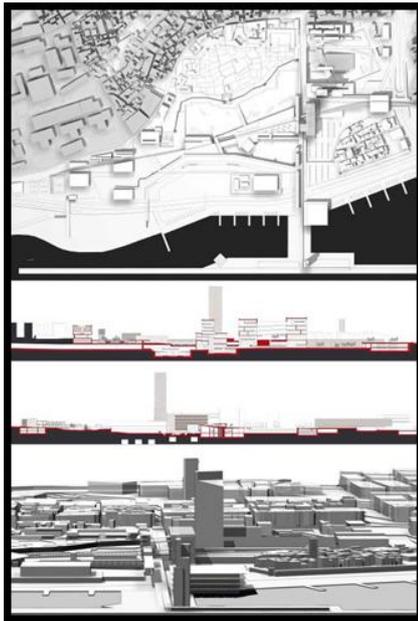


Figure 5 - Vision and plan - Between formal and informal (A. Frigerio)



Figure 6 - North-south genetic axis (F. Guffanti)

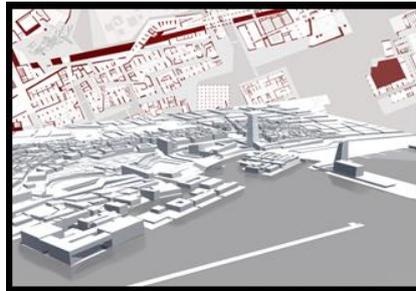


Figure 7 - Diagram: formal city (F. Guffanti)

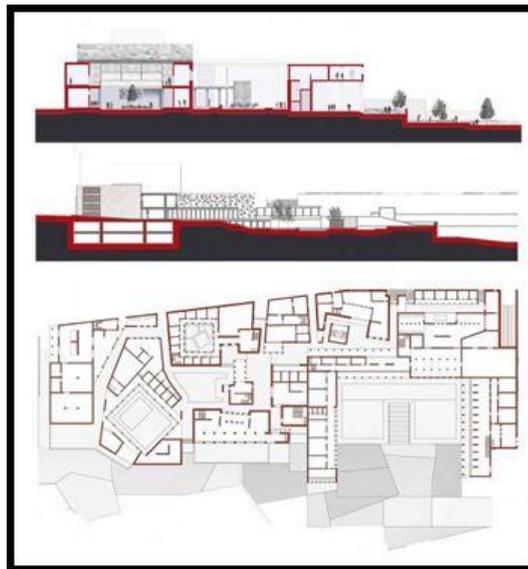
At the regional scale of the urban archipelago, the key-point is the relation between built and un-built space: the important linear parks preserved by the urban sprawl thanks to the geographical topographical conditions have to be seen as fundamental spaces of relation among urban islands at the local scale and in an ecological network perspective at a wider scale. The linear park going along the Marmara coastline, which

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

coming from the western side of the city heads to Yenikapi, represents an important landscape relation interlocking with the dense tissue of the hystorical peninsula. This means for the project to explore the design of a new attractive waterfront, intended as active landscape providing innovative interactions between land and water, buildings and harbour in a multiple symbolic reading of these relations in the local history.

The metropolitan scale sets the attention on the north-south axis, which is connected physically and virtually to the new financial centre in Levent and to the road-circulation system that links the principle urban nodes with the transformation areas. The projects relate to this system choosing to locate in specific points, linked with this north-south articulation, highrise buildings and public services, parts of a formal city layer responding to the contemporary requirements of speed and accessibility.

Coming to the urban facts, the morphological analysis of the city reveals the deep and constant topographical roots of the urban structure, set in a definitive and enduring way by the Roman culture and still nowadays recognizable in measures and rhythms of the contemporary city. The transition between uses of space and lifestyles expressed by different civilizations have preserved the main geographical relations, which appear clearly looking at urban scenes and mental images.



*Figure 8 - Designing informal spaces (F. Guffanti)*

The roman city armature was rigidly measured according to the roman mile and its multiples and organized in the most efficient way in respect to the local topography. The extensive city walls included dense and sparse urban grain gathered around the fora, built with a regular rhythm on the mese, the major axis running on the crests of the hills. This system expressed a clear vision of power and society, which was totally subverted in the ottoman period, but was preserved and interpreted as large scale urban frame. The ottoman conception of the city was based on the aggregation of private cells according to a spongy system able to host the informal expressions of urban life. This informal system was gathered around multifunctional symbolic nodes – just like the fora and often built on the fora – which were expression of the religious

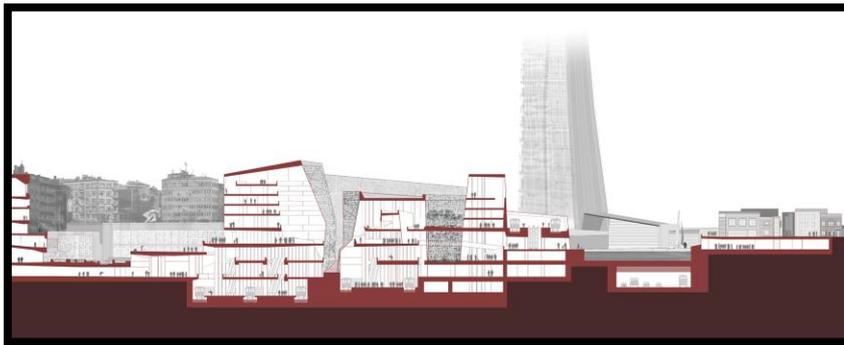
power as welfare guarantor: kulliye. The ottoman urban model was based on a special equilibrium between formal and informal spaces managed through different spatial devices (mahalle, naihye, kulliye) strengthening the polycentric structure of the city. The kulliye, in particular, as religious and social welfare complex, highly charged with symbolic value, represents an interesting precedent for the study of urban genetic systems able to integrate rare functions at the net-city scale. This typological study led to the attempt of verifying the possibility of interpreting this archetypal welfare node in its authentic role of founding device to build new urban settlements and as an enclave able to concentrate various functions in a unitary symbolic experience. This attempt was possible interpreting the model through variations of relational intensity specially thanks to the multiplication of soils (layering) and the reinvention of building typologies.

The design of the symbolic multifunctional node and its armatures then requires the definition of the urban transformation field depending on it, which is geographically determined. The studies on the roman and ottoman solutions offered a clear vision of the polycentric system of the city as an archipelago built by the welfare nodes and their local fields, a hierarchy which we can refer to the contemporary definition of *quartier d'échange*. To interpret this dichotomy and unity, which in this case means even harmonizing formal and informal lifestyles, activities, urban spaces, our projects refer again to local archetypal typologies to give a strategic answer to the contemporary neglecting of urban space of contact with its physical and mental features, from the use of natural lights to an attractive feeling of adequacy, investigated by plan sections and models.



Figure 9 - Yenikapi Masterplan (A.Frigerio)

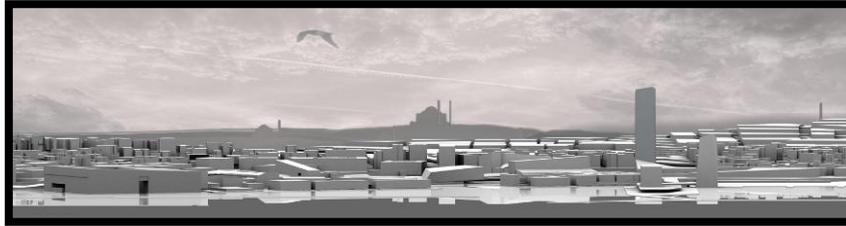
The described typological and morphological approach to the urban design issues is part of a wider research on the measures and scales of the contemporary city that aims at rooting the vision on the urban future to the primary anthropological spatial experiences. Some analogies, for example, have been stressed between the classical kullyie model (Fatih Kullyie) and modern examples of symbolic enclaves, like the Rockefeller Centre in Manhattan throughout its conception process, as comparable archetypes for plan dimensions and settlement schemes. This process has the aim to stress the importance of becoming aware, thanks to a proper urban analysis, of rhythms and measures of intensity, expression of an archetypal density of physical and mental perceptions, which can be made to interact in the project of a contemporary mediation between formal and informal urban tissues. Symbolic values are built in space-relations as sign of primitive semiotics expression, an authentic modern approach which only can consent to different times in history (chronicle, history, archaeology) to stay together multiplying meanings and different spaces, intended even as different people coming from everywhere through the worldwide net, to meet and interact without feeling lost, but at the same time understanding the local specificity. The expression of this potential aims at synthesizing various categories of urban spaces so that the project can preserve the contact experience, can grant the efficiency of the nets and at the same time can propose an urban intensity able to represent its contemporary character.



*Figure 10 Into the layer-machine – Section (A.Frigerio)*

Only if we refer to the Muses we can understand places, grasping their essence through the archetypal forms which conserve the urban identity. And only in this way we can transform a city in continuity with its history. Referring to the Muses means recalling to mind evocative words and figures having as aim the determination of an image which does not deal with consumerism, but with identity. Each image can be a symbolic propeller that the urban scene holds as a theatre, spatial device to link place and event in the mental perception. In Yenikapi the place will be the big Marmaray station which, intersecting with the archeological dig and the old armenian village and the costal park, will not become a non-place, excluding actors from the scene, but on the contrary, will transform the unusual mix of spaces, situations, faces in the unrepeatabe element, giving value to the event. This skill of symbolic propeller which we assign to the role of image, even applied to Archaeology, can link the remains as objects hanging between chronicle, history and future to the contemporary speed of time. In this perspective our projects refer to the archetypes of the past according to

the genius of the people who designed them: the dimensions of the fora and then kullyie and mosques, understanding the transition between different cultures. This is for us a way to reactivate cultures producing new synergies because what is symbolic is deeply rooted, index of an identity which is personality. This is the specific milanese approach to the dialogue among cities. Working on the design of this mental asset of values, clearly expressed by new built form types, it is possibile to destabilize the common logic of present figures linked to infrastructures and to the stereotypes of antiquity, determining an outstanding image which is vivid, sensual and memorable.



*Figure 11 Vision from the Marmara Sea (A.Frigerio)*



*Figure 12 Vision from the Marmara Sea (F.Guffanti)*

## REFERENCES

- Urban Age Programme (2009) "Istanbul City of intersections", London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton Street, 2009b London, WC2A 2AE.
- Alessandro Frigerio, (2008) "Yenikapi Istanbul. What time is this place?" Politecnico di Milano, Facolta' di architettura e Societa' Master's Thesis. Supervisor Ernesto d'Alfonso, co-supervisor Antonella Contin.
- Francesca Guffanti Pesenti (2009), "Yenikapi Istanbul", Politecnico di Milano, Facolta' di architettura e Societa' Master's Thesis. Supervisor Ernesto d'Alfonso, co-supervisor Antonella Contin.

## MODERN URBANISM AND ARCHITECTURE IN BRAZIL: THE EMERGENCE AND GROWTH OF NEW CONCEPTS IN THE VARGAS ERA. A LOOK AT THE CAPITAL, THE CITY OF RIO DE JANEIRO

Vera Ferreira REZENDE, Associate Professor  
Universidade Federal Fluminense – UFF, Brazil  
vrezende@openlink.com.br

Fernanda AZEVEDO RIBEIRO, Researcher  
Universidade Federal Fluminense – UFF, Brazil  
fera.azevedo@ig.com.br

### **ABSTRACT**

*The article discusses the relationship between the emergence and growth of the concepts of modern urbanism and architecture and its achievements under the dictatorial government of Getúlio Vargas (the Vargas Era) in Brazil. The period of his government, which began with the Revolution of 1930 and lasted until 1945, was one of great political and institutional centralization. The goal of building a new nation different from the Old Republic led to broad reforms in various sectors, including public administration and urban planning.*

*From 1937, urban planning in Rio de Janeiro entered a new era due to the adoption of mechanisms such as the City Planning Commission. This and other centralized institutions played an important role in the process of urban transformation, mostly concentrated in the downtown area on newly available plots from the dismantling of hills and landfill resulting from it, along with the opening of a number of new arterial routes, including Presidente Vargas Avenue.*

*The following points are discussed:*

*- The official decisions at the federal level did not favor modern architecture for the construction of public buildings. Other administrative buildings were built within traditional typologies.*

*- The development of modern architecture from 1930 to 1945 was still undeniable, an outgrowth of the Brazilian Pavilion at the 1939 World Fair in New York, among others, explored in the book and exhibition "Brazil Builds" at the Museum of Modern Art in the same city in 1943.*

*We conclude that although modernism in urbanism and architecture cannot be considered the official choice of the Vargas Era, its growth in the city of Rio de Janeiro was the result of the support of certain sectors of the government, particularly the government initiative to promote construction of public buildings and urban development projects and the accession of architects to the modernist cause. Moreover, its growth resulted from symbolic reasons and benefited from centralized planning: the new urbanism and architecture conformed to the image of a revitalized nation, modern and urban.*

## INTRODUCTION

This article discusses the relationship between the rise and growth of the concepts of modern urbanism and architecture and their achievements under Brazilian President Getúlio Vargas's dictatorship in Brazil, the so-called "Vargas Era". We follow the diffusion of the modern architectural ideals by architects and city planners. Among them, the architect Lúcio Costa clearly stands out for his advocacy of those principles. We also focus on a few projects and achievements characteristic of the 1930-1945 period that shed light on the wealth of proposals and the circulation of ideas throughout the professional milieu. Finally, we consider the practical reasons that contributed to the growth of modern architecture and urbanism in the period, as symbolic representations of the goal of building a new Brazilian nation.

The first landmark for this period is the 1930 Revolution that brought Getúlio Vargas to power and with him the beginning of the intense political centralizing process that was concentrated in the federal government. From that time on the stated intention of the autocratic administration was to build a new nation in contrast to the Old Republic (starting in 1889 with the proclamation of the Republic and exile of the emperor), fostered by reforming a number of areas, such as education, health, justice, finance, public administration and urban management. The end of the Vargas Era in 1945 occurred when he left power and the country held presidential elections marking the return to democracy.

After the 1930 Revolution, the trends of industrial capitalism were defined in the country. A new phase, connected to industrialization, was initiated, leading to the progressive urbanization of Brazil, in which cities became increasingly important in the general development of the nation<sup>1</sup>. Thus, in a number of Brazilian cities, including Rio de Janeiro, urban renewal works were set in motion along with the adoption of the new local administrative models.

The so-called *Estado Novo* (New State)<sup>2</sup>, which lasted from 1937 to 1945, was a particular moment within this process, as it strengthened the authoritarian tendencies present in the government since 1930, not only as a political idea as before, but also in the actions of relevant groups of the revolutionary leadership. Particularly in the city of Rio de Janeiro, however, these trends were translated into a series of urban works made possible by the close connection between the federal government and the Federal District (Rio de Janeiro) government.

All during this period, Rio de Janeiro had a distinctively political profile as the hub of national power, where mayors were nominated by the federal government, after a certain amount of political wangling. From 1930 to 1937, before the establishment of the *Estado Novo* regime and the consequent hardening of the dictatorial government, these appointments reflected growing political and administrative instability, which translated into the discontinuity of urban projects.

---

<sup>1</sup>Diniz, Eli, "O Estado Novo: Estrutura de poder, relações de classes", In *Brasil Republicano: Sociedade e Política* (Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 1977), 78-119.

<sup>2</sup>During the *Estado Novo*, Getúlio Vargas promulgated the 1937 Constitution, called the "Phantom Constitution", which concentrated all political power within the hands of the President of the Republic, including the shutting down of the Congress, the state legislative assemblies and municipal councils.

This period coincides with the diffusion of modern principles, began by Le Corbusier's visits to the country in 1929 and 1936 and of the ideas discussed in the International Congresses of Modern Architecture (Congressos Internacionais de Arquitetura Moderna - CIAM). While the leading urban planner Alfred Agache concluded his 1929 Rio de Janeiro Remodeling and Extension Plan, Le Corbusier visited the city for the first time, registering his impressions about it<sup>3</sup> and designed a project for the building of a ribbon-shaped viaduct.

However, the next year, 1930, Le Corbusier rejected Agache's proposals<sup>4</sup> because, in his opinion they represented precisely what modern urbanism should break with. Over the next years, the gradual weakening of academic urbanism and architecture and Agache's urban design and the strengthening of modern alternatives would become clear. As a consequence of the 1930 Revolution, the Agache Plan was never put into action, but it fulfilled its role of orienting a discussion about the problems in the city of Rio de Janeiro and their possible solutions.

During the long term in office of Mayor Henrique Dodsworth (1937-1945), appointed by President Vargas, the political stability supported by the Estado Novo's power centralization was reflected in the city. In 1937, the City Planning Commission<sup>5</sup> was recreated, modeled upon similar committees in the United States. The establishment was justified by the need to prepare a program for city development which could no longer be postponed. A number of projects were designed, though not all of them were achieved<sup>6</sup>.

## MODERN PRINCIPLES WON HEARTS AND MINDS

The modern proposals pointed toward a future where all urban decisions would be taken rationally, a criterion that perfectly agreed with the Vargas Era ideals of building a new nation. This also meant solving all the society's problems, as put by Lúcio Costa,

*At the time, all of us were convinced that the new architecture we were building, this new approach we were taking, was something connected with social renewal. It seemed to us that the world, the new society, and the new architecture were entwined, everything connected to each other<sup>7</sup>.*

This view expressed by the architect Lúcio Costa placed architecture as an essential element for social change. It apparently was shared by the whole generation of architects who, from the last years in the 1920s and throughout the 1930s and 40s, supported the modern esthetics in Rio de Janeiro, embedded in projects like the

---

<sup>3</sup>Le Corbusier, *Précisions sur un état présent de l'architecture et l'urbanism* (Paris: Éditions G. Grès, 1930).

<sup>4</sup>Letter addressed to Oswaldo Costa dated April 22, 1930, in which he laments the agreement signed in acceptance of the plan designed by an architect marginal to the Machinist Era. See Pereira, Margareth, S., et al., *Le Corbusier e o Brasil* (São Paulo: Tessela/Projeto, 1987).

<sup>5</sup>The City Planning Commission functioned from 1930 to 1931 and its main task was to assess the Agache Plan. It was recreated by the Decree-Law 6092, issued on November 8 1937 President Vargas.

<sup>6</sup>Dodsworth, Henrique (1943) "Problemas da Cidade", *Revista Municipal de Engenharia*, 1, 5-7.

<sup>7</sup>Costa, Lúcio (1987) "Presença de Le Corbusier, entrevista a J. Czajkowski, M. C. Burlamaqui, and R. Brito", *Revista de Arquitetura*, FAU/UFRJ.

Ministry of Education and Health building and the Cidade Universitária (University City) development.

The modernistic view was characterized by the recurrence of a set of themes. On a symbolical level, a new era was beginning<sup>8</sup> and a more just society was thus proposed, whose benefits might be broadly partaken, within the constraints imposed by capitalism. This was an ideological orientation well received during the Vargas Era. On the spatial level, it suggested a city structure quite diverse from the traditional formats, with no definition of lot limits, the separation between pedestrian and vehicle traffic, verticalization employed as a strategy for concentration of edified areas intertwined with empty spaces. It introduced an urbanism supported by the very architecture that would also be built according to its stated rational principles.

The model was that of a centralized city, the metropolis concept, opposed to that of a downtown area surrounded by suburbs. Le Corbusier (1937) in his article published in Rio de Janeiro, "The problem of the Parisian slums", sternly criticized all decentralization schemes.<sup>9</sup> He stated,

*We modern urban planners think an end must be soon put to this urban disaster that is the outer neighborhoods and all those cities with unlimited extent requiring unbridled expenditures.*

He was the most important translator of the CIAM-adopted ideals among local urban planners and his strong personality explains the small influence then exerted by other streams and other architects with divergent ideas.

In 1929, during Le Corbusier's first visit, not all Brazilian architects were touched by the modernistic ideals. On that first occasion, when he was really "on his way to the Plata River", quoting Lúcio Costa<sup>10</sup>, meaning his actual targets were the cities of São Paulo, Montevideo and Buenos Aires, he gave a lecture in Rio de Janeiro. Lúcio Costa attended it, but the new ideas did not allure him much. His interest in Modernism grew a few years later, after his term (1930-1931) as chairman of the Escola de Belas Artes (School of Fine Arts), and it was fostered by his book reading instead.

Le Corbusier was back in Rio de Janeiro during 1936, this time for a longer stay of four weeks, invited by a group of Brazilian architects including Lúcio Costa, with the Minister Gustavo Capanema, one of Getúlio Vargas most trusted men. The idea was to consult Le Corbusier on the projects for the Ministry of Education and Health building and the Cidade Universitária.

Le Corbusier's principles impressed most of the audience in his 1936 lectures and from then on Brazilian architects and urban planners started backing the CIAM principles, namely the need of imposing order on the city's expansion and opening empty spaces and green areas. Two months later, Adalberto Szilard<sup>11</sup> was already employing such

---

<sup>8</sup>Lúcio Costa lecture at Harvard Law School. Costa, Lúcio, *Sobre Arquitetura* (Porto Alegre: Centro dos Estudantes Universitários de Arquitetura, 1962), 334.

<sup>9</sup>Le Corbusier (1937) "O problema das favelas parisienses", *Revista da Diretoria de Engenharia*, 4, 284-286.

<sup>10</sup>Costa, Lúcio, "Muita construção, alguma arquitetura e um milagre", *Correio da Manhã* newspaper, June 15, 1951.

<sup>11</sup>Szilard, Adalberto (1936) "À margem das conferências de Le Corbusier", *Revista de Arquitetura e Urbanismo*, 1, 165-179.

ideas, in the first inkling of the adherence to the new values. His designs focused on the future Presidente Vargas Avenue, for which he projected separation between motor vehicles and pedestrians, with roads on the ground level and pedestrian walkways and stores on their second floor.

The tension inherent to the few years just before World War II was reflected in the technical papers published at the time intended to disseminate the principles of modern urbanism. After the war broke out, examples from the United States dominated, while the models employed in German cities lost followers. Urbanism was then forced to present answers to the protection or reconstruction of European cities and this was reproduced by Brazilian urban planners. It was within this environment fostering the circulation of models from other countries that the modern ideas obtained their fullest diffusion.

Le Corbusier's Voisin Plan (1925) for the city of Paris was presented by J. Estelita<sup>12</sup>(1934) as a strategic example for war situations, with the abolishment of crowded downtown neighborhoods and the enlargement of empty spaces therein. Some years later, Silva<sup>13</sup> (1942) presented his studies about the difficulties of protecting Paris against air raids, due to the overcrowding of buildings. Based upon these, he proposed that the area near Presidente Vargas Avenue be used for tall buildings interspersed with empty spaces, according to the modernistic repertoire.

During the 1938 XI<sup>a</sup>. Feira Internacional de Amostras [11th. International Samples Fair], the Rio de Janeiro municipal government presented its urban renewal projects prepared by the City Planning Commission during Mayor Dodsworth's term of office, among which were the opening of Presidente Vargas Avenue, the demolition of the Santo Antonio Hill and the occupation of the Esplanada do Castelo (Castelo Esplanade).

On the other hand, the new principles posed a challenge to the block occupation criteria proposed by the Agache Plan. Affonso E. Reidy<sup>14</sup> in 1938 rejected this layout for the Esplanada do Castelo. He considered blocks filled with rectangular perimeter buildings enclosing courtyards (Figure 1 "B") to be deficient in both ventilation and illumination and instead urged an alternating indented ("rédent") building layout (Figure 1 "C") with open courtyards. In the same year, the design based on the Agache Plan was shelved by the City Planning Commission and substituted for another one that included open areas according to the new principles. By then the modernistic ideals were dominant among the municipal government's technical staff.

Hermínio de Andrade e Silva and Rosário Fusco<sup>15</sup> some years later advocated a new division of the existing city blocks in the downtown area and their use for tall buildings. They graphically set out the advantages for air circulation and increased sunlight in the

---

<sup>12</sup>Estelita, José (1936) "Buenos Aires e os seus problemas de urbanização", *Revista da Diretoria de Engenharia da Prefeitura do Distrito Federal*, 4, 192-194.

<sup>13</sup>Silva, Hermínio A. (1942) "O urbanismo em face dos ataques aéreos", *Revista Municipal de Engenharia*, 6, 331-340.

<sup>14</sup>Reidy, Affonso E. (1938) "Urbanização da Esplanada de Castelo", *Revista Municipal de Engenharia*, 5, 604-607.

<sup>15</sup>Silva, Hermínio A. and Fusco, Rosário (1942) "Redivisão de quadras, condomínios e espaços livres", *Revista Municipal de Engenharia*, 12-20.

modernistic designs of the new blocks, in contrast to other kinds of space use.(Figure 1)

Some of these proposals, however, envisioned an ideal city and were not suitable to the renewal of an existing city. A. Szilard<sup>16</sup>, in a paper entitled "The Cities of Tomorrow", published in the beginning of the 1940s, restated the principles orienting the 1925 Voisin Plan for Paris, defending them from several criticisms (though he revised this position in 1950)<sup>17</sup>. In 1940 he proposed a city with roads dedicated to vehicles only and the building of subways. J. O. Saboya Ribeiro<sup>18</sup> (1943), in a paper entitled "Future Residential Nuclei", introduced modern residential designs, though he admitted that they could not be applied to existing "obsolete" cities.

During the late 1930s and early 1940s, some principles of modernistic urbanism – the separation of roads for vehicles from the pedestrian walkways, the concentration of tower-like buildings and no definition of lot limits – were not yet broadly applied, even in official projects, in opposition to the general acceptance of architectonic principles<sup>19</sup>.

On the other hand, despite the growing adoption of the new values, during the 1940s there were attempts to find a synthesis among the different proposals. A. Szilard<sup>20</sup> (1944) reiterated the CIAM criteria regarding the need to impose a modicum of order on existing cities but, taking into consideration Saarinen's proposals<sup>21</sup>, advocating a rational decentralization. He adapted this model to the city of Rio de Janeiro. By that time, the CIAM criteria were beginning to be questioned, and this trend would become more pronounced after World War II.

## PROJECTS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE MODERN ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM

During the 1930s and 40s, some projects totally or partially adopted modernistic principles. Among these, we can highlight for their size, those for Mangue Avenue (which later came to fruition as Presidente Vargas Avenue) and Cidade Universitária. On the architectural level the importance of the design and construction of the Ministry of Education and Health building is undeniably a watershed of the modern movement and, for being a product of the Vargas Era, the result of one of the duels waged by Academism and Modernism.

The first debate involved the transformations proposed by the architect Lúcio Costa, when he was head of the Escola de Belas Artes from 1930 to 1931. The teaching of architecture and urbanism became part of the university landscape during the transition from the old tradition, represented by Academism, into the new Modernism. It is important to highlight the symbolical character of the proposed changes, even though they did not always prevail.

---

<sup>16</sup>Szilard, Adalberto (1943) "Cidades de Amanhã", *Revista Municipal de Engenharia*, 3, 161-166.

<sup>17</sup>Szilard, Adalberto and Reis, José O., *Urbanismo no Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Ed. O Construtor, 1950).

<sup>18</sup>Ribeiro, José O. Saboya (1943) "Os Núcleos Residenciais do Futuro", *Revista Municipal de Engenharia*, 4, 225-229.

<sup>19</sup>Rezende, Vera (2005) "Da sedução à oficialização: o urbanismo modernista na cidade do Rio de Janeiro", *Cadernos PPG-AU/UFBA* 3, 4. Edição especial: Urbanismo Moderno Brasil, 1930-1960.

<sup>20</sup>Szilard, Adalberto (1944), "Projetos Regionais", *Revista Municipal de Engenharia*, 1, 17-20.

<sup>21</sup>Saarinen, Eliel, *The City, its Growth, its Decay, its Future* (New York: Reinhold, 1943).

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

The second debate refers to the public competition opened for designs for the new Ministry of Education and Health building, whose winning design, showing academic tendencies, was replaced by the modernist plan presented by a team of Brazilian architects, following the trend set by Le Corbusier. The option for the modern design was symbolic, representing the acceptance of the new: "A new nation, new times."

The construction of Presidente Vargas Avenue coincided with the consolidation of the modernistic principles, though the intent of extending the old Caminho do Aterrado (Landfill Way) to reach the bay had already been suggested since the middle of the nineteenth century, intended to connect the eastern and western sections of the city.

During the administration of Mayor Dodsworth, the design was presented<sup>22</sup> at the 1938 XI<sup>a</sup>. Feira Internacional de Amostras da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro (11th Rio de Janeiro City International Samples Fair), as a part of the set of road construction plans proposed by the City Planning Commission. In 1937, favorable conditions for their execution were present in the Federal District by the concentration of decision power supported by the Estado Novo regime and the joint action of the Rio de Janeiro municipal government the federal government.

That was the moment when the modern ideals began to take root, though they were still restricted to the architectural field. The graphical representations showing Presidente Vargas Avenue were still contradictory in that period (1938). Sometimes the new elements were expressed by means of a sort of gallery instead of pylons. And the buildings still kept their internal free areas typical of the Agache Plan. By another token, some representations envisioned the raising of pylons and were arranged in an indented, inverted "U", format so as to leave room for free spaces.

Presidente Vargas Avenue was opened in 1944 by President Vargas himself, as a landmark in the set of architectural achievements by the municipal government with support of the federal government.

The Cidade Universitária project became a concrete intention when the federal government decided to group in the same area the several colleges and schools that would make up the newly created Universidade do Brasil. In his second visit to Rio de Janeiro (1936), Le Corbusier dealt with this matter, which was one of the reasons for his invitation.

The year before (1935), Piacentini, Italian dictator Benito Mussolini's favorite architect, had also been invited to come and study the issue, a fact that, according to Lúcio Costa<sup>23</sup>, had made it more difficult for Minister Capanema to ask President Vargas to invite Le Corbusier. The latter prepared a pilot study, later developed by Lúcio Costa, Reidy, and others, but it was not accepted by the Faculty Committee.

In the same year (1936), Lúcio Costa, Affonso E. Reidy and Jorge Moreira, among others, prepared a new design in which some of the criticisms made of the Le Corbusier proposal were corrected. But this was not executed either. Finally,

---

<sup>22</sup>The opening of the 80-meter wide avenue required the demolition of 525 buildings. Reis, José de Oliveira (1994) "50 Anos da Avenida Presidente Vargas", *Revista Municipal de Engenharia*, according to Brito, Hélio Alves de, (1944) "Obras da Avenida Presidente Vargas", *Revista Municipal de Engenharia*, 3/4, 100-111.

<sup>23</sup>Costa, Lúcio, *Registro de uma Vivência*, (São Paulo: Empresa das Artes, 1995).

responsibility for the project and its execution was given to the University Technical Department, under the leadership of Jorge Moreira.

The modernistic principles were included in every proposal presented after Le Corbusier's second visit: concentration/verticalization of constructed areas with the liberation of empty spaces, green areas, no definition of lot limits, and finally the unity of architecture and urbanism, that is, with architecture taken as main basis for the urban design. Since the presentation of Lúcio Costa's 1936 design, however, the intention to establish separate roads for vehicles and pedestrians present in the initial Le Corbusier study was discarded.

### THE VARGAS ERA AND MODERN ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM

Three years after the end of the Vargas Era, in 1948 Affonso Eduardo Reidy, one of the main supporters of the movement for modernity, was heading the newly created City Planning Department<sup>24</sup>, part of the municipal administration. This shows that the modern movement, as a process, was already firmly established among the official milieu.

Some of the contributing factors to the process, like Le Corbusier's visits, the publication of papers in technical journals and the gradual acceptance by architects to the modernist cause, were not connected with the Vargas administration. Nonetheless, some others were clearly government decisions and therefore were products of the Vargas Era, like Cidade Universitária, the Ministry of Education and Health building and the opening of Avenida Presidente Vargas.

The modern style, however, was not the official choice of the Vargas Era. Some urban works and buildings executed during that period were based on more traditional values, resulting in the coexistence the city of Rio de Janeiro of distinct expressions both in architecture and urbanism. In urbanism, as seen when considering the Avenida Presidente Vargas project, the representations wavered between academic and the modern principles.

In the architectural area, the Ministry of Education and Health building, with its modern features, was the main architectural landmark. All the same, some other structures were also built on modernist principles, like the new buildings for the Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Labor and Ministry of War<sup>25</sup>. On the diversity of architectural styles, Cavalcanti states<sup>26</sup> (p. 20),

*During the Estado Novo dictatorship, the building of ministry headquarters in such different styles perhaps will eliminate the belief in the state's monolithic ideology, for one of the most rigid dictatorships we have seen erected buildings with decidedly diverse features.*

---

<sup>24</sup>It resulted from the former City Planning Commission determined by Decree-Law 8305 of December 6, 1945.

<sup>25</sup>The headquarters buildings of the various federal ministries, despite the diversity of the styles adopted, contained national elements, as wall tiles and paintings, lending them an intentional unity. See Motta, Marly, *Rio, Cidade-capital* (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 2004), 39.

<sup>26</sup>Cavalcanti, Lauro, *Preocupações do Belo* (Rio de Janeiro: Taurus, 1995).

In the same light, Segawa<sup>27</sup> states in his analysis of the language of architecture (p. 93), *It is not possible to identify in the Vargas Era architecture a common architectural denominator. Notwithstanding the reference character of the Ministry of Education and Health building – today called Gustavo Capanema Palace – through its influence in that period and its international recognition as a landmark of modern architecture, the government action in its various ministerial fronts never managed to establish a unified, coherent, architectural language.*

Still, if modern architecture was not the single choice of the Vargas administration, it certainly allowed modernist principles to find a place favorable to their development within a period marked by initiatives for economic, political and cultural renewal, in which important achievements were made both in the architectural and the urbanism fields.

Their development during that period (1930 –1945) was evident, with the later recognition of their original manifestations in the book and the exposition entitled “Brazil Builds” presented at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1943:

*While the first impetus came from abroad, Brazil soon went ahead on her own.*<sup>28</sup>

During the 1930s, the building of a strong, national state, able to face problems by means of organized management, was a part of the aspirations manifested by some Brazilian intellectuals. The building of a nation clearly different from that previous to 1930, the so-called Old Republic, was present in governmental activity, reaching different sectors of national life.

The reformist ideal was incorporated in the Vargas administration, translated by the hands of a cosmopolitan, technical elite, acquainted with foreign examples, among them Minister Gustavo Capanema, who was responsible for choosing the modern designs for the Ministry of Education and Health building and Cidade Universitária. It is also important to mention, among others, Anísio Teixeira in the education area, whose importance lies in his innovative proposals related to the ‘New School’ based on John Dewey’s ideas<sup>29</sup>.

The stated intention of forging a new national ideal in contrast to that existing until 1930, by extensive reforms in different sectors of public life, seems to have thus contributed to the blossoming of universal principles seen as able to draw Brazil nearer to other more developed countries. Modernism and its objectives of rationality and universality were closer to the proposals adopted in other sectors of Brazilian public life<sup>30</sup>.

---

<sup>27</sup>Segawa, Hugo, “Arquitetura na Era Vargas: O avesso da unidade pretendida”, In Pessôa, José and Vasconcellos, Eduardo and Reis, Elisabete and Lobo, Maria (Orgs.), *Moderno e Nacional* (Niterói, RJ: EdUFF, 2006), 83-99.

<sup>28</sup>Goodwin, Philip, *Brazil Builds: Architecture New and Old, 1652-1942*, photographs by G. E. Kidder Smith (New York: MoMA, 1943), 81.

<sup>29</sup>In 1927, Teixeira traveled to the United States where he contacted John Dewey, the most important exponent of the “New School” trend. See Sarmiento, Carlos Eduardo, *O Rio de Janeiro na Era Pedro Ernesto* (Rio de Janeiro: Ed. FGV, 2001).

<sup>30</sup>The reforms undertaken in the areas of finance, education, culture, health, administration and politics were related to the principles of rationality and universality. In public administration, for instance, a professional civil service system was established.

On the other hand, for the reaffirmation of its central power, the Vargas government intensely employed symbols, including in its urban works, wide streets and monumental constructions. Throughout the history of the cities, symbolism and monumentality<sup>31</sup> have been used as part of an urbanism of dominion, to reaffirm the power, at times absolute, of the constituted authorities. Kostof, concerning the Grand Manner or Baroque urbanism, whose elements include triumphal arches, wide streets, commemorative monuments and monumental buildings, affirms:

*"The presumption of absolute power explains the appeal of the Grand Manner for the totalitarian regimes of the Thirties - for the likes of Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin." He continues: "It is about the staging of power... All cities are, of course, repositories of power in varying degrees and patterns. Cities designed in the Grand Manner imply conventions that make power manifest"*<sup>32</sup>.

In this way, President Vargas Avenue and the buildings for Ministry of Education and Health and other public institutions served the purpose of strengthening the signs of power while reinforcing the image of Rio de Janeiro as the capital city of both the Republic and the Estado Novo, through the establishment of architectural and urban landmarks. The new avenue, for instance, was not only the greatest urban achievement in the city's downtown area, but would also serve as a future stage for large patriotic parades<sup>33</sup> – as happened in several other countries under authoritarian regimes at the same time – during national newly created holidays like Workers Day, National Day, Revolution Day (Tenth of November) and Flag Day<sup>34</sup>.

Regarding the relationship between modern architecture and urbanism during the Vargas Era, though we cannot consider it the official choice, the modernist proposals and achievements did result to a great extent from government choices of certain designs over others and the country's progress, which was made easier by the rationalization of public policies in a number of sectors, including finance.

The modern ideals also satisfied the search for new elements to constitute the Brazilian nation as it was then seen, and they also played a symbolic role. A new architecture and new urbanism – even when these were not espoused by all official sectors – served as hallmarks of a revitalized nation. In this respect, these developments were a precursor to the efforts to build the long dreamed of new national capital, Brasília, in the country's central plateau, which came to fruition in the late 1950s. That city, with its still strikingly modern layout and structures, would be launched as a symbol of the new rapidly industrializing country. Ironically, it also would mark the end of Rio de Janeiro's period as the nation's capital.

---

<sup>31</sup> For a discussion on monumentality, see Giedion, S., Sert, J. L. and Léger, F. "Nine points on monumentality", in Ockman, J. (ed.) *Architecture culture 1943-1968. A documentary anthology*. (New York: Rizzoli, 1993), 27-28.

<sup>32</sup>Kostof, S. *The city shaped*. (Boston: BulFinch Press Book, 1999), 217, 271.

<sup>33</sup>These patriotic parades were one of the Vargas Era's features and they were put on at the facilities of Vasco da Gama Regatta Club until the opening of Presidente Vargas Avenue in 1944.

<sup>34</sup>In his 1942 analysis of the Vargas Era, Lowenstein showed the importance of such symbols for the dictatorial regime, particularly the creation of national holidays besides the existing religious ones. As he stated: "Modern dictatorships have taught us the eminent value of symbolism for the emotionalization of national politics." Lowenstein, Karl, *Brazil under Vargas* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942), 305.

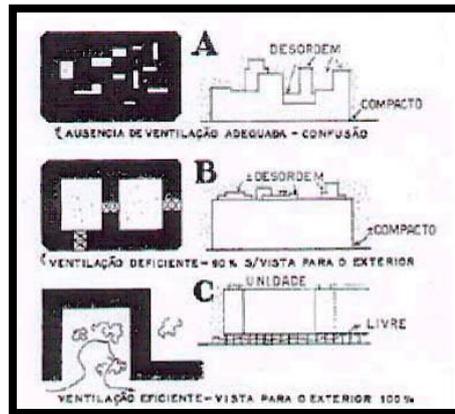


Figure 1 - Types of Urban Blocks, C represents the "rédent" type  
Silva, H. A. and Fusco, R. (1942), Revista Municipal de Engenharia.



## BUILDINGS AND URBAN FORM: INVESTIGATING BUILDINGS WITH A POSITIVE URBAN TRANSFORMATION DIMENSION

Cátia SANTANA, PhD. Student  
CIAUD, Portugal  
csantanaarq@gmail.com

Madalena Cunha MATOS, Associate Professor  
CIAUD, Portugal  
mcunhamatos@fa.utl.pt

### ABSTRACT

*The construction of a building can, based on its project strategy, transform and improve the liveability and use patterns of the city fabric. Certain buildings are remarkable due to their relationship with urban space, leading to articulation spaces – patios, passageways, pathways – shaped by the building and adapted to the urban fabric. These buildings establish continuity with the surrounding area allowing for the construction of places in the city. However, the study of the city based on morphology and the interpretation of buildings according to typology has hindered the understanding of spaces generated by situations that occur in the frontier between architecture and urban design. The objective of this article is to identify and interpret project strategies that improve the qualities of urban space. The intention is to describe the spaces generated by the construction of the buildings that modify the form of the city introducing urban qualities in a pre-existing fabric. The qualities of the “path” and of the spaces of “permanence” generated by these interventions will be characterised – meaning the spatial situations generated by the buildings that create movement and spatial situations that define stable spaces. Five buildings located in Lisbon will be the case studies.*

### INTRODUCTION

Within a context where most Europeans live in cities - 72 % of all Europeans, according to United Nations (UNFPA)'s 2008 data –, architecture is referred to as an important factor towards the so-called “urban renaissance”. The European Council supported this idea via the 2007 Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities, which was reinforced in the following year in the document 2008/C 319/05, by establishing that a relation between the quality of buildings and the characterisation of urban landscape is a sustainability premise. The construction of a building can, based on its project strategy, transform and improve the layout of the city.

Certain buildings are recognized due to their relationship with urban space, leading to articulation spaces – patios, passageways, pathways – shaped by the building and adapted to the urban fabric. These buildings establish continuity with the surrounding area allowing for the construction of *places* in the city. However, the study of the city based on morphology and the interpretation of buildings according to typology has hindered the understanding of spaces generated by situations that occur in the frontier between architecture and urban design. The objective of this article is to identify and interpret project strategies that improve the qualities of urban space.

Aldo Rossi (1966), who endeavoured to develop a typological understanding of architecture based on urban morphology; Rowe & Koetter (1978), who enhanced the role of the building in modern cities, were the pioneers of the study of this issue. More recently, Lang (2005) considered the typologies of urban situations and pointed out “the products of architecture and the nature of urban design” (2005:114) by studying buildings that incorporate elements that are characteristic of city layouts and transform them into urban design. However, these situations do not specifically contemplate the spaces created when comparing buildings and urban fabric. Joan Busquets and Felipe Corea (2006) sought to establish a “taxonomy of the ways of designing the city and of the new urban territories” (2006:9). They developed the idea of “piecemeal aggregation” based on “urban project intermediate scale” situations, similar to the French concept *pièce urbaine*. This classification however deals with interventions to buildings and does not deal with the development of spaces generated by the buildings. Matos, Ramos and Gonçalves (2008) have extended the research on the different urban situations that can generate “passageways” in Portuguese cities. Such spaces generated in the encounter between building and urban layout have been rarely touched in the literature.

The objective of this article is to identify and interpret project strategies that improve the qualities of urban space. The intention is to describe the spaces generated by the construction of the building that modify the form of the city introducing urban qualities in a pre-existing fabric. The qualities of the “path” and of the spaces of “permanence” generated by these interventions will be characterised – meaning the spatial situations generated by the buildings that create movement and spatial situations that define stable spaces. Five buildings located in Lisbon will be the case studies.

## CHURCH OF THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS

The Igreja do Sagrado Coração de Jesus (Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus) was designed by a team of architects led by Nuno Teotónio Pereira and Nuno Portas (Fig. 1). The project was selected amongst 12 proposals in a tender promoted by the “Comissão Fabriqueira da Igreja do SSC de Jesus” in 1962. The tender proposal would later feature as the preliminary draft, presented at the Lisbon Town Council and would be the basis of the project developed between 1963 and 1968. The building was constructed between 1967 and 1976. In addition to the church area, this building combines other elements for community-related activities, such as the parish centre. The project is located in a plot between Rua de Santa Marta (street at upper level) and Rua Camilo Castelo Branco (street at lower level), in the heart of Lisbon (Fig. 1 [B]). This part of the city was urbanized between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century within the scope of the Ressano Garcia plans for the area of “Avenida da Liberdade” and “Avenidas Novas”. The street at the lower level, however, belongs to a much earlier period; for centuries, it was part of a road leading from the countryside to the heart of the city of Lisbon.



Figure 1 Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus; [A] section between Camilo Castelo Branco St and Santa Marta St (Source: Tostões, 2004); [B] location plan: public space (black), case-study (grey); [C] view of "urban" patio; [D] Ramp, Camilo Castelo Branco St

### **Urban Strategy**

The idea of constructing a building of strong urban dimension was part of the base programme and featured as one of the assessment criteria of the tender. The wish to reveal visually to the city the internal part of the block relates to the religious attribute of the programme, of linking the building to the community; the project integrated that very intention. The construction features a central empty space allowing for a pedestrian crossing between the two streets, which are on different levels (Fig.1 [A]). This central space is an urban patio with a sequence of staircases that define a path between the street on the top level and the street on the bottom level and vice-versa (Fig.1 [D]). The project reorganises the urban aspects of the block by adding permanence space and passageway space, thus affording the city a new pathway. This action contributes toward an improved public space allowing for the use of the inside of the plot as part of the urban fabric. The procedure implied a previous agreement with the promoter of the Guiné building located at the end of the plot at the bottom level. The design of the Guiné building featured a passageway in tunnel as initial premise. This would allow the connection between the central patio of the church and Santa Marta Street.

### **Path: Emptiness in Cascade**

On the upperstreet, the construction features prominent details that break the continuity of the façade plan. This street has a slope and allows access to the interior of the block via two entrances: ramp and stairs. The ramp, a scenographic feature, is a prominent element of the façade, which counterbalances the movement of those going down the street and thus inviting to enter the enclosure (Fig.1[C]). The entrance via the stairs located on the other end of the street is more formal. From the churchyard, you can already see the patio and the access to the bottom level. From the entrance, the path might not be quite clear but as you walk through the space you are led to the interior and then to the exit. From the street on the bottom level, the Guiné building features a passageway forming a tunnel. The existence of an urban path is not that clear from the bottom street.

### **Permanence: An Interior Space**

The central patio (currently filled with flowerpots and plants, leaving us with the feeling that it does not want to be inhabited) and the transition areas of the path define the permanence spaces. This is a public space with characteristics of an interior space due to the size and topography of the surrounding area.

## **BELÉM CULTURAL CENTRE**

The Belém Cultural Centre(BCC) was designed by Vittorio Gregotti and Atelier Risco, at the time led by Manuel Salgado (Fig.2). The project was selected in a public tender amongst 57 projects in a first phase and amongst 6 in a second phase. The competition was promoted by the Instituto Português do Património Cultural in 1989. Its objective was to build a structure with the capacity to host the first Portuguese Presidency of the European Union in 1992, which would then function as a cultural centre.

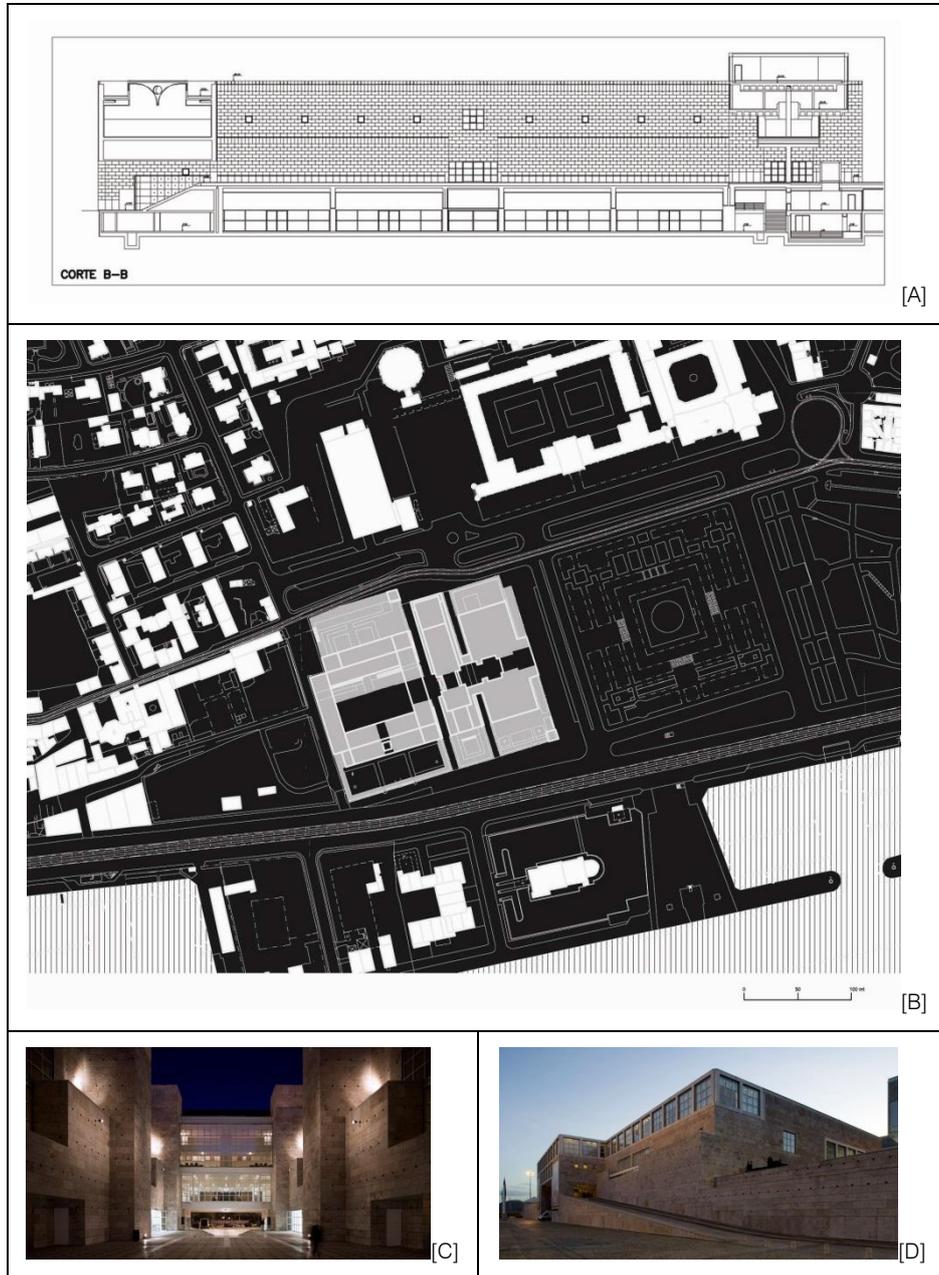


Figure 2: Belém Cultural Centre; [A] section of the "patio-square"; [B] location plan: public space(black), case-study (grey); [C] view of "patio-square" (Risco,2010); [D] view of the main façade (Risco,2010)

Its initial programme featured five modules of which only three were built: the Meetings and Conference Centre, the Performing Arts Centre and the Exhibition Centre. The building is located in the Belém area, on the riverfront to the west of the centre of Lisbon, between Bartolomeu Dias Street and Avenue da Índia, in front of Praça do Império (Império Square) (Fig.2[B]).

This area is historically linked to the Discoveries and has suffered many changes. In 1940, it was reorganized for the Portuguese World Exhibition. Belém has remarkable buildings, rich in history and architecture, such as the Palace and the Tower of Belém, the Museum of Archaeology, the Planetarium, the Monument to the Discoveries, the Monastery and the Church of Jerónimos, all situated in the surroundings of the BCC.

### **Urban Strategy**

Due to its relation with the Jerónimos' Monastery, the building has been aligned, to (re)define the Império Square. The central part of the building is empty, defining a sequence of "patios-square", alternating with articulation areas between the three structures. The different centres are separated by transversal "streets" that divide the building. The latter streets link the interior of the building and the streets parallel to the river, similarly to the narrow streets in the historical areas of Lisbon. The central empty area extends the urban fabric to the interior of the building, creating a public space inside the building(Fig.2[C]).

### **Path: The "Patios-Squares" Versus the "Narrow Streets"**

A passageway under the first centre leads us to a patio from where one can view the river (Índia Avenue) and Bartolomeu de Gusmão Street through a transversal opening corresponding to a descent to the car park access. This space ends off with a covered area, under the second centre, that accesses the auditoriums and which simultaneously leads us to the next area on the upper level via two symmetric flights of stairs. A transition area featuring a narrow transversal crossing can be covered from north to south. Then there is a patio-square larger than the previous one that ends with a balcony facing west. From this square one can also access the Jardim das Oliveiras, on the southern part of the building, or the exhibition centre.

### **Permanence Space: The Interior Square**

At the end of the spatial sequence, the patio-square features as the extremity of the whole eastern-western pathway (Fig.2 [A]). Although it is not located in the heart of the three centres, but on one of the extremities (west), it can be considered as a central area due to its dimension and proportion regarding other spaces.

## **BLOCO B – CHIADO**

The project for Bloco B block is included in the "Detailed plan for the recovery of the destroyed area of Chiado", developed by architect Álvaro Siza Vieira since 1989, following the fire that devastated the Chiado area in the very heart of Lisbon in August 1988 (Fig.3). The Bloco B project includes the recovery of eight buildings that comprise the block and the redefinition of the interior space as a public space.

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

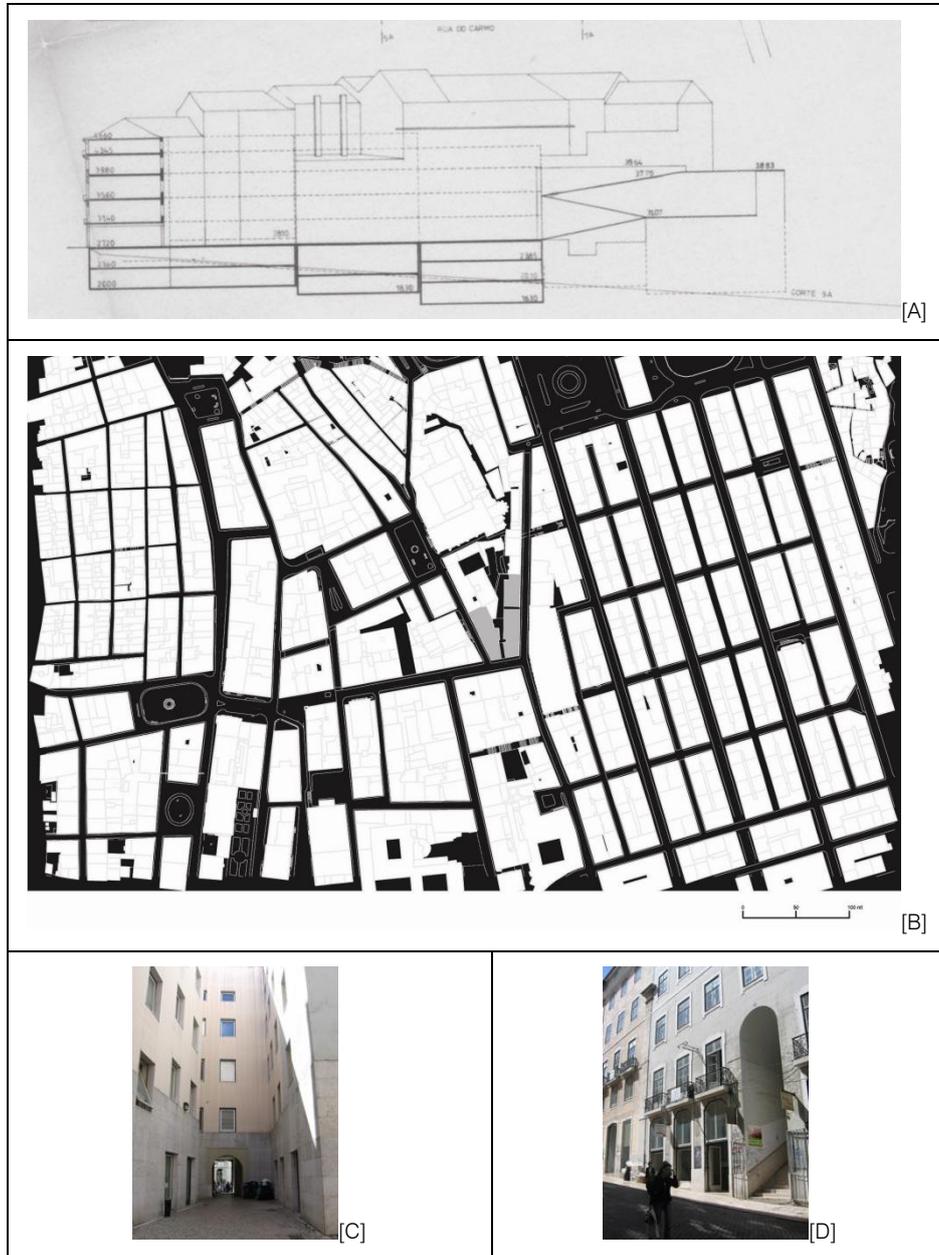


Figure 3: Bloco B; [A] section between Garrett street and access to Carmo (Castanheira and Santos, 1988); [B] location plan: public space (black), case-study (grey); [C] view of the "corridor"; [D] view façade Carmo St

The works have still not been concluded but completion is foreseen according to the initial project, namely for the access between the interior of the block and the upper street level. The block is located in the Chiado area in Lisbon, between the Carmo, Garrett and Sacramento Streets.

### **Urban Strategy**

The procedure allows for the creation of a public space meant for articulation between three distinct levels by building passageways with access to the interior of the block from Carmo Street and Garrett Street. The project foresees a connection ramp up to the upper level by the old Carmo Convent, (not completed) (Fig.3[A]). The reconstruction of the block's buildings allowed for a more in-depth design of the buildings quite different to what previously existed, thus gaining space inside the block. In fact, this corresponds to an earlier situation, that of the reconstruction by the Marquis de Pombal of the city devastated in 1755. This strategy allows opening up a new public space that can be an intermediate platform between Chiado and Carmo (Bairro Alto). This interior patio will allow the crossing of alternative paths opening new possibilities of permanence in the public space.

### **Path: The Intermediate Platform**

The opening of passageways from surrounding streets (Carmo and Garrett)(Fig.3[D]), and the fact that there are changes in level allows one to discover an alternative path to the main street. The possibility (not accomplished yet) of being able to access the upper level via a ramp, building a scenographic approach to the 14<sup>th</sup> century convent like a "promenade architecturale", is the element with strongest impact in the project (Fig.3[A]). The fact that the ramp covers an old pathway destroyed in the 1755 earthquake that shook Lisbon, reinforces its relevance and importance in the construction / topography relationship. This project transforms the relationship between the different levels of the surroundings, affording other possibilities of mobility.

### **Permanence: Residual Space**

The interior space of the block is elongated and considerably vertical. Although it is transversally divided into two large spaces by a retaining wall that allows an underpass, one can look at this space as a "corridor"(Fig.3 [C]). The counterbalance between the central nucleus and the different structures creates small spatial groups – residual spaces.

## **IMPÉRIO - CHIADO**

The block of the insurance company "Império", attributed to Gonçalo Byrne's redesign, integrates an intervention carried out to eight buildings in the upper zone of Chiado(Fig.4). The project of private initiative was carried out between 1994 and 1998. The town council license regarding the commercial area has still not been attributed to this work, which is currently completed. The procedure does not involve all the buildings in the block. However, it allowed the interior of the block to be restructured into a public space. The programme comprises residential, commerce and business-related procedures. The intervention was carried out in the following streets: Garrett, Serpa Pinto, Travessa do Carmo, Almirante Pessanha and Calçada do Sacramento (Fig.4[B]).

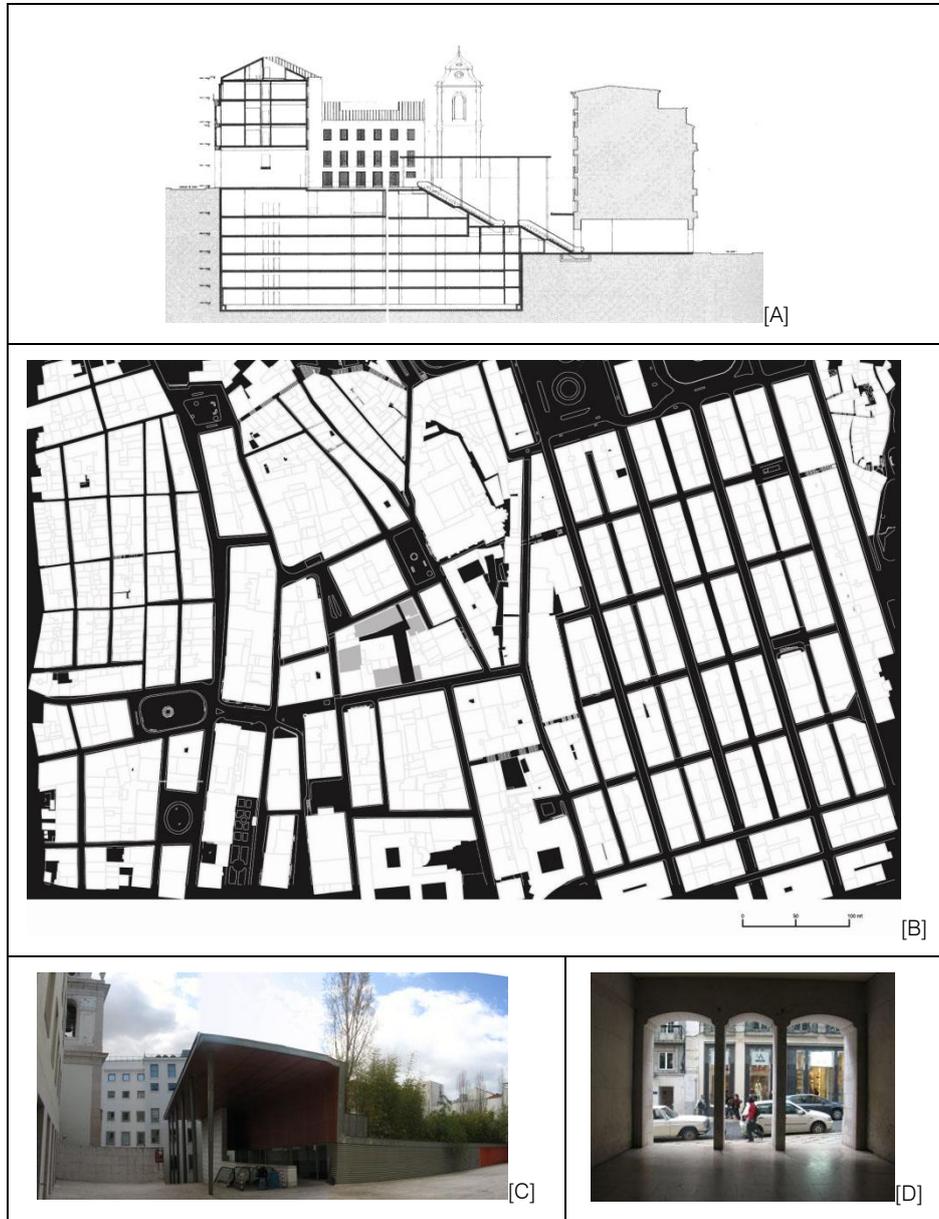


Figure 4: "Império" Block; [A] section between Carmo and Garret St (Source: Angelillo, 1988); [B] location plan: public space (black), case-study (grey); [C] view of escalators; [D] access to Garret St

### Urban Strategy

Similarly to the Bloco B and Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus projects, this intervention also introduced the possibility of linking two different levels and a new

crossing was built across the block (Fig.4[A]). Similarly to the procedure in Bloco B, there is the wish to counterbalance the current morphology with the possibilities that once existed in the pre-Pombaline city. By introducing various uses and by redesigning the interior spaces of the block, the urban fabric was revived. A possibility was created to introduce a crossing and also to discover unique elements such as the bell tower of the Sacramento Church (Fig.4[C]).

#### **Path: Morphological Understanding**

The path joins Travessa do Carmo (side street) and Garrett Street. Access to this path is made via passages in buildings on both streets. From Garrett Street, the passageway invites us into a small commercial courtyard that will connect to the car park and to the stairs (Fig.4 [D]). Part of the upward/downward path can be completed on escalators. The part of the escalators that goes from the interior space to the upper level street is covered (Fig.4[C]). Here one finds the Sacramento Church tower and from this place one can continue up to the passageway to Travessa do Carmo (side street).

#### **Permanence: Residual Space**

The public place is triangular and features as a transition area between the access and change in level; however, it is considered as a residual space.

## **PAVILION OF PORTUGAL**

The Pavilion of Portugal's design was developed by the Portuguese architect Álvaro Siza Vieira between 1994 and 1997 (Fig.5). It was built within the scope of Expo 98, which took place in Lisbon. It was thought out to house the expositions during the world fair but its future use was never defined and is still unknown. It is currently used for culture-related events and expositions. The Pavilion includes two parts: the two-storey building and a covered square. The development of the project and of the building work took place simultaneously with the development of the urban plan for the eastern area and the construction of the exhibition area. The building is located alongside the River Tagus in Alameda dos Oceanos in the eastern area of Lisbon - a former industrial area that became known as Parque das Nações after the World Exhibition (Fig.5[B]).

#### **Urban Strategy**

The building is organized around two patios. The spaces are provided with the capacity to be subdivided and reorganized. This strategy of spatial flexibility affords capacity to adapt to various programmes. The fact that the urban fabric developed at the same time as the actual building helped the architect in the understanding that this would be the construction of a place. At the extremities (north, south, east and west), the Pavilion features public transition spaces. To the east, it extends into a labyrinth garden – a set of crosscut walls that help to diminish the scale of the building.

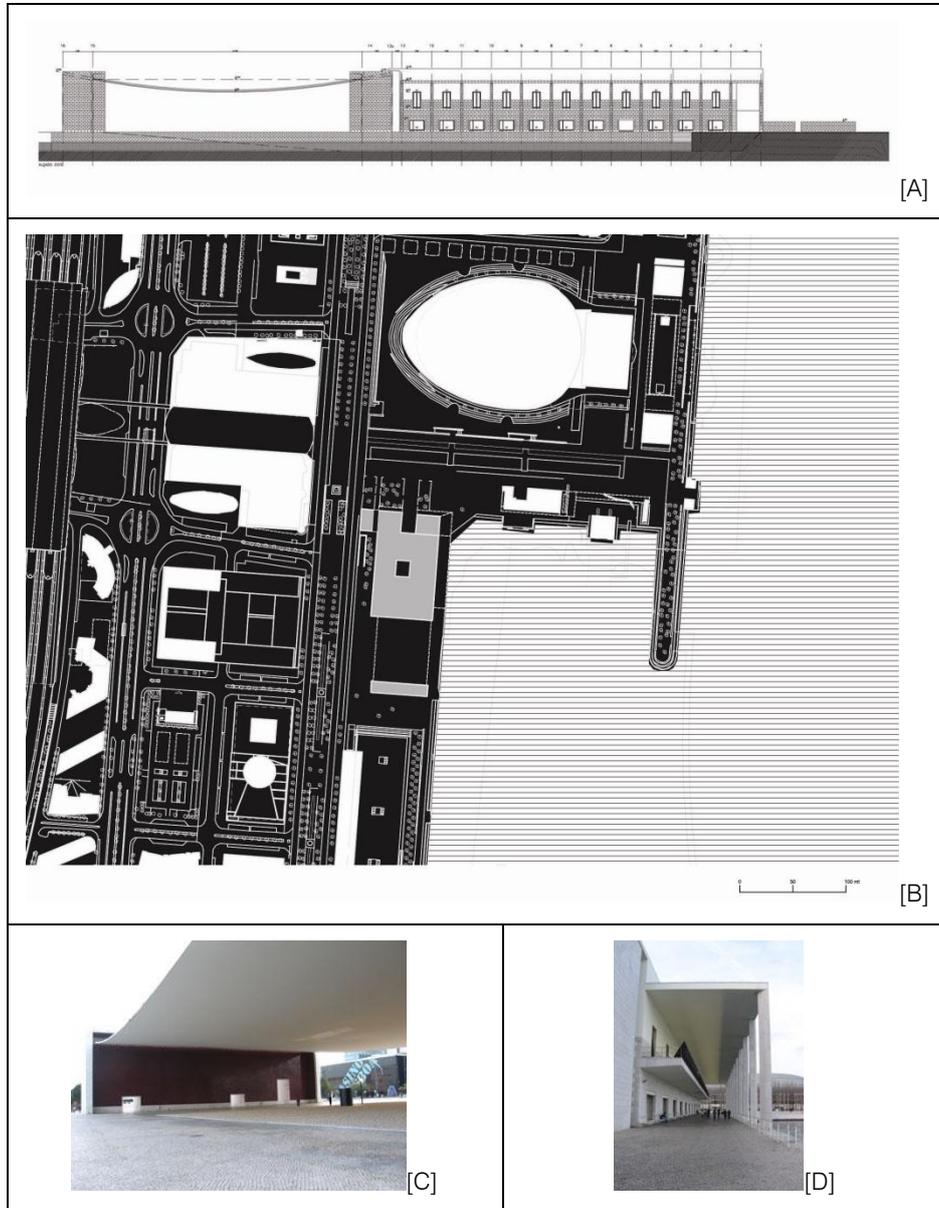


Figure 5: *Pavilion of Portugal*; [A] South elevation; [B] location plan: public space(black) case-study (grey); [C]view of the covered square; [D] South gallery

To the south, a gallery covers the noble balcony overlooking the river and creates a passage, a shaded and rest area (Fig.5[D]). To the west, two porticos support the sagging concrete roof that covers the square (Fig.5 [C]). To the north, a tunnel

passageway gives continuity to the path around the building allowing one of the built elements to be crossed and “tied” to the urban fabric.

#### **Path: Entrances and Crossings**

Unlike the examples mentioned before, here there are no connection paths between different parts. The spaces related to the urban fabric permit crossing possibilities instead of directing specific paths as if accompanying those who are walking alongside the building. The three portico doors to the east of the covered square feature as an entrance into the main area. Between the building and the portico, there is a narrow street, a space that reinforces the verticality of the building group as a whole. The gallery in the south accompanies the path in the north/east direction and vice-versa. The labyrinth garden features a zigzagging path to the east. The north-facing passageway shortens the path to get back into the square.

#### **Permanence space: the covered square, the seat wall**

The covered square features two porticos that hold the convex roof made of light concrete (Fig.5 [C]). Both the porticos and the roof define the space that is slightly separated from the building. This separation is just enough to create tension between the built element and emptiness but it continues to be viewed as a whole. This is a crossing space in all directions. Its privileged location and enhanced features make the covered square the ideal meeting point. The roof affords an inviting shade that makes this a space of permanence. A place for solemn ceremonies, this square is the hall that precedes the entrance of the building. On the façade to the south, under the gallery, there is a stone seat wall that invites passers-by to sit and contemplate the river (Fig.5[A]).

## **CONCLUSION**

In addition to the programmatic dimension of the construction (church, cultural centre, residence, commerce), the specific relationship that the latter establishes with the city form allows to generate situations in which the construction can design urban micro spaces. Differences in plot levels and urban density favour these strategies as one can observe in the cases of the Church, Bloco B and the Império block. These constructions stand out because they allow rearranging a part of the urban fabric by introducing crossings and new paths. The purpose of building a large-scale structure, like the CCB and the Pavilion of Portugal, allows for the emergence of spaces of permanence (patio-square /covered square) – intermediate spaces between architecture and the urban fabric. These case studies - different in terms of location and time, of private and public promoters - demonstrate the possibilities of projecting the urban design based on architecture, thus contributing toward the definition of a relationship between the positive quality of the buildings and the quality of urban landscape.

## REFERENCES

- Angelillo, A., Ed. (1988). Gonçalo Byrne: Obras e Projectos. Documentos de Arquitectura. Milão, Editorial Blau, Lda / Electa.
- Busquets, J. and Correa, F., Eds. (2006). Cities X lines: a new lens for the urbanistic project Rovereto, Trento, Nicolodi Editore.
- Castanheira, C. and Santos, J.D., Eds. (1994). O Chiado. Lisboa. Álvaro Siza e a estratégia de memória. Granada, Delegación en Granada del Colegio de Arquitectos / Junta de Andalucía.
- IPPC (1989). Centro Cultural de Belém – Concurso para o projecto. Lisboa, IPPC.
- Lang, J (2005) Urban Design: A typology of Procedures and Products. Oxford, Architectural Press
- Llano, P. and Castanheira, C., Eds. (1995). Álvaro Siza: Obras e Projectos. Lisboa, Electa.
- Matos, M.C., Ramos, T. B. and Gonçalves, F. (2008). Crossing through the block: permeabilities in the urban fabric of Portuguese Cities. Public Versus Private Planning: Themes, Trends and Tensions, University of Florida/University of Illinois, Chicago, Illinois.
- Risco. <http://www.risco.org/pt/index.html>. Retrieved February 2010.
- Rossi, A. (1966). L'Architettura della Città / A Arquitectura da Cidade. Lisboa, Cosmos, 2001
- Rowe, C. and Koetter, F. (1978). Collage city. Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press.
- Tostões, A., Ed. (2004). Arquitectura e Cidade: Atelier Nuno Teotónio Pereira. Lisboa, Quimera Editores, Lda.
- Trigueiros, L., Ed. (1985). Álvaro Siza: 1986-1995. Lisboa, Editorial Blau



## A THEORETICAL STUDY ON MODERNITY AND TRANSFORMATION IN ARCHITECTURE

**Salahaddin Yasin SHWANY**, Consultant, Architect, Lecturer  
University Sains, Malaysia  
salahaddinbaper@yahoo.com

**Ahmad Sanusi HASSAN**, Associate Professor  
University Sains, Malaysia  
sanusi@usm.my

**Faris Ali Mustafa**, University Sains, Malaysia

**Susan Tahir ISMAIL**, University Sains, Malaysia

### **ABSTRACT**

*Modernity is understood in peculiar ways by a wide range of authors and critics as a process of newness. Modernity is a period of continual transformation that distresses all aspects of experience. It's a discourse that takes change and transformation as its central principles. Accordingly, Modernity realization and its achievement mechanism in architecture can be done through the process of transformation and change. The aim of this paper is to introduce a theoretical framework for the concept of modernity in architecture in general and explains the mechanisms of transformations in particular via a process of two directions as follows:-*

*The first direction will focus on the modernity definitions and the sources of its motivation, While the second direction will emphasize on modernity indicators through a strategy of two parts:*

*a) The concept of modernity will be investigated intensely in the architectural point of view, according to multiple attitudes and definitions to discover the key variables upon which the study depends.*

*b) Habermas's theory of modernization will be Explored in order to introduce the important account of modernity. The aim is to identify the main character of modernity in philosophical point of view.*

*Furthermore, this paper will clarify the degree of transformations and summarize possible values of change as modernity achievement mechanisms. All these categories and indicators will be formulated in a theoretical framework.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

Modernity has multiple points of origin and many precursors in history. It's fragmental nature on one hand and its constant search for progress and new forms on the other, would give the impression to prevent any totalizing definition. Accordingly for Whyte (2004) 'Modernity' has many meanings. It means current and actual, as opposed to past or self-intentionally new in contrast to old, whereas for Simon (2005) Modernity is the period of the new. It expresses historical transformation across the range of disciplines, periods and locations by connecting the events, people and ideas of the past to construct an account of the meaning of the present. He also explains that

modernity is a period of constant transformation that affects all aspects of experience from science and philosophy to urbanisation and state bureaucracy life. To be modern is to be constantly confronted by the new.

### WHAT IS MODERNITY?

*" To be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world – and, at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are....." Berman, 1994*

The central claim of Berman's argument, that to be modern is to be confronted with disruption and change as everything (Berman, 1994, Whyte, 2004, Simon, 2005). On the other hand, Berman's notion of modernity as a period of continual transformation, arguing that the "concept of modernity expresses the belief that the future has already begun: it is the epoch that lives for the future, that opens itself up to the novelty of the future" (Berman, 1994).



Figure 1 Modernity Features in guggenheim museum bilbao

Zein (2004) explains modernity in terms of challenging forces (Figure 1), by consolidating Marcel Gauche argument that, the concept of modernity characterized as the historical challenge of moving from a received order to a produced one. Zein emphasizes that modernity is a quest, to which there are no ready-made formulas. It's not a translation of pseudo-truths, which excerpted from other realities as a source of all disruptions, but a changing force to accept and make use of their occasional benefits. Heynen (1999) classifies the concept of modernity within three altitudes: The first refers to present as opposite of the past. Whereas the notion of new is the second as contrasting to the old. The final altitude is the transient, with its conflicting notion no longer being a clearly defined past but rather an undefined perpetuity. Hence, the current, the new, and the transient: all three of these altitudes describe the concept of modernity.

## MODERNITY MOTIVATIONS

Modernity motivated from multiple sources, the most effective source for its manifestation is technology, which is a restless and accelerating process of transformation. For most architects technology means the fundamental tools for modernization. On the other hand, the continuous technical progress in science and technology feeds as motivators to introduce new dimensions to the social life and a regular change to the traditional cultures.

According to Berman (1982) the sources and motivation of modernity can be clarified as follows: a) Great discoveries in the physical sciences. b) The industrialisation of production, which transforms scientific knowledge into technology. c) Huge demographic upheavals and rapid urban growth. d) Systems of mass communication. e) Powerful national states. f) Mass social movements of people. g) Variable capitalist world.

## MODERNITY FEATURES

Recently, Modernity appeared in new approach several inquiries noticed through critics, which adapted the concept of new or change (*Figure 2*). For the purpose of the study, the features of modernity will be determined through a procedure of two attitudes (the architectural point and the philosophical point of view).

### MODERNITY IN ARCHITECTURAL POINT OF VIEW:

The most distinctive features of modernity according to the architectural point of view can be clarified as:

#### a) Capitalist Approach

Burbach (2001) argues that Globalization is a capitalist approach which refers to modernization process; it is highlighted technologically by the information age. It destroys local cultures and societies, stimulates a new type of oppositional politics. For others modernity is the opposition between a capitalist civilization and its cultural, modernist counterpart. It reflects the consequences of capitalist development.

#### b) New work distorts traditional rules:

Stern (1980) argues that Modernism in architecture is a term that describes the need for the production of a new exertion which distorts all the relations and formal rules of traditional knowledge. Furthermore, Heynen (1999) indicates that modernity is always in conflict with tradition, it gives the present the specific value that makes it different from the past and points the way toward the future.

#### c) Mode of power:

According to Berman (1994) modernity is not a continuation or modification of the past, but a new form of human self-awareness as a mode of power. Thus, the features of modernity as a phenomenon can be clarified into two aspects: an objective feature which is related to socioeconomic developments, and a subjective one that is connected with personal experiences (Heynen, 1999).

**d) Establishing New Rules:**

Decq (1990) explains that new modernity looking for new rules through the investment of new technologies, meanings, transformation, physics, theories of life and communication around the world. On the other hand Heynen (1999) points out that Modernity establishes change and crisis as values, in order to be the period of new, establishing new rules and passing over any connections with past.

**e) Form Phenomenon:**

The modernity is a various forms phenomenon and an intellectual context full of meaning, ramping up to chase behind and looks forward to new discoveries of the worlds (Pran, 1990).

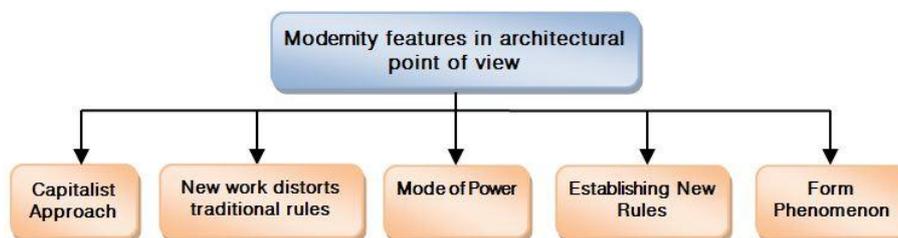


Figure 2 Digramm of Modernity features in architectural point of view.

**PHILOSOPHICAL POINT OF VIEW (MODERNIZATION THEORY):**

One of the most influence factors on the issue of architectural design is the philosophical approach. This section briefly sets out Habermas's social theory in relation to modern movements in a critical theory. In order to introduce the important account of modernity, it is useful to explore in detail Habermas's theory of modernization.

In this regards, Bolton (2005) explains that Habermas concerns with language related to the use of language as a different model of action. In the analysis of communication, Habermas draws a fundamental distinction between different modes of action: the strategic and communicative. In this context Habermas emphasizes on language return to the use of modern philosophy to support the views of democracy and participation. As a conclusion the main feature of modernity according to Habermas point of view can be formulated as follow: (Figure 3)

**a) Modernity is a Project:**

Habermas's title completely makes two points. First, modernity is a project rather than a historical period; and second, this project is not completed. According to Habermas's historical analysis, modernization leads to the liberation of subjects from traditional roles and values. It aims to increase the dependence on communication and dialogue to harmonize actions and create social orders (Finlayson 2005).

**b) Modernity is a Civilized Phenomenon:**

In the view of Habermas: modernity is a civilized phenomenon with various forms and intellectual context in multi-meanings, and looks forward to new discoveries of new worlds. The phenomenon of modernity does not depend on the creation of crisis,

because they contain many elements, but often lead to tensions and explosions that may contribute to the resolution and accelerate the transformation of all (Afaya1998).

**c) Modernity is an Event of Multiple Faces :**

Modernity has multiple Faces, may be combining elements of traditional cultural elements with contemporary one, or re-drafting of the infrastructure of modern society .It may also mean the process of selecting elements of other civilizations or cultures. Thus, the theory of modernization, which refers to Habermas separates modernity from its assets and applying it as a model of social developments. (Afaya 1998).

**d) Modernity is a communicative discourse:**

Habermas's social theory is an analysis and critique of modern forms of social life, and that discourse principles are a justification and clarification of modern morality. However, modernity is more than a period. It designates the social, political, cultural, institutional, and psychological conditions that arise from certain historical processes. Modernity in this sense is related to, but distinct from, the various aesthetic works and styles that fall under the label 'modernism'(Finlayson 2005).

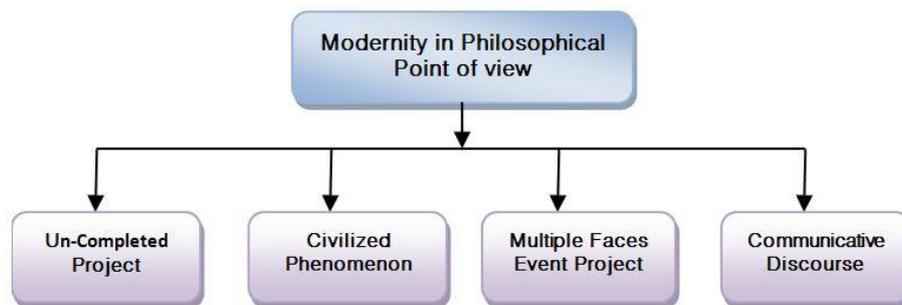


Figure 3 Modernity Features in Philosophical Point of View  
Source: The Author

**MODERNITY ACHIEVEMENT MECHANISMS.**

Modernity realization and its achievement mechanism in architecture can be done through the process of transformation and change, for the purpose of the study these mechanisms will be clarified briefly.

**TRANSFORMATION**

Basically, Transformation in architecture is a process which can be defined as the generation of a target model from a source model (Figure 4). It is a critical tool that describing the form generation which produced within the limited time on the specific contributions of the reality. This concept has also been used to link between the Form transformation and Architectural meaning as a maximum response to external and internal forces. The word transformation in the English language is consisting of the pronunciation of Trans-form. The word Trans related to change while the word Form related to shaping. It means the act of changing in form or shape or appearance of an object (Hornby, 2005) .

In the field of linguistics, the structure theory is the first theory, which focused on the importance of the concept of transformation. According to Silveti transformation is a displacement process to create new meaning. It indicates in general a change of shape, form, or structure without loss of substance. In principle, it involves two different substances: transformations of material and transformations of content (Hays, 2000).

The concept of transformation, as revealed from the fact that any system capable of working must be integrated and balanced to carry a special feature associated with its originals and distinguished from the rest, for that Antoniadis (1999) defines the transformation in architecture through the visual analysis of the schemes on the grounds that the shift in architecture is physical and moral changes on the main sources. Hence, transformation is a set of operations on a specified system to access another one, within three strategies, which are: traditional formula, metaphor formula and deconstruction formula. On the other hand, Abel (1996) discusses Transformation in terms of a straight adaptation. It is an interaction between different culture forms one imported, and the other is traditional. Whereas For Ekomadyo (2007) Transformation is a process of exploring the origins of architectural form and reconstructing it in a new form that adjusted with related context.

In the light of the above attitudes, the process of transformation can be achieved through following values:-

Reshaping an object

- Changing inner pattern.
- Visual shifts by changing physical and moral aspects of form
- Straight adaptation and interaction between different culture forms.



*Figure 4 The Process of Transformation in Architecture*

## CHANGE

Modernity is radicalized into change, into a continuous travelling. It gradually becomes aesthetics of change for the sake of change. Hence, the change is the human intervention to shift the mores of cultural structure. Architecture, as a culture, is one of the objectives of this change. It has two types of changes, preservation changes and destructive changes, the first leading to the stability of phenomena generation while the second trying to generate new types of phenomena. In this sequence Koblér clarifies between Ordinary Change and Purposeful change, and he illustrates the idea of

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

Purposeful change through the shifts which is taking place on the scientific theories (Schulz, 1971).

On the other hand, Chaderchi (1999) discusses the concept of change through three poles: the Need, the Individual, and Technology. He classifies the first two factors under Ordinary change while he defines the third under Purposeful change.

Change can be classified into four levels according to the senior sociologist (Murdoch) in his study (How culture Changes), explaining four main levels of renewal and change of a culture which are:

- Variation: a continuous modification on the existing model, and a gradual change to improving the system specifications.
- Cultural borrowing: It is the embodiment of historical and heritage features and transferring it to a contemporary form.
- Invention: It is a displacement of the relations among the possible rules of the system.
- Temptation: It is a rupture of tradition laws and a challenge to the prevailing system. It aims to establish a new system with new elements. (Razuki, 1996)

Table 1 Theoretical framework for the concept of modernity in Architecture

S	parameters	Possible values		
1	<b>Modernity aims</b>	To rebuilt the existing body of knowledge		
		To change elements of a system		
		To change relations of a system		
		To change orders of a system		
2	<b>Concepts of Modernity</b>	Present as opposite of past		
		New as contrast with old		
		Transient as opposite of perpetuity		
3	<b>Modernity Motivations</b>	Great discoveries in the physical sciences.		
		The industrialisation of production, which transforms scientific knowledge into technology.		
		Huge demographic upheavals and rapid urban growth.		
		Systems of mass communication.		
		Powerful national states.		
		Mass social movements of people.		
4	<b>Modernity Features</b>	<b>Architectural point of view</b>	Capitalist approach	
			Form phenomenon	
			Process of newness	
			Anti-Traditions	
			Establishing new Rules	
	<b>Features</b>	<b>Philosophical point of view</b>	<b>Modernization theory</b>	Uncompleted project
				Civilized Phenomenon
				Multiple faces Event
				Communicative Discourse
				Reshaping an object
5	<b>Modernity achievement mechanisms</b>	<b>Transformations</b>	Changing inner pattern	
			Visual Shifts	
			Adaptation of cultural structure	
			Variation	
	<b>mechanisms</b>	<b>Change</b>	Cultural borrowing	
			Invention	
			Temptation	

## APPLYING THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF MODERNITY ON ARCHITECTURAL MOVEMENTS / CASE STUDIES

Architecture passed through different epoch's .Each period has its distinctive features due to its philosophical background and historical evolutions. To discover the influence of modernity in each period, the study will illustrate to seek and find the seeds of modernity in each phase. For the purpose of the study, these periods classified in three categories according to the most theorist classifications of architectural history and theory.

### MODERN MOVEMENT

The Modern Movement of architecture was a revolution that destroyed the existing classical architecture and replaced it with a new order. Molnar (2005) defines Modern architecture as the architecture of functionalism to fashion a new sense of space supported by new technologies and modern materials. The modernist motto of "form follows function" prescribed that the form and appearance of buildings should grow out of their applied materials and structural engineering, and called for the desertion of ornamentation. It required harmony between function, technology, and artistic expression. For Vidler (2000) Modern architecture, concerned to represent space and form abstractly, avoiding the decorative and constructional codes of historical architectures.

Moreira (2006) argues that the spread of modern architecture all over the world was a complex phenomenon that cannot be reduced to a single and continuous path. Modern architecture also legalized national culture to be framed and originated in new ways since its abstraction and universality broke with main historicising styles.

Finally, Modernity in the period of Modern Movement can be crystallized in three principal themes: Memory, Expression, and Morality(Gibson,1984).

### POSTMODERN ARCHITECTURE

The great expectations of modernist architecture, industrialization of construction, prefabrication and functionalism interpreted into a macabre truth and indicated the failure of modern architecture. Post modern architecture was born as a reaction of these failures. In the 1970s, a new generation of architects led by Venturi fought against featureless of modern architecture. They planned to mix between technological aspects of modernity and classical forms of the history. Postmodern architecture has also been described as "neo-eclectic", by returning the reference and ornament to the facade and substituting the forcefully unornamented modern styles. Jencks (1991) argues that post modern architecture is a hybrid language with a positive approach towards metaphorical buildings, the vernacular, and a new ambiguous kind of space. Postmodern architecture search for various styles in different periods to become eclectic, involves a return to the past as much as a movement forward by employing new materials and resisting the uniformity of the International Style. For Nesbitt (1996) postmodern architecture addresses a crisis of meaning in the discipline of architecture. It is a sensibility of addition in a period of pluralism.

## POST-STRUCTURALISM AND DECONSTRUCTIVISM

Deconstructivism in architecture, is a development of postmodern architecture. It is illustrated by ideas of fragmentation, incomplete and twisted grids disoriented rather than organized, and dynamic forms. The physical visual appearance of deconstructivist styles is characterized by a motivating randomness and a controlled chaos. Deconstructivism in contemporary architecture rises in opposition to the well-organized rationality of Modernism.

The generation of deconstruction architecture is not based on physical matter of space, but a spiritual matter, which is been started from a space concept of architecture. Therefore, the spirit of deconstruction is to see things in a critical view and to have a worldwide thought exceeding time and space (Yoon 2003).

Deconstruction is the final phase of architecture .It's a current school of thought in architecture which represents a complex response to a variety of theoretical and philosophical movements of the 20th century.

Geometry is the subject of complication to deconstruction architecture, like the ornament to postmodern. Dematerialization in architecture is observed in deconstruction when it ultimately frees itself from reality altogether. Form does not need to call for external justifications. In this dematerialized world of concepts there is a removal of architecture from its intricate and complex element: space. This means the subtraction from reasonable and logical and ultimately declining into a hole.

## CONCLUSIONS:

### a) Conclusions related to the Theory.

- Architectural Modernity can be described as a process of constant transformation. It's a course of action that creates new architectural forms which depend on the strategies of transformation and change in creating new models (Generation of new Architectural Forms).
- The search of novelty is one of the most significant concepts of modernity, which makes it different from the past and points the way toward the future.
- The literature on architectural modernity is filled with the variety of definitions due to its fragmental nature.furthermore, its constant search for progress and change will prevent any totalizing definition for the concept.
- In spite of differences between the definitions .This paper formulates a comprehensive theoretical formwork including the most effective parameters of modernity which are; Modernity aims, Modernity concepts, Modernity motivations, Modernity Features and Modernity achievement mechanisms.The collection of these properties in one framework is the first contribution of the research.

### b) Conclusions related to the practice in the field of architecture.

The research findings indicate the following conclusions:-

- Modernity in the era of (Modern movement in architecture) was a passion for the new. It was a project of rejecting tradition to create new forms. It was an

exploration of possibilities and a continuous search for uniqueness and its similar--individuality.

- The concept of Modernity in (postmodern architecture) can be clarified within three directions:
  1. Renew the significance of historical typology using imitation strategy and emphases on history as main sources for creation.
  2. Juxtaposition of multi layers of traditional, contemporary and newly invented forms to create pluralism in architecture.
  3. Utilization of advanced technologies and readdressing the crises of meaning in architecture by mixing of styles, which based on three main definitive: the context of the building, the variety of its function, and the specific taste cultures of its users.
- Modernity in deconstruction can be illuminated within the concept of displacement that aims to break down or rearrange the characterized view of a building, discovering its inside to formerly invisible aspects of its outside, rebuilding different modifications of space, forcing different means of access, changing its principles of what it contains.
- Finally, the etymology of modern suggests that it comes from the Latin *modus*, meaning measure.(King, 2004) In this sequence modernity can be explained as the degree of change which the study will depend on . Accordingly, the possible values of change can be summarised in five categories, which are:

Table 5 The degrees of change

Degrees of change	Discriptions
No change	Copying the source without any modifications
Miner changes	Partial change of system elements
Adaptations	Mixing the source with new elements
Major changes	Changing the system relations
Total changes	Altering the system rules and regulation

Consequently the first value can be classified under copy and paste procedure, while the second, third and fourth are drops under transformation procedures .whereas the latest is falls under the concept of rupture which destroys any relation with traditional sources.

## REFERENCES

- Abel, C. (1996) "Architecture and identity", London, Architectural press and Imprint of Butler Worth.
- Afaya, M. N. (1998) "Modernity and Continuity in Philosophy".(Habermas Model), Morocco, African East.
- Antoniades , A. C. (1990) " Poetics of Architecture : Theory of Design ", New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Berman, A. (1994) "Preface to Modernism", USA, university of Illions press.

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

- Bolton, R. (2005), " Habermas's Theory of Communication Action and The Theory of Social Capital". Western Regional Science Association. San Diego, California.
- Burbach, R. (2001) "Globalization and Postmodern Politics : From Zapatistas to High-Tech Robber Barons", London, Pluto Press.
- Chadirji, R. (1995) "Dialogue in the Structure of Art and Architecture", Cyrubs, Riyadh res press Publishing Inc.
- Decq, O. (1990) "The New Modern Aesthetic". Architectural Design, Profile 86.
- Ekomadyo, A. S. (2007) Design Creativity on Indonesian Traditiobal Architecture Transformation: between acadimic field and real practics. International Conference of Challenges and Experiences in Developing Architectural Education in Asia (CEDAEA). Department of Architecture Islamic University of Indonesia.
- Finlayson , J. G. (2005) "Habermas a very short Introduction", New york, Oxford University Press.
- Gibson, G. M. (1984) "The continuity of the Modern". Perspecta, 21, 6-13.
- Hays, K. M. (2000) "The Beauty of Shadow". IN SILVETTI, J. (Ed.) Architecture Theory since 1968. New York, Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture, MIT Press.
- Heynen, H. (1999) "Architecture and Modernity", USA, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Hornby, A. S. (2005) "Oxford Advanced learner's," Dictionary of current English , in Wehmeier, S. (Ed. seventh edition ed. Oxfoed, Oxford University press.
- Jencks , C. (1991 ) "The language of Post Modern Architecture", London, Academy Edition.
- King, A. D. (2004) "Spaces of Global Cultures : Architecture Urbanism Identity", London, Routledge.
- Molnar, V. (2005) "Cultural Politics and Modernist Architecture: The Tulip Debate in Postwar Hungary". American Sociological Review, 70, 111-135.
- Moreira, F. D. (2006) "Lucio Costa: Tradition in the Architecture of Modern Brazil". National Identities, 8, 259-275.
- Nesbitt, K. (1996) "Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture; An Anthology of Architectural Theory 1965 – 1995 ", New York, Princeton Architectural press.
- Rasmussen, D. M. (1990) "Reading Habermas", Cambridge, Massachusetts: Basil Blackwell.
- Razuki, G. M. (1996) "Creativity Thoughts in Architecture". Department of Architecture. Baghdad, Baghdad University.
- Schulz, C. N. (1971) "Existence, space & architecture", New York, Praeger.
- Simon, M. (2005) "The Postmodern", New York, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.
- Stern, R. (1980) "The Doubles of Post-Modern". The Harvard Architecture Review, 1 UK, MIT.
- Tomlinson, J. (2003) "Globalization and Cultural Identity".

Vidler, A. (2000) "Diagrams of Diagrams: Architectural Abstraction and Modern Representation". Representations, No. 72, pp. 1-20.

Whyte, Iain Boyd. (2004) "Modernity and architecture," In Tracing Modernity. Manifestations of the modern in architecture and the city, edited by M. Hvattum and a. C. Hermansen. New York: Routledge , Taylor & Francis Group.

Yoon, J. E. (2003) "A Study on the Co-relationship between the Endless Space of Frederick J. Kiesler and Non-territorial Space Expression in De-constructivism Architecture". The Journal of Asian Design International conference, 1.

Zein, R. V. (2004) "Towards an appropriate discourse on identity in architecture". Architecture and Identity. Sponsored by Volkswagen Stiftung and Berlin University of Technology://[www.architecture-identity.de/Berlin](http://www.architecture-identity.de/Berlin).

## DIFFERENT VISIONS FOR THE SAME CITIES, TRANSLATIONS AND APROPRIATIONS OF URBAN IDEOLOGIES IN MINAS GERAIS, BRAZIL

Fabio Jose Martins De LIMA, Prof.  
Universidade Federal de Juiz de Fora, Brazil  
fabio.lima@ufjf.edu.br,

Raquel Von Randow PORTES, Student  
Universidade Federal Fluminense, Brazil  
raquelportes@hotmail.com,

Raquel Fernandez REZENDE, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Brazil  
quelgeorezende@yahoo.com.br

### ABSTRACT

*The urban transformations proposed to the cities of Minas Gerais, Brazil, developed by planners, reveals multiple and diverse paths followed. Translations and appropriations of urban ideologies are proposals part as a result of cultural and artistic routes study, teaching and research, both in terms of the coming of foreign professionals, and in terms of return of Brazilians abroad. These routes provided the widening of the scope of technical information on urban problems. From the 1930's, the discussion of the problems are not limited to the state capital, Belo Horizonte. The contrast between tradition and contemporaneity, the latter represented by more and more distant language of historicism, marked cities transformation. For masterplans and urban proposals they also showed appropriation of different concepts to planning, particularly focused on Garden Cities theory and Le Corbusier's modernity. We intend here to explore these pathways, to understanding the discourse offered these opportunities. Also aims to understand the concepts' transposition of other countries. We emphasize experiences that are linked to different generations of planners from the pioneers such as Aarão Reis, through Lincoln Continentino, Angelo Murgel, Francisco Baptista de Oliveira and others, until the 60's. From the mid-40, calls for a modern city - a meaning related to the Modern Movement - would reach a larger number of cities. This process will also include the important participation of Oscar Niemeyer, but would also involved the action of other professionals, mostly architects. Many of these interventions were not tied to plans set in accordance with the rules of modern urban planning. This text is linked to previous publications as the Thought and urban practices related to the ideology of the Modern Movement (1930-1965), in: GOMES, Marco Aurélio A. de Filgueiras Gomes. Cadernos PPG-AU/FAUFBA (2005). The paper also linked the activities for Research and Extension Center to Urban Planning in Minas Gerais, at Federal University of Juiz de Fora, with support of FAPEMIG, CNPQ, CULTURE Department and Cities Department.*

### INTRODUCTION

The institution of urbanism as a field of knowledge in first decades of the twentieth century in Brazil is linked to action of technicians experts of the cities' problems, particularly architects and engineers. The recurrence of these professionals to urbanism as a discipline, practice and professional field falls to the expansion of the urban problems. International and national conferences, lectures, papers and newspapers, as well as publishing books scope for urban flow of ideas. From the 30's, the concerns

focused on the control of cities development, applicants in engineers discourses in the late nineteenth to the twentieth century, would mark the Brazilian urban scenery. At this moment, there was a turning point in terms of increased urbanization and city growth, which coincides with the acceleration of the industrial revolution in the country. Heated debates and proposals involving professionals with diverse graduation, reflecting the search for a modern city. This as a planned city with its urban system working and the assumption of spatial expansion, which was already an aspiring in technical means. Other issues would be highlighted in the background leaving concerns about sanitation and aesthetics, that together with urban traffic marked the first cycle of Brazilian cities modernization. General issues related to sprawl, problems of urban transport and housing would be discussed in a systematic way in meetings, conferences and congresses organized by centers of knowledge, beyond the publicity disseminated through journals and through newspapers articles.

Transfers and translations from concepts like urban reinterpretations and adaptations to the Brazilian reality reflect a search focused on solving urban problems. The experience of other countries, particularly what was done in U.S. and Europe cities, is a matter of routine as a benchmark for what should be put into practice in Brazil's urban centers. The list of accomplishments included plans for renovations since even the implementation of new cities, among which the cases were located in factory towns as Letchworth and Welwyn, who followed the design of Howard, and another examples. These examples were lined up according to the rules of modern urbanism, as opposed to uncontrolled urban development, place - common in Brazilian cities, which prevailed in the interests of entrepreneurs to the detriment of the community.

In the State of Minas Gerais, issues relating to urban problems tied initially to the tradition connected with the work of sanitary engineering. In the late nineteenth century in terms of benchmarks, the technicians were attentive to the scientific progress that incessantly operates new and wonderful discovery, so they can not be ruled out other interventions over the old cities of Europe, and the practical sense assimilated by American engineers, as was the case of proposals developed by engineer Francisco Rodrigues Saturnino de Brito in his extensive work and the work of its followers. In the first decades of the twentieth century, Minas Gerais state, highlight paths of engineers as Lourenço Baeta Neves and Lincoln de Campos Continentino. Neves led the Municipal's Commission Improvements, between 1910 and 1914, and has developed proposals for assistance for small and medium-sized cities in the state. Continentino already had a large role, with proposals for several towns in Minas Gerais, besides the urban plan development elaboration to the Capital – Belo Horizonte, developed from 1934. Neves and Continentino also joined the staff of the Technical Advisory Committee of Belo Horizonte, first as president, and, second, by the subcommittee of Architecture and Urbanism. The intense movement of ideas from the conferences and international exhibitions, as well as through specialized publications contributed greatly to this.

It is important emphasizing the effect on inland state towns, than it did in Belo Horizonte - the modern planned city in the late nineteenth century, by a committee of engineers and architects, led by engineer Aarão Reis. In the late nineteenth century in a letter dated October 22, 1894, addressed to Fernando Osorio Reis, then led the construction of Minas Gerais' new capital, mentioned the intention to a trip to meet the modern cities of Argentina. The intent of this communication was in order to update with regard to knowledge about cities, particularly on the Argentina cities. Still, the engineer planned

to visit at the earliest opportunity the great modern cities in order to be informed more precisely about what was done there.

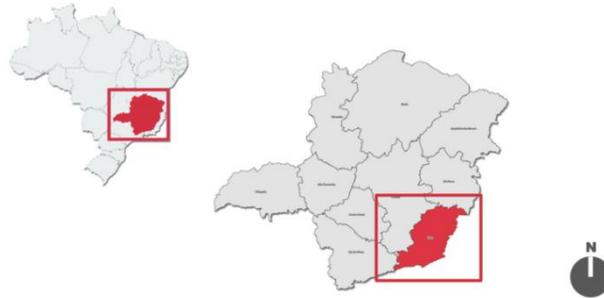


Figure 1. The State of Minas Gerais in Brazil and its planning regions, particularly the Zona da Mata, where is the Federal University of Juiz de Fora - UFJF. IBGE; João Pinheiro Foundation.

## TRANSLATIONS AND APROPRIATIONS OF URBAN IDEOLOGIES IN MINAS GERAIS, BRAZIL

In the first decades of the twentieth century, raises the performance of engineer Lourenço Baeta Neves, the head of Municipal's Commission Improvements, between 1910 and 1914, as mentioned, which developed numerous proposals for action in terms of sanitation and improvements to the towns of the state. In his "*Cities' hygiene*" Baeta Neves demonstrates enough grip on the issues of urban sanitation, with references to foreign authors and mention the work of engineer Francisco Rodrigues Saturnino de Brito. This, with whom Neves maintains dialogue and develop joint work, was well considered. In this sense, following the apostolic work of engineer Saturnino de Brito, Neves calls for a hygienic environment, this appeal that already shows a transfer of different ideologies. Examples cited from concrete achievements, as the city of Pasadena in the United States, refer to the concept of garden city.

From the 30s, issues related to the cities' modernization, applicants with district authorities, began to be combined with other issues such as zoning, traffic and urban traffic, the town planning legislation and leisure. Thus we note the proposals outlined by Francisco Rodrigues Saturnino de Brito engineer, from the late nineteenth century, and even in Minas Gerais case, in the performance of the engineer Lourenço Baeta Neves in favor of municipalities' development.

In this endeavor, another tecnicien Lincoln de Campos Continentino established contact with many professionals, between the years 1930 and 1960, through participation in technical and scientific events. Between the years 1927 and 1929, Continentino expertise in sanitary engineering from Harvard University in the United States as a mission of state government, with support from the Rockefeller Foundation. This specialization, offered by the engineering course, involved issues related to urban sanitation, addressing the State and Municipal Sanitation, prioritizing issues relating to water supply and sewage treatment in cities. The course consisted of lectures and seminars with specific evidence and practical laboratory work, which involved global analysis on projects. These tests were developed through practical examples of cities like Cleveland, Milwaukee and Buffalo, among others. The topics studied by Continentino been following, Requisite Qualities of Water Supplies, The U.S. Treasury

Standards, Natural Purification, Control of Catchment Areas and Reservoirs, Sanitary Control of Water Supplies, Sedimentation and Coagulation; Dosing Apparatus, Devices Mixing, Sedimentation and Coagulation Basins; Filtration Analysis of Filtering Materials, Sand and Sand Handling Washing, Control Laboratory of Filtration Plants, Design of Slow Sand Filters, Design of Rapid Sand Filters, Iron Removal, Water Softening, Disinfection, Iodization; Sewage Disposal by Dilution, and Screening Grit Chambers, including the Activated Sludge Treatment Tank; Design of Settling Tanks and Activated Sludge Tanks, Sewage Filters, Quality of Water Supplies, Planning catchment areas and reservoirs, Sanitary control of water supplies, Scoring systems, Aeration, Corrosion. In addition these subjects studied, Continentino also highlighted other issues relating to urban planning as airports, by Hubbard and colleagues, Neighborhoods of Small Homes, by Robert Whitten and Thomas Adams and Urban Land Uses by Harland Bartholomew. This specialization was one of the most important benchmark in the history of Lincoln Continentino. In this sense, the approximation strategy on urban problems in a practical and objective manner, such as seized at Harvard, has always been present in the performance of this technical.

In this sense, terms of translations and transfers, Continentino stood out for its technical mastery, as found in his own book "Sanitation and Urban Development", published in 1937, which discusses various topics, presenting the final plans for Belo Horizonte and Monlevade cities, and a conference on municipal administration and urban development, held at the Rotary Club in 1933. The book bibliography related many Brazilian authors, such as Saturnino de Brito, Reis, Prestes Maia, Baeta Neves, among others, and various books and magazines, including *Der Städtebau*, by J. Stübben, Town planning in practice, by Raymond Unwin, *Urbanisme et Ville Radieuse* by Le Corbusier. The cast of this Continentino sources further stated the signs of the books Life and growth of cities, Joaquim de Almeida Matos, City planning, of Harolds Lewis, Recent advances on town planning, from Thomas Adams, Outline of the great avenues of São Paulo, by Prestes Maia, *Remodelation d'une capital*, from Agache, Harvard city planning studies, and President Hoover's conference on housing.

Participation in technical and scientific events was another important strategy by Continentino, like, in 1935, the III Pan-American Conference of Red Cross, held in Rio de Janeiro, where he presented a paper entitled: Sanitation – Sanitary's Engineering Contribution to improving the health conditions in the cities. During this period presented the thesis organization Leprosariums in Congress Unification of Leprosy in Brazil. This work combined the projective components used in the plans developed by Continentino for leper, which were thought of as autonomous urban centers, compared to other cities. Segregation of patients constituted a vital element for the organization of these settlements. Thus were conceived the master plan of the Leper of Ibiá and to Santa Isabel Colony, both in Minas Gerais. In 1938, Continentino presented a paper at the Congress of Hygiene in Bogota, entitled Rural Sanitation - water supply - sewage - refuse collection and waste - what you do, if you want, and can be done in Brazil on the subject. Already in 1958, was promoted in Belo Horizonte, the third seminar of Teachers of Sanitary's Engineering, which had the participation of American experts. Continentino was primarily responsible for organizing the seminar, having delivered the opening speech in which he made an overview on the health issue in Brazil. Already in 1960, he participated on the Congress of the Interamerican Association of Sanitary's Engineering (AIDIS), held with the Fifth Congress of Teachers of Matters Related to Sanitary's Engineering, in Rio de Janeiro. Also at this event was held the Seminar on Control of

Water Pollution. Continentino presented the work entitled Potable Water, and proposal for creation of Municipalities Department. Concerns Continentino focused on localized problems, such as the proposed interventions to existing cities or to create new cities, was extended so progressive. Issues covering regional problems become frequent in his performance, in addition to proposals for rural towns and even cities in other states. And there were several projects undertaken by him, beginning with the urban plan to São Lourenço city, a plan to Araxá Hidromineral (1933), the Urban Development Plan of National Aircraft Factory of Lagoa Santa (1938) and Santa Isabel's Colony Leper (1931-32), near Belo Horizonte. Particular attention deserves its share in 1934, the contest held by *Companhia Siderurgica Belgo-Mineira*, to the urban plan of Monlevade, which won. Yet developed plans for Belo Horizonte (1941), Dores de Boa Esperança (1942), Belo Vale (1942), Curvelo (1943), among others. In the late '50s, incorporating the *Comissão do Vale do São Francisco*, Continentino developed plans for urbanization Pirapora (MG), Propria (SE), Penedo (AL), Juazeiro (BA), Petrolina (PE). In 1955, forwarded a proposal of urbanization plan for Januária city (MG). For these plans Continentino always counted on the participation of other professionals to enable the implementation of their urban planning ideas. The land development plans involving interventions on certain existing realities, they studied through site visits and through surveys. It is believed that the more accurate these surveys, the greater the level of detail of the technical solutions defined in the plan. These questions covered the sphere of urban planning, combining issues related to economy, transportation and urban policies.

Another professional, Angelo Alberto Murgel active at the early 30's also participated in technical and scientific events. As a student in 1931, Murgel expressed their concerns regarding possible alternatives for the Brazilian architecture. Taking advantage of the presence, at that moment, the architect Frank Lloyd Wright, speaking at Fine Arts National School, he directed a question to the american architect on the new directions of architecture: What was at stake the best way then copy between modernism abroad or to create a style according to local needs? Wright was in Brazil, as invited by the Pan American Union, to participate as a judge of the International Competition. In response, Wright introduced the concept of organic architecture, which, depending on local conditions could offer multiple solutions and approaches. This reference was important to Murgel, both in his final course work, as to throughout his professional practice, in seeking a suitability of their proposed intervention to local conditions, whereas some regional particularities. Murgel also participated in technical and scientific events, such as the V Pan American Congress, where he did work with the title "The profession of architect: considerations on its legislation". This congress had the foresight to occur in the Cuban capital, Havana, in 1933, held only seven years later, in 1940, in Montevideo, Uruguay. Murgel developed a plan for Monlevade city in 1934, along with ideas and plans for National Parks (Itatiaia, Serra dos Órgãos and Foz do Iguaçu) in the years 1939-40, and Agroindustrial Center in Itaparica in 1942.

During this period another professional, Francisco de Oliveira Baptista also had performance in Minas Gerais. To Baptista de Oliveira, urban planning theories, were intended to end the mass balance built component of the urban landscape with the elements of nature. To solve the problems it depends on the observation of some aspects such as: legislation, hygiene, traffic, finance, buildings, which are closely linked and should be treated concurrently. In 1937 he published the book "Elementary Notions of Urbanism " and in the same period the book "Urban Notes," both of which discuss

issues relating to urban problems. From July 1938, Oliveira would edit the journal "Planning and routes", whose main focus refers to the problems of urbanism, in which he extolled the need for improved living conditions in cities with the appeal centered on issues of urbanism. The editorial "First Plan", which announced the first issue, stressed the magazine as a vehicle for vulgarization of the subjects concerning the matter and the interests so particularly Brazilian.

The following year, Baptista de Oliveira represented the Engineering Club at the "1st Pan American Congress of People's House" held in Buenos Aires. This congress, Baptista de Oliveira presented paper on the house and popular aspect of urban cities, where he said the problem of urban slums, in shacks and hovels, exemplifying the characteristics of each, its materials, its residents, the area of coverage and its peculiarities. This work also stressed on the settings in the area and stressed that all these models are substandard housing and very low income. After this assignment, he had model homes proletarian least, why he developed cost housing within the reach of low-income residents. Then highlights the experiences in other countries with homes, plans and projects for popular neighborhoods, with examples from Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Peru and the United States, explaining the solutions given in each case. Oliveira has developed proposals for land development plans and neighborhoods in Juiz de Fora, as the model for the proletarian neighborhood Companhia Industrial Mineira in 1938. In 1941, Oliveira organized the "1 st Brazilian Congress of Urbanism" held in Rio de Janeiro. Commissions study harbored predominantly architects and engineers, which persisted in discussions already underway in previous events, about the professional attributes related to interventions on the cities. Among the participants, again noticed the presence of experts, like Alfred Agache. Addressed several issues in this Congress, with emphasis on the conceptualization of the term "urbanism" discussed emphasized problems related to urban zoning, master plans, housing, sanitation, street traffic, and even tourism. As in other scientific events reiterated the need for an orientation to the urban development of cities, based on an accurate zoning established by a regulatory strategy and regional levels. It recommended also that the plan system should fit the topography of the land, beyond the necessity of creating parks and gardens. In addition, land should be acquired by the municipality, preserved with reforestation suitable for adaptation to future needs of city and rural areas in the vicinity of urban areas should be aimed at training forest parks for the use of population, forming a kind of green belt. Another important consideration relates to the city and its region, for which regional plans should be developed that took into account the ordering of the suburbs, as well as neighboring cities related to urban center. The issue of housing should be addressed so systematized, under the master plan, with specific technical studies aimed at quick and economical, and was also the solution advocated the construction of garden cities by the proletarian government.

Still, from the mid '40s, calls for a modern city - in a sense related to the Modern Movement - would reach a larger number of cities. This process will also see the important role of Oscar Niemeyer architect, but would also involve the action of other professionals, mostly architects, like Francisco Bologna, Henrique Mindlin, Sergio Bernardes, Icaro de Castro Mello, Eduardo Mendes Guimarães, Raphael Hardy and engineers also as Arthur Arcuri. With Niemeyer highlight the Pampulha in 1942 in Belo Horizonte, with extensive program involving Casino, Church, Hotel, Restaurant and Dance Hall, and a Yacht Club and Golf Course. Bologna has already developed Araxá complex waters in 1945, year of graduation, which involved the deployment of

equipment in a public park with extensive landscaping by Roberto Burle-Marx. The proposal was inserted in the expansion area of Araxá city understood by Barreiro Araxá in which, even in 1933, was defined as an overall plan by engineer Continentino. In 1954, interventions jointly developed a modern language, have been developed to different towns in Minas Gerais. The proposal for the Garden City neighborhood Eldorado, by Sérgio Bernardes architect, involved the fragmentation of farmland adjacent to Industrial district of Belo Horizonte, Contagem city, for the deployment of joint residential self-sufficient. In Uberaba/MG, in this same period, a sports complex, for Icaro de Castro Mello, composed of the Jockey Club, which covered a significant part of this city. The joint assembly functional, defined in different blocks, wrapped program comprising parking, gym, office, support equipment and sporting goods. In Belo Horizonte, the planning of Pampulha University city of involved a long process, begun in 1928, the competition for University of Minas Gerais campus, generating controversial discussions that stretched well into the 50s. The competition was attended by twenty-three competitors, among them the architects Angelo Bruhns, Eduardo V. Pederneiras and Flavio de Carvalho. In 1955, the works in progress, showing the technological innovations and modern urban language incorporated by the Commission on Planning and Construction, headed by Eduardo Mendes Guimarães architect. In 1955, another architect Henrique Ephim Mindlin developed project for Companhia Siderurgica Mannesman in Barreiro, a district of Belo Horizonte/MG that involving a housing. The set up around the factory as a real new city, with a comprehensive program to serve a population of about twelve to thirteen thousand. Another important intervention, set up by the project developed by Raphael Hardy in 1957 to Ipatinga/MG. The proposed new city involved the assemblage of an urban center adjacent to the premises of the steel mill in Minas Gerais SA - Usiminas. Already in 1965, we have the proposal submitted by Arthur Arcuri, the competition for the University of Juiz de Fora campus. This was defined by a sectorial development plan, which included a road system adapted to the topography of the site. The competition for the implementation of the project involved four proposals, they originated in Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo and Belo Horizonte, in addition to the winner's own Arcuri.

The modern language, written in different scales, would lead to the disruption of traditional urban design. In the proposals developed for the cities, we identifies the assimilation of certain principles related to the thought of Le Corbusier and the ideas disseminated through the International Congress of Modern Architecture - CIAM's, allied to other urban parts - such as the garden city ideal in terms of assemblage of buildings and their insertion into the urban environment. This plans stablish new conception of public space in which to integrate the building with the city's largest, surrounded by artistic inserts and landscape - sculptures, murals and tiles are combined with different plants species, which extended the limited space and defined in the traditional city street. Despite the impact on the modernization of cities as we shall see, most of these interventions - except for proposals for new cities - were not linked to the overall planning of urban development. Proposals and achievements for the Minas Gerais towns reveal a multifaceted penetration process of urban planning ideologies in the State. Different themes were addressed in interventions, expansion plans and proposals for the creation of new cities. Different strands of modern urbanism attend, in many cases, combined simultaneously. Moreover, the proposed interventions, particularly those involving the insertion of large urban objects, occurred in structures that are already consolidated. In this sense, it appears that the cities modernization, in many cases, by insertion of the paradigms of the Modern Movement, was implemented

through a disconnected architectural planning. The impact of these interventions in urban dynamics, and the significance of those in urban transformations, can not be overlooked especially when dealing with small and medium-sized cities. The new concepts of city built on these propositions passed part of the routine of residents and the speech of its public servants. After all, through these interventions, there was a change in cities panorama, the new language of the buildings included in the urban as well as the quality and character of his distinguished public spaces, which widened the street space and altered the traditional logic fragmented urban occupations.

Finally, reflections on city environmental, which emerge in these translations and transfers of ideologies, configured as a long, extended for decades, which involved discussions, proposals and achievements to the cities. The presence of experts, in the main events after between 30 and 40 years, shows interest in issues related to urban planning. Through writings and drawings from private or even in front of public offices, architects and engineers interfered in the construction of an urban thinking and practices on cities. And this construction involved the translation and transfer models applied to the reality of Minas Gerais' towns, with trajectories that reveal the process of assimilation of urban ideologies at stake. Strands differentiated attend the discourses and practices on cities, as hypotheses to be demonstrated or even dismantle, in other approaches, which we intend to continue.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Written with funds from a grant from FAPEMIG, CNPq, CULTURE Department and CITIES Department

## REFERENCES

- Andrade, C. R. M. de. 1992. A peste e o plano: Urbanismo Sanitarista do Eng<sup>o</sup> Saturnino de Brito. São Paulo: s.n., Dissertação de Mestrado FAUUSP.
- Leme, M. C. da S. (org.). 1999. Urbanismo no Brasil: 1895-1965. São Paulo: Studio Nobel; FAUUSP; FUPAM.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2001. Urbanismo no Brasil -Banco documental sobre urbanismo e planejamento urbano no Brasil. São Paulo: CNPQ, SEMIOTIC SYSTEMS, , CD-ROM.
- Lima, F. J. M. de. 1994. Belo Horizonte: um passo de modernidade. Salvador, Dissertação de Mestrado -FAUFBA.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2003. Por uma cidade moderna: Ideários de urbanismo em jogo no concurso para Monlevade e nos projetos destacados da trajetória dos técnicos concorrentes (1931-1943). São Paulo: Tese de Doutorado -FAUUSP.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Urbanismo em Minas Gerais: Pensamento e Práticas Urbanísticas relacionados ao ideário do Movimento Moderno (1930-1965). In: GOMES, Marco Aurélio A. de Filgueiras Gomes. Cadernos PPG-AU/FAUFBA – Ano 3, edição especial, (2005). Salvador: PPG-AU/FAUFBA, pp.103 a 120.
- Tafuri, M.. 1979. Teorias e História da Arquitectura. Lisboa: Editorial Presença.
- Veyne, P..1995. Como se escreve a história; Foucault revoluciona a história. Brasília: Editora da Universidade de Brasília.

## THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE ARCHITECT-ENGINEERS FROM THE CITY OF SÃO PAULO IN DEFINING THE FIELD OF URBAN PLANNING. SÃO PAULO – BRAZIL: 1920-1960

**Maria Stella BRESCIANI**, Tenured Professor  
Universidade Estadual de Campinas - São Paulo, Brazil  
sbrescia@lexxa.com.br

At the first meeting held by the then recently founded Urbanism Department at the São Paulo's Engineering Institute on August 21th, 1929, engineer-architect Luiz de Anhaia Melo laid out what he dubbed "Urbanism's True Goal". The lecturer recalled when, according to Fustèl de Coulanges, "families, brotherhoods and tribes" gathered in Antiquity to found a cult with its attendant sanctuary – the city. He ascribed to some of his colleagues the task of overcoming a certain gap, since "cities are now being founded without rites and poetry and, for that reason, they might not be grounded in the citizen's soul". He then urged his colleagues to adhere to Lethaby's motto: "Let us start off by creating an urban psychology and fostering the civic impulse", thus spreading "the guiding principles of Urbanism and preaching this new gospel: the gospel of the social and physical regeneration" (MELLO, 1929c).

Anhaia Mello was at that time the Director of the Institute of Engineering, as well as the vice-director of São Paulo's School of Technology<sup>1</sup>, and he had expressed in his classes and lectures the firm belief that Urbanism should consist of cooperation, and that in trying to solve the problems posed by the urban growth one should enlist the indispensable support of the citizens. During the period between September and December, 1928, he devoted six lectures to this topic – the first one held at the Rotary Club in São Paulo and the following ones at the Institute of Engineering itself – and argued for the necessity of "regarding the shaping of the environment as the primary concern of urban culture". He firmly took this stance in the 1920's and kept standing for it during his long professional career, believing that "projects, laws and regulations", as good as they might turn out to be, were useless without the people's support. The cooperation should provide the basis for urban planning, since this new field of studies, called "science of urbanism", demanded not only the engineer's expertise, but also "the input from sociologists, lawmakers, jurists, politicians, administrators, economists and citizens in general" (MELLO, 1929).

The complexity of the problems related to the urban space made it essential for planners to put interdisciplinary practices into effect; urban planning was only feasible to the extent to which it could benefit from a vast program of knowledge about interventions carried out in other cities, in Brazil and abroad. Such extensive knowledge was to be complemented by the efforts for enlightening public opinion; a task that "responsible men" should be accorded. He kept arguing for these ideas up until the end of his teaching career, marked by his "A Course on Urbanism. The elements of the

---

<sup>1</sup> The School of Technology (Escola Politécnica), founded in 1893 through an initiative of the State Government of São Paulo, was State of São Paulo's first school of engineering and was integrated into the University of São Paulo in 1934. The Institute of Engineering of São Paulo was founded in 1917.

regional composition” – an extension course he taught with the support of the Student Council of the Institute of Technology (Grêmio Politécnico) in 1957. The course underwent a third edition in 1961.

Anhaia Mello had an intense work schedule for about fifty years, which makes the study of his professional career an enormous challenge, since it demands the careful reading of material coming from a specialized field of knowledge and expressed in many different languages. He graduated from the School of Technology of São Paulo in 1913, and began his teaching career in this school in 1918, strongly emphasizing the urban studies; he kept on teaching at the School of Technology up until his retirement in 1961. <sup>2</sup> He expressed the same interest in “spreading urbanism” when he held the office of Mayor of São Paulo in 1931; an interest which was later reaffirmed by his call for the creation of the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism at the University of São Paulo in 1948; he eventually became the first director of the Faculty. At the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism at the University of São Paulo (FAU-USP) he taught “Theory of Architecture” for second year students and “Urbanism” for fifth year students. (RIOS, 1942; *Anuário da Escola Politécnica*, 1932, 1934, 1938, 1946, 1947). It was through one of his initiatives that the Center for Research and Studies on Urbanism [Centro de Pesquisas e Estudos Urbanísticos, CEPEU-FAU-USP] was founded in 1958 at the University of São Paulo. Still within the academic environment of the University of São Paulo, he actively engaged, from 1944 on, in the project for, and the construction of, the Campus which was to harbor the university city of São Paulo<sup>3</sup>. Alongside his teaching activity he held some public offices and worked in the private sector too (F. P. Ramos de Azevedo e Cia, Companhia Iniciadora Predial e Companhia Cerâmica Vila Prudente); he featured less prominently, though, in architectural plans (FICHER, 2005:143-152; FELDMAN, 2005; ARASAWA, 1999:11; LEME, 2000: 58,95,96; CAMPOS, 2002: 235 -243; SCHICCHI, 2002; XAVIER, 2005; TIMÓTEO, 2008).

In order to keep track of all these lines of research, the focus of which has always been on the questions regarding urbanism and urban and regional planning, I think that the notion of “professional trajectory” serves a useful, strategic function as a means of approaching the subject. In adopting this approach I don’t postulate any kind of continuous line of development and refinement of a certain original idea or stance. I think that Kevin Lynch’s notion of “wayfinding”, adopted by Phillipe Panerai as a procedure for reading the urban landscape, can be properly applied in this study, and I drew upon it (LYNCH, 1988:58-59). The reading of the path does not presuppose a fixed and stable point, but rather a series of dislocations through which, whether in terms of either urbanization or professional trajectory, the most relevant elements and the more prominent questions or doubts can be identified. Such questions and doubts, in the words of Panerai, “are not necessarily continuous or related to each other; there remain some blurry zones which often reveal historical ruptures.” (PANERAI, 1999:33-34).

---

<sup>2</sup> He taught Aesthetics, Civil Architecture and Housing Hygiene, and in 1926 he took on the recently created discipline of “Aesthetics, General Composition and Urbanism Modules I & II”, which became one of the required disciplines for graduating as an engineer architect after the 1925 school reform.

<sup>3</sup> He was charged with putting forth the program for the creation of new facilities for the School of Technology, and from 1948 on he presided over the Commission for the Planning and Building of The University City; he was the main figure behind the approval of the project for the University City in May, 1949. He was a member of the Commission until 1951.

Anhaia Mello's extensive written work comes from a variety of sources, such as lectures, academic debates and seminars on urbanism, in which he presented, and argued for, his conceptions of urban intervention, drawing upon a vast knowledge acquired through the critical analysis of works by seminal authors; by so doing, he was able to catch up with the latest works done in the field. <sup>4</sup> In short: the diversified range of activities undertaken by him in the fields of the theory and teaching of urbanism, as well as his effective presence in the public sphere - both with regard to his professional and political life and to his work in civil organizations - and the private sector, in which he directed many enterprises, formed a set of questions whose answers are to be found only scattered and incomplete in studies on punctual questions linked to his ideas in one way or another; studies in which Anhaia Mello's life and work do not feature, however, as the main subject matters.

### ENGAGING THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Important aspects of Anhaia Mello's work have been addressed by Cláudio H. Arasawa (1999) and Jhoyce P. Timóteo (2008) in their master's dissertations, both of which in History. As to the field of urbanism, although there's a consensus about the importance of his professional activity in the area as the main authority on urbanism theory in São Paulo during the period spanning half a century in which he formed generations of professionals who defined the urbanism thinking in São Paulo, his activity is studied as part of broader issues. (LEME,1999,20005; SOMECK,1997; FELDMAN,2005; FICHER,2005; MEYER,1992; CAMPOS,2002; SCHICCHI,2002). The dialogue with these authors allowed me to discern arguments, areas of agreement and disagreement, and also allowed me to define the goal of this study, which I hope will contribute to the collective enterprise of having a better understanding of the foundations of urbanism in São Paulo and in Brazil in general.

The consensus on Anhaia Mello encompasses various aspects of his activity: his efforts to form the field of urbanism, both in the academic sphere and in the public administration, where he served as municipal representative, Mayor and secretary of State in São Paulo, as well as in civil and professional organizations, such as the Institute of Engineering and the Society of The Friends of The City; the "coherence and consistence of his stance" regarding such fundamental questions as the defense of "regulation of industrial activity"; his role in "defining the field of urbanism and urban planning in the structure of the public administration of the city of São Paulo" (LEME, 2000:58). Establishing a connection between social concerns and scholarly goals was an important strategic and programmatic point of his proposal to improve the life conditions of working-class families by, for instance, building parks where people without access to clubs and sport associations could enjoy a pleasant leisure environment (TIMÓTEO, 2008). The introduction of certain fundamental themes into the field of urbanism during the period of its making was also attributed to him, especially with regard to such ideas as zoning, multi-centered city, and the need for limitation and

---

<sup>4</sup> 42 titles are featured in LEME's list from 1999, some of them having more than a single edition; in FICHER's list, from 2005, there are 70 works - of which 54 are articles and 16 are books, comprising either texts which had not been published before or articles published in journals. One has to add to this number the writings published in the mainstream periodic press.

<sup>5</sup> LEME has been a leading scholar in the field ever since the 1980's, and in 1999 he published a groundbreaking study entitled *Urbanismo no Brasil. 1895-1965*, in which he presents part of Anhaia Mello's texts.

balance in the growth of the capital city of São Paulo – in that he ran against the current of the growing real estate speculation; he managed to introduce these themes drawing upon his inquisitive knowledge and his acquaintance with the latest works in the field which were being published abroad. When defending his views, he engaged in controversies with other Brazilian professionals working in the field of urbanism, especially with his colleague and engineer-architect Francisco Prestes Maia, who championed the unbridled city growth and the radial-concentric zone model.<sup>6</sup>

There were other divergences that placed them both on opposite sides of the debates on urbanism. Anhaia Mello argued for an “improvement tax” or else the sharing of the costs of street paving, criticizing monopolistic structures and defending state control over private companies providing public services. Prestes Maia, on the other hand, was against the improvement tax and barely, if at all, questioned the formation of monopolistic companies. Some of the controversies between them arose from political and party stances and commitments took on by Anhaia Mello during his mandate as municipal representative for the Democratic Party (1919-1921) and the two brief periods he was ahead of the public administration of the city of São Paulo<sup>7</sup> (6.12.1930-25.7.1931 e 14.11-4.12.1931); some of these controversies resumed when Prestes Maia became mayor of São Paulo (1938-1945).

In the midst of all the proposals put forth by Anhaia Mello to rationalize the civil administration the following are especially remarkable: the reorganizing of the urbanism sector of the Board of Public Buildings (Diretoria de Obra), which was further divided into two segments – the urbanism section and the enrollment section (Act [Ato] n.50: 09.01.1931); changing in Artur Saboya’s Code (11.1929) aiming at limiting the growing density of the occupation of lands (Act [Ato] n.25: 23.12.1930); the creation of the Commission for Aesthetic Censorship Of Buildings, aiming at exerting architectural control over urban buildings and the adequacy of their shape and color” (MELLO,1929c:109), (Act [Ato] n.58: 15.01.1931). Anhaia Mello established the zoning through the Act n. 127, from 20.03.1931, which would only be consolidated as a means for delimitating differentiated spaces and enforcing the urban regulation in the 1940’s, when the “plans are no longer carried out and don’t serve as an instrument to interfere in the shaping and production of the city space (of São Paulo) anymore” (FELDMAN, 2005:32,97 and ss.; CAMPOS:2002:474-476).

In 1931, during Mello’s first mandate as mayor of São Paulo, the first Congress On Housing in São Paulo took place through an initiative of the Urbanism Division of the Institute of Engineering<sup>8</sup>, which was presided by engineer-architect Alexandre

---

6 The points of disagreement between Anhaia Mello and Francisco Prestes Maia were expressed in widely spread controversies and have been studied by many urban scholars from São Paulo. One can highlight amongst them the doctoral dissertation presented by Regina Maria Prospero MEYER, entitled “Metrópole e Urbanismo. São Paulo nos anos 50” (FAU-USP,1992).

7 Anhaia Mello, who had been appointed through the intervention of João Alberto, was the first of a series of mayors appointed through the intervention of the Federal Government; this situation of limited state autonomy lasted until the end of the so-called “New State” (Estado Novo) in 1945.

8 Mayor Anhaia Mello’s support for the initiative and his decision to take part in the conference on “Problems of Urbanism bearing directly on the City of São Paulo” stand in sharp contrast to the stance adopted by eight engineers of the Municipality, who claimed to be “uninterested in the works to be presented at the Conference”; this attitude highlights the engineers’ resistance to Federal Government intervention after 1930 (*Annaes do 1º Congresso de Habitação*, maio 1931, p. 20, 23 e 33). On the Congress, see also: CARPINTÉRO,1997.

Albuquerque<sup>9</sup> and marked by the nationalistic ideas from that period, although it harbored some modernists, such as architects Warchavchik and Flávio de Carvalho.<sup>10</sup> It is generally believed that he worked informally for engineer Fábio Prado's administration (September 1934–January 1938), when the Ministry of Culture was created and its direction entrusted to Mário de Andrade; many public construction works were initiated around that period – the Nove de Julho avenue, the Municipal Library (Biblioteca Municipal) and the Pacaembu Stadium (Estádio do Pacaembu) – and inaugurated during Prestes Maia's mandate from 1938 to 1945 (DUARTE, 1976:210 apud CAMPOS, 2004:465-48, 499-518).

The creation of the Urbanism Department in 1947 opened up for civil administration engineers the possibility to assimilate some of Anhaia Mello's ideas and practices, such as the use of "comprehensive zoning" as the main tool for laying out a comprehensive planning of the city complex and the establishment of a clear distinction between the "line" function, devoted to acting in the context of decisions taken on a daily routine basis and dealing with everyday problems, and the "staff" function, designed to deal with a whole set of activities like planning, research, investigation, inquires, forecasts, and the interpretation of data; the "staff" function was "directly subordinated to the Mayor and to the Urban Planning Commission for the city of São Paulo [...] it was a kind of "super-secretariat"<sup>11</sup> (FICHER, 2005:146-147; FELDMAN, 2005:12). The proposals put forth by this Commission, as well as its composition, highlighted the clash of opinions on questions which were fundamental to the undertaking of the activities assigned to the Municipal Department of Urbanism. Prestes Maia remained convinced of the idea that the management of the urban space should be assigned only to professionals coming from the Municipality's urbanism sector; that was the prevailing idea among engineers working for the Public Construction Works Department of the City of São Paulo and had already been espoused in the 1910's by Victor da Silva Freire, who had been the responsible for this area during the long period from 1899 to 1925. Freire and Prestes Maia thought that the presentation of the plan to the population through the media should occur only after the plan had already been developed and elaborated by the engineers working for the Municipality.<sup>13</sup> Anhaia

---

9 Upon launching the meetings, Alexandre Albuquerque emphasized the fact that it was the first Conference on Housing to be carried out in Brazil (*Annaes do 1º Congresso de Habitação*, maio 1931: 21).

10 The Annals (Annaes) report visitations to several public works, such as the "Works of the City. Construction works by architect Gregori Warchavchic" ("Obras da City. Construções de architecto Gregori Warchavchic", 325-327).

11 Check out the lecture entitled "O Plano Regional de São Paulo. Uma contribuição da Universidade para o estudo de "Um Código de Ocupação Lícita do Solo" (8.11.1954 – Dia Mundial do Urbanismo) and "*Elementos Básicos para o Planejamento Regional de São Paulo*". The latter was presented to the Urban Planning Commission for the City of São Paulo and was also representative of the University of São Paulo (Monografias, USP-FAU 711.43098161-E2. Quotation pp. 3-4).

12 The Feldman PHD Thesis (1996), published in 2005, presents much information quoted in later works, apart from providing other invaluable information and a strategic guide for the study, as it doesn't offer dualist explanations which usually attribute to the "elites" or the "bourgeoisie" the intention to take decisions only for their benefit and aimed at deliberately relegating the working-class or the low-income families to degraded or suburban areas.

13 Victor da Silva Freire had a wide audience outside the Municipality which made it easier for him to spread his ideas. He drew on his students at the School of Technology as well as on lectures published in the Journal of Technology (*Revista Politécnica*).

Mello could anticipate what this way of doing things would result in: the shaping of public opinion before the plans came to light and could be more widely discussed. That is the reason why he argued for the creation of a multidisciplinary Commission formed also by members from the outside of the municipal public administration.<sup>14</sup>

It was only in the 1950's, after the demise of Vargas' dictatorial state and the end of Prestes Maia's mandate, that the professionals from the Department of Urbanism, staffed by a generation which had graduated in the 1930's and 1940's, started incorporating Anhaia Mello's teachings. The lectures presented at the Municipal Library between November 8<sup>th</sup> and December 15<sup>th</sup>, 1949, organized by the secretary of Public Construction Works and sponsored by the Society of Municipal Engineers of São Paulo expressed this change in attitude rather well. (1951) The drive to sponsor such event was justified by the municipal engineers' intention of "enlightening the public opinion and cooperating more closely with the people in order to solve the urban problems". In this lecture, engineer-architect Carlos Alberto Gomes Cardim Filho, director of the Urbanism Department, presented a scheme of the administrative organization of the Public Construction Works Office that was marked by the guiding principles which had been put forth by Anhaia Mello - an influence which is especially strong in such projects as the creation of the "Commissions for the Aesthetics and the Guiding City Plan" [Comissões de Estética e Orientadora do Plano da Cidade] (CARDIM:1951:7-17). These commissions concerned with the aesthetics of, and the guiding plan for, the city began their works only in 1954, during Mayor Jânio Quadros' mandate (FELDMAN,2005:65-76;FICHER,2005:149).

The need for a Guiding Plan designed by a technical staff sufficiently "equipped and free of everyday routine tasks related to the administration of the city", which had been defended by Anhaia Mello, is expressed in an article entitled "General Planning", written by engineer Carlos Lodi, who was the Chief of the Planning Office of São Paulo. He credited the prevalence of very particular interests for "the fast and profitable entrepreneurship, the reason why the city has developed so irregularly" to the lack of a guiding plan for the city. He reasserts Anhaia Mello's main ideas in his critique to the "tendency to conceive of the planning only in terms of transportation", a vision shared by "Eugène Bouvard, Victor da Silva Freire, Eugenio Guilhem, Barry Park, João de Ulhoa Cintra, Silva Teles, Prestes Maia, and others". He followed Anhaia Mello's steps in understanding the planning as a "set of norms, measures and projects bearing on all aspects of urban life", and the only means by which the objective of "limiting the indefinite and disordered expansion of the city [of São Paulo]" could be achieved.

---

<sup>14</sup>Anhaia Mello and Prestes Maia expressed in several occasions their disagreement over the tasks, and the way of exercising, their own profession activity. Anhaia Mello's article "Engineering and Urbanism – profession and personality" ["Engenharia e urbanismo – profissão e personalidade"] both synthesizes and comments on the lecture given by M.I.T Professor Arnold Tustin, highlighting the importance of the humanistic aspect or dimension of any engineer's training and formation, which was still pretty much, according to him, oriented towards the intellectual specialization. Prestes Maia's "Architecture and Art" defines "three complementary fields which are important in forming the perfect professional: the scientific, the political and the artistic field, all of them to be understood in the broadest sense". Short after making this remark, however, he separates these fields according to specialized disciplines: the scientific field should be the concern of engineers in general, regardless of what they specialized in; the political field should be a matter of concern for industrial engineers and urbanists; finally, the artistic field should be the concern of the architect. (1955, *Revista de Engenharia Mackenzie* 124, Jan.–Apr.; 125, May-Aug.; 126, Sept.-Dec.).

According to Lodi, the planning should encompass even the production and agricultural centers of the highlands and the Paraíba Valley, thus de-centralizing the industrial activities, the higher-level schools, the cultural institutes and creating interest and points of attraction in other places as well, not only in the capital city of São Paulo". (LODI, 1951:1-42)

There's another complicated and widely held consensus, which is pervasive in most studies on urbanism in Brazil: the notion that in the urbanism practices of São Paulo (and Brazil, more generally) there's a significant distance between the enactment of laws, the making of projects and plans, on the one hand, and the effective enforcement or execution of such laws, projects and plans on the other; a gap which, according to this consensus, is due to the fact that these are foreign models and ideas, and therefore inadequate to deal with the local situation. This interpretation is based on the recurrent argument about the migration, copy or import of conceptions, ideas and ways of organizing the practice and the thinking in the field of urbanism from foreign scholars or theories and models formulated in more developed countries; imported or copied ideas which urbanists from São Paulo adhered to and often applied uncritically, as in Anhaia Mello's defense of the garden-city model for the new neighborhoods of the city of São Paulo, of the zoning as a basis for regulating urban growth, of the cell-city model and the "neighborhood unities", all of them essential in his thinking as a means of de-centralization and a way of reverting the one-center model which was by then characteristic of the City of São Paulo. While both the information and the technical analysis of Brazilian urbanists' ideas and proposals featured in the studies mentioned above bring fundamental elements to bear on the knowledge of the contents and discontents of urbanism practices in the capital city of São Paulo, on the one hand, it's also true, on the other, that they lose a good deal of their value by adopting the line of interpretation already mentioned here, known as the theory of the "misplaced ideas", which has been asserted and reasserted for over thirty years in Brazilian studies – and not only in the fields of architecture and urbanism.<sup>15</sup>

The word "influence" has become almost a commonplace in these studies as a way of explaining the adoption by Brazilian professionals of widespread theories and concepts in the international specialized literature. The same happens with the notion of "appropriation", according to which foreign ideas have been adopted by Brazilian professionals in a very often inadequate and uncritical way. This notion is also expressed as "import", "transfer", "translation", "copy", or "spreading" of ideas and theories formulated in Europe and the United States. This line of interpretation runs against the views held by the professionals themselves who, as Anhaia Mello already claimed in his early writings from the 1920's, highlighted the international nature of urbanism and, now quoting Anhaia Mello in his rather poetical way of putting things, affirmed that "ideas today have an enormous power and an almost unlimited and immediate reach, encompassing the whole globe, and one day they will eventually

---

<sup>15</sup> The main trend of interpretation of Brazilian History adopted by scholars from various disciplines has been the one proposed by Robert Schwarz, in keeping with Antonio Candido's studies on the Brazilian cultural and literary production – this trend is known by a sentence which synthesizes the notion behind it: the theory of the "misplaced ideas" – that is, ideas that are reproduced out of the context in which they make proper historical sense. (SCHWARZ, 1976) This line of interpretation has been rebuked by Maria Sylvania de Carvalho Franco (FRANCO, 1976). A recent and comprehensive work on modern urbanism models and urban parks in Brazil follows the mainstream line of interpretation by applying the notion of "influence" (OLIVEIRA, 2008: 296).

resonate in other planets” (MELLO, 21.8.1929). He details this view of things when talking about the need for knowing “how other people have resolved their urban problems; and we shall try to apply, with intelligence and discretion, and not in a servile attitude of merely imitating, the methods and procedures which may be adapted to our local conditions” (MELLO, 1929).

My point of view is that the resort to the argument of appropriation or import of models and ideals severely restricts and limits the scope of the research by giving the answer or interpretation in advance; it halts the reflection and blocks a more careful observation about the making of the conceptual field of urbanism as a “field of common knowledge” made up of different kinds of knowledge and experience; a field of knowledge which can be spread, applied and adapted to specific situations in different countries, offering alternative approaches to the discipline, which has a very clear pragmatic character. I’m adopting, therefore, the notion of an international and common field of knowledge as the theoretical axis for this research.

Anhaia Mello’s proposals continue to be taken into account, either explicitly or implicitly, in the recent literature on urbanism in the city of São Paulo. In an article from 1996, Adalgiza Spozati, for instance, resumes the discussion of certain aspects of critiques made by urbanists in the past. She attributes the fact that São Paulo is “consistently identified with urban chaos” to the urban planning adopted by the city, which favored the integration of the suburbs into the center through transportation in detriment of the notion of a “multi-centered city”, where “each region would be a city in the fullest sense of the term”.<sup>16</sup> Like other authors, Spozati challenges us to see in the differences between alternative proposals the extent to which the public administrators’ interests, both at the municipal and state level, have been linked to academic attitudes and/or interests of private companies in the erring ways taken by this troubled city throughout History. The studies which do acknowledge the important contributions of scholarly works lead us to reflect on, and agree with, author Campos’ assertion that the dominant pattern of urbanization “is not the single one, nor is there anything inevitable about it; it is rather the result of clashes over the modernization of the cities throughout the last century” (CAMPOS,2002:631). This view has also been defended by Feldman in his argument for the politicization of the urban practice and the shaping of a new profile for professionals working in the field of urbanism; in his own words: “a new cycle of changes in those areas of Brazilian cities’ public administration dealing with urbanism”. Besides, the advancement of such cycle has been made possible by the provisions of

---

<sup>16</sup> The occupation of the physical space of the city shows that almost 20% of the population lives in slums, and that the number of precarious housing complexes has multiplied, and they haven’t even been taken into account in the “re-census”. The city has been made waterproof by asphalt, although more than a thousand kilometers of rivers and streams run throughout the city. It lacks in infra-structural components such as proper draining, transportation, water supply, health and environmental quality, displaying huge areas where irregular occupation prevails and a sharp contrast can be noted between the “private city”, with its domestic items, from refrigerators to computers, and the “public city”, lacking in squares and parks. From this contrast arises the “low standards of living, deprecation, violence and destruction”. Apart from academic studies, one can also resort to the press to attest this reality – the section entitled “Megacidades”, published with, and by, the newspaper *Estado de São Paulo*, undertakes in its edition from 08.03.2008 an analysis of the problems plaguing the metropolis and presents the very different life conditions among the population, with an emphasis on the people living in less privileged areas. (Cf. BRESCIANI, 2009:119-140)

Brazil's 1988 Constitution and the "Statute of The City", approved in 2001. (FELDMAN, 2005:284)

I tried to present in this text a theoretical framework for the study of architect-engineer Anhaia Mello's trajectory, or "wayfinding". His strong engagement in shaping the conceptual guidelines of urban thinking in São Paulo; the continuous dialogue he held with his Brazilian colleagues, as well as his references to foreign professionals in the field and debates taking part on international level, will be analyzed in the light of the assumption or hypothesis that there was, among engineers and engineer-architects linked to the municipal Public Construction Works Office, on the one hand, and Anhaia Mello, on the other, some points of disagreement over the way of thinking and planning the interventions in, and the expansion of, the city; there were also disagreements over the proper extent of interventions in the city and the pace and scale of the city's expansion.<sup>17</sup>

Victor da Silva Freire, who was for 26 years responsible for the Public Construction Works Office of the city of São Paulo, worked in 1911 in a project aimed at reducing the traffic congestion in the city's central area and, on a different, smaller scale, at dealing with houses as urban units which should be planned according to the principles espoused by the hygiene and sanitary movements, by then already incorporated into the field of engineering; these principles were to be adapted to resolve the "problem of social output". In his "*A Plan Study for São Paulo's Avenues*", Prestes Maia presented a road design predicated on the radial-concentric scheme, and suggested architectural blocks for the city. Anhaia Mello defined larger scales, ideally comprising the whole of the country, and based his approach taking the region as a planning area, with the goal of solving the "discontents brought by exaggerated centralization" through the strategy of building "regional cities, sets of satellite garden cities, according to Ebenezer Howards' plans". Bent on recovering the balance between city and field, he proposed the building of new factories in the capital of the State of São Paulo so as to limit its growth and better plan the allocation of economic activities in the state; in 1954, he'd come to extend this proposal to all the country. On a different scale, he also worked with issues concerning housing, highlighting, in doing so, the importance of sanitation and ecological questions. The projects for the "superquadras" [residential apartment blocks], as well as the building of neighborhood units coupled with urban parks, would ensure the easy access of inhabitants to "the essential goods: sun, fresh air, a view of the vegetation, quietness, intimacy and silence". (MELLO, 1929b:46; 1954:42, 1929c:108 e 1929a:147)

I think it is essential to consider the different scales of the projects from this period as two distinct kinds of rationality and to point out the conflicts and the theoretical references; the gap between the abstract urban projections and their effective execution; the political resistance; the interests of real estate owners and civil construction companies, which favored the occupation of areas that had already benefited from infra-structure, thus leading to the concentration and verticalization of the urban space.

---

17 In his analysis of Anhaia Mello's (1954) *Regional Plan for São Paulo*, Meyer (1992) sees the relationship between macro and micro urban areas as scales used by the author to guide the National Council For Urbanism in coordinating and promoting cooperation, as well as in "linking the efforts of federal, state and municipal institutions"(97-99).

## REFERENCES

- Anuário da Escola Politécnica da Universidade de São Paulo 1932, 1933, 1934, 1938, 1946.
- Arasawa, Cláudio Hiro (1999). A “árvore do Urbanismo” de Luiz de Anhaia Mello. Dissertação de Mestrado FFLCH-USP.
- Bresciani, Maria Stella (1998). A algaravia das pequenas memórias ao encontro com a linguagem especializada: estética moderna e cidadania em São Paulo, 1890-1950 - Relatório Bolsa Produtividade CNPq 1998; versão em francês para o Seminaire “Les Mots de la Ville”, dezembro de 1997, CNRS/UNESCO-Paris.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2009) “Cidade e território: os desafios da contemporaneidade em perspectiva histórica”. PONTUAL, V. e LORETTO, R.P. (org.) Cidade, Território e Urbanismo. Um campo conceitual em construção, Recife: CECL.
- Campos, Candido Malta (2002). Os Rumos da Cidade. Urbanismo e Modernização em São Paulo. São Paulo: Editora Senac.
- Cardim Filho, Carlos Alberto Gomes (1951). Problemas Urbanos da Capital.
- Carpintéro, Marisa Varanda T (1997). A Construção de um Sonho. Os engenheiros-arquitetos e a formulação da política habitacional no Brasil, Campinas: Ed Unicamp.
- Correia, Telma e Gunn, Philip (2001). “O urbanismo: a medicina e a biologia nas palavras e imagens da cidade”. BRESCIANI, Stella (org.). Palavras da Cidade, Porto Alegre: EdUFRS, 227-260.
- Duarte, Paulo. (1976) Memórias: selva obscura, vol.III, São Paulo: Hucitec.
- Feldman, Sarah (2005). Planejamento e Zoneamento. São Paulo, 1947-1972, São Paulo: Edusp-FAPESP.
- Ficher, Sylvia (2005) Os arquitetos da Poli. Ensino e profissão em São Paulo, São Paulo: Edusp.
- Franco, Maria Sylvania de Carvalho.(1976) As idéias estão no lugar in Cadernos de Debate nº 1, vol. 1, São Paulo: Brasiliense.
- Freire, Victor da Silva (1911). “Os melhoramentos de São Paulo” Revista Politécnica 33, VI, fev.-mar.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1914) “A cidade salubre”, Revista Politécnica 48, VIII, out-nov.
- LEME, Maria Cristina da Silva (1990). (Re)Visão do Plano de Avenidas, Tese de Doutorado, FAU-USP.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2000). Formação do Urbanismo em São Paulo como campo de conhecimento e área de atuação profissional, Livre-Docência-FAU-USP.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1999). Urbanismo no Brasil. 1895-1965, São Paulo: FUPAN/ Studio Nobel.
- Lodi, Carlos (1951). “Planejamento Geral”. [Conferência escrita pelo engenheiro Carlos Lodi chefe do Planejamento de São Paulo, a bordo do “Paolo Toscanelli”,

quando se dirigia à Europa, em viagem de estudos, em abril de 1950] Problemas Urbanos da Capital.

Lynch, Kevin (1960). The Image of the City, MIT.

Mello, L.A. (1929a). "Ainda o Problema Psychologico. As Associações Americanas de Urbanismo" (Palestra realizada no Instituto de Engenharia em 8 de novembro de 1928). Problemas de Urbanismo. Bases para a resolução do problema tecnico, Publicações do Grêmio Politécnico.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1929b). Problemas de Urbanismo. O Recreio activo e organizado das cidades modernas, Publicação do Boletim do Instituto de Engenharia de São Paulo, Escolas Profissionais Salesianas.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1929c) A Verdadeira Finalidade do Urbanismo. Boletim do Instituto de Engenharia52, ago., 106-112.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1954) O Plano Regional de São Paulo. Uma Contribuição da Universidade para o estudo de "Um Código de Ocupação Licita do Solo" (Monografias-USP-FAU) [dedicado ao Dia Mundial do Urbanismo em 8 de novembro de 1954, endereçado à Comissão do Plano Diretor do Município ativada em 1954 pela lei 4494].

\_\_\_\_\_. (1961). Um Curso de Urbanismo. Elementos de composição regional [Impresso no Departamento de Livros e Publicações do Grêmio Politécnico; Curso de Extensão Universitária na Escola Politécnica de 1957, reproduzido em 1961].

Meyer, Regina M. P (1992). Metrópole e Urbanismo. São Paulo nos anos 50, Tese de Doutorado - FAU/UPS.

Meyer, R. M. P., Grostein, M. D., Biderman, C (2004). São Paulo Metrópole, São Paulo: Edusp/Imprensa Oficial.

Oliveira, Fabiano L. (2008). Modelos Urbanísticos Modernos e Parques Urbanos: As Relações entre urbanismo e Paisagismo em São Paulo na Primeira Metade do Século XX. Doctorado en Teoría e Historia de la Arquitectura. Departamento de Composición Arquitectónica. Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya – UPC.

Panerai, Philippe (1999). "Paysages urbains" PANERAI, P., DEPAULE, J-C., Demorgon, M. Analyse urbaine, Marselha: Editions Parenthèses.

Problemas Urbanos da Capital. Planejamento Geral. Legislação Urbanística. Conjunto das conferências publicadas pela Prefeitura do Município de São Paulo, Secretaria de Obras. Departamento de Urbanismo. Divisão de Pesquisas, Regulamentação e Divulgação, 1951. Biblioteca Central da Escola Politécnica.

RIOS Fº, Adolfo Morales de los (1942). Consolidação das Leis e Atos Oficiais de Exercício da Engenharia, Arquitetura e Agrimensura, Brasil: Conselho Federal de Engenharia e Arquitetura.

Rolnik, Raquel (1997). A Cidade e a Lei. Legislação, política urbana e territórios na cidade de São Paulo, São Paulo: Fapesp/StudioNobel.

Schicchi, Maria Cristina (2002). Centralidades ou Periferias. Repensando o papel dos subcentros na Cidade de São Paulo, tese de Doutorado FAU-USP.

- Schwarz, Roberto (1977). "As idéias fora do lugar". Ao Vencedor as Batatas. São Paulo: Livraria Duas Cidades.
- Simões, Geraldo (1983). O Departamento de Urbanismo da PMSP e sua Contribuição no Desenvolvimento do Pensamento urbanístico nas Décadas de 1940-1950, Trabalho de Graduação Interdisciplinar, São Paulo: FAU-USP.
- Somekh, Nadia (1994). A cidade vertical e o urbanismo modernizador: São Paulo: 1920-1939. Doutorado, FAU-USP.
- Sposati, Adalgisa (1996). "Desejo de São Paulo". Novos Estudos 45, CEBRAP, jul., 183-208.
- Timóteo, Jhoyce P. (2008). *A cidade de São Paulo em "Escala Humana": Luiz de Anhaia Mello e sua proposta de recreio ativo e organizado*, Dissertação de Mestrado IFCH-UNICAMP.
- Xavier, Marco Antonio (2005). "O Campus e a Cidade". *Cadernos Centro de Preservação Cultural*, São Paulo: Edusp, 42-69.

## APPROPRIATING MODERNISM: APARTHEID AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN TOWNSHIP

Errol HAARHOFF, Prof.

University of Auckland, New Zealand  
e.haarhoff@auckland.ac.nz

### ABSTRACT

*Modernism has been used during the 20th century to support and justify political aims and agendas. Although social inequality in South Africa has roots in its colonial past, it was in the 1950's that institutional segregation was formalized resulting in race-based spatial structure and inbuilt inequalities. The paper outlines how the modern movement provided a rationale for advancing this programme as a largely technical exercise that enabled the social and political contradictions involved to be sidestepped. Traced is the early impact of the modern movement in South Africa and the emergence of close relationships between local and European protagonists. The application of the modernist agenda is discussed in relation to the spatialisation of race, the emergence of the apartheid city in the 1960's, and the delivery of a mass housing programme in the segregated township. Conclusions are drawn concerning the extent to which this legacy has resulted in highly inefficient cities that now confront post-apartheid South African in the 21st century.*

### INTRODUCTION

The Modern Movement in planning and urbanism was frequently used during the 20th century support political aims and symbolize modernism. For example, the first Labour government in New Zealand (1935-1949), that promoted itself as being modern, was quick to embrace the modernist urban visions of émigrés architects fleeing Europe for its State housing programme. Employed by the Department of Housing Construction, they produced high density inner city apartments derived from their European experience, contrasting with the government's earlier suburban housing models (Haarhoff, 2006).

The partition of the State of Punjab, following Indian independence in 1947, and the building of Chandigarh provides another example. Anxious to promote independent India as a modern state, Prime Minister Pundit Nehru captured the opportunity to promote its planning as '...symbolic of the freedom of India, unfettered by the traditions of the past... an expression of the nation's faith in the future' (Kalia, 1999, p21). The appointment first of the American planner Albert Mayer (who had close connections to Clarence Stein), and then Le Corbusier for this task, was a potent symbol of eschewing tradition in favour of what was perceived to be modern, and the modern vision Nehru held for the future of India as a whole.

Although South Africa shares a colonial history of racialised attitudes and conditions with many other countries, it was the 1948 election of the National Party that resulted in the ideology of apartheid and its subsequent brutal enforcement. Built on a myth of early white settlers encountering an empty land and their fear of Black domination, led to Verwoerd's conceptualisation of 'separate development' for Black South Africans outside of territory designated as 'white'. Apart from the inhumanity involved, there was

also the 'problem' of how to meet the demand for cheap Black labour in the urban areas, while at the same time maintaining them as the preserve of white capital. The 'solution' was found in two ways: the implementation of a low-cost mass housing programme and in the enforcement of racial segregation. Justification for this political programme was sought by deploying what were argued to be modern planning and design principles and practices. The outcome from the 1950's was the formal construction of the apartheid city with its distinctive spatial structure and inbuilt inequalities. The paper outlines the way in which the modern movement provided a rationale for advancing this programme as a largely technical exercise that enabled the social and political contradictions involved to be sidestepped. The paper traces the early impact of the modern movement in South Africa and the emergence of close relationships between local and European protagonists. The application and appropriation of the modernist agenda is discussed in relation to the spatialisation of race, the emergence of the apartheid city in the 1960's, and to the conceptualisation and delivery of a mass housing programme in the segregated township over the next 30 years. Conclusions are drawn concerning the extent to which this legacy has resulted in highly inefficient cities that now confront post-apartheid South African in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

## THE MODERN MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

Herbert (1974) argues that from its origins in the Netherlands and Germany in the first and second decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the ideas of the Modern Movement in architecture and planning were spread globally. This appeared much earlier in South Africa when compared to England and the USA, and the Dominions of Australia and New Zealand. In 1928, a study tour by architecture students from the University of Cape Town, under the guidance of Professor Snape, included visits to the newly completed *Bauhaus* in Dessau designed by Walter Gropius (Herbert, 1974). Architecture graduates from the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, Rex Martienssen and Norman Hanson, followed with their own study tour of Europe in 1930, and among other places, visited the newly completed *Weissenhofsiedlung* in Stuttgart. Here, Mies van der Rohe was responsible for the site layout and design of his apartment building, and included other buildings designed by the leading protagonists of the Modern Movement: Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius being among them. Writing in the *South African Architectural Record* on his return to South Africa in June of that year, Martienssen observed:

Das Neue Stuttgart! It is wonderful. And I am so enthusiastic...I can hardly wait to build something...There is only one architecture...and here the architecture is one of contemporary life. There is no stylism or copyism, but only fitness for purpose and beauty of form' (SAAR, June 1930, p67).

Martienssen goes on to comment further that 'the influence of men like Gropius...must be good, because their work has its basis in a rational approach to the problem' (SAAR, June 1930, p69). While in Rome, Martienssen purchased a copy of Le Corbusier's *Collected Works: 1910-1929*, and the impact of both the book and the European experience led to him becoming a strong protagonist of the Modern Movement in South Africa. In 1933 Martienssen wrote a manifesto called *Zerohour*, showcasing new work from Europe including that of Le Corbusier and Gropius, and the emerging modernist practice and discourse in South Africa. Commented on by *The Architecture Review*, the

observation was made that '...South Africa has leaped forward with (the publication of *Zerohour*) as a final answer to those who image that colonial architecture is in a more neo-Renaissance state that it is in England...Let Australia, Canada and New Zealand do likewise' (The Architecture Review, Oct 1933, p155-156).

Martienssen returned to Europe in 1933, and this time arranged to meet Le Corbusier in his Paris office. Herbert (1974) comments that Le Corbusier was 'deeply impressed' with Martienssen who had brought South African modernism to international attention. Indeed, Martienssen was to receive an invitation in 1937 to join the 5<sup>th</sup> Congress of the *Congrès International de l'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM), never to materialised because of the Munich crises and impending Second World War, along with Martienssen premature death in 1942. However, in 1938 a conference was organised by students at The University of the Witwatersrand, Martienssen by then a member of staff, that presented:

Le Corbusier's drawings and themes, and from...(Le Corbusier) an opening message; sociologists and psychologists provided an 'approach'; practitioners and academics contributed 'theses'; and self-avowed modernists gave papers and 'demonstrations' on the application of modern planning ideas to hypothetical projects not only for a new business centre for Cape Town, but for a 'model native township'. (Mabin & Smit, 1997)

The inclusion of a 'model native township' in the conference did expose contradictions between the calls for Modernist planning as a vehicle for radical social change which, as Mabin & Smit (1997) point out, 'peppered' the conference proceedings, and acceptance of the prevailing order of racial segregation and inequalities prevailing in South Africa. The 'model native township' was produced as a thesis by students at the University to demonstrate of the application of rational, modern planning and design approaches. To his credit, Kurt Jonas (one of the students concerned) did argue that it was incumbent on modern architecture to work for social change, and when confronted with segregation saw the need to 'generate a formal model for housing which could be substantiated in political, social and 'scientific' terms' (Japha, 1983). Ironically, it was precisely this approach that was to lead to the formal appropriation of modern principles that justified the State's mass housing programmes after the Second World War. But before turning to this matter, it is important to contextualise the housing programmes in the segregationist policies then prevailing in South Africa.

## SPATIALISING RACE

South Africa has shared along with many other previously colonised countries race-based policies where land and resources have been the material issue of conflict between indigenous peoples and settlers. What distinguished South Africa was the extent to which this process was institutionalised and enshrined in law. Driven by the discovery of gold and diamonds in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, rapid industrialisation leading to a demand for labour (largely supplied by Black South Africans), triggering their movement from rural hinterlands to the growing industrial centres. With no formal provision for housing, this led to the emergence of slum conditions, making the process very visible in cities. However, as Mabin & Smit (1997) point out, unlike other colonial territories such as Singapore, where housing was located in designated 'ethnic' zones, towns in South Africa had been conceived primarily as 'white' places. Thus the demand for black labour created a dilemma: how to manage Black urbanisation on which future

prosperity depended, while at the same time conceiving cities as 'white' places? An early solution to this perceived dilemma was found in the Native (Urban Areas) Act in 1923, that embodied the view of the Stallard Commission investigating the issue:

...the natives should only be allowed to enter urban areas which are essentially the whites man's creation when he is willing to enter and minister to the needs of the white man and should depart there form when he ceases to so minister. (Haarhoff, 1984)

Local authorities at that time were vested largely with the responsibility of providing urban services, but the 1923 legislation now required the establishment of segregated residential areas for whites and blacks, the latter in what were designated 'native locations' as temporary places of residence. As temporary places, investment was understandably very minimal. Despite government resistance, the practical reality was that urban Black South Africa were effectively permanent, although insecure residents. Moreover, anticipation post-Second World War reconstruction unleashed a modernist planning fervour, leading to the establishment of regional planning authorities charged with the task and planning for industrialisation and urbanisation Mabin & Smit (1997). Reconciling racial segregation with town planning principles advocating positive social outcomes again highlighted contradictions. The establishment in 1944 of the Social and Economic Planning Council (SEPC) to advise the government of the day, pulled the issues of urbanisation, planning and segregation together in a modernist discourse which drew heavily on British planning studies and reports of that time (Mabin and Smith, 1997). The Council adopted the notion of creating coherent communities separated by "green belts", justified by the adoption of the "green belt" as a modern planning instrument the New Town Movement in America and Britain at that time. In the context of South Africa, separating communities by green belts 'translated easily into the idea of planning racially distinct, well-separated zones'. (Mabin & Smit, 1997)

The Union (of South Africa) has a large and growing permanently urbanised non-European population. The Council...therefore, urges that in the lay-out of new townships, the re-planning of existing ones and the erection of state-subsidised housing schemes, full use should be made of the principle of planned neighbourhoods, protected from other neighbourhoods by 'green belts' of cultivated and park land...'

Indeed the SEPC went on to be clearer in its directives: 'that it regards the separation of residential areas of different races...as a function of planning in this country...Residential segregation must be the result of a valid and accepted national policy...(although) no legal basis exists for this at the present time...' (Mabin & Smit, 1997)

It was the election of the National Party in 1948 that created the legal basis for racial segregation in South African with a manifesto requiring compulsory urban segregation and the 'separate development' of Black South Africans outside of territory designated as 'white'. The flurry of legislative measures that followed created independent black 'countries' based on tribal affiliations, the so called 'Bantustans'. Within urban areas, apartheid legislation was extended under the Groups Areas Act of 1950 to also require

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

separate residential areas for those of White, Indian and 'Coloured' (mixed-race) descent. Tight restrictions were placed on the movement of Black South Africans that required permits ('passes') to be in 'white' urban centres. Achieving the required racial segregation led to massive upheavals for those (mainly non-white) who ended up residing in the 'wrong' racial zone and suffered the inhumanity of being relocated.

Thus under apartheid legislation, land was designated for occupation by different race groups, and residential areas treated as racial "zones". In this context it is not surprising to find that Floyd's 1951 planning handbook 'Township Layout' lists "Native Locations" as a separate "zone" to "Residential Areas", explaining that the term 'location' means an area set aside for occupation by Natives...' (Floyd, 1951). Unexplained is the fact that "Residential Areas" are for exclusive white occupation. The areas 'set aside' for black occupation were usually on the peripheries of cities, and where possible (such as around Durban and Pretoria), located in the adjacent 'Bantustan'. This was to ultimately create the illusion of urban Black South Africans living outside 'white' South Africa in independent 'countries'. Closer to the city centres, other 'race zones' were demarcated for those classified as White, Indian and Coloured. Moreover, spatial separation also required that each group be separated from others by what were now described as 'buffer' strips (see figure 1). As Floyd (1960, p204-5) explains:

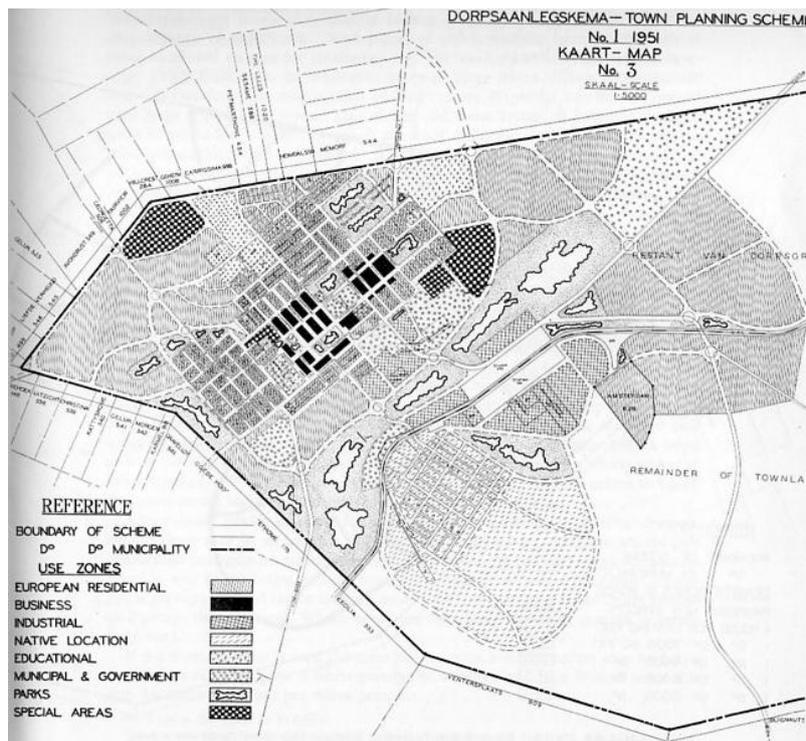


Figure 1: Town Plan of Reitz, Transvaal, South Africa, 1951. Map showing use zoning. The 'Native Location' is indicated in the centre bottom of the plan, separated from form the 'European Residential' zone by a buffer strip comprising parklands and the industrial area. (Floyd, 1960, p115)

'Railway lines, main roads, rivers, streams and ridges all form separation media and these should be used as far as possible. Where no suitable feature of this sort exists...the Group Area Board may insist on a buffer strip. In the case of native locations buffer strips varying in width from 200 to 500 yards...and are insisted upon by the Minister of Bantu Administration.'

By this time, any pretence at legitimating racial separation by way of 'green belts' gave way to the brutal reality of 'buffer strips' and the government's overt apartheid policies impacted on the political, social and economic lives of all South Africans, but especially those who were not white.

### **'NATIVE' TOWNSHIPS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

A key part to the implementation of apartheid in the post WW2 years was the planning and construction of mass housing schemes to enforce comprehensive residential segregation. The vast expenditure and effort involved was justified by Verwoerd's Secretary of Native Affairs, W. Eiselen, when expressing the view that 'only with the provision of adequate shelter in properly planned Native townships can full control over urban natives be regained' (Chipkin, 1998). Implementing the housing projects in the 1950's did demand large investment, and the Pretoria-based Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSRI) through its National Building Research Institute (NBRI) was charged with drawing up national standards for state funded housing while minimising cost.

Among those recruited to the NBRI to work on their housing research programme was P. H. Connell (a graduate from the University of the Witwatersrand), and doctoral graduate D. M. Calderwood whose thesis was published in 1953 with funding from the CSRI. Calderwood's thesis focussed on the prevailing issue at that time: how to implement the government's post-Second World War township building programme and minimise costs. In his commendation of the thesis, William Holford, then Professor of Town Planning at the University of London, describes the work as 'a breath of fresh air' because it shows that 'the technical, the social and the economics of housing must be looked at together'. The following quotation encapsulates Calderwood's thesis aims:

...to study the technical approach to the problem of housing urban native families. The technical approach can only indicate the way; it remains for housing policies to be framed in terms of scientific findings to pave the way to a solution. The work, which follows, will discuss the theoretical aspects of housing standards and neighbourhood planning, then the practical application of these findings to the design and construction of two experimental Native townships'. (Calderwood, 1953, p14)

In his thesis, apartheid remains the "elephant in the room", neatly sidestepped with uncritical references to 'Legislation' (meaning apartheid legislation) as a given context. The work adopts a largely technical approach focused on housing standards and neighbourhood planning, legitimised by empirical study and the citation of international research. This includes the seminal works of Patrick Geddes and Lewis Mumford, Clarence Stein and the 'neighbourhood unit' concept developed at Radburn, and to the body of work emerging in the United Kingdom in the 1940's including work from Jane Drew and Maxwell Fry, Frederick Gibberd, and the early work on the British New Town

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

Movement. Segregated townships are thus conceptualised along the lines of 'new towns'.

Fundamental to Calderwood's approach to the planning and design of 'Townships' was the authority he borrowed from Patrick Abercrombie's advocacy of detailed study and his dictum "survey before plan" (Houghton-Evan, 1975). Calderwood thus stresses the importance social surveys in understanding the changed attitudes resulting from urbanisation: '...the variation of topography and climate and the idiosyncrasies of human groups must affect every scientific calculation, every way, practical and artistic, of doing things' (Abercrombie cited in Calderwood, 1953, p95). Elsewhere Calderwood cites Lewis Mumford in the necessity of this approach: 'first we must erect a standard of living. In terms of housing, the minimum standards are set by objective criteria of air, water, sunlight, heat, privacy and so forth, and further modified by social provisions proved to be necessary or the nature of children and the education of responsible citizens' (Mumford cited in Calderwood, 1953, p14). Despite Calderwood's reference to the need for social surveys, he points out that information of this type relating to the urbanising Black population was either not available or still to be obtained. This absence accepts this deficiency by appealing to rational methods, with its emphasis on technical solutions.

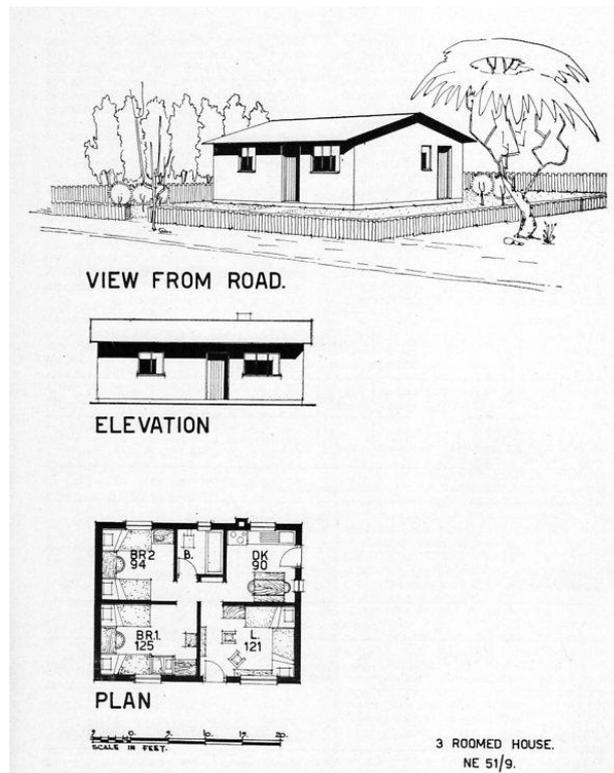


Figure 2: The NE 51/9 standard three-roomed house (Calderwood, 1953, p31).

A significant part of Calderwood's thesis is thus devoted to the establishment of minimum standards based on 'social aspects, space organisation, protection against the elements, materials, constructional method (and) economics...' (Calderwood 1953, p17) He designed three housing types designated NE 51/6, NE 51/8 and NE 51/9 (where acronym 'NE' is 'non-European, dated 1951 types 6, 7 and 9). Although Calderwood does stress that these were intended as a demonstration of the outcome to the rational design process, they were nevertheless taken up by government and housing authorities to be reproduced in the thousands across South Africa for three decades from the 1950's (see figure 2).

Necessary cost economies are seen to be essential, although this is seen as an advantage because '...they prevent unnecessary ornamentation and force the selection of good materials which require little maintenance, and they tend towards efficient design in terms of function...' (Calderwood, 1953, p43). Although higher standard housing can be considered where subsidies are provided, Calderwood (1953, p43) cautions against this by citing Walter Gropius: "Subsidies do not lead to a real solution of the housing problem. They are to be considered only as a measure of transition..."

Calderwood does suggest that humanising the inevitable monotony of the township is necessary, proposing that this be achieved through landscaping and the encouragement of individual private gardens. This vision and approach is of course reflective of the Modernist position articulated by Le Corbusier in moving from his perception of the 'pre-machine age Garden City' to the modern world. It is also evident in the work of Ernst May and his approach to the design of his Frankfurt housing schemes of the 1930's, involving the definition of a limited number of housing 'types', able to be mass produced using industrial methods (Bullock, 1978).

The establishment of the standard house did include strong advocacy for home ownership, a matter that stood in contradiction to the government's stance that Black South Africans were temporary residents of 'white' urban areas. This was however a matter on which the government did waiver, and Calderwood cites a 1952 National Housing Planning Commission's circular urging homeownership because '...from an administrative point of view, ownership schemes are easier to administer. And from a national point of view, home ownership is a stabilising influence and one of the main bastions against Communism and other social ills' (Calderwood, 1953, p14) This issue is ultimately resolved by the apartheid government by siting Black residential townships with the boundaries of the 'Bantustans.

Receiving equal attention from Calderwood is 'neighbourhood' planning although he stresses that 'in Native housing schemes, the first object is to simply supply shelter at minimum cost...and the second to create an environment conducive to living a full and happy life' (Calderwood, 1953, p113). He also contends that the 'economics of densities in Native housing...depends to a large extent upon single-storey development', and that this is 'upsetting from the point of view of aesthetics, in what may be called monotonous single storey barrack layouts.' The solution he advocates is 'to introduce imaginative layouts and landscaping to solve the problem'. (Calderwood, 1953:94). Demonstrations of site layouts includes landscaping of the neighbourhood, provision of vegetable gardens, and the grouping of houses to support the concept of a neighbourhood of families. The design is also informed by Clarence Stein's 'neighbourhood unit' concept of vehicular and pedestrian separation (see figure 3):

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

'The practice of separating vehicular and pedestrian access is one which requires a great deal more consideration in Native housing. The Creation of safe pedestrian access to schools and plating fields is a demand of every parent, and if such pedestrian access could be entirely free of any roads used by vehicles, then planning would be ideal' (Calderwood, 1953, p100).

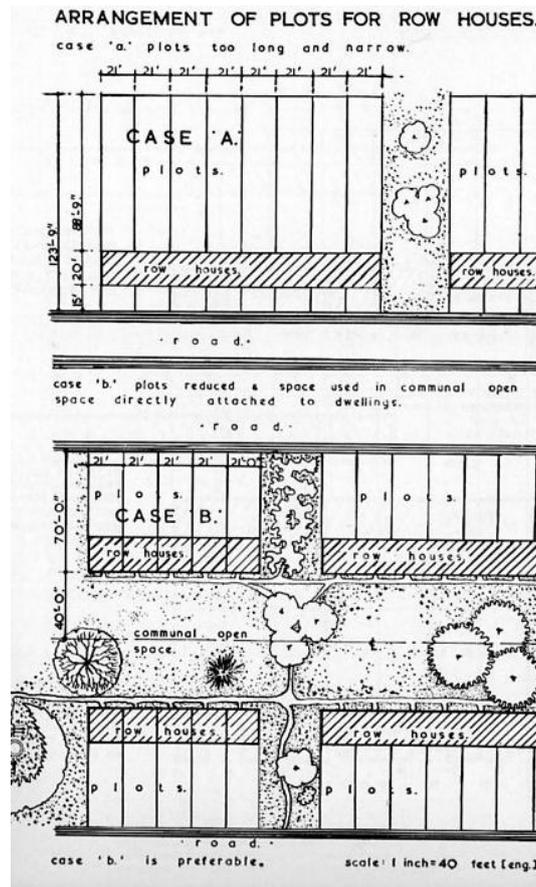


Figure 3: Comparative study of standard row house type, where 'case b' is indicated to be preferable. Case b incorporates a communal space accommodating pedestrian movement (Calderwood, 1953, p63)

## CONCLUSIONS

Modernism had run its course by the 1960's, given the mounting evidence of failure to delivery socially relevant housing solutions from around the world. Jane Jacobs and her *Death and Life of the Great America City* gave critical voice to these concerns. A new generation of students at the University of the Witwatersrand gave expression to their concern about this failure in 1962 in a manifesto 'For Us' in which they declared:

'We decline to accept architecture as a complacent perception of standards and concepts that are no longer valid...By not taking into account man's fundamental requirements, demands and expectations, contemporary architecture betrays its roots, and forces us to come to terms with the implications of its original message'.

At a conference 'Housing People' hosted by the Institute of South African Architects in 1975, voices of opposition were heard against the government apologists present. Thus while the Minister of Community Development (responsible for the urban segregation) declared that, 'Today housing is the most important link in the process of community development and it has acquired a new living meaning in our civilisation', Michael Rantho, President of the Black Social Worker's Association, responded 'I really feel that the housing situation is somewhat bedevilled by one thing...it is very well to talk about land ownership...but Black people in South Africa have a feeling of belonging nowhere, with no permanence and no security' (Lazenby, 1977).

On the 16 June 1976, police fired into a large crowd of schoolchildren in the township of Soweto, Johannesburg. The incident, while sparked from a revolt about education, reflected on much larger issues of oppressive rule, deteriorating socio-economic conditions, and the exclusion of the majority of South Africans from the political process. Given the arguments expounded on creating family life, good citizenship and neighbourliness in the townships following international planning and design principles, it is ironic that the township became the symbol for a revolt. Just as the failure of modernism has been pinned to determinism and seeking of technical solutions to social issues, so the Soweto riots and its brutal suppression symbolised the avoidance of the overwhelming problem: the perpetuation of apartheid policies in South Africa. The events of 1976 were the beginning of the long struggle to end apartheid leading to democratic elections in 1993.

Achieving urban transformation and prosperity in South Africa was always going to be difficult. Unlike political transformation achieved on the day all South Africans went to the polls, the legacy of apartheid is deeply embedded in the urban form and the spatial structure of cities. This cannot be wished away or easily reformed, and underscores the fact that the removal of restrictive legislation did not in itself result in residential reintegration (Christopher, 2005). The spatial structure of the apartheid city remains intact resulting in social and economic inertia leading to what the World Bank has characterised as some of the most inefficient cities in the world (Mabin & Smit, 1997). The South Africa city continues to be defined by spatial separation, fragmentation and sprawling between different parts and functions of the city with considerable social and economic inequalities. Not surprisingly the World Bank suggested that reconstruction should aim to achieve higher density and more compact urban form.

Another important imperative for more compact urban forms is the goal of sustainable development now high on the agenda of the international community. Despite the belligerent attitude of the world's largest generator of carbon emissions, the United States, the recent world summit in Bali on climate change did agree within two years to set carbon emission limits. The legacy of the apartheid city, with its inefficient form will make meeting sustainable goals very difficult (Haarhoff, 2008).

## REFERENCES

- Bullock, N. 'Housing in Frankfurt and the new Wohnkultur', The Architecture Review, June 1978, 335-342.
- Calderwood, D.M. Native Housing in South Africa, PhD Thesis, The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1953.
- Chipkin, C. "Preparing for Apartheid" R Fisher, R., le Roux, S. and Mare E.(eds), Architecture of the Transvaal, Pretoria: Unisa, 1998
- Christopher, C. 'The Slow Pace of Desegregation in South African Cities, 1996-2001', Urban Studies, Vol. 42, No. 12, 2305-2320, November, 2005
- Demissie, F. "Controlling and 'Civilising Natives' through Architecture and Town Planning in South Africa", Social Identities, Vol. 10, No 4, 2004.
- Floyd, T.B. Township Layout, Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1951.
- Floyd, T.B. Town Planning in South Africa, Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1960.
- Jones, P. For Us, Johannesburg: School of Architecture, The University of the Witwatersrand, 1962.
- Japha, D. 'The Social Program of the South African Modern Movement' presented at the Centre of African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1986.
- Haarhoff, E. A spatial analysis of African Urbanisation and Informal Settlement in Natal-KwaZulu, PhD Thesis, University of Natal, Durban, 1984.
- Haarhoff, E. Architecture of Central Auckland, Auckland: Balasoglu Books, 2006
- Haarhoff, E. 'An African City on the Indian Ocean', Journal of the South African Institute of Architects, 16-18, Jan/Feb, 2008
- Herbert, G. Martienssen and the Internal Style: The Modern Movement in South African architecture, Cape Town: A.A.Bakema, 1974.
- Lazenby, M. (ed) Housing People, Johannesburg: AD. Donker Publisher, 1977.
- Mabin, A. and Smit, D. "Reconstructing South Africa's cities? The making of urban planning 1900-2000", Planning Perspectives, 12 (1997) 193-223.
- Martienssen, R. South African Architecture Record, June 1930.
- The Architecture Review, Oct 1933, p155-156.



## SUBURBAN TRANSFORMATION AND NEW URBANISM: THE EVALUATION OF NEW SETTLEMENT AREAS IN ISTANBUL ACCORDING TO THE NEW URBANISM MOVEMENT

Aysegül Didem ÖZDEMİR, Dr.

Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Metropolitan Planning and Urban Design Center, Turkey  
dekosg@gmail.com

### **ABSTRACT**

*In historical continuum of architecture, urban planning and urban design varied approaches arise by developing new solutions with the interpretation of history. The most effective of these approaches is New Urbanism Movement. The urban design rules of the movement are defined taking as example traditional settlements. The study aims to analyze the affects of one of the current approaches, New Urbanism Movement on new settlements of Istanbul and to evaluate these settlements according to the characteristics of this movement. Twenty-four new settlements of Istanbul that have formed in the last few years are evaluated according to the evaluation system formed based on the principles of the New Urbanism Movement. As the result of this evaluation these settlements are classified as good, intermediate and weak according to their adequacy to New Urbanism and most of the settlements were scaled as intermediate. In the evaluation system criteria created in three different scales based on the New Urbanism Movement. These scales are: the region / city scale, neighborhood scale, and building / surroundings scale. These criteria are set in a grading system and the settlements have been evaluated according to this system.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

In historical continuum there have been new movements in architecture, urban planning and urban design which have been produced by the reinterpretation of historical movements. Especially in recent years approaches interpreting the past and highlighting traditionalism have appeared on the agenda. One of these approaches is the “New Urbanism” movement that has been developed in US and the main feature of which is to refer to traditional cities in the design of urban and suburban developments.

The aim of this study is to analyze the influence of New Urbanism movement on new settlement areas of Istanbul as a contemporary theoretical approach in urban design and to test these settlements according to the principles of this movement.

New settlements in Istanbul are categorized according to their size, site and construction date and 24 of them are selected to be evaluated according to the principles of New Urbanism movement, the bibliography search, on site analysis, interview with inhabitants was made, visual data was collected by photo taking. The information collected through these analysis techniques was categorized and evaluated according to the principles of New Urbanism. Evaluation criteria were created in three urban scales based on New Urbanism movement. These scales are Metropolis, City and Town; the Neighborhood, the District and the Corridor; the Block, the Street and

the Building. These criteria were set to a grading system and each settlement was evaluated in this system.

The selected settlements were ranked according to their adequacy to New Urbanism movement based on the final grade after the evaluation (Ozdemir,2006).

### New Urbanism

New Urbanism movement emerged at the end of 1980's and at the beginning of 1990's. The aim of new urbanist is the restoration of urban spaces formed through urban sprawl transforming them to real neighborhoods and diverse districts (Fig. 1) (<http://www.cnu.org>).

Highlighting that physical solutions by themselves are not enough to solve social and economic problems new urbanist defined the principles for the public policy practices.

These principles are: neighborhoods should be diverse in use and population; communities should be designed for the pedestrian and transit as well as the car; cities and towns should be shaped by physically defined and universally accessible public spaces and community institutions; urban places should be framed by architecture and landscape design that celebrate local history, climate, ecology, and building practice. (Congress for the New Urbanism, 2000).

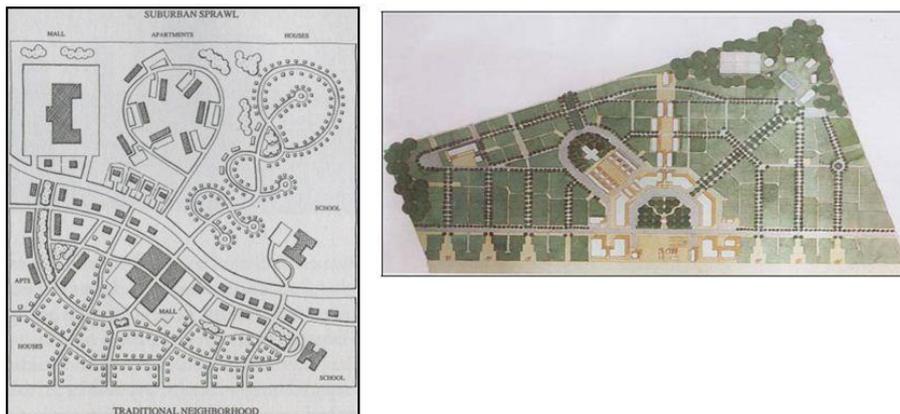


Fig 1. The comparison of suburban sprawl with traditional neighborhood design (Katz, 1993), Fig 2. The master plan of the Seaside, as the first application of New Urbanism it is considered the symbol of the movement ([www.dpz.com](http://www.dpz.com)).

### Design Principles of New Urbanism

New urbanist defined the characteristics of the movement and urban design principles with the Charter of New Urbanism in the first congress held in 1993. The charter was organized according to the three scales of New Urbanism: 1. Region, 2. Neighborhood-District-Corridor, 3. Street-Block-Building (Fig. 2).

### **Region**

It is the first scale of New Urbanism movement and it has city and town. New urbanist highlighted that urban design principles should be applied to the region as a whole (<http://www.cu.org>).

In region scale whole metropolitan area should be designed with the same principles as the design of neighborhoods. Regions should contain defined boundaries, the transportation system should support the pedestrian, public spaces should be forming spaces not left over spaces, public and private spaces should create an integrated hierarchical whole and there should be mixed population and mixed uses. (Katz, 1993).

### **Neighborhood, District and Corridor**

Neighborhood, district and corridor, is the second scale of New Urbanism. Neighborhoods are defined as the main unit of urban development (Dutton, 2000) and as urbanized areas with balanced human activities. Districts are areas with specialized activities, and corridors are the connectors and separators of neighborhoods and districts (Katz, 1993).

Regardless of population density all neighborhoods have to be designed with balanced distribution of homes, offices, retail stores, civic buildings and parks. Neighborhoods should have a defined boundary and center, the ideal size of a neighborhood is 400 m. radius from the center (5 minute walking distance). There should be mixed uses and balance in uses such as homes, retail, offices, religion, buildings and traffic should be structured with interconnected network of transportation, and public spaces and civic buildings should be in priority locations. (Katz, 1993). District is the urbanized area with specialized functions. The specialized functions should allow other activities in order to support the community identity. The design of the districts should be supported by the transit connections (Katz, 1993).

The corridors function as connectors and separators between neighborhoods and districts. Corridors containing natural or artificial elements can vary from traces in the wild to the transit routes. The site and the type of the corridor are determined by surrounding densities. (Katz, 1993).

### **Street, Block and Building**

It is the last scale of the New Urbanism movement. Neighborhoods are designed through well considered assembly of streets, blocks and buildings (Katz, 1993). In this scale it is needed to place cars as well as pedestrians (Congress for the New Urbanism, 2000).

Streets are not dividing lines in cities; they should be common spaces and passages. Street models should be defined considering that a single street is a part of a street network (Katz, 1993). Streets should be designed as public spaces and pedestrian friendly (Dutton, 2000). The details of street design should be defined considering their proper use for pedestrians (Katz, 1993). The shape of blocks, present the building structure and public spaces of the city. Blocks can be square, rectangle shaped or their shape can be irregular. (Katz, 1993).

Buildings should be designed not only according to their functions but also to their types. Density rules should be independent from the building function and parking. Structurally buildings should follow street and block rules and formally they should be in

harmony with other buildings. Monumental buildings should be the expression of social identity in cities. Building frontages should highlight the public character of streets, reflect the semi public character of open spaces in the blocks, paseos and backyards meet the service facilities. Building types should secure the historical continuum. Buildings reflect space and time hence they shouldn't be left unused. (Katz, 1993).

### The Transect System of New Urbanism

Transect is the system defined by New Urbanism with the aim of organizing all the elements of human environment. It is a system classifying these elements ranging from rural to most densely urban (Fig. 3). These various settlement types and concepts contain different urban densities: center, general, edge containing rural and urban (Bressi, 2002).

Neighborhoods should be designed with the combination of these transect zones (Duany, 2001). The transect system defines the features and design qualities of streets, densities, functions, buildings, frontages, public spaces, intersections, parking, sidewalks, streetscapes, lighting, green areas and landscape for each transect zone. (Steuteville., 2001).

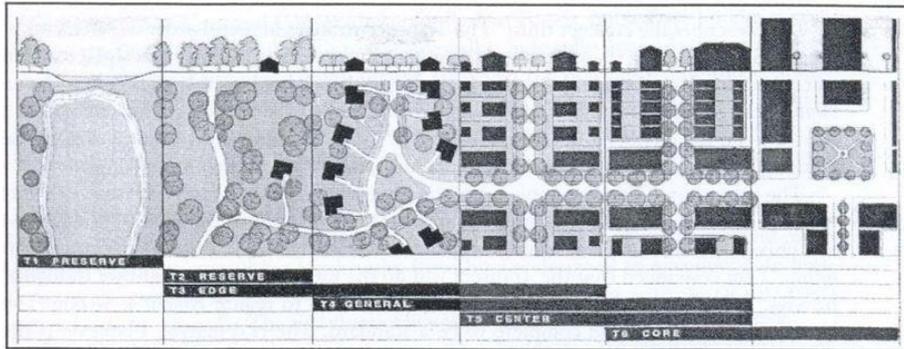


Fig 3. The transect system of New Urbanism (Steuteville, 2001)

### The Effects of New Urbanism in Istanbul

New urbanism was emerged in USA because of the crisis the American city was experiencing. The problems were uncontrolled sprawl of cities destroying the natural environments and natural resources, loss of community identity, loss of secure living places. The solution was found in the traditional neighborhood designs. These neighborhoods were compact, pedestrian friendly and with strong community identity.

In recent years at the edges of Istanbul new housing developments were emerged with influence American suburban development. Some of them were affected from new urbanism. The principles of new urbanism were defined for both suburban and urban areas but the effect of the movement in Istanbul created suburban luxury housing developments. These settlements were designed with the traditional design elements mainly imitating traditional architectural styles.

**The Evaluation of the New Settlements in Istanbul**

The evaluation system for the selected 24 new settlements (Table 1) in Istanbul based on principles of new urbanism is developed aiming to test the adequacy of these settlements to the movement (Fig. 4, 5, 6, 7) (Ozdemir, 2006).

The evaluation system contains evaluation criteria based on the main three scales of New Urbanism. In this system, each criterion was given a point from a scale of five. As a result of this grading system the settlements adequacy, according to the New Urbanism Movement, was evaluated. (Ozdemir, 2006).

*Table 1. Selected new settlements in Istanbul for the evaluation*

European Side	Anatolian Side
Kemer Country	Beykoz Mansions
İstanbul İstanbul	Acarkent
Cesmeler Valley	Cengelkoy Mansions
Burgaz Houses	Optimum Houses
Zekeriyakoy Houses	Kasaba
Atlantis Houses	Meseli Houses
Sedadkent	Elysimum Park
Alkent 2000	Aqua City
Durusu Park	Aqua Manors
Vadi Park	Istanbul Palace
Hisar Houses	
Guzel Sehir	
Ardicli Houses	
Sunflower Houses	

The evaluation criteria for the settlements is as follows:

**Region and City Scale**

The principles of New Urbanism put a great emphasis on the controlled growth of cities and the integration of new settlements areas with old city and their site for the protection of natural resources. The evaluation criteria in this scale were developed aiming to test how the location decisions effect the sprawl in metropolitan areas and cause the damage on natural resources of the city. The development of the metropolitan areas as a whole also depends on well-designed transportation connections. The harmony with existing development and with traditional, vernacular and natural features secures the creation of integrated metropolitan area. The evaluation criteria is in this scale was defined as follows: site in the city, harmony with the existing developments, transportation connections, harmony with the traditional, vernacular and natural features and size.

**Neighborhood Scale**

Neighborhood is the main organizing element in new urbanist designs. Neighborhoods are places where human activities are organized in balance. The design of neighborhoods has a great importance for constructing a strong community identity, community sense and integrated relation between the members of the community. Based on this necessity the evaluation criteria for this scale were developed as follows:

transect zones, center, size, network of streets, alternative transportation, parking, green areas, urban design entirety (Ozdemir, 2006).

### **Building and Surroundings Scale**

The main aim of the design of neighborhoods is to emphasize the use of streets and public spaces as shared places. Streets should be designed as public spaces where the members of the community can create interrelations. The design of public spaces and the network of streets have a great importance in building a strong community identity and sense. The diversity of public spaces and housing types create a diverse community with mixed age, income and social groups live together in harmony. The evaluation criteria in this scale were evaluated to test the effect of streets and public spaces in building the community identity and if settlements were designed emphasizing diversity. The criteria are as follows: streets, streetscapes, public spaces, blocks, housing types and sizes (Table 4) (Ozdemir, 2006).

### **General Evaluation of Selected Settlements**

The selected settlements were categorized according to their adequacy to New Urbanism movement with their final grade after the evaluation as good, average and weak (Table 5). After this categorization 9 of the settlements were evaluated as good and 15 were evaluated as average. There isn't any settlement evaluated as weak (Ozdemir, 2006).

The results of the evaluation of the selected settlements in region and city scale showed that they are located in licensed housing areas. They are in areas such as forest or water collection basins and they are in harmony with their natural environment. Private vehicle transportation is an important issue for the transportation connection of these settlements. Most of these settlements were in harmony with traditional, vernacular, and natural features. The adequacy of the selected settlements to the Region and City Scale of the New Urbanism Movement was evaluated as good, intermediate and bad. Most of the settlements were in the scale of "good". The number of "intermediate" settlements was eight and the number of the ones which were in the "good" category was fifteen. There was one settlement which was scaled as "weak". By this evaluation it was determined, according to this ratings scale, these settlements were generally in line with the New Urbanism(Ozdemir, 2006).

According to the Neighborhood Scale, the settlements' organization, whether urban or rural, was evaluated according to the rules of the New Urbanism movement. In evaluating the characteristics of the center, it was determined that the uses in the center are clearly defined and that they mostly serve only the settlements. The settlements' borders are defined by way of street lanes or natural features of the site. The size of the selected settlements showed that most of them are not larger than a radius of 400 meters from the center, which indicated that they gave importance to pedestrian movement. Most of the settlements have network types that are defined and support the pedestrian movement. Alternative transportation facilities were not present in the settlements that were evaluated. In most of the houses, private garages and common parking areas exist. The settlements green systems were defined as house yards and common greens and parks, but in some only house yards were present. In most of the settlement layouts, urban design guidelines and house types with the objective of creating urban design unity were implemented. These definitions aim to reflect traditional values and be in harmony with nature. In these settlements there are no

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

definitions made regarding street types and street scapes. The settlements were evaluated as “good”, “intermediate” and “bad” according to the Neighborhood Scale of the New Urbanism Movement. According to this evaluation the number of settlements, which are “good”, were nine and the number of the ones that are “intermediate” were fifteen. There were no settlements which were scaled as “weak”. The conclusion was that the settlements are adequately in line with the New Urbanism neighborhood scale concept(Ozdemir, 2006).

In the Building and Surroundings Scale evaluation, it was seen that no differentiation in street types and scapes was created. Public spaces in the settlements were mostly defined. The number of the settlements with defined blocks and undefined blocks were similar. These settlements had a variety and traditional characteristics in housing types. Mixed housing types and sizes aim to offer a variety of choices to the users. The evaluation of the settlements according to this scale was also made as “good”, “intermediate” and “weak” and five of them were scaled as “good”. There were sixteen settlements which were scaled as “intermediate”. The settlements are adequate according to the characteristics of New Urbanism Movement(Ozdemir, 2006).

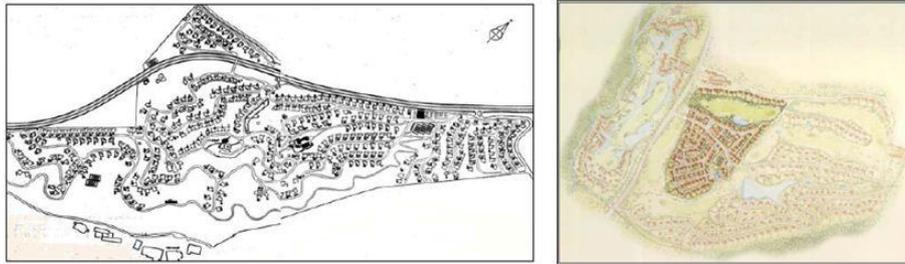


Fig 4. Settlements in Istanbul that are evaluated, Beykoz Mansions (Beykoz Mansions management office, Fig 5. Settlements in Istanbul which are evaluated, Kemer Country ([www.kemercountry.com](http://www.kemercountry.com))



Fig 6. Settlements in Istanbul that are evaluated, Zekeriya Houses, Fig7. Settlements in Istanbul that are evaluated, Sunflower Houses ([www.sunflowerevleri.com](http://www.sunflowerevleri.com))

Table 2: The method of the evaluation of the settlements in suburban areas of Istanbul, Region and City Scale (Ozdemir, 2006).

	CRITERIA	EVALUATION	POINT
REGION AND CITY SCALE	General Design Principles	Settlements aiming to define the community identity and providing relaxed, peaceful living environment.	5
		Settlements aiming to provide relaxed, peaceful living environment.	4
		Settlements aiming to create peaceful living environment in a natural location.	3
		Settlements aiming to provide privileged living environment.	1
	The Location in the City	Settlements that are located in current or development housing areas	5
		Settlements not located in a forest area, wetland or areas that construction is prohibited but located in areas that are not designated for housing.	3
		Settlements that are located in forest areas, wetlands (outside absolute protection zones) but certificated housing areas.	2
		Settlements that are located in absolute protection zones or in areas that construction is prohibited.	0
	Harmony with Existing Developments	Settlements that are integrated with existing developments.	5
		Settlement that are partially integrated with existing developments.	4
		Settlement that are very little integrated with existing developments.	1
		Settlement that are not integrated with existing developments or damaging the character of existing developments.	0
	Transportation Connections	Settlements containing both public transportation and highway connections.	5
		Settlements containing drive way connection to public transportation connection.	3
		Settlements containing only drive way connections.	1
	Harmony with Traditional, Vernacular and Natural Features	Settlements containing traditional, vernacular and natural features.	5
		Settlements containing traditional and natural features but not vernacular features.	4
		Settlements containing traditional and vernacular features but not natural features.	3
		Settlements containing natural features but not traditional and vernacular features.	2
		Settlements containing traditional features but not natural and vernacular features.	1
	Size	Settlements not containing traditional, vernacular and natural features.	0
		501 – 700 Houses	5
		251 – 500 or 751 – 1001 Houses	4
101 – 250 or 1001 – 1500 Houses		3	
51- 100 or 1501 – 2000 Houses		2	
	50 or less or 2000 or more Houses	1	

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

Table 3: The method of the evaluation of the settlements in suburban areas of Istanbul, Neighborhood scale (Ozdemir, 2006.)

NEIGHBORHOOD SCALE	CRITERIA	EVALUATION	POINT
		Zoning	Transect system is used in the entire settlement.
Transect system is implemented through density varieties.			3
Only two or three scales of the transect system is implemented.			2
Only one scale of the transect system is implemented.			1
Transect system is not implemented.			0
Center		Centers with defined functions and serving both to the settlement and to the region	5
		Centers with defined functions and serving only to the settlement.	4
		Centers with no defined functions.	0
Boundaries		Defined boundaries.	5
		Partially defined boundaries.	3
		No defined boundaries.	0
Size		400 m. radius from the center (5 minute walking distance)	5
		400 m. – 800 m. radius from the center but close to 400 m.	4
		400 m. – 800 m. radius from the center but close to 800 m.	3
		800 m. – 1200 m. radius from the center	2
		1200 m. – 1600 m. radius from the center	1
		1600 m. radius from the center	0
Network of streets		Defined street network types supporting pedestrian access and containing continuity.	5
		Street network types are not defined but support pedestrian access and contain continuity.	4
		Street network types are defined support pedestrian access but don't contain continuity.	3
		Street network types are defined that don't support pedestrian access but contain continuity.	2
		Street network types are defined but don't support pedestrian access and don't contain continuity.	1
		Street network types are not defined, don't support pedestrian access and don't contain continuity.	0
Alternative Transportation		Containing public transportation and bicycle lanes inside the settlement.	5
		Containing only public transportation.	4
		Containing only bicycle lanes	3
		No need to alternative transportation because of the size of the settlement.	2
		No alternative transportation only network of roads.	1
Parking		Balanced distribution of parking spaces that serve to the entire neighborhood and that serve to houses and public spaces.	5
		Containing parking spaces that serve to the entire neighborhood and that serve to houses.	3
		Containing only parking spaces that serve to the entire neighborhood.	2
		Containing only parking spaces that serve to houses.	1
Green Spaces		Balanced distribution of green areas of every scale.	5
	Containing neighborhood green spaces and private gardens.	4	
	Containing only common green spaces.	3	
	Containing only neighborhood green spaces.	2	
Urban Design Patterns	Containing only private gardens	1	
	Urban design patterns defined for the entire settlement and for housing types.	5	
	Urban design patterns defined for the entire settlement but not for housing types.	4	
	Urban design patterns defined for housing types but nor for the master plan of the settlement.	3	
Urban design patterns not defined for the entire settlement and for housing types.	0		

Table 4. The method of the evaluation of the settlements in suburban areas of Istanbul, building and surroundings scale (Ozdemir, 2006).

	CRITERIA	EVALUATION	POINT
	HOUSE AND SURROUNDINGS SCALE	Streets	Street types designed for different uses and that contain hierarchy.
Street types designed for different uses and that don't contain hierarchy.			4
Street types not designed for different uses but contain hierarchy.			3
No need for the definition of different street types because of the size of the settlement.			2
Street types not designed for different uses and that don't contain hierarchy.			0
Streetscape		Various streetscapes are defined based on variety of uses.	5
		Streetscapes are defined without variety.	4
		Streetscapes and not defined and variety is not created.	0
Public Spaces		Public spaces contain squares, parks, playgrounds and sport areas.	5
		Public spaces contain squares, parks and sport areas.	4
		Public spaces contain squares and sport areas.	3
		Public spaces contain only squares.	2
		Public spaces contain only sport areas.	1
		No public spaces defined.	0
Housing Types		Mixed housing types containing vernacular and traditional features.	5
		Mixed housing types containing traditional features but not vernacular features.	4
		Housing types are not mixed but contain vernacular and traditional features.	3
		Mixed housing types not containing traditional and vernacular features.	2
		Housing types containing traditional features but not variety and vernacular features.	1
		Housing types don't contain variety, vernacular and traditional features.	0
Housing Sizes	No house sizes bigger than 400 m <sup>2</sup> is used and contain variety of sizes.	5	
	No house sizes bigger than 400 m <sup>2</sup> is used and but that don't contain variety of sizes.	4	
	House sizes bigger than 400 m <sup>2</sup> is used but that contain variety of sizes.	3	
	House sizes bigger than 400 m <sup>2</sup> is used and don't contain variety of sizes.	2	

## CONCLUSION

The process of formation of new settlement areas in a city has a great influence on urban growth and sprawl. The uncontrolled growth and sprawl causes the fragmentation of the city as a whole and destroys natural environments. The regional plans have a great importance to control urban growth and urban sprawl. It has great importance that the need for new settlement areas is determined before defining new development areas (Ozdemir, 2006).

New Urbanism emphasizes designing neighborhoods free from cars. It was determined that for the selected settlements in Istanbul choosing the location related to the transit line was excluded. Settlements should be located on transit lines routes with walking distance to transit stops. (Ozdemir, 2006).

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

Table 5. The adequacy of settlements to the New Urbanism movement.

Settlement Name	Region Scale	Neighborhood Scale	House and Surroundings Scale	Total Points
Kemer Country	27	37	28	92
Istanbul Istanbul	23	32	22	77
Aqua City	25	21	20	76
Aqua Manors	24	30	21	75
Sunflower Houses	20	34	20	74
Alkent 2000	24	32	18	74
Elysimum Park	17	36	20	73
Guzel Sehir	24	28	19	71
Arcicli Houses	24	27	20	71
Kasaba	17	28	23	68
Zekeriya koy Houses	21	28	19	68
Cesmeler Valley	23	28	17	68
Beykoz Mansions	18	32	16	66
Meseli Houses	14	33	17	64
Sedadkent	26	31	6	63
Optimum Houses	8	30	24	62
Durusu Park	19	25	18	62
Cengelkot Mansions	24	16	20	60
Atlantis Houses	17	25	17	59
Istanbul Palace	21	23	10	54
Vadi Park Houses	15	30	8	53
Burgaz Houses	18	21	10	49
Acarkent	12	26	10	48
Hisar Houses	14	17	8	39

The design of new settlements should be in harmony with historical, vernacular and natural features of the site for the conservation of the city formed by the combination of different elements. The evaluation of the selected settlements in Istanbul showed that harmony with the historical and natural features is important but harmony with the vernacular features was excluded. The design of settlements should contain the vernacular design elements of the site in order to create entirety (Ozdemir, 2006).

The transect system in New Urbanism is created aiming to guarantee the wholeness of neighborhoods. The evaluation of the selected settlements according to the transect system showed that the settlements contain the design elements of the transect system only in the master plan. However this system should be implemented in all urban design scales to create community identity (Ozdemir, 2006).

New urbanist principles enhance the design of neighborhoods free from cars. In this context the transportation network of the settlements should contain an integrated system of car and pedestrian movement. Pedestrian movement system should contain diversity through intersections with motor ways, parallel to motor ways or separate routes (Ozdemir, 2006).

The definition of urban design patterns is important to create entirety of the settlement and for the definition of the community identity. This necessitates that urban design patterns should be defined for all urban design scales (Ozdemir, 2006).

Mixed housing types and sizes are needed to guarantee mixed age and income groups. The creation of mixed housing types and sizes in the selected settlements aimed to give alternatives for users (Ozdemir, 2006).

The character of the urban and social developments today and for the future is closely related with the developments of the past. In this context lately the emergence of the traditional neighborhood designs results from the need to solve contemporary problems through learning from history. The main goal of these approaches is to create neighborhoods designed for human scale. In history cities were designed for human scale with elements in harmony with nature. The goal of the traditional neighborhood designs in urban design is to solve the contemporary urban and social problems in cities through the great qualities of the traditional neighborhoods. This goal is defined based on the relation with people and space and it is aimed to solve social problems through spatial designs (Ozdemir, 2006).

In the process of continuing evolution human kind detaches him self from its own nature and social relations weaken because of that. The design of the living environment with human scale and supporting the creation of strong social relations is needed. The traditional neighborhood designs containing these qualities designed with the synthesis of today and past and leading to the future will strengthen social structure and the creation of high quality urban spaces (Ozdemir, 2006).

## REFERENCES

- Bressi, T., (2002). *The seaside debates: A Critique of the New Urbanism*, 149 sh., Rizzoli, New York.
- Leccese, M., McCormick, K., eds. (2000). *Congress for the New Urbanism*, 194 sh., Mc Graw Hill, ABD.
- Duany, A., (2001). *Transect Seminar*, 9th Congress for the New Urbanism, 7-10 Haziran 2001, New York, USA.
- Dutton, J. A., (2000). *New American Urbanism: Reforming the Suburban Metropolis*, 217, Skira Architecture Library, Milano, Italy.
- Katz, P., (1993). *New Urbanism Towards Architecture of Community*, 245 sh., Mc Graw Hill, New York.
- Ozdemir, A. D. (2006). *The evaluation of Contemporary Approaches in Urban Design: A Research on New Settlement Areas of Istanbul*, ITU Faculty of Architecture, City and Regional Planning Department, Istanbul.
- Steuteville, R., Platen, P., Roberts, R., Brown, S., (2001). *New Urbanism: Comprehensive Report&Best Practices Guide*, New Urban Publications Inc., Ithaca, NY.

## THE REPUBLICAN APARATUS IN THE CONFIGURATION AND RECONFIGURATION OF THE PUBLIC SPACE: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE FOUR RAIL ROADS OF THE WEST SÃO PAULO (BRAZIL)

Marta ENOKIBARA, Prof. Dr.  
Universidade Estadual Paulista Julio de Mesquita - UNESP, Brazil  
marta@faac.unesp.br

### ABSTRACT

*This paper analyzes the formation and transformation of public spaces of 29 cities in the west part of São Paulo state inserted in the four rail roads that strived the occupation of this part of the territory, the Railroads:- Alta Paulista, Alta Sorocabana, Alta Araraquarense and Noroeste . The analysis is mainly focused on public spaces inserted in the area of the original property of the cities and the temporal arch from the 1 st Republic (1889-1930) until the fifties, when the option for roads was clear. The aim of this study was to evaluate the designs set on squares and gardens before and after the insertion of the railroad as well as the role of the state and private companies on the propagation of a vegetal repertory, which is introduced in these spaces and urban afforest. New models of gardens, seedlings, buildings, equipments, techniques and professionals from abroad and from the capital of the state that operated in the countryside emerged from the railroads. Therefore, this research explores the technical and scientific republican apparatus that supported configuration and reconfiguration of the public space in cities of the west part of São Paulo state. Research institutions like the Agronomic Engineering Courses of Escola Politécnica de São Paulo (Polytechnic School of São Paulo) ; Escola Agrícola Prática Luiz de Queiroz de Piracicaba (Agricultural School of Practice Luiz de Queiroz); the Horto Botânico de São Paulo (Botanical Garden of São Paulo) and the Instituto Agrônomo de Campinas (Agronomic Institute of Campinas) which with private companies and entrepreneurs will be able to provide through the railroads the representative republican apparatus needed to the transformation of the public space. The study is part of the FAPESP Theme Project titled "Erudite and technical knowledge in configuration and reconfiguration of urban space –San Paulo State, XIX and XX centuries".*

### INTRODUCTION

The results of this research are inserted in the *sub-theme* 3, titled "Theoretical and technical knowledge in configuration and reconfiguration of cities founded with the opening of pioneer areas of the West of the State of São Paulo" , under the FAPESP Thematic Project titled "Erudite knowledge and technical knowledge in the configuration and reconfiguration of urban space. São Paulo State, XIX and XX Centuries". The research involves three Brazilian universities and an Italian one: *Universidade de Campinas* (UNICAMP), *Universidade Estadual Paulista* (UNESP), *Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Campinas* (Puccamp) and the *Università IUAV di Venezia*. The research is funded by the Research Support Foundation of São Paulo (FAPESP), it started in 2006 and it is forecasted to end in 2010. In the specific case of the group of professors at Unesp responsible for sub-theme 3, the research is still being developed following two parallel movements which supply the specific research.

1<sup>st</sup> movement - to survey the processes of configuration and re-configuration of cities located in areas called "pioneer areas" (MOMBEIG, 1984), opened with the implantation of the four railway lines (fig.1 ) which run parallel to each other in the west of the state of Sao Paulo (*Araraquarense, Paulista, Noroeste and Sorocabana*).

2<sup>nd</sup> movement - to survey select characters, manuals, travel guides, institutions and firms, to supply the specific research collated from the material surveyed.

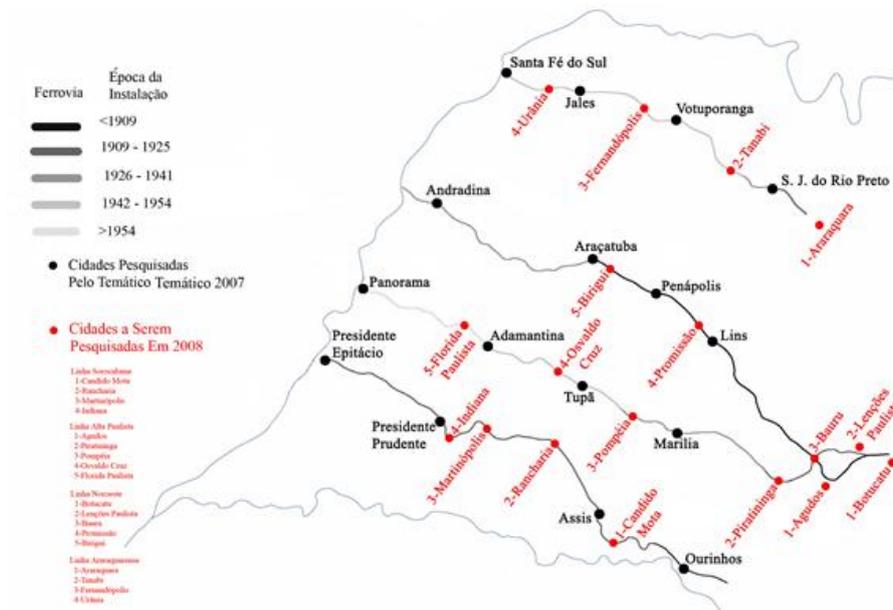


Figure 1 Railways in the West Paulista: Araraquarense, Noroeste, Paulista and Sorocabana (from top to bottom) with the cities which were studied.

The research involved in shaping and reshaping of public space, under my responsibility, conducted a survey and reconstitution of the design of 69 squares present in the original heritage of 29 cities (Diehl, 2009; Gasparotto, 2007; Lanca, 2009; Machado, 2007, 2009; SANTOS, 2007; Simabuko, 2007, 2009; Zechinato, 2008). From this material were done specific researches to evaluate the scientific and technical apparatus that supported these changes, as well as the vegetable repertoire.

The purpose of this investigation was to evaluate the designs that are shaped in squares and gardens before and after the introduction of the railroad, and the role of the state and private enterprise in the disclosure of a vegetal repertoire that was introduced in these areas and in urban forestry .

Based on the survey results, the paper demonstrates how there was a Republican apparatus that helped support the adjustment and transformation of public space in these studied cities over the four railway sidings. Ultimately it demonstrates, sustained in the survey results, how all these squares are a heritage of a landscape that reflects a period of history in São Paulo and therefore should be preserved.

## SQUARES AND GARDENS OF WEST PAULISTA

The systematic survey of the 69 squares inserted in the original patrimony of the 29 studied cities, has brought some important data. Of the 29 studied cities, 19 were founded in the period of the 1<sup>st</sup> Republic (1889 to 1930). The majority, in its initial path of the urban areas, defined for the formation of future squares. All the squares were built after the arrival of the railway. Of regular format, the squares were a result of the design of grid which ranged from 80x80 meters to 107x107 m. In some cases there was the junction of one or more grid cells, a third part of this either with irregular formats at the crossing of routes in diagonal or even in the light of particularity of the urban layout proposed.

The total of the 69 studied squares ratified partial results of the research which has already been submitted to other Congresses, where it is found that the West Paulista is possessor of a landscape patrimony which is surprising by its singularity. This singularity is shown by some points. Most cities, even if they have not been originated from a religious patrimony, have one square dedicated to the Church Matrix (fig. 2 to 4) and another one to the railway station. The majority has a regular grid format corresponding to the urban fabric in which they are inserted and a symmetrical design generally composed of radial lines toward the center of the square which will hold a water fountain, a "chafariz" or a bandstand. The latter, an earmarking equipment which is characteristic of the squares of the interior. Around the central square or along the axis between the square of the matrix and the square of the rail, there are usually a concentration of significant buildings such as the Church Matrix (when not occupying the central portion of square), hotels, banks, the City Council and the City Hall, the theater, Forum, the Municipal Elementary School and the cinema. The surroundings of the square, with its generally eclética architecture, constitute the assembly of buildings and at the same time gives it a unit. The scenario is also completed through the vegetation regulated by technical topiary (species such as buchinhos), in addition to other shrub species (such as *cicas*, *agaves*), palms (as the *cariotas*), conifers, *tuias* and trees. In the collected material there are few references on the tree species planted in the squares and gardens, and also few references about urban afforestation, which led to the research on specific verification, including, whether there was a relationship between species used in the capital and in the cities of the interior of the state.

## THE STATE AND THE PRIVATE INITIATIVE IN DISSEMINATING A VEGETABLE REPERTOIRE

At the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century two schools and two institutions and two schools involving agronomic and botanical researching were created in the capital of the State of São Paulo and in its interior cities: the *Comissão Geográfica e Geológica* (Geographical and Geological Commission - 1886), which in 1897, would have its Botanical Garden located in the *Sierra da Cantareira* in the city of São Paulo; the *Imperial Estação Agrônômica* (Agronomic Imperial Station - 1887), which in 1892 would become a state station with the name of *Instituto Agrônômico do Estado* (Agronomic Institute of the State) and located in the city of Campinas; the Polytechnic School of São Paulo (1893), which had a course for training agronomic engineers (1893-1910) with their respective field of experimental crops; and the Agricultural School of Practice *Luiz de Queiroz* (1901), located in the city of Piracicaba. In addition

to these two institutions and two schools, in 1905 the Botanical Garden was created in the backyard of the Museum of *Ipiranga* (today *Paulista* Museum), inaugurated in 1890.

All these institutions had their technical staff formed mostly by foreign professionals, who have brought with them their experience and knowledge to assist in the inventory, cataloguing, selection, acclimation, reproduction and dissemination of a vegetable repertoire.

“Inventory and cataloguing” because at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, they did not know exactly the potential of the Brazilian vegetation. It is true that since the 18<sup>th</sup> century several foreign travelers had already been performing surveys in the Brazilian flora and fauna, but a systemic study aiming at the selection and reproduction of species with economic and public health purposes in large scale, had not yet been carried out.

“Acclimation” , because some species of economic purposes, such as it was the case of the Australian *eucalyptus* tree and others of ornamental purposes, as the European *plátano* were widely used since the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in rural and urban environment, respectively. The *eucalyptus* was introduced as a replacement of wood of native forest, which was being decimated at frightening proportions with the expansion of the railway lines in direction of the West Paulista. As for the use of *plátano*, it was because it had been the most widely used tree in the urban afforestation in the transformations of public space of the city of Paris, conducted by Adolphe Alphand during the administration of Eugène Baron Haussmann, and it was chosen not only to be used in the city of São Paulo, but also in various other cities of the interior. It was used for urban afforestation aiming at both aesthetic and public health purposes.

“Selection, reproduction and dissemination” of species because if in a first moment there were alien species which were satisfactorily acclimated to be used in the markets, in the gardens and urban afforestation, in a second moment, there was the selection of native Brazilian species that could replace the exotic implanted. This is not only due to problems of climate and control of pests (as it was the case of *plátano*), but also by demand of the recovery of Brazilian indigenous flora, and more precisely the Paulista flora.

In this sense, important work had been conducted by researchers located in the institutions cited above and who were subject to the newly created Department of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works. The study called “*Notas sobre as plantas exóticas introduzidas no estado de São Paulo*” (Notes on exotic plants introduced in the state of São Paulo), published in 1906 by the Swedish naturalist Albert Löfgren, director of Cantareira Botanical Garden, shows the efforts of the State in the dissemination of a vegetable repertoire and, at the same time, the election of the city as the empirical field of study of the species which would be better recommended for the urban green areas. The objective of the publication, according to Löfgren, was “to provide orientation to the solicitors of seedlings, who had little or no knowledge on the material received”. In 1911, an extensive work of identification of vegetation of the city of São Paulo and its surroundings was published by professor of botany, the Swiss Alfred Usteri, of Agronomic Engineering Course of Polytechnic School, showing the indigenous and satisfactorily acclimated plants. In 1917, it will be published “*Les Bois Indigènes of São Paulo*”, by Edmundo Navarro de Andrade and Otavio Vecchi, respectively chief and assistant of Forestry Service of Paulista Company of Railroads, where were identified hundreds of plant species. In 1929, the botanic Francisco Carlos Hoehne, director of the Botanical Garden of Paulista Museum and later the Botanical

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

Garden of São Paulo, publishes “*As plantas ornamentais da flora brasileira e seu papel como fatores da salubridade publica, da estethica urbana e das artes decorativas nacionaes*” (The ornamental plants of the Brazilian flora and its role as factor of public health, urban esthetic and decorative national arts), showing, as the title indicates, the broad spectrum of applications of the Brazilian native flora.

The distribution of this vegetable repertoire which was being researched and tested in state institutions and in the urban environmental areas was in charge of the Botanical Garden of Cantareira and the Agronomic Institute of the State, respectively located in the capital and in the interior cities (Löfgren, 1906). The seedlings were distributed to private property, to the City Councils and Municipal Governments, to schools, hospitals, convents, Cemeteries of the capital and of the interior, where the evidence of the exchange of seedlings can be proved and compared through the research carried out in the reports of 1909 to 1912 of the “*Serviço de Distribuição de Plantas e Sementes*” (Service of Distribution of Plants and Seeds) (fig. 2 and 3) of the Agronomic Institute of the State and in researches in cities formed along the four railroad branches which gave opportunity to the occupation of the West Paulista.

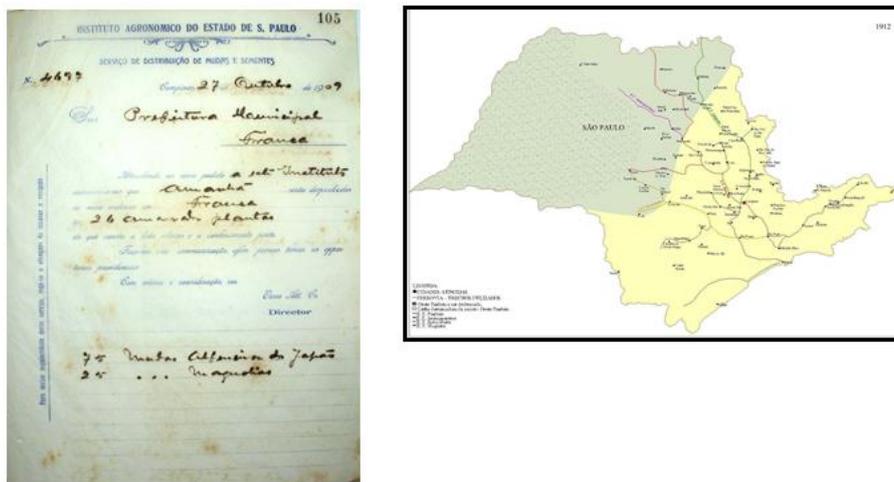


Fig. 2 (Left) - Distribution of seedlings and seeds of Agronomic Institute of the State of São Paulo. Order of dispatch of seedlings requested, with the description of the species, quantity, the name of solicitor, city. Fig. 3 (Right) - Map with the towns which have been attended with seedlings by Agronomic Institute of the State of São Paulo in the period of 1909 to 1912 and its relationship with the railways. The area in green corresponds to the so called West Paulista

At that period, the most requested species at the Agronomic Institute were *Alfeneiro do Japão* (*Ligustrum japonicum*), *eucalyptus* (several species) and *Magnolia Amarela* (*Michelia champaca*). During all that period the city which most requested seedlings at the Agronomic Institute was the city of São Paulo. However, some differences are noted in the application of this repertoire in the capital and in the interior cities. While the *alfeneiro do japão* has its simultaneous application in the capital and in the interior of the state where the most evident example was its use on Paulista Avenue afforestation, the *eucalyptus*, very used at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century in São Paulo, ceases to be used in the capital after

1910, but appears as one of the most distributed species in the Agronomic Institute in all years of the period examined (1909 to 1912). The same thing occurs with the *plátano*, ceasing to be used in the capital in 1909, only from 1911 it will reappear in the lists of demands at the Agronomic Institute and yet very timid. On the other hand, the *jacaranda mimosa* (*Jacaranda mimosifoliae*), which will replace the *plátano*, eucalyptus and alfeneiro (all exotic species) in several streets of the Paulista capital, appeared for the first time in 1915 in some streets in the suburb Brás and a large part of blends opened by the City Company (Guaraldo, 2002), already appear in the list of the Agronomic Institute in 1911 (Zechinato, 2008).

Regardless of these timing differences, what is clear is that, in a first moment, the exotic species are the species which predominate in the urban environment, in a second moment (which in São Paulo occurs after 1915), come to predominate native species, showing a clear nationalist enthusiasm, which will culminate in the Week of Modern Art of 1922. The most evident example is again the Paulista Avenue that in 1919 receives native species - ipês amarelos (*Tabebuia chrisotricha*) interspersed by exotic species - alfeneiros do japão (*Ligustrum japonicum*) and the project of the Park of Paulista (nowadays Siqueira Campos Park) by the urbanist Barry Parker. Parker proposes to maintain the forest in its integrity, contrary to the proposal by Ramos de Azevedo, where a house of spectacles would occupy great part of the center of the block and opposite to the belvedere of his authorship already inaugurated in 1916. Also in 1919 it is edited by Alfred Usteri the "Guia Botanico do Jardim da Luz e da Praça da Republica" (The Botanical Garden Guide for Jardim da Luz and for Praça da República). The book has an introductory note by the nationalist writer Monteiro Lobato, and some native species of plants already appear and are introduced (Usteri, 1919).

On one hand there is a clear change in the increased vegetal repertoire used, on the other hand the landscape repertoire is marked much more by a change of posture than of design in the free spaces. The affiliation to French models used in the Paris of the mid 19th century, is noted by the articles about gardening which circulated at the time as the one by Jules Vacherot, "Parcs et Jardens au Commencement du XX-ème siècle", whose first edition, in 1908, as set out in the Library of the Architecture and Urbanism College in the University of São Paulo, belonged to agronomist Antonio Andrea Etzel, graduated at the School of Agronomy of São Miguel and director of the Administration of Gardens appointed by the Mayor Antonio Prado. The second edition, 1925, was dedicated to architect Joseph Antonie Bouvard, the successor of Alphand in the Service of Parks and Sidewalks in Paris. In this publication it can also be found surfboard drawings prepared for the Boulevard of the cities of São Paulo and Buenos Aires (1906- 1909). (Guaraldo, 2002). Another treaty which had been circulating in the period was Edouard Andrew's (collaborator of Alphand) denominated "Traite general de la composition des parcs et jardins" (fig. 4), 1879, whose copy is available in the Library of Polytechnic University of São Paulo belonged to Alexandre Albuquerque, architect-engineer graduated in 1905 and subsequently professor of the same School and whose father was Frederick Albuquerque, inspector of Public Gardens of São Paulo in 1889 and replaced in 1891 by Albert Löfgren.

In these treaties various styles of gardens are exposed showing which ones are the most appropriate for each situation or even those which admit two styles in the same space. Thus, the *style paysager* was considered propitious for large areas such as parks, gardens and residential rural areas. However, for small squares (such as the

*Parisian squares*) it was indicated the *style géométrique*. For the parks and properties of large extensions it was also advised the *style composite*, with the *style géométrique* joined to the edification, turning gradually to the *style paysager*, for the most extensive promoting areas. The treaties also specified the species to be used as well as their location to achieve the desired effect (Vacherot, 1879).

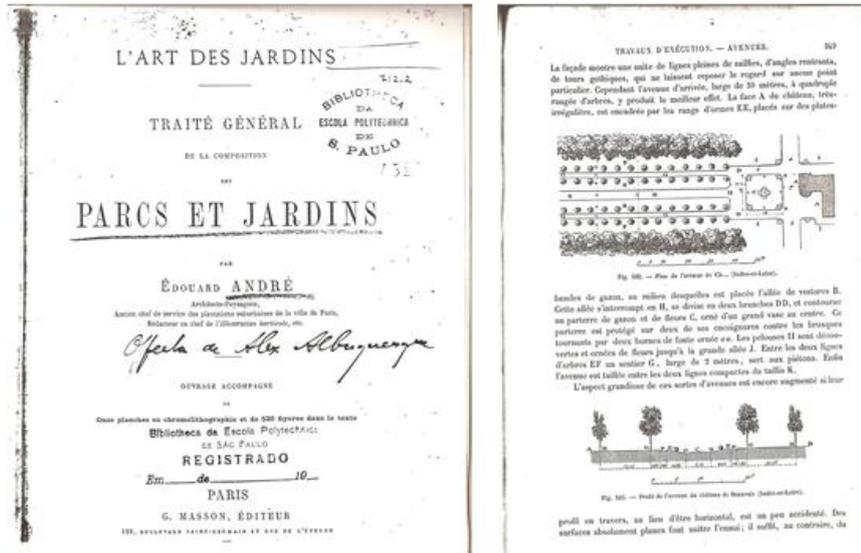


Fig. 4 - Traite general de la composition des parcs et jardins.

## LANDSCAPE AND VEGETAL REPERTORY IN THE WEST PAULISTA

With the circulation of European Landscapers in the city of São Paulo; with the exchange of plant species among botanical gardens and institutions for research, schools and individual firms (both in the capital and in the cities of the interior) and the dissemination of some of these species catalogs (such as the various catalogs that circulated from the firm Dierberger & Cia, Fig. 5) and books (as those already mentioned); there was a context which created conditions for the dissemination of a vegetable and landscape repertoire which reached the cities that were being founded or remodeled along the 4 railway branches which occupied the West Paulista. The distribution of seedlings and seeds, from both the Agronomic Institute of the State and the firm Dierberger & Cia, played a crucial role in disseminating this directory using vegetable-supply lines by rail, as it can be seen in the map with cities attended by the Agronomic Institute in the period of 1909 to 1912 (Fig. 3) and the fields of culture of Dierberger firm (Fig. 6). It was by the rail that circulated, therefore, the plants, the professionals and a landscape repertoire.

Two of the cities researched by the scholarship student Bruna Zechinato, have shown that there was a consonance between the vegetable repertoire applied in the city of São Paulo and in the interior cities (preserved some timing differences as cited above). In the city of Jaboticabal, for example, the species which are common to the ones used in São Paulo are: *Araucária (Araucaria brasiliensis)*, *Cedro Nacional (Cedrella fissilis)*,

*Cipreste* (*Cupressus sempervirens* L.), *Figueira*, *Jacarandá* and *Pinheiro* (not specified which variety, but probably it was the *Jacaranda mimosifolia*), *Magnólia Amarela* (*Michelia champaca*), *Palmeira Imperial* (*Roystonea oleraceae*), *Plátano* (*Platanus orientalis*) and *Tuia* (*Thuja* sp.). In the city of Jahu, the common species to the ones in São Paulo were: *Alfeneiro do Japão* (*Ligustrum japonicum*), *Pinheiro*, *Magnólia*, *Murta* (not specified which variety), *Flamboyant* (*Caesalpinia flamboyants*), *Cipreste* (*Cupressus sempervirens* L.) and *Saponaria* (*Sapindus saponaria*). It is interesting to observe how the *palmeira imperial*, symbol of previous political regime, is always present in the majority of squares and farms of the West Paulista.

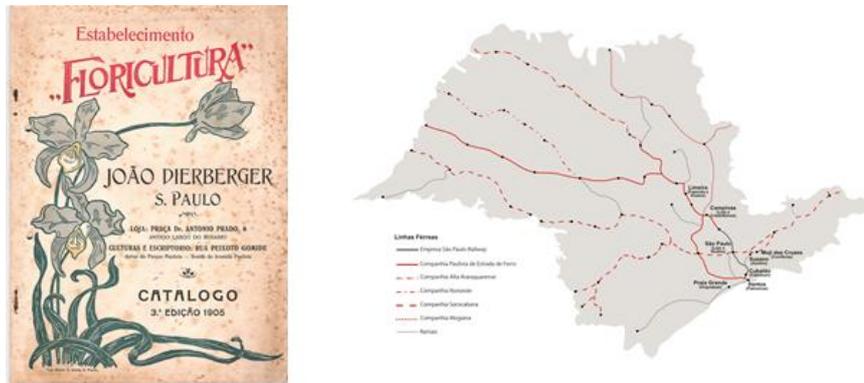


Fig 5 Catalog 1905 Establishment Floriculture. firm open by John Dierberger in 1893 in São Paulo. Appearing 6 Map with the fields of culture of the Firms Dierberger in the State of São Paulo and its relationship with the railway lines.

In the 69 studied squares along the 4 railway branches, the predominant design, was the regular and symmetrical ones (Fig. 7, 8, 9). The equipment built in these squares probably reflected the ones used in "Jardim da Luz" in São Paulo City, which in 1901 had its reform completed with the insertion of new equipments: the bandstand, the kiosk, the banks and the iron luminaires. All these elements are present in the majority of the studied squares in the West Paulista. Nevertheless, while there was a change of posture in the gardens of the city of São Paulo since 1919, with the preservation of remnant forest integrated to the project by Barry Parker for the Park of Paulista Avenue, in the West Paulista, we found no similar situations in the squares and gardens of the studied cities. On the contrary, the iconography shows how separate the forest, the areas for cultivation of coffee and the city were.



Fig 7 (Top left) - Plant of the Patrimony of the city of Tupa, with the location of the proposed squares outlined. In the center it can be seen the design of the railway (Companhia Paulista).

Fig. 8 (Top right) - Photo of "Praça da Bandeira" in the city of Tupa. Source: the same as the above.

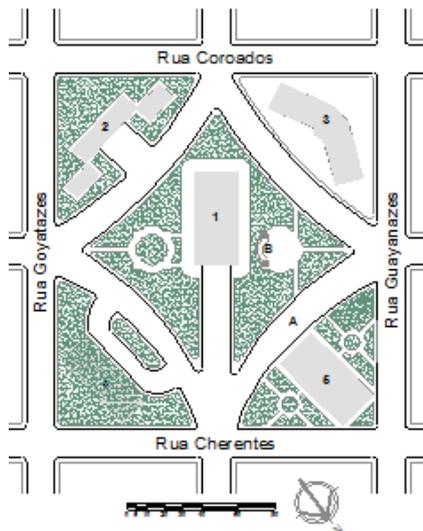


Fig 9 (Bellow left) – Plant of the reconstitution of the design of "Bandeira Square" and the indication of its surrounding buildings.

- 1 The Matrix church
- 2 The Municipal Elementary School
- 3 Tamoios Hotel
- 4 The City council and The City Hall
- 5 Tupa Cinema

## DEVASTATION X PRESERVATION

The concern with the large scale cut down of the vegetable coverings plant in the West Paulista, made the engineer agronomist Edmundo Navarro de Andrade (graduated at the *Escola Nacional de Coimbra*), of the Paulista Company of Railroads, research about the best species of tree which could be planted in large scale and with rapid growth, to replace the native wood and supply the furnaces of locomotives. The test of various species, including the native ones, showed that the Eucalyptus, exotic, was the most indicated. Contrary to the Paulista Company, the other companies such as the Sorocabana, kept sawmills in the cities of Assis and Candido Mota, using native wood to supply not only Sorocabana, but also other railroads (Simabuko, 2008). In the 1930s, there were 36 sawmills in the vicinity of Presidente Prudente (also attended by a line of Sorocabana) (Dean, 2004). However, not only the coffee plantations, the rail, the sawmills and implantation of large cities were responsible for the cutting down of the natural vegetable coverings. Warren Dean, in his classic book "*A Ferro e Fogo*" (By Iron and Fire), demonstrates how Europeans, excited by scientists' travel memories such as Humboldt, von Martius and La Condamine, helped to create a trade of some plant

flowers such as epiphyte inflorescences- bromeliads, cacti and, above all, orchids making a single firm company import 100 to 200 thousand orchids per year. The problem, clarifies Dean, was that “the epiphytes desired by English, Belgian, French and German commercial agents were found up on the branches of the highest trees in the Atlantic Rainforest. The only practical way to obtain them was to cut down the trees” (Dean, 2004).

The coffee plantation was undoubtedly the main cause of deforestation. On one hand the practice of cutting down and burning the forest was a common activity for the planting of coffee, on the other hand some species such as *Pau d'álho* (*Gallesia goarzema*) were preserved from the cutting down of the forest because they were considered, owing to the total empiricism at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth, evidence of certainty of productivity for the planting of coffee crop (Dean, 2004).

It is with the introduction of agricultural technical practice located in Agronomic Institute of the State, in addition to other technical procedures located in the Department of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works of the government of the State of São Paulo; with the dissemination of newspapers from this Registry, in addition to the professionals who were graduating in the Technical Agricultural School Luiz de Queiroz and in the course of agronomic engineering in Politechnic School, that this reality little by little will be changed by the propagation of technical and scientific knowledge in the relations of production.

## CONCLUSION

The systematic survey on the 69 squares of the 29 studied cities in western part of São Paulo state, inserted in the specific research about the vegetal repertoire in gardens and in institutes of education and research has shown a clear circulation of this repertoire in the public spaces of the capital and western São Paulo. Both the vegetal repertoire and landscape repertoire circulated through the professionals, the firms, the manuals and the books, and all was done by the railroads.

The set of actions and deeds showed a clear intention to give visibility to a new period of political and economic history of Brazil - the Republic, and with a clear partnership between free enterprise and the State.

In this context, the studied cities in the west part of São Paulo state proved to possess a landscape heritage that is overwhelmed by the uniqueness they have: squares with regular patterns, the result of urban layout in quadrangle; presence of two squares in cities (one dedicated to the Matrix Church and other to the railway station), presence of significant buildings from the Republican Era (the Municipal Elementary School and the Theater) around the central square or along the axis between the square of the Matrix Church and the Railroad Station; square furniture consists of benches, lamp posts, fountains and iron band gazebo and a common vegetable repertoire in most cities.

Ultimately, based on the research results, it becomes evident the need for preservation of the set of representative urban buildings and squares present in some cities in western São Paulo today, whose streets still have a route, equipment and original vegetation as well as surrounding buildings.

## REFERENCES

- Andrade, E.N. and Vecchi, O. (1917) Les bois indigènes de São Paulo. Contribution à l'étude de la Flore Forèstièrre de l'État de São Paulo (Brésil). Secretarie de l'Agriculture Commerce et Travaux de l'État de S. Paulo. São Paulo, Typographia Alongi & Miglino.
- Andre, E. (1879) Traité general de la composition des parcs et jardins. Paris, G. Masson.
- Dean, W. (2004) A ferro e fogo: a história e a devastação da Mata Atlântica brasileira. 5ª ed. São Paulo, Companhia da Letras, 2004.
- Diehl, J. (2009) Praças e Jardins do Oeste Paulista. A conformação e transformação do espaço público com a introdução da ferrovia: ramal da Alta Paulista. Relatório Final de Bolsa de Iniciação Científica FAPESP. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Marta Enokibara.
- Dierberger & Cia (1925) Arte e Jardim. São Paulo, s.ed.
- Gasparotto, A. B. (2007) Praças e Jardins do Oeste Paulista. A conformação e transformação do espaço público com a introdução da ferrovia: linha Noroeste. Relatório Final de Bolsa de Iniciação Científica FAPESP. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Marta Enokibara.
- Guaraldo, E. (2002) Repertório e identidade. Espaços públicos em São Paulo, 1890 – 1930. São Paulo, Curso de Pós-graduação da Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo, USP. Tese de Doutorado.
- Hoehne, F.C. (1951) Dados autobio-bibliográficos do botânico. In: Relatório Anual do Instituto de Botânica. São Paulo, Secretaria da Agricultura do Estado de São Paulo.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1930, 1936) As plantas ornamentais da flora brasileira e seu papel como factores da salubridade pública, da esthetica urbana e das artes decorativas nacionaes. São Paulo, Secretaria da Agricultura Vol. I e II.
- Lança, J.F. (2009) Praças e Jardins do Oeste Paulista. A conformação e transformação do espaço público com a introdução da ferrovia: ramal da Alta Araraquarense. Relatório Final de Bolsa de Iniciação Científica FAPESP. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Marta Enokibara.
- Löfgren, A. (1906) Notas sobre as plantas exóticas introduzidas no estado de São Paulo. São Paulo, Editora da Revista Agrícola. Publicação vinculada à Secretaria da Agricultura, Commercio e Obras Públicas do Estado de São Paulo.
- Machado, G.C.M. (2007) Praças e Jardins do Oeste Paulista. A conformação e transformação do espaço público com a introdução da ferrovia: ramal da Alta Paulista. Relatório Final de Bolsa de Iniciação Científica FAPESP. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Marta Enokibara.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2009) Dierberger Arquitetura Paisagística Ltda. Ensaio de Catalogação. Relatório Final de Bolsa de Iniciação Científica FAPESP. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Marta Enokibara.

- Santos, A.S. (2007) Praças e Jardins do Oeste Paulista. A conformação e transformação do espaço público com a introdução da ferrovia: ramal da Alta Araraquarense. Relatório Final de Bolsa de Iniciação Científica FAPESP. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Marta Enokibara.
- Simabuko, R.T. (2007; 2009) Praças e Jardins do Oeste Paulista. A conformação e transformação do espaço público com a introdução da ferrovia: ramal da Alta Sorocabana. Relatório Final de Bolsa de Iniciação Científica FAPESP. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Marta Enokibara.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2009) Praças e Jardins do Oeste Paulista. A conformação e transformação do espaço público com a introdução da ferrovia Alta Sorocabana. Relatório Final de Bolsa de Iniciação Científica FAPESP. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Marta Enokibara.
- Zechinato, B.P. (2008) O Instituto Agrônomo do Estado e o repertório vegetal nas cidades do Oeste Paulista no início do século XX. Relatório Final de Bolsa de Iniciação Científica FAPESP. Orientação: Profa. Dra. Marta Enokibara.
- Usteri, A. (1906) Contribuição para o conhecimento da flora dos arredores da cidade de São Paulo pelo Dr. Phil. A. Usteri. In: Anuário da Escola Polytechnica de São Paulo para o Anno de 1906. 6<sup>o</sup> Anno. São Paulo, Typographia do Diário Official.
- Vacherot, J. (1908, 1925). Parcs et Jardins au Commencement du XX-ème siècle. Paris, Octave Doin Librairie Agricolle.

## HOW TO ACHIEVE SUSTAINABLE CONSERVATION IN THE HISTORIC HOUSING NEIGHBOURHOODS OF ISTANBUL?

Müge AKKAR ERCAN, Assistant Professor  
Middle East Technical University, Turkey  
akkar@metu.edu.tr

### **ABSTRACT**

*The launch of several conservation and regeneration initiatives in the deprived historic quarters of Istanbul raises the question of how far these recent endeavours have achieved sustainable solutions responsive to the historic environment and the fundamental elements of the social environments. This paper aims to address this question by setting out a relationship between sustainability, community needs and conservation. Based on the premise that conservation and regeneration strategies, if they find the ways of reconciling the needs, aspirations and concerns of local communities, will lead to more equitable and sustainable solutions to the problems historic quarters face, it examines the recent European Union funded conservation-led regeneration initiative in Fener and Balat, a declining neighbourhood located in the Historic Peninsula and mainly inhabited by the poor, vulnerable immigrants. After highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of the initiative, the paper underlines the key principles for the future initiatives to achieve sustainable conservation in deprived historic neighbourhoods of Istanbul.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

Istanbul, with its rapidly growing population of 12.6 million, its strategic location and history, is not only the largest and most important socio-economic and cultural centre of Turkey, but also it is regarded as a world city. Since the early-1980s, with the increasing interest of global capital on Istanbul, the city has been changing more rapidly than ever before. New, luxurious, distinctive and exclusive urban 'ghettos' have been developed in the core and periphery of the city, remarkably strengthening urban segregation, fragmentation and social exclusion. Equally, the historic urban quarters have become the main concerns of key decision-makers due to their potentials of being used for city-marketing and imaging strategies, thereby increasing the city's competitiveness. Several conservation and regeneration<sup>1</sup> initiatives have been recently launched in deprived historic quarters to create exclusive and distinctive places for tourists, visitors, potential residents and service sector office workers, while resulting in the displacement of poor, vulnerable communities of these sites. It is therefore questionable how far the recent conservation and regeneration efforts have achieved sustainable solutions for the historic sites in Istanbul. This paper seeks to answer this question by setting out a relationship between sustainability, community needs and conservation, and by examining the recent regeneration story of Fener and Balat (F&B), a declining neighbourhood in the Historic Peninsula, some parts of which were inscribed on UNESCO World Heritage List in 1985. After studying how far the recent F&B regeneration initiative has provided equitable and sustainable policy solutions to balance community needs, aspirations and values and conservation policies of the historic fabric, it seeks to give recommendations for future regeneration and

conservation initiatives to achieve sustainable conservation solutions in historic housing quarters of Istanbul.

## SUSTAINABILITY, COMMUNITY NEEDS AND CONSERVATION

The Brundtland Commission provided the often-quoted definition of 'sustainable development' as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987: 8). The Commission underlines two key concepts of sustainable development: "the concept of 'needs', in particular the essential needs of the world's poor, to which overriding priority should be given; and the idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organization in the environment's ability to meet present and future needs" (WCED, 1987: 8). Sustainability, therefore, is about meeting basic human needs and wants by researching and identifying new ways of creating economic vitality, protecting and maintaining healthy environment, and building healthy communities (Bauen *et al.*, 1996).

Satterthwaite (1999) categorises human needs in today's cities under three broad groups, namely *economic needs*, *social, cultural, environmental and health needs* and *political needs*. *Economic needs* refers to "access to an adequate livelihood or productive assets; also economic security when unemployed, ill, disabled or otherwise unable to secure a livelihood", while *social, cultural, environmental and health needs* comprises both "a shelter which is healthy, safe, affordable and secure, within a neighbourhood with provision for piped water, sanitation, drainage, transport, health care, education and child development", and "a home, workplace and living environment protected from environmental hazards", and shelters and services meeting the specific needs of children and of adults responsible for most child-rearing (Satterthwaite, 1999: 96). This category embraces "needs related to people's choice and control –including homes and neighbourhoods which they value and where their social and cultural priorities are met" (Satterthwaite, 1999: 96). To achieve these goals, a more equitable distribution of income between nations and, in most cases, within nations is indispensable. The third category comprises *political needs* including "freedom to participate in national and local politics and in decisions regarding management and development of one's home and neighbourhood, within a broader framework which ensures respect for civic and political rights and the implementation of environmental legislations" (Satterthwaite, 1999: 96). This category essentially requires the creation and safeguarding of a continuous public realm within which community participation and involvement in decision making processes can take place. Sustainable development in cities arguably requires that economic, social, cultural, environmental, health and political needs of local communities are met. To satisfy all these needs will ultimately help to ensure social justice, equity and to improve quality of life; and therefore to achieve greater sustainability in the built environment (Lezama-Lopez, 2006).

Likewise, sustainable development implies minimising the waste of cultural, historical and natural assets within cities that are irreplaceable and thus non-renewable –such as, historic artefacts, buildings and districts (Satterthwaite, 1999). The cultural built heritage is the inherited fabric with particular cultural, historic and aesthetic values among others (Lichfield, 1997). It is considered not only as a resource but also as an asset for the present and future society. Hence, conservation of these assets and their management

in an effective way are indispensable, although conservation of the built environment with different types of implementation in practice has always been a subject of debate, particularly leading to raise questions about what should be conserved, how and for whom. From this stem, Ashworth (1997) notes two general approaches to conservation that directly affect the manner of how and for whom the existing assets should be used or adapted. The first one is 'preservationist', where pure conservation is sought for the products of the past, but new development or change in the urban fabric is seldom permitted, whether those changes are creative or not (Ashworth, 1997). The other approach is conservation as heritage which seeks to conserve the past as a commodity in order to be consumed by certain targeted markets, mainly tourism (Ashworth, 1997).

A new perspective on the sustainability-conservation praxis, however, emerged from the United Nations' (UN) sustainable development programme, Agenda 21, suggesting the restoring of the built environment fabric to meet collective needs (Satterthwaite, 1999). This new understanding -namely *sustainable conservation*- requires the continuous utilisation of the built heritage in a more rational and resource-efficient way, adapting present needs and new uses but lengthening the life of the assets and at the same time recycling derelict lands and historic buildings, reducing demand for peripheral development and facilitating the creation of compact cities (Delafons, 1997; Lichfield, 1997; Couch and Dennemann, 2000; Rodrigo-Cervantes, 2006). Here the challenge is to find innovative and creative conservation solutions fitting modern uses without risking the loss of inherited built resources for future generations. Sustainable conservation therefore implicitly requires the need for good design, the use of modern technology to enable building adaptation and the introduction of the regulations which should be flexible for sensitive conversion and renewal into the legislative structure (Feilden, 1994).

For heritage resources, sustainable conservation involves not only ensuring the continuing contribution of heritage to the present and the future through the thoughtful and intelligent management of change responsive to the historic environment and collective needs, but also preserving the fundamental elements of the social environments. As Luxen (2004) suggests, "there is an increasing agreement on the definition of heritage as a social ensemble of many different, complex and independent manifestations, reflecting a culture of humanity". Thus the challenges of (*sustainable*) conservation field stem not only from historical heritage sites themselves, but from the context in which society embeds them (Punekar, 2006, italics added). "These contexts –the values people draw from cultural heritage and the uses to which the cultural heritage is put- are the real source of meaning of heritage, and the *raison d'être* for conservation in all senses" (Avrami and Mason, 2000). Hence, protecting poor, vulnerable communities living and working in, and using economically depressed and socially and physically deprived historic urban quarters in accordance with their multi-faceted needs, aspirations and values and, ultimately turning them into sustainable communities are also indispensable for sustainable conservation. The difficult task of conservation initiatives, particularly in historic neighbourhoods, is therefore to develop strategies encompassing both the conservation of historic built environment and the elements of the social environments. Such strategies, if they find the ways of reconciling the needs, aspirations and concerns of local communities and the conservation of the historic environments, will lead to more equitable and sustainable solutions to the problems historic quarters face. The following section elaborates this assumption using the F&B example.

## FENER AND BALAT: ITS LOCATION, HISTORY AND COMMUNITY PROFILE

The F&B Quarter, surrounded by Byzantine walls from the fifth century AD to the west and the Golden Horn to the north, is located on the Historic Peninsula of Istanbul. The history of the Quarter dates back to the Byzantine period. Fener, the home of the Greek Patriarchate and the centre of the Orthodox Church, was predominantly an upper-class Greek neighbourhood from the Ottoman period to the 1960s (Belge, 2003). Balat, inhabited mostly by Jews, with some Armenian, Greek and Muslim dwellers, was a vibrant hub for fishery and port management before the nineteenth century (Belge, 2003; Özbilge, 2005). The move of the wealthy inhabitants of the Quarter in the 1960s and their replacement with poor immigrants, together with the contamination and pollution of the Golden Horn, caused the dilapidation of F&B (Özbilge, 2005). Between 1984 and 1987, the coastal area was cleared by large-scale demolition and a park and a road were built along the shore of the Golden Horn. Despite the coastline clearance, the area continued to deteriorate (Özbilge, 2005). F&B, with its nineteenth-century grid plan and hewn-stone, terraced houses with bay windows and richly ornamented facades, as well as its many churches, mosques and synagogues and the sixteenth-century Balat Market, is today under grave threat of decline.

With 36158 inhabitants in the year 2000, F&B is densely populated (TSI, 2007). The community constituted immigrants dominantly from the Black Sea Region (Fatih Municipality et al., 1998; FSWW, 2004). Family ties and kinship were found to be very strong. The majority of families (62%) were made up of four or five people with the father-mother-children family unit and a significant number of the families shared their houses with parents or relatives (TSI, 2007; Fatih Municipality et al., 1998). The majority of the residents were tenants (60%), but allegiance to the neighbourhood was found to be high among the residents (FSWW, 2004).

The local community suffered from multi-faceted problems of economic, social and urban deprivation. 46% of the families in F&B earned less than €243.90 monthly, being under the poverty line for a family of four in Turkey that was €261.59 per month in 2004 (FSWW, 2004). High unemployment among residents with mostly unqualified labour force, poor education and health services, high crime rates, problems of security and safety were the major community-related issues to be tackled for the regeneration of F&B (Fatih Municipality et al., 1998; FSWW, 2004). The local community complained about poor living conditions -including the accumulation of rubbish in the streets, flooding in winter due to the inadequate drainage system, heat insulation problems in the houses and unclean drinking water- and ranked nine issues that should be addressed. From the most to the least urgent, these were: i) restoration of the buildings and improvement in living conditions; ii) introduction of natural gas into the district; iii) improvement of streets and the removal of traffic problems; iv) construction of parks and green spaces; v) provision of regular street cleaning and rubbish collection services; vi) improvement in the drainage system in order to prevent flooding in winter; vii) demolition of highly dilapidated buildings for health and safety reasons and the reconstruction of new ones; viii) robust solutions to remedy environmental pollution (especially air pollution caused by the burning of low-quality coal in stoves); ix) solutions to clean up the Golden Horn (Fatih Municipality et al., 1998; FSWW, 2004). A sustainable conservation strategy that would tackle both the multi-dimensional

community problems and needs and conservation of the historic environment appeared to be needed.

### **ASSESSING THE RECENT EUROPEAN UNION-FUNDED REGENERATION INITIATIVE<sup>2</sup> REGARDING SUSTAINABLE CONSERVATION MEASURES**

The recent F&B regeneration initiative grew out of the 1996 UN Habitat Conference in Istanbul and was launched in January 2003, following a grant of €7 million and a financial agreement signed between the European Commission, the district municipality and the Secretariat of the Treasury of the Turkish Republic (UNESCO WHC and ICOMOS, 2008; RFBDP, 2005). The scheme, run by an international consortium, was completed in July 2008. The designated site for the project, covering an area of 16.2 ha and including 1401 lots and 1267 buildings, was only one-sixth of the whole Quarter (RFBDP, 2005). The scheme had four main components: the restoration of buildings, the foundation of two social centres, the renovation of Balat Market and the development of a waste management strategy (RFBDP, 2005). Within the project budget, €3.85 million was allocated for building restoration, €1 million for the social centres, €150,000 for Balat Market, €100,000 for the waste management strategy and €1.9 million for the technical assistance team (RFBDP, 2005). The scheme was seen as exemplary by both UNESCO and ICOMOS (2008) because of the efforts made to accommodate community needs and to facilitate the local community participation into the project through the organisation of Community Forum and Community Volunteers.

Becoming a turning point for the regeneration of the Quarter, the project showed that: 1) conservation projects in such heritage sites should be area-based so that the investments focusing on a small designation area can act as a trigger for attracting more investment and economic benefits into a wider locality; and 2) contrary to the conventional conservation policy in Turkey, the multi-dimensional problems of urban deprivation cannot be addressed by upgrading the physical conditions alone. Despite these merits, it failed to provide a sustainable conservation strategy that reconciled the multi-dimensional community needs and conservation policies, as will be elaborated in the following sections.

#### **Strategies of conservation and housing needs**

The Quarter constituted multifarious problems of historic conservation. Of the total building stock within the designated project site, 157 buildings required extensive repairs while 376 buildings required basic repairs, and 365 buildings needed a medium level of repairs (Fatih Municipality et al., 1998). Urgent measures were needed to make these buildings earthquake resistant (D'Ayala, 2003). According to the local community, the priority issues when restoring the buildings were to re-design the interior layout in order to create larger rooms, to separate bathroom and toilet, to construct a separate kitchen, to repair to the stairs, roofs, interior and exterior walls, ceilings and floors, to strengthen the buildings and to provide necessary connections to the natural gas system (Fatih Municipality et al., 1998; FSWW, 2004). Another important issue was the overuse of the historic buildings. These buildings were originally designed to accommodate single families, but they had been inhabited over the last three or four decades by two or three families (a total of 10-15 people), which detracted from its historical qualities. A conservation strategy that would offer solutions to decrease the

number of people living in the historic buildings was crucial. A conservation strategy for the historical churches, synagogues and mosques and their historical and symbolic values was also needed.

Despite these multi-faceted issues, the scope of the conservation strategy was limited to the partial improvement of the physical and living conditions of only 13% of the total historic buildings in the Quarter. Only 119 buildings were restored, of which 86 buildings received basic repairs, and the rest received extensive repairs (Altınsay Özgüner, 2009). For the buildings that underwent extensive repairs a considerable improvement was achieved except in the drainage problems and connection to the natural gas system. The restoration works of the historic buildings were carried out responsive to original materials and building techniques (Altınsay Özgüner, 2009). Despite this, the number of buildings restored by the regeneration initiative lagged far behind the number of historic buildings in need of restoration. Likewise, the conservation strategy could not offer a comprehensive, long-term and sustainable conservation strategy associated with a balanced land-use, economic and social structure. It did not provide any mixed-use strategy for balancing residential, commercial, and community services (transportation, recreation, education and health). Nor was there any strategy to bring together residents from low-, middle- and upper-income groups in a diverse structure of tenure (e.g., owner-occupied, private and social rented accommodation at affordable rates of occupation). The conservation strategy did not provide F&B with alternative policy solutions to protect the historical and heritage qualities of the buildings while also creating alternative affordable housing strategies for the poor families (such as moving some families from the historic buildings to the new buildings that could be constructed specially on suitable vacant land within the Quarter or on neighbouring residential sites). The scheme thus failed to provide a model for affordable, healthy and safe shelters for F&B or other historic neighbourhoods of Istanbul. Historic buildings with religious and symbolic uses did not fall within the scope of the conservation strategy, except the former house of Dimitrie Kantemir, a late-seventeenth century Romanian writer, which was restored in order to become a museum (RFBDP, 2005). Apart from one street, the objective of restoring building groups to enhance the visual impact of regeneration and thus to create a trigger effect was not accomplished either.

The restoration of historic houses and Balat Market and the opening of the museum have not only helped conserve the historic fabric and image of the area, but have also functioned as means for attracting investment, tourists and visitors into the Quarter. Although the preservation of the historic heritage and character of the area has certainly served in the public interest, the recent improvement in the historic urban landscape has attracted the attention of middle- and upper-middle class, national and international investors and real estate companies, with the inevitable result of increased house prices and rents (Kutay, 2008). The initiative had a policy to protect both tenants and private owners, thereby discouraging the gentrification of the Quarter for a short period of time. Under the initiative, private owners were not required to pay for the restoration of the buildings on the condition that they would not sell them or increase rents above inflation during the following five years (coordinator of the feasibility and director of restoration projects). Despite the short-term measures taken by the regeneration initiative, gentrification has inevitably started to occur in response to the increasing historic appeal of the area, creating pressure on the local poor inhabitants to move out of F&B. This is exacerbated by the central government's designation of F&B in 2006 as 'urban renewal site', as well as the Istanbul metropolitan municipality's strategy to use

this site (and the neighbouring sites) as the catalysts for economic competitiveness, city image promotion and marketing campaigns (Kireçci, 2007; Dinçer, 2009). The designation of Istanbul as the European Capital of Culture for 2010 in 2008 has also increased the interest in historic heritage sites, including the neighbourhoods such as F&B with their improved images and appeal, thereby becoming a potential factor contributing to the gentrification. Looking at the conservation strategy overall, the scheme failed to protect the historic heritage and address community needs.

#### **Strategies of social, cultural, environmental, health and economic needs**

Most parents expressed their desire for a community centre serving local women, youngsters and children and a multi-purpose social centre was founded under the regeneration initiative to serve the interests of a small group from a local community (RFBDP, 2005). Now, a part of the social centre is operated by an NGO, and offered courses for a small number of local children while another part is rented out by the district municipality to a private investor to work as a café (Altınsay Özgüner, 2009). The local community still needs a comprehensive, integrated and long-term strategy of health care, education and child development that will help create a sustainable community in F&B. As such, studies from the late-1990s highlighted the need for urgent action towards permanent job creation, provision of poverty aid for very poor families, organisation of courses in accounting, mathematics and marketing and provision of small start-up credits for the community. The regeneration initiative failed however to provide a comprehensive strategy for creating a vibrant local economy in the Quarter.

Nevertheless, the scheme satisfactorily addressed the problem of rubbish accumulation in the streets. Cleaning services in the public spaces and waste collection services were improved in collaboration with the metropolitan and district municipalities. A waste management strategy, focusing mainly on the recovery and recycling of solid waste, was developed (RFBDP, 2005). This strategy was never part of the local demands and appeared to be inappropriate for the local community because the poor inhabitants did not produce much solid waste and they used to use solid waste for different purposes, such as newspapers being burnt as fuel in stoves, tin boxes used as plant pots, plastic or glass bottles used as water containers (director of the restoration projects). Likewise, it was found after a while that the plastic boxes that had been distributed for the collection of domestic waste by the district municipality were being used for other purposes, such as for the carrying of fruit and vegetables or as laundry boxes (local co-director). The regeneration initiative also failed to provide new outdoor public spaces, except for the conversion of the derelict warehouses near the Dimitrie Kandemir Museum into a park, including a playground and a café (director of the restoration projects). The open spaces in the quarters are still below standard. Likewise, the initiative did not provide any strategy of regulating traffic circulation within the Quarter and strengthening the accessibility and integration of F&B to the rest of the city through, for example, the development of a public transportation system, safe pedestrian and cycling routes. Equally, traffic congestion, lack of car-parking, environmental pollution, inadequate drainage and clean water systems, lack of a natural gas system, and crime are still the predominant problems of F&B. All in all, the scheme failed to improve the environmental quality of the Quarter.

#### **Strategies of political needs**

The regeneration initiative was also inadequate in terms of fulfilling political needs of the community. Although its participatory approach was considered exemplary, the key

regeneration strategies were introduced by the international consortium from the top-down approach, without community consultation or support. Likewise, the regeneration initiative failed to create and sustain a public realm for ongoing community involvement in the different implementation stages of the scheme. Continuous dialogue between the project team and the local community however was vital to shape the regeneration strategies according to community needs, aspirations and values and to develop a feeling of ownership towards the regeneration initiative that would in turn have encouraged the sustainability of the project. Sadly, participation of local people and other stakeholders in the waste management strategy was rather sporadic and tokenistic. These failures led the locals to develop prejudices against the project and also caused delays in the progress of the scheme (director of the restoration projects and general secretary). All these factors ultimately undermined the social justice and equity, frustrated the need for a democratic and socially inclusive renewal process, and thereby the targets of achieving the sustainable regeneration and conservation of the F&B Quarter.

## CONCLUSIONS

This paper has shown that the recent regeneration initiative in F&B was too small in its coverage area, too narrow in its scope and too limited in terms of time. The initiative provided F&B with piecemeal policy solutions rather than a long-term, robust regeneration strategy with long-, medium- and short-term objectives in accordance with a sustainable organisational, management and financial structure. Nor did it offer a comprehensive and integrated strategy espousing social, economic and environmental goals, addressing community needs and providing innovative, creative and sustainable solutions for urban conservation. These shortcomings ultimately resulted in the declining capacity of the area to sustain its historical heritage and increased pressure on the poor, vulnerable local community to move out of their neighbourhoods without having had their problems addressed.

To achieve sustainable conservation for historic neighbourhoods in Istanbul, there is a need for a wider vision of conservation that should be seen as the process of safeguarding and managing the cultural and historical landscape based on a broad range of values, including the values of different communities, professionals from other fields, and special interest groups in the conservation field with their own criteria and opinions. Such a vision will not only lead to the democratisation in the conservation field, but also to the development of sustainable conservation policies about what to conserve, how to conserve, where to set priorities and how to handle conflicting interests. This vision will recognise cultural heritage as a social construct dependent on social processes in a specific time and place, involving different communities (Avrami and Mason, 2000). Hence, the involvement of local communities and other interested parties (professionals from other disciplines, special interest groups, etc) in 'conservation processes fed by both 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' approaches should be the pre-requisite of this vision. Conservation programmes shaped by this vision will be more sensitive to the needs of communities, localities and the physical context of cultural heritage, and will evolve through a reconciliation process of conflicting interests built on a wide range of values. "The greater the relevance and sustainability of conservation efforts and the more they serve to foster community building and civic dialogue, the more cultural heritage conservation will be embraced by society as a 'public good'" (Avrami and Mason, 2000).

## NOTES

1. 'Urban transformation' is a common term used in Turkey for its wide scope, as it encompasses several planning interventions, such as urban conservation, urban regeneration, urban renewal, urban rehabilitation, urban (re)development. This paper however opted to limit its scope with economically depressed and socially and physically deprived historic sites in need of both regeneration and conservation strategies.
2. Roth (2004: 73) defines urban rehabilitation as "a process of revitalizing, of regenerating the town, to be conducted over the medium or long term". Roberts (2000: 17) defines urban regeneration as "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". Based on both Roth and Robert's definitions of the two notions complementing each other, this paper considers the recent EU-funded regeneration initiative -the Rehabilitation Programme of Fener and Balat Districts- as a conservation-led regeneration scheme, i.e. a regeneration scheme with a strong emphasis on urban conservation.

## REFERENCES

- Altınsay Özgüner, B. (2009) "Fener and Balat Districts Rehabilitation Programme", in the proceedings of International Symposium of IAPS-CSBE and IAPS-Housing Network, IAPS-CSBE, Turkey.
- Anderson, N.B. and Bogart, W.T. (2001) "The structure of sprawl: Identifying and characterizing employment centers in polycentric metropolitan areas," The American Journal of Economics and Sociology 60, 1, 147-169.
- Ashworth, G.J. (1997) "Conservation as preservation or as heritage: Two paradigms and two answers", Built Environment, 23, 2, 92-102.
- Avrami, E. and Mason, R. (2000) "Report on Research," in Avrami, E., Mason, R. and de la Torre, M. (eds) Values and Heritage Conservation, Research report, Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Trust, The Getty Conservation Institute, 3-10.
- Bauen, R., Baker, B. and Johnson, K. (1996) Sustainable Community Checklist, 1st ed. Graduate School of Public Affairs, Seattle, University of Washington.
- Belge, M. (2003) İstanbul Gezi Rehberi, 9th edition, İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.
- Couch, C. and Dennemann, A. (2000) "Urban regeneration and sustainable development in Britain: The example of the Liverpool Ropewalks Partnership", Cities, 17, 2, 137-147.
- Delafon, J. (1997) "Sustainable conservation", Built Environment, 23, 2, 111-120.
- D'Ayala, D. (2003) Seismic vulnerability and strengthening of historic buildings in Fener and Balat Districts, İstanbul, EU-Fatih Municipality Programme: Rehabilitation of Fener and Balat Districts. DELTUR/MEDTQ/53-02, Bath, University of Bath, available at [http://www.fenerbalat.org/admin/files/250\\_DDayalaReport.pdf](http://www.fenerbalat.org/admin/files/250_DDayalaReport.pdf). (accessed June 2007).

- Dinçer, İ. (2009) "Koruma ve yenilemede 2009 için ders çıkardık mı?", Yeni Mimar, 69, 8-10.
- Fatih Municipality, European Union, UNESCO, French Institute for Anatolian Studies (1998) The Rehabilitation of Balat and Fener Districts. Analysis and Regulation Proposals, unpublished report, Istanbul, Fatih Municipality, European Union, UNESCO, French Institute for Anatolian Studies.
- Feilden, B. (1994) Conservation of Historic Buildings, Oxford, Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Foundation for the Support of Women's Work (FSWW) (2004) Fener-Balat Districts Survey Report, Istanbul, FSWW.
- Kireççi, T. (2007) "Balat'ı da Çalık grubu yenileyecek", Arkitera e-bulletin, available at <http://www.arkitera.com/h16368-balat-i-da-calik-grubu-yenileyecek.html> (accessed June 2009).
- Kutay, E. (2008) "Balat sessizce soylulaşırken", Birgün, available at <http://www.arkitera.com.tr/news.php?action=displayNewsItem&ID=26695&month=1&year=2009> (accessed March 2008).
- Lezama-Lopez, Y. (2006) "Involving local communities in the conservation and rehabilitation of historic areas in Mexico City: The case of Coyoacan", in Zetter, R. (ed.) Designing Sustainable Cities in the Developing World, Abingdon, Ashgate, 85-102.
- Lichfield, N. (1997) "Achieving the benefits of conservation", Built Environment, 23, 2, 103-110.
- Luxen, J.L. (2004) Reflections on the Use of Heritage Charters and Conventions, Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Trust, The Getty Conservation Institute, 4-10.
- Özbilge, A.F. (2005) Fener/Balat/Ayvansaray, İstanbul, Bağlam Yayıncılık.
- Punekar, A. (2006) "Value-led heritage and sustainable development: The case of Bijapur, India", in Zetter, R. (ed.) Designing Sustainable Cities in the Developing World, Abingdon, Ashgate, 103-119.
- Rehabilitation of Fener and Balat Districts Programme (RFBDP) (2005) Rehabilitation of Fener and Balat Districts Programme, available: <http://www.fenerbalat.org/>. (accessed March 2010)
- Rodrigo-Cervantes, N.E. (2006) "Urban conservation in Mexican Colonial Cities: The Historic Centre of Morelia", in Zetter, R. (ed.) Designing Sustainable Cities in the Developing World, Abingdon, Ashgate, 69-83.
- Roth, C. (ed.) (2004) Guidance of Urban Rehabilitation. Strasburg Cedex, Council of Europe Publishing.
- Roberts, P. (2000) "The Evolution, Definition and Purpose of Urban Regeneration", in Roberts, P. and Sykes, H. (eds.) Urban Regeneration, London, Sage.
- Satterthwaite, D. (1999) "Sustainable cities or cities that contribute to sustainable development?", in Satterthwaite, D. (ed.) The Earthscan Reader in Sustainable Cities, London, Earthscan, 80-106.
- Turkey Statistics Institution (TSI) (2007) Census Data 2000 and 2006, Ankara, TSI.

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

UNESCO WHC, ICOMOS (2008, July) Historic Areas of Istanbul, report on the joint World Heritage Centre/ICOMOS mission to the Historic Areas of Istanbul presented in Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, Quebec. available at [http://whc.unesco.org/download.cfm?id\\_document=100746](http://whc.unesco.org/download.cfm?id_document=100746) (accessed June 2009).

World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) (1987) Our Common Future, Oxford, Oxford University Press.



## THE BUILDING OF ISTANBUL DOCKS 1870-1910. SOME NEW ENTREPRENEURIAL AND CARTOGRAPHIC DATA

Vilma HASTAOGLOU-MARTINIDIS, Prof.

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece  
vilma@arch.auth.gr

### **ABSTRACT**

*The building of modern docks in the Golden Horn was a major modernisation project undertaken in Istanbul at the end of the 19th century. The account of this venture has already been the object of extensive studies, namely the book by W. Müller-Wiener. The present paper attempts the cartography of harbour works carried out between 1870 and 1910, and intends to bring into light new data, based mostly on unpublished material, held in various sources in France, Britain and Turkey. It examines the preparation of the enterprise, and its wider relevance within the broader perspective of the technical innovations introduced by foreign firms and their engineers in the eastern Mediterranean region. It brings new evidence about unidentified projects and entrepreneurial schemes, and emphasises on the urban and architectural modernisation that harbour building entailed for the city.*

### **THE PORT OF THE GOLDEN HORN BEFORE HARBOUR WORKS**

Due to its privileged location, the port of Istanbul was never in need of a breakwater for its protection. The port was naturally formed by the Golden Horn (7 km long, 500 m broad and more than 70 m deep). It was divided into three parts: The outer port was largely frequented by steamers and specifically by the steamers of various navigation companies; on the right bank the railway station was to be established after 1872. The inner port, between Karakeuy and Azapkapou bridges, welcomed especially vessels supplying goods from all coasts of the Empire; it served also as their shelter port. The third part, the upper Golden Horn, was reserved to the Ottoman Navy warships and the arsenal (Guides-Joanne, 1912:208-9), located on the left bank. The most visited port of the Mediterranean at the time when Byzantine Constantinople was the largest city on the continent retained its position as the hub of the trade for the Black Sea and the Anatolia region during the following Ottoman centuries.

However in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the city with some 390,000 inhabitants in 1848 (Tekeli, 1994) was still confined within its walls, and its port was far from satisfying the needs of maritime trade. Hitherto, the banks outside the walls were bordered with old wooden quays and small piers –often private– surrounded by warehouses, stores and khans, and custom-houses at Tophane and Sirkedji. The development of the international trade and navigation starting from the 1840s forced the authorities to undertake minor rearrangements at the busiest spots of the Golden Horn for laying out small docks, followed by new masonry building for the needs for the customs, while the inauguration of coastal navigation since 1851 involved the creation of landing docks at various points on the Bosphorus (Müller-Wiener, 1994:85-88).

The exact topography of the strip of docks outside the walls on either sides of the Golden Horn in 1855 is revealed in the detailed map prepared by E.W.Brooker, 2<sup>nd</sup> Master and Assistant Surveyor of the British ship Spitfire (found in the Public Record

Office). This precious document shows the piers and landing places, the docks reserved to commercial ships and to navigation companies under various flags, the custom-houses, sanitary buildings, coal stores, etc., and the Imperial Arsenal dockyards and Admiralty installations.

However, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the lack of wharves and modern facilities on the shores of the Golden Horn, and its negative impact on the trade, navigation and military operations were strongly felt. As British Harbour Master H. Newbolt noticed it, in 1874: “... In other countries they spend thousands of liras to build docks allowing the boats to load and unload by all times, while Constantinople has natural docks which it refuses to use”. (Newbolt, 1874) Istanbul’s port was the nerve centre of the country’s trade in the Black Sea and Anatolia, and the natural docks of the Golden Horn were the busiest place of city, flanked by its most dynamic districts: the Europeanised part of Galata and Pera, attracting embassies, foreign companies, commercial houses etc. (Bareilles, 1918:71-84), and the famous traditional bazaars on the bank of Stamboul. Thus the construction of a modern harbour became an economic necessity, supported by the demand of the Levantine communities for a rational and functional business environment.

### THE ADVENT OF HARBOUR WORKS: THE BROADER PERSPECTIVE

Since the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the new maritime technology and the opening of the Suez Canal reordered naval traffic. Steamers connected at high speed the cities and the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean, and requiring transport facilities that Levantine cities, port-cities without ports did not possess. Ships anchored at large and the operations were always done by lighters, which was both dangerous and expensive. Hence, the construction of modern harbours became absolute imperative for those cities of which connected their economic prospects to the sea.

Several ways led eventually to that direction. Due to the extension of the European sea-trade, major coastal cities witnessed an increasing economic activity became heads of the railway lines built from 1851 onwards assuming new functions which ordered transit trade facilities. Pressing the governments for improvements, the consuls of European powers intervened in favour of navigation companies, trading firms, banks, and contractors. Local merchants frequently played a decisive role, undertaking initiatives for the improvement of docks and roads for transit trade (Hastaoglou-Martinidis, 2010).

Hence, soon after the end of the Crimean war an intense activity of harbour building took place in all important towns of the region, such as Alexandria, Izmir, Beirut, Istanbul, Piraeus, and Thessaloniki, as well as for smaller sea-trade centres such as Patras, Scio, Syra, Dedeagatch, Varna, Samsun, Trabzon, Alexandretta, Haifa etc.

Harbour works were virtually monopolised by French contracting companies, which also secured long-term concessions and special follow-up privileges. Marseille was the main exporter of technical know-how, and all towns involved in maritime trade acquired modern port facilities, with new quays on extensive embankments, solid moles, spacious wharves, breakwaters, and specialised building equipment. In every case, the harbour works also entailed radical changes to the traditional waterfront (Hastaoglou-Martinidis, 2010).

In Alexandria, the building of modern harbour facilities was undertaken after the “cotton boom”, and the work –one of few British ventures in the Eastern Mediterranean– was

granted in 1869 to the London Company *W.B.Greenfield & Co*; the new harbour, encompassing 2,700 m of docks, was ready by 1880. Between 1901 and 1907, along the East port a 4,000 m long corniche was built by the municipality on a large landfill of 52.6 ha.

The harbour of Izmir was the first and most successful in the Ottoman Empire. It was built between 1869 and 1875 by *Dussaud Frères*, a French contracting company with extensive experience in France and abroad (Suez, Port Said, Algiers, and Trieste). It included the construction of a quay 3.5 km long and 18.5 m wide along the old sea front, and two well protected wharves.

In Beirut, a concession was issued in 1888 to the society *Compagnie impériale ottomane du port, des quays et des entrepôts de Beyrouth* set up by the French shareholders of the Beirut–Damas road company, and the work was completed in 1895. The modern docks were built on an extensive embankment of 5-6 ha, with a 1000 m long sea front, and an 800 m jetty and 350 m mole forming a spacious wharf of 16 ha.

In Thessaloniki, harbour works started in 1870, with the construction of a linear quay of 1,650 m along the old sea front, on ca 6.2 ha landfill, by the state enterprise *Société des Quays de Salonique* initiated by the Vali Sabri pasha. However, this quay rapidly proved inadequate, and the construction of a proper harbour on 1.5 ha of new ground gained on the sea was granted in 1896 to the *Société Anonyme Ottoman de Construction et Exploitation du Port de Salonique* of E.Bartissol, public work contractor and former MP from Paris.

The new seaport Piraeus was laid out in 1834 with no provision for adequate harbour facilities. The development of its harbour was undertaken by the port Fund and the municipality, and in 1907, it encompassed docks of 4,000 m length, moles and a navy yard, on 17.0 ha landfill; it was connected by rail to Athens in 1869 and to the rest of the country after 1880.

Istanbul was the last of these large cities to implement harbour works. Although projects for modern docks had been under preparation since 1872, construction works were eventually undertaken only after 1890 in the Golden Horn. Moreover, this undertaking, when completed, proved to be the smallest harbour project as compared to the ones mentioned above, on an overall dock landfill of 3.0 ha, and a total length of quays of 1,128 m (758 m in Galata and 370 m in Sirkedji). Additional harbour works were to be carried out later, between 1900 and 1903 at Haydar Pasha, the railhead of the Anatolian railways (Hastaoglou-Martinidis, 1998).

## **HARBOUR WORKS: PROJECTS, CONTRACTS, CONTRACTING COMPANIES AND ENGINEERS**

The first harbour project is related to the obligations of the Porte vis-à-vis the contracting company of the baron Hirsh for the railroads in the Turkey of Europe. According to convention signed between the company and the Ottoman government, the later was bound to build roads and harbour facilities in Istanbul, Salonica, Dedeagatch and Varna. In 1872, while the construction of the line was in course, the company ordered Louis Barret, engineer of the port

of Marseilles, the plan for a quay in front of the train station of Sirkedji in Stambul (Hastaoglou-Martinidis, 2003).

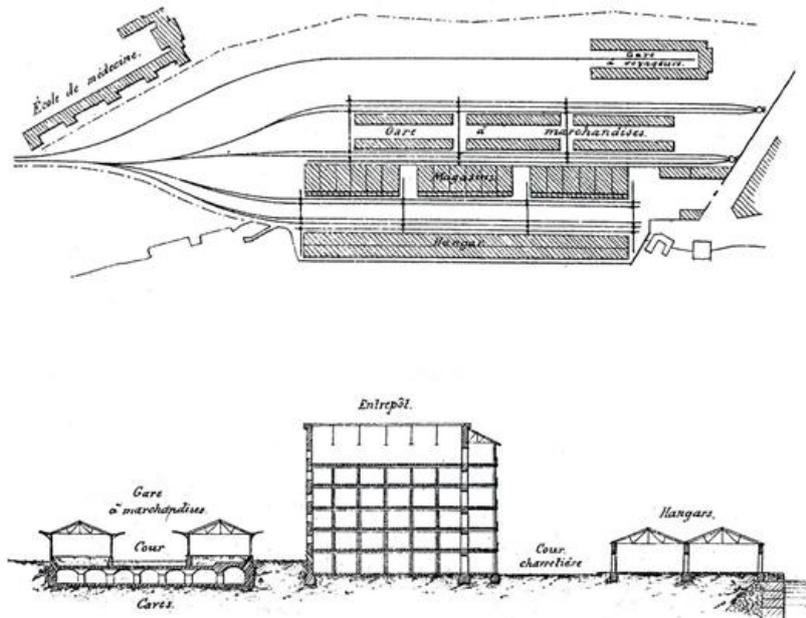


Figure 1 The plan for Sirkedji docks by Louis Barret

His project, was prepared under the supervision of Hilarion Pascal, engineer of the Ponts et Chaussées and Inspector-General of that port, and was to be finalised next year by the later. It was placed on the site allocated to the company for this purpose and occupied a surface area of 12.83 ha (11.13 ha of solid ground and 1.7 ha to be gained on the sea). Barret proposed a dock surface of 315 m long by the seaside and 236 m. wide, orderly organized in 4 parallel rows: the first one by the quay wall comprised the dock sheds; on the second one three groups of 6-storey warehouses, were arranged; on the third one the freight terminal was located, formed by 3 vaulted cellars supporting 2 sheds each. Behind these, the 74 m long passengers' terminal was to be located, in front of a vast open area. All buildings were served by rail served by rail lines and vehicular ways.

According Barret's report, the most crucial part of the project was the construction of the quay wall – a problem that was to recur at a later time, when dock works were in course at that spot. At the time, except for the grand pier of Alderney (in England), there was no analogous underwater work, founded at such large sea depth, the ports of Cherbourg, Delaware, Marseilles etc., having been built at water depths varying from 16 to 22 m. Thus, after considering the technical difficulties owed to the 42 m water-depth on the shore, he recommended an underwater dike built from artificial blocks and natural rock fill, 7 m above the sea bass (Barret, 1875:87-91). Anyhow the project did not have a continuation, not more than that which he drew up in the same year for Salonica.

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

Table 1. Inventory of engineers, contractors and work concessions

location	engineers – projects	Contracting companies	Management
Golden Horn	Louis Barret 1872 Hilarion Pascal 1872	Compagnie des chemins de fer de la Turquie d'Europe by baron Hirsch	Concession of the Ottoman government
	George Crawley & Co 1879 Dussaud Frères 1879 Marius Michel 1879	Proposals submitted to the Porte	
	Marius Michel, 1890 Alphonse Cingria (port engineer) 1894-1900 Adolphe Guérard 1896-1900 (consulting)	Société des Quays, Docks and Entrepôts de Constantinople, 1891 by Marius Michel	Concession of the Ottoman government
Haydar Pasha	Warpol 1900	Société du port de Haidarpasha 1900 (subsidiary of the Société des chemins de fer d'Anatolie 1889)	Concession of the Ottoman government

When in 1879, Abdülhamit took the decision to build modern port facilities, the ideas of regularisation were already asserted in the Capital; some parts of the traditional fabric damaged by fire (Hocapasa, Akseray, and Pera) were refashioned, and a number of streets were enlarged or opened by breakthroughs, especially in Galata (Çelik, 1993:77-81). Infrastructure works were multiplied, such as the Constantinople-Sofia railway as early as 1874 with its terminal station located in Sikedji (1887-91), and the new iron bridge was constructed at Karakeuy in 1878.

According to the report by the British Consul Wrench, in 1879 three projects were presented for the acceptance of the Porte, for the construction of quays, bonded warehouses, and improvement of the custom-house accommodation in Stambul and at Galata. The first project, presented by George Crawley & Co, an English firm of large capital, and great engineering experience, despite support found with the Grand Vizir Haireddin Pasha, encountered nevertheless considerable opposition. Thus, Dussaud Frères, the contractors for the Smyrna quay, were invited to submit to the government a counter-proposal; according to Consul Wrench this project could not be seriously entertained, being only used of as a hindrance to the realisation of Crawley's plan. The third project was put forward by Marius Michel, the French merchant navy officer and Administrator-General of the Lighthouses of the Empire since 1860. "These rival schemes were discussed and by turns opposed and encouraged; the negotiations dragged on month after month, until at last Crawley left Constantinople disheartened, and Mr Michel obtained an Imperial Firman authorising the adoption of his scheme, but this document added further stipulations and conditions which were too onerous for Mr Michel to accept, and thus it happens that we are now apparently as far from obtaining improved quay and custom-house accommodation as ever." (Consul Wrench, 1879)

This first convention to Marius Michel, was issued for a period of 75 years (Müller-Wiener, 1994:109), and his plan (found in the Prime-ministerial archives in Istanbul) is rather a preliminary sketch by no means mature in its technical aspects: it laid out continuous docks of 20 m wide, stretching for more than 3,500 m along the Golden Horn, from Ounkapan to Seraglio Point in the southern side, and from Azapkapou

bridge to Top-Hane in the northern side, with important embankments in front of the existing shores.

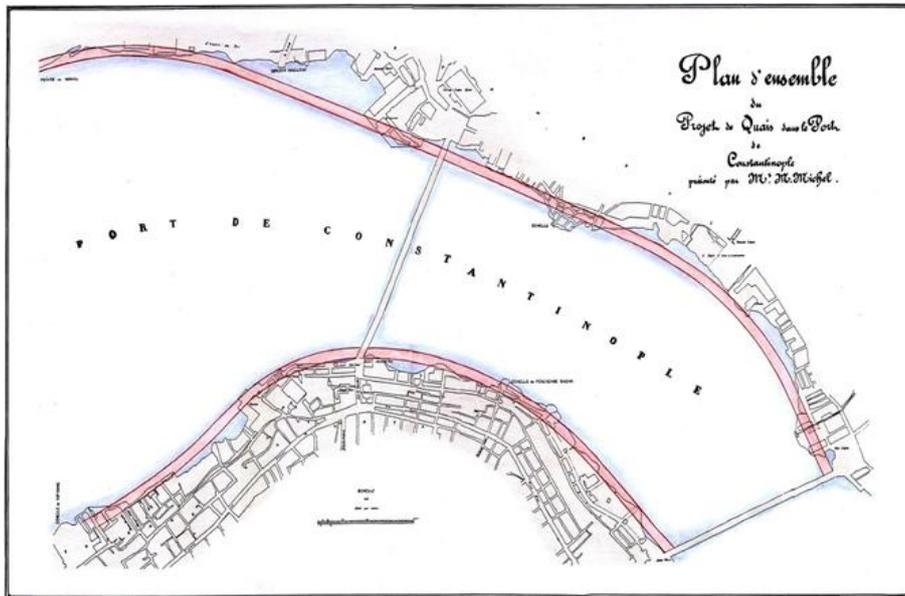


Figure 2 The plan for the docks of the Golden Horn by M.Michel, 1879

Despite the Consul's inauspicious judgment, next year a second concession concluded the business. The convention issued on 30 October 1890 (and ratified by the Imperial Irade in 1891), (Convention, Archives Nationales, fonds 12/7189 Constantinople), granted to Marius Michel the construction and operation of the port for 85 years, while imposing tight deadlines: a company had to be created in 18 months, and the work started in two years to be implemented fourteen years later (Müller-Wiener, 1994:109 and Hastaoglu-Martinidis, 1998). It provided for the establishment of quays on both shores of the Golden Horn: in Samboul, between the Sirkedji and the Unkapan bridge, and in Galata between Tophane artillery Park and the old bridge of Azapkapu. The company was to build docks and warehouses, custom-houses and sanitary facilities, install mobile equipment and the means of transport on the new quays - railways, tramway and omnibus lines, and a service of steam ferry linking the two shores of the Golden Horn. Work completed, the city would be in possession of a modern quay of 3,000 m long –770 m on Galata side and 390 m on Samboul side, as well as another 1.840 m quay between Karaköy and Azapkapu bridges (Verney, 1900:330). In return, the company would be the owner of a part of the surface area gained on the sea, of approximately 30,000 sq.m suitably placed for trade, especially in Galata and Samboul.

In January 1891, Marius Michel set up the Société anonyme ottomane des Quais, Docks et Entrepôts de Constantinople; he became its first President and was awarded the title of Pasha. Capital was set to F 23.875.000, and the work was entrusted to Michel Duparchy, friend of Michel Pasha's and large shareholder (Thobie, 1977:162).

## THE IMPLEMENTATION OF HARBOUR WORKS

Construction works began in April 1892 under the direction of Duparchy and Diricq, starting from the Galata dock, and laws of expropriation for public utility settled the conflicts that emerged between the company and the shore-owners (Müller-Wiener 1994:109 and Çelik, 1993:75). In December 1895, 758 meters of docks in Galata were completed, based on concrete blocks, following the type of the quays of Marseilles (Godard, 1909:359). Along the 20.0 m wide embankment calculated from the quay-wall to the building line of the edifices to be erected (a standard previously applied in the quays of Izmir and Salonica) a 3.0 m. sidewalk was to be left, and parallel to this a 9.0 m. vehicular road, leaving a 8.0 m. parapet along the quay for vessels to load and unload (Convention, contract specifications, art.3). Besides the high construction cost (15,277,000 golden francs), the company met the opposition of the caïkiers and lightermen, however the inauguration of docks, in Mars 1896, was hailed with enthusiasm by the European community of Galata. (Issawi, 1980:167)

The construction on the side of Stambul delayed more. Works started in 1894, at the same site where Barret's project had been positioned some 12 years ago, only to meet difficulties which raised construction cost to 28,448,550 golden francs. The banks of the historic peninsula had been filled in for more than 50 m during the Ottoman centuries, and the particular construction site used to be the most important Neorion of the Byzantine era. The soil on that spot was not safe, formed by demolition debris, as was the seafloor along the shore, which consisted of unstable overlapping layers. This situation caused successive collapses of the docks hardly built and pushed back up to 1900 the completion of some 370 m long docks from Sirkedji to the foot of Galata bridge in Eminönü, after extended repair works carried out by the company's head engineer Alphonse Cingria (*Société de Constructions des Batignoles*, AQ 1709, file 89).

To cope with this thorny task, after the serious sinking in of the quays on July 10 and October 7 1896, the company was addressed for assistance to the Société du Port de Marseille, and between 1896 and 1900, the highly skilled engineer Adolphe Guérard, Inspector General of the *Ponts et Chaussées*, was appointed as standing consultant of the company by its Managing Director Félix Granet (*Société de Constructions des Batignoles*, AQ 1709, file 89).

The collaboration of Guérard with Cingria set up the course of action to be followed. After thorough geotechnical investigations, the remedy adopted was to cover the seabed along the quays with a layer of sand at least 2 m. thick; this overlay should prevent the underwater dike to give way and the rubble filling to slide indefinitely (W-M: 110) (Godard, 1909: 359). Moreover, the initial quay-line was to be removed to a greater distance from the shore, so that the underwater dike could be founded on more solid seafloor. A third collapse, on May 1898, hindered the continuation of the works, and necessitated additional drillings and soundings. Under Guérard's guidance, Cingria elaborated a work resumption programme, which was adopted by the company in June 23 1898. On the company's decision, the initial layout of the docks, which followed the zigzag shape of the shore, was modified and replaced by a straight quay line, stretching from Sirkedji street to the foot of the Galata bridge; and the order was given to resume work.

In 1904, Guérard's judgement was requested once more by F. Granet, concerning the implementation of the sewage works' project prepared par Cingria (in 1900) for the

Galata docks. The detail account of the repair works is held in the records of the *Société de Constructions des Batignoles* (file 89 AQ 1709, Dossier d'A.Guérard sur les travaux de réfection des quais, 1896-1900).

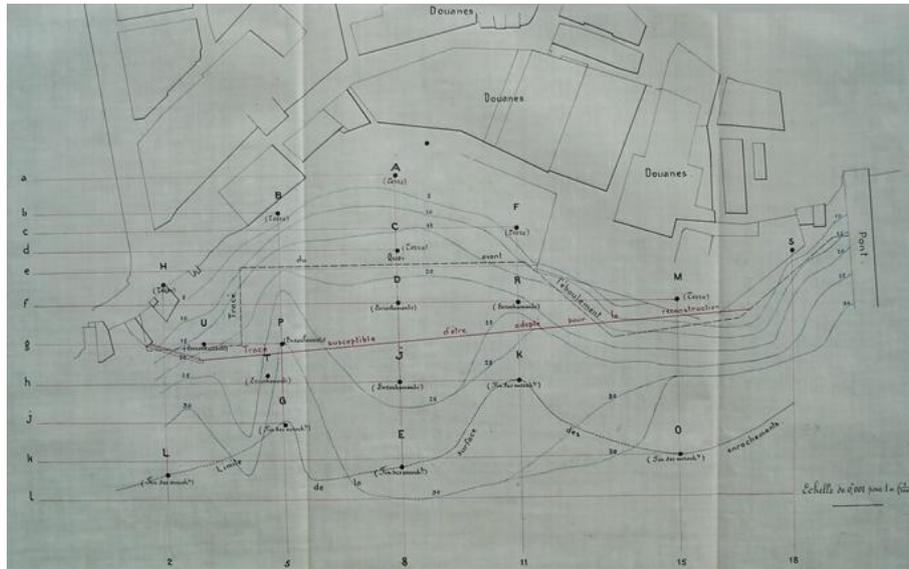


Figure 3 Project for the repair of the Sirkedji docks by Cingria and Guérard, April 1897

After this costly experience, in 1897 the Company obtained the Government's permission to postpone the construction of quays between the two bridges indefinitely. These works faced further difficulties in addition to the already mentioned ones, because they implied the expropriation of a large number of workshops and warehouses existing on these shores and belonging to private individuals (Derya, 1982:148).

The modern docks increased the capacity of the port whose traffic grew in a spectacular way despite of the unfavourable economic circumstances for the maritime trade of Istanbul at the time (Issawi, 1980:168), and regardless of the shadow cast by the newly established port in Haydar Pasha, terminus of the Anatolia railroad on the Asian coast of Scutari since 1900 (Le Génie Civil, 1904).

## URBAN CHANGES AND THE NEW ARCHITECTURAL IMAGE

If the execution of the second section of the initial project was pushed back to a later date, the construction of harbour buildings on the new docks was to start immediately. In 1905, Michel Pasha's firm submitted to the Ottoman authorities the plans for the harbour building for approval, and hence a dispute emerged between the government and the company over the construction method: Although the convention specified that all buildings were to be built out of stone and bricks (Convention, contract specifications, art.5), the company insisted on employing the worldwide novel concrete technology. The dispute resolved in 1907, after a two-year debate, the use of reinforced concrete was authorised by the Ottoman inspectors (Celik, 1993:76) By 1910, new

structures for the custom-house, the port office, the medical service, stores and multi-storey warehouses were erected on both banks, according to plans approved by the government. In Galata new warehouses and offices occupied a surface area of 7000 sq.m, – the Rihtim hanı was built in 1911 as was the Merkez Rihtim hanı (today Denizcilik Bankası) in 1912-14. In Eminönü the custom-house of 14,436 sq.m surface area was erected in 1909, followed by a second building of 7,000 sq.m (Müller-Wiener 1994:110).

The new harbour and office buildings in Galata and Stambul emphasised with their imposing architecture the modern facade of the city on the sea. It is most probable that the Sirkedji custom-house was designed by Alexandre Vallaury, the Levantine architect of many prestigious buildings in the city (the Ottoman Bank, the Archaeological Museum, the Pera Palace hotel, the Rum Orphanage in Prinkipo etc.); this can be concluded on the ground that Vallaury designed in 1909 the custom-house of Thessaloniki, a replica of the one in Eminönü, on the request of Djavaid bey, the Ottoman Minister of Finance (L.C., 1913).

These new buildings types introduced novel construction technologies, and disseminated the use of concrete and iron structures in the building of the city. During this period another French firm, the *Bureau Technique de François Hennebique*, the concrete-patent holder from Paris, energetically entered the picture. François Hennebique (1842-1921), a self-educated builder and engineer who patented his pioneering reinforced-concrete system in 1892, soon expanded his business with a world-wide network of firms acting as agents for his system. By 1902 his agencies and concessionaires carried out 7,205 building sites (including civic buildings, industrial premises, bridges etc.), for a total amount of 120 millions of golden francs (Le Béton armé, 1910). In the East Mediterranean region, the Bureau held regional agencies and associate concessionaires in Istanbul, Izmir, Thessaloniki, Athens, and Cairo. Its activity in Istanbul commenced in 1902, when its licensed concessionaire, the architect Vuccino, built the Messadet Han in Stambul, the first structure to use the Hennebique system. In 1913, the Istanbul associate concessionaire was Marcos Langas, co-founder with G. Mongeri, E. de Nari of the *Fabriques Unies de Ciment Arslan* and director of the *Société Anonyme Ottomane des Constructions*, and the proliferation of the concrete technology is impressive: There were 37 building sites (12 in Stambul, 20 in the European side and 5 in the Asiatic side) under way using the Hennebique system, a most appropriate technique to use "in the country of fires and earthquakes", especially after the repeated fires occurred in the city between 1908 and 1912 (B.A.H., 1913).

To complete the refashioning of the waterfront, a new pontoon bridge replaced the existing bridge built in 1875. The contract for the new bridge was granted to the German firm MAN (Maschinenfabrik Augsburg Nürnberg) in 1909, although the company had been busy in preparing a series of projects for this bridge since 1894. The work commenced in 1910 and took about two years of putting together about 8,000 tons of constructional steel work, its cost amounting to 5.5 million FF. The bridge was built on 12 pontoons, arranged in two rows parallel to its longitudinal axis; the distance between abutments was 466.5 m and the width between railings 25 m, this being made up of a 14 m roadway and two footways of 5.5 m each. The central part of the bridge could swing electrically through an angle of 180 deg. towards Galata, leaving a clear throughway of 62 m. For smaller boats traffic, with the movable span closed, the two clear arched openings each of 12 m wide and 5.3 m height were provided. The surface of the bridge followed a parabolical curve with the steepest gradient of 4% at

both ends, allowing for the building of waiting rooms underneath. On the Bosphorus side, the fixed part provided landing steps for vessels to Skoutari, Kadikoy, Haydarpasha, while on the Golden Horn side one landing step for vessels to Eyoup and another reserved for the Imperial Navy. With its iron railings and adornments, balconies, flights of steps, and the toll kiosks at both ends, the bridge was assigned an oriental aspect in harmony with the mosques' skyline of Stambul, asserting as well the advent of technological innovations in the city (Dantin, 1913, and The Engineering, 1912). The bridge was badly damaged in a fire in 1992 and replaced by the one now in use.

Table 2. Works of the Bureau Technique de François Hennebique in Istanbul, 1902-1912

Public buildings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Base slab of the School of Civil Engineering, State property, architect Kaymal bey, contractor Adamandidis and Co.</li> <li>• Reservoir of 600 m3 in Beşiktaş, Prefecture property, contractor Fouquian.</li> <li>• Base slab for three adjacent buildings in Stambul, State property, engineer Franghia effendi, contractor Adamantidis &amp; Co.</li> <li>• Three Central Office buildings for the Telephone Company, in Kadiköy, Pera and Stambul, Telephone Company property, architect Sprowson, contractor Kaul (1912)</li> <li>• Terrace-promenade in Prinkipo, P.Y.C. property, architect Karakasis, contractor "Archimedes" (1912)</li> <li>• Coverage of the ravine in <b>Kasım Pasha</b>, Municipal property, engineer Auric, contractor Fouquian (1912).</li> <li>• Passage way in Yıldız, State property, architect Vidad bey, contractor "Archimedes" (1913)</li> <li>• Deutsche-Orient bank building, Bank property, architects Schütte, contractor S.A.O.C.</li> <li>• English High School in <b>Nisantaşı</b>, English Community property, architects Angelidis and Casanova, contractor Séminati. (1912)</li> <li>• Building in Sirkeci, State property, architect Verad bey.</li> <li>• Saint Anthony church in Pera, architects and contractors G.Mongeri, E.Nari and M.Langas (1909)</li> <li>• 1<sup>st</sup> Vakif Vani Han, State property, contractor S.A.O.C.</li> <li>• 4<sup>th</sup> Vakif Han (on the old Hamidie Imaret), State property, contractor S.A.O.C.</li> <li>• Hangar shell in Sarayburnu, Ministry of War property, contractor S.A.O.C.</li> <li>• The chimney of Dolma-Bahce Palace, contractor "Archimedes"</li> </ul>
Private buildings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Messadet Han in Stambul, architect and contractor Vuccino (1902)</li> <li>• Fabriques Unies de Ciment Arslan (in Darınca) et Eski-Hissar, owners and architects G.Mongeri, E.Nari and M.Langas (1912)</li> <li>• Shop and storehouse in Galata, Antonakis property, contractor Manoussos (1913)</li> <li>• Han in Bahçe kapu, Houloussi bey property, architect Tachjian, contractor S.A.O.C. (1913)</li> <li>• Stables and barn in <b>Kuruçeşme</b>, architect Vidad bey, contractor "Archimedes" (1913)</li> <li>• Apartment building in Pera, Lampros property, contractors Aggelidis and Casanova (1913)</li> <li>• Immeuble de rapport in Galata, Marco Langas and Tchalian property, contractor Marco Langas (1913)</li> <li>• Building heightening in Pera, Semadeni property, architect-contractor Varthaliti</li> <li>• Yachting Club in Prinkipo, architect Karakasis and C.Amaneiche, contractor "Archimedes"</li> <li>• Mechanical bakery in Nisantasi, Aslanian property, contractor S.A.O.C.</li> <li>• Vehicles' garage in Pera, Azarian property, contractor S.A.O.C.</li> </ul>

Source: B.A.H., 1913:65-78.

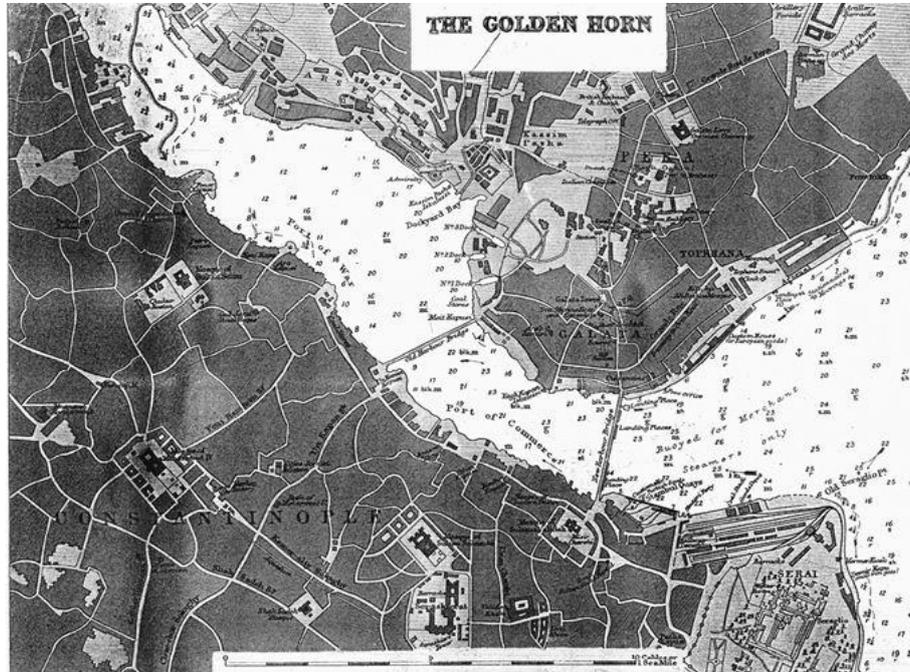


Figure 4 The Golden Horn docks in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century

The construction of modern docks constituted a major urban innovation, fostering various transformations in the traditional physical and social structure of Istanbul. It reordered the city towards the sea, and endowed it with specialised spaces for exchanges with the Occident. As singular urban creation as well as “device” of development, the new docks restructured the traditional urban patterns. They introduced an early form of zoning with specialised functions and rational organisation of the site, contracting the surrounding traditional fabric; and introduce a new architectural aesthetic and modern construction technology, both of which influenced the conception of the buildings within the city. The fire insurance cadastral plans, drawn up by E. Goad in 1904 and by J. Pervititch in 1922-45, portray the radical renewal of the maritime facades in Galata and Eminönü, in front of the otherwise dense and irregular urban quarters: the urban fabric was regularised in the perimeter of the docks, the neighbouring streets were aligned, and soon new services relative to harbour operation were attracted: navigation companies, stations, offices of commercial houses, banks and insurance agencies, hotels, department stores, etc. (Sakellariou, 1902: 272-6), creating the emblematic modern image of Istanbul on the sea.

## REFERENCES

- Actes de la concession des chemins de fer de la Turquie d'Europe, Constantinople, 1874.
- Archives du Monde de Travail, Société de Construction des Batignoles, 89 AQ 1709 Port d'Istanbul.
- Archives Nationales de France, Ingénieurs des Ponts et Chaussées, fonds F14/11505.
- B.A.H. (1913), "Au pays des incendies et des tremblements de terre, La Turquie", Le Béton Armé, 177, 17-23.
- B.A.H. (1913), "La Turquie, Dix ans de Béton armé", Le Béton Armé, 180, 65-78.
- Bareilles, B. (1918), Constantinople. Ses cités franques et levantines, Paris, éd. Bossard.
- Barret L. (1875), Note sur l'aménagement des ports de commerce, Paris, Lacroix.
- Çelik, Z. (1993), The Remaking of Istanbul, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Consul Wrench (1879), "Report by on the Trade and Commerce of Constantinople for the year 1879", British Foreign Office Annual Series, Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance, years 1868-1916.
- Convention et Cahier des charges pour les quais de Constantinople, Archives Nationales de France, fonds 12/7189 Constantinople.
- Dantin, Ch. (1913), «Le nouveau pont flottant, sur la Corne d'Or à Constantinople», Le Génie Civil, 25, 481-484.
- Derya, E. (1982), "Istanbul limaninin kurulusu", Proceedings of Town Planning Conference, METU/ODTÜ, Ankara, 145-167.
- Godard, L. (1909), "Les ports maritimes de la Turquie. Ports existants et ports projetés", Le Genie Civil, LV, 19, 349-353.
- Godard, L. (1910), "L'irrigation en Turquie", Le Genie Civil, LVI, 15, 282-285.
- Guides-Joanne (1912), De Paris à Constantinople, par Marcel Monmarché, Paris, Libr. Hachette.
- Hastaoglou-Martinidis, V. (1998), "Les villes-ports du bassin oriental de la Méditerranée à la fin du XIXe siècle: travaux portuaires et transformations urbaines", Petites et grandes villes du bassin méditerranéen, C.Vallat ed., Ecole Française de Rome, 507-525.
- Hastaoglou-Martinidis V. (2003), "The Advent of Transport and Aspects of Urban Modernisation in the Levant during the Nineteenth Century", The City and the Railway in Europe, R.Roth and M-N. Polino eds., London, Asgate, 61-78.
- Hastaoglou-Martinidis, V. (2004) "Innovative networks: harbour works and city governance in the Levant, 1850-1900", Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Urban History Eastern Mediterranean cities compared, session Technical networks, town planning and municipal institutions, Athens-Piraeus, 29-43.

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

- Hastaoglou-Martinidis, V. (2010), "The Cartography of harbour construction in the Eastern Mediterranean cities: Technical and Urban Modernization in the Late Nineteenth Century", Cities of the Mediterranean from the Ottomans to the present day, Kolluoğlu, B. and Toksöz, M. eds, London, Tauris, 78-99.
- Inalcik, H. and Quataert, D. (1994), An economic and social history of the Ottoman empire, 1300-1914, Cambridge University Press.
- Issawi, Ch. (1980), The Economic History of Turkey 1800-1914, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
- L.C. (1913), "Les nouvelles douanes de Salonique", Le Béton armé, 179, 49-51.  
Le Béton armé, 150/11, 1910.
- Le Genie Civil (1904), "Travaux du port de Haydar Pacha", XLV,15, 264-265.
- Müller-Wiener W. (1994), Die Häfen von Byzantion, Konstantinopolis, Istanbul, Istanbul, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.
- Newbolt, H. (1874), "Remarks on the harbour of Constantinople and the Princes Islands", addressed to the British ambassador, Gillard, D.ed., *British Documents on Foreign Affairs*, "The Ottoman Empire: Finance and Trade, 1860-1879", 308-10.
- Sakellaridou, I. (1901), Le Phare de l'Orient, Almanach de 1902, Constantinople, Frères Gerardon (in Greek).
- Tekeli, I. (1994), The Development of the Istanbul Metropolitan Area: Urban Administration and Planning, Istanbul, IULA-EMME.
- The Engineer (1912), "The new pontoon bridge at Constantinople", December 6, p. 605.
- Thobie, J. (1977), Intérêts et impérialisme français dans l'empire ottoman, Paris, publications de la Sorbonne.
- Verney, N. and Dambmann, G. (1900), Les puissances étrangères dans le Levant, en Syrie et en Palestine, Paris, Libr. Guillaumin et Cie.



## THE PRIVATISATION OF RURAL HERITAGE IN NEW SOUTH WALES

Paul Anton RAPPOPORT, Rappoport Heritage Consultants NSW Australia  
ask@rappoport.com.au

### **ABSTRACT**

*Of all the constituent types, rural heritage is amongst a group that struggles the most in adapting to 21st Century urbanization. By urbanization, I mean the incipient and often rapacious development that creeps up on some of the country's very earliest farming estates; reducing their curtilage and settings to ridiculously small and compromised remnants. The nature of distortion that is set in train after each one of these items (farms and farm houses from the 18th and 19th Centuries) is heritage listed, is the key focus of this paper. The onslaught of suburbia, industry, infrastructure and commerce upon the fragile settings of these delicate historical remnants provides the overall context of my paper. What I attempt to reveal is the ineffectual achievement of heritage listing as a means of capturing and communicating the now threatened cultural values comprised in the remnant rural heritage stock of NSW. I will show that while listing may go some way towards conserving important physical fabric, it largely fails to achieve its own programmatic ideal of communicating heritage values to those for whom it is targeted i.e. the people of NSW. I have selected 'rural heritage' as a species of the remnant built heritage stock because I believe that its illustration of this point is most cogent. The five examples of State-listed rural heritage properties that I discuss exemplify the problems associated with the viability of heritage listing as a means of capturing and communicating historic heritage values.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

I have been fortunate enough as a heritage practitioner in Sydney, New South Wales (NSW) over the last twenty years to have worked with a number of early 18th C rural estates. In each case, the endeavour has been to somehow integrate these largely redundant places into their contemporary surroundings. My experience is that they do not adapt well and many decisions about their future and long-term viability is already compromised by a litany of poor decisions concerning their fabric and settings such that today their values are not easily communicable or accessible to users and visitors of them. The situation is not helped by the flaccid and ineffective legislative framework (Rappoport, 2008) that surrounds the heritage sector in Australia today.

Unlike their urban counterparts, farms and farm houses that grew up in the earliest days of the NSW colony after white British settlement (of those that still remain today), are the most difficult to adaptively re-use. For obvious reasons, such purpose built structures that often disclose the most intact examples of fledgling life in the early penal settlement of NSW, are too fragile and rare to be transformed into alternative uses. Whereas later buildings such as cinemas and warehouses easily translate into contemporary life forms such as residential flat buildings or modern offices, farm buildings and farmhouses remain moribund, un-recyclable and ever threatened.

## RURAL HERITAGE VALUES

Australia's earliest white settlement took place in NSW which is one of six states in the country. Sydney in NSW is where the first fleet of convicts arrived in 1788 under the stewardship of Governor Phillip who on 26 January 1788, brought with him into Sydney Cove; 751 convicts and their children along with 252 marines and their families (Hughes, 1987). As the colony developed on rather uncertain prospects, eventually a farming community arose and by 1840, it had spread into the hinterland of New South Wales. Agrarian livelihoods were supplemented by imports mainly from India and Indonesia as the British East India Company (Broese, 1998) had several well established trade routes in the region.

However, after several waves of convict transportees that arrived in the Colony between 1789 and 1791, the settlers at Sydney Cove were critically short of food. Farms, established with convict labour were unable to meet the demands of the population. Explorers set out to find new land for cultivation. By 1820, farms in Parramatta, Liverpool, Camden, Campbelltown, Richmond, Windsor, Pitt Town and other satellites had opened up for market gardening, viticulture, sheep grazing and wool manufacture. These farms and pastures all depended on an abundant source of free convict labour to survive. Convicts were assigned to farmers under strict conditions known as the Assignment System (Morton, 1954).

Governor Macquarie who was the fifth governor in NSW served from 1810 to 1821. He had a leading role in the social, economic and architectural development of the colony (Tanner, 1975). His term of office coincided with an increase in the number of convicts. His solution was to establish an ambitious programme of public works (new buildings, towns, roads and farms) to help absorb these numbers. He encouraged well-behaved convicts into the wider community through tickets-of-leave. Macquarie is considered to have had a crucial influence on the transition of New South Wales from a penal colony to a free settlement and therefore to have played a major role in the shaping of Australian society in the early nineteenth century. He applied his experience as a British officer in India to the business of domestic and civil construction. It was therefore not fortuitous that the so called 'verandah house' (Tanner, 1975; Rosen, 2010) based on the Indian prototype became the standard for domestic farm buildings.

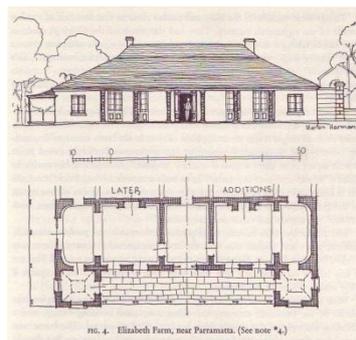


Fig. 1 - Elizabeth Farm in Parramatta NSW – a typical Australian Colonial house built in early 1800s based on the Indian prototype of the verandah house. Elizabeth Farm is one of Australia's oldest buildings. Herman, Morton, *The Early Australian Architects and Their Work* (Angus & Robertson, 1954) p. 19.

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

The Colonial Period of architecture in Australia came at the tail end of the fashionable Georgian style of building in England and America. The style was typified by symmetrical facades with the main entry at the centre flanked by either two, three or four sets of subordinate openings arranged on both sides. Many of the colonial farm houses reveal the symmetry and influence of the Georgian Style. A prominent feature of the early Australian farm houses is the verandah which usually wrapped itself around the whole house to make access into the bedrooms possible from the outside. Window openings were mainly vertical in the Golden Section (Broadbent, 1997) proportion and the use of glazed sash windows is common throughout. Later, as prosperity prevailed, Regency style decorations were added – mainly to the front door entries which often made use of elliptical forms as opposed to regular arches over the main entry. This was facilitated by adding a side light on each side of the entry. Generally, Georgian architecture paid close attention to the human scale. It preferred simplicity and control as opposed to elaboration and decoration which came in with the Regency Style influences.

For the more modest homes, verandahs were dispensed with, but later added to suit the harsh summers of Australia. Thus Georgian architecture combined with Indian verandah houses to form a uniquely Australian colonial style of building.

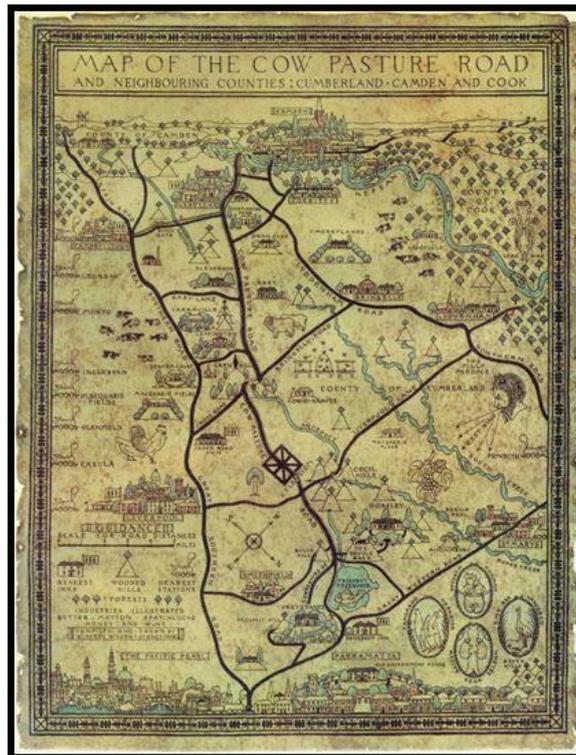


Fig. 2 – Copy of parchment map depicting Cowpastures - early farmsteads in Sydney's south western district. (Source: Hardy Wilson, *The Cow Pasture Road*, Art in Australia publishers, Sydney, 1920, inside cover.)

In the early 1890s Australia experienced a severe drought far worse than any before. Australia's wool and wheat industry virtually collapsed. Local markets and industries were severely affected with many people out of work and large numbers of men wandering the NSW countryside seeking itinerant work. As a result, less crops and fruit were grown on a large scale. By the 1890s many of the larger estates established early in the century, had been subdivided into smaller holdings for market farming and dairy farming – setting in train a reduction in curtilage to all of the original farmsteads. By the 1890s immigration opened up the opportunity for other agrarian marketers such as Chinese, Greeks, Italians and those from the Baltic states to take up local farming practices especially the cultivation of small allotments for fruit and vegetables out of which grew healthy cottage industries and the development of country towns.

### VALUES EXPRESSED IN NSW RURAL HERITAGE

Australia's heritage listing practices only evolved in the mid 1970s having followed the trajectory of certain international developments. By 1980, an ICOMOS publication (Martinez, 2010) noted that the concept of an isolated historic building (or 'monument') would need to be replaced by a recognition of the historic building being an intrinsic part of its setting or of a group of buildings belonging to a neighborhood. Out of this developed the notion of 'conservation areas' which take in whole neighbourhoods or towns as part a recognition that such area contain intrinsic uniqueness and special qualities making them worthy of protection. The concept of a 'heritage site' has expanded to include historic gardens and cultural landscapes (Martinez, 2010). Vernacular and industrial buildings are commonly included in the panoply of heritage types. A broader range of disciplines contribute to our understanding of cultural heritage. Listing of heritage items is now an accepted means by communities, governments and corporations to protect endangered historic heritage places against unsympathetic development and change. This is reflected in the formation of a wide range of official and non-official listing authorities including local, state and nation governments as well the National Trust of Australia. These in turn are supported by a myriad of concerned historical societies and precinct communities who take an active interest in the likely impact that any new development might have upon them (Rappoport, 2008).

There are 639 items of rural heritage listed on the NSW Heritage Database. These comprise a mix of locally listed and state listed items. They include farmsteads, stables, outbuildings, gates, groves of trees, wineries, barns, kilns, dairy farms, sheds, ruins, archaeological sites, huts, cottages, horse troughs, sheep dips, individual trees and market gardens. A refined search reveals 114 farms, farmsteads or so called farming stations. These are also distributed amongst the two categories; local and state heritage significance (NSW Heritage Branch, 2006).

The five properties which I have selected to illustrate the point of this paper are all on the State Heritage Register of NSW.

- Collingwood House in Liverpool
- The Hermitage in Denistone
- Cecil Hills in Liverpool
- Glenmore in Mulgoa
- Oran Park House, Oran Park

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

Collectively, they are significant as remnant cultural landscapes capable of demonstrating the layers of Indigenous and non Indigenous uses and occupations of land in the transition from 19th C agricultural estates to 20th C industrial and residential estates. The selected estates are clustered around the very first towns established by Governor Macquarie during his term as Governor of NSW (Gojak,2001) between 1809 and 1821. Today, they represent rare examples of a modified colonial Georgian homes. Historically, they are capable of tracing the evolution of domestic colonial architecture and its adaptation to the Australian environment. The houses exhibit a range of early building techniques and are demonstrative of the social and economic customs of the day (Gojak,2001).

The farmsteads provide a physical record of the development of farming in Australia revealing early exotic plantings and an understanding of the colonial farm grant system (Rosen,2010). Their broad landscape settings and garden surroundings constitute the essence of their high cultural significance (NSW Heritage Branch,2006). Typically, they provide good examples of country manor estates from as early 1810. They are representative of wide uninterrupted landscape views and vistas albeit that these have become significantly reduced. The farmsteads are associated with important historic access routes. Aesthetically significant because of their rarity, they offer vignettes of Australia' earliest European building and farming technologies.



*Fig. 3 – Photograph of Collingwood in Liverpool, NSW -Rappoport Heritage Consultants 2007*



*Fig. 4 – Photograph of Cecil Hills in Liverpool, NSW - Rappoport Heritage Consultants 2006*



*Fig. 5 – Photograph of Glenmore in Mulgoa, NSW - Rappoport Heritage Consultants 2009*



*Fig. 6 – Photograph of The Hermitage in Denistone, NSW - Rappoport Heritage Consultants 2010*



*Fig. 7 – Photograph of Oran Park House in Oran Park, NSW - Rappoport Heritage Consultants 2010*



Fig. 8 – The original districts of the County of Cumberland. (Source: Morris and Britton for the National Trust of Australia (NSW), *Colonial Cultural Landscapes of the Cumberland Plain and Camden, NSW, Final Report, August 2000*. The five selected farmsteads discussed in this paper are located within the original districts of the County of Cumberland.

## LISTING PROCESS APPLIED TO NSW RURAL HERITAGE

The key aspect of rural heritage is the intangible nature of its intrinsic values. On 18th April 2010, ICOMOS announced its heritage theme for 2010 - "The Heritage of Agriculture". The aim of the theme is to protect all significant natural and cultural heritage properties (Martinez,2010) generated by agrarian activity in the course of history; country houses, orchards, mills, terraces, crops, irrigation channels, wells, farmyards, traditional festivities, gastronomy, indigenous species and landscapes.

The objective importance of agricultural heritage for humanity is comprised in its subsistence value, its contribution to sustainable development and its intrinsic ability to show respect for the landscape, its role in the quality of life and the preservation of cultural and biological diversity. The protection of agricultural heritage reflects the development and broadening of the concept of heritage itself (Hinsch,1980), given that its recognition implies;

- the inclusion within the heritage concept of landscapes, artefacts and the traces of the
- "material cultures" which bear witness to the daily routines, the concerns of the working
- and middle classes and the efforts of men and women in the context of their work and subsistence environment;
- the identification and protection of intangible, living, continuous and contemporary aspects
- of heritage;
- the spatial dimension of natural and cultural properties and their definitive integration within their territorial, cultural, social and economic scale, which has the ability to inform improvements in heritage discourse, protection, management, interpretation and dissemination;
- the fusion of cultural and natural, tangible and intangible heritage values into a single discourse concerning the earliest origins of a people and its practices, skills, materials and technologies.

Cultural landscapes reflect specific techniques of sustainable land-use within the natural environment in which they are established. They have the ability to reveal specific spiritual relationships with nature. Protection of cultural landscapes contribute to our contemporary techniques of sustainable land-use planning because within its intangible dimension, it discloses traditions, rites, ceremonies, skills, craftsmanship, social practices, rituals, festive events, folklore, knowledge and practices as well as capturing a sense of how early agrarian societies organised their daily subsistence in language, habitation, farming and land tenure.

In NSW, the heritage listing process assigns either local or State significance to a property. State heritage listing taps into nine pre-set historical themes (Rappoport,2008). In the subject case, the 'Developing local, regional and national economies -agriculture' would be one of the themes, but another would be 'Building settlements, towns and cities'. A third would be 'Developing Australia's cultural life'. Suffice to say that all five selected examples are State listed because they clearly represent an historical setting for the present day with respect to their ability to physically exhibit past ways of life and customs germane to a convict labour intensive

pre-industrial age. Notwithstanding, a listing does nothing more than place the building or estate on a list to which a series of legislative constraints is attached. The constraints require that when any change to a listed place is contemplated that, permission be sought from the NSW Heritage Branch of the Department of Planning prior to any modifications taking place. However, there is no money other than his or her own available for the applicant of those modifications and after the modifications have been completed and checked by the authority, there is no ongoing audit or maintenance and certainly very little compensation (if any) awarded to the applicant for associated costs. One would think that a heritage building being of public interest specie would attract some sort of community or governmental assistance or compensation for the costs of regular maintenance, but this is not the case in any of the Australian heritage legislations except rare and usually insufficient contributions when funding is available by way of grants.

Thus, it is understandable that in the absence of meaningful government contribution to the sector, most of the rural heritage properties remain in private ownership and are generally not accessible to the public for use or enjoyment. This is a trend which surely works against the public interest because it privatises the intrinsic heritage values contained in these rare rural farmsteads.

### **CURRENT THREATS RECOGNIZED IN THE SELECTED EXAMPLES**

The nature of threats presented to heritage-listed rural properties common not only to all five examples cited above but many others as well - may be listed as follows;

- The properties no longer operate as active farms
- Their acreage and curtilages have become drastically reduced due to successive waves of subdivision and continue to be reduced
- The farm houses have lost their original purpose as pastoral buildings
- The properties have become surrounded by suburban development
- Poor management in the past has resulted in much original fabric having disappeared or the crass introduction of new fabric in unsympathetic ways
- Most except Cecil Hills have lost their outbuildings
- The settings of each has become compromised and distorted
- The buildings do not adapt well to other non-residential uses for which they were originally designed
- Many are managed by either local governments or corporations and are simply placed in a holding pattern under current listing arrangements
- The cost of maintaining such buildings and estates is not shared by the community and generally falls to the private owner, government or corporation in charge
- Most are not accessible to the public (community or visitors) and are therefore not readily understood or communicated in an interpretive sense
- The heritage listings tend to stagnate their current uses and accessibility and there are few strategies in place (other than minimal standards of maintenance) to open them up for public consumption and enjoyment.

In terms of their usage and accessibility, the table below sets out their current status.

*Table 1 – Comparative Analysis of Current Uses of five state-listed rural heritage properties*

Item	Property	Provenance	Listing (State or Local)	Use	Accessibility
1	Collingwood	1811	State	A museum but closed to public access – managed by Liverpool City Council.	Closed to public access
2	Cecil Hills	1820s	State	Used recently as a school for disabled children but currently closed– managed by Liverpool City Council.	Closed to public access
3	Glenmore	1830	State	Currently the clubhouse of the Glen Valley Golf course – managed by private company.	Privately owned – access limited to members of golf course
4	The Hermitage	1840	State	Currently being restored back into a private residence after being the site of the CSIRO Wool Research Laboratories for 44 years – privately owned now after being managed for many years by the Commonwealth Govt.	Privately owned - closed to public access
5	Oran Park House	1860s	State	Currently in private ownership by a publicly listed corporation – previously used as the clubhouse of a golf course.	Privately owned - closed to public access

In relation to the above list, it can be seen that there are several trends working against the interests of the listings. Since many of the listed properties are in private ownership, very few are available to the general public to visit and inspect. Thus, the heritage values have become privatized in the sense that their values are appreciated and enjoyed by only a few privileged individuals. Yet, the premise of the listings is to establish and show how the historical themes link into national, state and local historical themes that surely belong to everybody. The result is that the deemed heritage has become out of bounds for most of the general public of NSW.

### SHORTFALLS IN THE LISTING OF NSW RURAL HERITAGE

The general assumption is that once a place has been listed, it is protected. This assumption is open to scrutiny in the following ways;

- The mere listing of a place is pointless if it does not show how the listed place connects with other listed places

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

- Listing is incomplete if it is not shown precisely how the values link to a bigger more complex theme
- Listing carries little weight if the place is not accessible to local communities, the general public and tourists i.e. kept in private ownership
- Listings are pointless if there is no follow-up on a regular basis in terms of maintenance, funding, monitoring change, reporting annually etc.
- Listings are ineffective if they are not adequately manned at local Govt level and skillfully resourced in terms of trained professionals and personnel
- Local communities will not support listings if they are not engaged or involved in the process both at the determination phase and the delivery of outcomes
- Listed rural properties that are not actively engaged as working farms and operating homesteads fare worse than those that are
- Listed properties can become unmanageable if funding from some external source is not available, In NSW, funding for rural properties is abysmally scant, local government is in any case strapped and corporations having curatorial duties too often turn a blind eye as heritage is not considered to be core business.

Perhaps for too long, heritage has been promoted as a proclivity of the rich, educated and privileged sectors of society. It needs to become more integrated with community expectations. Its values need to be better communicated and funding in the sector better directed towards specific projects.

In the case of rural heritage, it is a fact that today in NSW the current lists are not properly policed. There is too much political interference with the lists. Places that should be on lists are not getting on them mainly because local government and State governments are under-funded and under-resourced to make any meaningful contribution to the sector. There is a presumption that once a place is listed, it is protected. This is farcical because in fact the listing process is the very instrument that causes the problems in the post-listing phase such as access, auditing, regular maintenance, funding and the communication of values to the wider community. Ironically, private owners of heritage are insufficiently acknowledged by government institutions. Unwittingly, they become the de facto curators of the heritage places, yet they are not acknowledged by governments for their input in terms of money spent on maintenance and conservation. Similarly, there are hardly any planning incentives in place for compensation to private owners such as grants, financial aid, tax relief etc. As a result, the stock of remnant rural heritage is being driven into private ownership by those that can afford it and communities for whom ultimately the values are meant to be conferred, become shut out.

This raises the question about listing as an effective means of holding heritage values within the public realm. The concept of privatized heritage is anathema to its central core values. Immense cultural significance is generated by the remnant stock of rural heritage yet because of the problems identified in this paper the resource is steadily being reduced by profligate mismanagement.

## REFERENCES

- Broadbent, J. (1997) "The Australian Colonial House", Hordern House.
- Broese, F. (1998) "Island Nation: Australia's Maritime Heritage", Sydney.
- Coupe, S. & Andrews, M. (1992) "Their Ghosts may be heard: Australia to 1900" , Longman Cheshire.
- Gojak, D. (2001) "Convict Archaeology in NSW; An Overview of the Investigation, Analysis and Conservation of Convict Heritage Sites", Australian Historical Archaeology, 19
- Heritage Collections Council, (2001), "Significance: A Guide to Assessing the Significance of Cultural Heritage Objects and Collections", www.collectionscouncil.com.au.
- Hinsch, L. (1980) "ICOMOS 1965-1980", Central Office for Historic Monuments in Norway, Oslo.
- Historic Houses Trust, (2008), " Annual Report" - <http://www.hht.net.au/data/assets/pdf>
- Hughes, R. (1987), "The Fatal Shore: A History of the Transportation of Convicts to Australia 1787-1868", Alfred A Knopf Inc.
- Keating, C. (1996) "On the Frontier: A Social History of Liverpool" , Liverpool City Council, pp.125- 145.
- Macleod, V. (2007), "Memories + Fragments + Objects - An Alternate Narrative" Liverpool Migration History Project (Stage 1), Casula Powerhouse: Liverpool, Liverpool City Council.
- Martinez Yáñez, C. (2010), "Research, Development and Innovation National Plan 2008-2011"
- ICOMOS Published Materials - Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation.
- Morton, H. (1954), "The Early Australian Architects and Their Work", Angus & Robertson, p. 19.
- NSW Heritage Branch, (2006), "NSW Heritage Listing", www.heritage.gov.au
- Rappoport, P. (2008), "NSW Heritage Management System", unpublished Masters Thesis – Usyd.
- Rosen, S. (2010), "Australia's Oldest House – Surgeon John Harris and Experiment Farm Cottage" Halstead Press.
- Tanner, H & Cox, P. (1975), "Restoring Old Australian Houses & Buildings – An Architectural Guide" Macmillan.

## URBAN PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN HERITAGE DISTRICTS: CASE STUDY OF SHIRAZ- IRAN

**Pirooz HANACHI**, Assistant Professor  
University of Tehran, Islamic Republic of Iran  
hanachee@ut.ac.ir

**Somaieh Fadaei NEZHAD**, PhD. Student  
Imam Khomeini International University, Islamic Republic of Iran  
sarafadaei@ut.ac.ir

### **ABSTRACT**

*The heritage cores of Iranian cities encompass a large number of valuable buildings and fabrics. Revitalization of heritage buildings and districts in Shiraz city are as the most successive experiences of urban transformation in Iran, which have influenced the quality of space and life for the people who lived in these districts.*

*The process of physical transformation in Iranian cities started from the beginning of the twentieth century (1925- 1941) by a vast program of road construction through the old fabric of old cities. There was an attempt to fundamentally alter the shape the country's social and spatial formation by an obligatory program combining "nationalism", "secularism" and "modernization".*

*During the second phase of transformation, between 1950 and 1960, the impact of modernization fuelled by economic factors. An immense growth of population and massive immigration contributed to the rapid and dramatic physical expansion of the cities. Urban sprawl intensified the problems of the heritage centre. The old cores became a small part of sprawling cities which dramatically transformed the social and spatial structures of the heritage environment*

*The third stage of transformation referred to the first two decades of the post revolutionary period ( 1979 – 1997 ). During the first decade after the revolution, the political and economic instability caused by the revolution and the war, which directly influenced the process of urban development in general and led to future decline of heritage centers, in particular.*

*During the second section reviewed a series of political, economic, administrative and fiscal reforms, which were accompanied by the evolution of conservation and regeneration policy and practices during the last decade. They produced a sense of connection and synergy between regeneration and conservation efforts. The projects for the revitalization of " Sang – e sia " is one of the heritage neighborhoods in the city centre of shiraz , is the prime example of this new trend which has been followed by other projects such as " Jolfa" in Isfahan.*

*This article briefly go on to argue the history of the urban transformation in national level, Iran, before Analyzing the outcomes of the physical and social transforming of the " sang –e sia " quarter which is located at the heart of heritage core of shiraz city, it provided a heritage background of this area, their social and spatial transformations and the objectives generated by these transformations. At the same time, it briefly reviewed the strengths, opportunities and potentials of the area. it was followed by a detailed investigation on the program, the policies employed by the local urban authorities and outcomes of the projects on the social and spatial structure of the area.*

## INTRODUCTION

Developing a balanced approach, dealing appropriately with the historic environment, has always been a challenging problem in many countries. There has been a tension between the old and the new and struggle over continuity and change. The historic city centres in Iran have also been the subject of such controversy. The historic cores, which form a very small part of the cities in recent times, have been undermined in the various waves of redevelopment. There has been an underlying emphasis on physical-led regeneration and delivery of flagship projects. This dominant approach, mainly employed by the central government, has failed to solve the problems of the areas; indeed, the interventions carried out within the framework of this approach have exacerbated the existing problems. During the last decade, however, efforts to revitalize Iranian historic cities have gained a new momentum. Several interrelated factors contributed to the changing role or structure of the state in urban regeneration process, which provided a basis for the development of a new approach to the regeneration of historic environment in Iran. Due to the lack of sufficient research on these approaches and the absence of comparing and assessing their results, this study aims to provide a deeper insight and develop a better understanding of these approaches to revitalize the historic urban centre. This is realized by identifying the employed approaches and addressing their deficiencies, exploring factors that shaped the approaches, examining and interpreting the features that characterize the approaches, and assessing their outcomes and impacts.

The emphasis of the study is on mechanisms and interrelationships that affect the process and product of urban transformation. Accordingly, this study has concentrated on the identification of the agencies involved, the role they play, and their strategies and interests within the economic, political and cultural contexts in which they operated. These roles, strategies and interests are related to the rules, resources and ideas that governed the process. The developed conceptual framework is applied in the study of one case, that representing an approach employed by the urban authorities during the last decade. This case is part of the historic core of Shiraz the sixth largest city in the country . The case of Shiraz represents an integrated, more sensitive, conservation-led approach adopted by the local authorities.

The findings of this study provide insights into the issues that policy-makers and practitioners should consider in designing regeneration policies and Physical and Social Transformation In Heritage Districts and efforts dealing with the problems of historic environments. This paper is summarized in three elements including:

1. Historic city centres, and the various waves of Transformations in IRAN
2. Social, political and economic changes and city centre transformations in SHIRAZ
3. Background of the study Sang-e Sia area

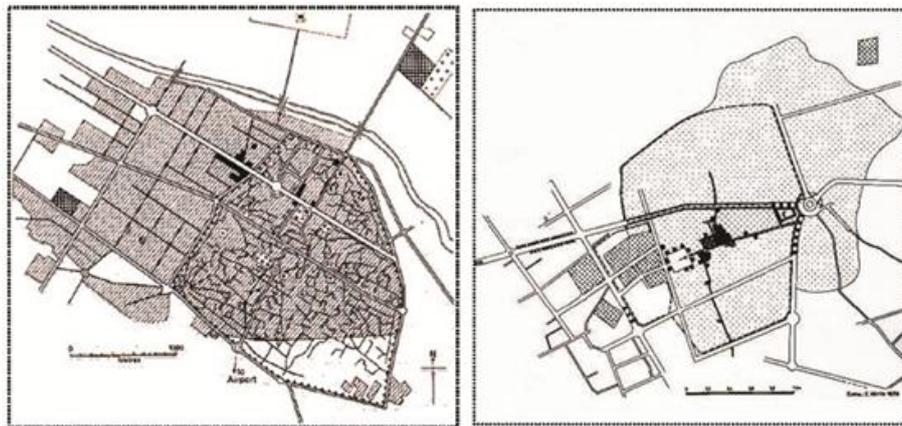
## HISTORIC CITY CENTRES, AND THE VARIOUS WAVES OF TRANSFORMATIONS IN IRAN

This is an investigation at a national scale. This section first identifies the main approaches to the historic environment in IRAN, the process and mechanism that shaped and affected these approaches and their outcomes in general at a national

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

scale. It will be followed by a detailed study of the political, social and economic transformations of the SHIRAZ city, during the last decade which contributed to the evolution of conservation and regeneration policies, and the emergence of a new approach to the revitalization of historic environment in IRAN. . They produced a sense of connection and synergy between regeneration and conservation efforts. The projects for the revitalization of " Sang – e sia " is one of the heritage neighborhoods in the city centre of shiraz , is the prime example of this new trend which has been followed by other projects in IRAN.

The process of physical transformation in Iranian cities started from the beginning of the twentieth century ( 1925- 1941 ) by a vast program of road construction through the old fabric of old cities. There was an attempt to fundamentally alter the shape the country's social and spatial formation by an obligatory program combining "nationalism", "secularism " and " modernization .



*Figure1 plan of shiraz ( left) and kerman ( right) after the superimposition of an orthogonol grid of streets upon the cities dense. Irregular patterns, and the expansion of the older cities. Sources: the cambrid history of IRAN (1968 ), p 438 and erdkunde ( 1968 ), p108.*

During the second phase of transformation, between 1950 to 1960, the impact of modernization fuelled by economic factors. An immense growth of population and massive immigration contributed to the rapid and dramatic physical expansion of the cities. Urban sprawl intensified the problems of the heritage centre. The old cores became a small part of sprawling cities which dramatically transformed the social and spatial structures of the heritage environment.

The third stage of transformation referred to the first two decades of the post revolutionary period ( 1979 – 1997 ). During the first decade after the revolution, the political and economic instability caused by the revolution and the war, which directly influenced the process of urban development in general and led to future decline of heritage centers, in particular.



Figure 2 large scale redevelopment program in the historic core of HAMADAN initiated by the Mortgage bank (Bank Rahni) in 1973, source: National cartographic centre of iran, 1986.



Figure 3 large scale reconstruction projects carried out by the municipalities, ( left ) Navab project in Tehran, ( Middle ) Bein – al Haramain in shiraz, and ( right ) Kaboud Mosque in Tabriz.



Figure 4 Aerial views of the holy shrines in Shiraz and Mashhad after the large scale clearance of the 1990s, source: Ghazanpour, 2000.

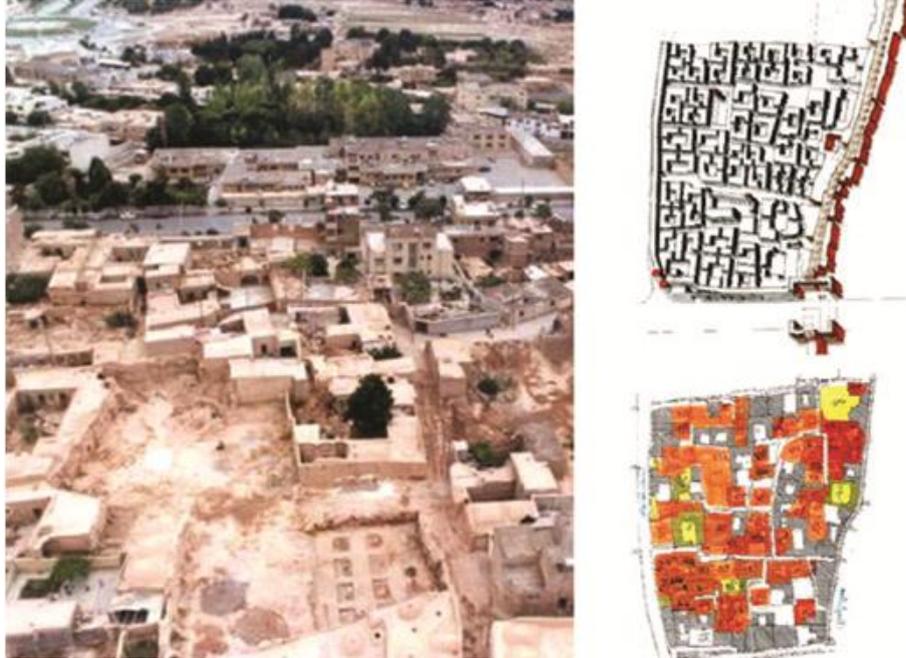


Figure 5 Urban redevelopment plan for 2.7 hectares of the residential area known Qaleh, one of the historic quarters of Kerman, (Above right) volumetric plan for the proposed redevelopment scheme, and the map showing the acquired properties between 1993 and 1995, (Above left) Aerial view of the historic quarter of Qaleh

## SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES AND CITY CENTRE TRANSFORMATIONS IN SHIRAZ

Shiraz, one of the seven principal cities of Iran, the sixth largest after Tehran, Mashhad, Isfahan, Tabriz and Karaj is the center of Fars province in southern Iran . Fars province has 16 counties, 60 sub-counties and 51 cities in which Shiraz is the largest city without serious local rivals. The city is located 895 km south of Tehran and 100 km north of the Persian Gulf. The following figure shows the last administrative division and location of Fars province in the south of Iran .

Shiraz has a long and eventful history common to many Iranian cities. Although the foundation of Shiraz was before the Islamic period, Shiraz experienced its greatest development after it had supplanted the ancient city of Estakhr<sup>i</sup>, the nearby Sassanian<sup>ii</sup> capital which was conquered by the Arab armies (Wiesehofer, 1999). As Estakhr fell into decline, Shiraz grew in importance under the Arabs and several local dynasties (Arberry, 1960). In fact it was an Islamic successor to the cities of Takht-e Jamshid and Pasargad during the Achaemenid Empire<sup>iii</sup> and the city of Estakhr during the Sassanian Empire (Lockhart, 1939; De Planhol, 1992).

Shiraz, like most other Iranian cities, has experienced a turbulent past as well as its temporary phases of glory as the capital or seat of important local rulers. Although Shiraz was spared destruction during the Mongol<sup>iv</sup> invasion, the town was devastated in

turn by Timur<sup>v</sup> (1387 and 1393), by great floods in 1630 and 1668, by the Afghan invaders in 1724, and by earthquakes which partially destroyed the city in 1789, 1814, 1824 and 1853 (Lockhart, 1939; Clarke, 1963; Wilber, 1975). Natural disasters, volatile social conditions, and political calamities brought disorder, destruction and great loss of life, while phases of peace and tranquility witnessed building construction and population growth.

From the 16<sup>th</sup> century during the Safavid period (1502-1722) security and prosperity returned to Iranian cities and was maintained for about two centuries. The political stability, the growth of production, the secure and convenient routes of transportation, as well as the flourishing internal and external trade, created a great opportunity for the regeneration and reconstruction of cities. Shiraz's fortunes in this period revived under Imam Quli Khan, Shah Abbas's Governor- general of Fars. "Imitating his sovereign at Isfahan, he did much to beautify Shiraz. In order to make a worthy approach to the city famous Chahar-Bagh at Isfahan " (Lockhart, 1939, p 32). He constructed a magnificent palace in the great square, and in 1615, he built a theological college called the Madreseh-yi-Khan. However, Shiraz started its decline with the Afghan raids in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, several earthquakes, and an internal uprising. When Nader Shah<sup>vi</sup> was assassinated in 1747, most of Shiraz's historical buildings were destroyed (Lawless, 1980). In the middle of the eighteenth century, Shiraz again came back to life and splendor "under the benevolent attention of a regent-ruler, Karim Khan Zand" (Wilber, 1975, p 199; Boyle, 1978). During his nineteen years of rule from Shiraz, Karim Khan succeeded in restoring a surprising degree of material prosperity and peace to a land ravaged and disoriented by his predecessors (Perry, 1991). Twenty-seven constructions in Shiraz, of which sixteen remain today, are attributed to Karim Khan Zand, both complete buildings and buildings which he extended and restored including mosques, administrative and secular buildings, palaces, baths, commercial buildings such as bazaar, civil engineering projects such as drainage channels, moats, bridges, fortifications, water reservoirs and gardens (Scarce, 1991). Although the prosperity of Shiraz was seriously interrupted by the decline of Zand dynasty (1794) and Tehran took the place of Shiraz as the Capital from this period, Shiraz remained one of the most important provincial cities during the Qajar period .

For a long period, between the early Islamic era (about 9<sup>th</sup> century) and the beginning of modernization (late 19<sup>th</sup> century), Shiraz developed a special urban type and maintained its main characteristics, in spite of some serious interruptions and fluctuations, which were mentioned earlier. It gradually expanded around an initial urban nucleus and continued to display the traditional features of an Islamic city.

In fact, it continued to grow, adhering to traditional kinds of social and spatial organization. Large scale constructions by Karim Khan Zand respected the old town and sought the maximum adaptability with the traditional structure (Lawless, 1980).

As Figure 6 shows, Shiraz was initially circular in shape, however the regular pattern of the city soon changed to an organic structure like the other Iranian cities, comprising the main elements of such cities. The form of the city stabilized from the 15<sup>th</sup> century and its shape from that time until the 20<sup>th</sup> century exhibited a fair representative of a typical traditional city before modernization (Karimi, 1998).

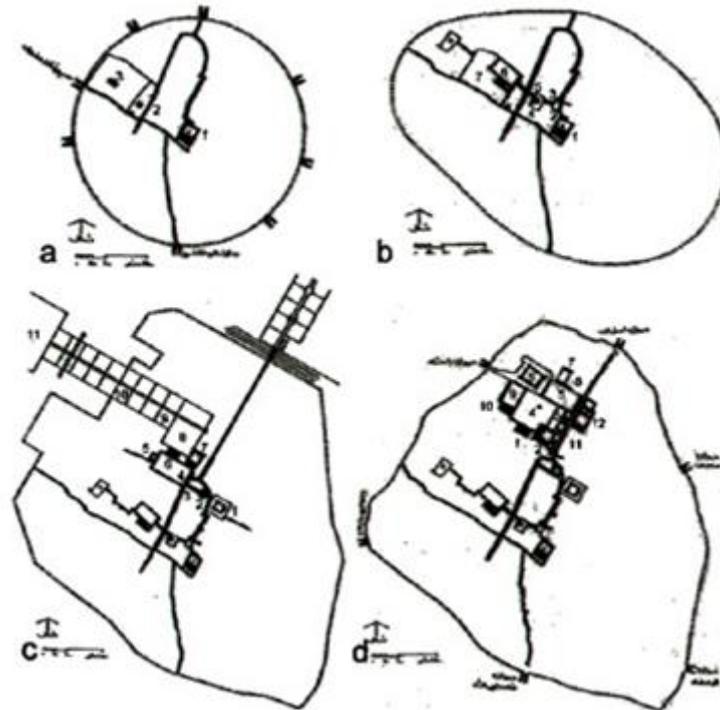


Figure 6 Evolution of shiraz physical structure, source : Tavasoli and Bonyadi, 1992.

Shiraz has always been a walled city of considerable dimensions. In the tenth century, the first wall was constructed by Azud – ud Doula. At the time of zand dynasty ( 1750-94 ). There was an almost circular stone wall 25 feet high and 10 feet broad with 80 forts. Although this wall was removed by Agha Mohammad khan, the founder of the Qajar dynasty ( 1795- 1925 ). It was later replaced by a mud wall with six gates ( clark. 1963 ). As the above figures show , its external shape remained fairly constant over the ages, while its internal form probably changed greatly.

- a- Shiraz, Physical structure of the city in 10th century A.D. (1. Friday Mosque, 2. Royal Library, 3. Palace)  
 b- Shiraz, Physical structure of the city in 12th century A.D. (1. Friday Mosque, 2. Shrine, 3. Local Bazaar, 4. Shah-e-Cheragh Shrine, 5. Local Bazaar, 6. New Mosque, 7. Atabakan Garden and Palace)  
 c- Shiraz, Physical structure of the city in 16th century A.D. (1. Theological seminary, 2. Quisariya, 3. Bazaar, 4. Square, 5. Hospital [Supposed location], 6. Palace, 7. Shah Mosque, 8. Governmental Garden, 9. Aristocratic Garden, 10. Access to the Royal Garden, 11. Royal Garden, 12. Char Bahg)  
 d- c- Shiraz, Physical structure of the city in 18th century A.D. (1. Royal residence, 2. Vakil Mosque, 3. Entrance space to Vakil Mosque, 4. Nazar Garden, 5. Toopkhaneh Square, 6. Citadel, 7. Divan Khaneh, 8. Naqqareh-Khaneh, 9. Mashq Square, 10. Stable and Prison, 11. Vakil Bazaar, 12. Caravanserai)

The metamorphosis of Shiraz into a modern city began with the attempts of Reza Khan (1925-1941), the founder of Pahlavi dynasty (1925-1979). The new political power, which ideologically rejected the superiority of the immediate past, targeted the traditional city which seemed to be an undesirable place; consequently, the new urban features became representative of the new era. Although some of the structures of the Zand period had already been partially obliterated by the time of the Qajar monarchs, most of them remained intact. However, the imposed modern structure inflicted serious damage on the old fabric and its elements.

After the first period of modernization the growth and development of Shiraz became radically different from its traditional pattern. A regular pattern of modern networks was superimposed on the historic core as the common pattern of expansion, and the organic shape of the traditional area has been trapped inside the enclosed and segmented historic core. In this period, the evolutionary process of urban development was replaced by radical modernization interventions.

Apart from the influences of many political and economic changes since World War II, the intensified forces of modernization and industrialization transformed the city in the late 1960s and the 1970s. The rapid expansion of urban areas followed the rapid population growth and changed the main characteristics of old Shiraz and decreased the significance of this area. There after the old core turned to a very small part of the sprawling city which was suffering from decay and lack of maintenance. Social, political, and economic changes during the post-revolutionary period, particularly through the direct interventions of the state and a constant desire toward unbridled modernism despite the apparently traditional nature of the government.

According to the above discussion, four key periods are identified during which the historic core was under pressure from various waves of renewal and redevelopment including: Zand dynasty [1750-94], modernization under Reza Khan [1920-41], the period of city sprawl in the late 1960s- 1970s, and the first two decades after Islamic Revolution of 1979, post-revolutionary period (1979-1997). The following sections attempt to explore the major driving forces behind the city centre transformation during

This section provided a brief historical background of the city of Shiraz and examined the transformation of the city and in particular its historic core in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It was structured around the three major phases of change in the political, social and economic context of the city. The transformation of the historic core was considered within the context of the city to provide a deeper insight and better understanding of the structural forces affecting the historic core at this level. This investigation revealed that the urban transformation during the last decades was inspired by a strong desire to instigate change and reshape the traditional urban fabric through undertaking large-scale redevelopment projects. The road-widening scheme of the 1930s, the modern master plans of the 1970s and 1980s (in response to the urban sprawl during these periods), and the development and redevelopment plans of the 1980s and 1990s were among the major redevelopment-oriented town planning exercises, led by the government and in some cases the municipality (as the agent of the state) and the religious institutions and revolutionary foundations (newly re-established religious authorities after the revolution). The autocratic control of the decision-making, policy formulation, planning and design exercises by the central government and its agencies, and access to financial resources all dictated by the legal status, rules and regulations made the instrument of authority a determining factor in the implementation of such large-scale redevelopment oriented programs. All these schemes involved the modernization of the pre-existing urban structure of the historic center by means of cutting wide and straight avenues through its densely built-up quarters. There was a radical break with the past in pre and post-revolutionary period which was represented by these large-scale redevelopment projects. These large-scale redevelopment/modernization projects drastically changed the historic core's physical-spatial structure. However, the emphasis placed on modernization led to the spectacular decline of the historic core.

During the past decades, the historic city center has suffered from depopulation, extensive deterioration. Several legal impediments and official obstacles, a lack of investment, high crime rates, social fragmentation. Poverty and deprivation, a fragmented and overlapping institutional and legal framework and also insufficient institutional coordination and inefficient urban management. However, since 1997, several political and administrative reforms at national, provincial and local level changed this situation and provided a basis for the emergence of a new series of regeneration and conservation activities in this area. It was the result of the realization of the political and administrative reforms after 1997 in some cases like Shiraz, which provided a practical basis for the development of a collaborative network of the local agencies. At the same time, the formation of institutional framework, development of planning and legislation and strengthening regulatory role of the central government in the regeneration and conservation of the historic environment contributed to the evolution of conservation and regeneration policies and approaches.

This investigation identified the key actors and institutions on a citywide level, which played a crucial role in the process of regeneration of the historic core during the last decade, including: the city council, the Fars Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization, the co-ordinating councils, the Municipality and Municipality of the Historic District, the Fars Urban Development and Revitalization Company, and the local Endowment and Charity Affairs Organizations. The next chapter will examine the revitalization program for the historic quarter of Sang-e Sia as the prime example of this new trend.

## BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY SANG-E SIA AREA

The study area is located at the heart of an urban block on the west side of the historic core which encompasses the old quarters of, Darb-e Masjed, Armenian<sup>vi</sup>Sar-e Bagh; as well as the main parts of Shah Square, Sar Dezak, and the Jewish quarters. The names of the neighborhoods are still used as general geographical locations, but the corporate structure of individual quarters no longer exists. The imposed avenues of the 1920s and 30s disintegrated the social and spatial networks of the old quarters and formed a series of large urban blocks containing truncated historic quarters.

The boundary of the urban block, which contains previously mentioned quarters, is defined by the Dastgheib Street and Lotfalkhan Zand Street to the north, Sibuyeh Boulevard to the south, Qaani Street to the west and Hazrati Street to the east.

This block covers approximately 70.4 hectares and contains over 2476 residential unit, With 15435 inhabitants (18.74 percent of the historic core area and 22 percent of the whole inhabitants in the city centre) (Pardaraz, 2003; Naqsh-e Jahan pars, 1998).

Although the spatial dimension of the area has changed to some extent, it still largely retains its traditional layout. There are fourteen monuments listed by the Cultural Heritage Organization, as well as more than hundred unlisted but architecturally significant buildings (mainly historic residential houses) that determine the quality of this urban context. The circular road on the periphery of the historic core on the west and south sides as well as two imposed streets on the north and east sides of the district links this area with the urban road system. The dominant route for pedestrians is "Sang-e Sia" axis, the north to south spine, from Bibi Dokhtaran tomb to the Taj-al Din Gharib mansoleum near the old Kazeroun Gate.

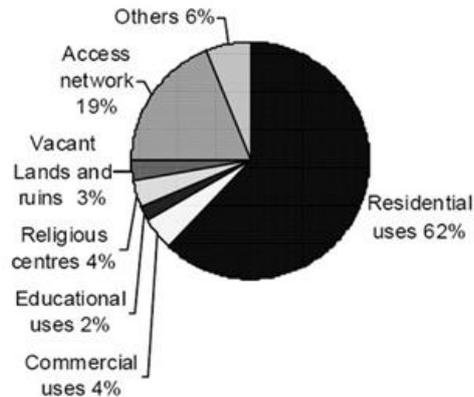


Figure 7 Existing land use allocation

Figure 7 illustrates the major type of land uses that presently exist in this area. Residential is the dominant use (62%) and contains different types of residential uses including single-family homes, multi-family homes<sup>viii</sup>, and new constructed condominiums and apartments. The second most dominant use is access network with 19%. Most commercial uses are located along new streets on the border of the urban block.

There are also four local commercial centres, literally bazarcheh, in the proximity of the historic neighbourhood centres which mainly provide the daily or regular needs of the residents of their immediate neighborhoods.

The area contains more than 26 religious centres including mosques, local shrines, and theological schools. Although Shiraz is not a pilgrimage centre like Mashhad, mosques and shrines dominate the squat skyline of the historic core, and are the most noteworthy features of the urban land scape (Clarke, 1963). The following table and graph present the existing land use allocation surveyed by Pardaraz Consultants in 2002-4 ). They provide a picture of current land use pattern which has also been utilized as a basis for developing future land use plan.

A close examination of the area shows that the major monuments are in close proximity to each other and form five distinctive clusters. They are located along Sang-e Sia axis, the main spine of the area.

The program for regeneration of Sang-e Sia quarter focuses on this thoroughfare at the heart of the urban block which connects a number of historic buildings and monuments. The monuments clustering along the spine have their own distinctive character. They define a heritage corridor which is a vital part of the area. One such cluster is centred on the Moshir complex (mosque, local bazaar, bath, theological school, cistern, and a neighborhood unit), the most frequented tourist area. With its unique architectural heritage, it is one of the most important sights of the historic core. There are also several unique buildings, including the mausoleum of Bibi-dokhtaran, Mirza-hadi Mosque, Armenian Church, the tomb of Sibuyeh, Siavoshan Mosque, and the shrine of Taj-od-Din Qarib which are the principal elements of these clusters.



*Figure 8 The monuments clustering along the Sang-e Sia axis define a heritage corridor which plays a vital role in this area*

The street linking the clusters has an important role in providing continuity within a wide range of settings. These clusters have each formed a small neighborhood square. The totality of these squares comprises the main public space in this area. The essential components of this public space are a group of shops providing daily needs, a religious centre (local shrine or mosque), and in some cases a green spaces. The following section briefly introduces major elements of these cluster.

## CONCLUSION

This paper examined the revitalization program for the Sang-e Sia quarter, at the heart of an urban block at west side of the historic core of Shiraz. It provided a historical background of this area, its social and spatial transformation and the problems generated by these transformations.

This investigation revealed how the new political, economic and cultural conditions led to the emergence of a new path to the transformation of the historic environment. Due to the absence of political and economic interests in this case, the central government showed little enthusiasm for direct involvement. It was accompanied by the decentralization policies of the National Development Plan by which the state had to redistribute its authority, responsibility and financial resources at provincial and local level. Decentralization provided a degree of local autonomy for the local authorities to deal more effectively with their problems. Under a series of structural constraints, the local authorities pragmatically established a partnership among all major stakeholders involved. This coalition at local level allowed the mobilization of the local resources, reconciled the divergent interests and secured consensus among all stakeholders. The local authorities offered a set of practical policies, a comprehensive financing strategy,

and an integrated approach dealing with both development and conservation concerns. The new approach was more sensitive to the local needs and a convergence between different approaches concerning the historic environment. Old buildings under threat of demolition have been brought back into use; the main public space of the area has greatly improved; and the religious buildings have been restored and turned into attractive places for both local visitors and tourists.



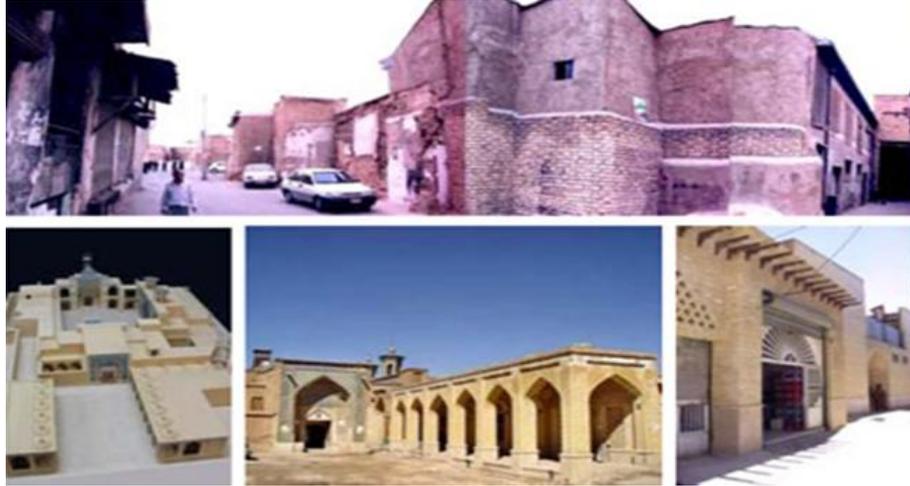
Figure 9 Physical rehabilitation of Sang-e Sia axis and newly constructed open space in front of the Bibi-dokhtaran shrine



Figure 10 The view of sanq-e siah axis before ( left ) and after ( right ) completion of the physical rehabilitation and open space improvement. In this project, the infrastructure improved, the main access resurfaced, and building facades were rehabilitated with the traditional patterns particularly those which located around the newly constructed plaza.



Figure 11 Restoration and adaptive reuse of existing historic building. The historic house which was in danger of destruction has been rehabilitated, upgraded and converted in to a local library and cultural centre ( right and middle ) . with recent social and cultural changes, historic buildings have been subject to extensive change, alteration and in some cases a considerable amount of damage. The local mosque ( Haj mohammad rahim ) located along main street is the best exemplar of this kind which was restored by FUDRC ( left ) . these structures are seen not only as monuments and historic building to be preserved, but also as potential focal points that can attract tourists and stimulate the inhabitants to live.



*Figure 12 Moshir centre before and after regeneration. A group of low quality buildings were replaced by a new open space and shops located around the square. The new addition was constructed in a manner that preserved the historic character. While it was differentiated from the historic structure so that the new work is not confused with what is genuinely part of the past. The new element are compatible with the scale and future of the existing historic structures.*

#### END NOTES:

- i. As discussed in the historical background, the city population comprised religious minorities, jews and Armenians, Each of these two religious minorities occupied a particular part of the historic core called Mahalla-ye Ara'maneh ( Armenians"quarter ) and Mahalla-ye Kalimiha (Jewish quarter). Today, except for a few families, none live in this area, but the physical character of these quarters, with their places of worship, still recalls and communicates about their lives and memories .
- ii. There are numerous historic houses, which were originally single-family, but have been divided into multi-family residences, a popular choice among working class and migrants.
- iii. City and district in ancient Persia
- iv. Sassanian 226-651 A.D
- v. Achaemenid Empire (560-330 B.C)
- vi. Mongol (1220-1380)
- vii. Timurids empire (1393-1500)
- viii. Nader Quli Beg. (Nader Shah) the king of Afsharid period (1736-1750)

#### REFERENCES

- Afsar, K.-a. (1986) 'The City of Shiraz', in Kiani, M. Y.(ed), Nazari Ijmal be Shahr-neshini va Shahrsazi dar Iran (A General Study on Urbanization and Urban Planning in Iran). Farhang va Ershad-e Islami: Tehran.
- Alemi, M. (1996) 'Iranian Architecture: in search for a new identity', Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre, XVth-XVIIth, (1).

- Ardalan, N. (2000) 'Architecture VII, Pahlavi, After World War II', in Yarshater, E.(ed), Encyclopaedia Iranica, Vol. II Bibliotheca Persica Press: New York.
- Boyle, J. A. (1978) Persia, history and heritage. Henry Melland: London.
- Clark, B. D. and Costello, V. (1973) 'The urban system and social patterns in Iranian cities', Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, (59), pp. 99-128.
- Clarke, J. I. (1963) The Iranian city of Shiraz. Department of Geography University of Durham: Durham.
- Izadi, M. S. (2000) "ravand-e degargouni-e saze-man-e fazai-e baft-ha-e shahri dar Iran' (A Review of the Process of Spatial Transformation In Iranian Urban Fabrics', Shahrdariha, 2, (18), pp. 14-17.
- Izadi, M. S. (2001) "bares-e tajarob-e maremat-e shahri dar Iran' (A Study on Urban Revitalisation In Iran)', Haft Shahr, 2, (3), pp. 32-42.
- Izadi, M. S. (2008) " A Study on City Centre Regeneration: A comparative analysis of two different approaches to the revitalization of historic city centres in Iran", Newcastle University, chapter 4,5,6.
- Jokilehto, J. (1999) 'A Century of Heritage Conservation', Journal of Architectural Conservation, (3), pp. 14-33.
- Jokilehto, J. (1999) A History of Architectural Conservation. Butterworth-Heinemann: Oxford, England.
- Karimi, K. (1998) Continuity and Change in Old Cities: An analytical investigation of the spatial structure in Iranian and English historic cities before and after modernization. PhD thesis. University College London.
- Karimi, K. (2000) 'Urban conservation and spatial transformation: preserving the fragments or maintaining the spatial spirit', Urban Design International, 5, (3/4), pp. 221-231.
- Lawless, R. I. (1980) 'The Future of Historic Centre: Conservation or Redevelopment?' in Blake, G. H. and Lawless, R. I.(eds) The Changing Middle Eastern City. Croom Helm: London, pp. 178-208.
- Lockhart, L. (1939) Famous Cities of Iran. W.Pearce & Co: Brentford, Middlesex.
- Naqsh-e Jahan Pars Consultant. (1993) Revitalization Plan for the Historic Area of Shiraz. Tehran: Ministry of Housing and Urban Development
- Naqsh-e Jahan Pars Consultants. (1998) Detailed Plan for the Shiraz Historic Area. Tehran: Urban Development and Revitalization Organization
- Pardaraz Consultant. (2004) The Revision Plan for Shiraz Historic Core: Urban Management and Participation. Shiraz: Shiraz Municipality
- Pardaraz Consultants. (2003) The Revision Plan for Shiraz Historic Core. Shiraz: Shiraz Municipality
- Parkinson, M. (1989) 'The Thatcher Government's urban policy, 1979-1989', Town Planning Review, 60, (4), pp. 421-440.

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

- Perry, J. (1991) 'The Zand Dynasty', in Avery, P., Hambly, G. and Melville, C.(eds) The Cambridge History of Iran. Vol. 7 Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, pp. 63-103.
- Scarce, J. (1991) 'The Art of the Eighteenth to Twentieth Centuries: Architecture', in Avery, P., Hambly, G. and Melville, C.(eds) The Cambridge History of Iran. Vol. 7 Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, pp. 890-958.
- Shiraz City Council. (2002) Aims and Objectives. Shiraz: Shiraz City Council
- Shiraz Urban Railway Organization (2005) Routes of Shiraz Urban Railway. Available at: <http://www.shirazmetro.ir>.
- Wiesehofer, J. (1999) 'Fairs, province in southern Persia; ii. History in the pre-Islamic Period', in Yarshater, E.(ed), Encyclopedia Iranica. Vol. IX Bibliotheca Persica Press: New York.
- Wilber, D. N. (1975) Iran, Past and Present. Princeton University Press: Princeton, New Jersey.
- Wilber, D. N. (2000) 'Architecture VII. Pahlavi, before World War II', in Yarshater, E.(ed), Encyclopaedia Iranica. Vol. VII Bibliotheca Persica Press: New York, pp. 349-351.



## THE PERCIEVED IMPACTS OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AT CULTURAL HERITAGE SITES-MARDIN SAMPLE

**Elif GÜNDÜZ**, Research Assistant, PhD. Student  
Selcuk University, Turkey  
elifgunduz@gmail.com

**Rahmi ERDEM**, Assistant Professor  
Selcuk University, Turkey  
rerdem@selcuk.edu.tr

### **ABSTRACT**

*In this paper, the potential relationship between tourism, conservation, and planning within the sustainability discourse is examined. The study is focused on identifying the capacity issues facing the Site and assessing the threat posed by these issues (now or in the future) to the Site's Key Values. The Key Values are identified through an analysis of the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) of the Site and then graded as to whether they were critical, important or contributory in terms of their importance to the Site. Development of the study involved a staged process of survey, analysis and assessment which included public consultation. The aim of this paper is to present a practical method for urban sustainability policy analysis, with a particular view to finding a balance between the need for sustainable urban development (with a view to environmental and cultural goods) facing tourism development and visitors.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

The demand for natural and cultural sites has been increasing due to reasons such as the increase in world's population, the change in consumer's pleasures and preferences who contribute to foreign and domestic tourism, the increase in the demands of people who have more leisure time and higher disposable income regarding foreign and domestic tourism, compared to the past and etc. Today, the fact that the branches of the international tourism market, which are expanding at the highest speed, are related to natural and cultural tourism corroborates this assumption. Tourism industry is in interaction with natural systems from local to global scale. On one hand it assumes the responsibility of maintaining the environmental quality, on the other hand it, as an ever-growing industry, has the potential of overconsumption of resources and inevitably destroying the natural environment (Goodall and Stabler, 1997).

Deterioration of the qualities of cultural sources, along with the uncontrolled development, resulted in a decrease in demand for tourism (Saveriades, 2000). In this respect, a plenty of examples can be given like Venice, which has lost its attraction because of huge demand and turned out to be a crowded city.

Capacity, in its dictionary meaning, is "a certain amount that something can contain"; carrying is "enduring, bearing". Thus, carrying capacity can be defined as the amount to be born or the amount to be tolerated. World Tourism Organization defined carrying capacity as "the number of tourists that can be hosted in an area" (Simon et al. 2004). World Tourism Organization stated in 1992 that carrying capacity is fundamental for the protection of environment and a sustainable development.

The notion of carrying capacity which is regarded as a must in tourism planning and management is focused on the possible benefits it will provide for the touristic area. This concept should be seen not as a process of problem solving, but as a proactive, protective and a forward-looking approach, which can always be adapted to the phases of development of tourism (tourism life span). Growth-management strategies (Williams & Gill, 1994) and consideration for the carrying capacity of the natural and sociocultural environment (Getz, 1983; Gunn, 1994) have led to the demand for indicators that can monitor the sustainability of the natural and socio-cultural environment as the increasing awareness of the negative impacts of tourism (O'Grady, 1990) and the associated demand for impact-assessment studies (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006).

Because of the effects that can show up in long-term, preventing the deterioration of environment and reducing the risks are more beneficial than trying to solve the problems after they occur. In this regard, carrying capacity and life-cycles of environmental sources should be considered as a whole in order that tourism can display a sustainable development. If sustainable tourism policies and measures are not established early on to manage the possible negative effects of tourism, initial tourism development can become a political and marketing gimmick that opens the door to unwelcome mass tourism (Bookbinder et al. 1998; Mowforth & Munt, 1998).

The activity of tourism forms a change between financial values and natural – historical values. So, economically underdeveloped countries or regions gain income by offering their natural and historical values. They expand and enrich their economic production, working areas and varieties (Avcıkurt, 2003). For the prevention or reduction of negative effects of tourism activities ranging from the demand of dense housing on cultural and ecological asset to the destruction of ecological environments, tourism policies come to the fore as an important means of planning and implementation for not only regional development but also conserving and sustaining cultural heritage in regions with cultural heritage. At this point, in the new world order where priorities and requirements are changing at a great speed, the planning for the assessment of cultural heritage of Turkey along with tourism sector in terms of regional development and also sustainability principle is of utmost importance. The current potential should be carefully evaluated.

There are two main benefits of the tourism development plans which are to be implemented on historical sites. The first one is the emphasis on historical settlement or the originality of the site; the second one is the canalizing of the unique atmosphere of these sites to larger areas and masses, and in this way increasing the factors that will potentially help the development of tourism. It is important that the planning should be both correcting the existing problems and preventing the negative effects that may arise in historical and cultural environment (Ozguven, 1994).

The environmental capacity concept implies that if a city is pushed beyond certain limits, there is a risk of destroying the very things that are valued and worthy of conservation (ARUP, 1993). This also reflects the physical nature of the place, the significances of the place, the inherent sensitivity of the place (based on an understanding of its nature and associated values) and its sensitivity to the particular types of change or development (Atkins, 2006). It also gives the chance to highlight the development plan preparation process while the tensions between the perceived need

for continued economic and physical growth and the desire to maintain the existing texture and character of the city facing tourism development.

## CULTURAL HERITAGE, CONSERVATION AND TOURISM POLICIES

In Athens Clause dated to 1933, it is stated that architectural heritages are common values of mankind. Yet, this concept became widespread and was institutionalized after 1970s. Cultural heritage, which was stressed to be the common property of all nations in 1975, the year of Europe Architectural Heritage, became an emphasized concept whose problems the countries tried to bring a solution to (Zeren, 1989; Akin 1988). Much as the point of departure in the Report of Our Common Future, which is also known as the Brundtland Report, issued by United Nations Committee on Environment and Development in 1987, were natural assets such as air, water, soil and their contamination, it later included artificial environment which is the other constituent of environment. In this context, the problem of conservation of historical-cultural values has been carried to international domain through the discourse of "common heritage" (or common heritage of mankind). The policies for the conservation of historical-cultural heritage which were formerly used in order to establish local or national identities and the sense of common history are now considered in accordance with the discourse of globalization as a global responsibility of conserving "the common heritage of mankind" or "global properties". Feilden and Jokiletho (1998) make a broad definition of cultural heritage as "*all the signs that document all of the activities and successes of mankind in the course of history*".

Today, development levels of nations are measured by a healthy environment, cities which established their cultural identities, new development areas in accordance with these environment and cities around. Cities respecting the human and building bridges between past-present-future are signs of a conscious continuity. It is accepted that conserving the historical cities is also an effective means of social development. Conservation brings a new economic dynamism to the city. In our day, many societies employ conservation as a strategy of social development. Historical and cultural environments enliven local economies when attended properly; they can open new working areas and branches, and increase tax incomes. However, the cities, which are suddenly exposed to the development of tourism, expand and change quickly in an unhealthy way; therefore they cannot achieve this. These cities lose their identities and their readability in time and space; they evolve into undefined spaces in time.

Cultural heritage tourism and sustainable development is on the agenda of WTO since the beginning of 1970s. The subject of 1999 World Tourism Day was "*Tourism: the conservation of world heritage for the new millennium*". In the same year, a memorandum on "Tourism and the conservation of cultural heritage" was issued jointly by UNESCO, Council of Europe and Organization of World Heritage Cities in Khiva-Uzbekistan. According to many critics (e.g. Ritzer, 1999; Urry, 2001) culture has now become an important element of tourism system or "culture tourism". Culture tourism is also frequently mentioned as one of the largest and the most quickly developing branches of global tourism (e.g. WTO, 2004). It has the potential of creating more demand for conserving buildings including less valued monuments and overlooked traditional environments. It can also increase an appreciation for the historical environment, contributing to greater local and cross-cultural understanding.

A very important and visible part of heritage consists of the built environment, the context of urban living. Many countries have pursued conservation policies, as conserving the past offers a source for cultural identity and a basis of reference for the future. Conservation policy has usually been approached in an eclectic way focusing on the unique and outstanding. Recent attitudes towards conservation bring forward the issue of protecting more and more aspects of heritage. Yet the point to be paid attention is that mass tourism is not a phenomenon to be encountered only in holiday resorts on shores. It is being more and more difficult to conserve the cultural heritage areas of these holiday resorts, to provide a maximum access and to balance the use of visitors' experiences. The number of tourists in some of the historical cultural heritages of the world, especially in World Heritage Sites and historical cities, is becoming a source of concern (Smith, 2003).

### **MARDIN -AS A CULTURAL HERITAGE SITE**

The city of Mardin, located on the Tigris side of Southeastern Anatolia has become one of the most attractive cities of Turkey with its natural beauties, cultural heritage and socio-cultural elements. It is surrounded by Syria on the south, by Şırnak ve Siirt on the east, by Diyarbakır and Batman on the north, and by Şanlıurfa on the west. It has a settled history dating back to B.C.8000.

According to the address-based population data of 2009, the population of Mardin is 759, 697. The population of the central district is 81, 269. When evaluated in terms of the population sizes of the cities in Southeastern Anatolian region, Mardin ranks the fourth by 10% after Gaziantep, Diyarbakır and Şanlıurfa. According to the results of TÜİK of the year 2009, Mardin loses its population by emigration. Agriculture is still the primary sector of economy. Husbandry, besides vegetative production, is an important work branch and one of the main sources of living of its residents (Aydin, 2008). Although it falls behind the country averages in terms of industrial development, Mardin Cement Plant, KİDAŞ Spinning Factory, Southeastern Anatolian Phosphate Plant, Feed Factory, Pipe and Lime Factory are the industrial organizations established in the leadership of Special Provincial Administration, Development Bank and Public Economic Organizations which provide added-value to the city (Anonymous,2008).

The city, which was settled after B.C. 4500 is an important open-air museum hosting a lot of works from Subaris, Sumerians, Akadians, Babylonians, Mitanis, Assyrians, Persians, Byzantines, Arabs, Seljuks, Artuksand Ottomans (Anonymous,2008). Because of the fact that it is located between the Anatolian and Middle East cultures and on the important trade routes of Eurasia, Mardin has a cosmopolitan structure with different geographies, religions, languages and cultures. The city is a unique one completely declared as cultural heritage after Venice and Jerusalem which, with their architectural, ethnographic, archaeological, historical and visual assets, gives the impression that time is suspended there.

Various examples of the multifunction buildings built in Anatolia in accordance with the structure program developed by the Great Seljuk Empire, mostly date back to the era of Artuquids, and then Akkoyunlus bring to this rich heritage a new dimension (Anonymous,2008). When all of the works are examined, starting from the Ulu Mosque and around, it is difficult to detect the boundaries of the annexes built in each period, because the rooted tradition of stone architecture has given rise to a homogeneous landscape in the city. All these cultural accumulation and traditional life style

have formed the city culture and its structural environment, and determined cultural variety, topography and the texture of the city.

The era whose impact is most strongly sensed is the Middle-Age. When the strongly intertwined textures in Anatolian cities consisting of districts and having religious artifacts at their centers are taken as a whole, it becomes obvious that the works of the Middle-Ages still dominate the landscape even today.

Immovable culture assets, 353 of which at the city center and 293 in towns and villages, belonging to the civilizations above mentioned are registered by the Ministry of Culture (Anonymous, 2008). Mardin, a candidate for the list of cities having the universal values accepted on the Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (UNESCO, 1972), hosts inimitable religious and traditional examples of stone architecture which occurred as a result of natural structure and human interaction. Having the outlook of a city from middle-ages, it is defined as “a *cultural landscape site*” with the criteria below defined by WHC:

- i. displaying an important alternation of human values over span of time or in a cultural region of the world, on developments in technology or architecture, city-planning, landscape design or monumental arts.
- ii. hosting a unique or distinct cultural tradition or civilization which is living or which has disappeared.
- iii. being a distinct example of a certain type of building, technological or archeological example or landscape which shows different stages in human history.

In order for Mardin to enter UNESCO's list of World Culture Heritage, there has been a struggle since the beginning of 1980s. For this purpose, an application was made to UNESCO in 1981, yet due to terrorism in the area this application was withdrawn. With the alleviation of security concerns, actions were retaken in 1998. In this respect, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism presented to UNESCO a list of 18 new items, the first one being Mardin. However, the officials withdrew the candidacy of Mardin from World Heritage List seeing that Mardin's file lacked important documents (Anonymous, 2008).

One of the most important criteria of being a “world city” or “sustainable city”, in today's saying, is developing the cities by conserving their natural, historical and cultural identities. When the classification of Fagence (2003) on cultural tourism is taken into account, it is possible to determine that the potential of cultural tourism in Mardin consists of institutionalized culture (historical places), local people, popular culture (cuisine, handicrafts, traditions, and customs), and ethnic symbols (religion, dressing, ornaments)

In this sense, far-reaching projects of development and conservation of cultural heritage should be designed in order to improve tourism in Mardin. When geographical, cultural and economic properties of the region are considered, it becomes clear that such a project is important and necessary. It is obvious that Southeastern Anatolia, where Mardin is located, is socio-economically backward relative to the other regions. Nature and climate, folklore, civilization and culture, which are the basic constituents of tourism, comprise the raw material of his industry. In this context it can be said that Mardin, having the opportunity of regional economic development with its current tourism potential and geographical location, can also make progress in terms of tourism.

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The type of the study is descriptive.

Observation technique used in the study is questionnaire. The questionnaire consisted of 31 questions and carried out with 330 people, but the present paper is based on the answers of the visitors to the general information, their visit on the day, arriving there, the places they visited or planned to visit, quality of the Mardin historic centre, opinions to make Mardin more attractive for visitors to estimate an indication on their views, their opinions and the calculations were adjusted to provide an accurate percentage.

Questionnaire forms have been prepared through other researches made for the region or other similar regions, vocational experience, field survey and in situ observation. Some of the findings have been composed by using only the results of the questionnaire while some of them are based on questionnaire and observation.

Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS, version 15.0) was used for the analysis of data collected.

Environmental Capacity Study Model, conceived by ARUP in 1993 and developed by Atkins in 2006, is one of the significant methods inspiring our work. The fact that the regional and country conditions are different prevented us from using the model as it is, yet inspired by it, we produced an original "Environmental Capacity Study" approach.

The capacity of the Site to accommodate visitors is discussed in order to come up with a practical method for the analysis of city sustainability policy, with a particular emphasis on providing a balance between the need for sustainable city development and the policy.

Within the scope of the study, it is important to establish an understanding of the characteristics of historical city and the planning issues. The methodology **is designed in such a way as to** guide the management of the region and mark a range of pressures and demands facing the region because of its location at a strategic point. Among these issues are traffic and transport problems, the need for economic and social regeneration and the maintenance of a high quality of life for residents.

Key values have been identified depending upon the definition of the City's Outstanding Universal Values. Key values have been graded as critical, important or contributory, in accordance with their importance for the protected area. The relative threat that key values pose to a specific value level categorization has been developed as **Major Threat, Moderate Threat, Minor Threat, No Threat**.

*Table 1: The Relationship between the Values and Threats*

	<b>Critical Value</b>	<b>Important Value</b>	<b>Contributory Value</b>
<b>Major Threat</b>	Primary Concern	Primary or Significant Concern	Significant or Minor Concern
<b>Moderate Threat</b>	Primary or Significant Concern	Significant Concern	Minor Concern
<b>Minor Threat</b>	Minor Concern	Minor Concern	No Concern
<b>No Threat</b>	No Concern	No Concern	No Concern

*Source: Saltaire World Heritage Site- Environmental Capacity Study,2006*

## FINDINGS

Visitors come to the city mostly to see the historical artifacts and thus contribute to the economy. The city offers a wide range of places to visit (madrasas, monasteries and churches, historical houses etc.). In a visitor's survey, 61% of the visitors stated that they would visit local bazaar and shops, 66% churches and monasteries, 58% residential areas exemplifying traditional architecture (Table 2). It appears that local bazaar and churches receive most of the demand. Therefore, it is possible to claim that these places are key values for the visitors.

When the expenditure incurred by the visitors is evaluated, which is a key factor in economic influence of the visitors, it was found that more than 30% of the visitors spend or plan to spend more than 200TL, 10% 151-200 TL, 14%101-150 TL (Table 2); and that the visitors mostly prefer spending on souvenirs and silver jewelry. It was also determined that average expenditure of the visitors contributes to the souvenir shops.

An important problem relating to the analysis of visitors is the lack of information on total number of visitors. The number of one-day visitors limits the estimations on the issue. Since a fee is not paid while entering the city, it currently seems impossible to estimate the total number of visitors. The city is a visiting place for a lot of schools at the same time. The subjects generally studied are archeology, history, and architecture and art history. Student groups cannot be officially included in the total number of visitors.

The visitors are inseparable factors for the sustainability of historical cities. However, the balance between the residents and visitors is of vital importance. These relations reveal potential conflicts and problems.

Table 2: Visitors' opinions and demands

		%		%	
<b>The Places planned to be visited</b>	local bazaar and shops		<b>Facilities to be improved</b>	improved toilet facilities	53
	churches and monasteries			inadequacy in restaurants or similar sectors of service	42
	residential areas exemplifying traditional architecture			inadequate accommodation facilities	44
<b>SpendingAmount</b>	50 TL (~25 €)		<b>Overall quality of the visitor experience* *total</b>	Deficiency in parking lots	40
	51-100 TL (~25 -50 €)			Very good and good	77
	101-150 TL (~50-75 €)		Poor and very poor	1	
	151-200 TL (~75 -100 €)		<b>Demand for visit again</b>	Yes	83
	More than 200 TL (~100€)			No	6

### Potential Effects and Capacity Problems

*Texture and Character:* Tourists' overuse of the sources may lead to overcrowding, traffic jam, garbage problem and noise. Cultural assets are generally underestimated and misused by the young, so, abrasion on the stairs of places due to overuse, corruption on coating may be seen. Yet, this is not an insurmountable situation; being

part of the daily cycle of city life, pavements and stairs can be assessed by medium-term solutions and renovated by appropriate materials. That is why, visitors pose No Threat to the Texture of the Site (A Critical Value) and there is No Concern regarding this issue and no necessity to monitor capacity.

The number of the visitors and their behaviors can influence the character of site, though. Large groups of tourists can affect the way people experience the place and can also transform the character of the city from a residential/trade region to a visitor attraction. Now, visitors do not have outstanding impact on the dominant residential character of the site. But, with the increase in the number of visitors, who want to spend more time in traditional housing zones or visit these places, this situation will turn out to be a threat in the coming years. So, it is possible to propound that visitors pose moderate threat to the character of the city. A follow-up is not yet required, but if a dramatic increase in the number of tourists and a decrease in the number of local residents are seen this factor should be re-evaluated.

#### ***Conflict between the Visitors and Residents***

There are potential conflicts, such as overcrowding, noise, parking problem, between the visitors contributing to the long-term conservation and sustainability of the city, and residents and other users (including workers and business owners).

It is possible to say the impact of visitor activity on residents and other users is not currently a major problem right now, which is demonstrated in a recent resident's survey as 80 % of surveyed residents were satisfied or very satisfied with Mardin as a place to live.

However, this possible conflict between visitors and residents/users is important and it is considered that increased influx of visitors can pose a moderate threat to these important values in the longer term. This problem deserves monitoring through the capacity indicators. This issue, in addition to the provision of new facilities, is the primary factor limiting the region's capacity to accommodate visitors. It is not the number of the visitors that lies beneath this issue, but the way they behave and where they go. It is possible that the conflicts between the residents and workers may increase because of the behavior of the visitors while their number is decreasing. But of course vice versa is also possible. We cannot speak of a direct connection between the number of the visitors and the issue of conflict with residents and workers. Yet, it is probable –though not certain- that without an enhanced management of visitors, increased number of visitors may bring about an increase in conflicts.

#### ***Development of new facilities***

Visitors identified a number of areas in which they feel that their experience can be improved providing that these areas are improved. 53 % considered toilets to be poor or very poor and stated that if toilet facilities are improved Mardin will be more attractive or enjoyable for the visitors. 52% of respondents think that there is an inadequacy in restaurants or similar sectors of service. 44% of the visitors find accommodation facilities inadequate and neglected. Approximately 40% indicated a deficiency in parking lots (Table 2).

Examining the infrastructure and ensuring that it is compatible with the texture and character of the city in case of changes is important. Capacity issues can be considered in respect to the region's ability to accommodate visitors because the

location and type of facilities could also trigger potential conflicts between visitors, residents and workers. These facilities can also increase the number of visitors which in turn can cause car parking issues and traffic problems.

#### ***Economic Viability of the Site and Key Buildings***

Tourism and visitors' assistance maintain economically viable uses for key buildings on the site which in turn assists its conservation (e.g. Zinciriye Madrasa, Kasimiye Madrasa). And the visitors state that the profit gained through tourism will lead to a long-term development in economy and provide the necessary financial assistance for the conservation of cultural heritage.

#### ***Indicators***

In order to observe the convenience capacity of the city for the visitors and to measure the change in the number of residents who are frequently having problems with the visitors, Indicator A, called "The Impact of the Visitors on Residents" was used. This measurement has been chosen to identify the areas where critical problems are seen in long-term administrations. Required information has been drawn from a part of the questionnaire given to residents.

So as to make allowance for some statistical fluctuations which may arise because of small sample size, the threshold has been set slightly above the existing levels. Yet, the threshold has been kept at a low level to assure that growing issues in this area are detected earlier. This low level also reflects the sensitivity of this issue for residents.

As mentioned above the results of the recent survey indicated that 80% of surveyed residents were satisfied or very satisfied with Mardin as a place to live. If the indicator be triggered in the future and there has been no significant decrease in the overall level of satisfaction then it may be acceptable to increase the threshold as any disturbance would not have reached levels sufficient to affect people's overall quality of life (an Important Value). Therefore, the following threshold should be taken as provisional.

#### ***Monitoring Measure***

Visitors play an important role in the region's economic viability and thus help the maintenance of key buildings in the region. On the other hand, they also bring issues such as parking and their impact on the residents. This monitoring measure has been developed to supply data on the visitors' overall experience in the region, and also to support the results of the analyses of Indicator A, in addition to providing information for the region's attraction operators and managers.

The data for this measure was collected in 2009. Interviewees were asked to rate the "Overall quality of the visitor experience" and the responses were as 53 % good, 24% very good (Table 2).

The outcome of the survey indicates that visitors are mostly satisfied with Mardin as a place to visit (Table 2). But, dissatisfaction to some degree can be observed in some facilities (as toilets, restaurants and a number of hotels) and the level of information provided. A failure to provide adequate facilities can bring about a decline in visitor satisfaction, which in turn can pose a moderate threat to the maintenance of appropriate uses on the region. Conservation problems regarding the texture and character of the region may appear in long-term. And consequently the issue ends up with being a Significant Concern.

With a decrease in visitor satisfaction or good ratings, or an increase in poor ratings is observed; a thorough analyses of Visitor Survey can provide the beneficial information to identify the causes of such changes. This analysis can further be supported by focus groups and follow-up interviews to determine the issues to be attended to increase visitor satisfaction.

## CONCLUSION

Historical city center of Mardin is included in the category of historical cities which are still habitable, defined by UNESCO in operational guide. At this point, in order to succeed in issues such as enhancement of tourism sources and services before tourism-related problems occur, definition of bearing capacities and sustainable gains, augmentation of the efficiency of local organizations, reduction of conflicts, providing the environment of trust, sharing of the responsibility in such processes as planning, decision-making, problem solving, project identification and evaluation, establishing the dialogue with people, ensuring the attendance of residents and visitors to these processes, and fighting the local and social inequalities, a modern understanding of administration is crucial.

Environmental Capacity Study will have a significant role in the development of a Management Plan for the historical site. The indicators determined by the present study may be used as part of the local development along with the sustainability assessment.

From a resource management point of view, social and cultural effects of tourism should be analyzed throughout the planning process and also in an environmental capacity procedure; hence the benefits can be maximized and problems can be minimized.

## REFERENCES

- Akın, N., (1988) "Türkiye'de Tarihi Çevre Koruma, Örnekler ve Sorunlar", Mimarlık Ansiklopedisi.
- Anonymous (2008) "Mardin Çevre Durum Raporu", İl Çevre Orman Müdürlüğü, Mardin.
- ARUP (1993) "Environmental Capacity and Development In Historic Cities" Methodology Report to Cheshire County Council, Chester City Council, Department of the Environment and English Heritage. London.
- Atkins (2006) 'Saltaire World Heritage Site Environmental Capacity Study'.
- Avcıkurt, C. (2003) "Turizm Sosyolojisi", Detay Yayıncılık, İstanbul.
- Aydın, A. (2008) "İktisadi Açıdan Bölgesel Dengesizlik: Mardin Örneği", Elektronik Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, Bahar-2008 C.7 S.24 (304-312).
- Bookbinder, M. P., Dinerstein, E., Rijal, A., Cauley, H., Rajouria, A. (1998) "Ecotourism's Support Of Biodiversity Conservation", Conservation Biology, 12(6), 1399–1404.
- Choi, C. H. and Sirakaya, E. (2006) "Sustainability Indicators For Managing Community Tourism", Tourism Management 27 (2006) 1274–1289.

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

- Fagence, M. (2003) "Tourism and Local Society and Culture", Tourism in Destination Communities Ed.: S. Singh, D. J. Timothy ve R. K. Dowling, Cabi Publishing, Cambridge, pp. 55–78.
- Feilden, B.M. and Jokilehto, J. (1998) "Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites", 2nd ed., ICCROM, Rome.
- Getz, D. (1983) "Capacity to absorb tourism concepts & implications for strategic planning", Annals of Tourism Research, 10, 239–263.
- Goodall, B. and Stabler, M. J. (1997) "Principles Influencing the determination of Environmental Standards for Sustainable Tourism", Tourism and Sustainability Principles to Practice, CAB International, New York.
- Gunn, C. A. (1994) "Tourism planning: basics, concepts, cases" (3rd ed). Washington DC: Taylor & Frances.
- Mowforth, A. and Munt, I. (1998) "Tourism & sustainability: Newtourism in the third world", London, UK: Routledge.
- O' Grady, R. (1990) "Acceptable tourism". Contours (Bangkok), 4(8),9–11.
- Paskaleva-S.K. (2003) "Benchmarking Partnerships for Sustainable Urban Tourism: The European Experience", TTRA (Travel and Tourism Research Association) European Conference, Glasgow, Scotland, September 24-27.
- Ritzer, G. (1999) "Enchanting a disenchanted world: Revolutionizing the means of consumption", Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Saveriades, A. (2000) "Establishing the Social Tourism Carrying Capacity for the Tourist Resorts of the East Coast of the Republic of Cyprus", Tourism Management, Volume:21, No:2.
- Simon, F. J. G., Narangajavana Y., Marques, D.P. (2004) "Carrying Capacity in the Tourism Industry: A Case Study of Hengistbury Head", Tourism Management, 25, 275-283.
- Smith, M.K. (2003) "Issues in Cultural Tourism Studies", Routledge.
- Urry, J. (1990) "The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies" London: Sage.
- Williams, P. and Gill A. (1994) "Tourism Carrying Capacity Management Issues", In W Theobald, Global Tourism (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) (pp. 231 -246), Woburn: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- WTO (2004), International Trade Statics.
- Zeren, N. (1989) "Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planlarının Uygulama Sorunları, Tarihi Kentlerde Planlama-Düzenleme Sorunları", Türkiye II. Dünya Şehircilik Günü Kollokyumu (6-8 Kasım 1987, Edirne), Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı Matbaası, Ankara, s.141-146.



## JOSEPH-ANTOINE BOUVARD IN SÃO PAULO, 1911: ANTECEDENT EVENTS AND REPERCUSSIONS

Roseli MARTINS D'ELBOUX, PhD. Student  
Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil  
rdelboux@usp.br

### **ABSTRACT**

*This research aims at highlighting the real purposes behind Bouvard visit to São Paulo, Brazil, in 1911. By studying Bouvard's academic formation, his professional life and his practical experience translated by how he committed to his clients, we intend to elaborate a profile of this man. Once Bouvard's profile is established we can go on to elucidate his "modus operandi" at São Paulo and the way execution of Bouvard's plan was guaranteed, he ensured the execution of his plan in spite of the fact that architect returned to France. We shall be trying to find out if there is a correspondence between theory and practice and also how deeply the Haussmannian model weighed on the conception of his ideas and plans. The main hypothesis is based upon the premise that Bouvard had a previous knowledge about the city of São Paulo due to his local contacts, which made it possible for Victor da Silva Freire to make use of the French architect's experience and prestige by inviting Bouvard in order to have his support for the approval of Freire's ideas. The chronological period of the research corresponds to Bouvard's professional life. In geographic terms, it focuses the city of São Paulo, but mainly the 1911 Bouvard Plan boundaries.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

Many landscape architects worked in São Paulo at the very beginning of twentieth century, when the city grew up vertiginously. Among those professionals rises the figure of Joseph-Antoine Bouvard, studied by our research. Although he only stayed there for two months, the repercussions of his short *séjour* proved indelible in the city's memory and landscape.

In the first days of 1911 a deep debate involved all the council members attention because three improvement plans for the central area of the city were presented at the same time. São Paulo had grown up very fast becoming a trade city with national importance and many improvements were made necessary (CAMPOS, 2002).

Since 1907 council member Augusto Carlos da Silva Telles claimed for improvements at Anhangabau Valley. His insistence led Municipality to propose the Freire-Guilhem Plan in 1910. At the same time, state government proposed another plan, elaborated by architect Samuel das Neves. That situation went through to a crisis between state and municipal administration. Architect Alexandre de Albuquerque presented a third proposal, representing private interests (TOLEDO, 1996).

The situation became difficult to deal with. However, Alexandre de Albuquerque's plan was soon discarded especially regarding the many difficulties to deal with expropriation solutions moreover for the superficially way technical issues were faced.

Then, it happened to council members the idea of consulting Bouvard, hoping that he could give an opinion regarding the two plans, which represented, ultimately, the

different interests and point of views for the future development of São Paulo's central area and, obviously, the various possibilities for making profits through real estate transactions.

Bouvard's proposal consisted in a wide park system linking Anhangabau Valley, Carmo and Chácara da Floresta areas (BARTALINI, 2001; KLIASS, 1993; TOLEDO, 1996) contemplating old neighborhoods as Bom Retiro and new settlements as Higienópolis and Paulista Avenue. That plan emerged as a conciliatory solution than was accepted by both sides, which only common point was presume that São Paulo, the "Metropolis of the Coffee" could be at the same level as Paris, "*La cité lumière*".

First, by comparing Bouvard's performance in many cities he was called to work our study seeks clues that might lead us to answer our main questions. Figuring out common points, we shall get closer to his "modus operandi". For this presentation we decided to review, though in a quite superficial way, Bouvard's Plan for Istanbul, his very first international work, through Zeynep Çelik's paper, *Bouvard's Boulevards: Beaux-Arts planning in Istanbul* (1984).

Second, that proposal will be compared with Bouvard's plan for São Paulo. Despite their cultural contrasts, we intend to look for similarities between them in order to achieve some continuous lines of action in Bouvard's work. Naturally, divergences will appear due to the peculiarities of each city, but we guess that by exposing them, it will be possible to find evidences about his previous knowledge about São Paulo, his last commitment abroad.

## THE CAREER CONSOLIDATION IN THE HUGE PARISIAN CONSTRUCTION SITE

In July, 1900, René de Cuers writes for *Architectural Record* a retrospective article about Bouvard professional career due to his success as director of 1899 Paris Universal Exposition, when he was honored as Official of the Légion d'Honneur de France.

Born in Saint-Jean de Bourney, in 1840, he studied at *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris. In 1864 he started to work at Paris Public Service when he was charged with the works of the Church of Saint Laurent (CUERS, 1900).

In 1873 Bouvard became Adolph Alphand's assistant and engaged in the project for the French pavilion for Vienna Exposition. In the same year, he joined up with *Société Centrale des Architectes*. In the following years he took part the preparations for French pavilions in the London Fair (1874), Brussels Fair (1876) and Amsterdam Fair (1883).

For the 1878 Universal Exposition, Alphand charged him with projecting the City of Paris pavilion. The following year, Bouvard became Architect of the City of Paris.

In 1880 he was invited to become member of the School Building Committee in the *Ministère de l'Instruction Public*. From 1882 on, due to the demand for new classrooms, Bouvard designed 52 temporary schools in six months and a few others, permanent (CUERS, 1900) and the gates for Carnavalet Museum.

In 1886, Alphand, then General Director of Paris Universal Exposition, appointed Bouvard as responsible for the project of the *Palais des Industries Diverses*. The success was enormous and he took the third prize of Exposition, after Dutert and his *Galerie des Machines* and Eiffel and his metallic tower. For his performance in

coordinating the works for the Exposition, Bouvard was nominated, in 1889, as *Official de la Légion d'Honneur*. Later that year, he designed the *Bourse du Travail* and the *Fours de Désinfection Municipales* (Municipal Disinfection Ovens).

Bouvard naturally succeeded Alphand after his death, in 1891, as *Directeur Administratif des Services d'Architecture et Plantations de la Ville de Paris* (Administrative Director of Architectural Services and Plantations of the city of Paris), position he held until his retirement in 1911. Since 1893 he was responsible for Paris ephemeral embellishments, that is, create festive ambiances, preparing interiors and exteriors areas to receive distinguished visitors as, for example, the Czar Alexander III (1896) (CUERS, 1900; LEME, 1999).

By 1900 Bouvard was honored as *Grand Official de la Légion d'Honneur*, a signal of absolute prestige. At that moment he had achieved the highest point of his career in the Paris Public Service. He was also appointed to be Chief of the 1900 Universal Exposition Architecture Department.

At that moment the doors for his international career were widely opened: Bouvard was called to propose interventions in Istanbul (1902), Brussels (1903), Buenos Aires (1907, 1909), Rosario (1910-1911), São Paulo (1911) (LEME, 1999, p.544) and Montevideo, where he was invited to participate of an international projects competition (CARMONA, GOMEZ, 1999, p.53)

## BOUVARD AND ISTANBUL

The plan for Istanbul was conceived in 1902, when the Sultan Abdulhamit II, by his ambassador in Paris, invited Bouvard to develop a master plan for the city. The sultan, bothered with comments and criticisms that were made about the state of disrepair of the city and about the lack of care with its major landmarks (ERGIN, 1938 apud ÇELİK, 1984, p.342), desired Istanbul became like the major European cities, which "set the unique criteria for beauty and progress" (ÇELİK, 1984, p.342)

Bouvard proposal was not the first attempt to give Istanbul some European appearance. Since eighteenth century, Ottoman Empire had decided for an approximation with Occident, promoting cultural and social transformations.

Visible marks of that process are some isolated interventions in the city, attempting at regularize some avenues in according with Beaux-Arts planning principles (ÇELİK, 1984).

At the end of nineteenth century, Istanbul was familiarized with Beaux-Arts architecture due to the European immigrants that came to work there. The Galata area, "which become a lively locus of international trade", concentrated the "European inspired" buildings.

Çelik stresses that this meeting occurred in both directions so that one could observe in town some "European looking office buildings"(1984, p.343) and, on the other hand, some eastern or Islamic features could be seen in the buildings of the European area.

Nevertheless, western accent prevailed as the Republican regime also adopted it as an option since the beginning of twentieth century. The most relevant fact that exemplifies that process was the implementation of western alphabet in substitution of Arabic characters.

Just like São Paulo, where the vestiges of colonial past needed to be eradicated, those efforts also shown their effects in Istanbul architecture, as observes Orham Pamuk (2007, p.58), when he refers to the “*yalis* - splendid seashore houses built by old ottoman families in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries - that became symbols of an obsolete identity and architecture.”

Despite to be overloaded with his responsibilities in Paris, and without time to travel to Istanbul, Bouvard did not decline. “He ordered large-sized photographs of the city according to which he prepared his *avant-project*. Even though Bouvard was directly hired by the Ottoman Sultan, the French government paid the expenses and presented the project as an official gift”(ÇELİK, 1984, p.342)

Due to the limitation imposed by the images sent to him, it seems obvious that Bouvard focused in the most known places of Istanbul, the Hippodrome, Beyazit Square, Galata Bridge and Valide Sultan Square, preparing “wide watercolor drawings, bird’s-eye views and long-range perspectives”(ÇELİK, 1984, p.343).

Çelik doubts that Bouvard was enough “acquainted with the Turkish-Islamic fabric of the city” and even informed about the Europeanizing transformations of the second half of the nineteenth century (1984, p.343).

Bouvard’s proposal basically follows the “classical Beaux-Arts principles of regularization, symmetry, isolation of monuments and creation of vistas with prodigious terminal points.” He simply “disregarded some vital issues that make urban design meaningful” (ÇELİK, 1984, p.343). The author shows three key-points to understand the lack of relation between Bouvard’s propositions and the fabric of the city and, beyond, to understand why his proposals were impossible to be done.

First, she points out, “there was no master plan” and “the drawings did not surpass the stage of impressionistic sketches” (ÇELİK, 1984, p.343) of isolated nodes with no connection, a topic never considered (Fig.1).

Second, the site topography was completely ignored. And third, the plan had no relation with the particularities of Istanbul inhabitants and culture, sharing with the commissioners the idea that what really mattered was “the creation of a modern, ‘clean’, and ‘embellished’ city” (ÇELİK, 1984, p.343).

Thus, Çelik (1984, p.343) points out the inconsistencies in the Bouvard’s proposals for the nodes chosen to receive “urban treatment”: the excessive use of geometric lines in tracing the main lines for squares and parks, reinforcing perspectives, creating well delimited axes in which assigning symmetries put in evidence isolated monuments; the use of classical landscape resources as planting trees along sidewalks or delimitating squares and open spaces (Fig.2). Excluding or ignoring the importance of mosques to the landscape of Islamic cities, Bouvard subverted the order proposing the dominance of the Hotel de Ville’s tower over the minarets of the Beyazit Mosque (Fig.3).

As the Golden Horn was wider than River Seine and Bouvard adopted Alexander III Bridge as a model, he proposed a kind of amplified copy for Istanbul, repeating the arches four times and introducing Islamic motifs to decorate the top of the pylons (Fig. 4).

For Çelik, Bouvard’s proposals for Istanbul are merely formal exercises, uncommitted with local culture and existing fabric, full of History, which had been developed

throughout centuries, clearly set up as cultural heritage. Evidently there was neither program to follow nor, according the author, evidences that the plan was accompanied by a report.

Thus, Bouvard dismissed any connection among the nodes he elected to work on, choosing them from his personal criteria searching for dramatically visual effects rather than their meaning. He also ignored aspects of local topography and “no attention was paid to the urban texture that connected the monuments — a theme which by then had found some popularity in Europe”, since the publication of Camillo Sitte’s ‘The art of building cities according to their artistic principles’, first published in 1889” (ÇELİK, 1984, p.354).

### **BOUVARD IN SÃO PAULO**

Comparing Bouvard’s proposals for Istanbul and São Paulo, similarities can be noticed but also expressive differences. First, we cannot forget that Bouvard has never been in Istanbul and only known the city through the information the Ottoman ambassador gave him, therefore, information filtered by the commissioner.

On the contrary, he spent between thirty and forty five days at São Paulo, accompanied with Belgian banker Edouard Fontaine de Laveleye, who represented English interests in the city (LEME, 1999; SIMÕES JUNIOR, 2004), which leads us to believe that if in Istanbul Bouvard was not personally involved with city’s questions, in São Paulo things were completely different. This becomes more significant when because he joined up the group of founders of City of San Paulo Improvements and Freehold Land Company Limited (LEME, 1999; SIMÕES JUNIOR, 2004).

Considering the contracting character, in Istanbul Bouvard was hired for the sultan and for him, he projected, totally uncommitted with popular aspirations, while in São Paulo he was hired by City Council which, despite being controlled by the elite, had its decisions always taken under a certain public control and this was one of the reasons for Bouvard been hired - mediate a dispute between rival groups that had dragged on since 1907.

Cultural differences are also relevant. In Istanbul Bouvard had to deal with a completely different culture which geographic distance could only increase. A city that was created and recreate on itself for centuries. In São Paulo, in spite of the huge distance, there was a great cultural similarity. It was a Frenchman in a young town, which was passing by fast and deep transformations, due to the enormous contingents of European immigrants that came in recently to work and support the economic growth.

Therefore, the cultural proximity to Europe occurred in both the top and the base of social pyramid, which would facilitate the assimilation of new urban standards. If it is true that the São Paulo elite frequented the salons of Europe, and especially Paris, is also true that the city had materially transformed by the hands of European immigrants, represented by workers, merchants, industrialists and businessmen.

It is impossible to neglect the remarkable influence of French culture at that moment. Arturo Almandoz’s notes for Buenos Aires are also valid to São Paulo. As stated by him, “that trend in urban planning and design was stimulated for the predominance of French cultural ambience which led the ruling elite to copy, imitate the taste and costumes and French way of life”. According to the author, Georges Clemenceau had

even stated that “by the grace of spreading of French”, the spirit of France have reached lands beyond the ocean (2002, p.55-56)

Anyway, at both opportunities Bouvard answered to what commissioners have requested. He drafted the “Paris of the Orient” (ÇELİK, 1984, p.341), according to the Sultan Abdulhamit II wills and brought to São Paulo a conciliatory solution to the dispute of interests regarding the destination of the downtown area.

With respect with projecting questions it seems reasonable to be not so critic with Bouvard’s choices. After all, what kind of project could be designed without recognition of the site? Then, it would be fair to relieve some project inconsistencies because what matters is, in fact, to understand why if he could not go to Istanbul even though he accepted to conceive a plan for the city. Would it be a demonstration of self-pride, wondering he was able to understand any city from his Parisian experience, a kind of certainty that Paris was really the center of civilized world? And, on the contrary, that Istanbul was not culturally rich? Not doubtless.

Flaubert has already been in Istanbul, the landscapes of Melling were already known to the Europeans, Edmundo de Amicis had edited his *Constantinople*, chronicles of travelers had already hit among the European elite and related subjects in the east has always aroused curiosity.

A simple detail can be the key to achieve a more consistent answer: O. N. Ergin (1938, apud ÇELİK, 1984, p.342) states that French government had paid Bouvard’s expenses and offered the project as a official gift to the Sultan. Bouvard would not be serving the greater interest of the French government concerning the Ottoman Empire? This seems a more plausible hypothesis, since it is known that the European powers competed for control of the Middle East since the eighteenth century.

On the other hand, what made him cross the Atlantic in 1911, with 71 years of age, when he cannot (or would not) cross the Mediterranean years before? Money? An inexhaustible curiosity and undoubted professional vitality? Both? These are questions that deserve to be answered.

The fact is that his proposal for São Paulo did not begun from zero because, as already attested, his proposal for Anhangabau Valley is a conciliatory solution for contemplate various interests in a harmonious way (CAMPOS, 2002; SIMÕES JUNIOR, 2004). The main reason of his coming to São Paulo was really acting as a judge in that question, but he accomplished much more when he proposed a general plan for the future development of the city, having answered other questions as, for example, the creation of a park system or an interconnected traffic system which considered link tram lines and railway stations (Fig.5). These questions were not considered in Istanbul, as Çelik shows.

It matters to know that there was already a previous draft for Anhangabau Valley, which illustrates the Plan for ameliorations proposed by Municipality in 1910 (SIMÕES JUNIOR, 2004, p.91).

This is so far the first record obtained of any intent for projects in the area. In that draft there are boulevards lined by rows of trees and sinuous paths that frame the main avenue, which splits the park from North to South (Fig.6).

The intention was to solving the circulation problem of the central area as well as adjust the “city’s physiognomy to its condition of flourishing commercial capital” (SIMÕES JUNIOR, 2004, p.92). The landscape draft was bolstered by a speech lined up with the precepts of Camillo Sitte (SIMÕES JUNIOR, 2004).

One can assume therefore that Vitor Freire was more updated in this debate than Bouvard, but obviously, the French architect, in his professional career, was an authority whose ideas should be taken into high consideration. This supports the hypothesis that Freire brought Bouvard to São Paulo to endorse his plan. According to Simões Junior (SIMÕES JUNIOR, 2004), Bouvard met in São Paulo the echoes of the new paradigms of urban design that have been evolving in Europe, especially in Anglo-Saxon countries as German and England and their repercussions in United States.

Victor da Silva Freire, who sought to be updated for the more modern urban thinking, advocated these ideas. Freire was present at the International Congress in London in 1910 and earlier, in 1893, in Chicago, and uses the ideas of Sitte, Vierendel, Robinson and Hénard to support his arguments in defense of preservation of the naturally picturesque valley and historical aspects of downtown area.

Bouvard’s project incorporates the discourse of Freire and, most likely, the architect, due the short time available to prepare his proposal, uses the draft conceived by Municipality as a starting point, an outline that translated the clients’ wishes. His design is obviously much more sophisticated, elegant and well thought-out with respect to the connection of the valley gardens with the urban texture around them.

In this project there is no search for rigorous geometric symmetry. Compared with those spaces designed for Istanbul, Anhangabau Valley is a much more free and fluid design, which operates the picturesque visuals and the possibility of uncompromising *promenade*. The symmetry can be observed, however, in another way: the axes of the paths do not coincide with the visual axes. It is established among the architectural events - the newly opened Municipal Theater and the Prates buildings, which are also submitted to a symmetric rule, but softened by the level difference relative to the longitudinal axis of the valley (Fig.7).

The Beaux-Arts arrangement is almost nonexistent. It only resembles, vaguely, the convergence of longitudinal pathways toward the southern end, converted to a crumpled *rond-point*. Anyway, it is also mitigated by the presence of the Chá Viaduct.

One can assume, due to his proximity to Alphand, that Bouvard had considered the valley not as a part of traffic system that should receive landscaped treatment, but conversely, as a park that receives some circulation lanes. A possible reference could be the Buttes-Chaumont Park, designed by Alphand in a mining area and cut off by a railway line, which at that time valued the park by the connotation of modernity that the railroad was carrying.

Unlike what happened in Istanbul, Bouvard’s plan to São Paulo considers the whole city. However, this comprehensive overview must also be credit to the efforts of proponents of Samuel das Neves and Freire-Guilhem plans, since the street traffic issue was an existing problem prior to Bouvard visit, due mainly to the fast population growing and the emergence of the automobile. The wider issues that the plan contains cannot be credit only to the French architect.

Anne Marie Chatelet (apud LEME, 1999, p.545) identifies some constant features, particularly his way to work with addition of a small punctual interventions rather than an overall plan. These interventions are the diagonal path, the creation of green spaces, the highlight of monuments, all formulas from the Haussmann breviary," which found echoes everywhere, especially among the elites from peripheral countries.

## CONCLUSION

Comparing the plans for Istanbul and São Paulo, it is possible to verify, with certainty, that Bouvard was much more involved with the second, especially considering that Bouvard never visited Istanbul. However, consider him insensitive to the historical heritage issues of the Turkish capital would be a bit exaggerated, since he followed in its plan, the "breviary of Haussmann"; as described above. But we must remember the wonderful and most wanted image of Paris was achieved at the cost of demolition of much of the existing medieval urban fabric in the mid-nineteenth century. And at the very beginning of twentieth century this debate was still incipient.

São Paulo had neither medieval urban texture nor a millenary history. There was the colonial poverty to eradicate. Nor was there any kind of conscience on the heritage issue. Nobody took into account, as instance, that the first neoclassical mansions built in the city should be preserved. That was just a discussion that was taking shape in that period. It is not coherent to charge that kind of consciousness to those professionals.

Camillo Sitte's work was published in 1889. However, Bouvard, trained from the experience of Alphand, should not yet been touched by this discussion. Maybe he, as an experienced architect, did not give credit to these new theories that went against everything that until then, he had practiced and from what he gained broad public recognition.

Anyway, at the turning of the century, much was discussed about cities, their transformation or their many new configurations and we believe Bouvard did not reject them. Instead, his path from 1902's Istanbul towards 1911's Sao Paulo, demonstrates that even in an age when many professionals have their performances based on concepts accepted over decades, the French architect found himself stimulated by the debate and, while continuing to use diagonals, the nodal arrangements, the baroque treatment to monuments, isolating them from the surroundings, he proposed himself to work with curved lines, exploring the picturesque aspects of sites and movement of topography, abandoning the "absolute chess", as also comment Almandoz (2007, p.63):

*...Bouvard proposals for the then second largest city in Brazil, which already was making its rivalry with the capital Rio de Janeiro, appealed to the same monumental baroque conception of space, while it was evidenced his belated admiration by Camillo Sitte.*

Those issues were not totally unknown to him. Having being Alphand's assistant for so many years, certainly joined in the completion and maintenance of the parks of Paris, designed in what is conventionally called *jardin anglais* or *jardin paysager*, in which the symmetry and axial articulation of space was abandoned and instead the *genius loci* was sought, when the picturesque aspects of the site were explored, imparting a bucolic character to these places.

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

Maybe because of this it was relatively easy to Bouvard to assimilate and expand what Freire advocated for São Paulo and, it seems, has been able to him to establish a dialogue with the new theories from Germany, England and the United States, gradually freeing himself from the "Hausmannian breviary" and gradually embracing the new experiences offered by Sitte, Hénard, Stübben, Howard, and others.

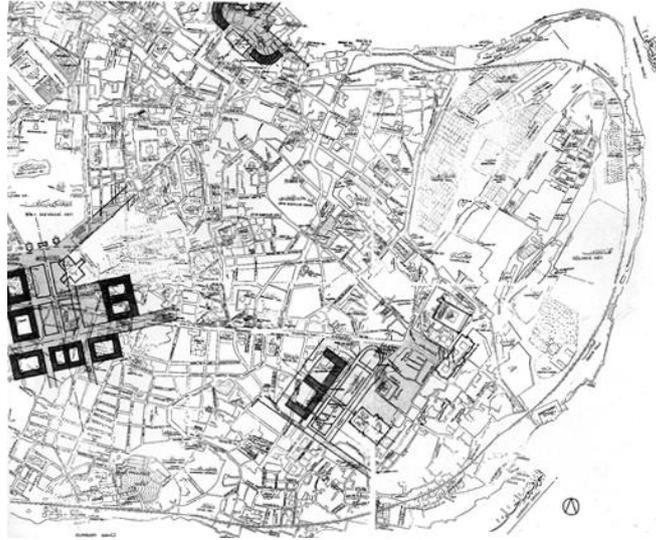


Figure 1 Isolated nodes with no connection. Çelik localized Bouvard's proposal in Istanbul's urban fabric. She used an old map from 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is possible to observe that there were no connection among the three areas. They never could be settled because there is no concern about topography and the previous urban fabric. (ÇELİK, 1984).

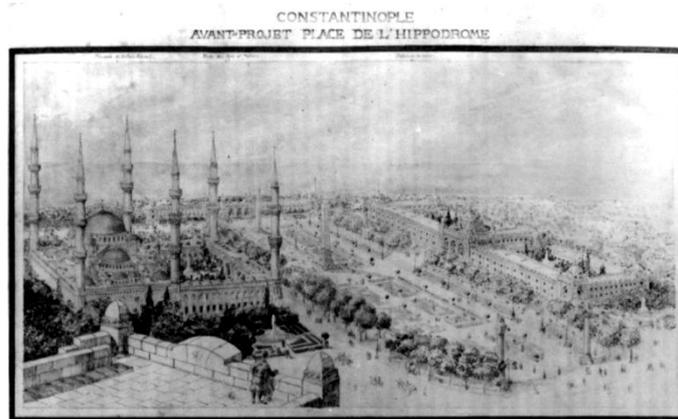


Figure 2 The Hippodrome area, with the Beaux-Arts solution for the gardens and buildings (ÇELİK, 1984).



Figure 3 The Sultan Beyazit Square proposed by Bouvard, with the dominance of Hôtel de Ville over mosque's minarets and the use of excessive symmetry on the garden and buildings arrangements (ÇELIK, 1984, p.xx).



Figure 4 The Galata bridge proposed by Bouvard, based on Pont Alexander III over the Seine (ÇELIK, 1984, p.xx).

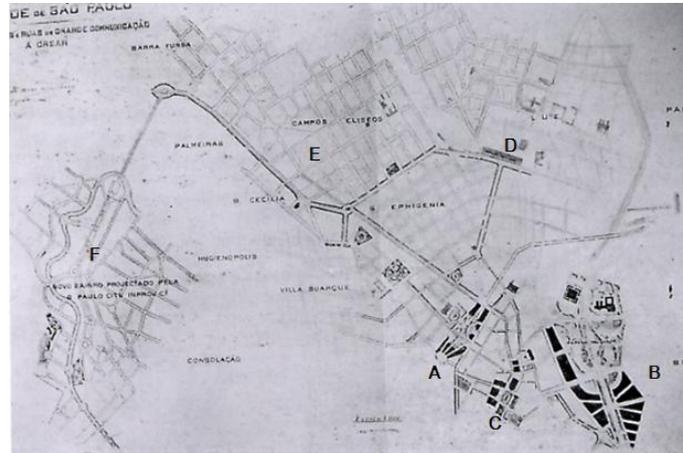


Figure 5 The Plan for São Paulo, 1911. Bouvard proposed two main parks in central area, Anhangabau (A) and Carmo (B). Between them, the new civic center (C), which was connected to the central railway station (D) by large avenues and boulevards. The idea was to improve circulation in central area and between it and new elite neighbourhoods, as Campos Eliseos (E) and Pacaembu (F), which was also projected by Bouvard. (SOMEKH, 2002).

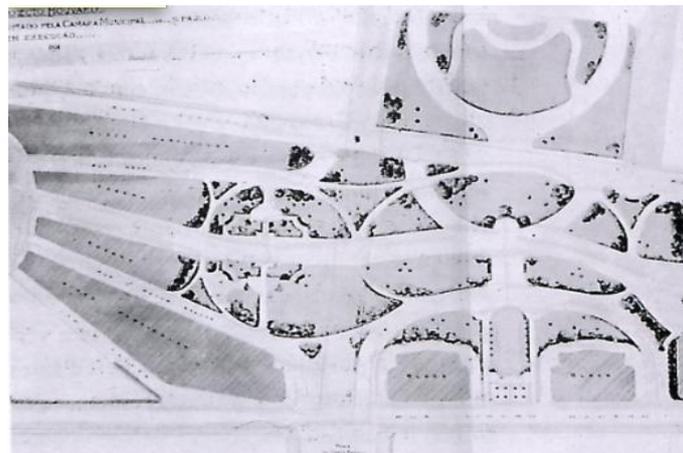


Figure 6 The proposal for Anhangabau Valley, 1911. On the top, the Municipal Theater square, facing the two buildings conceived for Mr. Prates. They are identical and stress, with the Theater, the transversal axis over the valley. The sinuous avenue splits the valley from north (right) to south (left) (SOMEKH, 2002).



Figure 7 The Prates buildings facing Anhangabau Valley in a photograph of 1930 (Photo: G. Gaensly, s.d.).

## REFERENCES

- Almandoz, A.O. (2002). Planning Latin America's Capital cities. London; New York, Routledge.
- Bartalini, V. (2001). "A municipalização do verde público na cidade de São Paulo." Pós, 10, 62-75.
- Campos, C.M. (2002). Os rumos da cidade. São Paulo, SENAC.
- Carmona, L. and Gomez, M.J. (1999). Montevideo. Processo planificador y crecimientos. Montevideo, Universidad de la Republica/ Sociedad de Arquitectos de Uruguay.
- Çelik, Z. (1984). "Bouvard's Boulevards: Beaux-Arts Planning in Istanbul." The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 43, 4, 341-355.
- Chatelet, A.M. (s.d.). Joseph Antoine Bouvard.
- Cuers, R.D. (1900). "J. A. Bouvard." Architectural Record, 10.
- Ergin, O.N., Ed. (1938). Istanbul'da İmar ve İskan Hareketleri [Construction and Settlement Activities in Istanbul]. Istanbul, [s.n.].
- Kliass, R.G. (1993). Parques urbanos de São Paulo e sua evolução na cidade. São Paulo, PINI.
- Leme, M.C.D.S. (1999). Urbanismo no Brasil: 1895-1965. São Paulo, Editora Fupam/Studio Nobel.
- Pamuk, O. (2007). Istanbul. São Paulo, Cia. das Letras.
- Simões Junior, J.G. (2004). Anhangabaú. São Paulo, SENAC/SP: Imprensa Oficial do Estado de São Paulo.

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

Somekh, N. and Campos, C.M. (2002). A cidade que não pode parar: planos urbanísticos de São Paulo no século XX. São Paulo, Ed. Mackpesquisa.

Surand, G. (1954). Haussmann, Alphand: des promenades de Paris. L'oeuvre du Baron Haussmann, Préfet de la Seine (1853-1870). L. RÉAU. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France.

Toledo, B.L.D. (1996). Prestes Maia e as origens do urbanismo moderno em



## THE DILEMMA OF CULTURAL HERITAGE - URBAN RENEWAL: ISTANBUL, SÜLEYMANIYE AND FENER-BALAT

İclal DİNÇER, Associate Professor  
Yıldız Technical University, Istanbul  
icladincer@gmail.com

### ABSTRACT

*The structural changes and transformations observed in all aspects of society in the last thirty years have affected the settlement areas of cities deeply. While managing such transformations is becoming increasingly difficult, the government is aiming to reduce its regulating role day by day. Therefore, while the holistic perspective of modern planning is being replaced by fragmented institutional systems, piecemeal projects are becoming more widespread. The planning and project development efforts of over 20 institutions all disregarding one another is the outcome of the last thirty years in Turkey. The year 2000 marks a turning point in this context. The urban interventions that have been focusing on improving the urban infrastructure and organising the housing areas located at the outskirts, are concentrating on the regeneration of city centres in the last ten years. It is especially the historical housing areas, due to their location and cultural heritage advantages that are being perceived as exceedingly attractive areas for investment. Amongst the existing legal arrangements, the Law on Renewal that defines the limits of the urban interventions in areas of preservation and the projects developed alongside the law have been widely discussed in the public domain in the last five years. This article deliberates on the Law on Renewal and the critiques directed towards it, as well as two project areas with points of criticism. Both of the project areas are located in the Historical Peninsula of Istanbul, enlisted in the UNESCO World Heritage List. A comparative analysis of 'Süleymaniye Renewal Area' and 'Fener-Balat Renewal Area', the project development processes of which have been continuing since 2008 and both awaiting implementation, is pursued. The physical and socio-economic effects that will be created through these two distinct projects with different approaches and models of implementation are evaluated.*

### INTRODUCTION

In the last two decades, cities have been facing transformations, conflicts, decomposition and competing opportunities at an unprecedented rate. On the other hand, foresights that there will be an accumulation of population in cities all over the world are becoming more and more confident, even if population growth rates in all countries decline (UNFPA, 2009). This is a clear sign that the problems in city centres and urban fringes mentioned above will be increasing ever more. The public authorities' approach of seeking a solution to the situation solely through private sector investments becomes an attitude evident worldwide, and notions such as social state and common good fade gradually away (Newman&Thornley, 1997). While the holistic perspective of modern planning is replaced by fragmented institutional systems, piecemeal projects devised in this context are becoming more widespread. The new economic policies of the 90s emerging out of the escalating global competition environment were based on the public-private sector partnerships in the market economy (Newman&Thornly, 2005). Istanbul, a city where these trends are experienced at their full, is a prime city leaving the second and third big cities of Turkey far behind. The public and investment sectors that have been promoting Istanbul as a world city from 1980s onwards are still

developing similar roles 30 years later. Instead of being cautious due to the economical and physical problems faced around the world today, paths that would produce short-term results are preferred and projects with the mentality of the 1980s are developed. The investments focusing on urban centres amongst these projects emerge with demands for tourism, offices and residences in areas of historical heritage (Enlil, 2000). The transformation experienced since the 1990s in these areas, abandoned by their initial owners and neglected in the last sixty years, has changed shape from the beginning of the year 2000, and the process of state initiated gentrification has gained acceleration (İslam, 2009).

It is generally agreed that there are mainly three typological periods of interventions in built environments of cities in Turkey. The first one of these is the period between 1950 and 1980; a time span starting with the rapid urbanisation in Turkey and continuing till the structural transformations in 1980. The fundamental characteristics of this period could be summarised as; providing the squatter housing areas at the outskirts with physical infrastructure and at the same time abandoning the city centres. The period starting from 1980 and stretching till the year 2000 is characterized by the execution of rehabilitation development plans to recuperate squatter areas and the gradual gentrification of historical areas without any outside intervention. The period starting from the year 2000 is categorised through the development of gated communities within the urban boundaries and the state initiated gentrification of historical residential areas (Ataöv&Osmay, 2007).

## THE TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN INTERVENTIONS

As of 2010, the discussions on problems of cities in Turkey have started to concentrate on the urban interventions and methods of intervention (Özden, 2001). The fact that the notion of urban rehabilitation is no longer popular and that the discourse of urban regeneration is perceived to be covering all areas and a key for solving all possible problems are among the most discussed issues of the last ten years (Tekeli, 2003). Another indicator of this period is the fragmentation of the authorities and powers of established planning institutions to various different institutions and the corrosion of notions and institutions of modern planning (Göksu, 2008). The foundations of these processes lie at the structural transformations that Turkey has undergone in the 1980s. The private sector inclined structure of the laws on urban interventions enacted after the 1980s and the deregulation tendencies of the state have become a lot more evident after the year 2000. The types of plans that have no vertical and horizontal links to other plans, and that are mostly only sector based have reached 60 in number (Duygulu, 2009). The independent planning and project development efforts of more than 20 institutions, all disregarding one another, have led the planning environment into chaos. The Law on the Encouragement of Tourism, The Law of Coastlines and the law that regulates privatisation are the most obvious examples of this process. Furthermore, various laws focusing on urban regeneration concentrate on the act of demolishing and rebuilding in settlement areas, thus providing a framework from a property perspective alone. Together with the changes enacted in the Law on Housing Development in 2004 and the Law of Local Authorities in 2005, significant powers on the regeneration of urban settlement areas were granted to municipalities and the Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKİ). The law most discussed is the "Law on the Conservation through Renewal and Preservation through Use of Decrepit Historical and Cultural Assets" (aka. Law on Renewal) numbered 5366, enacted on 05.07.2005. The

fact that the operation area of this law is the historical heritage areas further heats the debates. For the law defines the interventions in these historical sites through acts of demolition and rebuilding. The criticisms directed to the law since its enactment are all initially concerning its content. A second aspect of the criticisms is directed at the projects developed for the regeneration areas of Istanbul, which are enunciated through the decision of the Cabinet upon the nominations of local authorities of mainly Beyoglu and Fatih that are located in the historical parts of the city (Dinçer, et al., 2008).

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONSERVATION AREA AND ITS PROBLEMS

One of the issues that lie behind the debates concerning the law on renewal is the evolution process that urban conservation areas have gone through in Turkey. This process could be traced all the way back to the Regulations on Historical Works of Art (Asar-ı Atika Nizamnameleri), a product of the reformation / westernisation efforts of the Ottoman State starting in the latter half of the 1800s. These regulations that were first devised as rules to be followed in archaeological excavations and the procedures in handling the findings of these excavations were later on expanded to include rules of conserving monuments and monumental structures (Madran, 2002). This law that has maintained its original form into the times of the Republic was in use until 1970 and was implemented through the Supreme Council of Historical Assets and Monuments, established in 1951. It was not until 1970s that this law; limited to the conservation of monumental structures and only perfect structures of civil architecture; was replaced by a new law on conservation broadened to include conservation areas and all sorts of civil structures (Güçhan&Kurul, 2009). In this context, the transformation process of the historical residential areas since 1950s has to be evaluated. In this process the local inhabitants have gradually left the historical spaces where they dwelled, moving into the modern neighbourhoods of the city. On the other hand, these historical structures were divided into smaller units to become cheap housing stock for those migrating from rural areas into the city. This transformation triggered the degeneration, deterioration and even destruction of civil structures that were not perceived as a cultural asset at the time.

The Law of Historical Assets that was enacted in the year 1971 has broadened the perception of cultural assets, which was until then limited to monumental structures, to include civil structures. It has also introduced the notion of conservation areas, paving the way towards a holistic approach in conservation. However, due to the lack of issues such as resource allocation for conservation, technical support and knowledge back up in the institutional structure, the practice of conservation was hindered (Gülersoy-Zeren, et al., 2008). Even though the Council of Historical Assets and Monuments has registered 417 conservation areas, 3442 monumental structures and 6815 civil structures between the years 1973-1982 (Ahunbay, 1996), it was not possible to preserve these structures and areas to the full extent. The fact that it takes too long to produce the conservation plans after an area is designated as a conservation area, and that these areas are destroyed either due to lack of attention or on purpose are issues that even local authorities complain about, and in the year of 1980 there was not even one urban conservation area whose conservation plan was finalised and executed (Zeren, 1981 and Zeren, 1990). The structural transformation that was experienced in all aspects of life in Turkey during the period starting in 1980 has also affected the conservation field and with the Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Assets

enacted in 1983 a new system was established. However, financial resources necessary to preserve civil structures were again not created through this law and therefore this requirement was not met until 2004. Within the bounds of this law the Supreme Council of Historical Assets and Monuments was replaced with the Supreme Council for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Assets. This council was in time expanded with the addition of regional councils into the system, both making it more accessible and localising its services.

The proliferation of historical city centres' values from the beginning of 1990s has brought about a new phase for the neglected cultural assets. This interest was triggered mainly due to the booming sector of tourism that started to transform these areas into potential areas of investment for high standard residences, offices and tourism functions for the big capital groups (Enlil, 2000). This tendency has brought about practices of recreating the historical environment that ceased to exist since the 1950s and demolishing the existing historical structures to rebuild them from scratch by local authorities and investment groups instead of rehabilitating the historical urban environment. At the same time, the increasing consideration for the concept of conservation in society from 2000 onwards has initiated counter processes. Debates stating that these areas should not only be evaluated according to their exchange value, that they also have a use value and the inhabitants' right to housing have been dominating the agenda of the last five years (BİB, 2009).

The amendments made to the Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Assets in 2004 are new institutional configurations that ease the practice of conservation. Especially, the arrangement that directs 10% of the collected property tax to the care and restoration of cultural assets provides a solution to a problem neglected for years. Another important development is establishing offices (KUDEB) within the structure of the municipalities, employing experts of the field, specifically responsible for supervising projects and practices in conservation areas. It is through these offices that the decisions of the Councils of Conservation are implemented correctly and supervision of conservation areas is made possible. Against all these positive improvements, the enactment of the Law on Renewal numbered 5366 in 2005, led to a new extensive public debate on the concept of 'regeneration area' defined within the boundaries of conservation areas by the law.

## THE SUBJECTS OF THE DEBATE ON THE LAW ON RENEWAL

**The implications of the concept of renewal at an urban scale:** The issue most discussed about the law numbered 5366 is the accentuated phrase '...conservation through renewal...' taking place both in the title and in the article of objectives in the law. The definition of the concept of renewal on an urban scale (*urban renewal*) is 'to demolish urban environments that have no elements worth conserving, to produce a new urban environment which would serve the requirements of the day'. Since 1980s, alongside the established concept of sustainability the notion of urban renewal has been replaced by the concept of urban regeneration in the Western countries with an emphasis on conservation and inclusive of the socio-economic aspects of the process (Görgülü et al., 2007). The fact that the Law employs the dated notion of 'renewal' causes concerns that the heritage areas will be demolished and built anew. On the other hand, the definition of renovation, which is used in a scale for a single building, is a certain form of implementation under the general heading of restoration (Ahunbay, 1996). The concept

of 'renewal' when used at a building scale implies the procedures to bring a building that is no longer able to serve the requirements of today, up-to-date. The title of the law however, does not signify the conservation area at an urban scale but rather resides on the definition of 'asset=registered structure'. This title demonstrates that the Law on Renewal does not consider 'urban renewal' but is limited to the intervention of 'renewal' on registered structures. Yet, the local authorities do not perceive the law as such; on the contrary they deal with it exactly in the opposite way, which is another reason for being concerned about the law.

**The unavoidable correlation of the laws numbered 2863 and 5366:** The second criticism posed to the law is due to the fact that the areas announced as 'renewal areas' lose their status as a conservation area and that they fall out of the scope of the Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Assets (Dinçer, 2008). As a result of the debates continuing since 2007, it was agreed upon through legal arrangement enacted on 04.02.2009 that both laws should be applicable in these areas. In close inspection it is clear that the law numbered 5366 actually focuses on the procedures that shall be carried out by the concerned authorities only, in the areas designated to be renewal areas. Therefore, the law essentially defines the determination and designation of the renewal areas, the instructions on preliminary and application projects, and the processes of organisation, management, supervision, participation and use. These definitions, no matter how disputable their connotations might be, describe the procedures that should be performed by local authorities. The procedures that should be pursued to conserve, rehabilitate and renew the cultural assets falling in the boundaries of the renewal area should be realised according to the rules and regulations set forth by the Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Assets.

**'Expropriation for planning purposes' and facilitating the sale of properties to third parties:** One of the most controversial subjects of the law is the interventions to the ownership of properties in renewal areas. Although the 4<sup>th</sup> article of the law states that reaching a mutual agreement should constitute the basis for evacuating, demolishing and expropriating structures, the law also allows the concerned authority to expropriate in case of not being able to reach an agreement, and in doing so the 3<sup>rd</sup> article of the Law on Expropriation, concerning expropriation 'to realise settlement planning projects' applies. Exercising this procedure as defined entails the act of expropriation by the authority and it also approves of the sale of the expropriated property to third parties after the renewal project is realised (Dinçer, 2008). The state of affairs therefore becomes extremely controversial in terms of public welfare and the authority is granted an absolute advantage in the process of negotiations with the landowners. The fact that this arrangement is the most fundamental base for the state initiated gentrification becomes undisputable.

**The uncontrollable escalation of land value:** Another problematic issue is the accelerated rise in the real estate values after an area is designated as a renewal area. The rise is realised at an attractive rate that is not that easy to come by for the current owner. However, it does not offer such a large margin of profit to the buyer in the long run. The fact that the owner no longer has strong bonds with the area and that the real estate has many joint owners are amongst the significant aspects of this exchange. The low income range of the tenants in the area, and that the area serves as a refuge to the poor (Dinçer&Enlil, 2002) are among the factors that accelerate the exchange.

**Participation or notification:** The 7<sup>th</sup> article titled 'participation and public notification' in the Regulations of the law numbered 5366 has nothing in common with the notion of participation as it is generally understood. Because the phrase '...to notify about the implementation...' used in the first sentence of the article implies a centralist approach in planning and project development. This is also the implication of an authoritative planning attitude and a project development methodology where the professionals are in charge of decision making. Even the title of the article indicates a course of action in which the concerned parties are only informed about the results of the process. The second sentence of the article stating that '...the authority in charge could call for consultation meetings...if and when necessary...' demonstrates that the participation and consultation processes are left fully to the initiative of the authority.

**Reducing planning to the preparation of preliminary projects and interfering with the balance of the city:** According to the Law on Renewal the local authorities are the sole decision makers in determining the boundaries of renewal areas, establishing the general framework of the project, choosing the institution for implementation and deciding on the financial model with which the project will be carried out. It is inevitable that the Law on Renewal, containing project descriptions concerning the physical environment alone and following a course far from the discipline of planning and planning methodology will disturb the socio-economic balances in the region (Dinçer, 2010). However, the concept of 'conservation plan' defined by the Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Assets in 2004 demands researches into the cultural and socio-economical facts of the conservation area, as well as its archaeological, historical, natural, architectural and demographical character. The plans developed in accordance with the research results are expected to improve the social and economical structures of the inhabitants residing in and the businesses located at the conservation area, to propose strategies increasing employment and creating added value, and to establish regulations for conservation and use. The planning process is also expected to propose models for rehabilitation, determine renewal areas and projects, devise phases and programs of implementation, examine local ownership, formulate financing principles, and conceive participatory management models, as well as present objectives, instruments and strategies. In contrast to this contemporary description of planning, the fact that the Law on Renewal perceives the process only as an architectural project and its lack of referring to the plan decisions is one of the most important issues in the debates.

## RENEWAL AREAS OF ISTANBUL

Nearly 10% (55 940 ha) of the land of Istanbul is registered as conservation areas by the Law on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Assets (Dinçer et al., 2009) (Figure 1). The areas that are and could be registered as urban conservation areas (897 ha) and the mixed urban conservation areas (15 481 ha) according to the law numbered 5366, add up to make up for 29% of all conservation areas. The districts of Fatih and Beyoglu both located in the historical centre of the city deserve special attention for they contain the most important conservation areas of Istanbul and also because of the pioneering role they played as municipalities in the establishment of the Law on Renewal. Figure 2 demonstrates that the location and size of the conservation areas in Beyoglu are varied while the conservation areas in Fatih are mainly located along the coastline and next to the ancient city walls, and that the largest renewal areas are the Süleymaniye historical heritage area and the Grand Bazaar area. In the process initially

starting with the registration of the BeyogluMunicipality's renewal areas on 20.02.2006, five more renewal areas were registered in the same year. The number of renewal areas registered had fallen to two in 2007 and one in 2008.

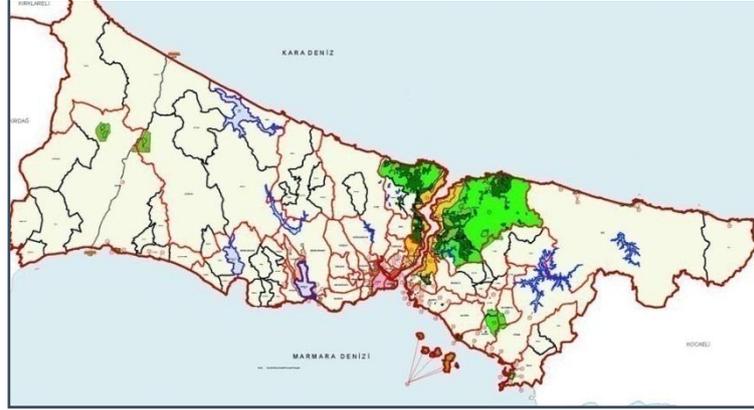


Figure 1: Spatial Distribution of Conservation Areas in Istanbul – 2005  
Dinçer et al., 2009

## SÜLEYMANIYE AND FENER-BALAT

Two renewal areas located within the borders of FatihMunicipality that is responsible for the government of the Historical Peninsula, where Istanbul was originally established, represent the fact that the Law on Renewal does not actually comprise of a content that oversees the process of renewal. In these two cases following very different processes for attaining projects, with different implementation and financial models the power of decision making is granted mainly to the mayor, and partially to the municipal council. The Council for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Assets in Istanbul Renewal Areas only has the authority to approve the architectural projects presented by the municipality. In employing this power the council is responsible for the conservation of the cultural and natural assets in the region. Its powers to make decisions on the implementation models of the projects are extremely limited. Süleymaniye and Fener-Balat areas will be the focus of the comparative analysis. Both of these areas, different in the way they were established and in the way they developed, faced a gradual process of abandonment since 1950s with tenants replacing the landlords preceding them, and leading to the deterioration of the physical characteristics of these areas. These areas neglected for a very long time in their struggle against these problems began to be of interest to various social groups from the second half of 1990s onwards. It took another decade, until the mid 2000s, for the local authorities to develop the idea of a more extensive intervention. According to the Law on Renewal enacted on 05.07.2005 Süleymaniye area with the Cabinet decision numbered 10501 on 24.05.2006, and Fener-Balat area with the decision numbered 10961 on 13.09.2006 were registered as 'renewal areas'. The processes that followed these decisions in the two areas were very different in terms of attaining projects, and in terms of models of organization and financing.

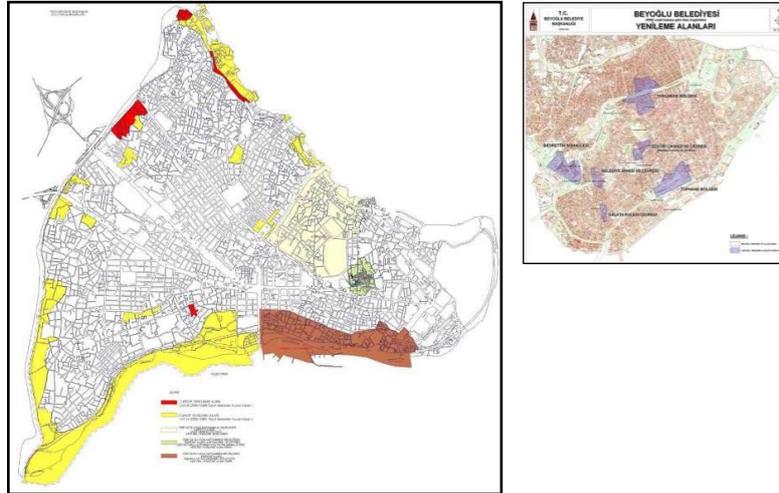


Figure 2: Conservation Areas in the Districts of Fatih and Beyoğlu (as of 01.01.2010)  
[http://www.fatih.bel.tr/kate\\_detay.asp?id=72&tur=387](http://www.fatih.bel.tr/kate_detay.asp?id=72&tur=387)<http://www.tarlabasiyenileniyor.com/>

**The formation of the identities of the areas:** The determining element of the Süleymaniye quarter that has developed as a quarter of Muslim clergy (ulema) since mid 16<sup>th</sup> century, is the Süleymaniye religious complex (külliye). Süleymaniye quarter located on one of the hills of the Historical Peninsula of Istanbul, overlooking the Golden Horn was a residential area for the higher echelons of society. The fact that the Süleymaniye madrasahs (educational institutions) that form a part of the religious complex in Süleymaniye, were the highest-ranking educational facilities in the Ottoman era plays a very significant role in terms of the character of the area. As well as the specialised trade functions located along the Golden Horn and on the streets leading to the Grand Bazaar, the area also housed the Department of War (Harbiye Nezareti), the religious authority (şeyhülislamlık), army barracks, hospital and various other service units. This structure implies that the quarter was not exclusively a residential area but that it remained in close contact with the Grand Bazaar, the commercial quarter and with the Palace (Istanbul Encyclopaedia, 1994).

The most significant element in the formation of the identity of Fener is that the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate was founded in this quarter in the Ottoman period. It is also known that the high-ranking officials of the Ottoman state serving in international affairs (Feneris) were residing in this quarter until the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century before moving out to the coasts of the Bosphorus (Akin, 1994). Alongside the Feneris who lived in waterside mansions, no trace of which has been left to our day, was another, more modest section of society living in the area inside the city walls. The settlement structure of Fener, which was last organised due to fire caution measures in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, had been through degenerations and transformations till the present day.

The proclamation of the republic and the early days of the republic mark a turning point for both of the quarters and the similarities between them would increase from then on. In tune with the modernised institutions and life styles, the new generation would abandon Süleymaniye in favour of the modern apartment buildings being built

elsewhere. What was influential in the transformation of the identity of Fener-Balat was the way minorities were treated in Istanbul from 1950s onwards. The events of September 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup>, the invasion of Cyprus and the Decree of 1964, the founding of an Israeli state have all accelerated the migration of minorities abroad. With the coming of the 1950s due to various dynamics a new process would begin affecting both quarters. Süleymaniye and Fener-Balat would be among the favourite settlement areas for the rural migrant population coming from around Anatolia. According to their skills, experience and character, a certain section of these migrants would use these areas as a stepping-stone before moving out to the city fringes to better life conditions. Those unable to make this move would continue living in these areas becoming more and more impoverished (Dinçer&Enlil, 2002). The processes of inhabiting historical heritage areas without any maintenance, the transformation of residential areas into areas of production and storage, and the poor inhabitants of these areas leaving their place to those who are even more deprived would continue until the 1980s in Istanbul. These would be marked as years of urban decay in these areas as much as in others (Gürler, 2005).

**Two different heritage areas becoming similar:** In the 2000s, the transforming powers of the 1980s were felt deeply in both quarters. However, in Fener-Balat quarter that had experienced the effects of this power in the mid 1990s, the UNESCO and European Union funded neighbourhood revitalisation programmes could not be realised due to political debates that were taking place in those years (Fatih Municipality et al., 1998). In Süleymaniye, enlisted in the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1985 (Gülersoy-Zeren, et al., 2008), the destruction of civil structures, setting them on fire and converting the vicinity into car parks continued at full speed throughout 2000s. The falling land and property values in both quarters and the increasing gap in the real estate price rates between these quarters and neighbouring areas made these quarters attractive potential investment areas for investors big and small, national and international alike. In this context, the 2003 local elections were crucial in attaining new prospects in these areas. And thus the Law on Renewal, with its structure making things easier for investors and stressing on renewal more than on conservation was enacted in 2005.

**The similarities and differences in project development processes:** The vision developed for the Süleymaniye renewal area could be summarised as "...recreating the World Heritage Area of Süleymaniye that has been burned down, destructed, partially turned into an area of apartment buildings and being used as production and storage facilities..." It is difficult to find any trace of a discourse of globally integrated Istanbul and an approach guided by real estate values in this vision. The local authority was aiming for recreating the quarter of the religious clergy in the Ottoman times, parallel to the political vision of the central government. Due to the sensitivity of the issue, project development and implementation processes are led by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, instead of the district municipality. The project development and implementation model of Süleymaniye renewal area has not been subjected to as many discussions as other renewal areas. The project managed by the Metropolitan Municipality and that has been programmed to be implemented in five stages was planned to be carried out with the cooperation of various public institutions. 60% of the project cost would be covered by the Contributions for the Conservation of Cultural Assets, and the remaining 40% would come out of the budget of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Again 60% of the construction costs would be covered by the Contributions and the outstanding 40% would be collected through the long-term, low

interest credits that the Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKİ) would grant to the property owners. This public weighted and credit granting scheme employed in Süleymaniye was considered to be a positive model in terms of protecting the historical structure and the property rights. However, a more professional approach is expected of the public authorities in terms of the management of the project. The main focus of criticisms was due to Istanbul Housing, Planning, Industry and Trade Corporation (KİPTAŞ), a venture of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, purchasing real estates within the borders of the Süleymaniye renewal area. How these real estates purchased for very low sums before the announcement of the Renewal Area would be utilised is yet to be made public. KİPTAŞ's inconsiderate and insensitive attitude towards the historical environment in the projects it develops for the estates it purchases is a second issue that has become the subject of various debates and court cases.

In the process of registering Fener-Balat quarter as a renewal area, the presence of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchy as an important political domain in the area was as influential as the physically dilapidated structures. The successful revitalisation of the UNESCO project that had initially begun in the mid 1990s was another factor triggering the municipality in developing a new project in which it would assume a more active role. A matter of criticism in the Fener-Balat renewal area project was due to Fatih Municipality putting all the services entailed in the project out to tender to the private sector. In this model where the municipality was not actively participating in the project development process, the investing private sector was granted 58% of the shares and the property owners were holding 42% of the shares. This scheme has led to the investors to become partners with the property owners in the area due to the powers vested in the local authorities to execute project implementations on their own account by the law numbered 5366. The law does not necessitate consent; in fact it grants the authority the power to expropriate in case of not being able to reach an agreement with the property owners, therefore the power to use unilateral force. Instead of making use of the public resources utilised in the Süleymaniye renewal area, Fatih Municipality opted for putting the historical heritage area out to tender without the consent of the property owners.

**The contents of the renewal projects:** The project content of the Süleymaniye and Fener-Balat Renewal Areas are as far apart as their implementation models. In Süleymaniye renewal area, the project is implemented by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Department of Historical Environment Conservation in accordance with the regulations of the Historical Peninsula Conservation Plan. The Conservation Plan is the outcome of meticulous analytical investigations carried out throughout a preparation process of nearly ten years. The aim of the renewal project is to revitalise the degraded and lost civil housing structure of Süleymaniye. However, in Süleymaniye, the most destructed quarter in the Historical Peninsula, decrepit and dilapidated cultural assets that managed to survive, concrete apartment buildings not fitting with the historical environment, trade blocks and public buildings exist side by side. When such a varied and complex urban structure is multiplied by demolitions, fires, structures built against the regulations of the conservation council and illegal structures, the problems posed by the area have expanded drastically. The structures of primary concern in the renewal project are the surviving cultural assets and the project's principal aim is to realise the restoration of these structures. The most critical matter in this group of structures is the necessity of proficient experts and appropriate materials. The second group of

structures is the cultural assets that have been demolished or destroyed due to ill practice, on which documents or information could be attained. The reconstruction projects of these structures are being prepared and the implementations of these reconstructions are amongst the most publicly discussed issues. The third and final group of structures is defined as the new structures that will be constructed on empty sites with no information about the earlier structures and those that will be built to replace the poor quality structures. In this group of structures the problematic of new structures within a historical environment is a seriously debatable issue. Extensive, widely participated and long-term endeavours are necessary to be able to rescue the widely destroyed civil structure of Süleymaniye.

The founding principal of the Fener-Balat renewal project is based on the fact that the historical building stock of the area has been neglected for a very long time, and that the area has a high risk factor in terms of earthquakes. Therefore, the project adopted the approach in which all structures irrespective of their historical character will be demolished to be reconstructed, keeping the original features of their facades, and at the same time two or three buildings will be joined, to be designed anew according to the requirements of their prospective users. This approach suggesting that the only way to conserve the dilapidated historical structures is to construct newly built replicas, as well as the practice of creating a totally new landscape within the boundaries of a conservation area was seriously criticised by academic spheres and certain groups within the profession.

### WERE THERE ANY LESSONS LEARNT FROM THESE EXPERIENCES

The investments made in Istanbul since the 1980s both rapidly consume the outskirts and investigate opportunities for intervention on historical areas. This is due to the increasing interest in urban heritage areas globally as well as the increasing cost of expanding to the outskirts. In the year 2010, when most of the development areas in the outskirts have been exhausted, the governing authorities are turning to historical spaces, developing projects and envisaging goals of rapidly changing and transforming the heritage areas. Therefore, the year 2005 when the law numbered 5366 was enacted and the year 2006 when renewal areas were registered are critically significant. These legal infrastructures were finalised two years after the local election of 2003 and the project preparation process was initiated. The goal was to face the local elections of 2008 having these historical spaces re-produced. However, at the end of the two years it was becoming apparent that the amount of input in settled areas and in areas of historical heritage was enormous and that managing projects in these areas were not that simple. In the year 2010, Süleymaniye and Fener-Balat areas are both awaiting implementation. Local authorities are hoping to be more cautious after the initial mistakes made at the first implementation of the Law on Renewal in Sulukule, they are trying to calculate their moves more accurately. What is critical here is the ability to produce the right lessons out of these experiences. Therefore, those aiming to realise interventions on historical urban environments should keep in mind that;

- The era of urban interventions that did not place the humankind in the centre is over. After the five years experience made in Turkey the subject should be readdressed with the human in mind.
- The era of demolishing historical heritage areas to rebuild replicas of the original structures is also over. These areas should not be considered as structures to be

decorated and polished but as a reflection of the accumulation of the traces of years, otherwise they would be devoid of any value.

- The influence of urban interventions is multi-faceted and it emanates throughout society. Therefore, every care should be taken to eliminate the chance of a process initiated with assumed good intentions in one corner of the urban environment, to cause ill reflections in another part of the society. Which in turn calls for meticulous planning and management.
- The fact that with every action today a trace, a document is left for the future should not be overlooked. Therefore, the governing authorities must share with the public their project aims, their practices, the meetings with concerned parties and the agreements they reach without any concessions.

## REFERENCES

- Ahunbay, Z. (1996) Tarihi Çevre Koruma ve Restorasyon, Yapı Endüstri Merkezi, İstanbul.
- Akın, N. (1994) Fener, İstanbul Encyclopaedia, V. 3, pp. 279-281.
- Ataöv A. ,S.Osman ( 2007) "Türkiye'de Kentsel Dönüşüme Yöntemsel Bir Yaklaşım", METU. JFA 2007/2 (24:2), 57-82.
- BİB (2009) Ministry of Public Works and Settlement, Final Report of the Council on Urbanisation, 07.05.2009, Ankara, [http://www.bayindirlik.gov.tr/turkce/kentlesme/7-5-09\\_kentlesme\\_surasi\\_sonuc\\_bildirgesi.pdf](http://www.bayindirlik.gov.tr/turkce/kentlesme/7-5-09_kentlesme_surasi_sonuc_bildirgesi.pdf) (visited on 19.04.2010).
- Diğer, İ. (2010) Türkiye'de 1980 Sonrası Yapısal Dönüşümün Mekânsal İzlerine Bir Örnek: Yenileme Alanları, Mimarlık, No: 352, pp. 24-27.
- Diğer, İ., Z. Enil, Y. Evren (2009) "İstanbul'un Koruma Alanlarının Değerlendirilmesi", Megaron-YTÜ Faculty of Architecture, 2009; 4 (1) pp. 5-15, [http://issuu.com/megaron/docs/megaron\\_2009-1?viewMode=magazine&mode=embed](http://issuu.com/megaron/docs/megaron_2009-1?viewMode=magazine&mode=embed), (visited on 03.02.2010).
- Diğer, İ. (2008) "Tarihi Kentlerin Korunması ve Yeniden Düzenlenmesinde Sorumluluk ve Yeterlilik Sorunları", the Symposium of Istanbul Historical Peninsula, in book of papers, TMMOB Chamber of Architects, İstanbul, pp. 239-258.
- Diğer, İ., Z. Enil, T. İslam (2008) "Regeneration in a New Context: A New Act on Renewal and its Implications on the Planning Processes in İstanbul" ACSP – AESOP Fourth Joint Congress, July 6 – 11, 2008 Chicago, Illinois: Bridging the Divide: Celebrating the City, No: 620 in CD book.
- Diğer, İ., Z. Enil (2002) "Eski Kent Merkezinde Yeni Yoksullar: Tarlabası-İstanbul", Yoksulluk Kent Yoksulluğu ve Planlama; 26<sup>th</sup> Colloquium of World City Planning Day, Ankara, 6-8. Kasım.2002, in book of papers, Ankara: TMMOB Chamber of City Planners, 2002, pp. 415-424.
- Duyguluer, F. (2009) "Planlama Alanında Yazılı Kurallardaki Dönüşüm", the Symposium of the Last Decade of Architecture and Planning, Yıldız Technical University, June 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup>, 2009.

- Enlil, Z. M. (2000) "Yeniden İşlevlendirme ve Soylulaştırma: Bir Sınıfsal Proje Olarak Eski Kent Merkezlerinin ve Tarihi Konut Dokusunun Yeniden Ele Geçirilmesi," domus, No: 8, pp. 46-49.
- Fatih Municipality, European Union, UNESCO World Heritage Centre, French Institute of Anatolian Research (1998) Balat ve Fener Semtlerinin Rehabilitasyonu, İstanbul.
- Göksu, S. (2008) "Stratejik Mekansal Planlama ve İlişkisel Coğrafya Üzerine Düşünceler", Planlama, 2008/3, pp. 21-30.
- Görgülü, Z., İ. Dinçer, Z. Enlil, E. Örnek Özden, E. Kurtarı, E. Altınok (2007) Mahalle Ölçeğinde Kentsel Dönüşüm Modeli: Küçükbakkalköy Örneği. Research and Model Building Study for Spatial Development Strategies Towards Istanbul Action Plan Realised for IstanbulMetropolitanMunicipality, [www.ytu.mmr.edu.tr](http://www.ytu.mmr.edu.tr) (visited on 14.03.2010).
- Güçhan, N.Ş. and Kurul, E. (2009) "A History of the Development of Conservation Measures in Turkey: From the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century until 2004", METU, JFA 2009/2 (26:2), pp. 19-44.
- Gülersoy-Zeren,N., Tezer, A., Yiğiter, R., Koramaz, T.K., Günay, Z. (2008) Istanbul Project: Istanbul Historical Peninsula Conservation Study Volume I-Conservation of Cultural Assets in Turkey, UNESCO-World Heritage Centre, Istanbul Technical University, Faculty of Architecture, ITU Environmental Planning and Research Centre.
- Gürler, E. (2005) "1980 Sonrası Kentsel Dönüşüm Sürecinde Küresel Perspektiften İstanbul Örneği: Kent içi Tarihi Alanların Yeniden Üretim Modelleri", Değişen-Dönüşen Kent ve Bölge. November 8<sup>th</sup>. 28<sup>th</sup> Colloquium of World City Planning Day. November, 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup>, 2004. In Colloquium Book Volume II, pp. 613-649.
- Madran, E. (2002) Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Kültür Varlıklarının Korunmasına İlişkin Tutum ve Düzenlemeler, METU, Ankara.
- İslam, T. (2009) Devlet Eksenli Soylulaşma ve Yerel Halk: Neslişah ve Hatice Sultan Mahalleleri (Sulukule) Örneği, PhD thesis, YTU.
- Istanbul Encyclopaedia, (1994) Süleymaniye, Istanbul Encyclopaedia, V. 7, pp. 94-95.
- Newman, P., A. Thornly (2005) Planning WorldCities: Globalization and Urban Politics, *Series in Planning, Environment and Cities*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Newman, P., A. Thornley (1997) "Fragmentation and Centralisation in the Governance of London: Influencing the Urban Policy and Planning Agenda", Urban Studies, 34, 7, 967-988.
- Özden, P.P. (2001) "Kentsel Yenileme Uygulamalarında Yerel Yönetimlerin Rolü Üzerine Düşünceler ve İstanbul Örneği", Istanbul University. Faculty of Political Sciences Magazine, pp. 23-24, <http://www.istanbul.edu.tr/siyasal/dergi/sayi23-24/20.htm> (visited on 08.02.2010).
- Tekeli, İ. (2003) "Kentleri Dönüşüm Mekanı Olarak Düşünmek", Symposium of Urban Transformation, book of papers (eds. P.P.Özden et al.) YıldızTechnicalUniversity, İstanbul, pp. 2-7.

UNFPA (2009) United Nations Population Fund 2009 Report <http://www.unfpa.org.tr/turkey/swop2009.doc>(visited on 19.04.2010).

Zeren, N. (1990) "Koruma Amaçlı İmar planı Yapım Süreci İlkeler, Yöntemler", the Assembly of Conservation of Cultural and Natural Assets, Ministry of Culture, Ankara, pp. 35-48.

Zeren, N. (1981) "Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu Tarafından Koruma Kararı Verilen Yerleşmelerde Kararların Uygulanabilirliğinin Araştırılması", 1<sup>st</sup> Congress of City Planning, Turkey, in 2<sup>nd</sup> Book (ed. Y.Gülöksüz), METU, Ankara, pp. 225-250.

## 3D VISUALIZATION OF TRANSFORMATION IN THE HISTORIC TOWNSCAPE: THE CASE OF THE ZEYREK URBAN HISTORIC SITE

**Turgay Kerem KORAMAZ**, Dr. Research Assistant  
Istanbul Technical University, Turkey  
koramaz@itu.edu.tr

**Nuran ZEREN GÜLERSOY**, Prof. Dr.  
Istanbul Technical University, Turkey  
gulersoy@itu.edu.tr

### **ABSTRACT**

*Representation of the change in townscape is significantly important throughout the urban planning process as it allows better comprehension of urban transformation. Innovative visualization and representation tools may then facilitate this comprehension in the third dimension. While recent conservation studies and interventions indicated a significant change in the Zeyrek Urban Historic Site, the motivation for this paper was based on the capability of two and three dimensional visualization techniques in the definition of transformation for a site's townscape. A questionnaire study was also conducted to gather responses from users, respectively graduate students in the Faculty of Architecture, professionals in planning and conservation institutions, and high school students at the site to act as representatives of the inhabitants. As the fundamental finding of the study, it was concluded that the transformation in historic townscape was better defined by a 3D urban model than by the 2D conventional mapping technique.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

Throughout the urban conservation process, the analysis of the townscape and the physical environment of urban historic sites have been significant and important enough to require examination in a detailed and comprehensive framework. For that reason urban conservation studies required the utilization of three-dimensional (3D) representation techniques. The most common planning studies were developed with two-dimensional (2D) analysis, but such techniques may not be sufficient to evaluate townscape characteristics. This paper presents a case study of the Zeyrek Urban Historic Site which defines transformation in a historic townscape by using 2D and 3D visualization techniques. Visualization and representation techniques in the case study was then compared to determine the efficiency of these techniques with subjective responses from different interest groups in a questionnaire.

Townscape as the main theme of this paper was defined as the physical environment that can be perceived in the third dimension of urban space. The term "townscape" expressed not only the actual composition of the urban landscape, environment and sense of place but also the comprehensive definition of the change in the built environment (Burke, 1976; Cullen, 1971). Representation of the change in townscape is significantly important throughout the urban planning process as it allows better comprehension of urban transformation. Innovative visualization and representation

tools may then be used to accomplish this comprehension in transformation of urban historic sites.

3D urban models were defined as visualization techniques in urban design which provide efficient communication and visualize more spatial content and information than the conventional 2D mapping technique (Pietsch, 2000). CAD (computer aided design) software was conventionally utilized to generate 3D models as a last visualization tool in urban planning and conservation and mostly to evaluate the spatial characteristics of actual urban structure and design proposals (Bertol, 1997). Serving as a powerful design tool, 3D urban models were used to show and evaluate the change in urban pattern (Al-Kodmany, 2002). Computer based 3D urban models were more prevalent tools than conventional visualization techniques in the representation of the real environment.

The fundamental communicative and interactive function of 3D urban models facilitated the participation and collaboration processes in urban planning and conservation. Therefore these models also developed learning skills (Hamilton et al., 2001) and the cognition and perception abilities of users and stakeholders (Westerdahl et al., 2006). The efficiency of visualization techniques can then be examined by the comprehension, cognition and evaluation processes of users and different interest groups in urban planning and conservation. This examination is necessary to improve the tasks of 3D urban models as an active communication tool integrated with the process of the definition of transformation in historic townscape.

The number of studies concerning the investigation of interest groups' responses for 3D visualization techniques in urban planning and architectural design process have been increasing recently (Day, 2002). These investigations use various cognition measurement methods including how professionals or non-professionals describe the virtual environment (Bates Brkljac, 2007; Neto, 2001; Westerdahl et al., 2006; Houtkamp and Oostendorp, 2007). In brief, 3D urban models were stated in these methodological studies, and it was claimed that accurate and reliable 3D visualization techniques define more spatial content attributes. These models improved the user's perception regarding the representation of physical and townscape characteristics, and enhanced the communication and interaction of spatial information among user groups in order to develop urban planning and conservation applications in a collaborative planning approach.

The purpose of this paper was to investigate the capability of visualization techniques, including the 2D mapping technique and 3D urban models by comparing their ability to represent the transformation in the historic townscape of the Zeyrek Urban Historic Site.

A questionnaire study was conducted to gather the responses from the different interest groups, respectively professionals in planning and conservation institutions, graduate students and high school students at the site to act as the representatives of the inhabitants. Users' responses were investigated and assessed in quantitative methods with descriptive statistics in order to measure how efficiently the transformation in historic townscape was perceived and comprehended by means of both visualization techniques.

## TRANSFORMATION IN THE HISTORIC TOWNSCAPE OF THE ZEYREK URBAN HISTORIC SITE

Zeyrek is located north of the Historical Peninsula of Istanbul, overlooking the Golden Horn. Included in the World Heritage List, Zeyrek Urban Historic site was chosen as case area because it reflects a variety of cultural structures in its urban space. The most important monument of the site is the Zeyrek Mosque, which had been the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator in the Byzantium Period (Figure 1). Zeyrek has a traditional organic pattern consisting of authentic, wooden, Turkish houses (Figure 2).



Figure 1. Zeyrek Mosque and Zeyrekhane



Figure 2. Traditional wooden houses

## METHODOLOGY

The transformation in the historic townscape of Zeyrek Urban Historic Site was defined within the period between 1933 – 2008. The 1933 Pervitich Map had special importance, because it gave useful information relating to the urban pattern, built-up areas, unoccupied areas, road pattern, building materials and building heights in 1933 as the first stage in the period of transformation (Figure 3).

This study also contained a number of urban survey analyses, carried out by a computer-based 3D urban model. Evaluation of three-dimensional effects throughout this study, was developed in order to indicate that urban conservation studies should be accomplished not only with the 2D mapping technique, but also with innovative 3D visualization techniques. The townscape analysis was generated in this study to investigate the structural form and relationships, visual quality, accessibility and harmony characteristics of the Zeyrek Urban Historic Site.

The first inventory and registration studies for the conservation of the the Zeyrek Urban Historic Site, which were conducted by the Istanbul (No.1) Board of Protection for Cultural and Natural Assets, were held in the period between 1977 - 1980. These inventory studies were prepared in order to establish a registration framework for listed buildings to be included for urban conservation as civil and monumental architecture. The registration documents contained maps, photographs and detailed information regarding the historic urban values of the sites and monuments (Istanbul No.1, Board of Protection for Cultural and Natural Assets, 1977) (Figure 4).



Figure 3. Zeyrek Urban Historic Site in Pervititch Map, 1933



Figure 4. Inventory Studies by Istanbul (No.1) Board of Protection for Cultural and Natural Assets in 1980

Survey and analyses, conducted in 2002, were updated by the help of an on-site survey in 2008. The same survey and analyses were carried out with the same titles as conventional analyses and townscape analyses. In the conventional analyses of the Zeyrek Urban Historic Site, parameters were described in the general consideration of the urban analysis. These analyses can be conventionally generated in 2D mapping in most of the urban planning and conservation studies and projects. However, each analysis was improved by having both visualization techniques; 2D mapping technique and a 3D urban model. The conventional analyses of the Zeyrek Urban Historic Site consisted of building use, building condition, building construction material, built and unbuilt-up areas, and listed buildings (Figure 5). Within the title of townscape analysis, the relationship between each component's structural and visual characteristics, privacy and permeability levels in accordance with street pattern and appropriateness with traditional architectural characteristics were examined (Figure 6). The townscape analysis provided an evaluation method by developing a computer based 3D urban model while this analysis indicated whether or not the buildings had preserved their traditional characteristics.

After the urban survey and analyses, a proposal for the townscape in Zeyrek Urban Historic Site was prepared with both 2D mapping and 3D visualization techniques. While improving proposals for building forms, disharmonious structural additions were cleared from the urban structure, and applications on building form have been proposed as a method of harmonizing structural conditions with the urban pattern (Figure 7).

2D and 3D visualization techniques were compared regarding the representation ability of this transformation. In 2008, a questionnaire was used to gather responses from the users, respectively graduate students in the Faculty of Architecture, professionals in related planning and conservation institutions, and high school students at the site to act as the representatives of inhabitants. Users' responses were investigated and assessed by quantitative methods with descriptive statistics in order to measure how efficiently the transformation in the historic townscape was perceived and comprehended by means of both visualization techniques.

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

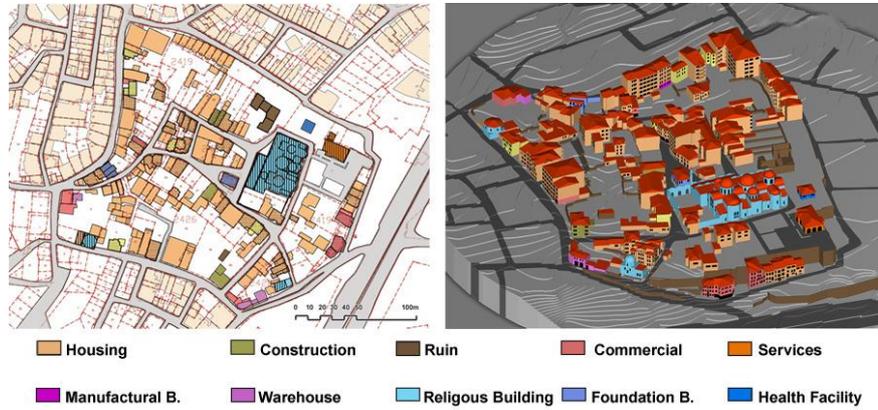


Figure 5. An example of conventional analysis: analysis of building use

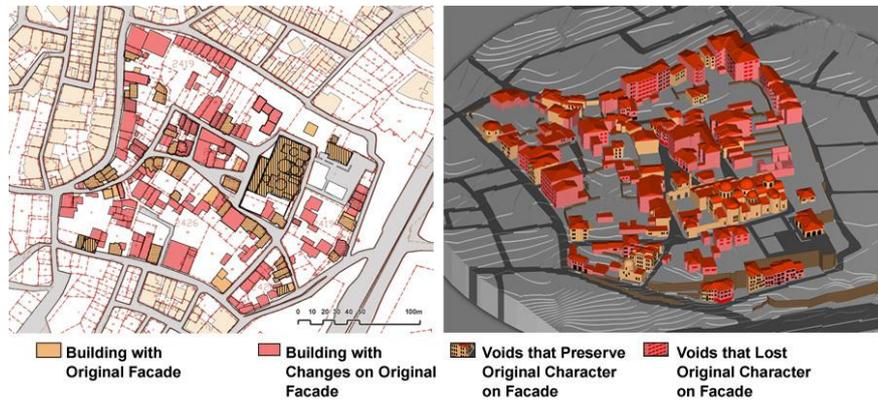


Figure 6. An example of townscape analysis: analysis of visual quality

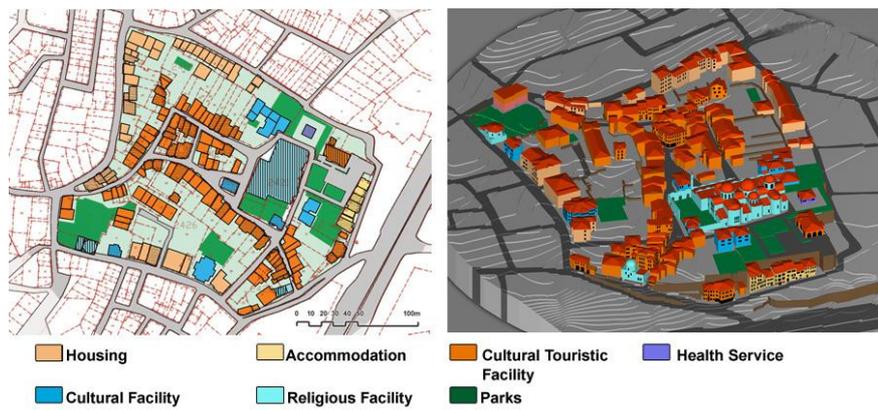


Figure 7. Proposal for townscape in Zeyrek Urban Historic Site

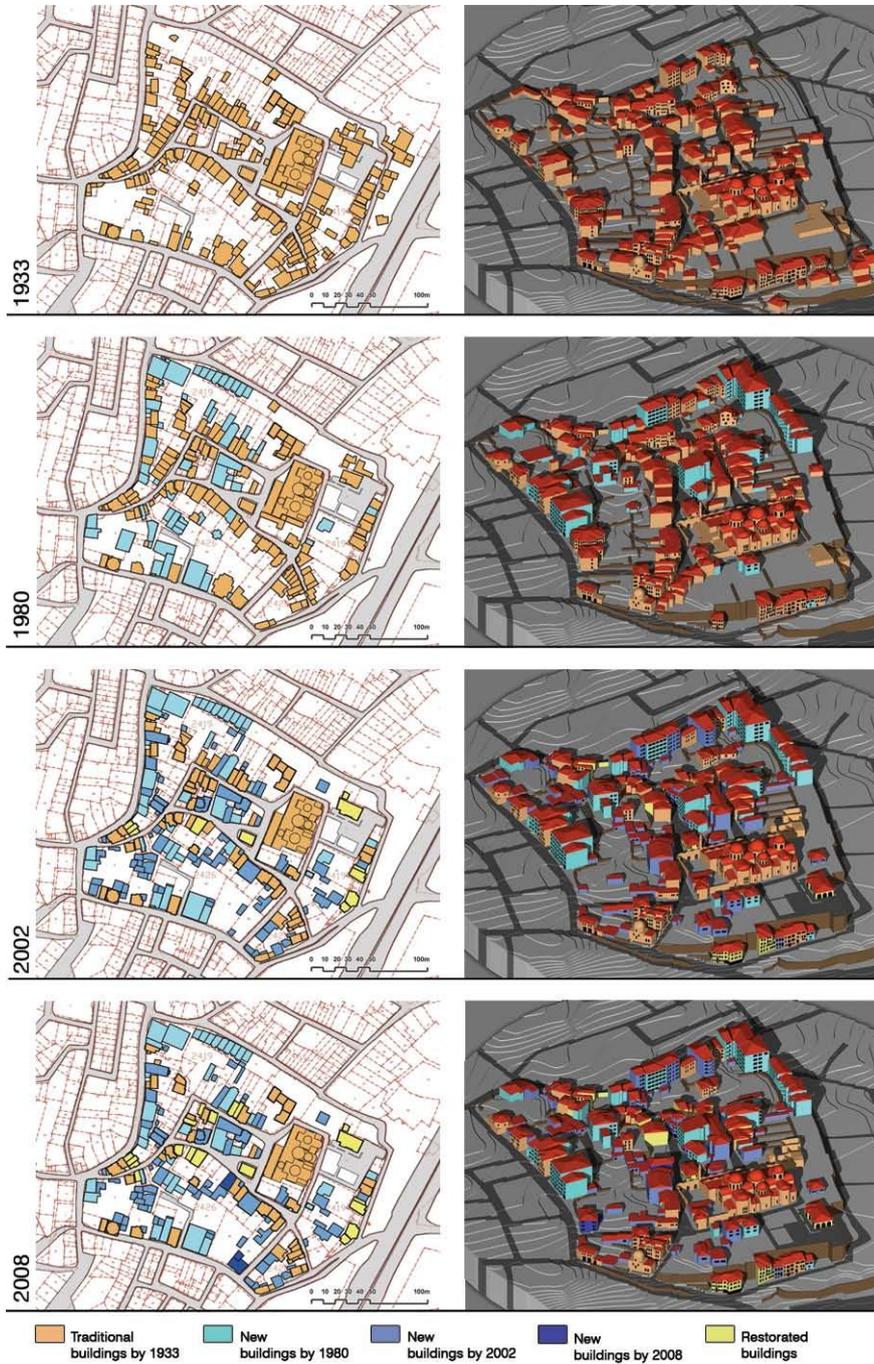


Figure 8. Transformation in the historic townscape in Zeyrek Urban Historic Site

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

The questionnaire mainly consisted of two sections: comprehension level of site characteristics in urban historic site; and perception of the historic environment. Each separate group answered the same topics, covering the extent of their comprehension and perception of each figure and illustration, and their perception of the Zeyrek Urban Historic Site. All 34 questions in the questionnaire were conducted in a seven level - likert scale with 1: "poor" and 7: "excellent". Within the purpose of this paper, responses to the questions related to transformation and cognition of townscape in historic environment are presented. These questions are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Definition of variables

Questions in the Survey	Codes	Variable Names
<b>Part I. Comprehension level of townscape analyses</b> <i>To what extent can...</i>		
1. analysis of structural condition define the site?	t <sub>1</sub>	Structural condition
2. analysis of visual quality define the site?	t <sub>2</sub>	Visual quality
3. analysis of accessibility and privacy define the site?	t <sub>3</sub>	Accessibility and privacy
4. analysis of architectural harmony define the site?	t <sub>4</sub>	Architectural harmony
<b>Part II. Cognition level of historic environment</b> <i>To what extent do you perceive...</i>		
5. a sense of affection regarding quality in historic environment?	h <sub>1</sub>	Sense of affection
6. the historical evolution of the urban pattern?	h <sub>2</sub>	Historical evolution
7. the listed buildings in the site?	h <sub>3</sub>	Listed buildings
<b>Part III. Comprehension level of urban conservation project</b> <i>To what extent can 2D or 3D visualization technique describe...</i>		
9. Zeyrek urban conservation project?	c <sub>1</sub>	Conservation project
10. the interventions in the Zeyrek urban conservation study?	c <sub>2</sub>	Conservation interventions

230 respondents in two groups were involved in the questionnaire. 120 respondents in the professional group and 110 respondents in the non-professional group took part in the presentations and questionnaire study. The professional group consisted of graduate students in Istanbul Technical University, Faculty of Architecture and professionals in planning and conservation institutions. The non-professional group consisted of students from two high schools, which were within walking distance (500 m) of the Zeyrek Urban Historic Site.

Both of the questionnaires concerning the evaluation of users' responses for 2D and 3D visualization techniques were conducted after the presentations by projecting the model and VR application. Respondents watched a 10 minute presentation which consisted of the schemes and analysis representing the Zeyrek Urban Historic Site, then filled out the same questionnaire form in order to evaluate the visualization technique which had been presented.

The respondents' ages in the professional group ranged from 21 to 53 years, with an average of 28.19 years (S.D.=5.221, median 27). The respondents' ages in the non-professional group ranged from 14 to 19 years, with an average of 16.44 years (S.D.=1.026, median 17). Respondents assessed the 2D mapping technique and 3D urban model in separate groups after separate presentations. The first group of 115

respondents evaluated the 2D mapping technique, and the second group of 115 respondents evaluated the 3D urban model.

In the professional group (n:120), 104 respondents (52 in the first group, 52 in the second group) stated they were using computer aided design software programs (AutoCAD, ArchiCAD, AllPlan etc). 42 respondents (20 in the first group, 22 in the second group) stated they were using GIS software programs (ArcGIS). 41 respondents (19 in the first group, 22 in the second group) stated that they were using 3D modeling software (3D Max, 3D Viz, etc). Between professional respondent groups, no statistically significant differences were found for the variables of education and computer experience.

## RESULTS OF THE STUDY

Results from respondent groups were examined regarding to questionnaire form by means of statistical software package, SPSS 17.0©. Responses from professional and non-professional respondents in the first and second groups were compared with a T-test to examine the equality of means. In the questionnaire 10 questions, which concerned the transformation and cognition of townscape in the historic environment were asked. Firstly the groups answered to what extent they comprehended the townscape analyses shown in the presentations. Then they answered to what extent they perceived the Zeyrek Urban Historic Site and the urban conservation project with its proposals and interventions.

As the first group evaluated the presentation with the 2D mapping technique and the second group evaluated the 3D urban model, a comparison was made in order to measure the difference between these presentations in terms of delivering information about the transformation of the historic townscape in Zeyrek.

Overall, all of the mean values from second group were larger than the mean values from first group. However, T-test significance indicated that the statistically significant mean differences existed in all questions but in two questions at a 90% confidence interval (Table 2).

Table 2. Comparison of 2D and 3D visualization techniques

Code	Variable Names	1. Group, 2D mapping n: 115		2. Group, 3D model n: 115		t	p.
		mean	s. d.	mean	s. d.		
t <sub>1</sub>	Structural condition	5.16	1.19	<b>5.59</b>	1.02	-2.981	<b>0.00</b>
t <sub>2</sub>	Visual quality	5.28	1.59	5.59	1.08	-1.747	0.08
t <sub>3</sub>	Accessibility and privacy	5.10	1.70	5.43	1.13	-1.783	0.08
t <sub>4</sub>	Architectural harmony	5.52	1.33	<b>5.93</b>	1.03	-2.607	<b>0.01</b>
h <sub>1</sub>	Sense of affection	5.19	1.37	<b>5.72</b>	1.16	-3.171	<b>0.00</b>
h <sub>2</sub>	Historical evolution	5.75	1.35	<b>6.17</b>	0.90	-2.761	<b>0.01</b>
h <sub>3</sub>	Listed buildings	5.67	1.44	<b>6.02</b>	1.09	-2.067	<b>0.04</b>
c <sub>1</sub>	Conservation project	5.12	1.43	<b>5.75</b>	1.02	-3.832	<b>0.00</b>
c <sub>2</sub>	Conservation interventions	5.22	1.36	<b>5.57</b>	1.13	-2.111	<b>0.04</b>

Note: Question response format was seven-step scale from 1 to 7 and significant ( $p < 0.05$ ) highest mean values for each variable are printed in bold (s.d. = standard deviation, t = t statistics, p = significance values).

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

The group mean values from the second group, in the comprehension and cognition variables of structural condition ( $t_1$ ), architectural harmony ( $t_4$ ), sense of affection ( $h_1$ ), historical evolution ( $h_2$ ), listed buildings ( $h_3$ ), conservation project ( $c_1$ ), conservation interventions ( $c_2$ ) were significantly (95% confidence) higher. However, the other two variables of visual quality ( $t_2$ ) and accessibility and privacy ( $t_3$ ) were significant with a 90% confidence interval ( $t_2$ ;  $p = 0.08$  and  $t_3$ ;  $p = 0.08$ ). As the most distinctive variables, sense of affection ( $h_1$ ) and comprehension of conservation project ( $c_1$ ) ( $p = 0.000$ ;  $t$  values were in highest absolute values respectively as  $-3.171$  and  $-3.832$ ) were better determined by the 3D urban model than by the 2D mapping technique. The variable of historical evolution, ( $h_2$ ) which referred to cognition of transformation in the historic townscape (mean value = 5.75 in the first group and mean value = 6.17 in the second group) were also defined better in the 3D urban model than in the 2D mapping technique ( $t = -2.761$ ;  $p = 0.01$ ).

The figures briefly reported that the 3D urban model delivered more information on the variables of both townscape characteristics and transformation in the historic townscape of the Zeyrek Urban Historic Site. Additionally, the mean differences between responses from the entire groups were relatively sharp in the comprehension of structural condition, architectural harmony, sense of affection, historical evolution and conservation project in the urban historic site.

Another comparison was assembled with the responses of professional and non-professional respondents. This comparison facilitated the planning and conservation professions and high school students' changing opinions and cognitions of transformation in the historic townscape in Zeyrek. Table 3 represents the group mean values of variables by professions and Table 4 represents the group mean values by high school students referred to as the non-professional group. Group mean values in Table 3 and 4 reported higher mean values in the second group to which the 3D urban model was presented than in the first group to which the 2D mapping technique was presented.

Table 3. Comparison of 2D and 3D visualization techniques by professions

Code	Variable Names	1. Group, 2D mapping n: 60		2. Group, 3D model n: 60		t	p.
		mean	s. d.	mean	s. d.		
$t_1$	Structural condition	5.00	1.22	<b>5.53</b>	1.03	-2.583	<b>0.01</b>
$t_2$	Visual quality	4.90	1.67	5.15	1.02	-0.987	0.33
$t_3$	Accessibility and privacy	4.72	1.87	5.15	1.15	-1.530	0.13
$t_4$	Architectural harmony	5.32	1.36	5.70	1.17	-1.656	0.10
$h_1$	Sense of affection	4.78	1.52	<b>5.40</b>	1.22	-2.448	<b>0.02</b>
$h_2$	Historical evolution	5.37	1.38	<b>6.07</b>	0.95	-3.236	<b>0.00</b>
$h_3$	Listed buildings	5.40	1.54	5.83	1.08	-1.785	0.08
$c_1$	Conservation project	4.37	1.29	<b>5.28</b>	0.92	-4.481	<b>0.00</b>
$c_2$	Conservation interventions	4.65	1.45	<b>5.15</b>	1.13	-2.107	<b>0.04</b>

Note: Question response format was seven-step scale from 1 to 7 and significant ( $p < 0.05$ ) highest mean values for each variable are printed in bold.

Table 4. Comparison of 2D and 3D visualization techniques by non-professions

Code	Variable Names	1. Group, 2D mapping n: 55		2. Group, 3D model n: 55		t	p.
		mean	s.d.	mean	s.d.		
t <sub>1</sub>	Structural condition	5.33	1.14	5.65	1.00	-1.598	0.11
t <sub>2</sub>	Visual quality	5.69	1.39	6.07	0.94	-1.691	0.09
t <sub>3</sub>	Accessibility and privacy	5.51	1.39	5.75	1.04	-1.011	0.31
t <sub>4</sub>	Architectural harmony	5.75	1.27	<b>6.18</b>	0.80	-2.165	<b>0.03</b>
h <sub>1</sub>	Sense of affection	5.64	1.02	<b>6.07</b>	0.98	-2.284	<b>0.02</b>
h <sub>2</sub>	Historical evolution	6.16	1.20	6.27	0.83	-0.556	0.58
h <sub>3</sub>	Listed buildings	5.96	1.26	6.22	1.08	-1.135	0.26
c <sub>1</sub>	Conservation project	5.95	1.08	6.25	0.87	-1.658	0.10
c <sub>2</sub>	Conservation interventions	5.84	0.92	6.02	0.95	-1.019	0.31

Note: Question response format was seven-step scale from 1 to 7 and significant ( $p < 0.05$ ) highest mean values for each variable are printed in bold.

Profession group responses indicated a significant distinction between 2D mapping technique and 3D urban model based on the variables of sense of affection ( $h_1$ ;  $p = 0.02$ ), comprehension of structural condition ( $t_1$ ;  $p = 0.01$ ), historical evolution ( $h_2$ ;  $p = 0.00$ ), conservation project ( $c_1$ ;  $p = 0.00$ ), conservation interventions ( $c_2$ ;  $p = 0.04$ ). On the other hand, non-profession group responses indicated this significant distinction on two variables of architectural harmony ( $t_3$ ;  $p = 0.03$ ) and sense of affection ( $h_1$ ;  $p = 0.02$ ).

These results, based on changing responses from professions and non-professions, illustrate that high school students, as the representatives of the inhabitants, stressed only the sense of architectural harmony and affection. Architectural harmony, which was associated with visual organization in urban and architectural pattern, was evaluated in both 2D and 3D visualization techniques by the respondent groups. Non-professionals had the ability to distinguish the abilities of the 3D urban model in defining visual and historical relationship between each building unit on all the distinct levels of the urban scale. Then they highlighted the importance of abstract representation of buildings in the 3D visualization technique as to whether they maintain the visual and architectural vernacular characteristics.

On the other hand, the professionals stressed more variables defining the distinction of representation ability of 2D and 3D visualization techniques. As the major research topic of this paper, professionals, including graduate students, indicated that the variable of historic evolution was better defined by the 3D urban model than by the 2D mapping technique. Additionally, responses from the professionals also reported that the 3D urban model better facilitated the representation of the conservation project and the interventions in the urban pattern. It is remarkable from the comparison between professional and non-professional groups that the professionals stated that the representation abilities of the 3D urban model better showed the spatial content, including transformation in historic townscape and proposal characteristics in an urban conservation project. On the contrary, the non-professional group were satisfied with the 3D urban model just because of its improving their perception and cognition of the urban historical environment.

As the last investigation, all the variables were compared with regard to whether respondents had visited the site previously or not. A paired F-test was applied between three newly formed groups: a joint group of all the respondents who had visited the site previously, and respondents who had not visited the site in 1. Group and 2. Group. Responses from the Joint Group were to reflect perception and cognition level of the real environment.

Table 5 indicates the differences between cognition after the presentations, prepared by different visualization techniques and cognition after experiencing the real environment. Within this comparison significant difference was only reported for sense of affection between the Joint Group and the respondents who had not visited the site in 1. Group. No significant difference was reported between 2. Group and the Joint Group. No other variables achieved any significant difference in the representational ability of the real environment. This means that respondents who had not visited the site previously did not have a different cognition or perception from the Joint Group, who had visited the site previously.

Table 5. Comprehension level by respondent groups who visited the site previously or not

Code	Variable Names	Joint Group (JG) n: 120	Respondents, not visited the site in 1. Group 2D mapping n: 56			Respondents, not visited the site in 2. Group 3D model n: 54		
			mean	mean difference (JG-2D)	p	mean	mean difference (JG-3D)	p
t <sub>1</sub>	Structural condition	5.40	5.21	0.19	0.57	5.48	-0.08	0.90
t <sub>2</sub>	Visual quality	5.43	5.38	0.05	0.97	5.52	-0.09	0.91
t <sub>3</sub>	Accessibility and privacy	5.23	5.18	0.05	0.97	5.43	-0.19	0.70
t <sub>4</sub>	Architectural harmony	5.67	5.68	-0.01	1.00	5.91	-0.24	0.44
h <sub>1</sub>	Sense of affection	5.64	5.11	<b>0.53</b>	<b>0.03</b>	5.41	0.23	0.50
h <sub>2</sub>	Historical evolution	5.83	6.00	-0.18	0.62	6.20	-0.38	0.12
h <sub>3</sub>	Listed buildings	5.83	5.77	0.07	0.95	5.94	-0.11	0.86
c <sub>1</sub>	Conservation project	5.30	5.39	-0.09	0.89	5.78	-0.48	0.06
c <sub>2</sub>	Conservation interventions	5.26	5.46	-0.21	0.57	5.61	-0.35	0.20

Note: Question response format was seven-step scale from 1 to 7, higher mean difference values ( $p < 0.05$ ) are printed in dark (Joint Group, JG: respondent group who visited the site previously).

## CONCLUSION

In brief, the 2D mapping technique was less capable of creating sense of affection in the representation of the historic townscape than the 3D urban model. On the contrary, the 3D urban model was more capable of representing the townscape characteristics including structural condition, visual quality and traditional listed buildings than the 2D mapping technique. In accordance with the responses from the planning and conservation professionals, the most important skills of 3D urban models' are

- ability to explain conservation projects and interventions in the structural and visual quality of urban historic environments,
- ability to represent transformation in the historic townscape of urban environments,

- improvement of cognition and perception level of urban historic environment with the creation of a sense of affection.

As the non-professional group, the high school students were particularly affected by the three skills of the 3D urban model. In accordance with high school students' sense of affection to the urban historic environment, the 3D urban model was efficient in representing whether the urban pattern maintained architectural vernacular characteristics.

In summary, the 3D urban model was reported to have given a better representation of transformation in the historic townscape of the Zeyrek Urban Historic Site than the 2D mapping technique. The representative ability of the 3D urban model was regarded as an improvement by both professional and non-professional groups' in terms of cognition with a sense of affection for historic urban environments. The methodology in this paper presented the capabilities of innovative 3D visualization techniques dedicated to put urban conservation projects into the services of various interest groups in the planning process.

## REFERENCES

- Al-Kodmany, K., (2002), "Visualization Tools and Methods in Community Planning: From Freehand Sketches to Virtual Reality", Journal of Planning Literature 17, 2, 189-211.
- Bates-Brkljac, N., (2007) "Investigating perceptual responses and shared understanding of architectural design ideas when communicated through different forms of visual representations". In the Proceedings of 11th International Conference Information Visualization, (IEEE, IV'07), 10.1109/IV.2007.74 348-353.
- Bertol, D.; (1997) Designing Digital Space, an architect's guide to virtual reality, John Wiley & Sons Inc., New York, USA.
- Burke, G., (1976), Townscapes, Pelican Books Ltd., Middlesex.
- Cullen, G., (1971), The Concise Townscape, Van Nostrand Reinhold, New York.
- Day, A., (2002) "Urban visualization and public inquiries: the case of the Heron Tower, London", Architectural Research Quarterly, 6, 4, 363-372.
- Gulersoy Zeren, N., Tezer, A., Yigiter, R., Koramaz, T.K. and Gunay, Z., 2008. Istanbul Project: Istanbul Historic Peninsula Conservation Study; Zeyrek, Suleymaniye and Yenikapi Historic Districts, Volume 2: Zeyrek Case, Istanbul Technical University, Istanbul, Turkey.
- Gülersoy Zeren, N., Tezer, A. and Yiğiter, R., (2001), Zeyrek, a Study in Conservation, Istanbul Technical University Press, Istanbul.
- Hamilton, A., Trodd, N., Zhang, X., Fernando, T. and Watson, K., (2001) "Learning through visual systems to enhance the urban planning process", Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design, 28, 6, 833-845.
- Houtkamp, J. and van Oostendorp, H., (2007) "Virtual Vandalism: The Effect of Physical Incivilities on the Affective Appraisal of 3D Urban Models" In the Proceedings of

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

11th International Conference Information Visualization (IEEE, IV'07),  
10.1109/IV.2007.74, 559-566.

Koramaz, T.K., (2009), Investigation of User's Perception Regarding the Efficiency of Visualization Techniques in Urban Conservation Process, PhD. Thesis, Istanbul Technical University, Istanbul, Turkey.

Neto, P.L., (2001) "Evaluation of an urban design project: imagery and realistic computer models" Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design, 28, 5, 671-686.

Pietsch, S.M., (2000) "Computer visualisation in the design control of urban environments: a literature review" Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design, 27, 4, 521-536,

Westerdahl, B., Suneson, K., Wernemyr, C., Roupe, M., Johansson, M. and Allwood C.M., (2006) "Users' Evaluation of a Virtual Reality Architectural Model Compared with the Experience of the Completed Building" Automation in Construction, 15, 2, 150-165.



## A HISTORICAL APPROACH TO AVENIDA PRESIDENTE VARGAS PROJECT IN RIO DE JANEIRO: CHALLENGES AND CONTROVERSIES TOWARDS A RESPONSIVE FUTURE

**Andréa BORDE**, Prof.  
University Federal of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil  
andreaborde@gmail.com

**Andréa SAMPAIO**, Prof.  
University Federal of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

**Maria Cristina CABRAL**, Dr.  
University Federal of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

### **ABSTRACT**

*Six decades after President Vargas Avenue drastic urban surgery (1940-1944) for opening this main urban artery in the central area of Rio de Janeiro city, it still seems an unfinished project sprinkled with notable examples of pre-modern, modern and ordinary architecture and multiple urban voids. Diversity, emptiness, discontinuity and permanence summarize, nowadays, this monumental project, conceived during the nationalist context of the Dictatorial regime (1937-1945) imposed by President Getúlio Vargas. Recent attempts — projects, new buildings, urban legislation review — to manage this unfinished project have been in vain. This paper aims to discuss the current conjuncture, through the understanding of this historical process. What controversies and challenges do these attempts point out towards a responsive future for President Vargas Avenue?*

### **INTRODUCTION**

The controversies of President Vargas Avenue planning process, the main downtown urban artery of Rio de Janeiro, announce important challenges towards a responsive future. Seeking to identify both, controversies and challenges, we undertook a historical review based on specific contemporary spatial configuration aspects. Thus far, urban morphology and architecture are considered as embodiments of this urban project and legislation as well as cultural desires of each historical moment. This research<sup>1</sup> discusses an architectural urban dimension through an urban planning perspective, by focusing on the Avenue project guidelines, urban structure, built environment and urban legislation. This Avenue is a remarkable case for that as it is legible in its public space and built environment as a great spectre of urban, planning, architectural, urban legislation and cultural heritage history.

However, six decades after the monumental urban surgery, President Vargas Avenue still seems unfinished. Withal, recent attempts — projects, new buildings and urban

---

<sup>1</sup>This research has obtained financial support from the State of Rio de Janeiro Development Agency for Research (FAPERJ) and has been developed in the Laboratory of Urban Analysis and Digital Representation (LAURD/ PROURB/ FAU/ UFRJ) and EAU/UFF.

legislation review — to handle it have been proved in vain. Some of them were conceived to manage the urban tissue merged by the former project; others incited even more this fragile urban tissue and increased the urban voids. For standing this currently sprinkled project with notable cases of pre-modern, modern and ordinary architecture and many urban voids<sup>2</sup>, the main keywords to define the Avenue are *diversity, emptiness, discontinuity and permanence*.

The gap between the Avenue project and its actual shape is striking. Whereas in the first portion, nearby the Bay and the Mineiros Quay, the built ensemble is very similar to that proposed in the 40s, after Uruguaiiana Street, it begins to be marked by situations of urban voids. As we approach to the last portion of the Avenue, nearby the Mangue Canal, it is remarkable that there are the buildings that mark the voids. Devoid of architectures, the monumental axis of this Avenue, with 4km long and an average width of 80 metres, prevails as a big void reinforcing the split between its sides.



Figure 1: Rio de Janeiro Central Area and President Vargas Avenue's landmarks. AB, 2010.

This Avenue can be shortly described as a path connecting two Bay Shore points: the Mineiros Quay and the entrance of Mangue Canal. In this sense, its history begins in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the opening of Mangue Avenue connecting the Canal to the former Gas Plant in 1858. In terms of planning history, this connection took part in non-implemented plans of the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Nevertheless, the Mangue Avenue was finally conceived and undertaken by a private entrepreneur, Baron de Mauá, interested in supplying English coal for his gas plant through Mangue Canal. In 1929, Alfred Agache<sup>3</sup> designed its extension as a part of his circulation plan. However,

<sup>2</sup>See Borde (2006).

<sup>3</sup>French urban planner invited in 1927 to conceive an urban plan to the city, that was published (1930); abandoned; and retaken and updated by a City Committee (1938).

according to political issues of that time, this plan was called off. In 1938, the nationalist context of Estado Novo<sup>4</sup> gave political support to undertake this project. It was no longer just an urban project; it had become a national one with a whole symbolic repertoire associated with it. As a result, this avenue became one structural part of the 1940s Management Plan<sup>5</sup>. In 1944, it was inaugurated with *pomp and circumstance* by the president.

Meanwhile the works for the President Vargas Avenue opening, other Brazilian city capitals, such as Niterói<sup>6</sup>, Recife and Porto Alegre<sup>7</sup>, were been remodelled influenced by Agache's ideas about circulation and urban types. All followed Rio's model and opened a main large avenue in the city centre, settled with continuous arcades with *pilotis*. As Rio had been the federal capital for three centuries<sup>8</sup> and still remains a Brazilian cultural centrality, its urbanistic and architectural conceptions have always been disseminated to other cities, inspiring urban remodelling elsewhere.

In order to be aware of President Vargas Avenue project guidelines, motivations and failures as well as the subsequent projects and attempts proposed later, the methodology of research tackled with dynamic interpretation of empirical, bibliographical and iconographic data, applying the digital graphics resources.

## THE CONCEPTUAL GROUND:PROJECT OF AVENUES

Contextualizing the Avenue project, a brief historical review of avenues is presented. The turning point for the conception of Avenues was the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when they became associated with the rationale of urban space contributing to promote a new image for the city or the occupation of the urban expansion areas. Moreover, the rectilinear trace would facilitate urban infrastructure network, which initiated to be supplied to individual houses. The avenues became a privileged visible path of underground infrastructure. From that moment on, the avenues became synonymous with *urbanproject*.

If we had to select a guideline in the avenue's project, it would be *link*. Avenues express visible connections between significant city landmarks, trendy architectural aesthetic premises, ongoing spatial practices and new symbolic meanings, as well as invisible links between new linear subway infrastructures.

---

<sup>4</sup>Estado Novo corresponds to the second period (1937/1945), the dictatorial one of President Getúlio Vargas government. The first one (1930/1937) was the rupture with the ancient regime and the third one (1950/1954) the political crisis till the president's death.

<sup>5</sup>This plan followed Agache's guidelines particularly for the road system and the urban design guidelines, shaping great architectural ensembles of blocks.

<sup>6</sup>The Amaral Peixoto Avenue (1942) in the Niterói centre seems a "little" Presidente Vargas Avenue. At that time, Niterói, at the other side of Guanabara's Bay, was the capital of the State of Rio de Janeiro. See Azevedo, M. N. S. (2003) "Expressões e Vestígios Modernistas na Capital Fluminense nas décadas de 1940, 1950,1960 e seus Valores como Patrimônio Urbano". 5º Seminário DOCOMOMO Brasil <<http://www.docomomo.org.br/seminarios.htm>>

<sup>7</sup>The plans for Recife and Porto Alegre centres were conceived by two assistants of Agache in Rio de Janeiro plan: N. Figueiredo and Gladosch. See Moreira, F. (2007). "French urbanism and the transformation of Rio de Janeiro during the Vargas Period, 1930-1945". ISUF 2007 International Seminar on Urban Form. Ouro Preto, Brazil.

<sup>8</sup>Rio de Janeiro was the Capital of Brazil from 1763 until 1960 when Brasília was inaugurated. This transference also caused a drop of investments in the new capital.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, several great occidental cities and capitals had their urban tissue reconfigured by urban projects whose avenues drove them to the *fresh modern times*. Haussmann's<sup>9</sup> boulevards and avenues were the icons of this urban conception, rationalizing the paths of Paris urban medieval tissue. Yet, in a moment of urban upheavals, they allowed a stronger people control. Before Haussmann, we cannot talk about avenues shaped by uniform blocks or as places under severe State control. This conception will last until the next century. Guided by hygienic and embellishment notions, the avenues became the scenario of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century lifestyle.

Yet in Rio, Mangue Avenue (1858), opened into an ancient swampy area, connecting the Mangue Canal to the former Gas Plant, was one of the first avenues of the city, where, later, President Vargas Avenue would take place. Few decades later, it housed the Central Railway Station, the Army, town houses and new plants.

Other important avenues of Rio de Janeiro, such as Rio Branco, former Central Avenue<sup>10</sup>, and Atlântica, were opened as part of the Urban Plan (1903-1906) promoted by the mayor Pereira Passos. Rio Branco Avenue, with 33 metres width, linear disposal of trees in the middle and flanked by eclectic buildings, represented the arrival of the fresh modern times to Rio and consequently the new urban lifestyle place. Accordingly, Atlântica Avenue would become together with the Copacabana Palace Hotel (1923) international icons of urban leisure lifestyle<sup>11</sup>.

In 1940, the extension of the Mangue Avenue towards the Bay Shore, nearby the Customs House, was finally implemented and was named after the current president, President Vargas Avenue. Even if it had maintained the former blueprint, its conception was guided to the "interior of Brazil", motivated by the emergent political approach. It should have settled the expansion of central business district, established along Rio Branco Avenue, and given place to institutional buildings, whose monumentality would symbolize the magnificence of Estado Novo regime. An avenue with opened doors to the future and closed windows to the city's colonial past. Nevertheless, the expected investments had failed and displaced to Copacabana, after the World War II, leaving great extensions of urban voids among the new CBD's buildings until today.

In the middle of 20<sup>th</sup> century, with the growth of the cities and a rising number of vehicles, public transport and people moving around their streets and avenues, speed emerged as an important issue in the projects of the avenues. They became lines, with so many roads as necessary, where vehicles could circulate faster. They shouldn't be interrupted in their way. Viaducts, or, in other words, new levels of avenues, were built to enlarge vehicles circulation. This conception reached the top during the 1950-1960s<sup>12</sup>.

---

<sup>9</sup>Haussmann was the Mayor of Paris (1851-1870) who tore the ancient urban fabric in blocks, defined by avenues and boulevards, making Paris the image of the modern city of that time.

<sup>10</sup>Inspired by the Haussmann's avenues, the Façades Concours for this avenue underlines the interpretation of the aesthetic agenda of that moment. Eclectic buildings of six floors conceived by the most important architects sheltered a few numbers of enterprises, journals and, last but not least, theatres and cinemas (Borde, 1998 op. cit)

<sup>11</sup> Borde, Andrea L.P (2009). *Seis Avenidas cariocas*. Rio de Janeiro: PROURB/ IVM. Vídeo 6'

<sup>12</sup>New York City after the World War II is a good example. Robert Moses accomplished great projects of urban renewal, transferring the workers to distant places on behalf of the car, gave birth to great avenues but also the uncountable social wastelands. Hundreds of remarkable cultural heritage were thrown away by Moses planner range.

The speed of these projects would only become slower with the emergence of the heritage preservation movement during the 1960s.

The 1950s in Rio de Janeiro correspond to a moment of several urban surgeries in downtown urban tissues. The razed Santo Antonio Hill was displaced by two crossed avenues — Chile and República do Paraguai Avenues — flanked by important financial buildings with barely none sidewalks. A system of up-avenues — 31 de Março, Perimetral and Paulo de Frontin viaducts — crossing downtown area were built, despite the massive urban environment put down. By the end of the 1960s, it was opened the Americas Avenue as a vector of expansion towards Barra da Tijuca, a new borough in the west zone.

The 1970s and the 1980s in Rio represent the arrival of a system of down-avenues — the subway — following the trace of the President Vargas Avenue. Differently from other cities, the subway left a footprint of voids in the surface due to a *non-aedificandi* ordinance. This new layer represented another disruption on the fragile urban tissue of President Vargas Avenue. The 1980s also represented, in Rio, the conception of city as a cultural asset, or in other words, the understanding of relevance of the cultural heritage aspects.

This brief historical approach revealed that President Vargas Avenue went through a process of transforming the nature into a continuing sprawl of the urban fabric, as well as a process of creating public lands into the valued downtown. Moreover, two dialectic processes dominated the earliest times of Rio de Janeiro urban history: i) construction of a new axis towards west, full of magnificent State and commercial buildings; and ii) destruction of old quarters identified with a deniable past. As a result, this Avenue is remarked not only by its architectural icons but also by its wastelands.

## NORMATIVE URBAN DESIGN AND PRESERVATION

Recognizing that urban regulation has a morphological dimension as well as that the urban dimension of architecture is particularly revealed through cultural heritage issues, we analysed President Vargas Avenue from this bias. Hence, it provides not only an exemplar case for revealing the implicit normative dimension in the spatial configuration<sup>13</sup> and its role in the maintenance of the wastelands created by urban projects in this area; but also, the State concern of what should be preserved since 1940. In this sense, we are going to consider some aspects concerning President Vargas Avenue urban legislation and cultural heritage issues as they are related in many terms.

Few years before the clearance for the avenue, the first functional zoning ordinance of the city was issued, based on Agache's proposals, which corroborated with the existing location tendency for the commercial, industrial, residential and dockland zones. Shortly afterwards, it was substituted by the first *Building Code for the City*, which ratified the 1935 zoning<sup>14</sup>.

---

<sup>13</sup> For more information on Rio de Janeiro urban legislation historical process and its influence on spatial configuration, see Sampaio (2006).

<sup>14</sup>The Decree 5595/1935 consolidated the Agache's proposals. The Decree 6000/ 1937 was only replaced with Decree 3800/ 1970. See Sampaio (2006).

According to legislation guidelines for the Commercial Zone of the city centre, blocks alignments follow the outer limits of the lot, configuring uniform quarters. Agache, concerned with the formal aspect of the city, conceived it as a reference basis for architectural practice. The conjunction of urban morphology, zoning and architectural type would configure quarters. The first guidelines for the Avenue determined height limits of 12 floors at Candelária sector and 17 floors for the rest. Later, in 1940, the heights were lifted to 22 floors in its central area. Thus, we can state that the architectural ensemble idea persisted and incorporated the notion of hierarchy of urban patterns.

Following the functional city model, the next zoning ordinance, limited residential use in central area and industrial districts even if the federal district's Building Code did not explicitly restrict housing in the central area. The new Zoning Code (1976) reinforced commercial purposes. This normative model, guided by the logic of control or allowance of land uses, gave priority to space functionality<sup>15</sup>.

As a result of residential use restriction, downtown was excluded of the massive urban renewal moment. This period observed a real estate market growth and availability of home financing. However, the urban ordinance parameters for the Avenue were incongruous to real estate market expectations to that location, at that time. So, vertical typologies have remained on *paper*, and the project incomplete. Nonetheless, the functionalist urban legislation could have destroyed local traditional urban morphology of the Avenue surroundings, if the legislation's building potential had been accomplished. The lack of real estate development did promote urban voids, but also urban preservation, yet not avoiding physical decaying of the buildings.

The urban ordinance in force today in the City centre district is the so-called Centre's Law<sup>16</sup>, from 1994. It stimulates the rehabilitation of the urban space by encouraging residential use, the valorization of cultural heritage and the stimulus to economic activities, and tourism interest.

The subordination of the architectural design to urban parameters is operated on a lot scale. In this case, urban tissue was redesigned for configuring new parcel structures and shaping new quarters<sup>17</sup>. By regulating building typology<sup>18</sup> through design control ordinances, Government has granted the proposed urban ensemble — on paper. Nevertheless, the new alignment becomes progressively concrete at a lot scale, according to landowners' will. Although in major cases, edifications are easily renewed, since they can be rebuilt without a lot alteration, in this case, the materialization of blocks has depended on private investments to join multiple parcels that would redefine a lot. This operation has posed obstruction for the fulfilment of the ensemble of the Avenue as built.

---

<sup>15</sup>The Decree 3800/1970 disposed as inappropriate housing typology for that zone, except for mixed-use typologies located in certain areas. The Decree 322/1976 defined the Zoning Code. See Sampaio (2006).

<sup>16</sup>Law 2236/ 1994.

<sup>17</sup>They are imprinted on Street Alignment Projects (PAAs), approved by Decrees.

<sup>18</sup>The term typology appears here more specifically as an urban design parameter related to the functional principles of the architectural rationalization. As a normative disposition, the typology guides the occupation shape and to the building's function.

Considering cultural heritage issues on the President Vargas Avenue, it is remarkable that as the city centre urban fabric, it comprises built elements which are representative from the city's and the Nation's history. Thus, the conceptual trajectory of Heritage protection practice in Rio de Janeiro is registered between the lines of its history. Yet, their recognition as cultural Heritage has occurred according to the prevailing heritage notion of each moment.

Briefly, the conceptual evolution of cultural heritage protection reveals the changes of values, from primarily emphasizing the exceptional value of architectural and historical National Monuments, assuming later the comprehensive notion of cultural heritage sites, towards an urban conservation and rehabilitation approach. This evolution can be correlated with the shift of urbanism paradigms of then. According to Choay's<sup>19</sup> argument, preservation has always been in the opposite way from the prevailing urbanization process. Thus far, she reminds that it was, in fact, becoming an obstacle to urbanism reforms, that heritage developed its conceptual identity in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In Brazil, the preservation protection issues had emerged just a few years before the Avenue project was implemented. The primary attention of the National Heritage addressed the acknowledgment of exceptional value, thus listing monumental architecture, especially religious buildings, baroque colonial style, followed by neoclassical ones, yet underestimating the recent past.<sup>20</sup>

This Avenue is known not only for its urban spaces and built ensemble, but also for what was demolished. Several blocks were razed for its opening, sweeping hundreds of residential and commercial buildings, four important seventh-century churches<sup>21</sup>, a hospital, a school, a nursing home, and the XIX century City Hall, and provoking an irreparable loss of social memory and cultural heritage. Besides, a range of 90 metres wide was bitten from Campo de Santana, a remarkable urban park (1874-1880) designed by Auguste Glaziou. The demolition of the churches and the strip of the Campo do Santana Garden provoked public complaints for being National Heritage listed sites<sup>22</sup>. Despite of that and SPHAN director's fight to change the project and safeguard the monuments, the demolitions of these sites were legally approved<sup>23</sup> in 1941.

On the other hand, a few significant institutional buildings, such as the Old Customs building, the Bank of Brazil, and the Rivadávia Corrêa School, were preserved. Among them, it is important to noteworthy the Candelária Church (1775-1811), with its remarkable main portico facing the bay, turning back to the Avenue. Originally inbuilt in

---

<sup>19</sup>See Choay (2001).

<sup>20</sup>The basis for an effective heritage policy was established in 1937 with the creation of the National Heritage Agency (SPHAN). The ideological bias of the institution was markedly pro-modernist, nationalist, valuing the colonial past. See Cavalcanti, L. (Org.) (2000). Modernistas na repartição. Rio de Janeiro, UFRJ/ Minc-IPHAN.

<sup>21</sup>The Borromini's influence of São Pedro dos Clérigos Church was the biggest loss. Bom Jesus do Calvario and Nossa Senhora da Conceição Churches and Sao Domingos Square and Church were also demolished.

<sup>22</sup>The SPHAN's arguments praised the historic and artistic qualities of the churches and the garden, and yet the technical difficulties for restoring the Glaziou's composition on the remaining part of the Garden. There had even been cogitated to displace the São Pedro do Clérigos Church, but it was unfeasible.

<sup>23</sup>Decree-law 3.866 /1941 specially edited by the President, for allowance of cancellation of Heritage Listing for the public good.

an urban tissue of narrow streets, with attached houses, after the works for the Avenue, it's surroundings were cleared and the church acquired more visibility. It is an exemplar case of modernist conception of historical heritage. Symbolically, this fact reinforces the paradox of this project, between historical past and modern present.

Only in the 1980's, the municipality inaugurated an integrated conservation approach, as part of the city urban planning, in consonance with 1970's Heritage Charters. Urban conservation policies have been established through the demarcation of protection areas. The pioneer was the Cultural Corridor (1984), a paradigmatic experience, protecting large urban ensembles, part of which are placed along President Vargas Avenue.

Being both the Historic Centre and Central Business District, the Local urban regulation must contemplate the clashes of interests of this condition. Besides zoning ordinances, there are, in force, five Preservation Areas in the surroundings of the Avenue: Corridor Cultural; Docklands region SAGAS; Cidade Nova and Catumbi; Cruz Vermelha; Teófilo Otoni/São Bento Monastery<sup>24</sup>. Thus, according to contemporary heritage notion, this Avenue project would remain on paper.

## URBAN MORPHOLOGY AND ARCHITECTURE

The urban morphology and architecture proposed to President Vargas Avenue has conferred it a magnanimous scale, by flanking the great empty axis a continuous, high and robust mass of institutional, commercial and service buildings. The morphology was inherited from Agache's Plan in its functional aspects and urban composition that had incorporated the symbolic power of the nationalist government of Vargas. Behind this image of monumentality, modernity and progress, colonial and eclectic architecture and historical landmarks that used to identify Rio de Janeiro were hidden. As this project was scarcely implemented, only a few buildings and several footprints of the colonial and eclectic architecture can be seen along the Avenue.

Analysing the current spatial configuration of the President Vargas Avenue, we identified four great types of building along the avenue — historical buildings and monuments; town houses; multiple storeys and freestanding buildings — and five different sectors that contrast from intensively dense to barely inhabited. A historical approach to this Avenue architecture should be attached to its parts and phases of occupation. The three first sectors contain the initial avenue buildings and correspond to the part inaugurated in 1944. They correspond also to the ancient centre of the city, where the contrasts between the oldest urban tissue and the morphology proposed to the Avenue reach its maximum.

---

<sup>24</sup>Corredor Cultural (Law 1139/1987); Docklands region SAGAS (Law 971/1987 and dec. 7351/1988); Cidade Nova and Catumbi (dec. 10040/1991); Cruz Vermelha (dec. 11883/1992); Teófilo Otoni/ São Bento Monastery (dec. 16419/1997).



Figure 2: President Vargas Avenue's Sectors. AB, 2010.

From east to west, from the Mineiros Quay to the Mangue Canal, or from the ancient centre of the city to its 19<sup>th</sup> century expansion area, Candelária is the first sector. Candelária Church and the 1940-1950s corporate buildings dominate this sector. The most important examples are in the open square around this Church (Square Pius X). This sector concentrates part of Rio's Central Business District (CBD). The urban morphology still corresponds to the one proposed in the original project: 22 floors except around the Pius X Square with 12 floors. This new mass has completely changed the relationship scale among the church-monument and its surroundings, subtracting its skyline prominence and transforming it into a dialogue with the environment.

In this sector there are still some buildings in art deco and *pre-modernist*<sup>25</sup> styles mixed among the natural modernist buildings. The portion near the Pius X Square went through a recycling of uses in the 1980s. Some old financial centre buildings were then converted into cultural facilities. A concentration of museums and cultural centres occupy Historical Heritage buildings. In the junction of this area with the Avenue occurs an abrupt juxtaposition of scales, the dense historic colonial city with the monumental scale of the Avenue design.

The second sector, named Uruguaiana, comprehends the blocks between this street and Passos Avenue. In this area, pre-modernists buildings, higher ones from the 1970s and also some wastelands uncover the eclectic commercial houses at the rear of the quarters, at both sides of the avenue. We can observe in this sector the first fractures in the proposed ensemble of 22 floors. Perfectly inserted in this architectural ensemble, stands out its most renowned building, the IPERJ Headquarters, designed by architect Affonso Reidy. Its prominence is mainly due to its mosaic of *brise-soleil* on the facade, which would be facing a square and north-south avenue in case these two projects had left the paper<sup>26</sup>.

Candelária and Uruguaiana Sectors are recognized for some projects the most important architects at that time, like Oscar Niemeyer, Lúcio Costa and Alfonso Reidy or even by architects with strong presence in the housing market, as Firmino Saldanha

<sup>25</sup>The pre-modernism term is used for buildings that are neither considered art deco, nor modern, for some stylistic features such as tripartite facade, cornices, symmetrical elements and well-defined windows instead of glass windows.

<sup>26</sup>This urban renewal project was revoked in 1963. In the 1970s, the Headquarter of the Federal Bank in Rio was built up in this place with 33 floors.

and Paulo Casé, among others. They provided a sense of diversity and quality to their architecture, despite legislation guidelines. There are also post-1980's buildings that offers more contemporary solutions. They contribute to the creation of an amazing architectonic mosaic in these sectors.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the transformation of the ground's floor and mezzanine's uses that no longer belong to a single corporation had been subdivided into small units. This could have been quite positive considering the use of the urban space, if it hadn't produced visual pollution, disorder and degradation of several units.

The last sector of the part inaugurated in 1944 corresponds to Campo de Santana. It is dominated by the Central Railway Station, the former War Ministry's Building and the green vision of this urban park surrounded by significant historical buildings conforming a different urban context completely apart from the entire avenue. We can also visualize behind the railway station the hills dominated by squatter settlements<sup>27</sup>. As in some other monuments in the vicinity of the Avenue, we notice the problem of disengagement of the historical object of its urban context.

The Duque de Caxias Palace (1941)<sup>28</sup> was built on the grounds of the former Central Army Headquarters (1906) with an architectural repertoire expressive of the Italian fascist power buildings at the time. From the pulpit of its pantheon, the President welcomed the citizens in the 1944 Independence Day, in the opening of the Avenue.

The Central Railway of Brazil Station (1937) was built on the grounds of the inaugural train station (1858). The new station<sup>29</sup> fully embraces the Estado Novo dictatorship symbolic ideals and the repertoire of railways architectural typology that emphasizes a watch as its main element. It should be the symbol of the new times, when the capital would be connected with the whole country<sup>30</sup>.

From the Railway Station to Francisco Bicalho Avenue, the predominance of full over the voids is reversed. Most buildings of the last sectors, XI Square and Cidade Nova, belong to institutional or privatized public enterprises. Their architecture is completely different from the others razed and inaugurated in 1944. At that time, plants, worker houses, administrative buildings, and even the red light district<sup>31</sup> densely inhabited these two sectors. Considered *out of place* for this great avenue, their demolitions lasted for decades. Ruins still mark the landscape of this sectors in which the voids prevail on the urban ensemble. Actually, tax and financial efforts have failed to intensify the occupation of these sectors. It was left largely to the public sector to *fill in the blanks*.

The fourth sector, named XI Square, strengthen the disjunction between the part inaugurated in 1944 and the latter. This is the only sector of the avenue with considerable residential use. Its architecture seems an assortment of urban history and

---

<sup>27</sup>Including the first Favela, currently known as Providencia Hill.

<sup>28</sup>Designed by Stockler das Neves as the Ministry of War building.

<sup>29</sup>Designed by Roberto Carvalho, Adalberto Szilard and Geza Heller.

<sup>30</sup>Both buildings are in Art Deco style, with a strong bias classicism, based on historical forms, employing the echeloning, conveying the idea of hierarchy and power.

<sup>31</sup>Known as *Vila Mimoza*, the red light district was placed in this area for more than a century. During two decades it was slowly demolished, initially in the late 1970s, for the subway works, and, finally, in 1994, to give place to the City Hall Anex.

architectural styles. The Sambodromo<sup>32</sup>, large corporate buildings, large extensions of wastelands, and the ruins of historic Gas plant coexist side by side. It is, somehow, ironic that XI Square's name remains a reference for this area, as the square itself was swept away by the works of the avenue<sup>33</sup>.

The last sector's toponymy — Cidade Nova/ New City — indicates an expansion area: primarily, in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, an expansion area of the city; and after 1960, an expansion of the central area. Since the 1980s this sector has been undergoing a strong process of urbanization and speculation. Its newurban phase began in the 1970 with the construction of the Brazilian Post Office Headquarters Building<sup>34</sup>, the Prefecture City Hall<sup>35</sup> and the General Archives of the City<sup>36</sup>. In the 1990s the City Hall Annex and the Teleport building were built. More recently, the Headquarters of the Insurance Company Sul-America, multi-business and residential buildings, as well as the new subway station, have been transforming the profile of the area. Even so, it still demands a responsive urban project emphasizing its inhabitants and passersby.

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This comprehensive historical approach emphasizes the morphological aspects of the planning process looking forward to understand the roots, permanencies and transformations that were imprinted on the Avenue tissue since its beginning. This ongoing research let us point some connections between urban project, urban planning, urban legislation, architectural and cultural heritage history that could contribute to transform the "unfinished" reality of President Vargas Avenue. A leap to the future that began with a step behind.

First of all, according to projects of avenues history, we can consider that along its history President Vargas Avenue has been much more an urban artery than a boulevard. Through its arcades people do not roam: they rush. As far as this privilege to the vehicles persists, the fracture promoted by this urban surgery on downtown urban fabric will persist as well.

Secondly, the President Vargas Avenue architecture can be considered as a mirror of the historical process of modernity in Rio de Janeiro. Like a game of mirrors, whose repeated images confuse the observer, the avenue represents the many contradictions of the Estado Novo, which represent the modernity conflicts: progress against tradition and authoritarianism against democracy.

---

<sup>32</sup>This "Stadium for the Samba", designed by Oscar Niemeyer in 1984, became the new Carnival Avenue ever since replacing the President Vargas Avenue Parade.

<sup>33</sup>This square, originally formed by slaves and immigrants, was built in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the second half, it had received several investments and activities and inhabitants who sought the vicinity of the port area and railway station replaced the wealthier classes. Not only blocks, but also a multicultural sector with an indigenous cultural expression and the best-known variety of samba were razed.

<sup>34</sup>Designed by Antonio Antunes Soares Filho, this Building (1974-1979) is a typical 1970s construction; it is a part of Modernism's final phase here. See Czajkowski (2000).

<sup>35</sup>Designed by Marcos Konder Netto, the City Hall (1973-1982) tower belongs to the same generation of the Post Office Building.

<sup>36</sup>Designed by the Musa's Architecture Office (1977-1979) this little building maintains the blind wall initiated with the Post Office Building on the other corner.

In terms of urban legislation it should be created a *projectable ensemble*<sup>37</sup>, inspired in the notion of urban ensemble established in the Heritage Charts, in order to reorganize the urban tissue messy caused primarily by the Avenue project. President Vargas Avenue should be considered as an ensemble that makes sense all along its 4km extension. From our viewpoint that is the greatest controversy and challenge towards a responsive future.

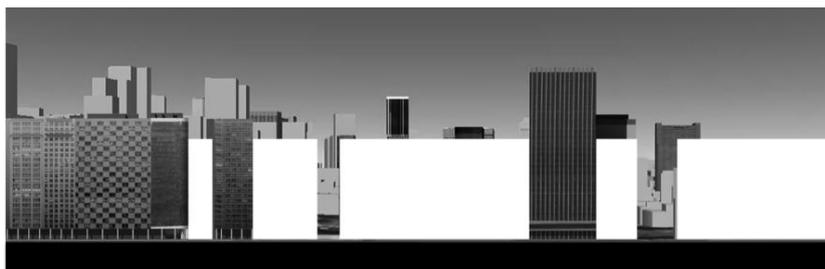


Figure 3: 3D Model of President Vargas Avenue (2010) with the actual situation and, in white, the original shape conceived in the project (1938). AB, 2010.

## REFERENCES

- Agache, D. A. (1930) Cidade do Rio de Janeiro: remodelação, extensão e embelezamento. Paris: Foyer Brésilien
- Benetti, Pablo (1997). Projetos de avenidas no Rio de Janeiro (1830-1995). São Paulo, FAUUSP, PhD Thesis.
- Borde, Andrea L. P. (2006) Vazios urbanos: perspectivas contemporâneas. Rio de Janeiro, PROURB/FAU/ UFRJ. PhD Thesis
- Choay, F. (2001) Alegoria do Patrimônio. Baurú: UNESP.
- \_\_\_\_\_; Merlin, P.(2005) Dictionnaire de l'urbanisme et de l'aménagement. PUF, Paris.
- Czajkowski, Jorge (org.) (2000). Guia da Arquitetura Moderna do Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro, Casa da Palavra/Prefeitura da Cidade do RJ.
- Fonseca, M. C. L. (1997) Patrimônio em processo: trajetória da política federal de preservação no Brasil. Rio de Janeiro: IPHAN/ UFRJ, 1997.
- Lima, Evelyn F. W (1990). Avenida Presidente Vargas: uma drástica cirurgia. Rio de Janeiro: SMC/DGDIC.
- Reis, J. de O. (1977) O Rio de Janeiro e seus prefeitos. V. 1. Rio de Janeiro: Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro.
- Sampaio, A. R. (2006) Normas Urbanísticas e sua Influência na Configuração Espacial: o caso de São Cristóvão, Rio de Janeiro. PHd Thesis, PROURB, FAU/ UFRJ.

<sup>37</sup>See Borde (2006). *Projectable* is used here not in the sense of ensemble to be projected but as a heterogeneous tissue created by an urban Project.

## PROBLEMS IN CREATING SOCIAL SPACE AND SUGGESTIONS FOR THEIR SOLUTION: THE CASE OF NICOSIA, THE ONLY REMAINING DIVIDED CAPITAL CITY IN EUROPE

Zehra ÖNGÜL, Assistant Professor  
Eastern Mediterranean University Faculty, Cyprus  
zehra.ongul@emu.edu.tr

Banu TEVFİKLER ÇAVUŞOĞLU, Assistant Professor  
Eastern Mediterranean University, Cyprus  
banu.tevfikler@emu.edu.tr

### ABSTRACT

*Cities as a whole, can be described as architectural and social constitutions, which are shaped by the demands of the community. It is also this demand that creates continuous change within these constitutions. People, as the main users of the city, are the focal point in respect of dealing with the issues of the functions associated with the content of this whole.*

*People are naturally motivated to get together, to meet, communicate, and socialize. These actions have been evaluated and have been the focal point of the configuration of cities throughout history. The first examples of 'social city space,' which developed as a result of the motives described above, iseg, the Agora in Greek city planning, and the Forum in Roman city planning. These meeting spaces have been developed, changed and transformed over time. These activity areas, or social spaces, which can be viewed as central to the logic of the configuration of the city, play a major role in the configuration of cities, whether they were initially included in the master plan, or whether they developed organically in respect of those cities, which did not have a masterplan, but rather as a result of the needs arising in a community and its behavioural response to that need.*

*In Nicosia, the capital city of Cyprus for more than 1200 years, social spaces or public squares as described above have, formed naturally or organically, without any former masterplan. They formed naturally or organically, without any previous masterplan. The walled city of Nicosia hasaccomodated marketplaces, official institutions, banks, and many other buildings, with a variety of functions from the Lusignan, Venetian, Ottoman, and English periods, together with residential buildings. The increase in population and the change in the structure of the population, the technological developments, and the changes in the lifestyle of the population have led to the adaptation of the city, eg the old city has extended and spread outside the city walls to in response to the needs and requirements of its inhabitants. Dereboyu Street, which is located on the main axis, in reference to the plan of the old walled citynow represents the commercial centre of the city, as a result ofunplanned and unrestricted building and business development. Consequently, a constitution far removed from the concept of 'social city space' has been configured in Nicosia.*

*Formerly, the district was composed mainly of residential buildings. The streets have undergone many changes in respect of re-use issues regarding the existing functions. Many of the houses in the city centre have been convertedinto spaces for other functions. In particular, the houses on the main axis have been turned into shops, restaurants, cafes,*

*and the like. This change has been a quick and unplanned one. Whilst some of the buildings have been completely transformed into a totally different functional space, others have only been partially changed.*

*This partial change applies especially to car parking space in respect of the physical deficiencies of buildings in terms of the fulfillment of the new functional requirements in reuse applications. Undefined, insufficient, and poorly designed traffic roundabouts that also have to function as meeting points head the list of the negative aspects of unplanned developments in the city of Nicosia. The presence, availability and location of meeting places, and/or social spaces, form an integral part of the psychology of any community in most cultures. This study aims to focus on the issue of social space within the framework of the problems described above, and to develop suggestions and solutions, which will contribute towards their improvement.*

## INTRODUCTION

It is a well-known fact that, in respect of the history of cities, they reflect the cultural state, social life, philosophy, prosperity and power, amongst other things, of the community to which they belong or represent. Whether a city is a city, or not, is closely related to what that city is proposing or offering its inhabitants. Economical, social, cultural, commercial, military, ideological and religious aspects and issues are considerations which a city can offer or provide to meet the needs of its public. Economical and ideological factors can change and disappear in time.

Cities are characterized by their functions. These can be either social, religious/ceremonial functions or, more predominantly, trading and administrative functions or all these functions operating together; all these functions are required to maintain a contemporary aspect. From all these factors, the issue of social space, is the most important one, and that which makes a city-dweller feel that he/she lives in a city. To share, to communicate, to interact are the characteristics of human-beings as social beings. Without these tools of socialization, life as we know it, is not viable. The cities, themselves, in the way in which they are planned designed and constructed and how their social spaces are organized, provide responses to these needs. Careful configuration to include and integrate all these aspects is required in the planning and development of any city.

The social organization of a city gives various information and clues about the lifestyles, cultural structure, social quality, economical conditions, or, in short, aspects related to the life of its population; regional variations can even be seen within the same city. The problems of the creation of social spaces, as attempts to meet and respond to the most important needs of city-dwellers directly influence the life quality of the city-dwellers. From this perspective, with reference to Nicosia, it can be stated that there are problems there originating mainly from the enforced division of the city of Nicosia, which remains the last divided capital in Europe, and is the subject of this paper. The previously continuous axes have been interrupted by the division. Together with these problems, rapid changes in the demographic structure led to unplanned development of new districts and axes within the city itself, which are consequently lacking the physical capacity in terms of creating social spaces. As a result, they are also inadequate in respect of providing solutions for today's lifestyle expectations. This paper aims to determine the problems with regard to these issues and suggest solutions for their improvement.

## THE PLACE OF SOCIAL SPACE IN THE HISTORY OF CITIES

Cities often have a long and complex history. Permanent settlements or cities in today's language were built only after people learned to control fire, apply basic agriculture and to develop the domestication of animals. In other words, after people became socialized beings, the cities were established. It is obvious from historical research that the configuration of cities has always been focussed around social spaces.

The existing urban space can be analysed by researching the historical development of the cities; In ancient Greek cities, social life revolved around the marketplace, or the *agora*. Besides the natural religious sites, people used large unadorned open squares where farmers and artisans displayed their wares. Over time, various public and private structures were erected around such a space.

In the ancient Roman cities, temples and government buildings surrounded a main square, or *forum*; paved streets were lined with shops and houses, and enclosing all was a protective wall with fortified gates. The forum was the center of civic life in Roman cities, as the *agora* was in Greek cities.

Considering leisure or social activities, Greek and Roman cities characteristically contained buildings and open spaces (*agora*, *forum*) used for participatory sporting activities and/or for passive spectator enjoyment, whereas these provisions were not usually part of the Mesopotamian culture, or of the European Medieval and Renaissance civilizations. They are also not present in the Islamic cities. The main reason for such differences was the availability of spare time as well as the climate, which enabled open air public gathering. (Hoşkara, 1996).

During the middle ages -9th-15th centuries, from the beginning of the Romanesque to the end of the Gothic period- the organization of the city was different between Greek and Roman cultures. Some of them were organized by using existing Roman cities and some were newly founded. Over the centuries, except for the religious or civic halls, people felt the need for open (external) public spaces. The narrower streets opened onto the *market square* in which the cathedral and civil hall were situated. Changes in socio-economic and political conditions (division of labour, development of skills, trade, quality and variety of goods, competition for markets, leisure and wealth) affected the physical layout of the urban form.

During the Renaissance period, one can truly see evidence of city planning for the first time in history. Towns, along with their inhabitants became gradually important with regard to the individual political units of the whole country. Theoretical thinking and aesthetical consideration began influencing the creation of individual parts and of the town as a whole. From the fifteenth century onwards architectural design, aesthetic theory and the principles of city planning were directed by identical ideas, foremost among them being the desire for discipline and order in contrast to the relative irregularity and dispersion of Gothic space (Hoşkara, 1995).

During the Renaissance period, the shaping of the cities and urban spaces were studied by architects. During this period, the city was seen as an integral part of the architecture. This understanding helped to create great public spaces, elegant squares, long street vistas and symmetrical building arrangements.

The role of the squares/centres of the cities changed during the Baroque and Neoclassic periods. They were used as a central element in the general urban structure,

secondary urban centres and residential complexes. With their open spaces and variety of form and materials they provided visual relief in addition to their traditional uses such as a market-place, a government square etc. Within this context, a grand scale of urban public places was very sought after (Hoşkara, 1995, [www.art.net](http://www.art.net)).

Cities were affected and changed by the industrial revolution. Technological innovations, such as traffic and main transportation systems (railroad tracks, etc.) were driven into the heart of the city. These transportation systems greatly expanded the radius of urban settlement. Industrial cities still used the city centres, which included large businesses, administrative, religious, shopping and entertainment buildings.

The increase in the population required the creation of new districts. The cities, especially those with fortifications started to develop outside the existing boundary. This development activated the necessity for a master plan for the new districts before they were constructed. The plan was organized according to the needs of the citizens and the government, in respect of the administrative, businesses, shopping, entertainment, public meeting places, green spaces, -parks – semi- open and open spaces.

In addition to the planned cities there were also unplanned cities which grew randomly. This disorganized layout had a negative effect on the various functions of city life and also on the citizens.

## WHAT IS SOCIAL SPACE?

Cities are comprised of public and private spaces. The public space is an inevitable component of the city. Streets, squares, plazas, market -places, parks, and various types of public buildings and spaces (leisure, entertainment, food, etc. facilities) are among the various forms of public spaces, which act as the major communication channels of a city (Carr et al., 1992; Gehl, 1996).

The *Oxford English Dictionary* (1933) defines the term 'public' as: "in general, and in most of the senses, the opposite of private". The definition includes: "of or pertaining to the people as a whole; that belongs to, affects, or concerns the community or nation". Later, in the recent edition of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*

(1990), a similar definition as: "of or concerning the people as a whole", is followed by "open to or shared by all people"; "done or existing openly"; and "provided by or concerning local or central government". Various academic work in the field of urban design takes into account the concepts included in these definitions. Carr et al. (1992: xi), for example, regard public space as "the common ground where people carry out the functional and ritual activities that bind a community, whether in the normal routines of daily life or in periodic festivities". It is: "the stage upon which the drama of communal life unfolds" (Carr et al., 1992: 3). For Walzer (1986: 470), "Public space is the space we share with strangers, people who aren't our relatives, friends, or work associates. It is space for politics, religion, commerce, sport; space for peaceful co-existence and impersonal encounter". The character of public space: "expresses and also conditions our public life, civic culture, everyday discourse".

Francis Tibbalds (1992: 1) saw the public realm as, "all the parts of the urban fabric to which the public have physical and visual access. Thus, it extends from the streets, parks and squares of a town or city into the buildings which enclose and line them." The

public realm is, therefore, "the most important part of our towns and cities. It is where the greatest amount of human contact and interaction takes place"(Madanipour, 1996).

The ordinary needs of the public in a city, including convenience facilities, are served by different types of public spaces. Constituting a place for various and diverse economic, social and political activities, public spaces provide the common ground for combined, different activities (Czarnowski, 1978; Moughtin, 1999).

Public spaces also contribute to the mental and psychological health of the individuals, who, together, form 'the public'. Meanwhile, public spaces play a role in the personal development of individuals (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988). By providing individuals with the possibility of exhibiting mastery, to meet challenges and to take risks (Lynch, 1992), this role is also being played by the public spaces of a city. This results in relaxation and tension states, which is both desirable and necessary for the psychological and mental welfare of human beings (Lynch, 1992). Public spaces can be regarded as places of relaxation, which enable and facilitate people to discharge the stresses of daily life (Carr et al., 1992). Whilst effecting this role, they also provide places for 'shocking' stimulus, which increases the possibility of direct confrontation and spontaneous reaction, which enables people to be faced with new experiences and/or sights and learn about others (Lynch, 1992). In this sense, public spaces provide arenas for 'social interaction' (Carr et al., 1992; Lynch, 1992), which facilitates both the individual's well-being with others, and the people, as a whole, to discover and explore the 'self', the 'other' and the 'environment', leading to the emergence of a sense of personal continuity in a rapidly changing world (Francis and Hester, 1990, cited in Carr et al., 1992; Carr et al., 1992; Lynch, 1992).

Public spaces are inhabited by different groups of people regardless of class, ethnic origin, gender and age differences, making the intermingling of everybody in the public possible (Madanipour, 1995). It is this characteristic of the public spaces that enables: "the formation of the richest quality of a multi-class, multi-cultural, heterogeneous society" (Carr et al., 1992). This also helps, in educational, informative and communicative aspects, to strengthen the quality of the public life. According to Lynch (1992) and Rapoport (1977), public spaces are open to all and accommodate 'freely chosen' and 'spontaneous' actions of people. As such, they are also used for demonstrating political action and presentation (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993). Disagreements and conflicts become possible, when public discussions are held in public spaces, where their resolution thus becomes possible (Carr et al., 1992).

From ancient times, as stated in the previous section of this study, public spaces have also been the main places in cities, where commercial activities have taken place (Gehl, 1996). Commercial activities have maintained a close relationship to public spaces in order to derive benefit from their busy nature. Additionally public spaces can positively influence the economic value of the urban land which surrounds them.

In today's world, with their economic value generator role, public spaces are increasingly seen as an important means to add value to speculative developments, both in terms of amenity and commerce (Thompson, 1998), and to market and regenerate localities (Madanipour, 2000).

Public spaces are associated with the public images of the cities, to which they belong, as there are often streets with a special connotation to a city. In this respect, Loukaitou-Sideris (1993) argues that, with their symbolic meanings, public spaces contribute to

the creation of the sense of continuity for a group, or a society, which bind the individual members of the group or society together (Lynch, 1992; Moughtin, 1999). Thus public spaces have become: "the place where the major public works, the major public expenditure and the greatest civic art is located" (Moughtin, 1999).

Public spaces also often perform the function of beautifying the city (Carr et. al., 1992). The aesthetic configuration of the cities should also demonstrate differences from other types of settlements; they should not only be identifiable by their layout. Only then can the city-dwellers feel the city, so to speak, within this complexity.

Public spaces convey a physical, ecological, psychological, social, political, economic, and symbolic role to the citizens, which makes them inevitable components for societies and cities. Since such characteristics, are absolutely necessary for the promotion of a mentally, psychologically and physically healthy population, public spaces are vitally important amenities within cities. Therefore, their functioning in terms of the aforementioned aspects should be completely fulfilled. This requires a plan of action regarding the various and diversified activities, and all the accompanying requirements in respect of this. Meanwhile, the ever-changing times and the subsequent consequences in respect of lifestyles etc. should be taken into account, and the requisite or necessary modifications and/or adaptations should be effected or integrated within the plan. In other words, the planned growth of cities has to also naturally accommodate the ever-changing requirements of the day.

Due to the changes in life styles, as a result of the ongoing contemporary changes, public spaces must, therefore, accommodate this change in their configuration. Within this aspect Ercan states that the roles of the public spaces have demonstrated changes, especially in the last two decades (Ercan, 2007). The need to confront these changes should be carefully considered when drawing up plans regarding the growth of cities.

In respect of all these perspectives regarding the issue of public space, that especially serves the city dwellers for socializing, sharing, and most importantly so that they feel that they are an intrinsic part of the city, it is better to refer to this definition as 'social space'. In this study, Nicosia, as the last remaining divided city in Europe, is considered in the light of this theoretical part, gaps leading to problems in terms of the contemporary public use of the social spaces in Nicosia will be identified and suggestions for resolving these problems solution will be made.

## **THE CASE OF NICOSIA CITY**

### **Determination of Problems Regarding the Creation of Social Spaces**

Since the end of the Byzantine period Nicosia has been the capital of Cyprus. After the Lusignans (13th. century) established the Lusignan Dynasty, they retained Nicosia as the capital. The city started to develop, enlarge and attract the attention of the visitors. In this period the construction of the palaces, residences, churches and monasteries was organized. The city is located on a large open plain, between two mountain ranges, which create a natural boundary and it is also very close to a water element.

After the Lusignans, the Venetians took the island. The city walls were reshaped and reconstructed. During this stage they demolished the buildings that were situated outside their fortification. In general the Venetians kept the monumental church

structures and changed the function of some buildings. In this period the construction of squares took place. They were created as urban social spaces for getting together/meeting and to support communication between the citizens (Gürkan, 1996).

The Ottomans then took the island from the Venetians. Minarets were then added to the church roofs and the churches were converted into mosques. The Ottomans constructed new buildings like caravanserais, closed bazaars, mansions, libraries, lodges, tombs, bedestans, baths, hans, etc. These buildings were located around the existing monumental buildings. The Cathedral of StSophia, whose name was changed to the Selimiye Mosque, became the city centre, and was surrounded by various public buildings.

In the period of British occupation, buildings began to be constructed outside fortified city walls and new districts were formed (Figure 1). The city centre inside the fortifications (old city) remained, but as a result of the needs of the citizens, new buildings, including various functions like educational, administrative and residential buildings to house the local population were constructed. (Newman, 1940).

With the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960, the British colonial period ended. The existence of the Cyprus Republic was short lived. In 1974, Turkey, as one of the guarantor powers, performed a military intervention and divided the island into two sectors, the North and the South. The northern sector is Turkish and the southern sector is Greek. Until that time, Nicosia city had been meeting all the urban social space requirements of the city-dwellers. Well-defined squares, landmarks, multifunctional facilities within easy-reach, entertainment facilities, with a design layout, which eased the usage of these urban social spaces (capable of serving both pedestrian and vehicular traffic) were all included in its formation.

After 1974, the Turkish Cypriots, who had settled in the northern part of the island first established the Turkish Federal State of Cyprus, and later in 1983 they established the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which country is only recognized by Turkey (Ongül & Günce, 2006). Nicosia has continued to be the capital city for both sectors.

Today, Nicosia is characterised by being the only divided city in Europe. By examining the inside of the walls, it can be seen that the structure of the city is determined by the circular plan of the walls that were constructed during the Venetian period. There are 11 bastions on the walls. The three Venetian gates, namely the Kyrenia Gate, the Famagusta Gate and the Paphos Gate, were originally designed to permit entrance to the city, which was then fully encircled by the walls. Later, with the expansion of the city outside the walls, eight new passages were opened. The city within the walls was appropriately organized in an organic manner. The organic fabric of the walled city, with the establishment of buffer zones after the peace operation of 1974, resulted in the division of the island as aforementioned and the division of the capital city.

As a consequence of the division, problems relating to the functioning of the city, including the socializing needs of the city-dwellers, started to arise. First of all, in the old city, previously well-defined small -scale social spaces in the city (such as neighbourly relationships, exchanges, communications, etc.) were all largely disrupted and small streets were blocked off. Long streets with no end became a common feature of the city.

The main socio-functional axis (arasta-ledra) (Figure 2) housed shopping, business and entertainment facilities. This district was also greatly interrupted by the division. The

axes had been functioning as a whole entity, and now it was forced to fulfil the functioning in half and half manner. This brought up some important problems in terms of meeting place facilities, socializing facilities, shopping facilities, sharing facilities and the life quality of the city-dwellers, which resulted in them feeling, compelled to leave the old city, which was their home, and move outside to the newly established districts.

These districts were rapidly realized, and were not equipped or in a position to answer all the needs arising from the new situation. Problems still being experienced today are the result of this new formation. The development of new districts outside the walled city naturally created the transfer of some of the main functions from there to the new districts. New roads connecting the old city to the new districts were built. These new districts became attractive places for the city-dwellers. As well as the housing facilities, entertainment, shopping, and business facilities were introduced and established in these districts.

This increased growth and expansion in the city configuration was done without referring to the master plan. Here it should be stated that Nicosia is the only city in Cyprus which has a master plan, and which also received an important prize (2007, Aga Han Architecture Prize). The process of developing and designing a plan is fraught with difficulties due to the many faceted constraints. What is even more difficult is adhering to the strict rules of application in accordance with the plan.

Axes connecting the new districts have been generated. One of these newly formed axis, and maybe the most prominent one, is the Dereboyu axis. This axis has been developed running parallel to the river Kanlıdere (Figure 3). The axis is composed of the main avenue, and multi -functional commercial spaces, together with residential buildings attached to them. The avenue offers a random silhouette shape, with the buildings at various heights. This constitutes a problem regarding the city's image as stated in the part of the study, which deals with the social space theory. As stated by Carr et al. (1992), the aesthetic configuration of cities should also vary from other types of settlements. This is a problem related to the new formation of the city.

The functions are taking place on the axis randomly. The one in the other relationship between the houses and the other functions creates another problem, especially in terms of the comfort of the district dwellers. Despite these deficiencies, the district remain attractive to the public. The famous brand names, the entertainment and leisure facilities, all suitable for the current public taste and the social requirements, find their place on the district arbitrarily. Therefore they partly meet the socializing needs of the citizens. However this is just a partial fulfillment, because together with the high quality of these buildings, there should be an overall design plan for the district with the subfunctions like carparks, squares, and functional adjustments included. Some of these requirements attempt to be resolved by the individual efforts of commercial users (Figure 4). The absence of car parks is clear. But a bits and pieces approach is not enough to construct a healthy city image. Without a holistic approach, chaos is inevitable.

In particular, the houses on the main axis have been converted into shops, restaurants, cafes, and the like (Figure 5). This change has been a quick and unplanned one. Whilst some of the buildings have been fully transformed into another functional space, some have only been partially changed. This situation has resulted in the existing buildings demonstrating deficiencies, in terms of serving the new needs. (Figure 4).

In particular, car parking facilities; the physical deficiencies of buildings in terms of the fulfillment of the new functional requirements in re-use applications; undefined, insufficient, and poorly designed roundabouts that are required to undertake the function of offering a meeting space function are heading the list of negative aspects in respect of unplanned developments in the city of Nicosia. Also, an increase in the type and number of spaces having varied functions has led to an inefficient traffic system. As an interim remedy, the gaps between the avenue and especially the restaurants, bars, and cafes are being used as meeting points, by the public. In view of the fact that the presence of meeting points or social spaces, plays a very important role in the psychology of the community, the resultant chaotic nature of the district acts negatively in respect of the issue of meeting points.

The importance of the planned growth of cities is unquestionable. The fact that time brings changes, and the effects on the lifestyles of the city-dwellers is one of the most important aspects to be taken into account when the cities undergo a permanent growth increase. All the abovementioned identified problems in the respect of the creation of social spaces should be included within a holistic approach in urban design scale. Within this understanding, public spaces conveying physical, ecological, psychological, social, political, economic, and symbolic roles to the citizens should be given particular attention. As stated earlier, they are essential components for both mentally and physically healthy city populations and societies. A bits and pieces approach is inadequate in both analysing the problems and suggesting solutions to them. The determination of the problems in this section is followed by suggestions for their solution in the concluding part of this study.

## SUGGESTIONS AND CONCLUSION

The definition of the existing problems in terms of the creation of social spaces in the case of Nicosia city is multi-dimensional. The solutions, therefore, will, in this respect, be multi-faceted. Therefore, governmental bodies, design professionals, business administrators, city-dwellers, land owners, or all members of the community should be involved and integrated into the solution phase. With this in mind, the steps suggested are listed as follows:

- the existing river side and its immediate environment, which runs parallel to the main street, (Dereboyu), should be redeveloped, reorganized and re-designed for general use. This water element should also be integrated into the social activities in order to fulfill the meaning and value of the upgraded social spaces.
- Whilst the existing Dereboyu axis is used mainly for shopping functions, the river side could be used for recreational and entertainment activities.
- Nearby vacant land plots should be leased from the government and organized as parking places to solve the problems resulting from the vehicular traffic, which disturbs the meaning and usage of social spaces.
- National and/or international competitions should be organized to introduce professional designs into the city life and to attract designers into this valuable inherited cultural setting of the city of Nicosia.
- In this new configuration, special setups where the city-dwellers have the opportunity to perform physical, cultural, and artistic activities should be

organised and arranged; the problem or issue of the vehicle traffic limiting the location and performance of these activities should be addressed and solved using the contemporary tools available.

- Professional artists and their artwork, itself, should be integrated in this new configuration so that the city-dwellers can be encouraged to have access to and contact with art, which is one of the most important factors in transforming any settlement into a city.
- Without discriminating against age, gender, language, religion, race, and economical levels, all city-dwellers should have the possibility of having the opportunity to use the potentials of the city by 'just being a city-dweller', without having, eg to pay for them every time they want to use them.

Social spaces, as the heart of the dense texture of city life, are the most important constituent factors and should be given first priority within the construction, design and subsequent establishment of cities. In this study, the city of Nicosia has been the focus of consideration; it is clearly seen that as a result of the division of the city, the main axes leading to the public social spaces have been cut. This has resulted caused the city becoming paralysed, so to speak. The later development of newer axes, and the districts surrounding around them happened naturally in response to the demand made by the city-dwellers. This was an unplanned development in terms of urban aspects. The number of social spaces that were created as a result are insufficient. In this study, the most important of these axes, due to its common usage, has been considered. In particular, it is suggested that the potential of the existing water element running parallel to the existing axis be utilised in the developing aims. The functions can be diversified to fulfill the physical and psychological demands of the city-dwellers. This will support the integration of the qualitative aspects of natural elements into the busy working life of the city-dwellers, which will contribute to their satisfaction with the city environment in which they live.

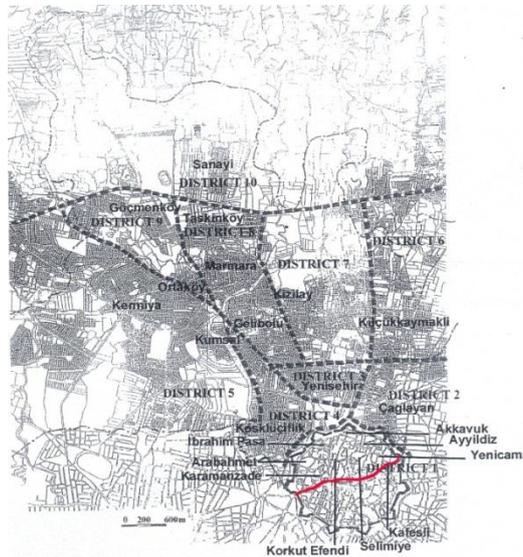


Figure 1 Divided (red) old walled city and new districts (modified from Faslı, 2003)

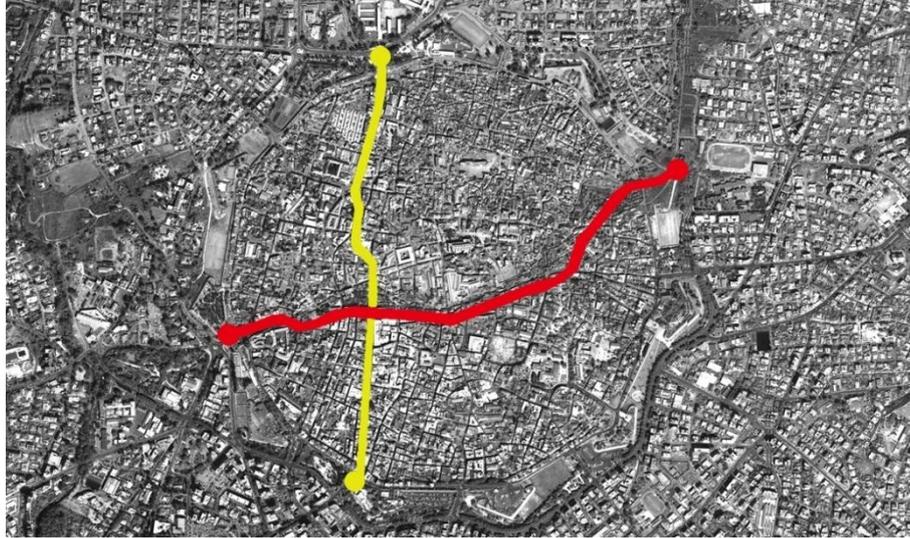


Figure 2 Main axis (yellow) and the division line (red) old city (modified from a satellite image)



Figure 3 Dereboyu axis (yellow) and Kanlıdere (blue) (modified from Faslı, 2003)



Figure 4 Parking problems have been tried to be solved individually



Figure 5 Old houses turned into a commercial public spaces

## REFERENCES

- Carr, S., Francis, M., Rivlin, L.G., Stone, A.M. (1992) *Public Space*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge; 3, 11.
- Czarnowski, T.V. (1978) The street a communication artefact, *On Streets*, ed. S. Anderson, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London; 207-211.
- Ercan, Z.M.A, (2007), "Public Spaces of Post-Industrial Cities and Their Changing Roles", *metu jfa*, 24/1, 115-137.
- Fasli, M., (2003) A Model for Sustaining City Identity, Case Study: Lefkoşa (Nicosia) in North Cyprus, unpublished PhD Thesis, EMU, Famagusta.

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

- Gehl, J. (1996) *Life Between Buildings: Using Public Space*, Arkitektens Forlag, Copenhagen.
- Gürkan, H. (1996), Kıbrıs Tarihinden Sayfalar, Galeri Kültür Yayınları, 67.
- Hoşkara, Ş.Ö. (1995), Arch 454 course notes, 20-26.
- Loukaitou-Sideris, A. (1993) "Privatization of Public Open Space". Town Planning Review 64(2); 139-167.
- Lynch, K. (1992) The openness of open space. *City Sense and City Design*, eds. T. Banerjee, M. Southworth, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London; 396-412.
- Madanipour, A. (1996) Design of Urban Space, John Wiley and Sons, England; 146-147.
- Madanipour, A. (1995) "Why are the Design and Development of Public Spaces Significant for Cities?", *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*(26) 879-891.
- Madanipour, A. (2000) Public space in the city, *Design Professionals and the Built Environment*, eds. P. Knox, P. Ozolins, John Wiley, New York; 117-125.
- Moughtin, C. (1999) *Urban Design: Street and Square*, 2nd edition, Architectural Press, Oxford, Auckland, Boston, Johannesburg, Melbourne, New Delhi.
- Newman, P. (1940), A Short History of Cyprus, London.
- Öngül, Z. & Günçe, K. (2006), 'Modern and Sustainable Function, Convenient Users' For Historical Houses at Divided Capital' Modern Asian Architecture Network Maan, the 6th International Conference Tokyo, November, Japan, 176-180.
- Rapoport, A. (1977) Human Aspects of Urban Form: Towards a Man-Environment Approach to Urban Form and Design, Pergamon, New York.
- Thompson, I.H. (1998) Landscape and urban design, *Introducing Urban Design*, eds. C. Greed, M. Roberts, Longman, Essex; 105-115.
- Tibbalds, F. (1992) Making People-Friendly Towns: Improving the Public Environment in Towns and Cities. Harlow, Essex: Longman; 1.
- Walzer, M. (1986) Pleasures and costs of urbanity. *Dissent*, Public Space: A Discussion on the Shape of Our Cities Fall: 470-475.

### Internet Sites

[www.art.net/~hopkins/Don/simcity/manual/history.html](http://www.art.net/~hopkins/Don/simcity/manual/history.html)



## CULTURAL HERITAGE, URBAN PROJECTS AND PLANNING LEGACY: AN IMPLICIT NORMATIVE DIMENSION IN URBAN SPACE OF RIO DE JANEIRO CENTRAL AREA

Andrea SAMPAIO, Prof.  
Universidade Federal Fluminense, Brazil  
andrea.rsampaio@gmail.com

### ABSTRACT

*The correlation of urban planning and heritage issues is discussed, in this paper, through the investigation of the normative dimension of urban projects and their influence on the spatial configuration of Rio de Janeiro's city centre. Cultural Heritage issues permeate the normative decisions of urban planning along the historic process of city space transformations. This area has been over regulated by urban ordinances and heritage legislation, besides has been object of urban renewal projects. A historic review on urban projects and plans from the perspective of urban ordinances, examines the consequences of urban renewal projects based on razing and redesigning of traditional urban tissue, inspired by the Modern City paradigm. The case studies focus on historical areas which would be bulldozed by one of these projects, and even though it had not been fulfilled, their social and physical structures have been altered, revealing the implicit normative dimension of the spatial configuration. This discussion summarizes the multiple challenges of urban conservation in central areas of contemporary city. Moreover, it reveals the conceptual changes in the 20th century urban theory paradigms and cultural heritage principles.*

### INTRODUCTION

The current spatial configuration of urban space derives from the sedimentation of settlements and interventions undertaken both in urban and architectural scales, whose tracks become relatively evident or concealed, in various levels, such as a palimpsest. Regarding the case of Rio de Janeiro city centre, there are traces of urban legislation prescriptions concealed on urban configuration, even when the ordinances are no longer in force. This assumption has motivated this paper, which presents a historic overview on urban projects and plans from the perspective of urban ordinances, searching for their impacts on urban space, by correlating changes in normative dimension with other elements of urban dynamics, particularly heritage conservation issues. Thus, the discussion expects to contribute to the understanding of the complex dynamics of preservation and development of a historic centre, pointing out some constraints for its rehabilitation.

As current in contemporary central areas of great cities, a plethora of urban ordinances generates an overlay of regulations applied into urban tissue. Being firstly Central Business District (CBD), and more recently Cultural Heritage Preservation Site, the city centre has been over regulated by an association of zoning, building regulations and heritage norms, besides has been object of bulk urban projects. Its urbanization process has abruptly changed its spatial configuration, by implementing motorways and redevelopments, shaping continuities and discontinuities into urban tissue.

Various studies have been carried out on central areas which have been object of clearance by urban renewal projects in Brazil and worldwide<sup>1</sup>. But those drastic projects do leave traces even when they have not been implemented. Condemnation, blighting, underused spaces are some of the noticeable repercussions which devalue the properties and threaten the resident population of those areas. In this sense, this paper brings to light a case study at Rio de Janeiro central area, which would be renovated by an urban project – the North-South Avenue - which has been revoked. Although that area has endured, and nowadays is a preservation site, its social and physical structures have been altered since the area was condemned by the Reidy's Modern project in 1949.

The successive urban ordinances applied to the city centre, combined with urban projects, have configured the current urban space. Heritage protection zones were established in the mid-1980's and 1990's. Since then, urban preservation is assured, on paper, but it is not enough, as the area needs rehabilitation efforts. Hence, it seems relevant, to correlate urban planning and heritage issues by situating heritage – its demolition or preservation – as one of the normative decisions by urban designers and urban planners.

At first the methodological approach is presented, then the contemporary situation of the city centre is outlined, to situate the research viewpoint, for then trace the historic process of urban legislation and projects, analysing spatial configurations conceived by projects and norms, in relation to the actual ones. Finally, heritage concerns are articulated to the area historic urban process.

## THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

This paper brings partial results from the research "Urban legislation and Cultural Heritage: cartography of the Urban Central Area of the city of Rio de Janeiro"<sup>2</sup>. The study comprises the area where the city original settlement was located (until the XVIII century), which corresponds nowadays to Central Business District (CBD) and its expansion area. The investigations have been undertaken through the interpretation of historical cadastral maps and Street Alignments Projects, correlated to iconography and field survey, providing a comparative analysis of local urban tissue transformations along the XX century. Mapping has been, thus, an analytical tool, besides a product of the research.

The historic survey on Street Alignments Projects has been an invaluable research source, providing an inventory of non-executed urban projects for the study area. This survey has revealed projects of urban renewal based on bulk redevelopment of traditional urban tissue, inspired on Modern city model paradigm. The case study of the North-South Avenue was selected for the magnitude of its proposal of urban renewal, partially implemented, for the diverse conditions of the affected areas, and moreover, for the cultural significance of those areas.

---

<sup>1</sup> One of notorious works is Jacobs (1961) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Rio de Janeiro. For Rio de Janeiro's case of Catumbi district, see Santos, C. N. F. et alii. (1985). *Quando a rua vira casa*. São Paulo: Projeto, 1985.

<sup>2</sup> Coordinated by the author, this research is developed at UFF – Universidade Federal Fluminense - and has received financial support by FAPERJ (State of Rio de Janeiro Research Agency), besides an undergraduate scholarship from CNPq (National Research Council)/ UFF.

The morphological approach of this research has the support of Panerai's (2006) methodology of urban analysis, which regards the city growth process in order to describe contemporary challenges of urban planning. According to his theories, the historical investigation of the growth process is based on regulator elements, which either direct or constrain it. This method can be associated with the viewpoint of Grumbach (1996)<sup>3</sup>, who summarizes the inherent phenomena of a city change process in the expression "dialectics of constraints". Physical limits, enclaves, land reserves, regulations, would be restrictions or constraints to be overcome by the city growth process, directed from necessities dialectics and their subsequent reorganizations. For Grumbach, as well as in this study, "*the normative constraint is so important as those relative to city materiality*"<sup>4</sup>.

The comprehension of the plurality of urban tissue City Centre is an indispensable background for this research, for being the territory upon which normative parameters have been applied. Therefore the transformations of the study area are examined through morphological analysis in order to investigate: the role of public space in tissue organization and in tracing permanence; the importance of land subdivision as an edification ground; the recognition of pre-existing elements in distinct analytical scales: district and street. Therefore the notion of urban process guides this research to deal with urban space through a dynamic perspective.

## CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES OF THE HISTORIC CENTRE

The controversies of the City planning process are materialized in situations of blighted areas and urban voids side by side to valued corporative towers, cultural facilities and preserved areas. The emptying process of the city centre derives from the contemporary urbanization model grounded on urban sprawl that conducted to the obsolescence of the central area. Moreover, not only the centre, but the city itself was considered archaic – for the so-called "Country of the Future" – when the Brazilian Capital was transferred from Rio to Brasilia in 1960<sup>5</sup>. Several institutions moved from the city, causing many vacant buildings, which remain as so until nowadays.

Whereas the city has expanded towards periphery, the transport system has remained insufficient, but expensive, for the growing demand. This conjuncture brings about a chaotic traffic besides parking place demand. Moreover, there is a pent-up demand for housing signed by occupations of old town houses in degraded conditions.

The debate over the directions of Rio de Janeiro central urban area of is on the current agenda of Public Authorities, Architects Associations and Academy. The area is object of a Federal Government Program for the Rehabilitation of Urban Central Areas and the Docklands region has been contemplated with an updated plan, nominated as *Porto Maravilha* – the Wonderful Port.

---

<sup>3</sup> Grumbach, A. (1996). "A dialética das restrições ou como se faz uma cidade", *RUA* Revista de Urbanismo e Arquitetura 6, 74-79. Traduced from Grumbach, A. (1994) 'La dialectique des contraintes - ou comment se fait la ville' *Le Débat* 80, 140-145.

<sup>4</sup> Grumbach, A. (1996). *Op.cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Rio de Janeiro was the Federal District until 1960. From 1960 until 1975 it was Guanabara State. From 1975 onwards it is a Municipality. The variation of political status is reflected on the plethora of urban ordinances. See Sampaio (2006).

The central area of Rio de Janeiro has been the most regulated region along the historic process of urban planning of the city as it will be presented further. Despite that, the urban legislation currently in force - the so-called Centre's Law<sup>6</sup> - is lagged, as it was edited in 1994 as a transitory purpose, meanwhile there would be formulated the Local Plan, which has not been accomplished, although prescribed by the City Major Plan (1992). This Law has been reasoned to foster the revitalization of the area, by permitting mixed land uses, particularly housing, which had been restricted since the 1970's decade.

The Historic Centre's cultural heritage deserves notability from the viewpoint of protection policies in relation to urban legislation. Besides zoning ordinances, there are in force, in the study area, five Cultural Heritage Preservation Areas<sup>7</sup>, which protect a significant building stock, besides Listed Monuments at Federal, State and Municipal levels.

Comprising both Central Business District (CBD), and Cultural Heritage Preservation Sites, this area continues to suffer the pressures of development against preservation. Whereas certain sectors have been revitalized following a contemporary model of patrimonialization<sup>8</sup> and globalized places, much of the city core fringes had undergone a decaying process. Thus, there are kinds of oasis of hi-tech cultural centres in restored buildings, as well as poorly preserved housing. Closer to docklands region, there are great extensions of urban voids, derelict lands and underused warehouses<sup>9</sup>.

## A HISTORICAL REVIEW: LEGISLATION AND URBAN PROCESS

Revisiting the urban evolution of the city, it is verified an increasing role of urban ordinances from the beginning of the twentieth century. As the most regulated area of the city, the centre has been successively object of urban ordinances, since the city first zoning (1924), up to 1970 functionalist zoning ordinances. These overlapping of guidelines have configured the central urban space as the most dense and high-rise of the city, until heritage protection zones were designated in the 1980's and later extended in the 90's.

The precursory norms had been generated for hygienists<sup>10</sup> concerns in the early decades of 1900's, aiming at controlling the growth mode of the city, with particular attention to healthy issues of housing, to the sanitation of marshy lands and the urban ventilation, supposedly hampered by the narrow streets from the urban colonial fabric. Series of urban ordinances have determined that the so-called "dirty" uses<sup>11</sup> and the proletarian tenements should be expelled from the urban area towards the outskirts. Whereas this has gradually occurred in obedience to the norms, it has definitively been eliminated by the urban reforms for opening the two main avenues in city centre: Rio

---

<sup>6</sup>The Law 2236/ 1994 was edited to revoke the 1976 Zoning ordinances in the City Centre..

<sup>7</sup> Besides Corredor Cultural, there are the following APAs: Docklands region SAGAS (Lei 971/1987 and dec. 7351/1988); Cidade Nova and Catumbi (dec. 10040/1991); Cruz Vermelha (dec. 11883/1992); Teófilo Otoni/ São Bento Monastery (dec. 16419/1997).

<sup>8</sup> Concept worked by Choay (2001), among others.

<sup>9</sup> About Urban voids, see Borde (2006).

<sup>10</sup> This followed an international concern, as discussed by Benevolo (1994). *As origens da urbanística moderna*. Lisboa: Presença. About this matter, see Abreu (1988), Sampaio (2006), among others.

<sup>11</sup> Such as slaughter house, stables, tanneries, port activities.) See Sampaio (2006).

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

Branco – formerly Central (1903-1906) and President Vargas (1941-1944). The suburban areas have received, then, population groups and crafts activities which were banned from the central area<sup>12</sup>.

This situation is affiliated to the implementation of the project of modernity, from which practical dilemmas emerge: how could a new world be created without destroying much of the existing one? Harvey (1992) introduces the image of the “creative destruction” for the understanding of this impasse of modernity. This expression would encompass the significant concern with remodelling the cities, for hygienist reasons, over all, evidenced throughout the XIX century. It can be included in this model, for instance, the Reform of Paris, which became a model for others in various places, including the ones in Rio. In this model, the normative dimension was distinguished mainly through aesthetic concerns with the valuation of monumental perspectives and façades.

The primacy of the “functional city” ideals have emerged with the Modern City paradigm<sup>13</sup>, when the notion of progress related to a city model has its peak. The ordination idea defended by Le Corbusier has decisively influenced the paradigm of modern city, which culminated in the extreme regulation of building and land use. The urban ordinance has played a major role in ensuring the implementation of such guidance criteria and the current spatial configuration is a legacy of this conjuncture.

The modernist city comprises project and norm, praises the monumentalization of the construction, the segregation of the activities, the isolation of the architectural forms and the condemnation of past forms<sup>14</sup>. The complete razing of large parts of the city, as a *tabula rasa* operation to build anew, was defended by CIAM<sup>15</sup> and put into Urban Renewal projects and practice in western cities<sup>16</sup>. The Project of North-South Avenue is one of these exemplar cases.

Following this trend, these principles have guided comprehensive urban projects from the 1940’s until the 1970’s decade in Rio. Yet functionalist zoning ordinances were effectively edited in 1970, which determined segregated zoning. Since then, residential use has been restricted in central area, despite the significant traditional town houses presence and some multi-family housing located in core periphery. Because of that, there were no real estate housing developments in CBD area, provoking a population loss in the area, the decaying of existing town houses and the densification of existing urban slums. Nevertheless, this condition has avoided renovation and promoted urban preservation, even though buildings were not legally protected.

---

<sup>12</sup> See Sampaio (2006). For more details on President Vargas Avenue, see Borde A., Sampaio, A., Cabral, M.C. “A Historical Approach of Avenida Presidente Vargas (Rio de Janeiro) Project: challenges and controversies towards a responsive future. 14<sup>th</sup> IPHS 2010; and Borde (2006).

<sup>13</sup> See Villaça (1999).

<sup>14</sup> See Panerai (1996).

<sup>15</sup> “The theme of the 4th CIAM Congress (1933) was “the Functional City”. The solutions for urban problems discussed on the event were summarized on a manifesto known as “The Athens Charter”, written mostly by Le Corbusier.

<sup>16</sup> About Urban renewal projects in USA and Europe, see Kostof (1992).

## NORMATIVE URBAN RENEWAL: STREET ALIGNMENTS DESIGN

Following a Modern City bias reasoned on circulation, urban projects and zoning ordinances were formulated to the city of Rio. Among those, Street Alignment by-laws, known as P.A.s - Alignments Projects - are urban ordinances which design new alignments to widen the streets, according to a traffic planning logic, by determining the demolition of existing urban quarters. The new alignments traces are observable as new buildings are constructed following the larger setbacks from the street. This new configuration breaks the former continuous alignment, changing the relationship between architecture and public space.

There must be distinguished two situations of P.A.s - Alignments Projects: i) when new alignment is established progressively, in a piecemeal redevelopment as each property is demolished and a new one is built; ii) when the redesign is proposed by an urban renewal project. Whereas the first one depends on the property's owner interest, the second depends on public management and usually occurs at once.

In the first situation, a paradox can be depicted: some buildings have been preserved by the PA, like in figure 1. As according to the new alignment, construction has become unfeasible in small lots, the PA avoids demolition of certain old town houses. Even though anachronistic, many of these P.A.s had been in force until preservation legislation had revoked them.



Figure 1: The Passos Ave.: Old town house has endured the new alignment of blocks with pilotis. [photo A. Sampaio, 2008]

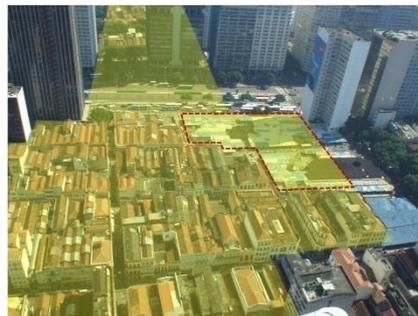
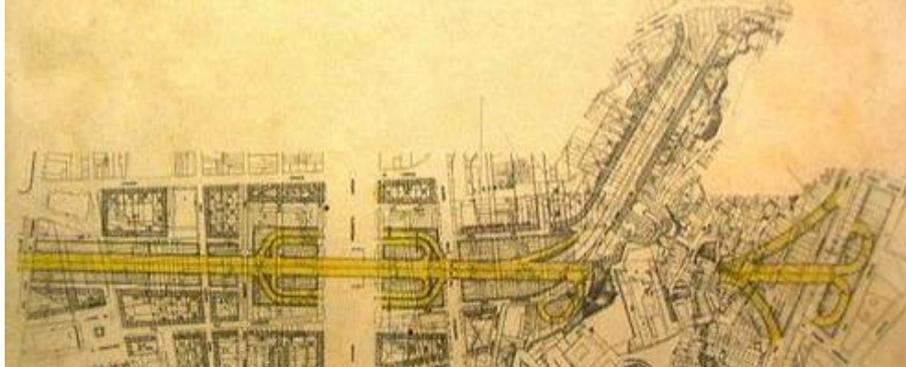


Figure 2: The SAARA Preservation Area. In yellow, the demolition trace of the PA. The red line is the popular market, placed at a razed area. The high-rise blocks are at the Pres. Vargas Ave. [photo IPP/ RJ, 2005]

The second situation brings to discussion the case of North-South Avenue (figures 2 and 3), a massive urban renewal project designed by Affonso Eduardo Reidy and Hermínio de Andrade e Silva from the City Urbanism Department in 1949. Guided by Modern City precepts on the major role of circulation, a new road system is projected and gives place to new housing and institutional blocks. As a complement to the urbanization of Santo Antonio Esplanade, this project razes the historic Santo Antonio Hill and connects it to the Docklands region through elevated motorways and a tunnel crossing the Conceição Hill. All the surroundings extension along the motorway would be cleared, sweeping away traditional urban quarters as seen in figure 2.



*Figure 3: North-South Avenue project (PA 5029) by City Urbanism Department (1949);. The yellow trace shows the proposed demolitions; the vertical void is Pres. Vargas Avenue just opened (1941-44).*

This project was disapproved by the City Major Mendes de Moraes, in 1950, for its high costs. The Major censured its damage for the city centre townscape and ordered the project revision. Meanwhile the menaces of removal have hovered the region for a decade. Great part of these urban quarters which would be cleared, have lodged traditional trades and shops lead by immigrants.

The removal menace has gathered the traders of the region to associate themselves against the project, creating then the SAARA, initially as an association for the defense of its businesses and today a reference of popular bazaar in the city centre. Finally, in 1963 the SAARA traders convinced the Governor Carlos Lacerda to revoke the project by deviating its tracing and to execute only the part of the Esplanade. Thus, social engagement claims for preservation have been effective in avoiding the demolitions.

The quarter of SAARA bordering President Vargas Avenue – the main artery of city centre- where the North-South Avenue would cross it, have remained vacant. They had already been cleared for the opening of the Avenue and remained unoccupied for this PA. Nowadays these sites place a Popular Market, gathering messy stalls (figure 2).

Nevertheless, the urban quarters of the north side of President Vargas, at the bottom of Conceição Hill the situation is diverse. These quarters had already remained apart from the major commercial area for the opening of President Vargas Avenue. Less vitality, less social engagement and commercial cohesion have accelerated the decaying caused by the condemnation of urban quarters, which turn to be abandoned by the landowners, turning the buildings deteriorated and underused. Even though this area has been preserved since 1988, nowadays most of the old town houses lodges inappropriate activities such as parking and storage inside them.

Although the project has not been fulfilled, the social and physical structures of the place have been altered by this uncertain destiny, revealing its implicit normative dimension. This investigation elucidate the current stagnation of this particular heritage area, which would be bulldozed for its urban configuration been considered inappropriate for a CBD by the planners of then.

## HERITAGE AS AN URBAN ISSUE: RENOVATION X PRESERVATION

Standing at a contemporary viewpoint, the case of this Modernist project reveals situations where present pasts confront legacies from a period ideologically energized by present futures<sup>17</sup>. From these clashes, it is possible to highlight the correlation of urban planning and heritage issues by investigating the conditions that Heritage emerges as an issue, as being an obstacle or as a goal for urban planning. Thus, the decision for demolition or preservation of ancient elements is one of the normative decisions that has shaped the contemporary townscape. In practice, the Heritage Authority evaluates ancient sites, urban ensembles and buildings seeking to identify those who embody cultural heritage interest. That is a conceptual discussion founded on the placement of values, according to the current Heritage notion of each time.

A crucial point here is the understanding that the strategy of heritage's speech is based on the figure of loss<sup>18</sup> of cultural values, considered endangered or disappearing. Their permanence only could be assured through safeguard measures of protection, which have followed their current time paradigms, reflecting the urbanism model in force on that temporality. According to Choay (2001), preservation has always been in the opposite way from the prevailing urbanization process and that it was becoming an obstacle to urbanism reforms, that heritage has developed its conceptual identity in the XIX century.

As speech and representation of society, the Cultural Heritage concept has been enlarged throughout its historical trajectory. It can be summarized that Heritage notion was firstly valued for its artistic and historical aspects as National Monuments, assuming later the comprehensive notion of cultural heritage, encompassing architecture, sites and intangible goods. This conceptual shift has been expressed in the international scope through Heritage Charters since 1931, which posed statements in response to the current challenges of each time. Although those documents do not have legal force on heritage protection in Brazil, they had some influence on Cultural policies, even though with some delay.

It can be highlighted the contemporarity among the first Restoration Charter (1931) with the Italian *Restauuro* Charter (1932) and the Athens Charter from CIAM (1933). Thus, the 1930's was a turning point for city challenges, when the clashes between divergent visions of city. An urban scale approach only has been brought, in post-war context, in 1964, by the "Venice Charter", which remains a reference for its enlarged concept of historic monument, embracing also culturally significant modest urban or rural settings.

In the 1970's decade, the inseparably link of social component and physical structures have been supported internationally. This was ratified by the Amsterdam Declaration (1975), which recommends the insertion of preservation policies in regional urban planning, through the concept of Integrated Conservation, "*as a fundamental qualitative factor in the management of space*", which has grounded the current policies of Urban Rehabilitation. In addition, the "Recommendation of Nairobi" (1976) has criticized the urbanization model that seriously damage historic heritage under the pretext of modernization, besides the absence of an effective legislation concerning the

---

<sup>17</sup> Borrowing Huyssen's expressions. See Huyssen, A. (2000). *Seduzidos pela memória*. Rio de Janeiro, Aeroplano.

<sup>18</sup> Gonçalves (1996), *A Retórica da Perda*, conceived this speech as the *rhetoric of loss*.

architectural heritage and its relation to urban planning. Massive city areas adopted this predatory model, including Rio de Janeiro.

Although at National level Heritage protection was established in 1937, when there were listings of notable Monuments, only since 1965 there were listings at local level<sup>19</sup> and in the 1980's decade that Heritage protection policies have been comprised by the city urban planning. The assimilation of the later concepts in Brazil has been delayed for the Military Dictatorship and the lack of Heritage management framework in local authorities.

Rio de Janeiro city centre has experienced a pioneer policy, known as "*Corredor Cultural*"<sup>20</sup> – *Cultural Corridor*, which has become a paradigmatic experience for other cities. Thus, since the 1980's decade it has been established a process of urban heritage conservation through the demarcation of protection areas – APA - Environmental Preservation Areas. There were designated several APAs<sup>21</sup>, in central area, which accomplished to preserve traditional urban ensembles, despite of the difficulties on development control and rehabilitation actions.

In addition, the "Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas" - "the Washington Charter" (1987) has encouraged the involvement of the residents for the success of the conservation program. Yet, it is remarkable to note that the preservation policies in Rio, at municipal level, had already adopted this approach on APA and Cultural Corridor programs, even though it had not continued so forth.

These events of the 1980's were affiliated to the Post-modernism paradigm, which encompassed a memory cult, through cultural structures consumption as a critical reaction to Modernist model, as discussed by some authors<sup>22</sup>. Yet, in the 1990's, following the globalization model, the cultural approach passed to focus on opportunities of economical revitalization, in the sense that the appearance of historic city becomes *attraction-city*. These kinds of interventions have privileged the city centre -the most visible area - and punctual projects such as the restorations of historic buildings for Cultural Centres. Other preservation areas have been designated in the city, particularly in the city centre and South Zone.

The increasing engagement of society in heritage preservation may be perceived as a reaction of the globalization trend of homogeneous space. At this point it is relevant to remind Choay's criticism on the current heritage cult, conceived by her as a preservationist euphoria, which she refers as "Noah complex"<sup>23</sup>. This attitude devalue Historic Monument notion, turning heritage protection commonplace. Hence, it is important to highlight that the urban preservation struggle should be grounded on cultural significance<sup>24</sup> notion, according to the Burra Charter (1980).

---

<sup>19</sup> The city was then Guanabara State (1960 to 1975) and in 1965 was created a Heritage Department. On the Municipality, the legal framework was instituted in 1980.

<sup>20</sup> Started in 1979, the Zone is regulated by the Decree nº 4.141/1983 and Law nº 506/1984.

<sup>21</sup> For Santa Teresa (1984) and São Cristóvão (1986) districts and the docklands region, known as SAGAS Project, gathering the districts of Saude, Gamboa and Santo Cristo.

<sup>22</sup> Harvey (1993) has led this discussion.

<sup>23</sup> Choay (2001).

<sup>24</sup> According to ICOMOS Burra Charter (1980), *Cultural significance* means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations. Cultural significance is

Thus, regarding the study case, it can be posed that Reidy's project was future oriented and that erasing the city unworthy past was a goal, not a heritage issue. Hence, it can be depicted that the Heritage Notion behind that project is the one adopted by CIAM's in Athens Charter: the exceptional Monuments might stand, if they would not restraint the progress. This excuse has already justified –for the public good - the cancelation of the National Heritage register<sup>25</sup> of a Church and a historical Park in the case of the opening of the President Vargas Avenue, few years before. Although urban heritage has already aroused as an issue<sup>26</sup>, the Brazilian notion of heritage was much referred to Nationalist values, prevailing monumental architecture, especially religious buildings of baroque colonial style, neoclassical and modern architectures.

Much of the urban ensembles of city centre were built between the end of the XIX century and the beginning of the XX, affiliated to Eclectic architecture, which was barely regarded as heritage interest at National level, excepts if there were historic motivations. For the viewpoint of the Modernist urbanist, neither Eclectic architecture matters nor the resident population was appropriate to the commercial central area of the Federal Capital. It should be pointed out that the Brazilian Heritage Protection Service was initially formulated and managed by the Modernist exponents<sup>27</sup>. Thus, heritage valuation has been operated through a Modernist viewpoint.

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This research has disclosed some urban renewal projects based on bulk redevelopment of traditional urban tissue of the city centre, which seem unconceivable nowadays. This paper has raised a conceptual discussion grounded on a concrete situation, in order to provide analytical tools for understanding the complex dynamics of preservation and development of a heritage preserved area. It seems necessary to grasp the urban process which the area has undertaken, for realizing most of the hindrances for the area's rehabilitation. Normative tools have been applied on the area both for razing it and later for preserving it.

The conceptual course of this research demonstrates that it is necessary the articulation of urbanism, urban planning, urban law and cultural heritage. These findings contribute to the comprehension of the historic trajectory of Urbanism paradigms and instigate questions on the political and social conjunctures behind those technical projects.

As current urban city planning does not articulate sectorial policies as a whole, heritage norms are not effective in enable preservation conditions to the local. In practical terms, because there is not an effective mass transport solution, there is an increase of parking demand, becoming more profitable to maintain fake facades undercovering parking stations, even though preservation ordinances prohibit this use. It may be concluded that local legislation does not operate independently on the general one.

---

embodied in the *place* itself, its *fabric*, *setting*, *use*, *associations*, *meanings*, *records*, *related places* and *related objects*.

<sup>25</sup>Decree-law 3.866 from 1941.

<sup>26</sup>Choay (2001) cites the pioneer contributions of G. Giovannoni in the 1930's in Italy.

<sup>27</sup> Such as the architects Lucio Costa and Alcides R. Miranda, the poets Drummond and Mario de Andrade, among others.

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

The current absence of the City Land Use and an updated City Master Plan may provoke this dissonance between local legislations and the city context.

As it was shown, heritage is a key issue to gather morphological and planning matters, for its structural role in community's public space. Some important battles against the loss of properties and cultural references have committed social movement in Rio de Janeiro central area. This case fits on Choay's argument that urban conservation would not be a question to be formalized only by laws, but, primarily, should be an attitude of mentality formation (Choay, 2001). In this sense, the equation of preservation interests with contemporary urban interests should converge to integrated conservation policies, which take into account the lasting externalities of urban projects on urban areas.

### REFERENCES

- Abreu, M. A. (1988) Evolução Urbana do Rio de Janeiro. Jorge Zahar Edit, RJ
- Borde, Andréa L. P. (2006) Vazios urbanos: perspectivas contemporâneas. PHd Thesis PROURB, FAU/UFRJ
- Choay, Françoise (2001) Alegoria do patrimônio. UNESP, Baurú
- \_\_\_\_\_; Merlin, P. (2005) Dictionnaire de l'urbanisme et de l'aménagement. PUF, Paris.
- Fonseca, M. C. L. (1997) Patrimônio em processo: trajetória da política federal de preservação no Brasil. IPHAN/ UFRJ, Rio de Janeiro
- Harvey, D. (1992) A condição pós-moderna. Loyola, São Paulo.
- Kostof, Spiro (1992) The City Assembled: the elements of urban form through history. Thames and Hudson Ltd, Londres
- Panerai, P. (1996) A prática do urbanismo. RUA: Revista de Urbanismo e Arquitetura, n. 6, 66-73.
- Panerai, Philippe et alli. (1999). Analyse Urbaine. Marseille, Ed. Parentheses
- Reis, J. de O. (1977) O Rio de Janeiro e seus prefeitos. V. 1. Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro.
- Sampaio, A. R. (2006) Normas Urbanísticas e sua Influência na Configuração Espacial: o caso de São Cristovão. PHd Thesis PROURB, FAU/ UFRJ.
- Villaça, Flávio. (2001) Espaço Intra-urbano no Brasil. Studio Nobel, São Paulo.



## AN “AREA-BASED APPROACH” IN URBAN REGENERATION PROJECTS: KONYA SAMPLE

Neslihan SERDAROĞLU SAĞ, Research Assistant  
Selcuk University, Turkey  
neslihanserdaroglu@gmail.com

### ABSTRACT

*For metropolitans, regeneration areas are actually the most expensive and time-consuming regions where local authorities have to exert the highest efficiency. Depending on the nature and prevalence of urban problems, the establishment of urban regeneration programs for different regions will assure the success of the projects. At this point, area-based regeneration programs are gradually becoming more of an issue in terms of creating attractive societies. Area-based approaches are integrated approaches generally emphasizing on extensive regeneration and including the physical and environmental regeneration of old places as well as economic and social regenerations. Site-specific approaches, compared to area-based approaches, generally foreground market-oriented projects that are involved with approaches, which consider economic results with a narrow-scope and limited environmental purposes in addition to given particular importance to short term effects.*

*In this study, which is organized around a ‘process analysis’ and a ‘descriptive analysis’, the development of ‘urban regeneration’ concept is examined, firstly, in the planning process of an urban area in Konya, Turkey. Then, 23 regeneration projects which are located within the borders of the metropolitan municipality and three central provincial municipalities are going to be classified as area-based or site-specific projects. The classified projects are going to be examined in accordance with the criteria determined as “their locations, size of area, current situation of the projects, decision mechanism – their legal basis, their actors”. Determining the regeneration projects, their qualities and the policies adopted, putting forward the changes caused in the urban area of Konya and also the problems and benefits in the city constitute the basic output of the study. Classification of these area-based projects, which were chosen from the Konya city centre according to these basic approaches, is the primary method.*

*Based on theoretical and practical inferences, urban regeneration is going to be evaluated, and advantages and contradictions it created in terms of urban development are to be examined.*

### INTRODUCTION

Our cities, especially our metropolitans have been subjected to social and economic pressures in the last few decades and many urban environments have been affected by this situation. Consequently, the number of people devoid of high quality of life in older urban districts has risen. As current positive approaches, regeneration projects were carried out in order to create sustainable societies and spaces by means of multi-partnered programs. Urban regeneration policies have changed in parallel with different focus implementations and different times; however, all of them have been united under one umbrella of the key approach of ‘creating sustainable societies’ (McDonald, Malys and Maliené, 2009).

The new and integrated policies formed in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century allowed for the establishment of the principles of design dominance, economic power, environmental responsibility, good management and social welfare in urban regeneration. The idea of sustainable societies accelerated urban regeneration and has become the main content of all of the regeneration schemes (Edger and Taylor 2000; McDonald, Malys and Maliené, 2009).

For our country which has a quite problematical urbanization history in terms of generating livable urban areas, restructure of urban areas via regeneration is a social and spatial necessity. The implementations to solve this necessity require to be discussed holistically with social, economic, cultural and physical aspects (TMMOB, 2009).

Depending on the nature and prevalence of urban problems, the establishment of urban regeneration programs for different regions will assure the success of the projects. Area-based regeneration program is a concept gradually gaining significance in terms of creating attractive communities (Dobbs and Moore, 2002).

Konya is one of the historical cities in the process of metropolitanization, with an approximate population of 1.000.000, and also the 7<sup>th</sup> biggest city in Turkey. *Regeneration and renewal projects at the city center have accelerated with the beginning the metropolitanization process.* Especially in the last decade, regeneration has become mandatory at and around historical city centre (borders of 1946 city plan) with the arise of problems such as lack of infrastructure, density expectations at the city centre, consolidation of buildings and transmission of the upper-income groups to the borders of the city. Several projects have started in this period.

Making a brief evaluation of the new area-based approaches on the regeneration areas of Konya and to organizing a perspective with regards to the future projects are the primary purposes of this study. In the first part of the study and within the framework of these purposes, differences between the site and area-based projects will be analyzed with reference to the concept of area-based urban regeneration. After this brief conceptual evaluation, the planning process of Konya city and its effects on the development of urban regeneration will be discussed within the case study in the second part. Information about area size, legal basis, and current situation and function changes related to Konya urban regeneration areas is given. A further evaluation is made in the framework of the general characteristics of area-based and site-specific approaches. In the scope of the findings obtained from case study, the study is concluded by determining regeneration projects, qualities and adopted policies, revealing the changes occurred in Konya urban areas.

## METHODS OF THE STUDY

Research methods included literature review, document search and observation. The study is a descriptive one containing qualitative analysis formed by literature research. In the first part, the concept of area-based regeneration will be investigated with reference to current literature. Konya city planning and urban regeneration operations will be evaluated following a process analysis. This study, which is a product of area work, is doubtlessly a study that is supposed to prepare the way for analytical evaluations. The evaluations intended for urban regeneration samples in question are unique examples that can pioneer the subject of urban regeneration approaches. The

significance of this kind of experimental studies, which will enable political expansion regarding the capacity for adaptation of urban social and spatial developments, cannot be denied.

## CONCEPT OF URBAN REGENERATION AND INTRODUCTION TO AREA-BASED REGENERATION

Urban Regeneration has been 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, Sykes et al., 2000)

The term “Urban regeneration” evolved after the Second World War in Europe and Britain, mainly due to post-war decline of industries. Since then, government policies have been focusing on urban regeneration to achieve better society (McDonald, Malys and Maliené, 2009). Concept of area-based regeneration originated during the 1930s with the beginnings of regional policy.

Roberts (2000) categorized the main themes from 1950s to 1990s. Referring to categorization, in 1950s the main themes were reconstruction of older areas and towns and cities based on a master plan and suburban growth. In 1960s, 1950s theme continued and some attempts of rehabilitation were made. 1970s focused on in situ renewal and neighborhood schemes and suburban development continued. In 1980s, flagship projects, major schemes of development and redevelopment which aimed mostly at improving the economic competitiveness of cities were developed. In 1990s, a more sustainable approach, i.e. urban regeneration, was adopted. A more comprehensive form of policy and practice was enhanced and more emphasis on integrated action was given. Today, urban regeneration aims to address issues that are associated with change in the economy and employment, economic competitiveness, social exclusion, community issues, vacant and deteriorated sites in cities, new land and property requirements, environmental quality and sustainable development (Turk, 2004; Roberts, 2000; Goksin and Muderrisoğlu, 2005).

In recent years it has been possible to identify a shift in political discourse as policy makers and practitioners have become concerned to facilitate the involvement of local people in the development of area-based regeneration initiatives, as they have recognized that renewal starts from a proper understanding of communities. Moreover, it is also clear that even when policy makers and practitioners attempted to adopt a more bottom-up, community centered approach to regeneration, the requirements on local authorities and other partners to involve local communities provided neither the time nor the resources to support this involvement (Taylor, 2000).

In relation to area-based regeneration it is useful to consider these forces within the context of national policy, partnership structures, levels of commitment to community empowerment, and community capacity (Dobbs and Moore, 2002). Shaw and Robinson (1998) comment that urban policy over the last twenty years has overlooked that “everything is inter-related”. Current area-based regeneration policies, then, are placed within a context of a growing “economic localism”. *“There remains a “closure of local politics” in which area-based strategies and funding continue to be defined by statutory bodies and are driven more by central government than the communities involved”*. Declare that, in common with other attempts at regeneration over the last

twenty years, the current raft of area-based policy initiatives are unable to achieve integrated local regeneration because administrators pay insufficient attention to wider structural reasons for deprivation (Chatterton and Bradley, 2000).

The spatial scale of urban regeneration programs and projects vary from local area-based approaches to broad national policies. Different kinds of problems need to be dealt in different spatial levels (Roberts and Sykes, 2000). Creating urban regeneration programs for different areas depending on the nature and the prevalence of urban problems may enable projects to be successful. An area-based strategy is the general concept which focuses on a spatial unit for urban regeneration (Gabrielsen, 2008). In area-based strategies, the investments which will allow for improving the conditions of life take place on the top. Area-based regeneration strategies are developed addressing to the problems in specific areas and they include subjects which aim at examining the area studies based on specific problems such as brownfield areas and squatter houses. In addition, they may aim at the opportunity areas like central business areas (url, 1; Dobbs and Moore, 2002). These areas are the places which require special care in a city and they are the potential attraction points which may enable a city to become more competent (Gabrielsen, 2008).

## AREA-BASED AND SITE-SPECIFIC REGENERATION APPROACHES

Urban regeneration programs and efforts that combined economic and environmental concerns, combined with more systemic comparisons of programs in different countries, suggest the possibility of distinguishing the methods and evaluative criteria of site-specific and area-based approaches. These differences are summarized in table 1.

When the objective functions are divided into three main dimensions as environmental, economic, and community, the differences become clearer;

- **“environmental objectives** are limited to those with immediate economic consequences in a site-specific program, while ecological concerns can enter into an area-based approach,
- **economic objectives** parallel the spatial focus, so off-site economic consequences- spillovers and externalities, and their associated opportunity costs- are of little concern in a site-specific focus, but relevant to the area-based efforts,
- **community objectives**, clearly are far narrower for the site-specific approach. Although the aggregate effects of successful redevelopment using this approach for a large number of sites in a neighborhood would tend to arrive at the objectives of the area-based regeneration in a community” (Meyer, 1998).

Site-specific approaches show confidence and trends in the market whereas area-based approaches provide public-private participations and public investment extended infrastructure services (Meyer, 1998). Site-specific approaches regard development problem as private, not public. Enabling public participation is not a primary aim.

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

Table 1. Objectives, methods and evaluative criteria for site-specific and area-based development efforts (Meyer, 1998).

Objectives, methods and evaluative criteria for site-specific and area-based development efforts		
objectives	Site-specific redevelopment	Area-based regeneration
Environmental objectives	Reduced human health risks, liabilities	Beter regional environmental conditions
Economic objectives	Tax base increase; job creation on-site	Improved area-wide attractiveness to capital
Community objectives	Removal of eyesores and abandonment; possibly local-and home ownership	Reduced community disamenities and specific economic improvements
Actual consultation on local community objectives	Minimal; as required by law with respect to community notice and consultation	Potentially extensive; (although development agency may listen but not act on local concerns)
methods		
Leads actor	Private developers	Public agencies and Quasi-public authorities
Public site assembly, preparation	Minimum necessary	Potentially extensive- to achieve area change
Public support mechanism	Direct subsidies, site rezoning	Complementary investments, planning changes
Evaluative criteria		
Time horizon	Short – completion of onsite development	Long- allowing time for expected spillover effects
Policy efficiency	Sales for cleanup and reuse generated, impact on site values and tax revenues	New capital flows into area; increase in area economic activity, incomes, and property values
Public efficiency	Minimum public sector expenditure	Maximum leverage on public funds
Public effectiveness	Rate at which private landowners market contaminated sites for reuse successfully	Increase in area economic activity, household incomes; reduction in area disamenities

**New area-based strategies have some important goals;**

Improving the expected employment rates

- Stimulating local economic growth
- Tackling or reducing crime and vandalism
- Improving the quality in the outdoor and physical environment
- Promoting social integration and increasing the social capital in the area
- Activating the population by cultural and sports activities
- Attaching the area to the rest of the city (Gabrielsen, 2008).

**Positive experience from area-based strategies**

- Cross-sectoral organizing has proven an important effort
- Certain problems can be reduced
- Stigmatization have, in some places, been reduced
- The inhabitants have often gained a stronger identity connected to the area (Tyler, 2008). This investigation showed that it is possible to achieve sustainable development projects with area-based approaches in urban regeneration.

## CASE STUDY

In this section, urban regeneration projects of Konya metropolitan area are examined in the light of the data obtained from conceptual background.

### *Urban Planning Process of Konya Metropolitan Area*

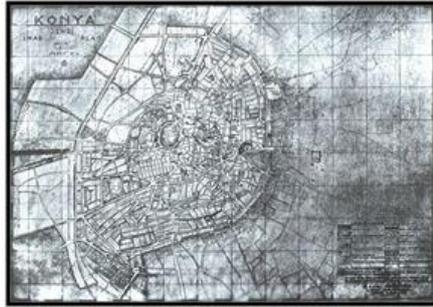
While Konya City had a compact structure at the beginning in terms of urban settlement area development, it followed an intense and linear development as of 1960s and a radial development via generating sub-centers after 1980. There are substantial evaluations related to Konya city planning process. (see in table 2, figure 1 and 2).

Table 2. Urban Planning Process of Konya Metropolitan Area

Plans	Authorized Planner	Direction of Proposed Development Plan	The Effect of The Plan on City Development	The Effect of The Plan on Urban Regeneration Process
1946 Structure plan	Asım Kömürcüoğlu	Settlement areas, spread to the east and south side of hill Alaeddin, New settlements are created in the west side of the city	New grid pattern has taken the place of Organic urban fabric in the traditional settlement area	To embrace western values, a modernization project meaning was applied to space regeneration
1954 Revision of Structure Plan	Ferzan Baydar Lale Baydar	City extended toward the northwest and southwest,	It's seen that historic buildings are demolished to build new apartments	New urban zoning movements" and 'urban renewal' applications came into the agenda
1966 structure plan	Yavuz Taşçı Haluk Berksan	Decision taken for development to North and South side of the city	Creation of new development areas	Prevention of slum areas occurred due to migration
1983 Land use plan	Yavuz Taşçı	A linear development to the north side of the city	The emergence of residential areas in the agricultural area, agricultural areas were put in danger	Comprehensive planning and zoning movement started.
1999 Structure plan	Yavuz Taşçı	Decision taken for Development to North -northeast and South- southeast.	Uncomplimentary implementations in plans	Market oriented strategies has expanded

In this process, Konya entered a planned period with Kömürcüoğlu's plan in 1946. While the implementations that are affected from the 'Beautiful City' trend were dominant in the areas opened for development in that plan, with the plan of Ferzan Baydar-Lale Baydar in 1954, urban renewal implementations were started and by demolishing the old fabric of the city, apartments were placed. Included in 1966 plan, attempts to determine the slum-prevention areas, which are the basis of carrying the social structure in regeneration of slum areas in 1980s, are remarkable. Heading towards 1980s, as a result of the authority of local administrations in planning, substantial reconstruction actions started and urban regeneration projects were put on agenda. In 1990s, partitive plan modifications emphasizing quantity rather quality in practice came to the fore and Konya city was also influenced deeply by this process. Along with the effect of strategic planning approach, urban regeneration projects have become a current issue. The fact that the urban regeneration areas turned into districts

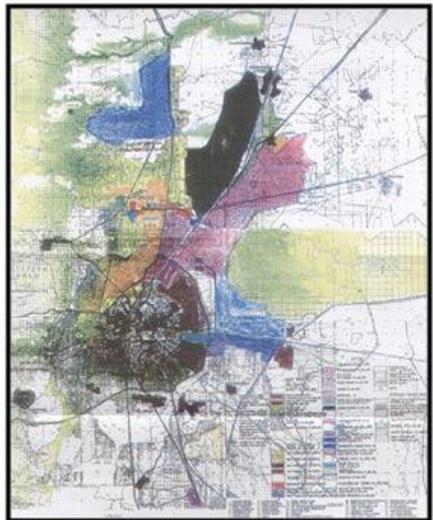
in 1960 while they were not even open for accommodation in 1946, shows that Konya confronted an urban growth pressure owing to rapid population increase.



1946 Structure Plan



1966 Development Plan



1983 Land Use Project



1999 Structure Plan

Figure 1. Urban planning study in Konya metropolitan area (archive of Konya Municipalities, 2009)

## FINDINGS AND CONTROVERSIES

23 areas, which are to be subjects of a regeneration project, have been determined in the light of the information gained from Metropolitan, Selcuklu, Meram and Karatay Municipalities (figure 2).

*When examined in terms of time*; the first regeneration in Konya took place in the vicinity of today's Municipality and Afra Shopping Center, which was implemented in 1985 after a few modifications in the 1966 planning. According to the examinations, the formation ideas of the areas in Konya city, which were already transformed or whose regeneration decisions were taken, are mostly based upon 1966 and 1983 plan decisions. The

reason for this situation is the argument that regeneration was necessary in order to meet the demands in the areas near city center.

*When examined in terms of location (figure 2);* it is seen that all of these areas are located in regions which are already blighted areas or have started to lose their function at the city center, or whose density should intensify due to urban development pressures. At this point, it is possible to claim that the determination of regeneration areas in Konya is positive.

*When examined in terms of the size (figure 3) of regeneration areas;* it is observed that regenerations were put into practice in distinct small areas (each of the thirteen out of twenty three regeneration projects in Konya covered approximately 1-5 ha) in general, and as I have mentioned above, this led to partial solutions without integrated relations. Besides, it was determined that the areas that are close to city center are smaller than those around the city borders.

It is seen that *Konya regeneration areas are declared as so according to different legal grounds (Figure 4)*. Only seven of these areas were declared as city regeneration areas in accordance with the Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 5216 (2004) and the Municipal Act, 5393 No. 69-73 (03.07.2005). In the other areas implementations were carried out in line with the Urban Improvement Law No. 3194 by means of modifications in the plan. This obviously shows us that several partitive changes were applied for short-term goals in Konya during the 2000s, and that the integrity of the plan could be damaged. Since these areas have different locations and qualifications, the authorities defined in these laws are adapted to the specific qualities of the areas.

*Regeneration areas differ in terms of the current processes and situations (figure 5)*. In nearly all of them, development changes have been made because development rights which are not included in the current development plans are considered necessary. In this respect, regeneration projects in industry zones and technical infrastructure areas have been completed, planning for blighted areas is finished and the implementations are still continuing. At the city center and around the city borders, rapid changes are seen after the initiation of the implementations. It is seen that the concept of urban regeneration came to the fore mostly after 1983 when the tendency to grow accelerated.

*When the functional (figure 7) changes of regeneration areas are examined;* In Konya, regeneration is generally needed in industry zones and these areas are transformed into housing and commercial places, and public institution areas are also turned into housing or commercial places, too. Regeneration from housing to housing generally aims renovation of the dilapidated and worn-out places; however regeneration in industry zones or public institution areas is predominantly rent-oriented (unearned income).

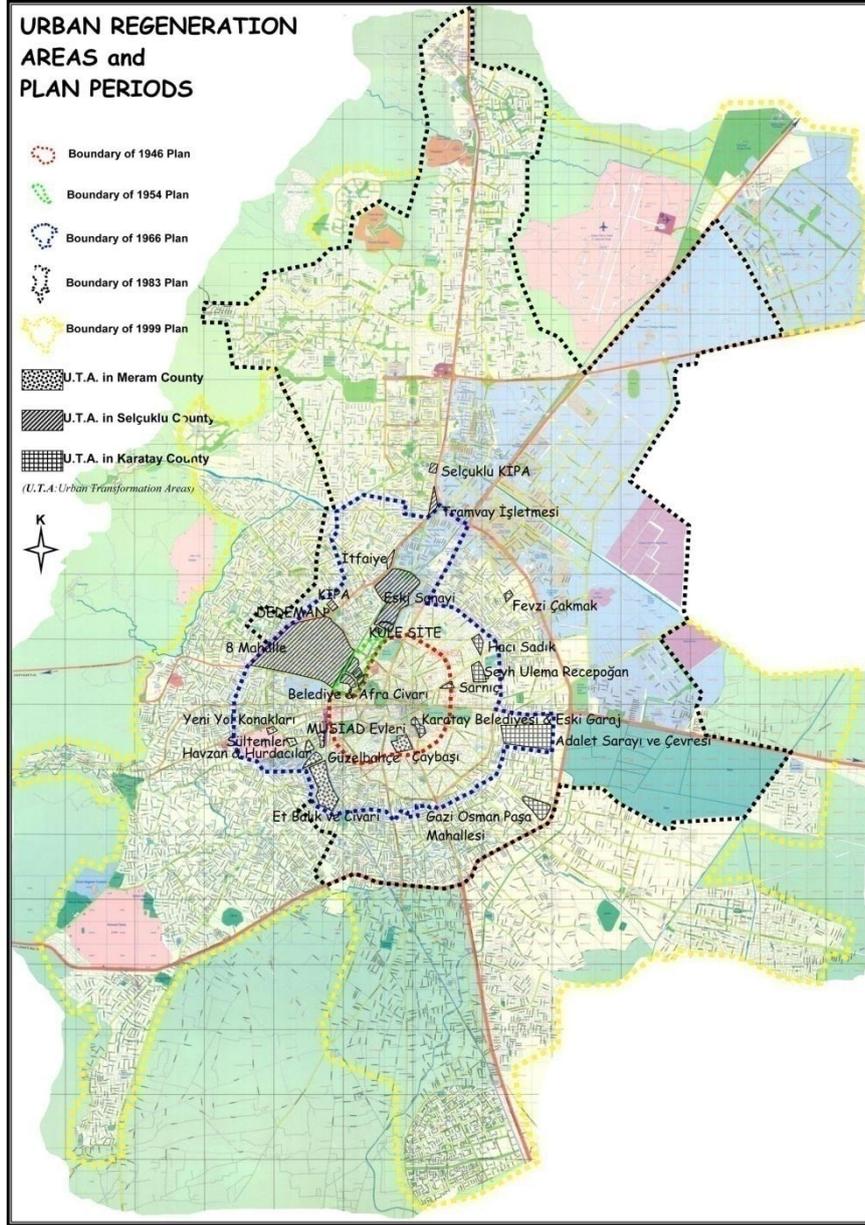


Figure 2: Urban regeneration areas and planning periods

In addition to the social costs which may be caused by urban regeneration projects, there is the danger of the extinction of public assets through the privatization of public areas.

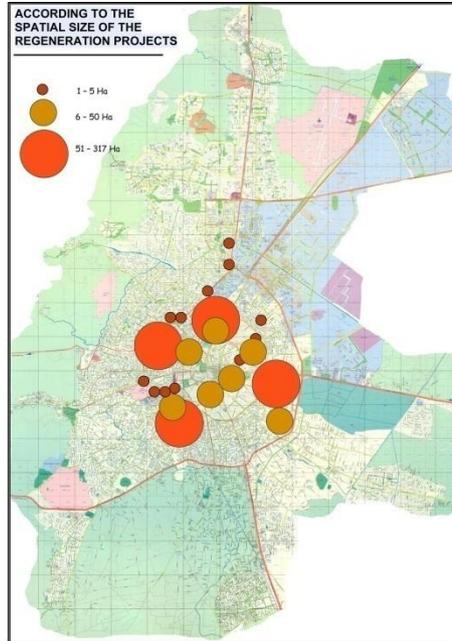


Figure 3: According to the spatial size of the regeneration projects

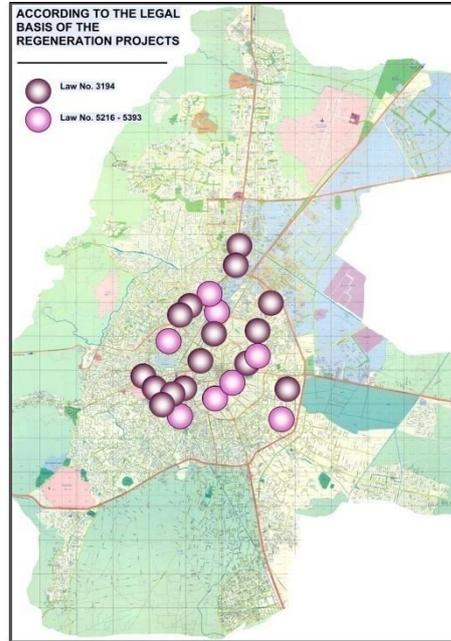


Figure 4: According to the legal basis of the regeneration projects

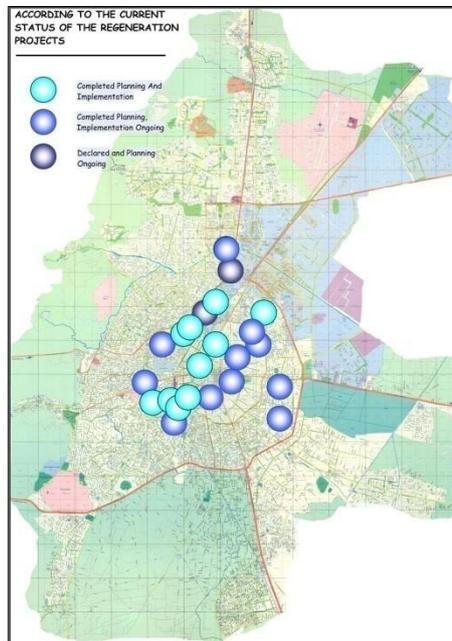


Figure 5: According to the current status of the regeneration projects

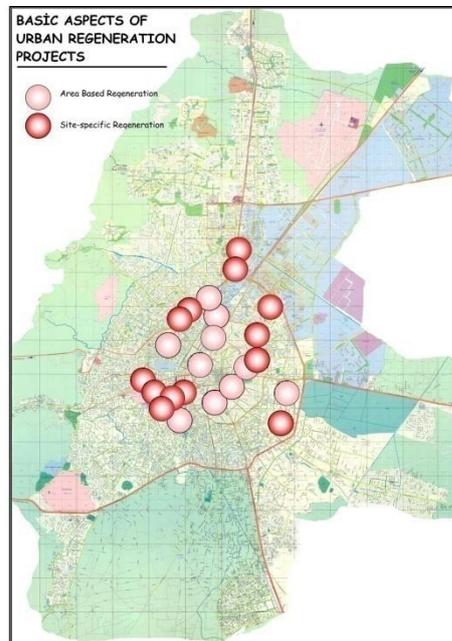


Figure 6: Basic Aspects of Urban Regeneration Projects

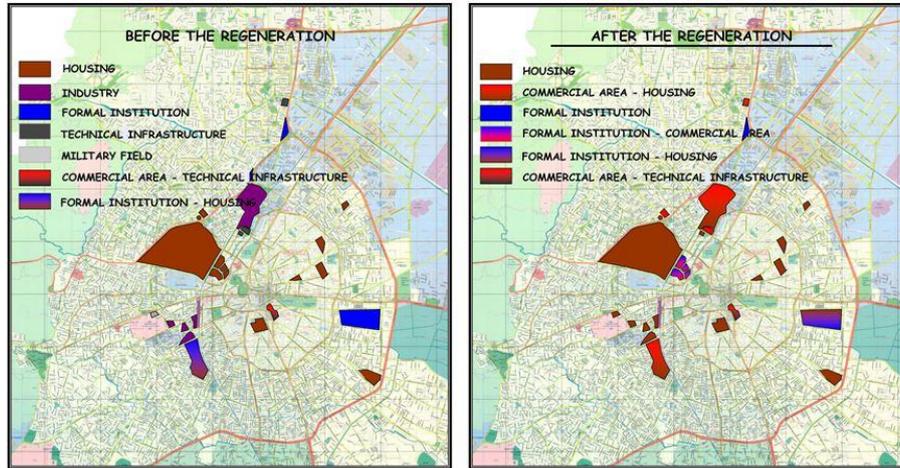


Figure 7: According to the modifications of the function of the regeneration projects

As it is known, public areas are important resources for planning and privatization of one of these areas can cause long-term damages to the structure of public utility services (Şahin, 2006). The most recent regeneration area is Karatay, being the oldest one in Meram; also, both new and old implementations are seen in Selçuklu.

Finally, when the participant actors are considered; it is seen that almost all the 23 participants use private (19 cooperative) initiative models, and the rest is municipality-private partnership. This proves that public-private partnership in Konya has not received enough attention as it has in foreign countries.

Konya city is going through a period when urban projects are changing the urban space. However the researches show that the number of holistic projects taken in terms of economic, social, and physical objectives is limited.

If we are to evaluate the regeneration projects in Konya, it can be concluded that most of the projects are carried out for economic gain and to stop physical decline. It is not possible to propound that a positive process is experienced in order to improve the quality of life and to activate and ensure the participation of the culture-based dynamics. While participation of regeneration models and all the actors in the process is, some decisions are still sudden and unexpected, and controlled in practice by the economically and politically powerful people. Konya city is going through a period when urban projects are changing the urban space. However the researches show that the number of holistic projects taken in terms of economic, social, and physical objectives is limited.

When Konya is investigated with respect to basic characteristics of urban regeneration areas (table 3) and categorized as area-based and site-specific projects (table 4 and figure 6), it is seen that site-specific projects are in the foreground.

This situation is important in that it illustrates the fact that regeneration areas are considered only in terms of their economic or physical conditions and their integrity with the surrounding texture is disregarded. Area-based projects, as they are defined in a conceptual framework, may result in more favorable outcomes in urban regeneration

projects; however those carried out in Konya should be re-evaluated within the framework of new area-based approaches.

Table 3. Basic aspects of urban regeneration projects

Regeneration areas	Actors	Economic objectives	Environmental objectives	Community objectives	Public support mechanism and efficiency	Time horizon
Around of Municipality and Afra	Public and private developers	Improved area wide attractiveness to capital	Reduced liabilities	Required by law, and minimum public participation	Complementary investments, planning changes max. Leverage on public funds	long
Kule Site	Public and private developers	Improved area wide attractiveness to capital	Reduced liabilities	Required by law, and minimum public participation	Sales for cleanup and reuse generated, impact on site values, min. Public sector expenditure	long
Kipa	Private developers	Improved area wide attractiveness to capital	-	-	Complementary investments, planning changes, min. Public sector expenditure	long
8 Mahalle	Public and private developers	Tax base increase, job creation on-site	Better design conditions	Public agencies and extensive local on community objective	Complementary investments, planning changes max. Leverage on public funds	long
Dedeman	Private developers	job creation on-site	-	-	Direct subsidies, Sales for cleanup and reuse generated, impact on site values, min. Public sector expenditure	long
Selçuklu Kipa	Private developers	Improved area wide attractiveness to capital	-	-	Direct subsidies, Sales for cleanup and reuse generated, impact on site values, min. Public sector expenditure	short
Sültemler, Karaciğın, Güzelbahçe, Havzan, Hurdacılar, Beyzade Evleri, Müsiad Evleri, Yeni Yol Konakları, Hacısadık, İtfaiye Alanı,	Private developers	-	Reduced liabilities	Required by law, and minimum public participation	Direct subsidies, Sales for cleanup and reuse generated, impact on site values, min. Public sector expenditure	short
Çaybaş, Etbalık and around, Karatay Municipality-Eski Garaj, Adliye ve çevresi, İstiklal Harbi Şehitliği, Sanayi Alanı,	Public and private developers	Improved area wide attractiveness to capital	Better design conditions	Public agencies and extensive local on community objective	Complementary investments, planning changes max. Leverage on public funds	long
Şeyh Ulema R. Fevzi Çakmak, Gazi Osman Paşa Mahallesi	Public and private developers	-	-	Required by law, and minimum public participation	Direct subsidies, Sales for cleanup and reuse generated, impact on site values, min. Public sector expenditure	short

Table 4. Area or site-specific regeneration projects of Konya

<b>Site Specific Regeneration Projects</b>	<b>Area Based Regeneration Projects</b>
Kıpa, Dedeman, Selçuklu Kıpa, İtfaiye Alanı, Sültemler, Karacıhan Topraksarı, Güzelbahçe, Havzan Hurdacılar, Müsiad Evleri, Yeni Yol Konakları, Hacı Sadık, Sarnıç, Şeyh Ulema Recepoğan, Gazi Osman Paşa Mahallesi	Around Municipality and Afra, Kule-Site, 8 Mahalle, Sanayi Alanı, Çaybaşı, Et Balık and around, Karatay Municipality-Eski Garaj, Devlet Üretim Çiftliği, İstiklal Harbi Şehitliği, Eski Adliye

## CONCLUSION

It is possible to claim that the regeneration projects in Konya are merely renovation-oriented and do not take much notice of the social structure. It is also observed that they are rigid urban projects targeting only at density and function regenerations in the name of regeneration projects. Various short-term projects have been designed which do not include an implementation concurrently involving the social, economic and physical conditions and which is income-centered. Moreover, these projects adopt a project-based approach targeting at the regeneration of physical environment, excluding area-based approaches.

As a result, implementation of plans, which are partitive in practice and disconnected with each other and with higher order plan decisions, started in Konya. These disconnected regeneration projects will inevitably yield negative results in terms of socio-spatial system, public interest and sustainable development. The content of the concept has been emptied in urban regeneration implementations; it has come to be perceived as a physical intervention.

Regeneration of cities calls for integrated approaches, rather than project-based ones. In urban regeneration projects, integral and strategic approaches along with participatory and sustainable planning principles must be adopted and regeneration projects must be focused on particular zones.

**Note:** This paper includes some parts of the PhD thesis Neslihan Serdaroğlu Sağ, which she is in the process of preparing at Selçuk University, Institute of Science and Technology. Thesis advisor is Prof. Dr. Aykut Karaman.

## REFERENCES

- Ann, N.B. and Bogart, W.T. (2001) "The structure of sprawl: Identifying and characterizing employment centers in polycentric metropolitan areas," The American Journal of Economics and Sociology 60, 1, 147-169.
- Chatterton, P. and Bradley, D. (2000) "Bringing Britain together? the limitations of area-based regeneration policies in addressing deprivation," Local Economy, 15: 2, 98 — 111.
- Dobbs, L. and Moore, C. (2002) "Engaging communities in area-based regeneration: the role of participatory evaluation," Policy Studies, 23: 3, 157 — 171.
- Gabrielsen, G.V. (2008), "Area-based strategies and urban regeneration," AHO The School Of Architecture And Design.

- Gibson, C. and Millington, S. "urban regeberation context," Manchester Metropolitan University, <http://www.egs.mmu.ac.uk>, erişim; 2010.
- Gökşin, A. and Müderrisoğlu, B. (2005) "Urban regeneration: a comprehensive strategy for creating spaces for innovative economies," Urban Regeneration: A Comprehensive Strategy 41st ISoCaRP Congress, İstanbul.
- Konya Municipality Archive, 2009.
- McDonald, S. Malys, N. and Malienė, V. (2009) "Urban regeneration for sustainable communities:a case study" Technological And Economic Development OF ECONOMY, Baltic Journal On Sustainability, 15(1): 49–59.
- Meyer, B.P. (1998) "Accounting for differential neighborhood economic development impacts in site-specific or area-based approaches to urban brownfield regeneration" Working Paper, University of Louisville, <http://cepm.louisville.edu>.
- Roberts, P. (2000) "The evolution, definition and purpose of urban regeneration". In P. Roberts and H. Skyes (eds.), Urban Regeneration A Handbook, London: Sage Publications,9-36.
- Roberts, P. and Skyes, H. (2000) "Current Challenges and Future Prospects," Urban Regeneration A Handbook, London: Sage Publications, 295-314.
- Şahin, S.Z. (2006) "Kentsel Dönüşümün Kentsel Planlamadan Bağımsızlaştırılması/Ayrılması Sürecinde Ankara," Planlama Dergisi, 2006/2, Ankara.
- Shaw, K. and Robinson, E. (1998) "Learning from experience? Reflections on two decades of British urban policy," Town Planning Review, 69, 49–63.
- TMMOB. (2009) "Ankara'da kentsel dönüşüm alanlarının değerlendirilmesi," <http://www.politeknik.org.tr/site/index.php/polsecmenu/7kent/646-ankarada-kentsel-doenuuem-alanlarinin-deerlendirilmes.html>
- Turok, Ivan (2004) "Urban Regeneration: what can be done and what should be avoided?," Paper presented to International Urban Regeneration Implementations Symposium, İstanbul.
- Tyler, P. (2008) "What we have learned about the effectiveness of area based initiatives: the experience of the single regeneration budget," Regeneration and Wellbeing: Research into PracticeUniversity of Bradford, Department of Land EconomyUniversity of Cambridge.
- url 1 <http://go.worldbank.org/LLP6FNGGA0>, "Area Targeting/Regeneration Strategies", erişim, 05.12.2009.
- url 2 <http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/cplan/degreeprogrammes/postgraduate /mastersprogrammes/regenerationstudies/index.html> 2009.

## TRANSFORMING THE REGION, TRANSFORMING THE CITY: THREE BRAZILIAN STUDIES OF THE 1950'S

**Sarah FELDMAN**, Associate Professor  
University of São Paulo, Brazil.  
sarahfel@sc.usp.br

### **ABSTRACT**

*The 1950s can be considered the moment of greatest belief in regional planning and in public control of urban environment in Brazil. It is a time of optimism and modernization, expressed, for example, in the construction of Brasília.*

*This paper focuses on three studies conducted by Brazilian and foreign planners - "Guidelines for a regional plan for Recife" (1951), "Basic elements for the regional planning in São Paulo" (1954) and "Needs and possibilities of the State of São Paulo" (1954), which deal with different territorial scales and reveal the nineteen fifties as a defining moment in Brazilian planning history.*

*The association of planning to development strategies and the redemption of the social perspective of planning in Brazil are designed in these studies, as a product of an amalgam of ideas present in the RPAA - Regional Planning American Association group, mainly those mobilized in the Tennessee Valley Authority project, in the English Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 and in the French Economie and Humanisme movement*

*Besides the Brazilian political-institutional context and the importance that regional planning takes in the post-war period, the interest in Latin America is pointed as the main factor that promotes the link between Economie et Humanisme's social Catholicism based on scientific principles and United States' policy to strengthen economic relations with underdeveloped countries.*

### **INTRODUCTION: 1950, THE DECADE OF BELIEF IN REGIONAL PLANNING IN BRAZIL**

The nineteen fifties may be considered the decade of greatest belief in regional planning and belief in the possibilities of urban planning as a privileged task of the State, in Brazil. It is the time for a modernizing optimism that is inserted in the context of a national development process and is also expressed in the moving to the new capital, Brasília. What we call "belief in regional planning" is the certainty that public control is possible, the belief that large cities may be renewed, reorganized, redistributed, and that making territorial organization efficient is a path to overcoming regional inequalities. (Sutcliffe, 1984) That perspective is not restricted to Brazil, and precedes the inversion to the radical criticism to planning that is disseminated throughout the western world. In Latin America, such criticism takes particularities, and the belief precedes the time Gorelik (2005) calls "cultural construction of the Latin American city," when the Latin American city starts being discussed based on its impossibilities.

The most striking feature of Brazilian industrial urbanization process in XXth - the conurbation shaping metropolitan areas - is already a fact in the nineteen fifties. Urban population grew by 60% and one-third of such growth occurs in metropolitan areas. In

the Southeast region, where the two only “millionaire cities” are located<sup>1</sup> – São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro – the urbanization rate is already close to 60%. São Paulo is in the heart of the qualitative and quantitative change process and exceeds, in that decade, the Rio de Janeiro population. In the large urban centers of the country, peripheries are already consolidated with the precariousness that is peculiar to the different regions.

Side by side with the planning institutionalization process on the municipal sphere, the regional scale is addressed. This new approach emerges in the so-called democratic period that corresponds to less than two decades between the end of the “Estado Novo” and the military ruling that was established in 1964. The new political-institutional context favors the organization of planning institutions outside the public administration.

At that time, autonomous institutions were created such as the SAGMACS – *Sociedade de Análise Gráfica e Mecanográfica Aplicada aos Complexos Sociais* (Association for Graphic and Mechanographic Analysis Applied to Social Complexes) (1947) and the IBAM – Instituto Brasileiro de Administração Municipal (Brazilian Institute of Municipal Administration) (1952); institutions connected to universities, such as the CPEU – Centro de Pesquisas e Estudos Urbanísticos (Urban Planning Research and Studies Center) at FAUUSP – Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo da Universidade de São Paulo (Architecture and Urban Planning School of the University of São Paulo) (1955), the CEPUR – Centro de Estudos de Planejamento Urbano e Regional (Urban and Regional Planning Study Center), at the Federal University of Pernambuco (1962), as well as supra-government institutions such as CIBPU – Comissão Interestadual da Bacia Paraná-Uruguai (Paraná-Uruguay Basin Inter-State Commission) (1952), that gathers seven state governments. In addition, in the nineteen fifties, knowledge on the urban-industrial reality is already institutionalized in different disciplinary fields: in architecture, engineering sociology and geography schools, providing adequate conditions for the multidisciplinary dimension of urban.

The emergence of regional planning does not occur as a territorial extension only, but as the introduction of new references and new issues. Territorial organization becomes conditioned to the productivity of the industry as well as to natural resources, and the focus is directed to the questioning of the concentrated metropolis. This does not mean necessarily the denial of the metropolis, but interfering in the process of demographic and industrial concentration.

Three studies that address different scales of regional planning reveal the nineteen fifties as a defining moment in Brazilian planning history. These are the focus of this paper. Three analytical axes elucidate the role of these studies in the construction of regional planning conceptions.

The first axis detects, through the interpretation of the main themes of the studies, the shift from a strictly municipal vision to the recognition of regional disparities as a problem to be overcome in close relation with the urban scale as their common principle. In that perspective, the city's transformation is conditioned to the region's transformation. The State plays a dominant role in the conduction of this process through the creation of administrative structures that surpass the municipality sphere. Planning becomes inseparable from development strategies.

---

<sup>1</sup>“Millionaire cities” is the term used by geographers since the nineteen forties referring to cities with over one million inhabitants.

The second axe analyses the social perspective designed in the studies as a product of an amalgam of ideas present in American, English and French regional conceptions. After an increasing technical approach in Brazil, since the thirties, the three studies restore planning's social reform perspective through a new plot of references. The various strands of ideas that make up this plot are revealed.

Finally, the international and local factors that create the conditions for the reconstruction of planning ideas and practices are highlighted. Besides the Brazilian political-institutional context and the importance that regional planning takes in the post-war period, the interest in Latin America is pointed as the main factor that promotes the link between the French *Economie et Humanisme*'s social Catholicism based on scientific principles and United States' policy to strengthen economic relations with underdeveloped countries.

### **PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT: BALTAR, ANHAIA MELLO AND CIBPU/SAGMACS STUDIES**

Three studies of the early nineteen fifties, that address different scales of regional planning, provide an overview of the debate concerning the regional dimension, in general, and the metropolis, in particular. Two studies are prepared by university-related urban planners: "Diretrizes de um Plano Regional para o Recife" (Guidelines for a Regional Plan for Recife), a thesis presented by Antonio Bezerra Baltar in 1951 in the competitive examination for the chair of "Urbanismo e Arquitetura Paisagística" (Urbanism and Landscape Architecture) at the University of Recife, and "Elementos Básicos para o Planejamento Regional de São Paulo" (Basic Elements for São Paulo's Regional Planning), presented by Luiz Inácio de Anhaia Mello to the Comissão Orientadora do Plano Diretor do Município de São Paulo (Planning Commission of the Municipality of São Paulo), as representative of the University of São Paulo in 1954. The third study "Necessidades e Possibilidades do Estado de São Paulo" ("Needs and Possibilities of the State of São Paulo") is developed by CIBPU-Paraná-Uruguai Basin Interstate Commission/SAGMACS- Society of Graphic and Mecnographic Analysis Applied to Social Complexes, for the State of São Paulo.

The three studies are very different in their purposes. The Baltar study is an academic paper, where conceptual issues as well as theoretical affiliations are recurrently expressed by the author. In the Anhaia Mello study (1954), the numerous quotations and references are used to legitimate a position taken by the author in relation to a debate with Mayor and urban planner Francisco Prestes Maia.<sup>2</sup> The CIBPU/SAGMACS study is a technical work, engaged and developed by a team of Brazilian and foreign experts.

Those differences in regard to places of origin express, first of all, the importance taken by the regional dimension at this time among urban planners. Secondly, they enable us to situate the importance of urban planning institutions outside public administrations – mainly those focusing on technical assistance. Finally, they express the importance of ongoing urban planning teaching in engineering and architecture schools.

Although they address different regional scales and present differences in some conceptions, the unifying element of the three studies is the combination of planning

---

<sup>2</sup>Francisco Prestes Maia was São Paulo's mayor from 1938 to 1945 and from 1961 to 1964.

and development. Their assumptions are the overcoming of regional inequalities, the State's dominant role in the conduction of this process, and the creation of administrative structures that surpass the municipality sphere.

#### Baltar's Guidelines for a Regional Plan for Recife

Baltar's study is based on the perspective of economic change in the State of Pernambuco with the construction of the Paulo Afonso hydroelectric complex, that enabled the renewal of the industrial center, and the implementation of a broad roadway-connection program that reinforced, according to the author, the metropolitan nature of the capital city of Recife. Baltar addresses what he calls the metropolitan region of Recife, defined as the "area where permanent-exchange relations are established between the city itself and the territory, and at a rate that is more or less constant and parallel to the different rates of the needs of its inhabitants. After delimiting the most characteristic part of that territory, urban planning must be extended to its whole or at least to the continuous surface that is determined." (Baltar, op. cit.:125)

Baltar aggregates four neighboring municipalities to Recife – Olinda, Paulista, São Lourenço, and Jaboatão – that, together, represent 1,020 square kilometers and over 700,000 inhabitants. (Figure 1). He proposes the "regional city" as opposed to the concentrated metropolis. For its implementation, he points out the need for "the city's organic restructuring" or the "complete reorganization of the urban space and regional extension, also seeking decentralization and organic combination..." (Baltar, op.cit.:126-7)

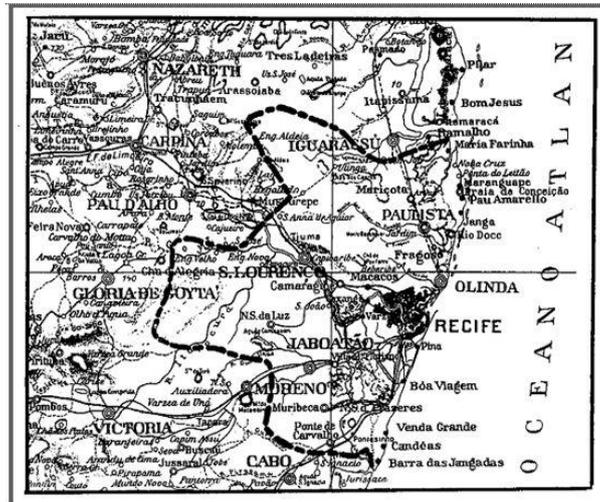
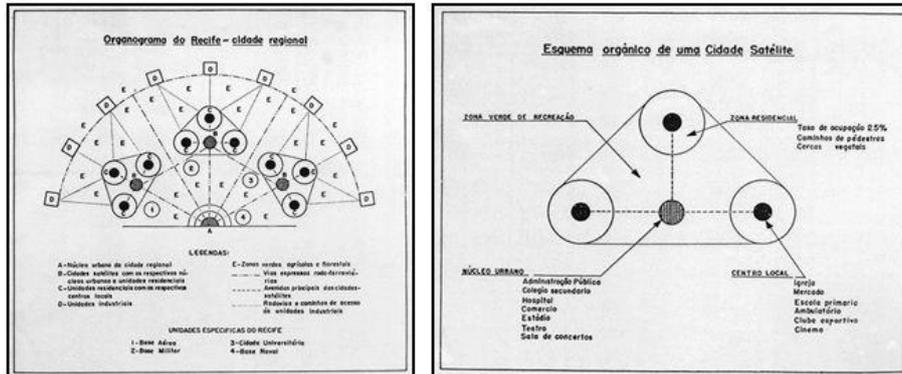


Figure 1: The Metropolitan Region of Recife (BALTAR, 1951:145)

The regional city is organized through satellite cities, with limited area and population, and each one composed of a federation of neighborhood units. Manufacturing plants should be installed in the periphery of the satellite cities, and agricultural activities should occupy the empty spaces. Organic decentralization is supported on a network of fast transit lines connecting the central nucleus to the peripheral units "that, although distant, behave as if they were near." (Figures 2 and 3)

Three aspects of Baltar's arguments may be pointed out. The first is that Baltar does not see such organization as denial of the large city, but as "...an expansion formula that is totally different from that where large cities of the world grew... There are no large cities in the world without the comfort/misery contrast – "slums", "taudis", "favelas" or "mocambos" are equivalent terms in the international urban planning vocabulary." Recife remains as an "undisputable center." (Baltar, op. cit.:129)



Figures 2, 3: Regional City and Satellite cities (Baltar, 1951:169, 175)

Secondly, Baltar does not identify neighborhood units as suburbs:

*"For their objective and for the corresponding structure, in no event should those units be taken for the suburbs (outskirts) of the current city. What distinguishes them entirely is their complete autonomy in relation to the central nucleus in regard to all those utilities and services whose use is tied to a pace connected to biological and psychological constants of the population."* (Baltar, op. cit.:128)

Thirdly, the demographic concentration limit is justified to ensure the efficiency of the basic infrastructure and to avoid risks of "exceeding the capacity of public services and utilities." That is, the limit is the guarantee of an efficient action on the part of public authorities (Baltar, op.cit. 127).

The implementation of his guidelines are conditioned to the formation of what he calls an "evolved right" – a right that enables public authorities to control private interests in cases where they adversely affect common interests. The metropolitan region administration must be performed by a supra-municipal agency or by a combination of municipalities. The municipality, as a government entity, is not enough.

### Anhaia Mello's Basic Elements for São Paulo's Regional Planning

The starting point for this study is a hierarchy of urban planning scales and institutions – on the national, state, supra-municipal and municipal levels – necessary to overcome regional inequality in the country. According to Anhaia Mello ( op. cit.:6), the region is "the dynamic social reality, the basic configuration for human life; the functional geographic association... Political conventions have no meaning; geographic constants are fundamental."

The region in his study is a circle of 100 km of radius starting from the capital, where a significant portion of the State of São Paulo's industrial plants is installed. In those thirty thousand kilometers that cover forty municipalities

between Sorocaba and São José dos Campos, a population of approximately four million inhabitants is concentrated. (Figure 4) The plan is understood as part of a planning process that involves the implementation of "*large regional plans*" and "*very small neighborhood plans*." Those two scales are mutually integrated and complemented to make up a harmonic whole – an equilibrium between wild nature, forest, sky, sun, sea, river, rural, as well as urban and metropolitan aspects.

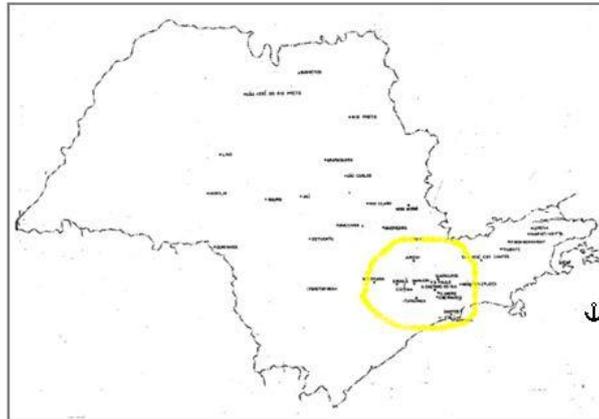


Figure 4: The industrial Region of São Paulo (Anhaia Mello, 1954)

Anhaia Mello's argument is strongly based on the decentralization of manufacturing plants and on the growth regulation and limitation, of the "São Paulo conurb" or "the greater São Paulo", as well as of all the cities and villages of the regional area. The organization of the territory should, according to Anhaia Mello, break with the inertia of the single-nucleus city, the prototype of the steam power era that required concentration. Electricity, automobiles, express ways, the telephone, radio and television make dispersion possible. Poly-nucleation, a federation of small cities limited by green walls is the alternative proposed by him to undefined growth along the roads.

Although Mello uses the same hierarchical elements of the territory organization that Baltar does - neighborhood units, satellite-cities, and greenbelts - the purpose of regional organization is to dilute the centrality of the capital city and that of the metropolis. Such a radically decentralizing perspective is clearly expressed in the set of measures that, according to the author, do not work separately. A "Committee for the Industrial Region of São Paulo's Plan," must be responsible for the Inter-Municipal Plan that will prohibit manufacturing plants in the capital, encourage their installation in other municipalities, create new centers as garden-cities and "trading-estates." (Anhaia Mello, op. cit.:19)

#### **CIBPU /SAGMACS "Needs and Possibilities of the State of São Paulo"**

The CIBPU/SAGMACS study implements in a more complete manner the association between planning and development in focus during the nineteen fifties. The

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

Commission is created in 1951 through a cooperation agreement between the States of São Paulo, Goiás, Mato Grosso, Minas Gerais, Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul, with the purpose of conducting studies and surveys to promote a broad economic development of the Uruguay-Paraná Basin<sup>3</sup>. CIBUP is established as a technical interstate agency to control and execute the plan, it should have been later transferred to the federal sphere – but this does not happen<sup>4</sup>. SAGMACS is a planning institution created by Luis Joseph Lebret in São Paulo city, in his first visit to Brazil (1947).

The study was coordinated and headed by Lebret, and implemented jointly by Economy and Humanism (Brazil), through the SAGMACS, and “Économie et Humanisme” (France).

The region is the hydrographic basin that gathers territories of different states of the country and surpasses the national territory. According to the legal instruments for the constitution of the interstate cooperation agreement, the plan is conceived to be developed in a system of democratic cooperation with the federal government, with entities representing industrial production and technical–professional entities, with a view to establishing mutual aid for the solution of problems of common interest<sup>5</sup>. In this sense, planning the development of a state is not enough; it is necessary to intensify activities of the whole region of the basin and approximate bordering countries to integrate the South American market.

The first stage of the work performed by SAGMACS and by French and American experts connected to Économie et Humanisme – “Needs and Possibilities of the State of São Paulo” delivered in 1954, discusses the quality-of-life levels and the needs of the populations, as well as possibilities for improvement, development, and progress. The State of São Paulo is divided into eleven sub-regions (Figure 5):



Figure 5: Sub-regions of the State of São Paulo (CIBPU/SAGMACS, 1954)

<sup>3</sup>Cooperation agreement between governors signed in the First Conference of Governors – September 6-8, 1951.

<sup>4</sup>The CIBPU keeps active till 1972 and is extinguished by Law 10, of September 18, 1972.

<sup>5</sup>São Paulo – Law 2017, of December 23, 1952. Minutes drawn on September 8, 1951, attached to law .Law 2018, of December 23, 1952 establishes the committee. Minutes of meetings of ay 15 and 16, 1952 attached to the Official Gazette (DO. P.)

*“The State of São Paulo became so important (more important in population than Belgium, the Netherlands, and Sweden) that a sub-division, at least on the administrative level, into regions is imposed as badly urgent”*. The direct government of 400 municipalities distributed in such a vast territory is actually impossible” (CIBPU/SAGMACS, op. cit.446).

A set of measures and actions contemplate the possibility of a homogeneous development for the eleven regions. To the economic and administrative objective, the CIBPU/SAGMACS study overlaps social objectives, backed on citizen’s rights and state’s obligations– this is the assumption for the association between planning and development.

In regard to the capital city, as was the case in the Baltar and Anhaia Mello studies, this study proposed the decentralization of manufacturing plants, discontinuation of their growth and an organic and hierarchical structure. For this reason, *“the fight against speculation on lands, lots for construction and real-property, and against luxury expenses”* is placed among the most urgent measures to be adopted. (CIBPU/SAGMACS, idem, ibidem)

Although metropolis dilution is not made explicit, as it is in the Anhaia Mello study, the perspective of a homogenizing regionalization present in the CIBPU study suggests a change in the role of the metropolis.

## A NEW PLOT OF REFERENCES

The articulation of the economic, social, spatial and administrative order, in the three studies prepared in the nineteen fifties, make it evident that the regional planning ideals are not restricted to a territorial scale extension. At that time, the complexity of planning practices is expanded and, from that perspective, there is a displacement of references prevailing in the two preceding decades.

Here we use the word reference in its literal meaning “of what is referred” .

In relation to European planning, particularly English planning, there is no longer the exclusive reference to the garden-city of Ebenezer Howard. References to the Greater London Plan (1944) coordinated by Patrick Abercrombie and to the urban instruments created in England to sustain the plan- especially the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947, approved in the Labor Party administration-are incorporated. In relation to US planning the Regional Plan of New York and its Environs (RPNYE) loses the hegemonic reference position that it had held throughout the nineteen thirties and forties among Brazilian urban planners. In the studies of the nineteen fifties, the focus is directed to projects developed by the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), created in 1933, and for a whole repertory mobilized in the United States during the Roosevelt Era’s New Deal (1933-1937) and in the Harry Truman administration period (1945-1953), both of the Democratic Party. In the two continents, this refers to urban planning conceptions of the first decades of the twentieth century that are reinterpreted in the optimistic post-war period and provided with a strong social content.

Both the Greater London Plan and the TVA studies are the result of exchanges that occur starting from the nineteen twenties, mainly between the English, connected to the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association (GCTPA), and the Americans, connected to the Regional Planning Association of America – RPAA.

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

In the Town Planning Institute that was designed as the “laboratory of thinking” in the phase of review of Howardian ideas, Thomas Adams and Raymond Unwin, connected to the GCTPA, work with Patrick Abercrombie. Thomas Adams coordinates the RPNYE (1923-1929) and Unwin participated both in the RPNY and in the Greater London Plan. In the year of its constitution, the RPAA<sup>6</sup> becomes a member of the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Federation, and its purpose in the first work plan is “to develop relations with exponents of the English urban planning thinking, especially, and to start studying urban planning based on projects made by Patrick Geddes in Edinburg.” (Dal Co, 1975:257-8)

Those individuals and institutions are protagonists of an intense debate about the metropolis in the first two decades of the twentieth century. In the United States, the debate leads to a regionalist view. That vision is opposed to the “metropolitan tradition” of American planning that had as its perspective the persistence of the urban base of the nineteenth century, with the creation of monumental centers provided with significant urban civilization. That was the vision contained in the RPNYE, funded by the Russell Sage Foundation in the nineteen twenties, when the New York population exceeded five million inhabitants. In the regionalist view, dense cities were a temporary phenomenon to be replaced by the dispersion of settlements favored by electricity and articulated by a regional roadway network. (Fishman, 2000: 14) Actually, dispersion is considered the subject matter of regional planning, whereas the perpetuation of concentrated growth is understood as metropolitan planning<sup>7</sup>.

The “Report of the New York State Commission of Housing and Regional Planning” (1924) coordinated by Clarence Stein in the administration of democrat Alfred S. Smith was the first study that expressed this comprehensive perspective of regional planning. Planning is understood as the result of physical, economic, and social forces and, to be implemented, it requires “systematic urban re-colonization,” massive public intervention in the private market and a permanent planning agency of the State. (Mumford, 1938: 274; Sussman, 1976:144-267) The principles of this study are recovered with the creation of the TVA in 1933 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, for the planning of the Tennessee River Valley region.

In England, that debate results in a displacement of the experimental regionalist vision of Ebenezer Howard to a more technical vision that assumes state intervention as support to advanced legislative instruments. (Gravagnuolo, 1991:158)

According to the Greater London Plan, London population, with almost nine million inhabitants in 1940, should be redistributed between the metropolis and 13 new towns, surrounded by greenbelts, connected to London by an efficient and fast transportation system. In that design of the large city as an element of the city–region, London becomes, according to Hall (1988:196) the “cellular London.” The regional city preserves the design of an organic and hierarchical structure present in the Howardian scheme, and incorporates later revisions that reinforce the centrality of London.”

The 1947 Town and Country Planning Act is implemented as an instrument to promote a deep reform in the land value system. Through the control and direction of

---

<sup>6</sup>The RPAA , an informal group of architects, urban planners, exponents of the Conservation Movement, sociologists, etc. was established in 1923, and had Lewis Mumford, Clarence Stein, Henry Wright, Benton MacKaye, and others, among its members.

<sup>7</sup>Such distinction is made explicit in Mumford (1938)

urbanization in the national territory, control mechanisms for the price of land and profit of landowners, as well as offsetting mechanisms via permission for urbanization are established.

In Baltar and Anhaia Mello studies, the criticism to the concentrated metropolis and to the expansion of suburbs appears via references to Mumford, especially to the book "Culture of Cities", published in 1938. Here the text "Regional planning: a new task" is actually a true manifest of the thesis connected to the RPAA. References to the TVA, the Town and Country Planning Act, and the Greater London Plan, as well as to several projects on English planning of the post-war period are also recurrent. The whole argument about Baltar's "evolved right" is backed on instruments of the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act. In the CIBPU/SAGMACS study, the reference to TVA is made explicit as a reference experience<sup>8</sup>.

This set of ideas, in Brazil of the nineteen fifties, is articulated to the ideals of the *Économie et Humanisme* movement. *Économie et Humanisme* is born from the feeling that it is possible to direct technical and economic development in a sense favorable to men, since the complex reality has been studied and dominated (Lebret, 1960) The "Guide du militant", published by Lebret in 1946, one year before his first visit to Brazil, already contained the formulation that planning must be thought in terms of the region to achieve better equilibrium of production and better population distribution.

In 1952, the *Charte de l'Amenagement*, formulated in La Tourette, France, consolidates the *Économie et Humanisme* perspective in relation to planning through supra-municipal regional levels for the full use of natural resources. The rational organization of space should provide proper conditions to human development, and land valuation should not aim at profit only but should mainly raise the quality-of-life of populations.

Those regional planning views have in common the French geography and sociology lines of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. On the one hand, the ideas of geographers Elisée Reclus and Paul Vidal de La Blanche, and sociologist Frédéric Le Play, that support the ideas developed by Patrick Geddes, such as conurbation, full use of natural resources, deep knowledge of reality, its ties with botany and geography. (Hall, 1988; Welter, 2002).

On the other hand, the ideas of the religious sociology of Jacques Maritain, and the approximations with sociologist-urban planner Paul-Henry Chombart de Lauwe and also with sociologist Frédéric Le Play, that make up the double sociological and religious matrix of Lebret's thinking. (Ângelo, 2005)

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS: INTERNATIONAL AND LOCAL FACTORS

The construction of the plot of references along the 1950's can be explained by a combination of local and international factors. First of all, the Brazilian political-institutional context favors the organization of urban planning institutions outside the public administration and the emergence of a perspective that exceeds the technical dimension that is established in the Vargas Era in the several spheres of government.

On the international front, in addition to the importance that regional planning takes in the post-war period, the interest in Latin America. Such interest in the "Latin American

---

<sup>8</sup>"Justification Reasons for CIBPU's Regional Plan." Document sent to the Director of the Studies and Planning Division, August 16, 1954.

city", functioned, according to Gorelik ( op. cit.:115), as a true suction bomb for a number of individuals, disciplines and institutions that were establishing the new intellectual, academic and political map of the Latin American social thinking". Latin America appeared "under the eyes of the western world as the place where true modernization could be carried forward, therefore avoiding the costs that developed countries were discovering since the post-war period."

In Brazil, that interest was expressed, on the one hand, by the arrival of Lebret in 1947. Funded by the FIESP – *Federação das Indústrias do Estado de São Paulo* (Federation of Industries of the State of São Paulo), his visit is explained, by the interest of the industrial elites in search of a new socio-economic model and in the innovative approach of a social Catholicism based on scientific principles, as well as by the persuasion of the utility of planning.(Valladares,2005:82). In his first visit, in addition to Lebret's teaching a course, he also created the SAGMACS, gathering professionals and politicians connected to the Catholic militancy.



Figure 6: Technical Assistance to underdeveloped countries -pamphlet

On the other hand, such interest is expressed with the dissemination of the TVA studies to underdeveloped countries implemented in the sphere of Harry Truman's policy to strengthen economic relations with underdeveloped countries. In 1949, the US President creates a technical assistance program for underdeveloped countries funded by several agencies, the Point Four Program.(Gray and Johnson, 2005:7)

In the nineteen fifties, a National Technical Assistance Commission is created in Brazil by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to discuss problems relating to the participation of Brazil in United Nations technical assistance programs, in Organization of American States (OAS) programs, to survey Brazilian needs in terms of such technical assistance and prepare plans and programs to obtain technical aid from such organizations<sup>9</sup>. In 1951, at the end of president Eurico Gaspar Dutra administration, the bases for a cooperation agreement with the OAS were established for technical and scientific

<sup>9</sup> Decree 28.799, October 27, 1950.

knowledge transfer to implement the electric-power, agriculture and transportation system that is signed in 1952 in New York<sup>10</sup>. The CIBPU studies are part of such cooperation agreement.

The group that is organized around Lebreton and the institutional space created by SAGMACS perform, throughout the nineteen fifties, a fundamental role as catalysts of the urban planning ideals designed along the nineteen fifties with consistent principles oriented to the organization of the territory from an economic and social development perspective.

Several studies focusing on SAGMACS in Brazil have been highlighting its role in the politicization of urbanization and in the introduction of new urban reality survey methodologies (Lamparelli, 1994; Leme and Lamparelli, 2001; Cestaro, 2009); in the introduction of new approaches – qualified by Pontual (2000, 2001 and 2001a) as humanists, and mainly in the formation of a generation of urban planners (Ângelo, 2007).

The three studies addressed in this paper show that the social perspective emerging in the nineteen fifties is the result of a combination of principles and proposals that were being developed in more comprehensive spheres than that of the Economy and Humanism doctrine and that have strong connections with them. The Baltar study is revealing in that sense. The urban planner has contact with Lebreton, in his first visit to Brazil, and becomes a major planner in the works developed by the SAGMACS. His thesis, however, precedes the works that he develops with the group and, although it already reflects the contact with the Economy and Humanism doctrine, he articulates other references<sup>11</sup>.

In the three studies discussed herein, the foundations of urban planning – those concerning the social reform perspective – are restored. The social perspective designed in the nineteen fifties in Brazil is the product <sup>12</sup>of an amalgam of the conceptions present in the RPAA group, in the Town and Country Planning Act, in TVA project, in the Economy and Humanism movement and the Brazilian and international political and institutional conditions .

**NOTE:** This paper is a partial result of the research project " Urban Planning Institutions in Brazil ( 1930-1979)", funded by CNPq-Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico

---

<sup>10</sup><http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,814149,00.html>. and Decree 41.650, 04 /06/ 1957.

<sup>11</sup>Pontual (2000 and 2001a) points the use of the Town and Country Planning Act by Baltar.

## BIBLIOGRAFY

- Abercrombie, Patrick (1945) Greater London Plan 1944\_London. His Majesty's Stationery Office.
- Angelo, Michelly Ramos de (2007) A participação no planejamento urbano nos estudos de Lebrete e da SAGMACS. In: Anais do XII Encontro Nacional da ANPUR, 2007, Belém.
- Anhaia Mello, Luiz I. Romero de (1954) O Plano Regional de São Paulo- Uma Contribuição da Universidade para o Estudo de um Código de Ocupação Lícita do Solo. São Paulo
- Baltar, Antonio Bezerra ( 1951) Diretrizes de um Plano Regional para o Recife. Recife. Editora Universitária. Reed.1961
- Cestaro, Lucas ( 2009) Urbanismo e Humanismo: A SAGMACS e o estudo da "Estrutura Urbana da Aglomeração Paulistana". Mestrado – EESC/USP – Programa de Pós-Graduação em Arquitetura e Urbanismo. São Carlos, 2009.
- CIBPU ( 1954) Problemas de Desenvolvimento. Necessidades e Possibilidades do Estado de São Paulo. São Paulo. CIBPU
- COUNTY PLANNING DEPARTMENT (1947) Town and Country Planning Act ,1947. 10& 11 GEO. 6 CH.51
- Dal Co, Francesco ( 1975) De los Parques a la Région. in Dal Co, F; MANIERI ELIA, TAFURI. La Ciudad Americana. Barcelona. Ed. Gustavo Pili
- Feldman, Sarah (2002) Instituições de Urbanismo no Brasil: espaços de intermediação entre pensamento e prática. In: VII Seminário de História da Cidade e do Urbanismo, 2002, Salvador. Historiografia da cidade e do urbanismo: balanço da produção recente e desafios atuais. Salvador : PPGAU-UFBA, v. 1. pp.1-18
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2008) Instituições de Urbanismo no Brasil na Década de 1930: Olhar Técnico e Dimensão Urbano-industrial. Tese de Livre-docência apresentada à EESC-USP.
- Fishman, Robert (2000) American Planning Tradition: an introduction and interpretation. In Fishman,Robert( ed) The American Pplanning Tradition. Culture and Policy.Washington. The Woodrow Wilson Center Press.
- Gorelik, Adrian (2005) A produção da cidade latino-americana. *Tempo Social. Revista de sociología da USP*, vol. 17, N° 1, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, junho.pp.111-133
- Gravagnuolo, Benedetto (1991) Historia del Urbanismo en Europa. 1750-1960. Madrid. Ed. Akal.1998
- Gray, Aelred J. and Johnson, David A. (2005) The TVA Regional Planning and Development Program. Gateshead. Atheneum Press.
- Hall, Peter (1988) Cidades do Amanhã - Uma História Intelectual do Planejamento e do Projeto Urbanos no Século XX. São Paulo. Editora Perspectiva. 1993
- Lamparelli, Celso M.(1994) Louis- Joseph Lebrete e a Pesquisa Urbano-Regional no Brasil. Revista Espaço & Debates. São Paulo.NERU. no.37. pp. 90-99

- Lebret, L. J. ( 1946) Guia del Militante. Tomo I. Montevideo. Uruguay. Ed. Mosca Hermanos S.A.
- Leme, M. Cristina e Lamparelli, Celso M. ( 2001) A Politização do Urbanização no Brasil: a Vertente Católica, ANAIS IX ENANPUR. Rio de Janeiro. pp.675-687
- Mumford, Lewis ( 1938) Planejamento Regional: uma nova tarefa. in A Cultura das Cidades. Belo Horizonte. Editora Itatiaia. pp.387-415
- Pontual, Virginia (2000) O urbanismo no Recife: entre idéias e representações. Revista Brasileira de Estudos Urbanos e Regionais. 1.n.2.1999. Recife. ANPUR. pp.89-110
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2001) Uma Cidade e Dois Prefeitos. Narrativas do Recife nas décadas de 1930 a 1950. Recife. Ed. Da UFPE
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2001 a ) A Cidade e o Bem Comum: O engenheiro Antonio Bezerra Baltar no Recife dos anos 50. ANAIS IX ENANPUR. Rio de Janeiro. pp.797-809
- Sussman, Carl (1976 ) ed. Planning the Fourth Migration: The Neglected Vision of the Regional Planning Association of América. Massachusetts, London. The MIT Press.
- Sutcliffe, Anthony (1984) Introduction: Urbanization, Planning and the Giant City. In SUTCLIFFE, Anthony (ed) Metropolis 1890-1940. Chicago. University of Chicago Press. pp.1-18
- Valladares, Licia (2005) A transição para as ciências sociais: valorização da favela e descoberta do trabalho de campo in VALLADARES, Licia A Invenção da Favela. Rio de Janeiro. FGV Editora. pp.74-106
- Welter, Werner (2002) Biopolis. Patrick Geddes and the city of life. Londo. The MIT Press.

## REDEFINING / RECONSTRUCTING THE “IN – BETWEEN”: AN URBAN TRANSFORMATION SCENARIO FOR THE HAYDARPASA HARBOUR, ISTANBUL

Devrim IŞIKKAYA, Dr.

Bahçeşehir University, Turkey  
devrim.isikkaya@bahcesehir.edu.tr

### **ABSTRACT**

*The increasing global economic rivalry between its core countries, which proceeded clearly during the second half of the twentieth century (Chandra, 2000), created a hard social differentiation between the rich and the poor in the society and a physical disintegration between their settlements, on the regions especially in the third world metropolises (Pfeiffer, 1994).*

*In this context, the third world metropolis can be described as a segmented, fragmented collage city, where its texture consists of many successions of social and spatial dualisms. These dualisms realize in the form of city in city (Ungers, 1997), in other words city in-between deployments, totally an anarchical (not-hierarchical), postmodern morphology, which is contemporarily composed by divided, disrupted, crystallized public spaces.*

*Istanbul as a “third world” metropolis is a dynamic open system, where complex and multiple economical, social and physical conditions are overlapped. Still the city, is a focus point of social and spatial dualisms and their genuine contradictions particularly in the last thirty years. Istanbul’s geographical condition (slope topography and the physical relationship with the sea), also endures this fragmented structure.*

*This paper aims to analyze these social and spatial aspects, which endures fragmentation in Istanbul. The underlying reasons of these contradictions and eventual outcome of the peak and the ruined zones in Istanbul and their border districts typologies will be analyzed. This paper will also make a compared evaluation of Kadikoy-Harem Harbor (intersection of two adjacent districts in Istanbul) urban design transformation projects.regarding the creation of a sustainable urban development for the city by enabling a new productive public space in-between Uskudar (“ruined” zone) and Kadikoy (“peak” zone) in Istanbul.*

### **INTRODUCTION: PEAK AND RUINED ZONES**

In the twentieth century capitalist city, in other words in the metropolis as a permanent and independent renovated system of anarchic and archaic indicators and symbols (Lefebvre, 1973), each un-transformable system, unchangeable public and its unconvertible capitalist space or aggregation of spaces or regions should stay as “ruined” urban zones. In this context, with the concept of “ruined urban zones”, it has been mentioned as either physical or social low profiled situations of being bereft of sources or inequitable, uncontrolled distributions of sources and getting slummier, which means being also defective for the worldwide challenge in the global capitalist competition.

In this sense, there are mostly two kinds of remarkable regions particularly in the third world metropolises described by the current capitalism, “ruined and peak” zones, as a

common worldwide complication, which are either ignored by the capitalism or it has completely been deployed. These from-each-other isolated, polarized regions, namely islands of contradicted situations and their in-betweens', designate today's social and physical shape of the big city as a collage system of fragmental morphology framed by many typical cleavages (Andrusz, 1996). In this context, today's third world metropolis can also be described as a segmented, fragmented collage city, where its texture consists of successions of many social and spatial dualisms (Smith, 2000). These dualisms are realized in the form of city in city, in other words as city in-between deployments, totally an anarchical (not-hierarchical), postmodern morphology, which is contemporarily composed by divided, disrupted, crystallized public spaces.

Mainly the districts of poverty (i.e.: ecologically dead regions, ancient urban structures, contaminated industrial zones such as harbors and docks and their environments) can be defined as "ruined" pieces of the metropolises. These urban pieces are produced without considering the social and physical innovations and are described as an un-affirmative spatial emptiness including the economical dilemma. Starting from the beginning of 80's according to the global economical rivalry between the world cities (Sennett, 2005) and the third world cities in progress, these places should be immediately recognized as a coherence of everlasting renovations, reconstructions, remapping of capitalist variable ordered social and physical situations, in order not to drop behind in the global competition.

At this point, since the beginning of 80's, almost all the urban transformation project's around the world main aim is to recover the "ruined" zones from the desolated passive emptiness. Include these zones into the contemporary social-economical "peak" zones, in order to increase the equality and provide permanent development for the city. This will accomplish the affiliation of the contradicted pieces into the big collage of capitalist systems and their utopic unique city.

After an examination of the urban transformation applications particularly in the third world cities, it is not hard to assert that such urban operations mentioned above have increased the fragmented collage of cultural and physical situations. The urban transformation projects have triggered the constitutions of the gated communities and their polarized islands. This condition, they have deepened the cleavages between the "peak and ruined" regions in the city.

In this sense, this paper's aim is to examine this paradoxical contemporary urban reality mentioned above, by making a comparative analysis of two different urban transformation scenarios for the Haydarpasa Harbour developed during the last decade. The Haydarpasa Harbour is located in between Uskudar district, which is recognized as a ruined zone and Kadikoy district which is a peak zone at the Asian side of Istanbul. The Haydarpasa Harbour is recognized as a ruined zone, first of all because of its contradicted situation to the current urban land and secondly it has been out-dated by its actual necessities.

The first scenario is an urban transformation project competition organized by the Istanbul municipality in 2001. The theme of the competition was integrating the two districts by renovating the harbour and its environment by increasing the public spaces in order to develop an open urban system. On the other hand, the second scenario procured by a design bid. In this process the project is called as "Haydarpasa Complex", developed and designed by abiding the terms and conditions of the contract provided by the municipality. The second scenario "Haydarpasa Complex"

resulted as a mixed use gated community by creating high borders -“peak island”- for high income people with less public spaces because of these security precautions.

This paper also intends to find an answer to how to create an equal, productive and common urban public space, which enables the reconstruction of the in-between regions by integrating the “ruined and peak” zones and unification of the crystallized collage third world metropolises.

In this paper the typology of bordered situation of Istanbul as a fragmented metropolis will be described. The study area of this paper is the contradicted districts Uskudar and Kadikoy and their border; the Haydarpasa Harbour as a ruined zone will be described briefly. In this context, the two urban transformation scenario for the Haydarpasa Harbour will be analyzed comparatively based on the urban transformation planning principles for the harbours and docks in the metropolises around the world as according to the following criteria;

- providing a social and physical continuity between the city and the harbour,
- renovating the harbour, conserving the industrial traces of the monumental texture of the harbour, transforming the zone into an interactive public space (Mead, 1998),
- producing multifunctional city programs, increasing multi-layered consumers,
- solving the transportation and infrastructural problems,
- blending the sea and the city (Basatemür, 2001),
- creating a city morphology as an open structure,
- maximizing the productive, equal and common public spaces,
- planning a sustainable, flexible urban development (Kocabas, 2003),
- designing a contemporary architecture of high quality,
- encouraging and creating a new habitation policy,
- increasing of green areas, constituting new landscape strategies,

In the conclusion, this paper makes suggestions about the basic principles of developing urban transformation strategies regarding the public space.

## ANALYSIS OF THE HAYDARPASAHARBOUR, ISTANBUL

Istanbul's characteristic aspects such as geographical, social, cultural, linguistic, religious and political patterns and also in-depth all civilization structures triggered the dualisms of “ruined and peak” zones. This dualism exhibits similarities with other peripheral metropolises such as Rio de Janeiro, Cairo, Bombay, and Hong Kong. Nevertheless, as the seat of imperial power and as a port city for transitional trade, the city did not go through major infrastructural and institutional transformations all this time to accommodate modern urban patterns similar to European “world” cities, such as Paris and London.

Istanbul's geographical condition (steep slope topography and the physical relation to the sea), endures the fragmented structure. All these aspects create ruptured

crystallized public spaces consisting of many cleavages, islands of rich and poor settlements and the natural and artificial borders of between, where serious problematic, antagonist, unequal, unproductive encounters are experimented by the 'same' and 'the other'.

Istanbul, as a temporary and/or permanent collage of ambiences of socially dense accumulations and deserted spaces describe the composition of physically disintegrated regions and the cleavages – in other words borders in-betweens. The borders can be natural (sea, slope topography) and artificial (highways, physical barricades such as walls around gated communities). This city is split off in terms of topography, spatial and spatial usages, morphology, demography and semantics.

Contextually, typological qualification of peak /ruined zones and their in-betweens in Istanbul for the core, periphery and close environments are as follows;

**- general:**

A – Peak / ruined zones: Residential districts along the coast – near the Bosphorus and the Marmara sea in Asian and European side (peak zones, high income people) / Residential districts along the highways parallel to the sea (ruined zones, districts of poverty/low income):

Differentiation context: social (cultural and economic)

In-Between: highways (artificial border)

B – Peak / ruined zones: Periphery of the European side (peak zones) / Periphery of the Asian side (ruined zones)

Differentiation context: multifunctional, cosmopolite / mono-function, mono-demographic

In-Between: Bosphorus strait (natural border)

**- local:**

C – Peak / ruined zones: Tepebasi District (peak zone) / Kasimpasa District (ruined zone)

Differentiation Context: economy, demographic changes (cosmopolite– mono-demographic)

In-Between: slopy topography (natural border)

Locality: core (European side)

D- Peak / ruined zones: Taksim (peak zone) / Tarlabasi District (ruined zone)

Differentiation Context: economy, low income – elite profiled population, emptiness / density

In-Between: boulevard (artificial border)

Locality: core (European side)

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

- E- Peak / ruined zones: Galata District (peak zone) / Historical Peninsula (ruined zone)  
 Differentiation Context: condemned historical city / actual usage, population differences in day and night / density  
 In-Between: Golden Horn (natural border)  
 Locality: core (European side)
- F- Peak / ruined zones: Laleli District (peak zone) / Fatih (ruined zone)  
 Differentiation Context: economy, social – culture, cosmopolitan / mono-demographic  
 In-Between: boulevard (artificial border)  
 Locality: core (European side)
- G- Peak / ruined zones: Levent District (peak zone) / Gultepe District (ruined zone)  
 Differentiation Context: economy  
 In-Between: boulevard (artificial border)  
 Locality: old periphery – new core (European side)
- H- Peak / ruined zones: Kadikoy District (peak zone) / Uskudar District (ruined zone)  
 Differentiation Context: economy, social – culture:  
 In-Between: The Haydarpasa Harbour, cemetery, military quarter and Marmara University buildings  
 Locality: core of the Asian side, periphery of the city

Table 1: Comparison table of Kadikoy and Uskudar districts

Kadikoy	Uskudar
<b>Socio-cultural</b>	
modern	Traditional
early modern settlements of Turkish Republic	Symbol of Ottoman Empire settlement
secularist	Islamic
early settlements of religious minorities	mono – Islamic demography
innovative bourgeois	conservative provincial
<b>Physical</b>	
flat topography	steep topography
no monumentality	monumental historical buildings
grid	organic morphology

The Haydarpasa Harbour was established in 1903, after the railroad construction between Haydarpasa Station and Izmit city in 1871 (Alpay, 2001). The harbour continued developing between 1953 – 1990, with its monumental cranes, it was reached to a cargo capacity of 5 tones per year. It is converted to a typical character of the third generation harbours in terms of its relations to the highways and railways, infrastructural and technical cargo efficiency, occupies on an area of approximately 1.3km<sup>2</sup> and spread along the 600m coastline between Kadikoy and Uskudar districts.



Figure 1: The Haydarpaşa Harbour

Actually as a restricted area for the public, the harbour defines a city in city, an isolated space in the core of the city, which obstructs the social and physical continuity of the urban morphology and triggering the schizophrenic collage of the city by bordering two regions Kadikoy and Uskudar districts on the Asian side. It is stated in the master plan (1/50 000 scale) that the port region is outdated infrastructure and should be moved to the periphery of Istanbul (Competition Contract, 2001).

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION SCENARIOS

### First Scenario: The Urban Design Competition

The design competition was held by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in 2001. The aim of the urban design competition was an integration scenario for Kadikoy and Uskudar districts by designating the renovation and re-use principles of the Haydarpaşa Harbour and the urban transformations of its environment along the coast.

According to the contract (2001), particularly the surroundings of the Haydarpaşa Station, Uskudar – Kadikoy coast and the Kadikoysquare are also the focal points where the public spaces are functionally and aesthetically corrupted in terms of the augmentations of the demographical density.

In this sense, the expectations of the jury from the competitors were;

- to develop a design overlapping with the macro scaled city plans,
- integration of two conflicted regions and their surroundings,
- designing the coastline between Kadikoy – Uskudar and the Haydarpaşa harbour in aggregation according to the coast planning decisions for the Asian side,
- superposition of the infrastructures to the macro scaled urban plans,
- renovation and identification of the Kadikoy square,
- bringing out the historical and multicultural identity of the design area,
- encouraging fine art activities in public space,

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

- synchronization of urban transformation scenarios to the macro scale urban plans (Competition Contract, 2001).

The jury awarded projects, which had the compatibility between the macro and micro scale plans, integrated the regions, provide precision about the cultural urban texture and considered the historical morphology as a reference to the design principles, including the vernacular identity, flexibility and applicability, which considered the sea and rail transportations and their integration (Competition Contract, 2001).

However, the awarded projects can be criticized on over scale open space which causes disintegration with meaningless green areas on man-made soil. Designers had not considered the topographical references. Most of them suggested private zones such as marina for the part of the coast, fragmental introverted spaces without any integration strategies between themselves. Therefore it is impossible to speak of a physical or social integration between two conflicted "peak and ruined" zones Kadikoy and Uskudar and it is also useless to dream of a multifunctional proposition on urban transformation for the Haydarpasa harbour. None of the awarded projects were realized at the end of the competition.



Figure 2: The Competition Zone



Figure 3: First Awarded Project

### Second Scenario: The Haydarpasa Complex

According to the 1/100.000 scale master plan for Istanbul in this context the Istanbul Municipality decided to obtain a new urban design project by a bidding process by the support of Turkish government. The design area was about 1.3million square meters including the Haydarpasa harbour (all facilities and RO\_RO area), Harem Bus Terminal, and the Harem train station. The principal aim of the urban design project was to produce and alternative a tourism area at the Asian side of the city. The urban design project included a multifunctional renovation program and the project is named as "Haydarpasa Complex". It is designed by the architect Sefik Birkiye where his office "Atelier D'art Urbain" located in Brussels. The Haydarpasa Complex project contains yacht club with its marina, a convention center, a sports center, a museum, accommodation facilities such as luxury hotels and residences, a commercial and shopping center, a hospital and rehabilitation center and recreational areas. The design project considers the silhouette Bosphorus by conserving the historical monuments such as Haydarpasa Train Station (Contract II, 2009). Nevertheless the "Haydarpasa Complex" urban design project has been criticized by the Turkish Chamber of Architects, academicians, some of the architects who participated the previous urban design competition (first scenario) for this region. Furthermore, the Preservation Council rejected the project due to the following reasons:

- The procurement process and the design project were not delivered transparently. The project developed without the public consensus and knowledge. Academics, NGO's input were not considered throughout the design process,
- Architectural competitions provide more democratic competitive process from macro to micro scale in urban design projects for such critical urban lands such as in this case. Competition's relatively amateur side considers the public benefit more compare to other delivery methods,
- The proposed project create no relation to the existing urban texture such as cemetery, university buildings, monumental industrial objects, erases all the urban traces of the harbour and the train station, ignores the typical urban preservation, and finally imposes capitalist outdated urban principles,
- The proposed project ignores the existing greenery, damages monumental trees and proposes a landscape which is not related to the landscape contract signed by the Turkish government in Florence, Italy in 2000,
- The proposed project considerably reduces public space and increases the private zones by creating gated communities. This condition would certainly trigger the polarization between peak and ruined zones, deconstructs the social and physical urban integration and the equalities by constituting the "gentrification models" on the area,
- The proposed project also disturbs the ecological content of the Marmara sea by increasing the capacity of marina,
- Finally the project neither proposes an architectural idea within the contemporary modern architecture nor vernacular architecture.

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

In this context, when the two different terminated urban transformation scenarios for the Haydarpasa harbour are comparatively analyzed and critically overviewed in relation to the urban transformation planning principles for the harbours and docks in the metropolises around the world; the remarkable results are as follows;



Figure 4: The Haydarpasa Complex Project

Table 2: Comparison of Both Projects.

	First Scenario: Urban Design Competition	Second Scenario: Haydarpasa Complex
providing a social and physical continuity between the city and the harbour	-	-
renovating the harbour, conserving the industrial traces of the monumental texture of the harbour, transforming the zone into an interactive public space	-	-
producing multifunctional city programs, increasing multi-layered consumers	+	-/+
solving the transportation and infrastructural problems	-/+	-/+
blending the sea and the city	-/+	-
creating a city morphology as an open structure	-/+	-
maximizing the productive, equal and common public spaces	-/+	-
planning a sustainable, flexible urban development	-/+	-
designing a contemporary architecture of high quality	-	-
encouraging and creating a new habitation policy	-	-
increasing of green areas, constituting new landscape strategies	-/+	-/+

## CONCLUSION: TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC SPACE

Today's world cities have varieties of expectations from the urban transformation design projects with regard to the authenticities and identities of the places (Dal Cin, 2001). However, the main principles based on relationships between the social conditions and the physical urban morphology is as follows;

- examination of the social, cultural, economical, and physical individuality under the consideration of vernacular identity of the place,
- awareness of the vision of the city, developing new perspectives for the region and the city, triggering the urban developments,
- increasing the environmental quality and the social equality,
- ability to generate integrated planning with ecological sustainability,
- to take into consideration of the human rights and basic necessities,
- to create innovative design approaches,
- awareness of the context of time and space,
- to take into consideration of applicability and new methods,
- ability to benefit from the local social and physical potentials,
- ability to create transparent procurement and production process by innovative collaborations with different organizations,
- designing an own-capitalist project (Garde, 2004),
- to consider accessible, transparent, equal, collective and productive public space especially in the third world cities.

These principles constitute a compact city shape without the polarizations of the peak and provide equality on social and physical levels.

Istanbul has missed two chances to unify the two conflicted districts, Kadikoy and Uskudar on the Asian side during the last decay. As an actual result, the collage (de-) construction of conflicted fragmental zones generally in Istanbul is more visible, the peak but especially the ruined zones are increasing obviously, borders in-between are getting deeper and the social tension based on economical and cultural, ethnical and religious differentiations between the two nations of peak and ruined lands are growing continuously; and the future of the Kadikoy harbour is highly ambiguous. Especially the Haydarpasa Complex Project has been composed to trigger the transformation of the existing population between on the bordered area and to give rise to a gentrification by constituting new gated communities and their introverted spaces which seems to be the results of the Istanbul municipalitie's and the Turkish Government politics composed not only for Haydarpasa Harbour but also for Sulukule, Tarlabası, Fener Balat, Cihangir regions or Haliç docklands.

## REFERENCES

- Aksoy, A., (1999), Istanbul'da Mekanla İmtihan, Birikim, 7:21-25
- Alpay, B., (2001), Kentsel Tasarım Politikası, Istanbul Kentsel Tasarım Sempozyumu, 1-30 Eyl. 2001, İstanbul
- Andrusz, G., (1996), Structural Change and Boundary Instability, Cities after Socialism, Blackwell Publishers Ltd., London
- Basatemur, B., S., (2001), Coast Developments: London Docklands Development Project, XXI, 03-04:28-42
- Chandra, R., (2000), Industrialization and Development in the Third World, Third World Cities, Routledge, 67-75
- Competition Contract (I), (2001), Istanbul Municipality and Project Management Publishers
- Contract II, (2009), Istanbul Municipality and Project Management Publishers
- Dal Cin, A., (2001), The Role of Urban Design In Creating The Urban Environment, Istanbul Kentsel Tasarım Sempozyumu, 1-30 Eyl. 2001, İstanbul
- Garde, A., (2004), New Urbanism as Sustainable Growth?, Journal of Planning Education and Research, 24:18-27
- Kocabaş, A., (2003), Sustainable community buildings in London and Issues for İstanbul, Kentsel Yenileşme ve Kentsel Tasarım, Uluslararası 14. Kentsel Tasarım ve Uygulamalar Sempozyumu, 1-31 May., İstanbul
- Mead, A., (1998), Conserving A Monument of The Industrial Past, The Architect's journal, 8:32-41
- Pfeiffer, U., (1994), Integration, Desintegration, Reintegration? Zur Situation der Grosstaedte, Risiko Stadt, Junius Verlag, 147-165
- Kofman, E., (1998), Whoes City? Gender, Class, and Immigration in Globalizing European Cities, Cities of Difference, 98-103
- Koolhaas, R., (1994), The City: Construction, Re-Construction, De-Construction, Risiko Stadt, Junius Verlag, 94-98
- Lefebvre, H., Writings on Cities, Blackwell Publishers, London, 1973, 5-108
- Sennett, R., (2005), Capitalism and the City, Future City, Spon Press, 4:178-194
- Smith, D., (2000), The Third World City, Third World Cities, Routledge, 186-193



## THE IMPORTANCE OF A TRIPLE BOTTOM LINE APPROACH FOR SAFEGUARDING URBAN WATER QUALITY

Ashantha GOONETILLEKE, Associate Professor  
Queensland University of Technology, Australia  
a.goonetilleke@qut.edu.au

Tan YiĞİTCANLAR, Senior Lecturer  
Queensland University of Technology, Australia  
tan.yigitcanlar@qut.edu.au

### ABSTRACT

*Water environments are greatly valued in urban areas as ecological and aesthetic assets. However, it is the water environment that is most adversely affected by urbanisation. Urban land use coupled with anthropogenic activities alters the stream flow regime and degrade water quality with urban stormwater being a significant source of pollutants. Unfortunately, urban water pollution is difficult to evaluate in terms of conventional monetary measures. True costs extend beyond immediate human or the physical boundaries of the urban area and affect the function of surrounding ecosystems. Current approaches for handling stormwater pollution and water quality issues in urban landscapes are limited as these are primarily focused on 'end-of-pipe' solutions. The approaches are commonly based either on, insufficient design knowledge, faulty value judgements or inadequate consideration of full life cycle costs. It is in this context that the adoption of a triple bottom line approach is advocated to safeguard urban water quality. The problem of degradation of urban water environments can only be remedied through innovative planning, water sensitive engineering design and the foresight to implement sustainable practices. Sustainable urban landscapes must be designed to match the triple bottom line needs of the community, starting with ecosystem services first such as the water cycle, then addressing the social and immediate ecosystem health needs, and finally the economic performance of the catchment. This calls for a cultural change towards urban water resources rather than the current piecemeal and single issue focus approach. This paper discusses the challenges in safeguarding urban water environments and the limitations of current approaches. It then explores the opportunities offered by integrating innovative planning practices with water engineering concepts into a single cohesive framework to protect valuable urban ecosystem assets. Finally, a series of recommendations are proposed for protecting urban water resources within the context of a triple bottom line approach.*

### INTRODUCTION

Water is an unusual commodity: it is scarce, fragile and absolutely vital to life and development, yet so poorly understood and appreciated. Climate change and its consequent impacts on water resources have come as almost an ambush; together with significant population growth, patterns of urbanisation and consumption, the natural hydrological cycle has been altered and reliable water supply has become more and more difficult to obtain (Lee et al. 2010). There are several vital challenges to secure water provision and one of the most important is to provide a reliable water source for a rapidly expanding population and economy (QWC, 2007).

Beyond this, as Asakawa et al. (2004) have noted, as population densities increase in our cities, water environments play an ever more significant role as aesthetic and recreational resources. The need for 'islands of tranquillity' such as a waterway within the congested and busy urban environment has been clearly noted in research literature (Gobster et al. 2004). However, the needs of urban communities are not solely restricted to water quality outcomes. Urban water environments also play an important role as wildlife habitats. For example, Davies (1983) found that about 60% of native wildlife in Queensland State, Australia is present within its urban waterway corridors. Consequently, water environments in urban areas are important community and environmental assets and central to sustainable urban development. Therefore, it is imperative that innovative strategies are adopted to ensure that such key assets of a region are protected.

Unfortunately, similar to most parts of the world, water environments in Australia are also under increasing threat due to the rapid spread of urbanisation (SOE 2001). Any type of activity in a catchment such as urbanisation that modifies the existing land use will explicitly result in quantity (i.e. flood) and quality (i.e. pollutant) changes to the characteristics of stormwater runoff. These changes are the result of the removal of vegetation and the replacement of previously pervious areas (i.e. open spaces) with impervious surfaces such as roads, roofs and driveways. This in turn leads to increased stormwater runoff. The consequential quantity related impacts include more rapid rises in flood levels, increased flood peaks and flood volumes, stream bank and bed erosion, siltation and destruction of riparian vegetation and aquatic habitats.

In relation to quality, adverse impacts arise due to the introduction of pollutants of physical, chemical and biological origin resulting from anthropogenic activities common to the urban environment. Roads, housing, commerce and industry not only lead to irrevocable changes to the urban landscape, but are also responsible for introducing numerous pollutants to the environment.

The major problems in urban areas are the pollution of the atmosphere, soil and water. As an example, Lind and Karro (1995) found that heavy metal concentrations in the topsoil layers of urban roadside areas in Sweden to be 2 to 8 times higher when compared to rural areas. Atmospheric pollutants return to ground through wet and dry deposition and are available for wash-off during rainfall. Similarly, soil pollutants can be subjected to erosion and wash-off with stormwater runoff. The deterioration of water quality, degradation of stream habitats and decrease in ecosystem health are among the most tangible of the resulting detrimental water quality impacts of urbanisation, and result in a water body that is fundamentally changed from its natural state (House et al. 1993).

## **SOURCES AND CONSEQUENCES OF WATER POLLUTION**

As Sartor and Boyd (1972) have identified, urban stormwater runoff constitutes the primary transport mechanism that introduces non-point source pollutants to receiving waters. As stormwater flows over the drained surface, pollutants will be incorporated through various physical and chemical processes (Egodawatta et al. 2009; Egodawatta & Goonetilleke 2008). The source from which the stormwater runoff is generated is one of the most important factors which will influence its pollutant composition. The sources of water pollution have been widely discussed in research literature. The primary

pollutant sources in an urban catchment include street surfaces, industrial processes, construction and demolition activities, litter, spills and erosion (Pitt et al. 1995).

Urban stormwater runoff has been recognised as the major transport source for a wide variety of pollutants to water bodies. Recent years have witnessed significant advances in the control of point sources of pollution such as sewage outfalls. Consequently, non-point sources such as stormwater runoff are gaining increasing importance. The pollutant impact associated with stormwater runoff in terms of concentration and total load can be significantly higher than secondary treated domestic sewage effluent (Wanielista et al. 1977). This applies not only to the physical and chemical quality, but also to the microbiological quality of urban stormwater (Wahl et al. 1997).

As Ahyerre et al. (1998) have noted, the generation and transport of pollutants in urban systems during a storm event is very complex as it concerns many media, many space and time scales. Changes to the hydrodynamic characteristics of the catchment due to urbanisation increases average water flow velocities and hence stream power. This in turn mobilises and transports greater concentrations of pollutants from surfaces.

During a rainfall event, the impacts of high flows and intermittent discharges of pollutants on receiving water bodies are superimposed on the hydrologic, physico-chemical and biological characteristics of an urban catchment. Urban stormwater runoff will produce both, short-term and long-term changes in receiving waters leading to habitat instability and chemical toxicity. This in turn will result in changes to aquatic communities such as increased mortality of biota and detrimental changes to species diversity and abundance (House et al. 1993; Lopes et al. 1995; Wahl et al. 1997). Consequently, the combination of changes to the physical habitat and altered water quality is the major impact of urban stormwater runoff (Collier et al. 1998; House et al. 1993; Warren et al. 2003).

### THE CURRENT STRATEGY FOR POLLUTANT MITIGATION

The sources and causes of urban stormwater pollution are widely known and are related more to human activities within the catchment than just to the expansion of the urban landscape itself. However, pollution control constitutes an intractable challenge. It is the non point-sources which are the most damaging, the least visible and the most difficult to control.

Current approaches to stormwater pollution control centre around conventional concepts of volume and peak flow reduction and primary forms of treatment and reuse. These principles are commonly applied in the form of structural measures and referred to as Water Sensitive Urban Design (WSUD) in Australia, Low Impact Development (LID) in the US or Sustainable Drainage Systems (SUD) in the UK.

Commonly, these structural measures collect, convey, and detain or retain stormwater and thereby improve water quality. They are designed and constructed to treat stormwater runoff by removing pollutants and protecting and enhancing the environmental, social and economic values of receiving waterways. The selection of appropriate treatment measures depends on site conditions, target pollutants, hydrologic characteristics of the catchment and rainfall characteristics experienced in the region. Figures 1 to 3 below provide images of typical treatment measures noted above.



*Figure 1 Typical stormwater detention basin*



*Figure 2 Stormwater treatment wetland*



*Figure 3 Grass swale*

## THE LIMITATIONS IN CURRENT STRATEGIES

The concepts in themselves as described above are admirable. However, their application and performance under real world conditions is open to criticism. Table 1 provides a brief evaluation of these common structural measures.

As outlined above, commonly adopted measures are based either on, insufficient design knowledge, faulty value judgements or inadequate consideration of life cycle costs. The various structural measures are costly, largely ineffective when dealing with large flows or in dealing with the 'real world' problems and even being counter-productive. Implementation of structural measures is also often interpreted as being 'seen to be doing something' in response to community pressure. Use of gross pollutant traps for litter removal is a prime example. Litter, though conspicuous is not a major source of water pollution and its major impact is visual aesthetics. Unfortunately, due to its high visibility, it attracts the most publicity and the maintenance effort rather than the more environmentally harmful pollutants. Similarly, street sweeping is purely for cosmetic purposes. The standard street sweeper cannot remove the fine particulates on the road surface that contribute significantly to water pollution.

Modelling is one way where improved design outcomes may be developed. However, based on the current state of knowledge, stormwater pollution does not fit into neat mathematical models which engineers and scientists can use for predictive purposes. Predictive errors of over 100% are common in the use of various models. This is due to the difficulty in mathematical formulation of key anthropogenic activities and the questionable mathematical formulation of key concepts. The quantification of relationships that support quantitative models of urban systems is fundamental to the

performance of many current models and is crucial for developing improved designs that will work in concert with surrounding natural and constructed systems.

*Table 1. Issues associated with conventional approaches to stormwater management*

Treatment device	Primary function/s	Issues
Retention, detention basins	Volume and peak flow reduction	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Can only afford to detain relatively small volumes</li> <li>2. Sediment build-up and weed infestation entail regular maintenance</li> <li>3. During dry periods collected water can become anaerobic, breed pests becoming a health hazard and pollutant generator</li> <li>4. Water feature can attract birds, contributing to pollutant export</li> </ol>
Wetlands	Quality improvement	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Can only afford to treat relatively small volumes</li> <li>2. Efficiency in quality improvement not completely proven, particularly removal of very fine sediments, dissolved nutrients</li> <li>3. Adequate design guidelines for stormwater treatment not available and dependency on wastewater treatment guidelines</li> <li>4. Adequate guidelines for weed removal and maintenance not available</li> </ol>
Gross pollutant and sediment traps, Vortex devices	Quality improvement	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Can only afford to treat relatively small volumes</li> <li>2. Do not have the capability to remove very fine sediments</li> <li>3. During dry periods collected water can become anaerobic, breed pests becoming a health hazard and pollutant generator</li> <li>4. Maintenance costs can be very high</li> </ol>
Grass swales	Quality improvement	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Can be effective in removal of particulate sediments but not necessarily fine sediment</li> <li>2. Adequate design guidelines are not available</li> <li>3. Most paved surfaces such as streets do not have space for their installation</li> </ol>

Unfortunately, significant knowledge gaps currently exist in this area. Though it is an active area of research, it is unlikely that an in-depth knowledge base will be available to support robust engineering design in the immediate future. Consequently, the dependency on poorly validated scientific concepts, inadequate design guidelines and the dearth of exemplars of properly functioning stormwater quality treatment systems tends to perpetuate a legacy of poor treatment design.

## THE WAY FORWARD

Therefore, it is no surprise that more and more frequently, the life-cycle costs of poorly designed urban and industrial systems are found to be extremely high in financial, social and ecological terms. These costs are often slow to impact and cumulative such as increased levels of heavy metals in fish and crustaceans. Without scientific quantification and understanding of system dynamics, the effects of quantity and quality changes in stormwater flows may be the 'sleeper' that awakes. When it awakes

it will be far from benign. The effect of global warming provides an example of such a cumulative, but largely ignored impact.

Calculation of life-cycle costs and forms of environmental accounting is a developing area of research. There is no consensus on an appropriate method for reconciling all the benefits and costs to a single unitary measure. True costs to a community for water quality degradation extend beyond immediate human or the physical boundaries of the urban area and can affect the functioning of surrounding ecosystems from which the community may derive income, such as tourism, fishing, water sports or agricultural production.

Until consensus can be reached on a methodology to integrate the different value systems associated with ecological, social and economic systems, a triplebottom line (TBL) is ignored by default. Elkington (1980) coined the introduction of TBL and definition of the term as follows:

TBL focuses corporations not just on the economic value they add, but also on the environmental and social value they add – and destroy. At its narrowest, the term 'triple bottom line' is used as a framework for measuring and reporting the performance against economic, social and environmental parameters (Elkington, 1980; 1998; Suggett et al., 2002; Suggett and Goodsir 2002; Vanclay 2003).

TBL audit concept initially involved placing dollar values on identifiable impacts of business activity, such as the cost to society of water or air pollution or the cost of an enterprise development to neighbouring property values. According to Rogers and Ryan (2001: 283) "...these costs and benefits would be included in the financial accounting of a profit margin—or financial bottom line. However, the concept has moved to a more rigorous evaluation of social and environmental performance, producing a matrix of interlocking bottom lines—or, rather, interlocking scenarios on which decisions can be made. The [ultimate] aim is to maximise performance across all areas of activity".

TBL is far from perfect and appears to place equal emphasis on each area. However, it has long been shown that the economy is contained within our society and in turn society is contained within the ecosystem. Hence to move towards sustainable urban forms, the ecosystem functions need to be addressed first followed by social and then economic needs.

After ordering the TBL, the divergence from the known sustainable performance of the system, in this case the pre-settlement hydrology should be modelled, and used as a benchmark. In turn, key social and financial parameters should be considered in order to provide an objective view of progress and 'costs' on a TBL.

Land would continue to be developed to meet fundamental human needs. However, it is important that the effective allocation and utilisation of land resources should not only meet human needs, but is also kept within the carrying capacity of the land and by implication, its water resources. This is due to the dynamic interactions between land and water systems. Therefore, sustainable development can be defined as; where controlled growth is permissible without reducing the resilience of the ecosystem. Hence, in the context of sustainable urban land and water resource planning and management, the recognition of the impacts of urbanisation on the water environment is among the most crucial. The sustainable management of water requires integration and recognising the interconnections between ecosystem needs and the dynamic nature of interactions in a complex environment. Consequently, a holistic approach is

needed to quantify the impact of urban development on the water environment. The problem of urban water pollution can only be remedied through innovative planning and the courage to implement sustainable practices.

The following recommendations are proposed for protecting urban water resources within the context of sustainable development and TBL approach:

- There has to be a strong nexus between research and practice as our current state of knowledge in relation to urban water quality and pollutant processes are very limited. Therefore, it is essential that the most recent scientific knowledge is incorporated into urban system design and in the development of water quality mitigation strategies.
- Technology should not be seen as the primary or the only solution. Technology should only play a supporting role to strengthen innovative planning and design of urban systems. Secondly, technology applications should be underpinned by strong scientific understanding of their performance and inherent limitations together with an in-depth understanding of lifecycle costs whilst taking into consideration the environmental costs.
- Achieving sustainability relies on human managed systems, such as urban systems, mimicking natural systems. Therefore, this requires the development of an in-depth understanding of the natural systems and thereby the incorporation of this knowledge into urban planning and design strategies.
- Urban planning and design should take into consideration in equal measure the economic rate of return on investment, the value of ecosystem services of the area and the intrinsic value of the water resources to the community. This approach requires the creation of innovative approaches for assessing the true benefits and costs of urban development.
- Regulatory processes governing urban development should incorporate mandatory requirements for triple bottom line accounting and reporting in relation to urban developments.

## CONCLUSIONS

Water is an essential source to life. In recognising that we need water to live, it is also important to understand that safeguarding urban water quality play a critical role in enabling a sustainable urban environment. The concept of sustainability and its applicability to urban settings, including urban water management, have been among the most discussed issues in the literature. However, so far current approaches for handling stormwater and water quality issues in urban landscapes are focused on 'end-of-pipe' solutions. Sustainable urban landscapes must be designed to match the triple bottom line needs of the community starting with ecosystem services first such as the water cycle, then addressing the social and immediate health needs, and finally the economic performance of the catchment.

As Lacey and Heywood (2010) put forward, successful water management has multiple facets which include planning, designing, constructing, operating and maintaining the infrastructure associated with water supply. Particularly with the changing climate and rising urbanisation problems, urban and environmental planners have become forefront

actors in working towards maintaining urban water quality. As rapid urbanisation and growing population of cities are considered, to work in close collaboration with the engineering profession to address the implications of changing lifestyles on water resources and how these are remedied, along with the climate change, could be considered as the most pressing subject of the urban and environmental planning professions. The complex nature of cities and politics around them strongly force urban and environmental planners to analyse contemporary water resource and management problems of their cities more carefully. This also pushes them to produce more effective policy recommendations and programs. In this instance, the widely accepted concept of 'triple bottom line sustainability approach' comes into play.

According to Christen et al. (2006) the triple bottom line provides both a model for understanding sustainability and a system of performance measurement, accounting, auditing and reporting. This sets the scope of triple bottom line reporting as part of a broader framework of change management for integrating sustainability into urban water management decisions. The triple bottom line provides a dual function as a model for management planning and a framework for reporting sustainability levels (or urban water quality) in the context of widely accepted approaches to sustainability within a society. Today there is a growing interest in many parts of the world across the triple bottom line of economic, environmental and social disciplines towards an ethical and accountable approach to sustainability in general and the water environment in particular.

## REFERENCES

- Asakawa, S. Yoshida, K. and Yabe, K. (2004) "Perceptions of urban stream corridors within the greenway system of Sapporo, Japan," Landscape and Urban Planning 68, 167-182.
- Ahyerre, M., Chebbo, G., Tassin, B. and Gaume, E. (1998) "Storm water quality modelling, an ambitious objective?" Water Science and Technology 37, 1, 205-213.
- Collier, T.K., Johnson, L.L., Stehr, C.M., Myers, M.S. and Stein, J.E. (1998) "A comprehensive assessment of the impacts of contaminants on fish from an urban waterway," Marine Environment Research 46, 1-5, 243-247.
- Christen, E., Shephard, M., Meyer, W., Jayawardane, N., and Fairweather, H. (2006) "Triple bottom line reporting to promote sustainability of irrigation in Australia," Irrigation Drainage Systems 20, 329-343.
- Davies, W. (1983) "Wildlife of the Brisbane Area," Jacaranda Press, Queensland.
- Egodawatta, P., Thomas, E. and Goonetilleke, A. (2009) "Understanding the physical processes of pollutant build-up and wash-off on roof surfaces," Science of the Total Environment 407, 6, 1834-1841.
- Egodawatta, P. and Goonetilleke, A. (2008) "Understanding urban road surface pollutant wash-off and underlying physical processes using simulated rainfall," Water Science and Technology 57, 8, 1241-1246.
- Elkington, J. (1980) The Ecology of Tomorrow's World: Industry's Environment London: Associated Business Press.

- Elkington J. (1998) "Cannibals with forks: the triple bottom line of 21st century business," 2nd edn. New Society Publishers
- Gobster, P.H. and Westphal, L.M. (2004) "The human dimensions of urban greenways: planning for recreation and related experiences," Landscape and Urban Planning 68, 147-165.
- House, M.A., Ellis, J.B., Herricks, E.E., Hvitved-Jacobsen, T., Seager, J., Lijklema, L., Alderink, H. and Clifford, I.T. (1993) "Urban drainage-impacts on receiving water quality," Water Science and Technology 27, 117-158.
- Lacey, J., and Heywood, P. (2010) "The ethics of regional water planning: planning and management of water resources in a growth region," In Sustainable urban and regional infrastructure development: technologies, applications and management," Yigitcanlar, T., (Ed.). Hersey, P.A: Information Science Reference, pp. 183-200.
- Lee, S.Y., Yigitcanlar, T., Egodawatta, P., and Goonetilleke, A. (2010) Sustainable water provision: challenges, alternative strategies and sources in the era of climate change. In Sustainable urban and regional infrastructure development: technologies, applications and management. Yigitcanlar, T. (Ed.). Hersey, PA: Information Science Reference, 17-30.
- Lind, B.B and Karro, E. (1995), "Stormwater infiltration and accumulation of heavy metals in roadside green areas in Goteborg, Sweden," Ecological Engineering 1. 5, 533-539.
- Lopes, T.J., Fossum, K.D., Phillips, J.V. and Monical, J.E. (1995) "Statistical summary of selected physical, chemical, and microbial characteristics and estimates of constituent loads in urban stormwater, Maricopa County, Arizona," US Geological Survey, Water-Resources Investigations Report 94-4240, Tucson, Arizona.
- Pitt, R., Field, R., Lalor, M. and Brown, M. (1995) "Urban stormwater toxic pollutants: assessment, sources, and treatability," Water Environment Research 67, 3, 260-275.
- QWC (2007), Queensland Water Commission, Our water: Urban water supply arrangements in South East Queensland, final report [Online]. Available [www.qwc.qld.gov.au/myfiles/uploads/institutional%20arrangements/Urban\\_Water\\_Supply\\_Arrangements\\_in\\_SEQ.pdf](http://www.qwc.qld.gov.au/myfiles/uploads/institutional%20arrangements/Urban_Water_Supply_Arrangements_in_SEQ.pdf), accessed on 21st March 2008.
- Rogers, M., and Ryan, R. (2001) "The Triple Bottom Line for Sustainable Community Development," Local Environment, Vol. 6, No. 3, 279-289.
- Sartor, J.D., Boyd, G.B. (1972) "Water pollution aspects of street surface contaminants," Report No. EPA-R2-72/081, US Environmental Protection Agency, Washington, DC, USA.
- SOE (2001) Australia: State of the Environment, CSIRO Publishing, Australia.
- Suggett, D. and Goodsir, B. (2002) "Triple Bottom Line Measurement and Reporting in Australia: Making it Tangible," Retrieved on 23/11/2009, from <http://www.environment.gov.au/settlements/industry/publications/triple-bottom/pubs/parta.pdf>.

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

- Suggett, D., and Goodsir, B. (2002) "Triple bottom line measurement and reporting in Australia. Making it tangible," The Allen Consulting Group, Melbourne
- Vanclay, F. (2003) "Experiences from the field of social impact assessment: where do TBL, EIA and SIA fit in relation to each other?," In: Pritchard B, Curtis A, Spriggs J, Le Heron R (eds) Social dimensions of the triple bottom line in rural Australia. Australian Government Bureau of Rural Sciences, Canberra
- Wahl, M.H., McKellar, H.N. and Williams, T.M. (1997) "Patterns of nutrient loading in forested and urbanized coastal streams," Journal of Experimental Marine Biology and Ecology 213, 1, 111-31.
- Wanielista, M.P., Yousef, Y.A. and McLellon, W.M. (1977) "Nonpoint source effects on water quality," Journal Water Pollution Control Federation 49, 3, 441-451.
- Warren, N., Allan, I.J., Carter, J.E., House, W.A. and Parker, A. (2003) "Pesticides and other micro-organic contaminants in freshwater sedimentary environments – a review," Applied Geochemistry 18, 159-94.



## HISTORY AND THE CONFIGURATION OF THE ARCHITECTURAL REPERTOIRE FROM BRAZILIAN ARCHITECTS TRAVELLING TO EUROPE IN THE EARLY XX. CENTURY

Josianne CERASOLI, Prof.  
Universidade Federal de Uberlândia, Brazil  
josiannefc@gmail.com

### ABSTRACT

*This paper explores the interpretations and repercussions of the traveling notes made by the Brazilian architect Alexandre Albuquerque about several city professional fields in the beginning of the XX century. Awarded by the Polytechnic School of S.Paul-Brazil [Escola Politécnica de São Paulo] with a period of time studying in Europe in 1906, the just-graduated Albuquerque prepares records and reflections about the urban transformations and architectural shapes he observed visiting countries like France, Belgium, Austria, Germany, England, Italy, and, returning to Brazil, publishes several studies about the travel – studies he dialogues with for many years in his professional life and in other papers. Largely discussed in São Paulo at the time, this kind of studies was considered fundamental to complement the architects formal education, and end up interfering, directly or not, in the art projects for buildings and urban planning, in the formal teaching of Architecture and Arts History, and also, specifically on theoretical notes about architecture. Therefore, this investigation's objective is to contribute to understanding the importance of the journey of studies and the role of European Architecture History in the choice and composing of the architectural repertoire in urban spaces in the early XX century.*

### INTRODUCTION

The installation of the Polytechnic School of S. Paul-Brazil [Escola Politécnica de São Paulo] (1893) enabled an expressive governmental investment to improve the urban professionals to work on buildings and infrastructure projects, especially in São Paulo city and state. It was the second polytechnic school installed in Brazil, beside its homonymous in Rio de Janeiro (from 1874), and it soon took over an important role in educating the professionals of the country, many of them closely linked to planning and executing projects in the urban space. Focused on the several forms on engineering teaching, it stood out traditionally in the graduation of civil engineers, even though the architectural field has been encouraged by the Escola Politécnica de São Paulo since the early years by means of the engineer-architect course and by the presence of some renowned architects in its faculty<sup>1</sup>. Since the School establishment until the 1940s there was the "Travel Abroad Award", in which, every year, the student Who had passed with distinction in every step of the course was offered a travel to Europe, which would last around ten months, sponsored by the São Paulo state government.

---

1 The first Politécnica graduation courses at the time of the settlement were: civil engineering, mechanical engineering, industrial engineering, geography engineering, agricultural engineering and architectural engineering.

Besides the merit acknowledgement by the Congregation, the travel had the objective to complement these young engineers graduation, allowing them to follow up, as interns and visitors, a series of construction works – mostly public buildings and urban infrastructure – in several places of the old continent, as well as to make long ways through many cities, in the condition of specially licensed observers<sup>2</sup>. In their baggage, they would take their itinerary and the professors' guidance, because they were still considered *Politécnica* students during their stay abroad. The variation of this prior plan depended on the engineering field chosen by the student, and usually good as an initial guide, modified by the opportunities and circumstances of each trip. Even the changes made out of the student's personal choices were reported to the Congregation by periodic mailing – a procedure that reassures the idea of a study trip, of an improvement in the engineers's formal education.

Up to the 1940s, period in which the architectural engineering course made around 70 professionals, four students of this course had received the "Travel Award". The second architect engineer to receive this award was Alexandre Albuquerque (1880-1940), graduated in 1905 and was a professor at *Politécnica* on the following decade, becoming, then, the first alumni who got to be part of their faculty, he was hired for the Art Section, Chair for the Architecture History<sup>3</sup>. On his trip to Europe in 1906, Albuquerque registers the urban transformations and the architectural shapes observed visiting countries like France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Austria, Germany, England and Italy, using this as a ground for the dissertation he presents and defends before his teachers, indicated by the School Congregation<sup>4</sup>. The travel still fomented the publication of some studies and notes: the text *Impressions of Europe* (conferences held at the Escola *Politécnica* de São Paulo Guild, published in the *Revista Politécnica* in three parts in 1907), the thesis *Study of the Italian Renaissance and its Development* (two editions in 1909), and the same study about Renaissance published in 1929 and 1930 in the form of articles, with some important punctual changes. Besides this material, nowadays it is possible to have access to the mail has sent *Politécnica* during his travel and to many of the books mentioned in his studies, apparently acquired in this European journey. The analysis of this material allows an approach regarding some important subjects for the professionals Who projected interventions in the cities, among them: the importance of the study travel for the "architectural viewpoint" over the urban culture (as well as the circulation of knowledge about the urban); the role of the erudite knowledge in the readings and actions on the city; the tensions between cultural tradition and technical evolution; the aesthetic issue in the urban space.

## KNOWING, LOOKING, (RE)COGNIZING

Two characteristics stand out in Albuquerque experience and justify, in my point of view, the relevance of a study about this architect's travel to Europe. First of all, for the detailed registry organized and debated by him, apparently the only one Who presents

---

2 Up to 1937, 19 professional received the award: 13 civil engineers, two electrical engineers and four architect engineers: João Moreira Maciel (1899), Alexandre Albuquerque (1905), Alberto Monteiro de Carvalho e Silva (1909), Carlos Lodi (1933).

3Actually, Hipolyto Gustavo Pujol Júnior graduated civil and architect engineer in 1905 and was the first alumni to become a part of the faculty at *Politécnica* de São Paulo, but in the civil engineering course, specializing in materials resistance.

4Examining Committee formed by the professors: F. P. Ramos de Azevedo, José Brant de Carvalho e Maximilian Hehl.

a thesis to the Politécnica teachers after the award-trip; moreover, such registries have been published and discussed by the architects in the School for many years, and supplied material for other reflections about architecture at the time, becoming a reference in a sense. Another aspect refers to the professional path, for the approval in the public contest and later effectuation in the job as a professor at Politécnica, precisely in the Architecture History and Civil Constructions, encouraged Albuquerque to revisit several times the travel repertoire, by means of notes, reflections and the bibliography gathered by him; the long permanence of the architect in the institution and his broad career enabled the resumption of this repertoire in many moments, constituting it as a foundation for more general formulations about relations between architecture, history and city. Even though no systematic effort of theorization about such relation is notorious, it is possible to conceive it as a theoretically reasoned and articulated reflection, staying away from the shapes of just a travelers narrative.

The existence of another registry of a journey to Europe published around the same period also allows an initial approximation, comparing the notes. The German engineer and architect Maximilian Emil Hehl (1861-1916), rooted in Brazil since 1888 and a professor at Politécnica since 1898, also publishes in the Albuquerque tour year, 1906, a report about his own study travel to Italy “to accompany the artistic development at the renaissance time” in the “birthplace of the renaissance style” (Hehl, 1906). According to him, it is about a study regarding the Chair of Architecture History, justified for being “of maximum importance to know *de visu* the monuments of different times, which construction laws and stylistic shapes rule our architecture, our aesthetic feeling and constructive”. He goes through the Italian cities of Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Venice, Florence and makes considerations about them from historic data, art pieces, besides aesthetic and constructive elements. For that he approaches different buildings, usually of grand proportions, analyzing the distribution of spaces, the characteristics of the architectural styles, the value and the effect of the composition elements, the ornamental aspects and the situation of buildings in the cities space. The narrative is short and the considerations are objective, maintaining the didact profile as an unshakeable conducting wire and the conviction in the objectivity of the description, even when he highlights what he calls “aesthetic and constructive feeling”. He highlights, for example, about Florence, the remarkable development of the Renaissance style in Brunelleschi (1377-1446) work, pointing it as peerless in palatial construction, due to monumental proportions and mass distribution which, as he evaluates, allow an unique “noble and serious effect” (Hehl, 1906: 18). It justifies, therefore, with elements of rational analysis, the admiration and enthusiasm before the visited pieces.

Surely Professor Hehl’s travel was much shorter and spatially more restricted than Albuquerque’s. Even their objectives are different – punctual study for one, complement of a formal education for the other – and that becomes clear in the uneven extension and density of the narratives. Despite these distances, in order to punctuate certain relevant elements of this kind of initiative, it is interesting to accompany some aspects and principles that seem to guide the two registries of the traveling architects. The fundamental premise for both is in the sensitive and cognitive importance of the look to understand the conception of the visited works: “only by the look we can appreciate the impression and make it effective and permanent”, says Hehl (1906: 24); and in a conference right after his return, Albuquerque regrets the difficult to expose “in pale paint” the impressions of the journey, of what “we feel when we see the erudite Europe”

(Albuquerque, 1907a: 183). Another approximation is in the role of previous knowledge as safe observation guides. They often refer to a certain historical chronology as a reference to explain the conceptions that rule the described spaces, almost mandatorily supporting itself in a linearity to justify the changes in artistic styles and the emphasis of different compositions. It prevails in both the idea of an uninterrupted process of styles improvement, linked to a political and social evolution. That guides the explanations and qualifies the perception of both. In the cities they visit, they get to know a new impression reached by the visual contact with the buildings and spaces, but without the sense initially modifying the information from formal education, because they classify the new impression precisely according to their previous knowledge. It is as if the eye confirmed the learned concept: the cognize and recognize in an only gesture.

It is possible to see some similarities between these architects journeys and the traditional *grand tour* propagated by English artists and intellectuals, since the XVII century, at the same time we can think about some elements that interfere in this gesture, in this cognize/recognize of the "cultural tourist". These travels planned to complement and crown the education of privileged young, mainly from England and Germany, enabling the direct contact with monuments of Greco-roman art, end up turned, for many critics, into less of a discovery travel, revealing something new, and more in (re)cognition of the already known, because the travelers would see exactly what they were expecting to find in the journey. According to the critics, all the previous preparation and reading that came with these youngsters education would anticipate the views and interpretation about the art and culture they "searched for" making the itinerary, mostly about Italy, due to the strong presence of elements considered part of the classical heritage. The itinerary traditionally involved Paris, Florence, Naples, Venice and Rome (or even Dresden, Vienna), and little by little they could also count with preconceived scripts and specialized guides (Salgueiro, 2003).

The repertoire of readings that prepared the journey was also important to model the *grand tour*, and slowly incorporating the reports of other travelers. Even renowned travelers, such as Goethe (1749-1832), respected a certain Canon considered essential to prepare "the view itinerary". He took with him to Italy, for example, the then well known guide *Historisch-kritische Nachrichten von Italien* (1777), by J.J.Volkman, the important *The History of Ancient Art* (1764), by J.J. Winckelmann, and in Padua, he acquired the work of the architect Andrea Palladio (1508-1580) to become as much familiar as possible to the architecture and the monuments. It is the German writer who narrates, in his *Italian Journey*, the Italians attention when they noticed his interest for Palladio, among so many masters, because for them "he had more to offer in terms of utility and application of his ideas than Vitruvio himself, because he had deeply studied the ancients and the Antiquity" (Goethe, 1999: 70). One may say that a worshiping the antique was consolidated throughout the XVIII century, encouraged in part by the archeological discoveries, such as the cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum, but moreover for the traveling narratives that visit and revisit these places, turned into kinds of paradigms to discuss Antiquity.

The purposes and results of the *grand tour* keep singularities when compared to the travels of the young architects, but there sure is a closeness, especially under the prism of respect to a classical cultural heritage. It is important to consider that the own organization of the studies about architecture history and aesthetic notions in the graduation courses for architects predominantly accentuated a linear reading of transformations in the construction techniques and in notions of constructive and

decorative composition – and even in city conception -, incisively underlining the importance of the Greco-roman Antiquity cultural heritage as constitutive of the Western culture. It is meaningful to notice the naturalness aura that follows great part of the studies and compendiums used in these courses when they indicate how indispensable the (re)cognition of Roman or Greek ruins in Europe in order to understand architecture and culture in the XX century. The same aura, mixed with the linear reading of the so-called architectural “evolution”, is noticeable in architect’s narratives about the subject, including those of the Brazilian architects explored here. The study of architectural styles was prevailing in the architecture treatises and courses, often supported in a historical culture strongly marked by the notion of evolution.

This set – tradition and progress – emphatically redoubled the attention given to the “cultural evolution” knowledge in the Italian peninsula, mainly from the XIX century. One of the most commented builders and writers is the same Palladio in this case, due to his rereading of classical tradition. About the Renaissance architecture, for example, Albuquerque claims there is no invention: “inspired in the past and knew how to harmonize the lines in a way to obtain a set monumental only by its proportion.” (1907b: 196-197). For him and other contemporary architects, a visit to Italy would mean “a walk through the elevated areas of art”, abandoning the mundane for the ideal regions of the beautiful. The justification to prioritize this specific artistic wandering is repeated in several architects:

*[...] extraordinary country that received the inheritance of ancient civilizations and knew how to create a new one over it; that witnessed its greatness extinguish covered by a thick veil that was slowly raising until one Day came the brilliant movement of the science, letters and arts Renaissance [...]*

*(Albuquerque, 1907b: 194).*

The chosen destinations change, but just a few in the motivation and the look on these towns. Venice, Florence and Rome are almost mandatory. By them, for example, traveled the then young American architect Cass Gilbert in the XIX century<sup>5</sup>. Besides these cities, he left registries of his stays in Siena, Pisa, Genoa and Milan (same places visited by Albuquerque, except for Siena, and also adding to the Italian script Vicenza, Turin, Naples, Bologna and Ravenna). When crossing some of these architects registries, the similarity in notes and judgments draws attention, as if they could see with the same viewpoint, selecting really close aspects, leaving from likewise similar criteria. Florence and especially Venice are unique in this sense. Any one of them will hardly let go of registering their impressions of some buildings and Venetian spaces, like St. Mark Church. Gilbert is emphatic to highlight the conception of the temple as brighter than Trinity Church in Boston, by H.H.Richardson (1838-1886) (Blodgett, 2001: 26); Hehl is admired by its interior: “it is of a gorgeous effect, serious by the simplicity in shapes, majestic by its proportions and of a magical effect by its mosaics” (1906: 12); Albuquerque takes his time describing the “fantastic aspect” given by the set of the church “of a kind of gothic, kind of byzantine style”, without however existing there any “servile copy” (1907c: 321). The impressions registries are repeated before what is seen and recognized, commonly highlighting the convenience, the solidity, and the

---

<sup>5</sup>Cass Gilbert (1859-1934) was president of the *American Institute of Architects* and responsible for many public and private buildings in New York, Minnesota etc., among them the Supreme Court building in Washington-DC.

expression of the buildings – features that describe by means of detailing the proportion and ornamentation effects, by the reading off the harmony between shape and function, by an erudite appreciation of the effects of the beautiful. It is Albuquerque who more clearly expresses what this observer's viewpoint tells us: "the architecture is mainly rational" (1909: 36).

Furthermore, unlike the *grand tour*, it is not mainly the narratives by literates, poets and artists, Stendhal or Byron, neither the traveling journals or guides from the XVIII century that prepares these architects' way, but mostly philosophers, scholars of culture and treatises of architecture and art. Albuquerque uses treatises by the architects Giorgio Vasari, Louis Cloquet, Etienne Barberot, Henry Guédy, Daniel Ramée, among others, and thinkers like Voltaire, Hippolyte Taine, Jacob Burckhardt, or even Tolstoi, in the Russian writer's reflections about aesthetics<sup>6</sup>. The Brazilian architect is broadly supported in Cloquet, for example, to specify in his thesis what the three goals of architecture that should be always evaluated on observed space. According to the Belgium treatiser, the building should be appropriate to its destination, physically and morally, to feature structural and moral solidity, and still express itself completely as an artistic monument; in the apprehension of this set, however, he understands as necessary the cultivation of the observer, that is, he conceives the feeling of the beautiful as cultivable, not absolute (1909: 24-31). It is still interesting to notice that the *Traité d'Architecture* (published between 1898-1901 in five volumes) by Cloquet was the textbook in the architecture course at the Politécnica de São Paulo, and the book's conceptions were debated by Albuquerque's professors, like Ramos de Azevedo (CARVALHO, 2000), besides being a part of the School's library collection since its establishment.

## ERUDITE KNOWLEDGE AND THE "URBAN ISSUE"

*Slowly, a general idea of this town is arising in my soul*

*(Goethe, 1999: 153).*

The hues – the tones - are different in the registries: more literary with the travelers in general, more philosophical and predominantly analytical or "technical" with the traveling architects; but with no excessive contrasts. It seems to me that broader cultural apparatus that guides such tones would allow different approaches, considering most of all the historic circumstances of the composition. The readings become entwined, understood strictly and figuratively. Especially when they turn the attention to the city, widening the observation horizon, literates, poets, intellectuals of several lines end up approximating their readings from the XIX century on. By times, the arrangement of the streets and the townsmen movement steal the attention to the tradition monuments. On this horizon widening, specifically with the architect engineers, the "study travel" would get a singular importance due to this field's characteristics from the XIX to the XX century. The architecture teaching would oscillate between structural issues, linked to buildings, the conceptual ones, linked to the notion of urban project and salubrity, and the artistic ones, regarding the so-called fine arts, the aesthetic etc.

---

<sup>6</sup>Albuquerque largely uses the French edition by Tolstoi, *Qu'est-ce que l'art?* (1903) (volume found in the architect's personal library).

Apparently, there is a look displacement at this moment, perhaps motivated by the new and unexpected that are glimpsed. The descriptions are invaded by the streets, by the nonstop gathering and movement of people, by the urban equipment and means of transportation. Railroads, omnibus, bonds, subways are mixed with lyric narratives and aesthetic notes, underlining, even shyly, the place these spaces function – unknown spaces. Hippolyte Taine (1828-1893), for instance, an author frequently followed by Albuquerque in his *Philosophie de l'art* (1880) and on the three volumes of *Voyage en Italie* (1866) closely registers the unpleasant interactions on his travel to Italy, initiated in 1865. He goes through Rome, Perugia, Sienna, Florence, Pisa, Padua and Venice, pointing out the cultural expressions he witnesses in these places – theatres, squares, palaces, churches, art pieces – and also underlining the smell of the streets, the landscape and buildings contrasts etc. Coming into Rome, he talks about “infected lanes”, any one of them “five feet wide”, in when “no sunshine ever finds its way into them” and “the mud is like glue”, in contrast with the admiration in the Piazza del Popolo “with its churches, obelisks, fountains, and the monumental steps of Pincio, is both peculiar and beautiful” (1990: v.1, 12-13; 190). Notes like this, lined b contrasts, are recurrent and do not go unnoticed when the observation angle is widened.

After going through “16611 km of railroads throughout eleven countries”, says Albuquerque, “our spirit has felt all kinds of sensations” (1907a: 182). Like Cass Gilbert, Albuquerque also reveals an open disappointment when he lands at old Europe. The American architect did not like London city when he first saw in 1880 (Blodgett, 2001: 27-29), neither did Albuquerque, when describing his first passage on the Thames shore, on Regent Street, on Piccadilly Circus: “How much illusion undone! Everywhere, selfishness conducted by hypocrisy. It is the country of extremes: virtue and vice; altruism and selfishness; rich and poor; abundance and starvation... all in a macabre dance” (1907a: 186). The impact of the streets causes certain impressions that in a given moment replace the pacificatory (re)cognition of artistic monuments in the old continent. For the architects, this new impression is fundamental in the setting of a more complex urban sensibility, mediated by and erudite knowledge that will slowly become really specific, besides being required in the field.

So, I come back to Albuquerque’s notes in Italy, now in Naples, “latin race metropolis”, according to him. Right away, he mentions *Voyage* by Taine to agree with the impact of the place’s vivacity that “pleases all the men, hearts and feelings” (1907a: 187), but soon opposes his readings of the city’s old streets, such as via Toledo: “then we will have a sad show to watch”. The observations essentially concern insolation: lanes with three to four meters wide with tall houses and windows with balconies result in this worrisome picture for the architect: “no sunshine comes warm up the sidewalk’s slab” (190). The issue of sunshine incidence would earn, on the following decade, several studies from the architect about hygiene and salubrity in the urban space. The sanitary precepts that guided his perception and worried him in Naples are similar to those that converted, years later, in the technical regulation of the buildings in the city of São Paulo, by means of legal instruments, such as the Constructions Code. The young architect’s observations about width of the streets and position of the windows in European cities are very meaningful, due to the imminence of the sanitary precepts mobilized in this look.

No doubt it is the same Goethe’s Naples, joyful, free, lively, also revisited by Taine, but on the architect’s notes it appears pervaded by the sanitary concern: “There is public hygiene only where His Majesty the King’s car passes by, and on the big sidewalks

made for the foreigners. Besides, there is the full denial of human comfort.” Next to this issue, Albuquerque is still surprised with the intense occupation of the street by the Neapolitans, describing the variety of activities made on the street by carpenters, blacksmiths, laundresses etc. “The street is the Neapolitan’s home” (190). At this point, no positive aesthetic appreciation is noticed, no evaluation of proportion usage and composition effects. One may say that the engineer’s sensibility overlapped the architect’s before this Picture or, in another way, maybe of a very risky generalization, one may say that the architecture apprehension over the city is altered under this circumstance. However it is, the presence of a tensioner element is notorious, even more evidenced when Albuquerque opposes this latin metropolis to the organization of northern cities, where the engineer is, in his opinion, “a constant friend of the populations, working to improve life conditions in big cities, eliminating the focus of diseases and avoiding their spreading” (191).

He explores in this picture several elements regarding space organization and urban life, putting aside for a while his strictly aesthetic concerns. Actually, the incorporation of sanitary, comfort and hygiene precepts with the functionality and efficiency principles is really noticeable, making up and expanding the aesthetic concerns of the architect engineer. In other cities, he also analyzes the issue of the means of transportation, and in Naples, he worries again about that: “the common transportation is the *omnibus*, a big two-story wagon that, over the paving, joltily takes the passenger’s body”. On the other hand, he compliments the subways, “really one of the finest enterprises of human engineering, but that does not yet feature all the safety conditions for the passenger” (192), he warns. Two years later, showing his dissertations to the Politécnica Congregation, Albuquerque still points out the widening of the architect’s field when it comes to new usage of iron and cement, besides new possibilities for improving the urban infrastructure. In his opinion, that can widen the space for a new profile of professional, one who can blend artistic taste and scientific knowledge, the architect engineer, prepared to fulfill the contemporary demands – exhibition palaces, railroad stations, bridges with a large interspace etc. (1909: 44).

These kinds of reflections reverberated in many of this professional’s fields, besides their writing about architectural and urban shapes, elaborated throughout his career, and his work as a faculty member of the Architecture and Arts History<sup>7</sup>. A few years after returning from his travel, in 1911, he projects and defends improvements for the downtown area of São Paulo city, redrawing aesthetic composition and functionality elements in order to solve problems that already made harder for people and goods to move around in the *paulista* capital. Even though it has not been executed, the projected helped to stimulate discussion about the “urban issue” in São Paulo, as much as in Naples, Rome or Venice, visited by the architect’s erudite feeling. Also in his first writings about architecture, he resumes the interpretations about the privileged place of Renaissance style in European buildings. He understands that the constant tribute to the Renaissance in the XXI century – a time with very different goals from that – contributed to the eclectic architecture formation he observed in Europe. For the young architect, the Renaissance was no longer satisfactory, and assures, in 1909: “a new era of universal Architecture will come, in which iron and reinforced concrete will

---

7 It is worth pointing out that great part of the principles used in the texts explored here were resumed by Albuquerque in the end of his career, when He summarized many years of work as a professor at Politécnica in the compendium: *Construções Cívicas*, published in 1942 and used, in Brazil, as a reference for architecture and engineering students until recent times

have a winning preference." More than an interesting anticipation of the future architecture picture in the beginning of the XX century, Albuquerque reassures, on this conclusive evaluation, the principles that have followed him throughout his path, underlining the "evolutionary" interpretation of arts and architecture history, "always guided by the same progress Law" (1909: 65), as well as the necessary harmony between technique and beauty, art and science. These are not singular or personal principles, but conceptions that were broadly discussed by architects in their reflections, most of all on the great debates encouraged by modern vanguards – certainly another chapter to visit as an outspread imagined for this study about the role of erudite knowledge in the readings and actions over the city.

## REFERENCES

- Albuquerque, Alexandre (1909). Estudo do Renascimento Italiano e seu desenvolvimento. Dissertação de tese – premio viagem á Europa. São Paulo: Typographia Brasil de Rotschild & Comp.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1907a). "Impressões da Europa [1a parte]". Revista Polytechnica 15, 182-198.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1907b). "Impressões da Europa [2a parte]". Revista Polytechnica 16, 267-283.
- \_\_\_\_\_(1907c). "Impressões da Europa [3a parte]". Revista Polytechnica 17, 315-334.
- Blodgett, Geoffrey (2001). Cass Gilbert: the early years. St.Paul-MN: Minnesota HS Press.
- Carvalho, M.C.Wolff (2000). Ramos de Azevedo. São Paulo: EDUSP.
- Choay, Françoise (1985). A Regra e o Modelo: sobre a teoria da arquitetura e do urbanismo. Trad. Geraldo Gerson de Sousa. São Paulo: Perspectiva.
- Goethe, Johann W. (1999). Viagem à Itália 1786-1788. Trad. Sérgio Tellaroli. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras [1ªed. original 1816-1817].
- HEHL, Maximilian E. (1906). "Viagem de instrucción á Itália – consideração historica architectonica." Anuario da Escola Polythecnica de S. Paulo para o anno de 1906. São Paulo: Typographia do Diário Official, .3-24
- Larson, Paul C. (2003). Cass Gilbert abroad: the yong architect's European tour. Afton-MN: Afton HS Press.
- Lepetit, Bernard (2001). "De Alexandria ao Cairo. Práticas eruditas e identificação dos espaços no final do século XVIII." Por Uma Nova História Urbana. Trad. Cely Arena. São Paulo: Edusp, 87-116.
- Lúcio, Sonia V.M. (1999) Uma viajante brasileira na Itália do risorgimento: tradução comentada do livro Trois ans en Italie Suivis d'un Voyage en Grece (vol.I - 1864; vol.II - s.d.) de Nisia Floresta Brasileira Augusta. Tese (Doutorado em Teoria Literária)-IEL-Unicamp-SP.
- Salgueiro, Valéria (2002). "Grad Tour: uma contribuição à história do viajar por prazer e por amor à cultura". Revista Brasileira de História 44, 22, 289-310.
- Tayne, Hippolyte (1990). Voyage en Italie. Préf. Emile Zola. Col. Le Regard Littéraire, 3v. Bruxelles: Éd.Complexe [1ªed. 1866].
- Torrão Filho, A (2008). A arquitetura da alteridade: a cidade luso-brasileira na literatura de viagem (1783-1845). Tese (Doutorado em História)-IFCH, Unicamp-SP.



## THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE EIXAMPLE IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF CONTEMPORARY BARCELONA REVISION THROUGH TWO ADMITTED MISCONCEPTIONS

**Manel GUÀRDIA**, Prof. Dr.  
Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, Spain  
manel.guardia@upc.edu

**Josep-Maria Garcia-FUENTES**, PhD. Student  
Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, Spain  
jose.maria.garcia-fuentes@upc.edu

**Nadia FAVA**, Prof. Dr.  
Univesitat de Girona, Spain  
Nadia.Fava@udg.edu

### **ABSTRACT**

*Barcelona Extension proposal, the Eixample, by Ildefonso Cerdà is undoubtedly the most important urban transformation of contemporary Barcelona. These days, the vast area of the Eixample is the largest and densest symbolic centre of activities. It is a key piece that unites contemporary Barcelona and its metropolitan area. Its layout, zoning, real estate, urban development and trees lining form a characteristic urban landscape, endowed with an order and a clear internal cohesion, which is clearly distinguishable from the old city, and from the bordering neighbourhoods.*

*Although the current celebration of the 150th anniversary of the adoption of Cerdà's project is prompting new and important contributions in the line of investigation conducted in recent decades that have greatly enriched our vision of the project and the formation process of the Eixample, there tend to remain some misconceptions that significantly distort the most common readings.*

*The first misconception is caused by forgetting that the order and cohesion of the project not only emerge from the project, but also from the collective practices and continuity of the processes. Hence, the Eixample is often considered as a designer work. This assumption betrays Cerdà's own ideas. He was fully aware of the limitations of the project as a tool for the construction of the city, and in an extraordinary forward-looking, analytical effort, he did not try to define a finished definitive project. Rather, he tried to understand the practices and forces that would likely build the city to consider the devices that would regulate an open process of formation, which would lead to the establishment of operating principles of a topographical, technical, legal and economic nature with a capacity to adapt to changing historical circumstances, and that would be fulfilled in the ways of building the city, as governed by the Laws of Extension.*

*The second misconception arises from the current perception of the landscape of the Eixample, which almost naturally overlaps and associates Cerdà's project with the many "modernist" architectural features that today characterize its most significant core. When one considers the flaming belligerence in the decades at the turn of the century from the anti-Eixample and anti-Cerdà modernist generation, we realize that this association greatly distorts historical reality. It can be said without exaggeration that the works of Gaudí, Domènech and Montaner – now World Heritage sites – and of so many contemporary architects are authentic manifestos against Cerdà and against his Eixample.*

*The objective of this proposal is a critical review of the process of urban transformation of Barcelona throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which will analyse the process of urban, architectural, cultural and social shaping of the Eixample, with the intention of dispelling the admitted familiarities to which we have referred. Moreover, we will search for a better understand both the project and the process of the shaping of the Eixample. We will also seek to understand how, in the 1960s, the current account of the Eixample and about Modernismo was constructed, which nearly inevitably incorporate these misconceptions in our way of perceiving.*

## INTRODUCTION

The valuation of the figure and work of Ildefons Cerdà has changed substantially in the last 50 years. Between the centenary of the approval of his project for the Eixample (meaning “expansion district” in the Catalan language), which was celebrated in 1959, and the present celebration of its 150th anniversary, a colossal advance has been made in our knowledge of this figure and of the Eixample’s gestation and building processes. In parallel to this increase of our knowledge, Cerdà has gone from being the practically unknown author of a project imposed on Barcelona by the Government in Madrid to become the most internationally acknowledged figure of Barcelona’s modernisation period covering the last 150 years, together with the architect Antoni Gaudí and Modernista architecture. Despite the significant growth of our knowledge about the construction process of Barcelona’s Eixample, however, some misconceptions persist in its most common perception, misconceptions which are probably derived from the role that Cerdà and his Eixample have assumed as an expression of the singularity and international interest of Barcelona’s modernisation in the city’s inevitable marketing.



Figure 1. Photomontage of Cerdà’s Expansion Plan (1863) and an aerial view of Barcelona.

Two of these commonly accepted misconceptions stand out from the rest: the first one involves the interpretation of Cerdà as an “author” and of the Eixample as his work, while the second is the almost natural superimposition and association of Cerdà, the Eixample and Modernista architecture. Although reasons exist for establishing this type of connections, the Eixample should not be confused with Cerdà and neither should a

harmonious continuity be postulated between Ildefons Cerdà's ideas, the building of the Eixample and so called Modernista architecture. We propose, therefore, to dissipate some of the generally held commonplaces so as better to understand the formation process of the Eixample and to comprehend the misconceptions which our gaze habitually embraces.

### ILDEFONS CERDÀ'S ANTICIPATIONS

Cerdà's extraordinary personality and vision often cause it to be forgotten that Barcelona's Eixample is in fact the outcome of a collective building process, and often cause us to assimilate it abusively to the work of a single author. We have a tendency to associate the unity and consistency of its layout (which is clearly distinguishable from that of the Old Town), its division into plots, its urban development and even its buildings with the exceptional figure of Cerdà and with his project's ambition. However, today we know that order and cohesion are often not built exclusively from above, from the project, but that ways of doing things, practices, local actions and processes that are coordinated over the course of the project generally make a fundamental contribution to their achievement. Indeed, Cerdà himself adopted an attitude that was openly opposed to the prevailing academic aestheticism and to the signature urban design proper to architects (Soria, 1971). He set this out in his *Teoría de la Viabilidad Urbana* of 1861: "Up to now, when it has been proposed to found, reform or expand a town, no one has concerned himself with anything other than the artistic and monumental part. The number, class, condition, character and resources of the families who were to occupy it have been completely overlooked. The political and social economy of the town or its inhabitants as a whole, which logically enough should be the true starting point of studies of this nature, have been sacrificed to the beauty or grandeur of specific details" (1061/ TCC, 1859).

Cerdà was fully aware of the limitations of the project as an instrument for the construction of the city. For this reason he took a both realistic and very ambitious approach. He was a self-declared proponent of the positivism of his times and, to avoid the casuistic approaches that responded to problems with solutions of a particular nature, he adopted a scientific approach aimed to lay foundations of universal validity. The case of Barcelona thus became the starting point of an ambitious doctrinal elaboration that sought to establish on solid foundations, since it could not be based on experience or tradition, a comprehensive framework for the development of a modern city. In this way, his project became an ideal schema, a tool which was to allow him to establish systematically operative principles of legal and economic character, with the capacity to adapt itself to the various changing realities. It was not a matter of providing answers to concrete questions or of defining a finished project, but rather of considering the great urban issues in a unitary way.

His very diverse and systematic studies on the case of Barcelona show his concern for social and hygienic matters, which are essential aspects of "the political and social economy of the city as a whole, or of its inhabitants". Possessed of a distinctly liberal vision, however, he trusted basically in the mechanisms of the market. The city had to be a growth factor and, consequently, it could not have limits. It was solely a question of assuring viability, salubrity and the economy. He did not believe that the development processes of the city could be predetermined: for example, he refused to

establish a differentiated hierarchy of streets since the circumstances and uses that each street would go about acquiring were unforeseeable.

As a civil engineer with a precisely defined ideology of progress, he adopted an abstract structural interpretation, mindful of functional logics. This interpretation was especially concerned about the consequences of the new transport means and about the connections of the major territorial infrastructures, particularly including the railways and the port, which became the principal structuring elements. For Cerdà, Barcelona was an eminently industrial and commercial city that had to provide solutions to a major increase in traffic, an issue that was gaining relevance in light of the planned opening of the Suez Canal. For this reason the plan that he submitted attributed great importance to the interior reform of the Old Town and especially included the project of a new port by the engineer Josep Rafo. On the basis of these criteria, he established the general skeleton that defined the layout, direction and breadth of the streets, squares, boulevards and gardens, in order to differentiate clearly the spaces for public use from those intended for private use.

On the other hand, the new city's urban development mechanisms and practices were more difficult to conceive. Neither the experience of the opening of streets in the Old Town nor the widely tested practices of forming new neighbourhoods of one-bay single-family houses according to an emphyteutic census, which had become consolidated in many urban centres in Catalonia, could serve as a model. In this respect, Cerdà was clearly aware that the necessary anticipative effort was much greater and, although he sought to establish the essential mechanisms that should model the formation of the Eixample, these mechanisms required a political negotiation process and a process of practical ponderation that could not be foreseen.

Accordingly, the Eixample is not only the outcome of Cerdà's thinking: its final result is the expression of a whole generation –that of the liberal revolution– and of a period –the reign of Isabella II– imbued with the notion of progress and especially formative from the legal, institutional and economic standpoints. The new legislation relating to the Eixample is therefore naturally inscribed among the numerous fundamental laws that were enacted during this period to assure the deployment of the railway, the banking system and businesses, etc. (Bassols Coma, 1973).

In order to understand the gestation of the Eixample and Cerdà's contribution, however, it is also necessary to inscribe it within a bustling historical context which had its epicentre in the Barcelona of those years, where the debate on the Eixample had long been under way among the social forces of Barcelona. Cerdà's vision was in harmony with many of the concerns of hygienists and industrialists, but it did not deal with some of the aspirations of urban signification and embellishment which were very much a part of the final phase of the debate. Just like the Ministry of Public Works, Cerdà considered Barcelona's Eixample to be a great public work of interest to the State. They did not consider it at any time to be a question of embellishment or signification, so it became basically a matter of accessibility and of the land market (Sagarra, 1998).

Throughout the whole process, superimposed on this fact was the conflict between the Central Administration of the State and Barcelona City Council, derived from the extremely centralist character of the Municipal Act. This law granted the City Council a merely deliberative function, considering it technically unqualified in the matter of the Eixample. Even so, for the City Council this lack of legal prerogatives did not mean either its renunciation to influence the process or its relinquishment of the idea of the

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

Example that was upheld by the local institutions. The call for tenders by the City Council in 1859 was a public act of resistance and the confrontation of Rovira's winning project with that of Cerdà, which was backed by the Ministry of Public Works, clearly shows the discrepancies (Santa.Maria, 2009, López, 2010). Rovira's project was more concerned with the planning of the urban spaces and of the public buildings, with the definition of a setting for the new elites and with the monumental messages than with providing effective solutions for infrastructures. It offered a solution that was closer to the interests of private property and to the cultural and symbolic aspirations of a city that sought to assume manifest values of capitality. That is to say, it was more concerned with what Cerdà intentionally avoided.



Figure 2. Expansion Plan (1859) for Barcelona by Antoni Rovira i Trias



Figure 3. Expansion Plan (1859) for Barcelona by Ildefonso Cerdà (1859)

These arguments were inscribed within the tradition of embellishment which had built, and continued to build, the great European capitals, and which aspired to transcend utility in order to achieve a monumental expression. In accordance with this, the city was associated with a "work of art" in the sense that it should be the bearer of a lofty message and value which, in the urban context, were condensed above all in the city spaces, in the public buildings, in the monuments and even in the names chosen for streets and squares.

In the end, although Cerdà's project prevailed, these aspirations were not relinquished. Cerdà's project would be modified over the course of its construction. In fact, the reading which the city made of it throughout the building process may be expressed in this way: "The Cerdà project was established and began to be developed, but it did not predetermine and does not predetermine that this plan should be free from the need to undergo major reforms as the times unfold, times in which the advances in adornment, interior life and policy of peoples demand imperative modifications that they must perforce impose." (*La Vanguardia*, 25/01/1887). From its very first steps, the Eixample required adaptations. Indeed, Cerdà himself, as an advisory expert of the State between 1860 and 1865, had no objections to modifying it, as long as its general structure was not altered (*Urbs i Territori*, 1994; López, 2010). The Eixample's systematic conception and its layout, based on almost abstract circulation forecasts, and its often schematic, ambiguous and in no way binding definition, gave shape to a quite flexible framework that was capable of adapting itself to a historical development that was hard to foresee, and capable of absorbing modifications that were particularly critical of the project itself.

## **THE BUILDING OF THE EIXAMPLE: LEGAL MECHANISMS AND THE REAL ESTATE MARKET**

In view of the almost non-existent intervention of the municipal administration, the operation was driven basically by private initiative through the so called Expansion District Enterprises, which were real-estate public limited companies of considerable scope and eminently local capital that were founded almost immediately, intervening decisively in the urban development and growth of the Eixample (Corominas, M., 1990). These companies acquired large plots of rural land and took charge of the works of urban development, surveying, levelling of streets and covering of torrents and streams, together with the opening of roads and the building of pavements, paving and the planting of trees. This vigorous start was cut short by the crisis that arose in the spring of 1866, a crisis that brought about the collapse of Barcelona's stock market and the fall of the Expansion District Enterprises. In subsequent years, the building industry underwent its worst crisis of the last half of the 19th century, and after this disaster the leading role was taken over by the Eixample Board, which arose from the Act of 1864 and had its own budget as from the accounting year 1868-1869.

Neither was this political and economic context very favourable for the resolution of the major infrastructures, which were so important in Cerdà's conception. The works on the new port advanced very slowly, the matter of the connections with the various railway lines was left pending, and the skeleton of major thoroughfares planned by Cerdà was jeopardised by the persistence of the municipal limits that fragmented the territory concerned, and particularly by the Ciutadella, a key sector of the project which, with its

vicissitudes, formed a compendium of the difficulties involved in carrying out the programme of infrastructures and facilities envisaged by Cerdà and by the city itself.

For Cerdà the plot of the Ciutadella was a key piece in the functional articulation of the new city. In the early 1860s, when an offensive was waged to recover the plot of the Ciutadella, the principal arguments revolved around the need to expand the city's mercantile, industrial and port area. In the end, however, the impossibility of assuring a minimum amount of public and representative spaces and the absence of expectations with respect to the Interior Reform led to a highly significant change of perspective. When, with the revolution of September 1868, it became possible to recover the plot of the Ciutadella, the city's social forces and the public opinion were in agreement that it would be best to devote the area to the creation of a large public park. This was the expression of civic pride as a space devoted to the most visible modernisation and to the sociability and representation of the urban elites. Nevertheless, it became an obstacle to any possible extension of the Eixample towards Sant Martí and by no means did it reflect the image of an industrial city or the functional logic that Cerdà proposed ("La dimensió urbana", 1988).

### THE BUILDING EXPLOSION OF THE EIXAMPLE AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF AN URBAN CONSTRUCTION SYSTEM. 1869-1885

From 1869 to 1885, a period of massive construction unfolded. This period coincided with the economic boom that ended with the episode known as "the Gold Fever" and the stock market crash of 1882. During this long phase of the 1870s and early 80s, an extremely strong impetus was generated, affecting most intensely the sector of the Eixample located between Passeig de Gràcia and Passeig de Sant Joan and, outside the Eixample, the neighbourhoods of Poble-sec and Hortafrancs. A comparison of the area built up in 1885, in what was then the municipality of Barcelona, to the built-up area in 1871 is sufficiently self-explanatory.

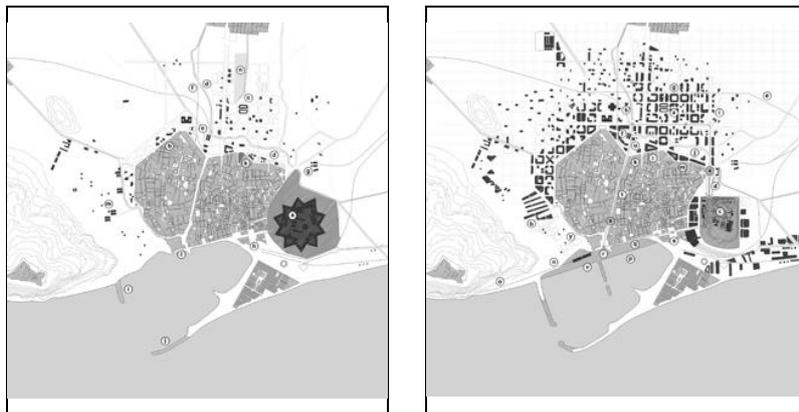


Figure 4. Map of Barcelona, 1869 and 1885.

Also important in this period were the investments in infrastructures, to a large extent made by private initiative, and a significant set of public interventions, such as the

definitive channelling of the works on the port and the planning and development of the railway connections. A consideration of the technical networks gives us another dimension of the great urban change which took place during these years, showing the clear and deliberate strengthening of a specific sector of the Eixample. As in other European cities, in the last half of the century there occurred a process of redefinition of the urban space which was closely tied to the technical revolution of the supply and distribution systems of water and gas, and the networks of sewers, electric lighting, telephones and, above all, public transport ("La dimensió urbana", 1988).

The Eixample's great residential growth consolidated an active land market and an urban building system that was destined to last. This system allowed leased dwellings to predominate since the owner could envisage the recovery of his investment through leases, which would grow steadily in step with the urban improvements (Llobet, 1984). In this way, the progressive construction of the Eixample would strengthen its homogeneity and cohesion, which were greatly potentiated by the application of the ordinances of 1857. These ordinances were extremely rigid in their figurative aspects, as was characteristic of the years in which they were approved. They established a maximum height of 100 palms (19.40 metres), without exception, and the only crowning that they allowed was "an iron railing built according to one of the models approved by the Municipality", although they permitted prominent elements on the façade, such as belvederes or tribunes (in the centre of the façade and made of iron and glass) or towers and pavilions (respecting the central axis of symmetry). The photographs from these years show the basically repetitive cubic appearance of the structures, which gave rise to so much criticism among the Modernista generation. Cerdà, in his *Teoría de la Construcción de las Ciudades* of 1855, showed himself to be even stricter: "Any balcony, any tribune and, in a word, any type of projection from the general surface of the façade or from the alignment of the street is an abuse which should be banned because it constitutes an easement on the public way and the common right rejects it". In 1887, the Eixample's appearance seemed completely inappropriate: "One sees only city blocks that are more or less regular in their capacity, but in their form they are almost symmetrical. All the crossings of viewpoints look the same, producing fatigue and weariness. This does not happen in the big cities where the visual strategy and artistic perspective are carefully studied to avoid this defect." (*La Vanguardia*, 9/02/1887)



Figure 5. Plaça Catalunya in the 1910s. Panoramic postcard by L. Roisin. Despite the square's indisputable centrality in Barcelona, the buildings demonstrate monotonous aspects denounced by modernist architects.

## MODERNISTA ARCHITECTURE AND THE EIXAMPLE

Beginning in the early 1880s, the criticisms of the Eixample and Cerdà became more insistent. On the one hand, the criticisms that had already been voiced at the time of approval of the Cerdà Plan were intensified, demanding greater attention to embellishment and urban signification. The building of an extensive area of the Eixample where the urban development was not always fully consolidated, that had large vacant spaces and that was hardly transitable and was very unpleasant on rainy or windy days, as well as the monotony produced by the extreme regularity and repetition of its layout, alignments and façades, caused people to demand a reform that would set Barcelona on an equal footing with the major cities of Europe. The absence of public and monumental buildings intensified this impression even more.

The Modernista generation was the most belligerent with respect to the Eixample and Cerdà. Its critical attitude was very similar to that which its contemporaries in other places in Europe showed towards the confident outlook of the previous generation's liberalism. The transformation process of Catalan culture led to a progressive modernisation of the bourgeoisie, who adopted an attitude that was more cosmopolitan and that was directed at the same time to the building of a properly Catalan identity. The emergence of the Modernista intellectuals and artists was a manifestation of this modernisation, involving the adoption of more active patterns of consumption and an aspiration of refinement, in sharp contrast to the values of moderation and decorum that had marked the middle of the century. Considering the abundance of criticisms, the Modernista creations in the Eixample should be understood to be implicit manifestos of opposition (Marfany, 1984). This is especially evident in some of the most prominent interventions, such as the ensemble of the Manzana de la Discòrdia (the Block or Apple of Discord), Gaudí's La Pedrera, or Puig i Cadafalch's Terrades House. Paraphrasing the expression that Carl Schorske used to contrast the Ringstrasse with the fin-de-siècle generation, it may be said that the Eixample is "the anvil on which Modernista architecture was forged" (Schorske, 1979).

Josep Puig i Cadafalch had published three articles between 29 December 1900 and 22 January 1901 in *La Veu de Catalunya*, entitled in translation "The Barcelona of the Years to Come", which were in fact a furious criticism of Cerdà's Eixample. He declared it to be "one of the world's greatest horrors" and compared the grid of its layout to the galleries of burial niches in cemeteries. He intentionally ignored the revision of the ordinances of 1891, which provided a greater leeway for surfaces and volumes, and considered the façades to be "lacking in space for any other termination than the tame headpiece or the horizontal openwork railing that are specifically prescribed by the rules of the Eixample and that, with a zeal worthy of a better cause, the civil servants of the offices and the Commission of the Eixample devote themselves to imposing, more intent on complying with foolish laws than with wise and prudent ones" (Torres Capell, 1985). More equanimous, Rogent i Pedrosa admitted that "the houses for lease of a former time, a time by no means remote, were reduced to large cubes with openings, completely lacking in taste or art", but the new ordinances of 1891 "have allowed the modern buildings to be given a more picturesque appearance that is more in accordance with the eminently plastic nature of architectural art" (Rogent i Pedrosa, 1897).

In fact, Puig i Cadafalch, for his part, accumulated arguments for "demolishing once and for all this whole administrative monstrosity that sets us on the track to achieving

that the new city will turn out the way it is indeed turning out”, adding that “the best action with which we could inaugurate the century that we are beginning, would be to break down the obstacles that cohibit us, such as the ancient city walls, obstacles that prevent Barcelona from being a modern city in the European manner (...). In his work, Cerdà repeats constantly the need to reform the old cities in order to adapt them to the new customs and this is something that should be applied today to his work, which has prematurely grown old. The reform of the Eixample must be studied, just as years ago the reform of the Old Barcelona was studied (...). We must make a break with the bureaucracy and adapt laws to art, not art to laws”.

The Connection project of Jaussely, the winner of the competition held by the City Council on the occasion of the Aggregation of the municipalities of the Plain of Barcelona, gives a fairly clear idea of what the city was like that was then considered desirable and it evidences how far removed it was from Cerdà's concepts. Indeed, if the approval of a plan had sufficed for Cerdà's project, the new culture of planning in formation required a much more complex and exhaustive documentation. In addition to the general plan, the new project provided plans of uses, tramways, sewers, green zones, population densities, the connection of Barcelona with its surroundings and the transformation stages, and a considerable number of details in perspective of the most significant spaces which had been designed. Likewise, it included the technical systems, to which it lent the maximum attention, seeking to locate activities through zoning, while attending to the urban landscape and its monumental dimension and anticipating the visualisation of a great city (Torres Capell, 1985).

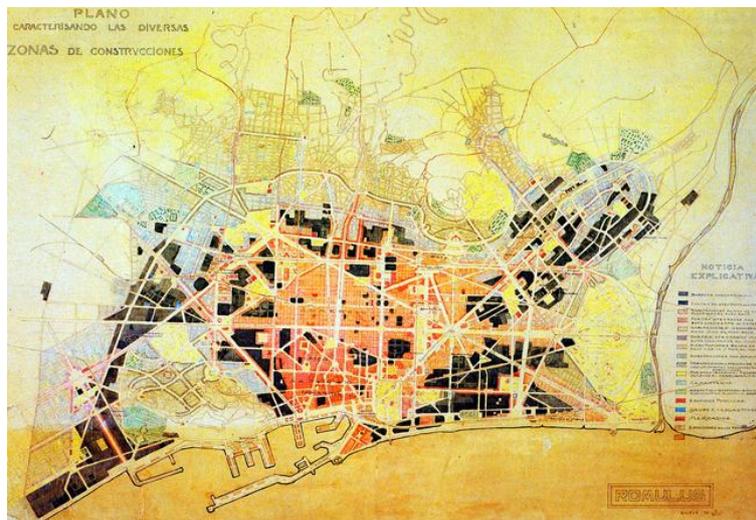


Figure 6. Connection project by Leon Jaussely For Barcelona, 1904-07

However, Jaussely's project was of an ambition that more than exceeded Barcelona's possibilities, as was in fact acknowledged. Political vicissitudes delayed even more its effects on the urban planning of the city. When the City Council tried to revise the Eixample's self-management system in 1917 and to establish a mechanism that would allow the whole question of the city's urban planning and development to be dealt with effectively and comprehensively, the dominant sectors of the urban property owners,

led by the Chamber of Property, opposed it head on and made a fierce defence of the Eixample's management setup. Once again it proved impossible to unify the urban planning, thereby maintaining the sphere of the Eixample apart from the rest of the city. Accordingly, in order to resolve the urban development of sectors with expectations, such as Avinguda Diagonal towards Pedralbes, or the development of the segment of Carrer Balmes above the Diagonal, it was chosen to increase the area of the Eixample, which allowed that privileged form of financing to be adopted (Llobet, 1984).

The building system of the Eixample which was instituted by Cerdà and his generation showed itself to be more resistant and operative than the more ambitious proposals of the Modernista generation or those of the GATCPAC architects in the 1930s. Indeed, it endured until the promulgation of the Land Act of 1956.

### THE CHANGE IN THE EIXAMPLE'S NARRATIVE

The Barcelona experience is distinct from that of other European cities, where the great mutation between 1870 and 1914 from which the new contemporary metropolises arose, was based fundamentally on the interior reforms of the inherited cities. In the European urban world, the great challenge of the period was the modernisation of the city, which was then identified with what we call today the historic centre, while the areas of recent expansion preserved their peripheral character. Despite numerous attempts, in the case of Barcelona the barriers imposed on expropriations by the legal framework prevented a renewal comparable to those which were taking place in the major cities of Europe. In fact, despite the image which may now exist, for a long time the Eixample was a peripheral area which showed an insufficient urban development, which was exclusively residential and lacked directional functions, and which was not conceived as a central area. In his report of 1927 for the project of the Plaça de Catalunya, Puig i Cadafalch insisted on the need to break, for once and for all, with this imposed urban situation. He compared Cerdà's Eixample to a geometrical plague that invaded everything and collided with everything, immune to all adaptations and reforms.

This clear explicit animosity makes the strong identification that we now establish between the Eixample and Modernisme and the close rapport that we assume to exist between one and the other quite surprising. Two reasons of very distinct character help to explain this identification. The first one is a de facto reason. Despite the rejection that it felt towards the Eixample, Barcelona's bourgeoisie moved there with firm determination and it was the builders of the Modernista period who gave shape to the central and most valued part of the Eixample, known today as the Golden Square or *Quadrat d'Or* (Garcia Espuche, 1990). The monotony of its landscape was the challenge to be faced by the architects and master builders of the latter part of the 19th century. In time, the habit of associating the Eixample's landscape with the Modernista architects was to do the rest.

The second reason greatly strengthens this association. To a large extent, the Modernista architectures followed a fashion that did not take long to pass. The persistence of the rejection towards the Eixample was accompanied in the following decades by criticisms of the Modernista architectures. Curiously, in the central decades of the 20th century, opinion shifted from a shared rejection to an almost joint revaluation. The recovery of the values of Modernisme was easier. The criticisms of "the gaslight period" were accompanied by nostalgia. In a situation of persistent world

economic crisis –the succession of two world wars, the Spanish Civil War, the Franco regime, etc.–, from any ideological position everything led our local version of the Belle Époque to be remembered as a period of cosmopolitanism and effective modernisation. Accordingly, in the immediate post-war period there was a slow recovery of Modernista architecture and art, with the books of Josep Francesc Ràfols in the 1940s and that of Alexandre Cirici in 1951. Moreover, the most acknowledged historians of architecture, such as Giedion, Pevsner and later Zevi, Benevolo and Frampton, had already searched in that period for the roots and the context that explained the emergence of the Modern movement, even though Cerdà's name did not yet appear or only did so quite briefly.

Beginning in the 1920s, Cerdà's circulatory obsession was revalued as motorisation increased. The GATCPAC architects, for example, underscored the "rationalist" validity of the road layout and the efficiency of an architectural structure that allowed the elimination of the corridor street and the closed city block, leaving gardens in the large open spaces that were comprised between each two blocks (AC, n.13, 1934). In 1958, in preparation for the centenary, there appeared two articles by Antoni Bonet Castellana and Oriol Bohigas in numbers 33 and 34 of the journal *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*, and another by Pellicer in number 35 of 1935. All three articles sought to dissipate the polemic against the Eixample project and value it, recovering the considerations made by the GATCPAC in accordance with a functionalist view of the city. Oriol Bohigas also placed emphasis on the recognition of the great capacity of social cohesion (for the first time in the history of urban design) of the neighbourhood unit proposed by the engineer as the basic structure of the city. However, these units would only be feasible with higher densities than those suggested and that were more similar to those that had been reached in the various "adulterations" of the project.

Consequently, the renewal of the urban culture and practices of the 1950s –coinciding with the elimination of the mechanisms established in the various Eixample laws– was when Cerdà's work was revalued most decisively and when a radical change came about in the narrative of Barcelona's urban planning within the Catalan and Spanish contexts. With the celebration of the centenary of the Cerdà project's approval, this project ceased to be considered one more episode of centralist imposition and turned Barcelona into the object and scene of an absolutely extraordinary anticipation within the European framework.

*Entre el Pla Cerdà i el Barraquisme* by Oriol Bohigas (1963), which contains articles from the end of the 1950s and beginning of the 60s, forms a good observatory of this moment. Bohigas began his book with a chapter on "The Valid Elements of Tradition", in which he correlated his reading with those of Pevsner and Zevi. He underscored the transcendence of Modernisme and reviewed the gestation of the Eixample, acknowledging dispassionately the virtues of Cerdà's project.

On the basis of these data, the same keys were adopted for the reading of Cerdà, the Eixample and Modernisme, which came to form the most brilliant moments of an avant-garde thread that was wished to be recovered on emerging from the long night of the Franco regime. It was then that these aspects were recognised as privileged culminating milestones of our recent history and when the meaning that they now hold for us was essentially established. It was a reading that was strongly conditioned by factors proper to that moment in history, but it has decisively determined our gaze and experience. They were recognised to have one same progressivist drive at a moment of

extremely strong modernising ambition after the closed ominous Francoist autarchy. Since then these aspects are also amalgamated in our perception, in such a way that, despite our knowledge of the manifest animosity of the Modernista generation towards Cerdà and his Eixample, we tend to envisage them as forming a whole, with one as a necessary consequence of the other. This perception shapes a reality that is just as powerful or even more so than the selfsame historical reality. From this moment on, almost all the readings were to hit the same nail, until it was converted into an a priori form of our gaze.

Many years later, the exhibition "El Quadrat d'Or. Centre de la Barcelona Modernista" (The Golden Square. Centre of the Modernista Barcelona) (A. García Espuche, 1990) gave a rich dense rendering of this superimposition and carefully explained the phases of the historical construction of the most privileged part of the Eixample. More recently this subject has fundamentally become an object of urban marketing based on the valuation of density and diversity as paradigms of the sustainable city and at the same time, paradoxically, it has become a pretext for the multiplication of tourist routes.

## REFERENCES

- Barjau, S., (1990) "Arquitectura i paisatge urbà i ordenances. L'aspecte dels edificis de l'Eixample clàssic", in La Formació de l'Eixample de Barcelona. Aproximacions a un fenomen urbà. Olimpíada Cultural - L'Avenç, Barcelona
- Bassols Coma, M., (1973), "Génesis y Evolución del Derecho Urbanístico Español(1812-1956)", Ed. Montecorvo, Madrid
- Bohigas, O., (1963) "Entre el Pla Cerdà i el Barraquisme", Ed. 62, Barcelona
- Busquets, J. Corominas, M. (2009) "Cerdà i la Barcelona del futur. Realitat versus projecte", CCCB, Barcelona
- Cerdà, I., (1991) "Teoría de la Construcción de Ciudades (1859)", Ministerio para las Administraciones Públicas-Ajuntament de Barcelona
- Cerdà, I., (1991) "Teoría de la Viabilidad Urbana (1861)", Ministerio para las Administraciones Públicas-Ajuntament de Barcelona
- Corominas, M. (1990) "Les societats de l'Eixample" in La Formació de l'Eixample de Barcelona. Aproximacions a un fenomen urbà. Olimpíada Cultural - L'Avenç, Barcelona
- Corominas, M. (2002) "Los orígenes del Ensanche de Barcelona. Suelo, técnica e iniciativa", Edicions UPC, Barcelona
- Etapé, F. (2009), "Vida y obra de Ildefons Cerdà (1971)", Península, Barcelona
- García Bellido, J., Mangiagalli, S. (2008) "Pascual Madoz y el derribo de las murallas en el albor del Ensanche de Barcelona", IX Congrés d'Història de Barcelona, Ca l'Ardiaca, 29 November 2005. Barcelona Quaderns d'Història (14): 165-205, GRAU, Ramon (Coord.). Cerdà i els altres. La modernitat de Barcelona 1854-1874

- Garcia Espuche, A. (1990) "El centre residencial burgès (1860-1914)", in La Formació de l'Eixample de Barcelona. Aproximacions a un fenomen urbà, Olimpíada Cultural - L'Avenç, Barcelona
- Garcia Espuche, A. (1990) "El Quadrat d'Or. Centre de la Barcelona Modernista", Lunwerg, Barcelona
- Grau, R. (1990) "El naufragi de la teoria cerdaniana: els espais públics de Barcelona", in La Formació de l'Eixample de Barcelona. Aproximacions a un fenomen urbà, Olimpíada Cultural - L'Avenç, Barcelona
- Llobet, J. (1990) "Urbanització i finançament públic a l'Eixample (1897-1936)" in La Formació de l'Eixample de Barcelona. Aproximacions a un fenomen urbà, Olimpíada Cultural - L'Avenç, Barcelona
- Llobet, J.(1984) "Urbanització i planejament urbanístic: Barcelona, 1917-1936", Doctoral thesis UPC (1/02/1984), <http://www.tdx.cat/TDX-0227108-154803>
- Guallar L. (2010M), "Cerdà i Barcelona. La primera metropolis, 1853-1897", MUHBA, Barcelona,EC
- Magrinyà, F. Marzá, F. (2010) "Cerdà 150. Anys de modernitat", MUHBA, Barcelona
- Marfany, J.L. (1984) "Aspectes del Modernisme", Curial, Barcelona
- Oyón, J.L, Monclús, F.J. (1990) "Eixample i suburbanització: trànsit tramviari i divisió social de l'espai urbà de Barcelona, 1883-1914", in La Formació de l'Eixample de Barcelona. Aproximacions a un fenomen urbà, Olimpíada Cultural - L'Avenç, Barcelona
- Oyón, J.L, Monclús, F.J., Guàrdia, M., Garcia Espuche, A. (1988) "La dimensió urbana" in Arquitectura i ciutat a l'Exposició Universal de Barcelona, 1888, Edicions UPC, Barcelona
- Paricio, A. (2001) "Secrets d'un sistema constructiu l'Eixample", Edicions UPC, Barcelona
- Puig, J., (1990) "El projecte d'Eixample Cerdà i la teoria urbanística" in La Formació de l'Eixample de Barcelona. Aproximacions a un fenomen urbà, Olimpíada Cultural - L'Avenç, Barcelona
- Sabaté, J. (1999) "El proyecto de la calle sin nombre", Fundación Caja de Arquitectos, Barcelona
- Sabaté, J.(1990) "Vers l'ordenança de l'Eixample" in La Formació de l'Eixample de Barcelona. Aproximacions a un fenomen urbà, Olimpíada Cultural - L'Avenç, Barcelona
- Sagarra, F. (1990) "Barcelona dins del projecte industrialista català" in La Formació de l'Eixample de Barcelona. Aproximacions a un fenomen urbà, Olimpíada Cultural - L'Avenç, Barcelona
- Sagarra, F. (1996) "Barcelona, Ciutat de Transició (1848-1868). El projecte urbà a través dels treballs de l'arquitecte Miquel Garriga i Roca", Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

- Santa-Maria Batlló, G. (2009) "Decidir la ciutat futura. Barcelona 1859", MUHBA, Barcelona
- Schorske, C.E. (1981) "Viena Fin-de-Siècle" (1961), GG, Barcelona
- Soria, A. (1971) "Algunas claves de la Teoría de la Viabilidad Urbana de Cerdà", in Teoría General de la Urbanización y aplicación de sus principios y doctrinas a la Reforma y Ensanche de Barcelona (1867), Instituto de Estudios Fiscales
- Tafunell, X. (1994) "La construcció de la Barcelona moderna. La indústria de l'habitatge entre 1854 i 1897", Ajuntament de Barcelona, Barcelona,
- Torres Capell, M., Llobet, J., Puig, J. (1985) "Inicis de la Urbanística Municipal de Barcelona. Mostra dels fons municipals de plans i projectes d'urbanisme, 1750-1930", Ajuntament de Barcelona-Corporació Metropolitana de Barcelona
- VVAA, (1988) "La dimensió urbana", Arquitectura i ciutat a l'Exposició Universal de Barcelona, 1888, Ed. UPC, Barcelona
- VVAA (2004) "Abajo las Murallas. 150 anys de l'enderroc de les muralles de Barcelona", Ajuntament de Barcelona, Barcelona
- VVAA, (1994) "Cerdà. Urbs i Territori. Una visió de futur". Catàleg de l'Exposició Cerdà. Urbs i Territori, Fundació Catalana de la Recerca, Barcelona
- VVAA, (2009) "La política pràctica. Cerdà i la Diputació de Barcelona", Diputació de Barcelona, Barcelona.



## URBAN IDENTITIES DISSOLVING INTO THE CHANGING CONSUMPTION CULTURE

Kadriye DENİZ TOPCU, Research Assistant  
Selcuk University, Turkey  
denizk@selcuk.edu.tr

Güven BİLSEL, Prof. Dr.  
Selcuk University, Turkey  
guvenbilsel@gmail.com

### ABSTRACT

*In recent periods, urban projects which will improve the competitiveness of cities against the others in becoming a leading player and attracting international capital have been given priority. In these projects one of the main uses of space is shopping malls, places which guide the spatial development of cities, help the districts in which they are located become display areas and also aim to create an urban image. It has become difficult to define the spaces where these malls have built as distinctive, defined and meaningful spaces. In addition to this it can be said that shopping malls, which are small city models in themselves, have become so successful today that they have almost superseded the traditional and today's city markets as essential units of urban life and also become a part of the images (!) of the cities. These "new fashion habits", shopping malls, have caused the problem that traditional city markets, the important cores, which usually constitute the identity, personality of cities and sustain the "memory of the place" have started to lose their former importance, functions and become uncared and neglected areas. For developing alternative shopping spaces and preventing shopping mall flow some streets were pedestrianised. From this point of view the aim of the study is to perform a comparative evaluation of different kinds of shopping spaces (shopping malls, traditional city markets and pedestrianised shopping streets) in terms of social, functional and visual/aesthetic quality indicators and investigate the role of spatial quality in using these shopping spaces. According to this aim, Konya Traditional Market, Kazım Karabekir Shopping Street and Kulesite Shopping Mall located in the city of Konya were selected as the sampling areas and a total of 108 questionnaires were applied within the scope of this study. The results obtained from the questionnaires were evaluated by using the multivariate statistical analysis. In conclusion, some suggestions relating to sample areas were made to increase the success of these spaces.*

### INTRODUCTION

It is observed that, with the influence of globalization, competition is increasing day by day among the cities which struggle to maintain their existence in the race for being a world city. Several different characteristics, identities, personality and originality of cities are important values that increase their competitive power (Dündar, 2002). The concept of "space", which can be defined as an area of social change and transformation or the "place" where beliefs, wishes and desires are focused on and social relations are shaped, gains different identities and images as the result of the changing demands in this competitive atmosphere of our day (Bilsel, 1999).

Together with the new developments in the process of capital accumulation, cities have transformed from being old places of production into being places of consumption in

which the services sector has found a place for itself. The change and formalization of social relations has resulted in a change in the meaning of “*place*” in social life. The floating capital, in other words, “*urban entrepreneurship*” looking for a suitable place to settle in urban space has led to the emergence of concepts such as “*competing areas*” and selling the image of “*place*” for the purpose of “*visual consumption*” (Albrechts, 1991; Harvey, 1997; Bilsel, 1999). In recent periods, urban projects which will improve the competitiveness of cities against the others in becoming a leading player and attracting international capital have been given priority. In these projects one of the main uses of space is shopping malls, places which guide the spatial development of cities, help the districts in which they are located become display areas and also aim to create an urban image.

Shopping has been a social and urban activity, which has continually been the main socialisation device throughout the ages. Shopping places of traditional town centers not only set stage for social interactions, but also strengthen the communication among people, maintain their togetherness, meet their socio-cultural, economic and psychological needs and are the most significant parts of town centers because of various activities they accommodate, and they also created unique social environments (such as agora, forum, medieval square, covered bazaar, ‘khan’, ‘arasta’ and ‘bedesten’) (Birol, 2003). However, today, it is observed that traditional shopping places in town centres which usually constitute the identity, personality of cities and sustain the “*memory of the place*” have started to lose their former importance, functions, morphological features (Trancik, 1986) and become uncared and neglected areas by the reason of shopping malls usually. For developing alternative shopping spaces and preventing shopping mall flow some streets were pedestrianised.

Shopping spaces can be categorised in accordance with formation and development at three main titles;

- Constant or temporary shopping districts in urban space that is formed and developed in the course of time (i.e. weekly or constant bazaars, **traditional markets**, contemporary **shopping streets** with shops, department stores, etc.)
- Organic articulated units with naturally formed and developed markets and/or additive units that has been the part of this whole (i.e. ‘khan’-‘arasta’-‘bedesten’, covered markets, passages)
- Units in building scale that programmed and designed for shopping center (i.e. big department stores, supermarkets, hipermarkets, multi-storey markets and **shopping malls**).

Taking the problem defined above as a starting point, in this paper, the aim is to analyse different types of shopping spaces (**traditional markets, pedestrianised shopping street and shopping malls**) through the spatial quality indicators (*social, functional and visual-aesthetic*) comparatively. In this scope appropriate shopping spaces that fit these types in Konya/Turkey were selected as sample areas. These are *Konya traditional market, Kazım Karabekir Shopping Street and Kulesite Shopping Mall*. A total of 108 questionnaires were applied within the scope of the study to measure the quality levels.

## CHANGING CONSUMPTION CULTURE AND SHOPPING SPACES

Shopping spaces have an approximately two thousand years of history. Shopping space is a form which encompasses social, economic and cultural knowledge; is shaped in parallel to the technologic and social changes and finally becomes an important component of the urban morphology (Bati 2007).

The first known shopping activities goes back to Egypt-Hittite period. In this period shopping activity had been made in open spaces around the temples which were the attraction places for society. The first planned shopping spaces began with the 'Agoras' in Ancient Greek-Hellenistic period and the 'Forums' in Roman era (Packer 1997; Bati 2007) and continued with the "Trajan bazaars" comprising 150 shops and a multi-storey architecture in Rome in 2.century B.C. In the Medieval Ages (5-15th century) and Renaissance-Baroque period (15-17.century) this concept has evolved into market areas in western cities. In this period, it was observed that in eastern cities there was a strong 'souk' ('çarşı' in Turkish) impact supported with the formations such as 'khan'- 'bedesten'-'arasta', covered bazaar etc. In the Age of Enlightenment (18. and 19. centuries) small shops began to be replaced by large stores. Then the character of shopping spaces changed with the effects of display windows (vitrines) (Sennett, 1990; Dündar, 2002).

In 1950s and 1960s, after the excessive trend in the modern mass production firstly in the USA and then in Western Europe, global capitalism began to have a greater need for consumption activities. The activities to increase consumption gradually became systematic and professional and mass consumption entered into a significant development process (Bocock, 1997). In this period, shopping malls have been the leading consumption tool in mass consumption.

Since these centers reached a saturation point in terms of market capacity, force the investors to seek new markets. Being quite new in this process, Turkey has been a large market for domestic and foreign investors. The results of the neoliberal policies in 1980 and the reflections of liberation of foreign capital investments began to be observed in the early 1990s and after Galleria Shopping Mall was opened in Istanbul in 1988, there was a boost in construction of shopping malls in Turkey in the following 10 years particularly in Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Adana, Antalya, Bursa and other cities.

The shopping mall is a part of the recent transformations of the Turkish urban lifestyle. The consumption habits of people were changed in the course of time. Increasing the quality of commodities with increasing population and earnings, increasing private transportation and inadequate mass transportation, credit card system, development of payment methods(installments), modernised advertisement opportunities, easy communication and increasing of demands are the evident reasons of the changing shopping phenomenon and spaces.

Together with the increase of shopping mall numbers after 1960s, alternative spaces for shopping streetscame into being to cope with these centers. Hereupon, many shopping street were pedestrianised. Then the efforts to beautification of pedestrian axes, build up variety of functions and escape from monotony have been started (Dökmeci, 1990).

Konya began to experience the process of change and transformation through globalization from the 1990s. Shopping malls which were opened one after another

brought important changes in the urban identity and spatial characteristics. After the opening of these centers, environmental transformation process in the environs of these centers gained impetus in the short term; residential areas began to be re-structured and these centers, in one sense, served as a catalyst accelerating the change and transformation process (Topçu et al. 2008).

In the last 10 years, a total of 5 shopping malls were opened in Konya city; Afra S.M.(Shopping Mall) (1998), Masera S.M. (2002), M1 Tepe Real S.M (2003), Kulesite S.M (2004) and Kipa S.M (2006). In addition to these centers Kazım Karabekir Shopping Street in Konya was pedestrianised in 2005.

Many of these shopping malls are discrete architectural solutions. However, their results affect the planning system/urban design processes and urban space quality directly. In addition to this, today, traditional shopping places of cities are losing their former historical importance and becoming dilapidated places mainly through the shopping malls. Therefore we believe that it is necessary to study these shopping spaces which have a great impact on city development in terms of space quality context.

## URBAN SPACE QUALITY AND ITS INDICATORS

Urban space quality (USQ) concept, first of all, is related with whether the space meets the human basic needs or not. If the urban space meets the needs of the user, it can be said that space has more qualitative properties (Gülersoy et.al., 2005). USQ concept has a great importance in preserving and perpetuating the urban identity and meaning of the space.

Over the years, there has been a debate amongst urban designers over what constitutes urban space quality. While Cullen (1961) analysing spatial quality with *physical aspects*, Alexander (1979) and Lynch (1960) stressing the *psychology of place* and analysing spatial quality concept with psychological aspects such as *feeling safe, comfortable, vibrant, quiet or threatening* etc (Lynch, 1960; Alexander, 1979; Montgomery, 1998). John Montgomery (1998) indicates that there are many physical elements which, if combined properly with each other and with the psychology of place, produce urban quality. *Architectural form, scale, landmarks, vistas, meeting places, open spaces and greenings* are important quality indicators according to him. He classifies urban quality indicators in three dimensions (*social, psychological and cultural dimensions*) and indicates that successful urban places must combine quality in three essential elements: *physical space, the sensory experience and activity* (Montgomery, 1998). Jacobs (1961) emphasizes *activity* as an important factor which both produces and mirrors quality in the built environment. She identifies four essential determinants; *a mixture of primary use, intensity, permeability of the urban form and a mixture of building types, ages, sizes and conditions*. Mazumdar (2003) highlights the “*sense of place*” concept in his paper. He touches on the importance of local community culture, sense of community, space identity and thinking human and space together. According to him if people can bond with, feel attachment to, identify with, remember and miss the space, it can be said that the space has quality. Jacobs and Appleyard (1987) explain *liveability, identity and control, accessibility, authenticity, public life, urban self-reliance and environment for all* concepts in the context of urban quality. Tekeli (2004) cited the quality indicators as *liveability, appropriate to its function, easy legible, visual satisfaction, lay on meaning with connotative perception, equilibrium of private and public spaces and applicability*. Rapoport (1977) analyses environmental quality

indicators with 2 title; physical indicators (*general view of the environment, architectural style, diversity, richness, symbolic qualities, identity, relation with nature, scenery, density, topography, level of noise, accessibility, repair and maintenance*) and social indicators (*variety and quality of services, criminality rates and security, social properties and composition, environmental prestigious, neighbourhood relations, social homogeneous*).

Gehl (2004) developed pedestrian-oriented approach to analyse the quality of public spaces. He cited relating quality indicators as prestigious, appropriate and not congested walking places, climate comfort, beautiful building frontage characteristics, appropriate conditions for disabled persons and humans with pushchair, good orientation and enlightenment, having urban equipments, social and cultural interactions, not disturbing environment (noise), vitality, security, usage at every time (daytime and night). Gür (1995) lists quality indicators as; safe, healthy, comfortable, useful, well-kept and meaningful. In addition to this, Inceoğlu (2007), in his doctorate thesis, lists the basic quality indicators to produce successful urban spaces in 6 title; comfort & safety for pedestrians and disabled persons, domination by functions (variety of functions), visual simplicity, utilies subordinate, fitting to character & activity (appropriate to local caharacter), ordered for access & storage (appropriate arrangements for accessibility and vehicles). The decisions of using high quality urban equipments, repair and maintenance are important factors for long term quality (Farbstein et.al. 1998).

These qualities cited above can be measured numerically by making inquiries and using various statistical analysis. Measurable physical properties of space and senses/thoughts/expectations of people who gain experiences from urban spaces are important for determining the level of space quality (Gülersoy et.al., 2005) and for making suggestions and developing proposed strategies.

In this context this paper uses some space quality indicators that come from the literature review to compare 3 different shopping spaces and determine the level of space quality of these. Final quality indicators that used in the study are given below (Table 1);

Table 1. Final quality Indicators used in the study

SOCIAL QUALITY INDICATORS	FUNCTIONAL QUALITY INDICATORS	VISUAL/AESTHETIC QUALITY INDICATORS
Environment for all users	Possibility to access	Having an identity, character and sense of "authentic place"
Space to communicate	Diversity of functions	Meaning of space, sense of place
Possibility of socialisation	Having relaxation and entertainment spaces	Belonging to space, place attachment
Vitality and dynamism of space	Level of comfort and being healthy	Historical value
Safety and security of space	Having open and green spaces, their usage and quality	Perceptible environment, openness-being not complicated and flexibility of space
Not including disturbing people	Having urban equipments, their usage and quality	Easy wayfinding, the image of the space
Prestige of space, Indicator of respectability and statute	Having parking lots	Human scale
Being prestigious in its district	Opening and closing hours of activities	Visual harmony, diversity (color, building material etc.)
Diversity of social activities	Easy access to desired things	relation with nature
Ideal space to walk	Possibility to walk and tour easily, having not obstacles	Visual attraction and space atmosphere.
	Using the space on different times	Permeability and continuity of space
		Visual accessibility and linkaged spaces,
		Taking precautions from climate (such as sunlights, rain etc.)
		Having artistic objects

## METHOD

A total of 108 questionnaire application and *non-parametric multivariate analysis* used as the methods of the study. Within the scope of the study questionnaires were applied to measure users' point of view relating to the satisfaction and qualities of selected areas. In each shopping space (*Konya traditional market, Kazım Karabekir Shopping Street and Kulesite Shopping Mall*) 36 questionnaire was applied. Questionnaire design includes *demographic informations* (gender, age, education, occupation, level of income, native place etc.) and *general questions about social, functional and visual-aesthetic quality* about these types of shopping spaces.

Final quality indicators mentioned above formed the questionnaire design and grading three spaces that selected as sample areas from 1 point to 5 in terms of these indicators gave the level of agreement of users (precisely not agree (1), not agree (2), indecision(3), agree (4) and precisely agree (5)). The data come from the questionnaire application entered to SPSS 15 package programme. Then first of all we looked the data whether they were in normal distribution or not. The result showed us that the data were not in normal distribution. Therefore *non-parametric multivariate analysis* (correlations) was used.

We compared the shopping spaces in two directions. The first direction was the comparison of total social, functional and visual-aesthetic qualities between shopping spaces. And the second was the comparison of shopping spaces in terms of social, functional and visual-aesthetic quality indicator weights.

As a result of applying the correlation analysis, we found *mean values*. *In first step, average value of social quality gradings of all of the users' gave us the general level of the social quality in total (108 person) and average value of social quality gradings of users' in each shopping space gave us the social quality level of that shopping space (36 person). This analysis was made not only for social quality group but also for functional and visual-aesthetic quality groups.* Level of qualities were measured by the sum of each users' gradings (1 to 5 point) in each quality indicator groups at each shopping spaces and then each quality indicator groups compared with these quality levels both in total and in each shopping space (*i.e. social quality indicators compared with social quality level*). Finally we found the weights of indicators (gamma values) in its own group and in general on these levels. Weight of indicators are in direct proportion with the importance in increasing the quality level.

## FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH

### Description of sample areas

The traditional '*bedesten*' district which located in a central position and majoring in economic activities in boundaries of Konya historical urban core was selected as the first sample area. It has many cultural heritage values that comes from the history and its spatial and functional texture was acquired a shape by these values.

Kazim Karabekir Shopping Street, chosen as the second research area, is located in the downtown of Konya in the west of Alaeddin Hill. It is at a walking distance to the historical district of the city. Having central commercial activities together in this shopping street is the most important factor for city population to use this space especially for shopping.

Kazim Karabekir Shopping Street, having negative environmental conditions like dense traffic complexities, noise pollution etc., is specified as one of the important axes proposed to be pedestrianised inside the Transportation Master Plan prepared for Konya City (Anonymous, 2001). The pedestrianisation decision of Kazim Karabekir Shopping Street in which dense pedestrian movements are found in the pavements and turned into shopping and excursion corridor was taken by Transportation Coordinating Committee in 13<sup>th</sup> November 2004. This decision was applied in Summer 2005. Therefore public-private transportation of the area was changed (Topçu et.al., 2007).

And the third one is Kulesite Shopping Mall which selected as sample area. It includes food courts, department stores, hypermarket, cinema, amusement center and etc. same as the other shopping malls. It came into service in 2004 and it located in inner city of Konya (Figure 1).

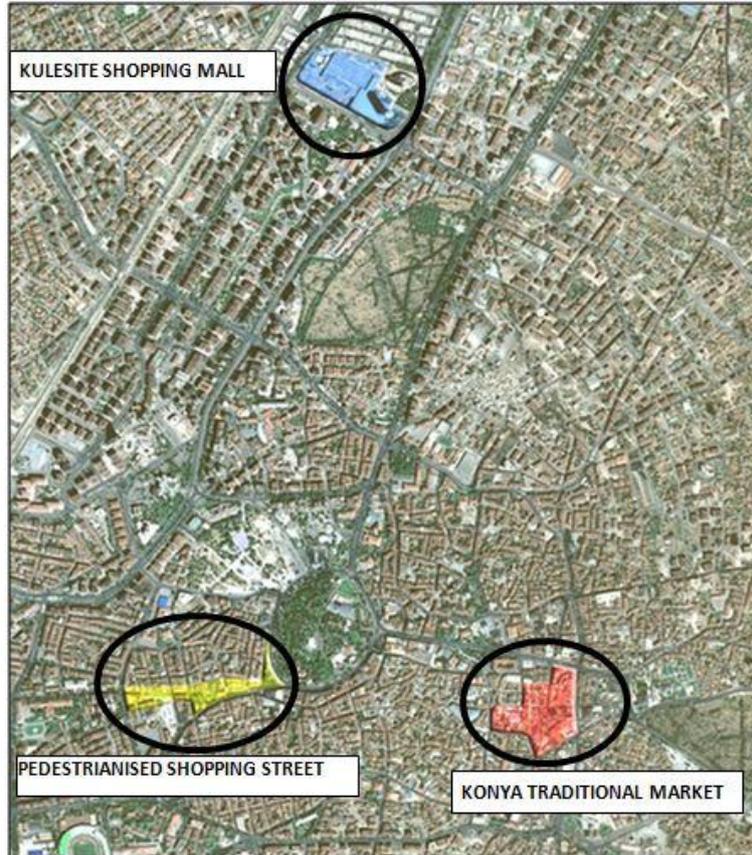


Figure 1. The boundaries of sample areas in Konya

### Results of the Questionnaire

By applying the correlation analysis that represented in the method section, it was reached some findings. These findings are given below (Table 2);

Table 2. Comparison of quality levels between selected shopping spaces

Types of shopping spaces	Level of social quality (mean values)	Level of functional quality (mean values)	Level of visual-aesthetic quality (mean values)
Konya Traditional Market	31,55	32	80.94
Kazim Kar. Shopping Street	34,61	<b>42.11</b>	<b>83.97</b>
Kulesite Shopping Mall	<b>35,94</b>	35.08	79.61
Total	34.03	36.39	81.50

The table shows us the comparison of quality levels between shopping spaces. One can see from the table that users evaluated the highest level of social quality in *Kulesite*

**Shopping Mall**, functional and visual/aesthetic quality in Kazım Karabekir Shopping Street in general. In these levels Konya Traditional Market is the worst one (*social quality*; 31,55, *functional quality*; 32). However, if we thought the level of visual-aesthetic quality Konya Traditional Market is the second one (80.94).

If we look the indicator weights in determining space qualities we can see that **possibility of socialisation(0.729)** is the most important indicator between social indicators. Between functional quality indicators **level of comfort and being healthy (0.803)** is the most important indicator and in visual-aesthetic indicators, **easy wayfinding, the image of the space (0.701)** is the most important factor in general (Table 3).

When we compare the indicators between shopping spaces, it was seen that the social quality of traditional shopping space has lowest gradings when we compare with the others. Especially *having possibility of socialisation places* (0.365) and *being vital and dynamic space* (0.388) indicators have the lowest score among the others. Having inadequate social activities, being not safe and secure (especially in the evenings, because the shops are closing their shutters), having not enough spaces to communicate with the others (only communication is between shopper and seller), not offering an environment for all users (young people, mothers, children etc.), having not enough open and green spaces are the reasons of this result. However, it is interesting, Kulesite Shopping Mall has the highest scores in terms of social quality. Although it has been offering an artificial environment, the users prefer this space because of finding everything they want to do (shopping, cinema, bowling etc.).

In functional and visual-aesthetic quality group Kazım Karabekir shopping street has the highest gradings mostly. Pedestrianisation application and its urban design project caused this shopping space to be the best in terms of these indicators among the others. Thus it can be said that *design is a critical subject for the success of a place*. But possibility to access indicator in this shopping street has the lowest score (0.246). Vehicular traffic system is a big problem for this space. In visual and aesthetic group Kulesite Shopping Mall has the lowest gradings when we compare with the others. Majority of the users think that this complex has no identity, character, and sense of place (0.129), historical value (0.317) and do not feel any belonging (attachment) (0.283) to this complex. People are going this complex only for activities and shopping (brand stores and hypermarket) because they have no alternative. In according to this, from the results that come from the questionnaire application, the users want to shop firstly in pedestrianised shopping streets, secondly in traditional markets and the last one is shopping malls. The comparisons and indicator weights can be seen in detail at the table below (Table 3).

## CONCLUSION

In this paper three different types of shopping spaces in Konya/Turkey were compared in terms of urban space quality (USQ) levels and indicators with the users' point of view. The first one is traditional markets, the most important urban space of cities, have always had a very significant impact on urban structure and townscape, usually constitute the identity, personality of cities and sustain the "memory of the place", accommodate many social activities for people to interact with each other. The second one is pedestrianised shopping streets and the third one is shopping malls that guide the spatial development of cities, help the districts in which they are located become display areas and affect the urban planning system and urban space quality also.

The results of the study show that we neglected the traditional market of Konya city substantially. An approach to neglect and ignore the traditional also means to disclaim the past. People and societies exist with their histories. Traditional markets are the parts of our urban identities. Therefore conserving and sustaining the historical spaces, adapting them to new usage and producing successful shopping spaces are important approaches to understand the city and contact with it. It helps to contribute meanings to our urban life. If the important quality indicators, especially the social and functional cited in the table, improved in this shopping space the people will use that space more and it can be perpetuated (Table 3).

When we look developed Western cities, especially European cities, which attach importance to historical background and culture, we can see many successful shopping spaces. They have many well-conserved and integrated traditional markets. Therefore these cities are generally on the top level of the liveable cities of the world lists. Thus it is important to conserve, vitalize the traditional markets, spaces of communal memory, and benefit from them again.

As can be seen from the study, design is a critical subject for producing urban space quality in shopping spaces (example of Kazım Karabekir shopping street). But this shopping street needs to be improved by social quality indicators to be more successful. In addition, Kulesite Shopping Mall has the lowest gradings in visual-aesthetic quality group (i.e. identity/character or sense of place), when compared with the other shopping spaces. If we still continue to build new shopping malls in Konya city, the city will lose its identity.

In conclusion the shopping spaces are important parts of the cities. They affect the life styles of people, urban planning systems and etc. Thus planners, designers and authorised people have to consider this subject in detail.

**NOTE:** This study includes the results of the pilot study of first author's Phd thesis which was conducted in 2010.

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

Table 3. Urban Space Quality Indicator weights in shopping spaces

RESULTS OF THE CORRELATION ANALYSIS (gamma values)					
	Konya Traditional Market	Kazım Karabekir Shopping Street	Kulesite Shopping Mall	GENERAL	GENERAL
SOCIAL QUALITY INDICATORS	Environment for all users	0.297	0.536	<b>0.625</b>	0.482
	Space to communicate	0.404	<b>0.784</b>	0.726	0.636
	Possibility of socialisation	0.365	0.817	<b>0.870</b>	<b>0.729</b>
	Vitality and dynamism of space	0.388	0.631	<b>0.772</b>	0.644
	Safety and security of space	0.513	0.539	<b>0.766</b>	0.670
	Not including disturbing people	0.442	0.264	<b>0.714</b>	0.465
	Prestige of space, indicator of respectability and status	0.669	0.632	<b>0.687</b>	0.665
	Being prestigious in its district	0.632	<b>0.738</b>	0.701	0.660
	Diversity of social activities	0.406	0.625	<b>0.717</b>	0.670
	Ideal space to walk	0.680	0.611	<b>0.724</b>	0.698
	Possibility to access	0.513	0.246	<b>0.617</b>	0.448
	FUNCTIONAL QUALITY INDICATORS	Diversity of functions	0.678	0.684	<b>0.729</b>
Having relaxation and entertainment spaces		0.478	<b>0.692</b>	0.576	0.719
Level of comfort and being healthy		0.645	<b>0.786</b>	0.413	<b>0.803</b>
Having open and green spaces, their usage and quality		0.223	0.661	<b>0.692</b>	0.684
Having urban equipments, their usage and quality		0.438	<b>0.840</b>	0.763	0.754
Having parking lots		0.538	<b>0.666</b>	0.618	0.707
Opening-closing hours of activities		0.645	0.652	<b>0.725</b>	0.677
Easy access to desired things		0.739	<b>0.742</b>	0.692	0.733
Possibility to walk and tour easily, having not obstacles		0.601	0.627	<b>0.621</b>	0.689
Having an identity, character, and sense of "authentic place"		<b>0.644</b>	0.684	0.129	0.689
Meaning of space, sense of place		0.379	<b>0.715</b>	0.404	0.512
VISUAL-AESTHETIC QUALITY INDICATORS		Belonging to space	0.324	<b>0.667</b>	0.283
	Historical value	<b>0.610</b>	0.480	0.317	0.392
	Perceptible environment, openness-being not complicated and flexibility of space	0.467	<b>0.705</b>	0.529	0.534
	Easy wayfinding, the image of the space	0.779	<b>0.819</b>	0.806	<b>0.701</b>
	Easy access to desired spaces	0.652	<b>0.767</b>	0.357	0.622
	Human scale	<b>0.662</b>	0.511	0.413	0.464
	Visual harmony, architectural diversity	0.518	<b>0.628</b>	0.441	0.628
	Relations with nature	0.469	<b>0.668</b>	0.373	0.456
	Aesthetic and attraction	0.501	<b>0.666</b>	0.465	0.659
	Taking precautions from climate (such as sunlights, rain etc.)	<b>0.191</b>	-0.467	-0.266	-0.246
	Having artistic objects	0.055	<b>0.241</b>	0.079	0.143

**REFERENCES**

- Albrechts, L. (1991) "Changing roles & position of planners," *Urban Studies*, 28,1, 123-137, Sage pub.
- Alexander, C. (1979) "A timeless way of building," Oxford Univ. Press, New York.
- Batı, U. (2007) "Tüketim katedralleri olarak alışveriş merkezlerinin toplumsal göstergeliliği: Forum Bornova alışveriş merkezi örneği," *Uluslararası İnsan Bilimleri Dergisi*, cilt.4, sayı.1
- Bocock, R. (1997) "Tüketim," (çev. İrem Kutluk), Dost Kitabevi, Ankara.
- Bilsel, F. C., Bilsel, S. G. and Bilsel, A. A. (1999) "Kuramsal yaklaşımlardan kentsel mekan tasarımına," 1. Ulusal Kentsel Tasarım Kongresi "Kentsel Tasarım Bir Tasarımlar Bütünü", M.S.Ü., İstanbul.
- Bırol, G. (2003) "Evolution of trade centres in relation to changing trade activities," Unpublished PhD Thesis, İzmir Institute of Technology, İzmir.
- Dökmeci, V. (1990) "Batı alman şehirlerinde ve İstanbul'da yaya ticaret aksları planlanması," *Yapı dergisi*, (94), Güzel sanatlar matbaası, İstanbul.
- Dündar, Ş. (2002) "Mekân organizasyon bilimlerinin yeniden yapılanmasında bir araç olarak kentsel tasarım," Unpublished Phd Thesis, Institute of Science and Technology, DEÜ, İzmir.
- Farbstein, J., Shibley, R., Welsh, P., Wener, R., Axelrod, E. (1998) "Sustaining urban excellence, learning from the Rudy Bruner award for urban excellence, 1987-1993," Bruner foundation, Inc. Cambridge.
- Gehl, J. (2004) "Places for People City of Melbourne in Collaboration with Gehl Architects," Urban quality consultants, Copenhagen, Melbourne.
- Gülersoy N.Z., Özsoy, A., Tezer, A., Genli Yiğiter, R., Günay, Z. (2005) "Mevcut kentsel dokuda çevresel kalitenin iyileştirilmesi-stratejik kalite planlaması modeli," İ.T.Ü. Mimarlık Fakültesi Araştırma Projesi, proje no. 990, İstanbul.
- Gür, Ş.Ö.(1995). "Fiziksel Çevre Tasarımında Kalite ile İlgili Paradigmalar ve Ölçütlerle İlgili Sorunlar," *Mimari ve Kentsel Çevrede Kalite Arayışları Sempozyumu*, İ.T.Ü Çevre ve Şehircilik Uyg-Ar Merkezi, Cenkler Matbaası, İstanbul.
- Harvey, D. (1997) "Justice, nature and geography of difference," Blackwell pub. Oxford.
- İnceoğlu, M. (2007) "Kentsel açık mekânların kalite açısından değerlendirilmesine yönelik bir yaklaşım: İstanbul meydanlarının incelenmesi", Unpublished Phd Thesis, Institute of Science and Technology, Y.T.Ü., İstanbul.
- Jacobs, J. (1961) "The death and life of great American cities," vintage books, London.
- Jacobs, A., Appleyard, D. (1987) "Toward an urban design manifesto," *American planning association journal*, 53, 112-120.
- Lynch, K. (1960) "The image of the city," M.I.T press. Cambridge.

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

- Mazumdar, S. (2003) "Sense of place considerations for quality of urban life," International Conference on Quality of Urban Life, Policy versus Practice, ITU, Istanbul.
- Montgomery, J. (1998) "Making a city: urbanity, vitality and urban design," Journal of urban design, 3,1, 93-116, Routledge.
- Packer, J. (1997) "The forum of trajan in Rome: a study of the monuments," University of california press, California.
- Rapoport, A. (1977) "Human aspects of urban form-towards a man-environment approach to urban form and design," pergamon press.
- Sennett, R. (1990) "The conscience of the eye: the design and social life of cities," Faber&Faber, London.
- Tekeli, İ. (2004) "Yaşam Kalitesi Göstergeleri: Türkiye İçin Bir Veri Sistemi Önerisi," TUBA Raporları, 6.
- Topçu, M., Topçu, K., Kubat, A.S. (2007) "Movement Economy Dependent on Urban Design," 6th International Space Syntax Symposium, 117-02, İstanbul.
- Topçu, M., Topçu, K., Dökmeci, V. (2008) "Ticari komplekslerin çevresindeki konut değerlerine etki eden faktörler; Konya örneği," 32. Dünya şehircilik günü kolokyumu, kentsel yeniden yapılanma:kazananlar, kaybedenler, MSÜ, İstanbul.
- Trancik, R. (1986) "Finding lost space, theories of urban design," Van nostrand reinhold, New York.



## REPLACING PLACE IN PLANNING HISTORY

Lineu CASTELLO, Prof.

Universidade Federal Do Rio Grande Do Sul (UFRGS), Brazil  
lincastello@terra.com.br

### **ABSTRACT**

*Variations are due to happen in the course of Planning History, though there has been an unusual outburst of changes in recent times. Two factors seem to be at the outset of these changes: the crucial growth of global urbanization; and the actual tendency for cities presenting a complex of 'place' centralities. Undoubtedly, central to alterations in Planning History are the special conditions of contemporary society, with almost 80% of whose members living in urbanized environments. But next to it comes the extraordinary increase in the production of newly invented 'places' under the most diverse forms: entertainment places, themed malls, revamping of historical settings, and so on. This pervading tendency led to changes in planning attitudes, seen as historical in face of their global claims. However, many of the innovative theoretical issues now linked to the concept of place have not been thoroughly examined in the Planning area so far. Additionally, the concept is now engrossing the research interests of other disciplines, which results in important contributions being introduced to its foundational aspects, hence, establishing a transdisciplinary condition to its essence. In fact, planning theory seems now ripe to 'replace' its prevalent understanding of place. This paper intends to suggest some of the directions to follow in such an attempt. Methodologically, it will pursue the directions set by three types of conflicts generated by the variations: controversies, contrasts, and challenges.*

*To approach the variations in terms of the controversies implies to realize the duality in the roles places can perform in today's societal behaviours: a functional as well as an existential one. Indeed, for some scholars, the new invented places of today are appropriated as new places of urbanity, leading to think that we are on the brink of a situation where the perception of place can influence the perception of 'urbanity' – urbanity understood as that unique quality forwarded by cities to their citizens in terms of communication and sociability – ultimately entailing new ways of enjoying the urbanity cities have to offer. Contrasts associated to the variations bring to light a duality present in the Planning discipline itself. Previously, the discipline had that the sense of place would derive exclusively from society's practices, emerging from them as a social construction, whereas today, besides being a social construction, place is also regarded as an economic construction. This is a condition that sometimes exacerbates inherent social contrasts, producing cities dotted with fragments of exception believed to act upon the urban structure as disintegrative factors evidencing latent differences. Finally, to approach the variations in terms of their challenges will direct the focus towards the planning decisions city's administrators are faced to take when settling to embark on the placemaking + placemarketing game – or not – a challenge cities increasingly are compelled to adhere to, often at the risk of engaging on demanding competitive practices.*

## CONTRADICTIONS IN THE MEANING OF PLACE IN PLANNING HISTORY

The concept of place has a long history in Planning and, accordingly, has experienced a good number of variations along its trajectory in the area's disciplinary contents. These variations, sometimes more sometimes less, provide grounds for a diversity of

arguments, occasionally interpreted as *controversies* in the meanings attributed to place in Planning. In Modernism, Architecture and Urbanism constructions were valued as having a potential for "...modernizing society, and were believed to become agents for social change and economic development" (Castello 2005: 100). Places would exercise a central role in this understanding because, in the idealized lines expressed mainly in European modernist thinking, a place should serve people in their daily functional needs and reward people with existential experiences in their daily lives. In this context, the ancient Greek *agora*<sup>1</sup> soon became an irresistible template in which to model the planning of what could become a place.

Having established the agora as a suitable metaphor for the ideal functional and existential place they wanted to introduce in a modern town, planners also determined the establishment of an initial contradiction that would become a conflictive companion constantly haunting the idea of place in Planning since then and all through its evolution in the discipline. The metaphorical figure of the agora, at least in theory, worked for both public and private designs. However, throughout Planning history, there seems to have been a general agreement among planners that *place is a public space in which people meet*. Truly, this has been almost a truism in the profession and easily accepted among other professionals such as architects, engineers, landscape designers, geographers, psychologists, philosophers, and the like. As for what a *public space* is, in turn, far from a consensus, what we have is a series of particular readings, conferring to the topic a status of considerable dissent. To start with, one could initially argue whether a place would be exclusively a plural public space where *people* meet: And what about a place as a special space for a single *individual*? Furthermore, as recently observed by the team of Dutch researchers led by Tom Avermaete, the legitimate definition of the public space has been officially introduced only by means of the 'Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen' during the French Revolution in 1798. This document "...established legal rights of property for the first time...Paradoxically the declaration included a definition of the private domain and...This description of the private domain is also the first official definition of a modern public domain" (Avermaete et al. 2009:25). As it is, the straight classification *public space* seems unsatisfactory and becomes often questioned. The Dutch researchers, for example, find it more appropriate to use the expression *public sphere* instead, a point that had been originally made by Scott-Brown in the late 1980s, when she preferred to designate the public sector seen in physical terms as the *public realm*, observing that the public realm itself would include a further differentiation between *public* and *civic*. Avermaete instead favours the expression *public sphere* and contrast it to the term public domain understanding that "Three terms form the background to the debate on the public sphere: 'modernization', 'modernity', and 'modernism'" (Avermaete et al. 2009: 19). This triptych is in fact what lies behind most interpretations given to the changes experienced in the concept of *public space* along Planning History.

As a matter of fact, Planning sees an intrinsic contradiction in the *public* meaning attributed to the concept of place: though traditionally idealized as public spaces, places have been often generated as *private* spaces all along Planning history. This is

---

<sup>1</sup> "In ancient Greek cities, an open space that served as a meeting ground for various activities of the citizens.... The name... connotes both the assembly of the people as well as the physical setting; ...regarded as a typical feature of their life: their daily religious, political, judicial, social, and commercial activity...". *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Retrieved March 11, 2010, from Encyclopædia Britannica Online: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/9404/agora>

an old contradiction and goes back to the times of the agora in the Homeric times of ancient Greece, which in all likelihood, as mentioned before, gave origin to the idea of place in Planning. "Primarily the agora is an open space, publicly held and occupiable for public purposes...in its primitive state, the agora was above all a place for palaver; and there is probably no urban market-place where the interchange of news and opinions did not, at least in the past, play almost as important a part as the interchange of goods", as Lewis Mumford (1973:175-176) so interestingly teaches us. Initially materialized as a spatial void enclosed by buildings or colonnades, the Greek agora evolved towards becoming a space situated at the gates of the city, accommodating many functions, including market transactions – activities obviously pertaining to the private domain. Also Roman times demonstrate that to attribute the notion of a public space as the more likely location for a place is no more than a relative idea. Indeed, the Roman *forum*, in essence, the symbol of the union of various tribes that composed ancient Rome, was the "...foundation of a common market-place (the Forum), with a place of assembly or comitium..." (Mumford 1973: 257). This 'place' – the Roman forum – soon germinated from an open space to a complete set of buildings offering a variety of enclosed central functions serving the whole region, when '...ever larger crowds would be drawn to the centre for shopping, for worship, for gossip, for taking part, as spectators or actors, in public affairs or in private lawsuits" (Mumford 1973: 258). This description somehow coincides with the idea we now have about a central place, but, once again, we see the understanding of a 'public' space contradictorily interspersed with 'private' activities inside its enclosure.

### CONTRASTING PLACES IN PLANNING HISTORY

As a general rule, the contradiction mentioned in the previous section can be accredited to variations in the attribution of *values* to the idea of place. Therefore, place could be successively valued as the "...response of city form to accommodate the social and political order of the polis" (Whitaker 2005: 7) as in ancient Greek *agora*, in which place performed a strong civic role; or as in the medieval (private) *Market Place*, valued as the gathering (public) space for all the inhabitants of the town; or as in the nineteenth century modernity postulated by social utopians like Fourier, who proposed buildings for public purposes in his privately built *Phalanstère* – places where people could meet other people – such as community dining halls, nurseries, libraries, laundries, attributing an optimistic socializing value to the idea of place; or at the ending of that century, when prevailed the idea that city planning was to be valued as civic planning, where the design of places would be purely a matter of *civic design*: "Planners and designers of the City Beautiful movement focused their attention on the public ceremonial parts of the city and Beaux-Arts schools of architecture offered programmes in 'civic design'" (Scott-Brown 1990: 21), and the representational value of places took place mainly in civic spaces such as cultural centres, town halls, community centres, and the like; or to finally arrive to the latent modernity of the twentieth century Modern Movement where place, on the one hand, starts to be valued as a powerful means to guide towards a new 'public sphere' modelled by egalitarian aims and capable to encourage a politically active citizenship [and the imposing emblematic civic space known as the 'Praça dos Três Poderes' (The Three Powers Square) in Brasilia provides a fruitful example of that]; and, on the other hand, achieves the value of operating as an all comprising functional centre (including both public and private facilities) for the neighbourhood units of numerous New Towns projects, such as in Runcorn New Town, near Liverpool.

The transition from late twentieth to early twenty-first centuries sees quite expressive changes in the values attributed to places, consecrating the contrast between the understanding of place as a social construction and place as an economic construction. As a consequence, a good number of written manifestations based on this contrasting values start to be produced. Among the optimistic ones, the works by William H. Whyte<sup>2</sup> in the USA, mainly in New York, and Steven Carr<sup>3</sup> and colleagues, became paradigmatic for having introduced an innovative look at urban spaces that became known as 'privately owned public spaces' (Kayden et al.<sup>4</sup>), combining public incentives conceded to private stakeholders provided they left places for public uses in their constructions. And among the pessimistic, one can mention the famous literary work organized by Michael Sorkin<sup>5</sup>, also in New York, focusing on the 'new American city and the end of public space'. In fact, the new century opens with considerations varying from a high pragmatic orientation given by authors such as François Ascher (2008<sup>6</sup>; 2004<sup>7</sup>), who issues unusual propositions for reducing the public-private contrast about places through new mechanisms for planning urban places in contemporary cities; to a bitter, though realistic, set of acid criticisms about today's public places in global cities, such as the ones disseminated by the well known polemist Rem Koolhaas, who practically claims that the contrast is over in face of the demise of the public spaces in cities, since provocatively, in his view, "Shopping is arguably the last remaining form of public activity" (Koolhaas et al. 2001: 125).

On top of that, the new millennium posits a new polemic, seemingly only in its initial stages yet. Place's traditional value of bringing people together may be facing a tricky trial, at least in terms of assembling people in *spatial* venues – public or not. This is so because the role played by mass media on the public sphere is contributing to diminish the spatial importance of the *location* of place. In fact, this consideration had already been registered in the previous century, by authors such as Jürgen Habermas and Hannah Arendt, who see the mass media as potentially capable to distribute information that will become shared by the public as a whole. In this line of thought, mass media such as newspapers, books, periodicals and television are seen as creating an image of a public locus and hence, are determinants of a public sphere all by themselves. Moreover, in the present century, an entirely new element adds new heat to the discussion: the role of the Internet comes into scene, an information technology that "...has created the conditions for a public sphere that no longer has a fixed, ascertainable location, like the surface of the public square or the editorial page of the newspaper...a multitude of people can nowadays be mobilized in a short time, a phenomenon that has been called 'ad hococracy'" (Avermaete et al. 2009: 42). Needless to say that this embryonic polemic will enormously entice the public-private place's contrast, with the accessibility to the new information technologies and the 'location' of

---

<sup>2</sup> WHYTE, William Hollingsworth (1990). *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*. Washington DC: The Conservation Foundation, 8th ed.

<sup>3</sup> CARR, Steven, FRANCIS, Mark, RIVLIN, Leanne and STONE, Andrew (1995). *Public Space*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2<sup>nd</sup> printing.

<sup>4</sup> KAYDEN, Jerold; New York City Department of City Planning; Municipal Art Society of New York (2000). *Privately Owned Public Space: The New York City Experience*. New York: Wiley.

<sup>5</sup> SORKIN, Michael (ed.) (1997). *Variations on a Theme Park. The New American City and the End of Public Space*. New York: Hill and Wang, (8th ed.).

<sup>6</sup> ASCHER, François (2008). *Les Nouveaux Compromis Urbains*. Lexique de la Ville Plurielle. Éditions de l'Aube.

<sup>7</sup> ASCHER, François (2004). *Les Nouveaux Principes de l'Urbanisme*. Paris : Éditions de l'Aube.

the new immaterial social places predominantly transformed into a matter of economic power in the battlegrounds of the political arena.

## THE CHALLENGES POSED TO PLANNING PLACES

The biggest challenge posed to planners today is to plan places capable to fulfil two concurrent goals and to assist people in two cumulative ways: places that serve people in their daily *functional* needs; and places that reward people with *existential* opportunities in their daily lives. This is not an easy task, though, and has been encouraging some inspiring theoretical studies on the matter.

In the repertoire of place in Planning history it is not difficult to identify the presence of two types of places, what is a clear indication of the existence of a sort of 'typology' of places: places that are socially constructed; and places made through economic drives. Ultimately, these two 'types' can merge and generate one single place. Though an economic construction in its origin, a place can derive a social construction through its progressive public appropriation; and vice-versa. In other words, even if we can notice an intrinsic contrast between them, they can be basically considered a single unit, although this imposes an enormous *challenge* in Planning terms.

It is true that different Planning currents support either one or the other type. But it is also true that today, in contemporary Planning, the duo seems to be increasingly accepted. Of course, this must be understood as an innovative theoretical approach to the concept of place in Planning, with some authors regarding it as a 'postmodern' focus to the topic (e.g.: Ellin<sup>8</sup>; Nesbitt<sup>9</sup>). Others see it as an adaptation to modern time's societal behaviours that demand a thorough variation in conceiving what a place might be in actual times (e.g.: Carmona and Tiesdell<sup>10</sup>; Castello<sup>11</sup>). Whatever the case, the novel approaches towards the concept may provide a satisfactory explanation for the conflicts the concept is acknowledged to raise in the course of contemporary Planning, conflicts manifested either through contradictions or contrasts, as discussed in the previous sections.

The acceptance of this combination, however, has not been as smooth as it may seem. The construction of new places along the lines of mutual purposes – social and economic designs accompanied by functional and existential roles – has not been easily accepted by cultural critics. The usual complains point out to a certain distortion on the side of the Planning proposals, seemingly inclined towards privileging the effects that would weigh more beneficially to the economic side of the equation, and leaving the social facet relatively uncovered. Nevertheless, there are today lots and lots of built examples that vehemently contradict this interpretation, producing places 'cloned' upon the characteristics of existing places of urbanity, 'invented' (Carmona et al.<sup>12</sup>) places

---

<sup>8</sup> ELLIN, Nan (1999). *Postmodern Urbanism*. Revised edition. New York: Princeton Architectural Press.

<sup>9</sup> NESBITT, Kate (ed.) (1996). *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture*. An Anthology of Architectural Theory 1965-1995. New York: Princeton Architectural Press.

<sup>10</sup> CARMONA, Matthew & TIESDELL, Steve (eds.) (2007). *Urban Design Reader*. Oxford: Architectural Press.

<sup>11</sup> CASTELLO, Lineu (2010). *Rethinking the Meaning of Place*. *Conceiving Place in Architecture-Urbanism*. London: Ashgate (forthcoming May 2010).

<sup>12</sup> CARMONA, Matthew; HEATH, Tim; OC, Taner; TIESDELL, Steve (2003). *Public Places - Urban Spaces*. Oxford: Architectural Press.

that make an intelligent use of these characteristics knowing how to accurately 'clone' them in the direction of reaching a competent result. Interestingly, a good number of these invented places end up by becoming effectively integrated to the city's repertoire of *places of urbanity*, which will offer new kinds of existential experiences for the population, experiences more adequate to the present behaviours of contemporary society and more akin to their present aspirations. Surely, it has become razor-clear now that there are important consequences of this new way of seeing places in Planning on sociological, psychological and also philosophical grounds. The concept of place is playing a key role in Planning today, not only from its extraordinary influence in phenomenological matters, but also, in view of the excellent economic repercussion that many new places have achieved worldwide. Unsurprisingly, this last accomplishment is of crucial significance for today's globalized trends of urbanization, and asks for a necessary look at the major urban-architectural and planning-management operations it involves.

There are two fundamental constituents worth mentioning in the challenging process of planning places today: Placemaking and Placemarketing. The dual action of these two factors can explain many of the accomplishments contemporary planning professionals are achieving in their professional efforts. In their placemaking process, planners carefully make sure to strategically include sophisticated placemarketing operations that will guarantee a highly successful acceptance of the newly invented places. This seems to be the case, for example, with places designed and promoted by entrepreneurs – even those acting unexpectedly as 'planners' like, to pick an example at random, the Disney Corporation – who have built an extraordinary collection of invented places, all of them bringing about remarkable popular social acceptance as well as worthwhile economic returns. Moreover, nowadays, entire cities are seen as 'theme places' (Judd and Fainstein<sup>13</sup>), with their old historical areas revamped and gaining unusual revitalization and global competitive force; and one can easily point to satisfactory examples of invented places coming from all corners of the world, be it in Europe, Asia or Oceania, beyond the Americas (Figs. 1-10).



Figure 1 – Italian 'piazzas', such as Piazza Navona, Rome, are acknowledged as genuine examples of spontaneously built places, currently enhanced by intelligent marketing policies.

<sup>13</sup> JUDD, Dennis & FAINSTEIN, Susan (1999). *Global Forces, Local Strategies, and Urban Tourism*. In JUDD, D.; FAINSTEIN, S. (eds.). *The Tourist City*. New Haven / London: Yale University Press, p.1-17.

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

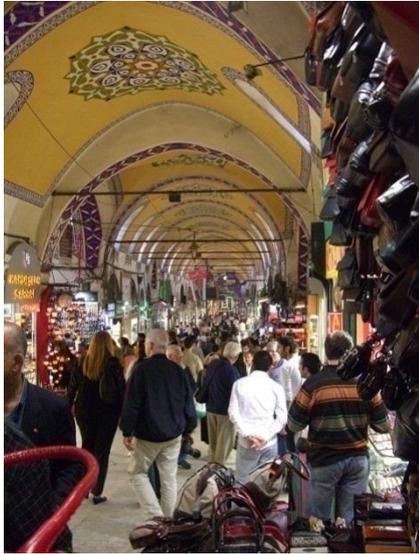


Figure .2 – Istanbul, Turkey, is worldwide famous for its exquisite bazaars, such as this Covered Bazaar in the central area.



Figure 3 – Also in Istanbul, the Maslak area displays an array of luxury malls carefully designed and marketed as invented places.



Figure 4 – Istanbul, Turkey. Taksim is an extremely lively place attracting people from all corners of the city.



Figure 5 – Malls in Dubai, United Arab Emirates are created as fantastic places alluring thousands of fascinated visitors.

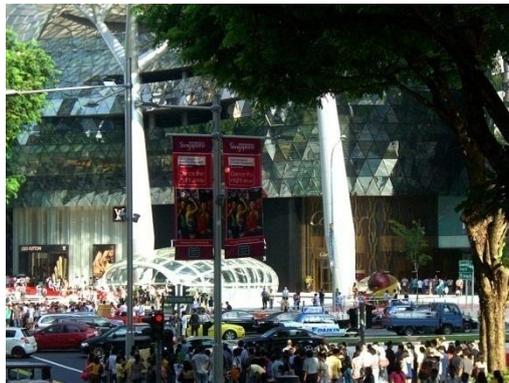


Figure 6 – Singapore. An unusual and continuous succession of malls aligns as a row along a remarkable single avenue, the famous Orchard Road.



Figure 7 – Brisbane, Australia. South Bank is a wonderful invented place gathering cultural, recreational, educational, commercial, sports and residential activities, already valued as a legitimate place of urbanity.

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---



*Figure 8 – Lapa is one of the most popular places in Rio de Janeiro's (Brasil) historic central area, and has been presently revived through tourist marketing actions.*



*Figure .9 – The Central Market in São Paulo, Brasil, is a typical meeting place full of urbanity that merges business, leisure and social activities in balanced proportions.*



*Figure 10 – Union Square in San Francisco (USA) is still an appreciated place where one can fully enjoy the feeling of urbanity.*

Thus, the two predominantly contrasting types of places in Planning can be seen as moving towards a progressive merging, so as to act jointly as a new force aiming to enhance people's quality of life in the built environment; and bringing favourable economic returns in pragmatic terms. Therefore, the infiltration of economic deeds into the pure sociological intentions usually ascribed to the construction of place in Planning are bringing, in the end, satisfactory outcomes, somehow demanding a sort of 'replacing' of the position of place in the Planning attitudes of today.

## CONCLUSION

The concept of place is a crucial issue in the area of Planning since it deals with two basilar factors associated to the discipline's fundamentals: people and space. More importantly, it influences the existential quality of people *in* space.

Conflicts the planning of places has been dealing with along Planning history have proved quite controversial, due to the distinctive gazes employed in the valuing of the concept within the discipline. Some of these distinctive views have incurred in the issuing of controversial arguments manifested through contradictions, contrasts and challenges to the area which, ultimately demand a 'replacing' of the concept within the profession's paradigms.

Basically, the contradictions refer to the relatively conflicting understanding of the place's concept playing a functional task, as opposed to place performing an existential role in contemporary society's daily life. Certainly, this derives from the traditional dichotomy public-and-private attributed to place, as debated in the paper's initial section. The indetermination provoked by this duality, most probably inherited from the interpretation of place as a space similar to that represented by the ancient Greek agora – in which it enjoyed a status of combining both civic and commercial deeds – has conduced place to a present acceptance as a semiprivate or a semipublic urban space. To explain this, it seems important to acknowledge the extraordinary importance places play in contemporary society human existential matters, rendering quite admissible to incorporate the understanding of places within the profession as moving from the previous strict *functionalist* focus it had so far, to a new *phenomenological* approach. In other words, the concept of place progressed from its former status of functional areas, to a well-deserved positioning as a concept of existential concerns.

As for the contrasts, it seems that in brief, the conflicts can be summarized as a dispute between the *social* and the *economical* virtues of place (and it has both). Ideally, in the utopian thinking of many planners – especially to those following more closely the Modernist Urbanism principles – place could only be generated as a social construction. The progressive and unimagined drastic changes experienced in society's behaviours in postmodern times, have certainly added to unimaginable changes in the conceptualization of place. Understandably, *to design a social construction* was certainly a heroic, if not totally unattainable, effort planners had to face when confronted to the modern making of mid-twentieth century places. Furthermore, conflicts raising from the competent criticisms issued by parallel disciplines such as, for example, Environmental Psychology, Sociology, Geography and Anthropology, brought a discomfiting disappointment with places designed at that epoch. In this context, it was quite an easy task to introduce economic and management features to try to encourage the planning of places to make them really work. The last quarter of the

century saw, then, a growing concern with the construction of invented places. More importantly yet, the epoch evidenced the escalating success in both, economic *and* social terms the invented places were achieving. As a consequence, the economic returns arising out of the postmodern practices adopted in the construction of place, added to the predictable sociological returns formerly associated with the utopia of place, resulted in a planning tactic frankly practiced in the history of place in Planning.

Finally, at the actual stage of the place concept in Planning, it seems that another line of conflicts starts to worry the profession, conflicts this time, wide enough so as to interfere in matters more akin to the city's administrative and governmental spheres. Unusual procedures afflict today's planning of places and, among them, two seem to be particularly trying, one demanding from the urban government the engagement of the city in practices typical of the so-called 'creative economy' (Florida<sup>14</sup>); and other, introducing to planning methodologies unexpected techniques formerly more commonly employed in competitive marketing operations. Or, put another way, in current times, city administrators need to add to the critical challenges their copious amount of daily problems inflict upon their decision-making processes, the additional burden of having to cope with the challenge posed by the fierce competition globalized urbanization constantly impinges upon their cities today.

Accordingly, it is now rather common to find planners challenged by operations of *placemaking + placemarketing*, applying an entirely new approach to planning places which translates a global contemporary planning style tentatively bringing together private and public sectors activities. The reasoning behind this engagement is apparently quite clear. Former operations of placemaking adopted in the profession, especially those that included the rigid proposals of modernist times, brought about disappointing failures, giving way to the creation of derogative expressions such as the hideous 'placelessness' (Relph 1976<sup>15</sup>; 1996<sup>16</sup>). Contrarily, later day placemaking tactics have succeeded to produce admirable exemplars of good planned places, pointing, for sure, to planning's adoption of innovative strategies of making places. In the same direction, another practice also foreign to the usual planning of places which has been thoroughly adopted by contemporary planners is the *branding of places* (Anholt 2004<sup>17</sup>; 2010<sup>18</sup>), somehow understood as a metaphor for the competition established by the worldwide creation of tempting places, struggling to attract and to entertain people in an exciting assortment of alluring areas spread over the urban landscape of global cities. A most likely procedure for Planning in this case is to create a brand for the place, monitor the growth of its merits, and assure that an adequate marketing feedback is kept at all times. Planners do indeed acknowledge the extraordinary importance the making of a place means for today's planning actions. This excerpt from a publicity campaign for a new urbanization in the state of Florida (USA) is self explicative on this respect: 'For those of us in the business of creating new places .... It's been said that great sculptors have the ability to unlock the image held

---

<sup>14</sup> FLORIDA, Richard (2004). *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*. Cambridge, MA: Basic Books.

<sup>15</sup> RELPH, Edward (1976). *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion.

<sup>16</sup> RELPH, Edward (1996). *Reflections on Place and Placelessness*. *Environmental & Architectural Phenomenology Newsletter*, vol.7, N°3, Autumn, p.15-18.

<sup>17</sup> ANHOLT, Simon (2004). *Brand New Justice. The Upside of Global Justice*. Oxford: Elsevier.

<sup>18</sup> ANHOLT, Simon (2010). *Places. Identity, Image and Reputation*. Basingstoke (UK) : Palgrave Macmillan.

inside a block of stone. In a sense, that's what great planners do as well. They strive to unlock the place held inside a piece of land'. A plaque in a place purposely built in Brisbane, Australia, adds further evidence to the benefits Planning attributes to the role of placemaking + placemarketing in our days (Fig.11). It dedicates the place to its creator, Trevor Reddacliff (adequately an architect, town planner, developer and businessman), for his vision to '...introduce the city to international design and to renew and enliven our cultural outlook. ...Reddacliff Place is named in honour of his significant contribution to making Brisbane a livable, culturally rich, socially diverse, egalitarian city".



Figure 11 – Plaque at Reddacliffe Place, central Brisbane, near Queen Street Mall, celebrating the creation of a place.

In sum, the place of *place* in Planning has occupied different premises along History. It has been located as a distant *agora* or a remote *forum* transplanted to the day-to-day life of a modern city; has been seen successively as a medieval *market place* or a symbolic civic *cuore*; as representing the *civic* areas of the industrial times or the *functional* areas of the modernism times; as offering a *socializing* venue for inspiring social contacts; as acting as a *behavioural setting* in psychological grounds; as providing a perfect *locus* for the existential hedonism ethos of the actual consumption society; to be finally positioned as a profitable source of *economic returns*; and to portray an ideal scene for the establishment of a *brand* in city-marketing ventures.

In face of this, one cannot help but to conclude by wondering: and what would possibly become the meaning of place tomorrow?

## REFERENCES

- Avermaete, Tom; Havik, Klaske; Teerds, Hans (2009). Architectural Positions. Architecture, Modernity and the Public Sphere. Amsterdam: SUN Publishers.
- Castello, Lineu (2005). *Costa, Lúcio*. In Roger Caves (ed.). *Encyclopedia of the City*. London/New York: Routledge, p. 99-100.
- Koolhaas, Rem and Harvard Project on the City (2001). *Shopping*. In Koolhaas, R. et al. Mutations. Bordeaux, France: ACTAR-Arc en Revê Centre d'Architecture, p. 124-184.
- Mumford, Lewis (1973). The City in History. (originally published 1961). Harmondsworth, Penguin Books.
- Scott Brown, Denise (1990). *The Public Realm. The Public Sector and the Public Interest in Urban Design*. In Scott Brown, D. (Org.). Urban Concepts. London: Academy Editions, pp.21-29.
- Whitaker, Ana Maria (2005). *Agora*. In Roger Caves (ed.). Encyclopedia of the City.



## FUNCTIONAL AND PHYSICAL ANALYSIS OF BULGURLU STREET IN BEŞİKTAŞ (ORTAKÖY)

**Ali Fatih UYSAL**, MA. Student  
Selcuk University, Turkey  
alifatih@gmail.com

**Mine ULUSOY**, Assistant Professor  
Selcuk University, Turkey  
mulusoy@selcuk.edu.tr

**Emine ÖZŞAHİN YILDIZ**, Research Assistant  
Selcuk University, Turkey  
mimar-emine@hotmail.com

A street can be defined as a systematic place where people socialize (to have fun, to take rest and to inform/be informed etc); develop mutual relationships; meet their daily needs and social needs; and take the first step from private space to public space.

Having served as one of the most important social spaces throughout history and, being bordered by relatively clear lines when compared to other social spaces, the street is a concept on which different disciplines such as urban planning and architecture achieve mutual agreement in terms of the physical harmony to be created between the buildings.

Turkey is a relatively rich country from an architectural cultural and historical perspective. Among Turkish cities, Istanbul has the highest historical, cultural and economic accumulation. An important settlement area, which served as the capital of the Byzantium and Ottoman Empires, Istanbul has a rich architectural accumulation. Istanbul has always been one of the most popular settlements throughout history, as it served as the capital for many the states founded in its region. As a city which has hosted notable figures of Turkey , Istanbul has always been an innovative city

Beşiktaş Bulgurlu Street, one of the historical districts of Istanbul, retains the buildings of a specific period of architectural heritage of Istanbul. Beşiktaş Bulgurlu Street was established for the palace officers. Therefore, this is an important space, as it transfers the architectural heritage of a specific society to today.

The row houses in this area, which were built in the 19th century as the residence of palace officers, also help to characterize the street environment.

Beşiktaş Bulgurlu Street was planned as a housing estate; however, its function has started to change due to changing social, cultural and economic factors. Residential houses are gradually being replaced by commercial structures.

This paper aims to present Istanbul Beşiktaş Bulgurlu Street, the street selected as the study area, with the help of survey studies and photographs. In light of the understanding that architectural spaces should be conserved together with the corresponding historical social group, this process will be analyzed from the outer space (street) to the inner space.

At the end of the study, based on analysis of the physical and social factors, suggestions will be made to help enable existing buildings and building groups in Istanbul Beşiktaş Bulgurlu Street to survive not only within their physical limits but also together with their historical culture.

Previous researchers suggest that spaces that are incompatible with the needs of the users result in high rates of crime. The use and conservation of historical buildings is of great importance for protection of human mental health –i.e. on one hand human psychology and; on the other hand, for creation of healthier future generations by transferring our cultural history. to the future.

The concept of the “Street” in architecture and its historical evolution: Streets are the linear places, which are limited to buildings in human settlements, the width of which may vary, and which are used for transportation and other activities. (Moudon, 1987, p.81; Ince, 2007, p.1).

The dictionary of the Turkish Language Society defines a street as “a road with houses on both sides in settlement areas such as provinces and counties, which is narrower or shorter than a main street”. In Great Larousse, a street is defined as a road located in a settlement unit and surrounded by houses, shops, etc. on both sides and open for traffic. A street also refers to outside (Nadir, 1986,p.10633).

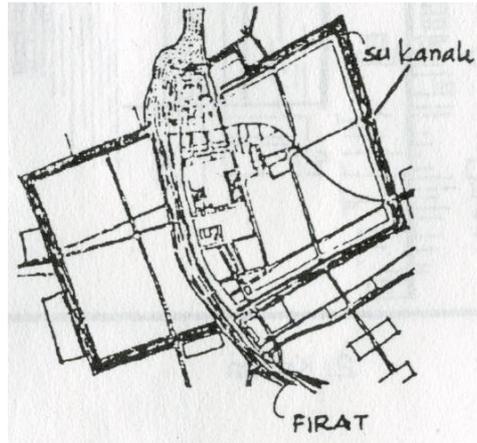


Figure 1. Babel City within the Borders of Mesopotamia (Özdeş, 1984, p.22).

The early Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Chinese, Roman, Byzantine and Indian civilizations established historic settlements on a certain system. At that period, streets were generally organized according to the climate and religious beliefs. It is seen that the design of these settlements is comprised of main axes where human movement is dense and narrower streets, which serve as links from these axes to residential houses. (Figure 1)

Human scale is of great importance in medieval cities. Streets and building groups have a visual, aesthetic value, which may still serve as a model for urban design today. As the common mode of transportation was walking, the sincerity brought by the organic texture of the buildings in the street is felt in medieval streets. The

understanding of harmony with nature and constantly changing road perspectives was taken as a principle in the construction of streets (Batkin, 1993, p.9).

During medieval times, Ottoman cities showed a parallel development to European cities. The factors of climate, topography and human relationships were of principal consideration in structuring and organizing buildings. It can be said that the most important factors for a successful city texture are respecting the houses of neighbors, who help people build their houses, not restricting their view and not blocking sunlight. Streets are generally narrow and have long shadows. However, the buildings do not obstruct one another from receiving sunlight. In dead ends and inner squares, only the houses around them are used where only the owners or residents use the adjacent houses, and which are not used by others (Denel, 1982, p.82).

In the period from the establishment of the Turkish Republic to the start of liberal implementations and migration from rural areas to cities, it is observed that the Henry PROST plan was dominant in Istanbul. In this period, the concept of adjacently planned buildings, roads with trees and geometrical planning became popular. After 1950, urban areas started to enlarge with rapid population growth, depending on rental prices.

The enlargement of urban areas in Europe, which started with industrialization, allowed for the generation of new models such as "garden cities" and "satellite cities". New, alternative models appeared for the densely populated cities. These alternatives started to be implemented in Turkey after 1950. The street concept, which is surrounded by buildings in new settlements, was designed being integrated with green areas. This formed the foundations of the current concept of urban planning. In the planning approach at that time, the street was used efficiently. The most up-to-date example of this is the Garden City model. In this system, parks and rest areas, children's play areas, houses and other functions were integrated with one another. Pedestrians and vehicles were clearly separated from each other in this period. However, in the following periods, the street concept was no longer used. In the subsequent settlement areas, attempts were made to create some alternatives to the street concept with block-based housing orders.

## **AN OVERVIEW TO THE SETTLEMENT HISTORY AND TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE OF ISTANBUL**

Istanbul Province has the most significant historical, cultural and economic background in Turkey. Istanbul, which was the capital of the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires is rich in architecture and has historically been a very important settlement.

Istanbul has been one of the most popular settlements in each period as it was the capital of various empires. When state resources were restricted, investment was generally directed to the western regions in order to improve economic development and national industry. Over time, this interregional inequity increased the attractiveness of Istanbul. Istanbul therefore experienced excessive immigration, resulting in rapid, uncontrolled expansion of urban areas and the establishment of illegal housing, as the need for housing could not be fulfilled. In the early part of the 19th century, modern development had not yet influenced the capital of the Ottoman Empire. The city was not affected by city design and architectural developments in the West, and retained its Turkish-Muslim city character (Çelik, 1998, p.5). With the proclamation of the Rescript of

Gülhane in 1839, the westernization movements in the field of economy, social and political life were reflected in the city. The German engineer, Helmuth Von Moltke was assigned to design the street structure of Istanbul. He charted the city and drew up a renovation project; however, these plans could not be realized. This project only became one of the main themes of the regulations after the Rescript of Gülhane (Çelik, 1998, pp.42-43).

The first regulation about city planning and construction activities was prepared in 1848. In addition to this regulation, five more regulations were issued in the period until 1882. The regulation issued in 1858 is related to streets. All the regulations stressed that dead ends should be removed; however, the street concept was protected (Çelik, 1998, pp.42-43).

The adoption of western approaches to urban planning, together with migration from rural to urban areas, resulted in physical changes within the urban area, including large boulevards, pedestrian roads surrounded by green areas and squares.

Istanbul which had been the capital of various empires for the majority of its two thousand year history, is unique in terms of the depth of its cultural history. The pluralist and open culture of the city, which had been the capital of empires, constitutes the source of the richness which was termed "Istanbul synthesis" (Batur and et al.,1979, p.190).

## **BULGURLU STREET: STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS**

Onsekiz Akaretler discussed in the present study were constructed during the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. The construction dates of the structures in the study area coincide with a period of economic recession.

Onsekiz Akaretler and other registered buildings are located in Ortaköy neighborhood in Beşiktaş, Istanbul, and buildings which were built in 1960 and later on are generally used in this settlement area, and this settlement area generally includes buildings which were built in 1960 and later. The area may be regarded as a historical museum. (Map 4)

Ortaköy Onsekiz Akaretler, which is among the most important row houses in Istanbul, was built in the 19th century for the personnel of Ciragan and Yıldız Palaces, located around Besiktas. The row consists of 18 houses with the same characteristics. The design of these houses combined some frontal characteristics of the Turkish house and the row house type (Düzel,1993, p.50).

Both sides of the houses are closed and therefore they are very cost-effective in solving architectural problems such as insulation and installations and in reducing building expenses. They have two different fronts: garden and street. (Çiler KIRŞAN, 1996). When row house types in different countries are analyzed, it is seen that they are preferred for economic reasons and their reduced construction time, etc.

Row houses completely limit streets, as they are comprised of constantly repeating flat walls along the street. The living areas of the row houses facing to a street in human scale also face to a street.

All of the row houses constructed in the second half of the 19th century were the residence of middle class petite-bourgeoisie. Although this typology is not included in the traditional urban structure of an Ottoman city, row houses developed significantly in

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

terms of the history and sociology of that time. They provide information about the social groups in the capital (Batur and et al., 1979, p.190). Today, they are generally used by low-income groups that have recently migrated from rural areas.

The most important characteristic of row houses as a whole is that they are included in the formation of an urban environment. This means that the characteristics of a single building are reflected on the group structure and street scale. Therefore, the characteristic of a row house also becomes the characteristic of an urban environment (Kırşan.Ç, p.102).

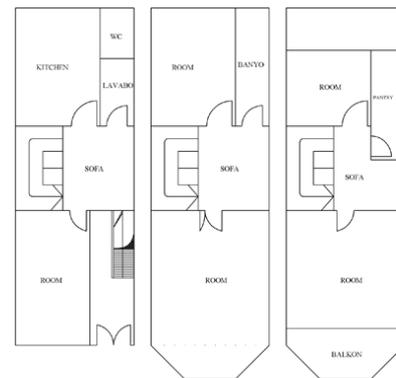
The novelty brought to the Turkish house by row houses not only affected street silhouettes but was also reflected on plan schemes of the row houses.

The central and internal scheme, which is the traditional architectural plan organization, was replaced by a plan scheme directed to a specific view (Kırşan.Ç, p.102).



Figure 2: A Silhouette of Ortaköy and Onsekiz Akaretler (Batur et al., 1979, p.203)

When the formal characteristics of Onsekiz Akaretler are analyzed, it is seen that there is an oriel and a balcony in the street front. There is a doorway next to the entrance on the ground floor. This doorway opens onto a hallway, providing access to the kitchen, lavatory-WC and a room. The stairway connecting the hall to the upper storey emerges into another hallway, which opens onto two rooms and a bathroom. The room facing the street is used as a living room and there is an oriel extending from this room towards the street. The stairway ends with a hall on the roof storey. There are entrances to a room, a warehouse and a terrace in this hall.



GROUND FLOOR PLAN FIRST FLOOR PLAN ROOF FLOOR PLAN

Figure 3: Plans of Ortaköy Onsekiz Akaretler



*Photos 1-2: The Current Status of Onsekiz Akaretler in Bulgurlu Street*

The right trapezium quadrangular oriels of the buildings that face towards the street allow for lightning and integration with the street. They serve as a transition place between the street and the buildings, namely between public and private areas; they also obstruct the negative effects of the environment from the building (Photographs 1-2). Onsekiz Akaretler are found to be generally owned by foundations and persons.

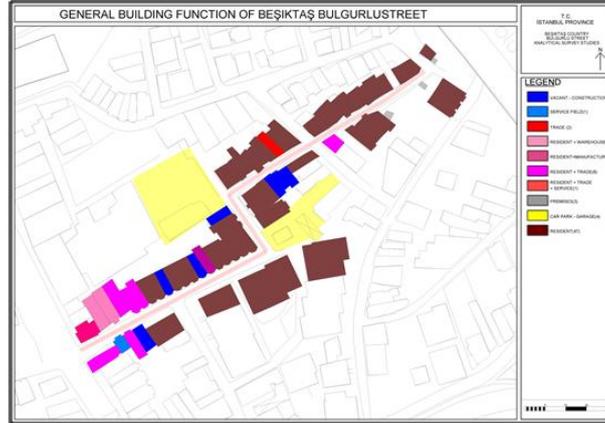
## **BULGURLU STREET: ANALYTICAL SURVEY STUDIES**

Although residential use is generally common in Bulgurlu Street, the area is located close to areas where service sector uses are common. The residential and commercial uses along the Dereboyu Main Street centers upon the part of Bulgurlu Street close to Dereboyu Avenue (Map 1).

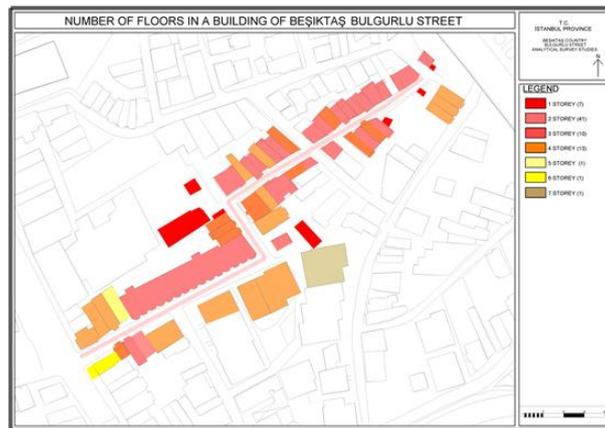
The socio-economical status of the study area is divided into two. The first area, which extends to Onsekiz Akaretler, has many middle-low income groups; the second area extends from the first area towards the Bosphorus Bridge, where low-income groups live.

In the first area, the people living in Onsekiz Akaretler have generally the same characteristics as the social group in the second group.

Most of the buildings in the study area have two, three or four storeys (Map 2). When the statuses of the buildings in the street are analyzed, it is seen that there are generally old and new buildings (Map 3).

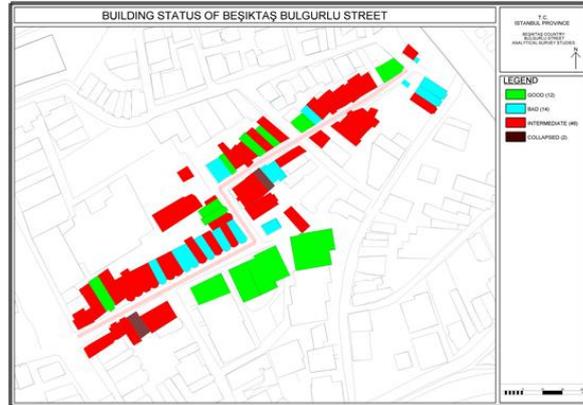


Map 1: Functional Analysis of Bulgurlu Street in Besiktas County

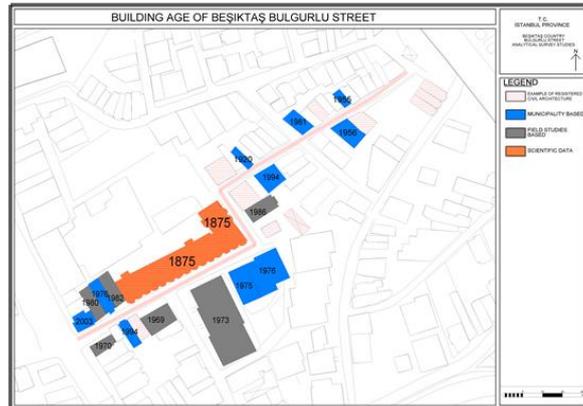


Map 2: Number of Storeys, Bulgurlu Street, Besiktas County

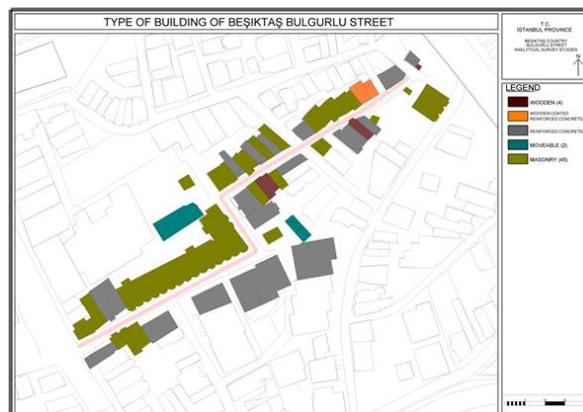
The ages of the buildings, obtained from land studies and Besiktas Municipality Directorate of Construction, indicate that the buildings for residential use are adjacent to one another as a result of the construction movement started in the street during the 1970s (Map 4). Especially in the street where Onsekiz Akaretler is located, the buildings are inconsistent with one another in terms of their frontages, as a result of the implementation adopted there. When the types of the buildings are analyzed, it is found that reinforced concrete and masonry buildings are common (Map 6). It is also found that the registered buildings are generally masonry and wood construction, while the buildings constructed after the 1970s are made from heavily reinforced concrete. Accordingly, it is understood that these buildings were constructed using the construction methods and materials of that time.



Map 3: Building Status in Bulgurlu Street, Besiktas County



Map 4: Age of Buildings in Bulgurlu Street, Besiktas County



Map 5: Building Types in Bulgurlu Street, Besiktas County

## EVALUATION OF OLD AND NEW BUILDINGS IN THE STREET IN TERMS OF ARCHITECTURAL PLANNING

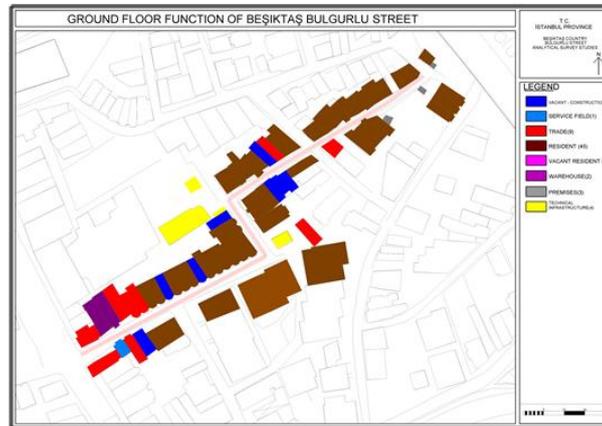
We stated that the row houses are successful at characterizing the street environment; however, the buildings that were constructed in the street after the 1980s are inconsistent with the buildings constructed after that date. Building styles that are inconsistent with the previous character of the street are gradually being constructed as a result of the rent-based production in the urban area in order to fulfill the need for housing in the constantly growing metropolis. It is apparent that constructing systematic row houses is more advantageous in terms of meeting the demand for more buildings, rapid production, economic factors and protecting existing cultural values. This is ignored, due to uncontrolled production and the trend for multi-storey buildings (Photo 3-4).

Streets have historically been one of the most important social environments and the borders of the street are more clearly defined compared to other social environments. Therefore, the buildings within a street, should be in harmony with one another in physical terms. Therefore, new buildings should be designed in harmony with the texture of the existing frontages. This design should not imitate the old but should create new alternatives, combining old and new. The buildings in the street should be individually examined within the scope of street gentrification and a choice should be made among the potential approaches, such as reinforcement, rehabilitation, restoration and renovation.



*Photo 3-4: Street Texture and Buildings Constructed in Bulgurlu Street without considering the Street Texture*

The residential character of Bulgurlu Street is under pressure from Besiktas commercial areas. The section opening onto the Dereboyu Main Street is affected by the main street's intense commercial functions. Over time, the ground storeys of the row houses there have been turned into commercial shops.



Map 6: Ground Floor Functional Analysis in Bulgurlu Street, Besiktas County

Commercial uses are increasing in many protection areas and new uses, from souvenir shops to luxurious restaurants, are increasing daily. Such examples of historical protection, in which tourism-related uses gain importance are the efforts where the change is related to the value of seeing the past as nostalgia; this can become a driving force, directed to consuming the past, insulated from the original use and emerging as a result of commoditization by ignoring the value of the original mix of uses. The customers of these new uses play the role of the people approaching the values of the past in a more selective manner, obtaining what they want and ignoring what they do not want, having been alienated to the past and consuming it as an object or decoration material. Therefore the Akaretler should not be functionally transformed. As they were constructed with the purpose of housing, the same purpose should be maintained. Their main disadvantage is that they are very close to the focal points of the city. As the Akaretler remains within the intensive commercial regions of the city, this makes it difficult for the area to exactly maintain its previous functionality. Therefore, the policies adopted in higher-level plans are of great importance. When these areas in commerce and services sector are included in the hinterland of the plan-related decisions which aim at cultural industries, this will help the functional and physical protection of such urban textures.

There are two parking areas in Bulgurlu Street and the street generally serves the commercial functions in Dereboyu Main Street. These factors pose some problems, such as safety in traffic, privacy, noise and environmental pollution. The street should be cleaned up from the pressure arising from the functional problems of the commercial functions and of the parking area. The need for a car park is fulfilled in the areas suitable for commercial buildings within the upper-level plans and the parcels currently used as parking areas in the street can be used for the parking need of the street.

The two-storey building located on the parcel suggested as a green area in the proposed plan can be used as the place where people in the street meet, enjoy, organize and share information with one another. The traffic in the street should be restricted to one-way and the pavements should be enlarged to improve pedestrian

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

safety. After achieving this target, the street should be organized as a one-way shared road (Woonerf), where pedestrians have priority.

Those who use this heritage have the most important role in the protection of historical textures. The social group residing in Onsekiz Akaretler cannot afford the expenses of the buildings; therefore some challenges occur in protecting the buildings. As a result of protection of the buildings, the following scenarios may arise;

-the local people are excluded as a result of the increased demand for the properties in the protected area and they have to relocate;

-they are excluded and they have to relocate due to the impossibility of repairing these buildings,

-they have to reside in the neglected buildings due to the impossibility of repairing these buildings,

-arrival of new user groups,

- these scenarios and the emergence of new uses, appear, at first sight, not to be successful. However, the street was constructed for the personnel of Ciragan and Yildiz Palaces. Historically, the concept of protection was understood as protecting the street together with the social group. Therefore, the current group should be accommodated in a different area.

It should be primarily ensured that the street regains its prestige.

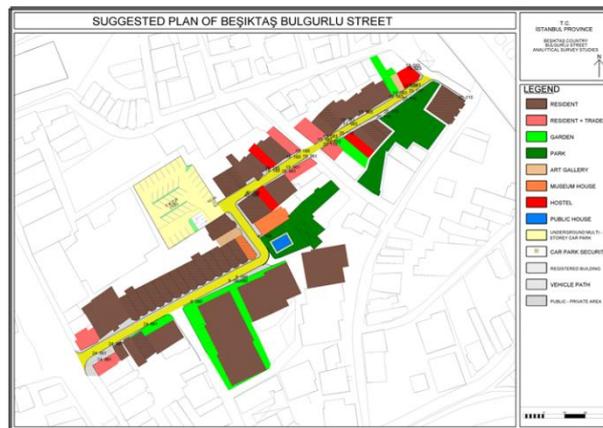


Figure 4: Functional Suggestions in Bulgurlu Street, Besiktas County

With the minimum functional change as we mentioned before, two art galleries should be opened in the street and the personnel of these galleries should be accommodated in the street. (Figure 4) In addition, a museum may be designed to exhibit the household appliances and furniture from the period when the akaretler characterizing the street were constructed; and a museum house exhibiting daily materials such as clothes, bijoux and perfumes and make-up materials. These will inform visitors of the lifestyles during the periods when these buildings were constructed. It is considered that, while the housing function of the akaretler, a group of registered buildings, should

continue, visitors will therefore be no longer consumers and these houses will be subjected to a gentrification process in terms of their users (residents).

Within this process, it is planned that, in socio-economic terms, the buildings, except for Onsekiz Akaretler, reflect their historic function of serving the upper middle class, petit-bourgeois groups.

Given the potential of Besiktas County in terms of higher education students, where the internal architecture is appropriate, the buildings constructed after 1970 and located in the north end of the street will contribute to the nightlife of the street, together with a limited number of pensions (4) (Figure 4).

The planning proposal being publicized by the municipality will include museums, pensions and public buildings. The effect of Besiktas commerce centre is of great importance in terms of history and architectural products of recent periods. In these areas, the social groups that can be regarded as having a tendency for crime should be decentralized to more appropriate areas, according to their social and economic statuses. In addition, it should be ensured that the higher socio-economic groups reside in Bulgurlu Street.

Therefore, it is aimed to eliminate or minimize the crime areas around the centers where rent is high.

It is thought that the transformation process will start in the effect area together with the social change and physical transformation of Bulgurlu Street. It is proposed that other urban values, regarded as lost treasures in other settlements with the same qualities as Bulgurlu Street, are identified, and successful projects are implemented in these areas with the process of social, economical, cultural and physical transformation.

The building frontages, which help integrate the street environment, building and street elements, can be constructed with transitions suitable for historic building frontages, using the appropriate construction materials colors and style of that time.

We mentioned that the internal architecture of Onsekiz Akaretler differs from the traditional housing of Istanbul. It would be correct to assess other registered buildings in the same context. Indoor architectural design may vary in terms of the types and sizes of the functions such as technological facilities, and living habits. Therefore, it is difficult to ensure an architectural harmony between the elements supplementing the street and building fronts.

When it is considered that the main aim is to design a place in a way to meet the users' optimum comfort and needs, it would be better understood that the indoor areas should be designed according to current needs. This situation can be explained in the context of new buildings constructed in the street and evaluated in the context of modern restoration techniques.

## REFERENCES

- Batkin, G., "An Analysis on the Model Areas Selected from Istanbul about Street Concept in Urban Texture and Change Process" Istanbul Technical University, Institute of Sciences, Istanbul (1993)
- Batur, A., Yücael, A., Fersan, N., Nineteenth Century Row Houses in Istanbul " Monographic Research on Protection and Re-use, METU, Faculty of Architecture Magazine Volume 5, number 2, Fall(1979)
- Çelik, Z., The Changing Ottoman Capital in 19<sup>th</sup> Century, Istanbul, (1998)
- Denel, S., The Reasons for Change in Design and Outer Places in Istanbul in the Process of Westernization, Ankara, (1982)
- Düzel, G., A Formal Grammar Model for Row House Design, Istanbul Technical University, Institute of Sciences, (1993)
- Ince, T. E., "The Analysis of the Relationship between Architecture and Cinema through Street Place", Master's Thesis, Gazi University Institute of Sciences, Ankara,(2007)
- Kırşan, Ç., Information based Design Model based on the Analysis of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Row Houses in Istanbul, Istanbul Technical University, Institute of Sciences, (1996)
- Moudon, A.V., "Rublic Street For Public Use", New York, (1987)
- Nadir, A., "Great Larousse", Volume 17, Gelişim Publications, Istanbul, (1986)
- Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Office of Construction and City Planning, Directorate of Planning,(2007)
- Özdeş, G., Course Notes on the Evolution of City Planning, Istanbul Technical University Faculty of Architecture, Istanbul, (1984)
- Shane, G., The Revival of the Street, Birth and Decline from the Renaissance to today, Lotus No:24 (1979)
- The Method of Calculating an Approximate Cost, Gentrification Project for the Streets Required to be Protected



## TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SPACE IN PORTO ALEGRE DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY

Celia FERRAZ DE SOUZA, Prof.

Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul – UFRGS, Brazil  
cefsouza@terra.com.br

Maria Soares de ALMEIDA, Prof.

Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul – UFRGS, Brazil  
msa@portoweb.com.br

### ABSTRACT

*The proposal of this paper is to discuss the transformations of urban space in Brazilian cities during the first half of the XX century. These transformations are approached according to a spatial and social historical dimension. The prevailing current ways of thought about cities and urbanism in the developed world during the period of study, reached Brazil by both contracted foreign specialists or Brazilians specialized in foreign countries. The subject is developed through an analysis of the urban transformations in the central area of the city of Porto Alegre, significant mark of social and economic activities since the first decades of the XX century in the south of the country. According to the hypothesis outlined by this work, the study of the instruments, plans and projects which conducted actions carried out by both private and public on urban space, followed in each period the dominant ideas about cities and urbanism in the country and in the world. At last, the transformation of the central area of the city in an historical center and its meaning in the present time is examined as well as the alliances between the private and public sector to its qualification in the search of a rescue a place to all citizens.*

### INTRODUCTION

This paper discusses the transformation of public and private spaces, as well as urbanism and its practice, during the period in which an authoritarian and dictatorial government took power in Brazil, a government which had as its goal the modernization of political, economic, administrative, and physical territorial structures of the country. The paper evaluates the circulation of ideas regarding city, urbanism and their resonances, the form in which currents of urbanistic thought were adopted as instruments of power for imposition of values in new times, and the promotion of territorial spaces as well as development of new activities of the so-called “modern man.” A primary topic is the evaluation of the principal actors that, through their ideas and practices, made Porto Alegre’s great transformation possible.

The dictatorship led by Getúlio Vargas, initiated in 1937, dominated Brazilian politics for nine years. This period, known as the “New State”, is recognized for the installation of an authoritarian government that intended to centralize power in order to serve as the pillar for a new model of nationwide development, with the expansion of an already existent industrial base. Included in this process, as a principal directive, was the weakening of the autonomy of state and municipal spheres of power inherited from the Old Republic period (1889-1930). The emptying of state political power presented itself as an indissociable aspect of the expansion of national economic control and the

process of centralizing power in the federal sphere. An administration with a vertical orientation, as Vargas intended, demanded a new internal structure of the public machine in order to satisfy the yearnings for modernization intended by the New State, which would not be possible under the structure inherited from the Old Republic.

The state of Rio Grande do Sul entered a new time period, leashed to the same agricultural farming model developed until then: low-cost foodstuffs supplier. Rio-Grandense industry, although presenting lower growth since the 1920s in relation to the rest of the country, was still growing at expressive rates (Singer, 1968). The growth of Porto-Alegrense industry predominated in the state, conferring to the capital its status as principal production pole of the country's South region. The commercial sector, developed since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, serving the city as a storepost for regional products, reinforced its position as the state's economic center. The 1940 demographic census showed a city with 275,658 inhabitants, a growth rate of 54% in relation to the previous decade. This growth emphasized the hegemonic position of the capital within the state and proffered a concentration of investment capital as well as a commercial and industrial elite class. At the same time, the city's outskirts increased in size and severity of poverty, due to the incapacity of generated jobs to absorb the increased demand from natural population growth and migration from countryside to city that began to accentuate during this period. The countryside exported laborers to the city, those who worked in subsistence agriculture as well as in larger-scale farming and ranching, where successive crises or introduction of new technologies in production processes left many workers unemployed.

The nominated mayor of Porto Alegre, José Loureiro da Silva, lawyer by academic formation, took office on October 22, 1937, before the declaration of the New State. Getulian authoritarianism was already evident, having generated divergent currents in local politics with severe repercussions for the course of events. The opposition to Vargas' new political strategy generated within Riograndense politics several conflicting lines of interest.

Porto Alegre, and Rio Grande do Sul, had just left behind a cycle of 40 long years of domination by a single political party in administration – Rio-Grandense Republican Party (PRR) – depositary of positivist ideals since the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The party's tremendous strength maintained three administrators in city government from 1897 to 1937: José Montauray de Aguiar Leitão (1897-1924), Otávio Francisco da Rocha (1924-1928), and Alberto Bins (1928-1937). Loureiro da Silva, a faithful coreligionist of Vargas, took over City Hall with strong political and popular support.

To govern the city in dictatorial times was to govern with ample powers in the absence of legislative jurisdiction. The mayor was accountable only to the state governor (whom he owed his nomination) for his actions. He administrated through decrees that had the force of law. His administration was marked by renewed goals in the direction of city modernization. To modernize refers to renovating installed structures and infrastructures, designing medium and long-term plans and projects, reorganizing the administrative machine, and balancing municipal finances. The stated goals were achieved little by little, favored by the political prowess of the mayor and the easy access to financial resources made available by the federal government.

The mayor introduced a form of government that privileged collegiate actions, institutionalizing two councils linked directly to his office: the Technical Council of Municipal Administration and the Municipal Master Plan Council. The first council joined

the administrative board of City Hall under his presidency. Besides making bureaucratic decisions, the council served as a channel for passing forward the average citizen's demands. The Municipal Master Plan Council was part of the mayor's strategy to mount a long-term plan of city development, following the example of other Brazilian capitals such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. It would be the effectuation of a master plan whose denomination was already posted: Urbanization Plan of Porto Alegre. (SILVA, 1943 – ALMEIDA-2005).

The new administrative structure implemented at the beginning of his government determined that attributions in the sphere of urbanism would be effected by the General Board of Public Works and Ways, in the Division of Patrimony and Registration. In this division, the work of engineers Luiz Arthur Ubatuba de Faria and Edvaldo Pereira Paiva began to stand out; they were public figures who made names for themselves in the historical process of the capital's urban planning, who since 1926 and 1928, respectively, became part of the technical staff of City Hall (ROVATI, 2001), and were already elaborating plans and projects with renovation and modernization in mind.

At the core of these ideas, the new administration created two primary goals. A conglomerate of short-term operations was created that transformed the capital into a giant public works zone. These works were understood as necessary, and many of them were already outlined by the Improvements Commission, displayed in the plan coordinated by engineer João Moreira Maciel in 1914. (SOUZA-2008; MACIEL-1914).

The ideas in circulation regarding urbanism and city development reached key technical and political environments and were disseminated in City Hall, in the university, in the class organs, and in the local press. In order to complete an urbanistic plan, consequence of this circulation of ideas, the architect and urbanist Arnaldo Gladosch was hired in 1938, provenient from the team of French urbanist Alfred Agache, elaborators of the Extension, Remodeling and Beautification Plan of Rio de Janeiro<sup>1</sup>. (AGACHE, 1930). The hiring of an urbanist outside of local means resulted in an estrangement, especially from the local technical group, and in resistance concerning the propositions and plans for the city. However, the platform made available to him by City Hall – the Municipal Master Plan Council – served as a means for ample divulgation of his ideas in the years that he stayed in Porto Alegre.

## ANTECEDENTS

In discussing public works and plans during this period, it is necessary to refer to the year 1936 in order to analyze with precision the dominant urbanistic thought and idea currents within the technical spaces of City Hall. Engineers Ubatuba de Faria and Edvaldo Paiva deserve special mention, for they were in harmony with the most advanced proposals of their time. The knowledge of public works of Agache and his predecessors is clear in his written documents, plans, and projects. These engineers became the first local urbanists in the modern sense of the word. The exposition held

---

<sup>1</sup> Arnaldo Gladosch, born in São Paulo in 1903, graduate of the Technical University of Dresden, Germany in 1926, came under the dominant influence of the French school of urbanists such as Eugène Hénard, Georges Risler, and Donat Alfred Agache, with whom he worked on the Rio de Janeiro plan, and British urbanists Geddes, Howard, and Burnham, linked to the Royal Institute of British Architects. See: Canez, Anna Paula Moura. *Arnaldo Gladosch: o edifício e a metrópole*. Porto Alegre: UniRitter, 2008.

by them in 1936, from November 21st to December 4th, was something completely new for the city, even in all of Brazil. This Urbanism Exposition<sup>2</sup> was the great orienteer of the city planning process, held during the period of the New State. When Loureiro da Silva took office in 1937, there was already a sufficient base of studies of technical and theoretic content to begin public works of city modernization.

In his opening remarks, engineer Ubatuba de Faria conceived of urbanism as art and science: "Artistic and Scientific Urbanism!" he said: "Science, when it solves problems of a technical order, and art, when it presents solutions of beauty with aesthetic sensibility."<sup>3</sup>

The Urbanism Exposition showed the general topographic survey of the city, elevation lines, registry of city blocks and triangular registry, as well as projects from the Board of Registration. Also, blueprints and mock-ups were shown that composed the entitled General Plan of Urbanization of Porto Alegre that included the Avenues Plan, with the complementation of projects of Extension and Remodeling, Sanitation and Beautification. Several blueprints and schematics showed the creation of new radial and perimetrical avenues, linked to a rational system. These links had a theoretical basis in the studies of Eugène Henard and Prestes Maia<sup>4</sup>.

The projects of Extension, Remodeling, and Sanitation Works encompassed residential and industrial neighborhoods, aquatic parks, as well as the channeling of Dilúvio Stream and its affluent, Cascatinha.

The exposition had a panel with the title "Evolution of the City" which contained a graphic map of the urban evolution of Porto Alegre, as well as graphics that demonstrated the services performed by the administration, certainly inspired by Marcel Poëte or Patrick Geddes<sup>5</sup>.

After its closing, the exposition was taken to Rio de Janeiro, for the Brazilian Statistical Congress.<sup>6</sup> Ubatuba de Faria emphasized that the principal contribution of Porto Alegre City Hall would be in the area of statistics, and would bring an innovative proposal in urban matters, for a better quality of life of its inhabitants, as well as divulging projects of hygiene, sanitation, and beautification, to transform the city into a grand touristic center with improved life conditions for its dwellers.

---

<sup>2</sup> Data utilized regarding the Exposition were obtained by architect José Geraldo Vieira da Costa for an internal seminar about the New State, coordinated by SOUZA, C.F. – held by Gedurb - UFRGS, 2007

<sup>3</sup>Correio do Povo newspaper article from November 22, 1936. Title: Studies on Urbanism. Subtitle: Interesting exposition inaugurated yesterday, in this capital, organized by the Board of Registration of City Hall.

<sup>4</sup> E. Henard, French urbanist, who like Agache, founded the Societe Française de L'Urbanisme, (DUBOIS-1985, p.41-51) author of the book ---Études sur-les transformations de Paris, Et autres écrits sur l'urbanisme. Paris, Equerre, 1982.

Prestes Maia, engineer of City Hall of São Paulo, and later mayor, wrote several reports about the urbanism of São Paulo, and created the Avenues Plan in 1930.

<sup>5</sup> Marcel Poëte, the first historian that made the study of Paris a new scientific domain (CALABI-1997, p.7). Created the discipline of Urban Evolution, and taught at Sorbone. Organized the Social Museum at the beginning of the 20th century.

Patrick Geddes understood the city as an urban organism containing a social essence in itself; what Poëte called city science, he called "civics" (CALABI-1997)

<sup>6</sup> The Congress was installed on December 15, 1936.

## THE ADMINISTRATION OF LOUREIRO DA SILVA

Loureiro's administration took place within a climate of urbanistic consciousness. Porto Alegre inserted itself in the national politics of urban renovation. The new mayor took on the completion of a conglomerate of public works that transformed the city in a definitive manner. With large-scale financial investments, avenues were opened and low-lying areas were sanitized, eliminating old alleys and narrow streets, opening new spaces for the emergence of the vertical city.

The works elaborated by the hired urbanist, Arnaldo Gladosch, from 1938 onward, were aided by the contribution of previous plans and studies. He made references not only to the Improvements Commission of 1914 and its proposals, but also to the studies of Faria and Paiva. His ideas and propositions can even be identified through the reading of the meeting minutes of the Municipal Master Plan Council. Widely published by the local press and by the Municipal Bulletin, the urbanist's discourse and the graphic material presented allow for identification of the content of his ideas, since the original sources, until now, have not been located. A graduate of THD – Technische Hochschule Zu Desdren (1921-26), the urbanism of Gladosch can be inserted, according to Canez, "in the universe of Formal Urbanistic, manner of actuation common among professionals that completed innumerable urban plans for cities all over the world, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century". (CANEZ-2008 p.172) The so-called Formal Urbanistic, with roots in the French school of "haussmaniana", influenced all urbanistic production during the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The German formation of Gladosch, his contact with European production at this moment, his recognition of ideas disseminated by the French Urbanism Society (SFU), and his work with Alfred Agache's team demonstrate his insertion in the urbanistic thinking publicized by the vanguards of his time. In the urbanist's contract, signed by Porto Alegre City Hall on December 21, 1938, his duties were stated as "the organization of the Municipal Master Plan of Porto Alegre, relevant to sanitation and expansion of the city, orientation and regulation of the outline of its means of communication, distribution of free spaces, and enlargement of the port". (SILVA – 1943 p.215)

During his time with City Hall, Gladosch produced four general studies and some projects for special areas of the city, reformulating the system of public ways that covered the city center and adjacent neighborhoods. Among his directives, the urbanist recommended, besides widening public ways, control over building codes, stating that "... the widening of streets will be only a transitory solution, a momentary relief, because, as long as the defect is not corrected at its point of origin, that is, limiting the density of buildings and habitations, the defect will never be definitively corrected". (SILVA, 1943 p.129).. The proposal for beautification of the city inspired the implementation of a system of greens, forming lanes of gardens and parks.

Along the margins of Guaíba Lake, a public green lane was supposed to be extended from Praia de Belas (Beautiful Beach) neighborhood all the way to the rural south zone. The city would have benefited greatly if this directive had been adopted. The existent lane is short and discontinuous. Many parts have been privatized. The presence of a protective dike against flooding ended up creating a barrier, extending from the north neighborhoods to the front of the horse track in the south zone. The city lost contact with its waters in several places.

The idea of urbanism as science and art, present in Agache's discourse, was repeated by Gladosch in his discussions with the Municipal Master Plan Council. His discourse extolled the adoption of instruments such as zoning, the reparcelling of grounds, and control over urban occupation. He extolled even further on the problem of sanitation in inhabited areas. The excessive extension of the city towards its outskirts was criticized for its consequent losses in relation to the costs of urbanization. As a counterpoint, he pointed to the inconveniences of high population densities in the most central areas, affirming that: "the exaggerated and uncontrolled urban concentration not only bothers but also damages the social economy, demanding, among other things, extremely expensive solutions for the transit of its inhabitants". (SILVA,1943 p.136)

Many of these ideas, which had already been incorporated into previous studies, came to influence posterior plans. The Gladosch Plan, as it became known, would never be effectively implemented for various reasons. Among them was the difficulty of implementing his design, which demanded large-scale land expropriation and regulation of city blocks. The process of redivision extolled by the urbanist, seen as of interest to property owners and bringing benefits to collective interests, would be possible with the elaboration of specific legislation.

In 1940, previewing the continuing necessity of these works, after his separation from City Hall, Gladosch suggested to the mayor the further training of his technicians in specialization courses conducted abroad. With this objective, Paiva traveled to Uruguai and enrolled in the College of Architecture, where the Institute of Urbanism was located, coordinated by the urbanist Mauricio Cravotto. (SOUZA&ALMEIDA-2009). This professor exerted a strong influence over his Brazilian student. Paiva returned the following year bringing a new methodology of completing urbanization plans for cities. It was composed of the following steps: the elaboration of a pre-plan configuring a first stage; then, an investigative phase with historical and statistical data in which the city should be completely revealed in all of its aspects (social, economic, populational, institutional and physical. Finally, the definitive plan would be elaborated with its directives.

The existence of a pre-plan, in Porto Alegre's case, starting with the work of Ubatuba de Faria, and adding Gladosch's studies and plans, served as subsidies to create the first phase. The Urban Expedient, corresponding to the investigative phase, was polished from Uruguai, utilizing survey data from the 1936 exposition. For the third phase, although there already was an official plan created by Gladosch, it was still considered a pre-plan. What was lacking was to pass forward the definitive plan, with its new directives. This movement, however, did not take place. At the end of the 1940s, this plan was submitted to a Revisory Council instituted by City Hall that ended up recommending the completion of a new master plan. Concurrent with the studies of Gladosch and Paiva, a series of public works was being undertaken based on existent plans and projects. Thus, the government finished its mandate, leaving behind a prominent urbanistic and architectural inheritance.

The completion of public works demanded legislation both adequate and practical for their rapid implementation. The mayor, with ample powers in the absence of a legislative branch, had his task facilitated with the enactment of numerous decrees that supported the execution of these works and the occupation of urban territory. These decrees legislated the processes of expropriation of properties, the outline of new ways, the proper form of property occupation, and the maximum height of buildings. These

instruments and the available financial resources allowed for completion of a significant volume of public works that marked this period. This fact is only comparable with another period of public work execution during the military regime from 1970-1980.

## THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE CITY

The mayor's achievements, described in the document "A Plan of Urbanization," testify to the large volume of completed public works.(figure 1) A new road system, superimposed over the old one, did not just stay on paper, but became reality: new avenues, plazas, equipments, neighborhoods, water and sewage networks, sidewalks and gardens, all changed the city's physiognomy and the quality of its environment. This public works program was associated with concepts of the modern city, evidenced in the mayor's speeches, such as when he referred to the opening of the extension of Borges de Medeiros Avenue southbound; according to him, this extension offered "the spectacle of a modern artery, where skyscrapers alternate the contour of their vigorous lines". (SILVA-1943; p.86)

There was a concern over habitation, causing Paiva and Ubatuba de Faria to think about new residential areas, having done so since their exposition in 1936. Praia de Belas neighborhood was one of the presented proposals, first mentioned in one of Paiva's speeches, that same year, at the Society of Engineering. Edvaldo Paiva perceived the great potential of this urbanistic area, currently empty ground. The main creek, once it was sanitized, would bring proper hygienic conditions to the region. Its location near the city center favored the creation of a new residential neighborhood, along the length of the new Praia de Belas Avenue. Regarding the necessity of transformation, he justified: "Praia de Belas is an outstanding example, for in spite of its incomparable situation, it grew old prematurely, because it continued throughout time with its defective division of blocks and its difficult link to the city center due to local topographic conformity; only time changed this in part, with the opening of Borges de Medeiros Avenue. (Figures 2 and 3). We need to frame this beach within the beautiful frame that surrounds it. To do so we need to adjoin it to public works of civilization".<sup>7</sup>

Paiva proposed a fill for the new neighborhood, demonstrating its technical and economic viability: he showed the necessity of, at the same time, channeling the stream for perfect sanitation of the future neighborhood, affirming that "they will have in the future the same role that the beach neighborhoods have in Rio de Janeiro"<sup>8</sup>. Associating the idea of modernization with the domain of technical and theoretical references, showing examples, Edvaldo Paiva sensitized the technicians from the Society of Engineering in showing the real necessity of occupying that area as a form of economic growth and development of the city.

The creation of a new Industrial Neighborhood to the north of Porto Alegre was also defined in this plan (FARIA&PAIVA-1943). Ubatuba de Faria continued to defend this

---

<sup>7</sup>From Correio do Povo newspaper, under the title: "A New Residential Neighborhood at Praia de Bellas", December 17, 1936, highlighting the technical character of Paiva's speech, regarding the proposals in the remodeling plan of Porto Alegre.

<sup>8</sup>From Correio do Povo newspaper, December 17, 1936. Title: A New Residential Neighborhood at Praia de Bellas". Subtitle: Regarding this topic, yesterday at a conference at the Society of Engineering, Dr. Edvaldo Paiva presented.

idea, showing that the dynamic of industrial growth would take the city to the north, reason for which he proposed the creation of a new neighborhood.

At the end of the 1930s and the beginning of the 1940s, several divisions of lots began to appear in Porto Alegre, as a function of its growth. New, planned neighborhoods began to appear in all directions. The most careful divisions of lots, with differential outlines, sought better quality of life for their residents. It was at this moment that garden city urbanism was introduced in Porto Alegre, with two significant examples: IAPI Vila, of a state-owned character, and Assunção Vila, built by the private sector. These two areas demonstrate, even today, the morphology of their organic outlines, garden retreats, large green areas, and tree-lined streets. The presence of urbanism in the garden cities is quite visible from English origin, such as the examples of Letchworth and Welwyn, associated with the suburban American project of Radburn in 1929. The trendiness of concepts and the rapid transference of ideas in spite of the communications of the period are very perceptible. (SOUZA-2000)

## CONCLUSION

The above text, as it analyzes Porto Alegre's history during the period of the New State, reveals the transformation process that the city underwent in its physical space, as well as the agents of this transformation, their practices, and the instruments with which they worked. It is quite evident that during this period, urbanism accomplished the mayor's political desires in relation to his goals of modernization and the total support of the media in publicizing the government's public works projects.

Loureiro da Silva involved himself intensely with the city and the new methods of its modernization. He participated in the entire process of discussing plans, projects and works and personally attended the meetings of the Municipal Master Plan Council, giving ample publicity to the ideas under debate. He showed himself to be a great enthusiast of new processes, techniques, methodologies, and possibilities of new ideas regarding urbanism for the future of Brazilian cities. He accompanied all the debates and examined closely all possibilities of application of new instruments, even suggesting to the federal government the creation of a new law of urbanism. The elaborated pre-project regulated these principles over the entire national territory, for cities with more than 40,000 inhabitants as well as capitals and hydro-mineral stations. He understood that: "the master plan of urbanism, conveniently elaborated, systematizes solutions for existing problems as well as preventing arbitrary development, thus disciplining recommendable corrections such as future harmonic expansion"<sup>9</sup>. (SILVA, 1943; p.295). He also stated that this was the orientation adopted by "all countries of elevated culture". This pre-project was extremely detailed, informing which items should be attended to, achieved within available resources, and elaborated by specialized technicians of recognized professional competence. Silva thus anticipated that which would be enacted by the Federal Constitution of 1988 in articles 182 and 183, later established the Statute of the City in 2001<sup>10</sup>, nearly 70 years after Silva's work.

The perfection of a technical staff, concern for the city's future development, publicity and execution of plans defined Silva's term in office and gave a liberal stamp upon his

---

<sup>9</sup> Silva, Loureiro da, 1943, op.cit. p. 295.

<sup>10</sup> Law n° 10.257 of July 10, 2001.

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

actions, seeking the city's modernization. The presence of a technically qualified staff, the availability of studies developed in previous periods and the circulation of new actors on the local scene permitted a circulation of ideas regarding city and urbanism in harmony with the national and international vanguard. Ubatuba de Faria, Edvaldo Pereira Paiva and Arnaldo Gladosch were extremely important names that contributed in a decisive manner to this phase of the city's development.

It is undeniable that during this period, the application of new urbanistic concepts, the disposition of the mayor, and the available resources made Porto Alegre into a new, modern city. In just seven years, the urban landscape was transformed. Within this context of public works and transformation, destruction, and permanence, modernity and authoritarianism were two distinct movements that became part of the same process.

Today the transformation of the central area of the city in an historical center and its meaning in the present time gets in evidence the alliances between the private and public sector to its qualification in the search of a rescue a place to all citizens.



Figure 1: Porto Alegre: Public works executed by the Loureiro da Silva administration.  
Source: SILVA, J.L da – *A Plan of Urbanization, Porto Alegre*, Graphic Workshop of Globo Bookstore, 1943 p.

This synthetic map, part of the volume “A Plan of Urbanization”, shows the works completed by City Hall during the period of 1937-1943, such as Farrapos Avenue, November 10 (Salgado Filho) Avenue, finalization and extension of Borges de Medeiros Avenue, widening of November 3 (Av. André da Rocha) Avenue, Jerônimo de Ornelas Avenue, plazas and gardens of Farroupilha Park, sports fields, channels and bridges above the creek, as well as equipments and arborization of avenues and the treatment of Petrópolis neighborhood.



*Figure 2: Borges de Medeiros Avenue - - 1938*



*Figure 3: Borges de Medeiros Avenue*

## REFERENCES

- Almeida, M. S. - Transformações Urbanas, Atos, normas, Decretos, Leis na administração da Cidade, 1937-1961. São Paulo: Tese de Doutorado, Universidade de São Paulo, USP, 2005. Ver em: <<http://www.teses.usp.br>>
- Berman, M. Tudo que é sólido desmancha no ar. São Paulo: Schwarcz Ltda, 1989, p. 129.
- Braga, S. B. A Continuidade na Descontinuidade: o Governo Loureiro da Silva em Porto Alegre, durante o Estado Novo (1937-1943). Porto Alegre: Dissertação de Mestrado em História, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, UFRGS, 2002.
- CONSTITUIÇÃO (1937). Disponível em:  
<[http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/Constituicao/Constitui%C3%A7ao37.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/Constituicao/Constitui%C3%A7ao37.htm)>.  
Acesso em: 20 set. 2007.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Decreto-lei nº 1.202, de 8 de abril de 1939. Lex. Coletânea de legislação. São Paulo: 1937-1989. v. 3.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Decreto nº 19.398, de 11 de novembro de 1930. Disponível em:  
<[http://www.franklinmartins.com.br/estacao\\_historia\\_artigo.php?titulo=getulio-toma-posse-e-bota-abaixo-a-republica-velha-1930](http://www.franklinmartins.com.br/estacao_historia_artigo.php?titulo=getulio-toma-posse-e-bota-abaixo-a-republica-velha-1930)>. Acesso em: 19 set. 2007.
- Canez, A. P. M. Arnaldo Gladosch: o edifício e a metrópole. Porto Alegre: UniRitter, 2008.
- Carone, E. O Estado Novo: (1937-1945). Rio de Janeiro – São Paulo: Difel, 1976.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A Segunda República: (1930-1937). São Paulo: Difel, 1978, 3. ed.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A Terceira República: (1937-1945). São Paulo: Difel, 1982, 2. ed.
- Duboy, P. Vingt ans d'urbanisme appliqué, in Villes d'eaux em France – ouvrage réalisé par l'Institut Français d'Architecture sous la direction de Lise Grenier. Paris: Ecole Nationale Supérieure de Beaux-Arts et l'Institut Français d'Architecture, 1985.
- Fausto, B. A Revolução de 1930: História e Historiografia. São Paulo: Cia. Das Letras, 1997.
- Faria, L. A. U de e Paiva, E. P. Contribuição ao estudo de Porto Alegre. Porto Alegre: mimeografado, 1938.
- Fonseca, P. C. D. Vargas: o capitalismo em construção 1906-1954. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1999.
- Franco, A. et alli. Porto Alegre, Biografia duma Cidade - Livro comemorativo do bicentenário da fundação da Cidade. Porto Alegre: Tipografia do Centro, 1940.
- Leme, M.C. (coordenadora). Urbanismo no Brasil. São Paulo: FUPAM, Studio Nobel, 1999.
- Lopez, Luiz Roberto. História do Brasil Contemporâneo. Porto Alegre: Mercado Aberto, 2000, (Série Revisão, 3).

- Maciel, J. M. Plano Geral dos Melhoramentos. Porto Alegre: Livraria do Comercio, 1914.
- Pandolfi, D. C. (org.). Repensando o Estado Novo. Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 1999.
- Silva, J. L. Um plano de Urbanização. Porto Alegre: Oficinas da Globo, 1943.
- Skidmore, T. Brasil: de Getúlio a Castelo. São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 1976, 5<sup>a</sup> ed.
- Souza, C. F. - A cidade Jardim: entre o discurso e a imagem - uma reflexão sobre o urbanismo em Porto Alegre. In: Anos 90 - Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em História, UFRGS. Porto Alegre: dez. 2000; revista semestral, nº.14, p.135-161
- \_\_\_\_\_. Plano Geral de Melhoramentos de Porto Alegre: o plano que orientou a modernização da cidade, Porto Alegre, Armazém Digital, 2008
- Souza, C. F. & Almeida, M. S. – Fronteiras Intercambiáveis: o Urbanismo que veio do Uruguai; in Gomes, M. A. F. (org). Urbanismo na América do Sul. Salvador: EDUFBA, 2009.
- Textos Apresentados no Seminário interno sobre Estado Novo em Porto Alegre – coordenação de SOUZA, C.F. - Gedurb UFRGS; 2007, não publicados.
- Costa, J. G. V. A Exposição de Urbanismo de 1936 – Levantamento de dados.
- Lemos, M. R. O Correio do Povo no Estado Novo,
- Manozzo, P. A Propaganda no Estado Novo: as repercussões em Porto Alegre
- Ribeiro, C.B. O Planejamento das Feiras de Amostras de Porto Alegre:
- Silva, M. M. A Formação do Centro Médico da ufrgs: a presença do Estado Novo no processo de modernização de Porto Alegre

## GENIUS LOCI AND GENIUS SAECULI: A SUSTAINABLE WAY TO UNDERSTAND CONTEMPORARY URBAN DYNAMICS

Luisa BRAVO, Dr.  
University of Bologna, Italy  
luisa.bravo@unibo.it

### ABSTRACT

*Recent literature shows the limits of modern town-planning theory in front of the complexity of a new world which is the result of political and economic transformation: globalization, new forms of marginalization and exclusion, the advent of so-called "new economy", the redefinition of the production base and labour market have built a different city structure, based on transactions and symbolic exchanges rather than processes of industrialization and modernization towards which modern city was oriented. At the same time complexity is also expressed by contemporary urban populations through upheavals taking place in the social context: intermittence of citizenship, so that cities are increasingly experienced and enjoyed by citizens of the world (tourists and/or visitors, temporarily present) and common citizens (suburban, provincial, metropolitan), the irregularity and flexibility of timetables, agendas and rhythms of working population, social mobility, so that individuals have life trajectories and everyday practices less determined by their social origins, compared to what happened in the past, the radical transformation of family structure, the growth of the elderly population, the rise of the education level, then the increased demand of culture, a strong social individualization.*

*The historic city, that lives in the present time, can be proposed as a sustainable model, able to collect and contain all instances of the contemporary world, to transform and express them through the continuity of architectural language inherited from the past. The historic city retains a character of great attractiveness and fascination, lived as a place suspended in a timeless universe, capable of representing the public membership recognition to civitas: genius loci, the spirit of place in the historical dimension of the city, is what survives to the ever changing functional structures and confers an indelible character to the city and the urban landscape, through different urban phenomena but part of a single and recognizable experience. Civitas of the historic city establishes feeling of its identity, its own genius, on collective themes that a common visitor can understand as a local version of representative buildings, recognizable in other world cities.*

*The contemporary dimension of historical city, namely genius saeculi, the spirit of time, requires a continuous updating of the collective themes, of public spaces, places of human relations, and contents that are assigned to the historical forms from people who lives and inhabit those places, and the inclusion of new meanings, new values, new forms of social life. In the contemporary city we are experiencing the onset of new public spaces, linked to globalization phenomena: time-space acceleration, multi-presence, dissolution of personal relationships, space of flows, new information and communication systems, experiences related not to sites but to images, way of quick, visual, not physical knowledge, loss of old solidarity forms and knowledge (family, community) and birth of new ones (distance and confidence), different and non-fixed scale social places.*

*Hence this is the challenge for the new Millennium: conciliating the spirit of place, genius loci, with the spirit of time, genius saeculi, retrieving history values through their preservation and combining them in the present time through a sustainable model.*

## PAST AND PRESENT OF LIVING CITIES

The *city* is the human settlement's place within territory, it is the transformation of natural landscape into built environment, according to certain morphology and urban arrangement, repeatable with different models and shapes, time after time in different territorial sides, subject to foundation and expansion, defined and edged by specific administrative codes.

The *historic city* is that built environment's portion which history passed us on as a legacy and heritage of the past, it is the consolidated face of our culture, result of a superimposition over centuries, it is the best expression of our cultural identity. «For a thousand years all over Europe – as Romano points out – citizens inside the city formed a collective entity pictured as a real holistic subject, an organism endowed with an identity and will of its own, with a superior order in comparison to every single member and, while in other civilizations the city is essentially a geographical episode, only in the European context it refers mainly to morality, a holistic *civitas*». This means that in Europe individuals are socially established persons as components of cities. «*Civitas* bases its identity upon *collective themes* which appear to be a local vision of important buildings to visitors, recognizable in other world's cities, even if they actually have a different meaning, because they not only evoke a ritual behaviour but they show the *civitas* identity related to its citizens, comparing their material consistence with other European cities» (Romano, 1993). *Collective themes* inside the city – churches, walls, buildings, theatres, museums, public gardens – acquire their own autonomy as symbolic language's marks, valid as an instrument aimed to portray the urban beauty of a place. At the end of nineteenth century, far-seeing essays by Camillo Sitte (Sitte, 1889) and Charles Buls (Buls, 1893) expressed the widespread demand to keep aesthetics and urban composition into the design of the city, besides technical requests. The desire to build a beautiful town shows itself through the arrangement of *collectives themes*, they all related and compared into the urban mass: they are placed into the dense urban tissue not randomly, but following precise principles underlining the aesthetic purpose, ordered in authentic *sequences*, in a studied and pondered hierarchy. These *sequences* are possible in Europe due to their huge emotional impact because of thematic streets and squares built nearby *collectivethemes*, namely urban places able to mutually connect them through *sequences*, able to fix highly expressive objects with a place which elate its significance: these are main squares, market places, monastery squares, church squares, monumental squares and streets, the promenade and the boulevard, the tree-lined avenues. The historic city project is characterized by a deep connection between urban central *sequences* and distant, peripheral quarters so that the equality principle among citizens belonging to the *civitas* is clearly defined. The beauty of a city reflects this way the primary social purpose which is, as Romano explains, «the making of *urbs* intended as the appropriate *habitat* for the *civitas*, opened, dynamic, democratic and egalitarian». *Collective themes* and *thematic squares* or streets, each one with its own name and easily recognizable among others, represent a sort of catalogue to flip through in order to plan a beautiful city, a common list for every European city, slowly generated over the years and enriched gradually, generation after generation. The historic city retains a character of great attractiveness and fascination, yet topical and ready to answer to the present generation desires, lived as a place suspended in a timeless universe, capable of representing the public membership recognition to *civitas*: the *genius loci* (Norberg-Schulz, 1979), the spirit of place in the historical dimension of the city, is what survives

to the ever changing functional structures and confers an indelible character to the city and the urban landscape, through urban phenomena, which are different in time and shapes but part however of a unique, recognizable experience. *Genius loci* is a Roman concept: according to an ancient belief, every "independent" being has his own *genius*, his guardian spirit. This spirit gives life to places and people, bringing them from the cradle to the grave, determining their character or essence<sup>1</sup>.

The *modern city*, or rather the modern idea of the city, is founded on order, regularity, tidiness, equality and good government, aimed to the maximum wellbeing of singles and community, conforming to real people's needs. The modern world vision is based on valuable concepts and conjugated through paradigms of progress, universality of rights, work, factory, house, welfare state, family and freedom. Modern town planning turns to a society which has not yet completely expressed its needs, which hasn't voiced a request for services: urban planning counts services diffusion from neighbourhood to quarter to territorial scale, following a serial standard model, suitable for every place and contest. Inside the city it's possible to focus on four different functions: living, working, recreation and circulation<sup>2</sup>. The city, through the creation of independent zones, is rationally planned and organized by specialized and functional parts – houses are pulled apart from production activities, from offices, commerce and leisure too – connected and bound by a strong, hierarchical mobility system. People and things orderly moves in clearly defined and recognizable places, every citizen explores restricted and connoted sides of urban space (bourgeois or working quarters, industrial areas, trade centers, theatres, restaurants, shops along elegant downtown streets, canteens or outlying public facilities). The welfare state action is addressed toward social security (developing the pension system), public health, base level instruction, house policies, protection of working class in case of unemployment. These principles has been enacted with wide architectural and urban plans all over territorial expansion areas, outside the historic city, following methods and criterions quite common in several European cities. However this planning action turned out weak and incapable to transfer historical *genius loci* values, producing as a result debased peripheral quarters, from physical, social and environmental point of view. The problem concerning outskirts is due to the fact that they have been conceived and realized as something completely different from the rest of the city: in this direction, the English meaning for *sub-urb* and the French one, *ban-lieu*, remove the misunderstanding the Italian term *periferia* could represent, if merely intended in a geographical sense, namely a spatial dimension of living far away from the centre. The uncontrolled and unplanned growth of territorial settlements, according to the *sprawl* (Ingersoll, 2006) phenomenon intended in its double meaning of *diffuse city*<sup>3</sup> and *urbanized countryside*<sup>4</sup>, has generated morphologically and architecturally homogeneous suburbs, mostly residential and inhabited by the same social or ethnic group, giving up that weave of

---

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the interpretation of the concept of *genius loci*, see the opening address by Michael Petzet at the 16th General Assembly of ICOMOS, GENIUS LOCI – The Spirit of Monuments and Sites, Scientific Symposium, Quebec, 30 September 2008.

<sup>2</sup> So we read in IV CIAM proceedings in Athens (1933), "Constatations du IVeme Congres", chapter entitled "The present situation of cities and their needs".

<sup>3</sup> Expression coined by Francesco Indovina in 1990 to describe the central area of Veneto Region (Italy), as a consequence of the occurrence of visible signs of urban sprawl and low density, in which the hierarchical relationship with the centre is very attenuated or even reversed.

<sup>4</sup> Kind of urbanization linked to dispersive processes concerning residence and productive areas of Tuscany (Italy), which has a polycentric settlement character referred to a pre-district type.

public and private functions and activities that characterize the historic city. Modern city appears, therefore, as something much more different from the historic city, not qualified to answer to old and consolidated needs – the efficient, functional, productive, accessible city – but first of all unable to provide an answer to new questions, needs and wishes, either for consolidated services or for new ones – beautiful, usable, safe and sustainable city. Modernity's crisis in its ideals, instruments and representations, shows the powerlessness to define in its several aspects the present city and to edge it in a new post-modern or contemporary<sup>5</sup> universe, which is investigated with inefficient and not precise knowledge.

The *contemporary city*, from the morphological point of view, is the place of discontinuity and diversity: it's recognizable the centre, intended as the historical one, the centre of *civitas* and *collective themes*, while the rest of the urban structure seems to be blurred, not clearly defined, deprived of reference points but mainly lacking in *collective themes*. Urban dimension has a policentric structure, resulting from political and economic transformations – globalisation, new forms of marginalisation and exclusion, the advent of so-called "new economy", the redefinition of the production base and labour market – in a wider and surely over municipal scale, in opposition with the monocentric one, pertaining to the historic city, so that geographic city doesn't overlap with the institutional city anymore. From the social point of view, contemporary city can be defined on transactions and symbolic exchanges rather than processes of industrialization and modernization towards which modern city was oriented. Elements at the base of this twisting are several: intermittence of citizenship, so that cities are increasingly experienced and enjoyed by citizens of the world (tourists and/or visitors, temporarily present) and by common citizens (suburban, provincial and metropolitan); the radical family structure transformation, so that the family-standard couple with sons, solid reference for economy and politics, is nowadays a minority; irregularity and flexibility of timetables, agendas and rhythms of the working population; social mobility, so that individuals have life trajectories and daily practises less determined by their social origin, compared to what happened in the past; the elevation of the education level together with increasing of cultural demand; the growth of elderly population and a strong social individualization; the rise of poverty over the middle class, under economic pressure and almost in total absence of welfare policies, due to structural employment market modifications, origin of uncertainties and frailty for family systems. Besides, the more or less peaceful presence of contemporary minorities and majorities makes contemporary city a place of contradiction and conflicts: the relevant presence of immigrants inside consolidated communities, intended as citizens but *different*, less willing to exchange their own cultural identity with acceptance, according to Glazer's model of *melting pot* (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970) – which unifies diversity by virtue of powerful integration means – seems to generate new social forms and new examples of fruition for urban public spaces. In this sense, the theory which consider contemporary city as a *cosmopolis* (Sandercock, 1998) constellation is interesting. According to the American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (AHD), *cosmopolis* stands for a «big city populated by people from different countries» (1992), namely by several structures which are expression of difference-based urban condition, intended as

---

<sup>5</sup>The term *contemporary* refers to a system that is no longer modern, that doesn't possess anymore the structural characteristics on which it was formed. *Contemporary*, therefore, must be understood as synonymous of post-modern acceptance by J. F. Lyotard (1979) and C. Jencks (1977), as an expression of a real transition age.

cultural difference. It's not surprising, therefore, someone proposed to change three main principles of modern cohabitation – freedom, equality and brotherhood – into freedom, diversity and tolerance.

## SPACE VERSUS TIME

In the global era the conception of time and space has deeply changed: the world seems smaller and bigger than ever because everyone can easily reach any place or have information about it, the way of living and experiencing cities is influenced by images, reproduced and sold through the web, so that consumption of places is detached from a slow and physical knowledge, erasing affection and care. According to the model proposed by Francois Ascher (Ascher, 2000), cities are undergoing a complete metamorphosis, taking ever more on the character of *metapolis*: the transportation system and telecommunication software techniques, the so-called telematic *agora*, are the new social glue of a multitude of different individuals, replacing the square of ancient villages. Society of *metapolis* has a hypertext-based structure<sup>6</sup>, a network of social links which are established between individuals, so that society is organized and operates through series of multidimensional and interconnected networks that provide an increased mobility of people, goods, information, where individuals move between both in a real and virtual way into separate social worlds, several times a day.

The contemporary society is made up of multi-owned individuals who are able to belong to multiple different social fields: family, work, leisure, neighborhood, religious and socio-political organizations. However not all individuals, for various reasons but largely related to their personal history, have the same opportunities to build *n*-dimensional social spaces or to pass easily from one dimension to another. For someone, the stratification of network membership is completely flattened: inside *metapolis* they are not multi-owned, often inhabit large blocks of public housing, meet people from their district or neighborhood, so their business, family, local, religious areas are largely overlap each other. This means that the possibility of moving in a range of different field creates opportunities that are not accessible to everyone. To keep away and separate all differences there are not only social or geographic barriers: the global dimension of the contemporary city is characterized by a secular acceleration concerning capital, people and information movement, continuously expanding through geographical space, so that everyone can inhabit more than one place at the same time and can live experiences in a physical and not physical dimension, erasing memories of slow times of daily living. The contemporary city is, as Giddens argues (Giddens, 1990), *stretched* in space and time. An example is NYLON (New York - London), unified transnational space designed by academics and mainstream media: the annual flow of passengers on the London - New York air route, which currently is the busiest route in the world, is the expression of a set of economic, social and cultural interactions between the two urban centres, a vast urbanity which is the basis of a rebirth of the two cities, both developed after years of decline, hosting rich and heterogeneous immigrant populations that contributed to the vitality of their

---

<sup>6</sup> Hypertext is text displayed on a computer or other electronic device with references (hyperlinks) to other text that the reader can immediately access, usually by a mouse click or keypress sequence. Hypertext is the underlying concept defining the structure of the World Wide Web, making it an easy-to-use and flexible format to share information over the internet platform.

culture and economy (Burdett and Kanai, 2006). The experiment of a city as a result of two purely geographical urban centres is not new: during 80's the mayors of Milano and Torino dreamed the meta-city called MITO, a continuous urban form within the same urbanized area, the vast megalopolis extending in northwest padana valley of Italy<sup>7</sup>. The proposal of Franco Purini at the Biennale of Architecture in Venice (2006), at the Italian pavilion, follows the same philosophy: he designed a new city, located between Verona and Mantova, near the intersection of railway European corridors Lisbon-Kiev and Berlin-Palermo, called VEMA. This is a total experiment, which explores every area of urban planning: VEMA summarizes and proposes, in a more complex structural key, embedded in European and global dynamics, the urban world of the padana valley, marked by a strong environmental and architectural uniformity, contradicted by specific, subtle differences and animated by powerful monumental presences (Purini, Marzot and Sacchi, 2006). VEMA aims to become, in its whole, an out-and-out think tank, a mental engine of society, through the application of the "three T's" theory by Richard Florida (Florida, 2002), namely talent, technology and tolerance: the first one clearly understood in the creative sense, the second one mainly in the computer science aspect, the third one in a social sense and, specifically, open to diversity.

The *contemporary city* has developed the ability to build its three-dimensional image through powerful spatial representations, searching for a new language and a new expression, which is closely dependent on technology, real urban high-impact utopias towards social, emotional and cultural imaginary, far away from everyday reality. Opportunities are offered by large voids left by the end of industrialization city processes, in large areas in different parts of central Europe, namely urban transformations through which rebalance the physical and functional structures of the existing city. Time, the fourth dimension in urban design projects, seems to be an elusive variable, flowing faster if technology that feeds it is high-speed and advanced, difficult to harness in a grid of predetermined factors, but capable of altering the physical enjoyment of urban places. Time, evolving through daily physical forms of the city, is linked to personal clocks of individuals – timetables, agendas, rhythms - and to modalities through which, during daytime and at night, the city offers itself to people, able to give services and to amaze at the same time. This duality in the contemporary world is strongly influenced by technological innovation that turns urban spaces into highly sophisticated and competitive places, in a global sense. But time is also intended as *genius saeculi*<sup>8</sup>, the spirit of time, the dominant spirit of our contemporary age, able to change the normal perception of things and of the whole world. The city, the place of humanity and society *par excellence*, is the truest physical representation of inner-time universe.

---

<sup>7</sup>The growth patterns of the last two decades, however, show that MITO does not really exist, although the two cities show the presence of forms of economic and functional interdependence and are supposed to be further influenced by the high-speed railway line under construction in this part of Europe.

<sup>8</sup>Spirit of time, *Zeitgeist* in German, is an expression adopted in the eighteenth century philosophy which indicates the dominant cultural trend in a certain historical period. The term is found almost unchanged in a sentence of Mephistopheles in "Faust" by Johann Wolfgang Goethe (*Was ihr den Geist der Zeiten heißt –it has been the spirit of times*), but it is mainly known in the field of analytical philosophy of history, through Hegel thought and his lectures on the subject. The concept of *genius saeculi* is used in this paper referred to social and cultural practices related to a specific context.

## LOOKING FOR BEAUTY AND URBAN WELLBEING

In the contemporary city it is possible to identify four dimensions related to different ways to experience and enjoy urban places: real city, living city, imagined city, dreamed city. The living city does not necessarily coincide with the real city: everyone, in fact, daily lives, passes through, uses spaces and places inside the city, but everyone, in a unique way, composes each day his own city, defining the mesh of paths and connections, based on his place of residence, his working time and life, choosing entertainment and leisure places on his habits and needs. Everyone moves in an urban endless *continuum*, where public aspects, related to relationships, sharing, participation, social practices, mix up with private aspects, related to individuality, diversity, lifestyles. Everyone is inclined to build his own neighborhood, drawing in the real city a tailor-made city, a city *a la carte*. So the boundary between reality and image/imagery is increasingly blurred: dreams, fashion, myths, illusions, desires have become powerful factors in shaping the real city. No longer, therefore, a city of numbers, multitudes, actors, entrepreneurs, interests, according to a Cartesian and overhead model. The urban planning culture today, more than ever, is committed to respond to a demand of beauty and attractiveness, both in its physical and morphological dimension, offering attractive models of transformation of places through huge, futuristic, powerful symbolic-architectures, self-expression of a specific language design and strong visual sign in the urban landscape. The mayors of many Italian and European cities establish a direct relationship with the renowned architects - so-called *archistars* (Lo Ricco and Micheli, 2003<sup>9</sup>) - in charge of performing major public works or spectacular infrastructures, because their implementation is considered exceptional and therefore it follows special procedures. Trade journals, but also mass divulgation magazines, tend to evaluate and enhance projects as such, its intrinsic value rather than its relationship with the existing built environment. The most significant evidence of new urban centrality are represented, as well as from established structures such as theaters, cinemas, museums, parks, also from new forms of entertainment shops - shopping centres that also offer recreational activities and games - or edutainment places - places of entertainment related to education - which require to come out the isolation and the puntual location in order to access the network, which is the city. The *cityscape* - physical landscape of the city - thus assumes new connotations, more ultramodern, technologically functional, projected towards the conquest of the coming future. At the same time public spaces needs to host new representations of leisure, entertainment, consumption, *flânerie*, in order to satisfy a wide dimension of pleasure, expression of freedom, all rights and all needs. The *mindscape* (Amendola, 1997) - symbolic and mental landscape of the city - materializing into physical forms within the city, becomes synonymous of a widespread urban wellbeing demand, intended both individual and collective coexistence, through wide forms of social security. Security has always been regarded as the essence of the city, already detectable in the fresco by Ambrogio Lorenzetti (1338-40) depicting the "Allegory of Good Government", considered the most faithful description of the Middle Age ideal city, the happy, beautiful and prosperous city. He puts an angel over the city,

---

<sup>9</sup>This interesting essay outlines details of a rising inexorable phenomenon, in the world of Architecture: the term "spettacolo" (show business) refers to the jet-set cool atmosphere and the copyright on the word "archistar" is an expression derived from the fusion between marketing and culture, as well as the transformation of identity into a commercial brand which are dominant elements in the contemporary economic society.

Securitas, who brings a scroll on which it is written: «...senza paura ognuom franco camini».

Contemporary public spaces, places of collective coexistence, are more and more linked to globalization phenomena: time-space acceleration, multi-presence, dissolution of personal relationships, space of flows, new information and communication systems, experiences related not to sites but to images, way of quick, visual, not physical knowledge, loss of old solidarity forms and knowledge (family, community) and birth of new ones (distance and confidence), different and non-fixed scale social places. They are scenarios of individuality, where the social dimension doesn't exist anymore, «the non-place urban realm» (Webber, 1964) as defined by Melvin Webber. Thus it is very clear and effective the distinction introduced by Marco Cenzatti and Margaret Crawford (Cenzatti and Crawford, 1993) of «quasi-public space» and «public quasi-space». The first ones, shopping malls, stations, airports and convention centers, are private places but open to public use, accessible to all people who have a credit card or can buy and spend money: they express a new form of social space, something between the domestic and public space, with a strong mechanism of inclusion and often, only formally, similar to squares. The second ones are sons of new communication networks, electronic mail, fax, modem, telephone, TV and have no relation between physical place and social experience: they create a new way of looking at the city, not a static organization of physical objects around one centre or more centres, but organization of networks, often invisible, able to multiply the possibilities of communication and interaction at a distance and to eliminate the need for a physical place. They represent new forms of place generated by the media and increasingly sophisticated technologies, which promote an home-culture service and contribute to the loss of all possibilities offered by interaction and conflict that generate social growth.

However, it is just in the public space, the physical place of human relationship between individuals, that the contemporary city can try to define its identity, because it is the place where everyone can exercise the experience of autonomy and uniqueness and at the same time of community, local and global, diversity, comparison, hybridization, knowledge, contamination, socialization made of speech, listening, game, rules, transgression, recognition. The place, therefore, where every individual *can be*, where freedom and democracy are put into practice, where values of humanity are exalted (Scandurra, 2003).

## CONTEMPORARY HISTORIC CITY

Today half of the world's population lives in cities. The United Nation report "State of the World's Cities 2006/7" calculates that 75% of the planet in 2050 will live in cities, while just a century ago only 10% lived in urban areas. In the light of the urban scenery complexity emerging at the beginning of the millennium, it is clear how the contemporary city has to reinvent and improve itself, acting on the growing demand expressed by its inhabitants, trying to bridge the gap between «methods of thought and methods of feeling» (Giedion, 1948) occurred in the previous century, trying to achieve an intellectual, political and emotional unity of culture. Such intervention requires interrelation of micro with macro-social, of quality with quantity, through the use of different and cross-learning knowledge related to urban planning discipline, in order to

reconcile physical city aspects to those related to the living city and the subject (intervention on the city) with the object (community).

But how to design places that can generate affectivity and satisfy forms of desire for collective life within a complex global society that tends to level differences, that denies forms of solidarity because it encourages isolation and loneliness? It is obvious that it's not possible to design places accessible to everyone, to all existing human diversity, because exclusions should be inevitable. The paradigm of contemporary urban theory is to reverse the classical concept of public space, intended as a place where people gather to discuss the facts of the city, according to an ideal of political life based on dialogue and reasoning, and consider urban place as a comparing space between *different* people with the same rights, inside which everyone feels free and safe having dealings with others. The project of *agora*, namely the place of public-private urban sociality, and *ecclesia*, namely the public-public place of political power, must be closely linked to the *oikos*, namely private place of home and family, because the public decision affects in some way the private life, and at the same time the private sphere does not guarantee socialization of individuals (Castoriadis, 1998). In addition to being regarded as the first aggregation element in the overall design of the city, the house must be systematized with all the functions of the city. In European urban culture, since the late twentieth century, life style and behaviour of the inhabitants depend very largely on the geographic location of their houses, which is no longer regarded as the place of permanent residence but as an extension of the city: houses must therefore be able to meet the same requirements of beauty, usability, attractiveness, safety that contemporary city has to satisfy, must be technologically equipped, through an efficient system of networks and of energy savings of consumption. This need is reflected in an increasingly housing disorder: the upper-class housing estates, gated communities, restored blocks in the historical centre inhabited by bourgeoisie, degraded (sometimes historical) central areas, suburban middle-class neighbourhoods, popular quarters without services, semi-central autonomous districts, dormitory slats, emergency houses in the extreme periphery, barracks. The unequal spatial distribution of residences not only draws a physical geography of the city but also a social geography which is projected into the material concreteness of the city.

It is necessary to look at the city and its *genius loci* through new eyes, «the question of whether you can see and think differently from the way you think and see, is essential to continue to look at and reflect» (Foucault, 1984). This means to start a real epistemological revolution, which aims to establish a new knowledge able to understand our inner-world, consisting of our thinking and our feeling, the *genius saeculi*, that guides us in reflecting these thought and feeling in the historical built environment. The parameter is no longer Man, with capital M, intended as in traditional normative and universalistic models of Humanism, but *people*, with the lowercase p and in a plural sense, which means different populations living together in the designed city, intended for what they really are and not for what they should be. The imperative is to design the city *with people in mind*, having people as datum-point, getting into the diverse humanity that constitutes the contemporary social world, in order to answer to the growing desire to live and enjoy the city, as an expression of that «right to the city» mentioned by Henri Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 1968) forty years ago.

So the historic city could be the instrument of a new genesis, an order-setting element inside complexity because it can collect and contain all instances of the contemporary world in the consolidated urban grain. *Genius saeculi*, the spirit of time, requires an

update of public spaces content and *collective themes*, which are read and assigned to the historical forms from people who live and inhabit those places, and the insertion of new meanings, new values, new forms of environmental exploitation. The historic city is able to translate this need and to express it through the continuity of architectural language, inherited from the past, and through identity values of community, according to a sustainable model that has already demonstrated its effectiveness through history, adapting itself and creating layer upon layer, century after century. It can act as a centrifugal force to which all peripheral appendages converge, in order to connect all public spaces into one network, defining a system of *sequences* from the urban centre to outdoor districts, activating regeneration and rehabilitation processes of degraded areas, defining new focuses, becoming a hierarchical and scalar principle. It is able to generate a spatial oneness, in which different parts interact through the interconnection of public spaces, updated and adapted to new forms of social life, forming an evolved narrative plot, turned to a new ethical, functional and aesthetical dimension. The historic city is able to awake the sense of belonging of the contemporary man to the world that he has built himself, which is the purest reflection of his social evolution. Because the world that history has consigned us is a long process result, bound to change again and again by introducing new variables, where the only constant is and has always been man. And it is only through a comprehensive and clear knowledge of the human real world that it is possible to return to work on the city and to identify the meaning and value of all things. «For a split second, between the loss of everything that I knew before and the purchase of all that I would have learned later, I was able to embrace in a single thought the world of things as they were and things as they could have been, and I realized that a unique system held everything» (Calvino, 1967).

## REFERENCES

- Alexander, C (1987) "A new theory of urban design", Oxford University Press, Oxford
- Amendola, G. (1997) "La città postmoderna. Magie e paure della metropoli contemporanea", Laterza, Roma-Bari
- Amin, A. and Thrift N. (2001) "Cities. Reimagining the Urban", Polity Press, Cambridge
- Ascher, F. (2000) "Le nouveaux principes d'urbanisme", Edition de l'Aube, Paris
- Augè, M. (1992) "Non-lieux", Edition du Seuil, Paris
- Bauman, Z. (1997) "Liquid Modernity", Polity Press, Cambridge
- Buls, C. (1893) "L'Esthétique des Villes", Bruylant-Christophe, Brussels
- Burdett, R. and Kanai, M. (2006) "La costruzione delle città in un'era di trasformazione urbana", Catalogo della 10. Mostra Internazionale di Architettura. Biennale di Venezia, "Architettura e società", Marsilio, Padova
- Calvino, I. (1967) "L'origine degli Uccelli" in "Ti con zero", Einaudi, Torino
- Castoriadis, C. (1998) "De l'autonomie en politique. L'individu privatisé", Le Monde diplomatique, février, 23
- Cenzatti, M. and Crawford, M. (1993) "Public Spaces and Parallel Worlds", Casabella, 597-598, pp. 34-38

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

- Cullen, G (1961) "Townscape", The Architectural Press, London
- Durkheim, E. (1970) "La Science sociale et l'Action", Presses Universitaires de France, Paris
- Florida, R. (2002) "The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life", Basic Books, New York
- Foucault, M. (1984) "L'usage des plaisirs", Gallimard, Paris
- Friedman, Y (1974) "Utopies Réalisables", Editions de l'éclat, Paris
- Geddes, P. (1915) "Cities in evolution", Williams and Borgate, London
- Gehl, J. (1987) "Life Between Buildings. Using Public Space", Van Nostrand Reinhold, New York (first edition)
- Giddens, A. (1990) "The consequences of modernity", Polity Press, Cambridge
- Giedion, S. (1948) "Mechanization takes command: a contribution to anonymous history", Oxford University Press, Oxford
- Glazer, N. e Moynihan, D. P. (1970) "Beyond the melting pot", MIT Press, Cambridge
- Indovina, F. (2006), (edited by) "Nuovo lessico urbano", Franco Angeli, Milano
- Ingersoll R. (2006) "Sprawltown. Looking for the city in its edge", Princeton Architectural Press, New York
- Jacobs, J. (1961) "The death and life of great american cities", Vintage Books, New York
- Jencks, C. (1977) "The Language of Post-Modern Architecture", Academy Editions, London
- Koolhaas, R. (2001) "Junkspace", Project on the City 2/Harvard Design School, "Guide to shopping", Taschen, Köln
- Lefebvre, H. (1968) "Le droit à la ville", Anthropos, Paris
- Le Galès, P. (1995), "European Cities", Oxford University Press, Oxford
- Lo Ricco, G. and Micheli, S. (2003) "Lo spettacolo dell'architettura. Profilo dell'archistar©", Bruno Mondatori, Milano
- Lynch, K. (1981) "A theory of good city form", MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachussets
- Liotard, J. F. (1979) "La Condition postmoderne: Rapport sur le savoir", Les Editions de Minuit, Paris
- Martinotti, G. (1993) "Metropoli. La nuova morfologia sociale della città", Il Mulino, Bologna
- Mela, A. (2006) "Sociologia delle città", Carocci, Roma
- Mumford, L. (1938) "The culture of cities", Hartcourt Brace & Co., New York
- Norberg-Schulz, C. (1979) "Genius loci. Paesaggio ambiente architettura", Electa, Milano

- Park, R. E., Burgess, E. W. and McKenzie, R. D. (1938) "The city", The University of Chicago Press, Chicago
- Purini, F., Marzot, N. and Sacchi L. (2006), (edited by), "La città Nuova Italia – y – 26. Invito a Verna, Il padiglione italiano alla 10. Mostra internazionale di Architettura", Compositori, Bologna
- Romano, M. (1993), "L'estetica della città europea", Einaudi, Torino
- Rossi, A. (1966) "L'architettura della città", Marsilio, Padova
- Sandercock, L. (1998), "Towards cosmopolis. Planning for Multicultural cities", John Wiley & Sons, New York
- Sassen, S. (1991) "The Global City", Princeton University Press, Princeton
- Scandurra, E. (2003) "Città morenti e città viventi", Meltemi, Roma
- Sen, A. K. (1993) "Capability and wellbeing", Nussbaum, N. and Sen, A. K. "The quality of life" Clarendon press, Oxford
- Sitte, C. (1889) "Der Städte-bau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen", Verlag von Carl Graeser, Wien
- Webber, M. (1964) "The Urban Place and the Non-Place Urban Realm" Explorations into Urban Structure, University Press of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
- Wirth, L. (1938) "Urbanism as a way of life", American Journal of Sociology, 44

## FROM MILD CLIMATE'S ARCHITECTURE TO 'THIRD WORLD' PLANNING: RICHARD NEUTRA IN LATIN AMERICA

José Tavares Correia DE LIRA, Associate Professor  
University of Sao Paulo, Brazil  
joselira@usp.br

### ABSTRACT

*Richard Neutra is considered to be one of the main figures of the Modern Movement in world architecture. Born in 1892 and trained in Vienna, he emigrated to the U.S. in 1923, where he would soon reach an outstanding position in the professional scene. This paper does not focus on this very well known role he played in 20th Century architectural history. It rather addresses to a somewhat obscure aspect of his career. Starting with his work as consultant for the Puerto Rican government in 1943-45, it explores the moves from a bio-realistic approach to culturally and socially informed agendas within his work and efforts to succeed as planning advisor in Latin America. My intention is to examine how a certain foreign-modern perspective on so called Third World countries relates to the building of the professional, cultural and political networks of planning in the region.*

### INTRODUCTION

Richard Neutra is considered to be one of the main figures of Modern Movement in architecture (McCoy, 1979; Drexler and Hines, 1982; Hines, 2005; Lamprecht, 2006). Born in Vienna in 1892, he was trained architect at the local *Technische Hochschule*. In 1914 his education was suddenly interrupted with the outbreak of war and he was sent to front in the Balkans. Having finished his course in Vienna in 1918, he moved to Switzerland after the armistice, and to Germany in 1920, where he would engage larger commissions. In 1923, he finally could embrace his American obsession and emigrated to the U.S.

He arrived in New York City late that year and moved to Chicago after four months, where he undertook his first experience in a large scale building for the old and prestigious firm Holabird and Roche. His great efforts to find his path in the New World, his fascination for the modern metropolis and the new construction methods would soon lead him to an outstanding position within the North American architectural scene. In 1924, he joined Frank Lloyd Wright's Taliesin East, in Wisconsin, and then moved to Los Angeles to work with his fellow countryman Rudolph Schindler. With him, he took part of the polemic 1926 League of Nations competition. In 1927, he published *Wie Baut Amerika*, about the problems and possibilities of American architecture and urban design, and in 1930 the book *Amerika*, developing some of his early ideas about the subject. In 1932, he was recognized as the main American avant-garde architect at the MoMA's "The International Style" show. Being a member of the International Congresses of Modern Architecture (CIAM) since its creation in 1928, he was elected wartime American-based president of the organization in 1944 (Mumford, 2000: 142-149). At the time he was already very well known for the design of some of the most remarkable buildings in contemporary architecture, mastering a whole California style influential both in the international avant-garde and its tropical margins.

This paper does not focus on these outstanding pieces of work nor on the acclaimed role he played in the history of architecture from the 1920's onwards. It rather addresses to a somewhat obscure aspect of his activity. Starting with his engagement as architect for the Puerto Rican government in 1943-44, I will explore his subsequent strategy to succeed as a planning expert and consultant in Latin America. My intention is to illuminate the changes within his career as exemplary of a collective professional movement to respond to work opportunities raised in the so called "Third World" fringe, where modernizing efforts were starting to be seen as organic parts of the expansion of capitalism and the industrial civilization.

### **COSMOPOLITAN TROPICALISM**

Like many other modern designers, Neutra has traced a rather erratic and cosmopolitan professional itinerary. Apart from his early emigration steps, in 1930 he embarked on an extended European journey to confirm the exchanges with his modern-architectural peers. He lectured in Vienna, Zurich, Basel, Prague, Hamburg, Berlin, Cologne, Frankfurt, Amsterdam and Rotterdam in one single and long trip. In Germany he met Alvar Aalto, Walter Gropius and Mies van der Rohe, who invited him to teach for a month at the Bauhaus as a visiting critic. He met Brinkman and Van der Vlugt in Rotterdam and also Le Corbusier, in Brussels, while taking part of the 3<sup>rd</sup> CIAM as an American delegate. In Tokyo and Osaka, where he sailed to on his way to Europe from Los Angeles, he was received as a celebrity, lecturing to well-informed audiences. On the way, he also visited Macao, Hong Kong, Singapore, Shanghai and Canton, publishing in Berlin his impressions about Asia. (Hines, 2005)

Throughout the 1930's, Neutra didn't travel much abroad, consumed by more than a hundred commissions he had taken, mostly in California and neighboring states. But the end of the War points out to a change in his usual destinations, when he starts a rather mobile professional venture in Latin America and elsewhere. Right after his experience in Puerto Rico in 1945, he went to Cuba, Haiti and the Dominican Republic, and embarked into a US State Department sponsored tour through Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil. In '47 he was back to Peru, soon after travelling to India, where he would return several times along the years. In '48 he published in Brazil his book about his experience in Puerto Rico as a sort of introduction to wider plans for the subcontinent. While working in Guam and trying his way in Micronesia, Pakistan, South Africa and East Nigeria, he went to Venezuela in 1955 for the 9<sup>th</sup> Pan-American Conference, and to Brazil in 1959 for the International Art Criticism Conference held in Brasilia's building site, as well as in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, where from he extended his trip to Buenos Aires, La Plata, Cordoba and Rosario in Argentina.

This great mobility reveals an exploration of new geographic, professional and disciplinary frontiers, which resonates the reshaping of the contemporary agenda for architecture and architects. Attempting to move from private to public practice, his modern sensibility seems to gradually evolve from a prodigal design approach to California's sun and landscape, to more socially and environmentally concerned planning attitudes, in which a civilizing mission of modern architecture is self-assigned.

It is true that his commissions in Latin America throughout the years would still be very much tied up to his reputation as the architect of well designed private houses according to thermic isolation concerns. (Museu de Arte de São Paulo, 1951; Instituto

Eduardo Torroja, 1968) The proof being his DeShulthes house in Havana from 1956 and the Gorrondona villa in Caracas from 1962, two of his very few achievements in the region where he would supposedly attest his ability to respond to physiological and biological needs of human habitat within the tropics. Nevertheless his efforts to deal with wider public commissions would clearly show a different approach to mild climate realities.

The experience in Puerto Rico is a major turning-point in this process. Unfortunately there is not much historical account for his work there. According to Thomas Hines though, the period refers to an important shift on Neutra's public persona. Apart the fluctuation within his design work - from the white, cool, flat-roofed International Style to a more textured architecture of brick, wood and slanting roofs - all throughout the war years and during his term as head of CIAM he would get involved in larger discussions on post-war planning and reconstruction, taking part of the San Francisco meeting which gave birth to the United Nations in the Spring of 1945. For him, the vast rebuilding of the world should be a task to be assumed by contemporary architects. Particularly on a time of uncertainty about the future of modernism and of relatively unpromising professional perspectives (Hines, 2005: 211-243).

The fact was that in late 1943, when Neutra was called from Washington to lead a massive design and construction program in Puerto Rico, he had very little work to do. Sharing the liberal beliefs of American-appointed governor Rexford Tugwell, between the Autumn of '43 and early '45, he established and directed an office of Puerto Rican architects and engineers. They were responsible to carry on a large building program according to the preliminary guidelines of what he saw as "the most advanced system" of public health and education, which included four district hospitals, many rural and urban health stations, schools, village centers etc.<sup>1</sup> His commission for the work was described by himself in an article of 1944:

*"Governor Rexford G. Tugwell had appointed a committee for the Design of Public Works: Dr. Rafael Pico, distinguished chairman of the Planning, Zoning, and Urbanizing Board; Mr. Sergio Cuevas, Commissioner of the Interior; Santiago Iglesias Jr., son of the late Resident Commissioner of the same name in Washington; Paul Edwards, very active chief of the War Emergency program; and last but not least, Louis Sturcke Jr., head of the realistic and cautious Bureau of Budget. Looking for a reputed architect of some cosmopolitan adaptability and familiar with sub-tropical and tropical conditions, the Committee came to invite me from Los Angeles to the Island and then commissioned me as their architect and consultant. I immediately commenced and aided in the organization of a Puerto Rican office to plan and project public works."*<sup>2</sup>

He certainly had a reputation. In his book about the Puerto Rican experience he included a letter from the Board of Education of the City of Los Angeles, dated February '41, recommending the work he had done on the completion of large size units of elementary and junior high schools there. He also published a second letter dated August '43 from the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles expressing their

---

<sup>1</sup> UCLA/ Young Research Library/ Special Collections. *Richard Neutra Papers: Articles Miscellaneous*. Box 176, Folder 7: Planning and Fabrication (PL): "Puerto Rico performs", 12/2/1944, p.1

<sup>2</sup> Idem, p.2.

appreciation for his “outstanding” design and building supervision of Channel Heights Housing Project. (Neutra, 1948: 196-197) The very fact of including them suggests that he regarded his engagement on the welfare policies of the Roosevelt era as having played a part on his ability to coordinate social tasks as those performed in Puerto Rico.

Among the local team engaged in the design work, there were young architects like Raul Reichard (1908-1996), Osvaldo L. Toro (1914-1995) and Miguel Ferrer (1914-2004) and engineers such as Antonio Calderon, who according to Neutra belonged to “a gifted and forward looking generation” to whom “I was expected to exert a stimulating influence (...) and so help forward a general renaissance of planning and design on this island in transition.”<sup>3</sup> Open air schools for over 150 villages and 128 rural health substations were planned, designed, and redesigned, as well as several milk dispensaries, storage buildings, cisterns, village fountains, neighborhood centers with dance floors, stages, speakers’ platforms and broadcast equipment for educational, assistance, leisure and political purposes. These projects had been given urgent priority over the design of institutions of higher professional training, a Medical College and Nurses’ Training Centers, Industrial Arts schools and other facilities for urban zones including San Juan, which have never gone beyond their initial planning stage.

Not much of the planned buildings were actually erected, but numerous type studies were developed, many of which were included in his “Architecture of social concern in regions of mild climate”, a book to be published in Brazil in 1948. A general design attitude may be summarized: principles of flexibility, adaptability and extension were adopted on the spatial and programmatic level; standardized and semi-prefabricated reinforced concrete structures were designed to fit different, expandable or replicable situations; formal frugality was invested of regional and psychosomatic attributes such as outside patios, the spread of inner spaces into the outdoors, the fronting into prevalent breezes, the use of screens and awning doors and the design of light and removable furniture in order to respond both to the “climatic asset” and the “human material”. With no neglect to the bio-realistic approach (Castillo, 2003) once raised in California, concerns related to low-cost construction and local spatial and architectural patterns were clearly reinforced in face of the new socio-economic reality. After all, along with the obvious design improvement, there were other benefits intended with the program. Neutra himself referred to his expectations that such facilities would

*“make the villagers – who for centuries had not much cause to trust a distant government – feel these buildings as their own community property, where in the evenings they can play their domino, strum a guitar for dancers on the community porch, and incidentally, learn by suitable programs something on many things such as child care, diet, cloth making, and more practical housekeeping.”<sup>4</sup>*

For him, the program should be considered as fitting “a promising political, technical and socio-economic transition” as well as the “mental reconditioning” of “tribesmen” in “a friendly manner”. (Neutra, 1948, pp. 122, 159) It is clear that, in spite of the obvious improvement on the local standards of life, Neutra relates architecture’s cultural role to a basic idea of a transition on the folk-urban gradient. The functionalist model had just

---

<sup>3</sup> Idem, p.3

<sup>4</sup> Idem, p. 4.

become a major paradigm to planning and development in Latin America at the time<sup>5</sup>, working as a sort of ideological tool, expressive enough to justify beliefs and hopes on the necessary and universal movement of spreading out the benefits of contemporariness.

*"We can foresee a time when our technical civilization, so well equipped to reach far over wide and formerly hard-to-accede areas, will actually hold its promise and do well not by merely the strictly urban variety of mankind. It will be a time, we may hope in not too far a distant future, when rendering all kinds of contemporary services in extra-metropolitan surroundings will be agreeable and commonplace. People, who populate vast stretches of earth, will then no longer feel as second rate citizens."* (Neutra, 1948: 160)

The Puerto Rican program thus takes part of "a metropolitan mentality" on its movement through "provincial settings". As such, and although Neutra recognizes Latin America as an "immensely diversified" area of the globe - where studies on huge countries like Brazil or Argentina "for the purpose of contemporary permeation of facilities of this day" should be articulated into more defined geographical units - "the example of a small country (...) may be useful and instructive to an Empire!" (Neutra, 1948: 39) Moreover, within such an imperialistic spread of a technological and industrial civilization, a favorable role would be played by the cosmopolitan migration of experts to areas which "have not yet had the opportunity and experience" to produce their own indigenous professional leadership. "Be it in Indonesia or in Turkey, such an influx and influence of outsiders temporarily transplanted into soil, foreign to them" act in the provincial assimilation of the "cultural goods". (Neutra, 1948:118)

## EXPERTISE VENTURES

In 1945, the U.S. Department of State commissioned Neutra to a cultural cooperation mission in South America. He was still President of the U.S.-chapter of CIAM. Stronger relations between modern architecture and public diplomacy had opened up to CIAM much more technical and political prestige in face of the reconstruction efforts and the building of international institutions such as the United Nations and UNESCO, whose headquarters were soon to be erected in New York and Paris respectively. (Mumford, 2000: 159-160) The Inter-American Affairs Office, coordinated by Nelson Rockefeller, and institutions such as the New York Museum of Modern Art, had clearly substituted the Pan-American Union in setting a continental agenda of cultural exchange and cooperation, including the patronage of modern architecture. Not only Neutra, but architects like Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, Walter Gropius and Kenneth Conant would have the protection of the U.S. Department of State. (Liernur, 2004: 25)

For the preparation of his long trip across the region, Neutra had the support of the U.N. Information Offices, both to contact Latin American countries' diplomatic bureaus

---

<sup>5</sup> Among the North-American anthropological establishment, Robert Redfield had focused his attention on Latin America, particularly in Mexico, where he developed a powerful theoretical model on the social and cultural change from community village and urban society. His book on the *Folk Culture of Yucatan*, 1941, established his own dual typology on the "Folk-urban continuum". Very close to Chicago's sociology, Redfield's urban extreme coincides with Louis Wirth's description of city's way of life. On its assimilation on discourses about Latin American modernization, see. Gorelik. 2008.

in the U.S. and to organize the local reception and press release during the trip<sup>6</sup>. Personal letters were sent to local professionals and he drew a list of initial contacts in the various countries he would visit: in Lima, architect and town planner Emilio Harth-Terre; in Santiago, Sergio Larrain and Harvard Design graduate Emilio Duhart; in La Paz, Emilio Villanueva; in Rio de Janeiro, architects Oscar Niemeyer, the Roberto brothers and Henrique Mindlin; in São Paulo, writer Sergio Milliet and architect Rino Levi.<sup>7</sup> He had also made contacts with the Uruguayan architect Eduardo Baranano, and Julio Villalobos, from Argentina.

The trip would be undertaken by early October 1945 and would last until the end of November. On his return to the U.S. a thorough "Report on Visit of South American Republics" was sent to Mr. Francis Colligan from the Division of Cultural Cooperation of the U.S. Department of State. The document describes the content of his visit.

It is interesting to see that no matter being so quick a visit to Guayaquil, in Ecuador, Neutra seemed to have focused on recent architecture, the site of the new people's assembly hall and museum, and the discussion of the national building program.<sup>8</sup> A larger social and cultural agenda would be undertaken in Peru where the trip also seems to have focused on Lima's contemporary situation. Although he visited historical Lima, Arequipa, Cuzco and Machu Picchu, Neutra's interests were clearly aimed at the metropolitan growth. He visited the suburbs and neighboring towns, crossed the main arteries from the harbor to the old commercial center and the manufacturing zones and discussed the urban development and plans with local architects, such as Harth-Terre, Luis Dorich and Fernando Belaúnde Terry, an ascending Peruvian political leader, just recently made deputy at the national congress. In that same year, Belaúnde Terry had sponsored the creation of the *Cooperación Nacional de La Vivienda*, to which followed a number of institutional initiatives destined to play a major social role on the country as Lima's *Barriadas* would become a major national question and the Acción Popular party would come to power with the election of the architect as President of Peru in 1963. (Gorelik, 2008) Not by chance, his most formal lecture, delivered at the Hall of the *Artistas Aficionados*, deliberately focused on the topic of "Metropolitan future of a city with a great historical heritage" and had "Mr. Belaunde Terry, who, as *deputado*, has a splendid stage appearance" as moderator.<sup>9</sup>

In La Paz, Neutra would also insist on the need of urban planning while speaking to official and university audiences. That was also the case in Buenos Aires. In spite of the "unofficial character" of his lectures there - due to the political non-cooperation between the U.S. and the pro-fascist Argentina's government during most of the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War - the themes raised by Neutra were often conditioned by the relevance of a foreign perspective towards design and planning. It is interesting to note that he would not

---

<sup>6</sup> UCLA/ Young Research Library/ Special Collections. *Richard Neutra Papers: Correspondence*. Box 1429, Folder 8: United Nations Information Office: Latin America; Directory Press, Periodical, Radio, News, Photographic Representatives: Latin America, May 1, 1945.

<sup>7</sup> UCLA/ Young Research Library/ Special Collections. *Richard Neutra Papers: Correspondence*. Box 1429, Folder 8, June 26, 1945; Idem. Letter from Charles W. Collier, from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, September 14, 1945.

<sup>8</sup> UCLA/ Young Research Library/ Special Collections. *Richard Neutra Papers: Correspondence*. Box 1429, Folder 8: Report on Visit of South American Republics. By Richard J. Neutra, Architect and President, U.S. Chapter of CIAM. Undated.

<sup>9</sup> UCLA/ Young Research Library/ Special Collections. *Richard Neutra Papers: Correspondence*. Box 1429, Folder 8: Report...

speak inside the University, but at private settings. At the editorial office of *Sur* he raised the question of “the possible value of the strange visitor”; in Victoria Ocampo’s Villa, this aristocratic home of avant-garde ideas, he spoke about “the clients of the planner and architect”; to a large group of young architects meeting in a private house he focused on the “international cooperation within the planning profession”.<sup>10</sup>

In Brazil, he visited Rio Janeiro, Sao Paulo, the two major urban centers at the time, as well as Belo Horizonte and Ouro Preto. In a country entering an intense process of industrialization, with an internationally acclaimed architecture, well known in the U.S. since the 1943 MoMA’s show on “Brazil Builds”, Neutra’s visit would assume a less hierarchical meaning. In Sao Paulo he was received by Gregori Warchavchik, “the dean of modern architecture in South America”, in a large social meeting offered to him and some 200 other guests, including an elite group of architects such as Henrique Mindlin, Rino Levi, Daniele Calabi, Eduardo Kneese de Mello, Lucyan Korngold and Vilanova Artigas. In Rio, an official agenda would bring him closer to institutions and authorities - the city’s Mayor, the Foreign Affairs’ minister, the director of the Inner Brazil Development Foundation, the US Ambassador, the *Instituto de Arquitetos do Brasil*, the School of Fine Arts etc – but an important part of his time was dedicated to visiting some of the most remarkable works of architects like Oscar Niemeyer, Jorge Moreira, Lucio Costa, the Roberto brothers, Burle-Marx, Afonso Reidy etc. Everywhere, visiting or lecturing, meeting colleagues or at press conferences, Neutra’s discourse would clearly move from the praise of planning to professional ethics, his themes ranging from “the communal and social requirements” for design or “the social responsibility of the architect” to “architecture for the people at large”.<sup>11</sup>

The strategic role of so much travelling to his professional career thereafter may be grasped in his extensive correspondence with local politicians, professional and academic leaders, editors, as well as with fellow architects, artists and students. According to his wife, Dione Neutra, the design opportunities in the U.S. were still not very promising at the time: “only one big residence is nearing completion. It took a whole year to build it and 1200 letters were written to contractor, owner, subcontractors etc”<sup>12</sup>. As Neutra would point out, Latin America, that so far had been held back by adverse political, geographical and economic conditions, was a new frontier to explore. Taking benefit from delay, it had an opportunity to find its chance to enter into the “purchase of development”. (Neutra, 1948: 56) During the trip, while in Peru, he wrote to William Griffith, special representative of the Inter-American Educational Foundation at the U.S. Embassy in Guatemala, to declare his enthusiasm with the possible work as a consultant in problems of rural and urban school planning in that country:

*“At the moment I am on a trip through Latin American countries and concerned with studies and consultations in methods of school house planning. I have directed a letter to Mr. Luciano Tahay and to the Minister of Education, Sr. Manuel Galich, expressing my willingness to consult with the government of Guatemala on their school and housing problems as soon as I have returned to my main office in Los Angeles, which I believe will be at the end of November. Would you perhaps have the kindness to write me a few explanatory remarks about the*

---

<sup>10</sup> Idem, *ibidem*.

<sup>11</sup> Idem, *ibidem*.

<sup>12</sup> Idem. Letter from Dione Neutra to Mr. Eduardo Kneese de Mello, Los Angeles, January 24, 1947.

*problems and the circumstances under which I could visit and survey the situation for the government of Guatemala?*<sup>13</sup>

His engagement within the Inter-American affairs is relevant here. In the post-war period it was a sort of political and financial link to the network of planning and development policies in the region. In May 1946, Neutra would also be invited by architect Enrique Gebhard to teach at the University of Chile for three months, period when he was also expected to work as technical advisor to the National government for planning and housing matters<sup>14</sup>.

*"Perhaps a little later this year or next I could come with Mrs. Neutra for a month to Chile, if our air travel and living costs could be paid by working on a moderate schedule with your staff of professors, as a consultant in curricular matters and giving a course of lectures. You are, however, right to assume that a much more fruitful influence could be exercised by me, if I were given the practical job as associate or consultant architect on any one of your larger governmental jobs, and, as I have on such occasions done in the past, help to train a substantial staff of younger men in the office, which does the work on the practical job in hand, be it hospitals, schools, housing projects, airports, or whatever may be the subject. There is no course of lectures which could equal the effectiveness of such an activity on my part, which might entail several visits to Chile, not to extend too long, because I naturally do not wish to give up my work in other parts."*<sup>15</sup>

He was clearly more optimistic about his professional possibilities than to academic collaboration. In Argentina, to where U.S. diplomatic relations were quite challenging since the end of the War and the coming to power of Juan Domingo Perón, Neutra would insist on testing his own personal prestige. On March 23, 1946, he would write Perón, former minister of war and recently elected president of Argentina, to praise his constructive effort to build up "a nation of contemporary merit and greatness".

*"You may remember the invitation you extended to me, while I visited Buenos Aires in October, 1945. Just to refresh your memory: we discussed your plans for communal projects in rural districts and I was very hopefully impressed about what you sketched for me on a sheet of paper. I on my part let you see housing projects for workers, health centers and schools, which I had, I believe with similar intentions, designed in great numbers for the government of Puerto Rico and elsewhere. Political opposition to such projects is not infrequent anywhere. Since this animated and stimulating conversation, I have been often annoyed by the one-sided and, I assume distorted reporting of the newspapers, which I daily have to read concerning your policies and about what we should better consider legitimate Argentine aspirations for an unshackled development of her own industrial and agricultural potentials, the welfare of her people at large and the producing classes."*<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> UCLA/ Young Research Library/ Special Collections. *Richard Neutra Papers: Correspondence*. Box 1429, Folder 8: Letter from Richard Neutra to William Griffith. Lima, October 10, 1945.

<sup>14</sup>Idem. Letter from Enrique Gebhard to Richard Neutra, Santiago, May 13, 1946.

<sup>15</sup> Idem. Letter from Richard Neutra to Enrique Gebhard, Los Angeles, May 25, 1946.

<sup>16</sup> Idem. Letter from Richard Neutra to Colonel Juan Perón, Los Angeles, March 23, 1946.

It is not worthless to recall that in October 1945 the former minister of work, welfare and war, then vice-president of the country, had been arrested and released a week later to be acclaimed as the strongest candidate on the national elections to come. In hopes that the Perón would be able to carry on his own plans for the physical improvement of Argentina, Neutra acted diplomatically, congratulating him for the housing project he had visited in the north of Buenos Aires the year before. Perón clearly understood the architect's reconnection and a few weeks later his secretary answered his letter manifesting his intent to recur to Neutra's "generous collaboration offer" when necessary.<sup>17</sup>

A clear step on profiting from his experience in South America and the Caribbean is flagrant in his ambitious steps for the publication of his "Architecture of Social Concern" in Brazil. It used to be a mystery to me why this book on his Puerto Rican commission was first published in Brazil than in Puerto Rico itself or rather in the U.S. His very correspondence with German editor Gerth Todtmann, based in Sao Paulo, is quite revealing to that matter. The contract between Neutra and Todtmann had been established in January 1947<sup>18</sup>, but in early '46 he already seemed to have the publication in mind. On a letter to the Argentine editor of *Nuestra Arquitectura*, which Neutra sent him soon after his return to Los Angeles from South America, he had announced its publication with the aid of Gregori Warchavchik, whom he suggests "would probably be interested to cooperate with you for a Spanish edition" as well.<sup>19</sup> By July 1947, Todtmann wrote to Neutra about a few editorial concerns and referred to Warchavchik's preface to the book and the hypothetical Spanish version of it<sup>20</sup>. By November '48, the book was printed and Neutra wrote to Todtmann to thank him for the enterprise and suggest that he send a copy to U.S. President Harry Truman with a brief note as follows:

*"Architecture, when it connotes planning the constructed environment at large, is a social issue of the first order. It is, in Brazil as in North America, an issue of public economics and internal and foreign politics as well. The properly balanced, contemporary reconstruction of the setting for social life in the various countries of the planet will ease strains and stresses everywhere. Our new publication, of which we take the liberty to dedicate a copy to you, is deeply aware of all these mentioned implications, and through the work of an architect and planner considered prominent in Brazil as in the United States, gives an account of the approaches which lead to significant solutions in public education, health maintenance, and housing."*<sup>21</sup>

Following Neutra's recommendations, the book should also be sold all over the world and copies were sent to Los Angeles, New York, London, and a few to the main

---

<sup>17</sup> Idem. Letter from the Private Secretary of Colonel Juan Duarte Perón to Richard Neutra. Buenos Aires, April 10, 1946.

<sup>18</sup> UCLA/ Young Research Library/ Special Collections. *Richard Neutra Papers: Correspondence*. Box 186, Folder 5: correspondence regarding writings: contract signed in January 1 and January 9, 1947, in German.

<sup>19</sup> UCLA/ Young Research Library/ Special Collections. *Richard Neutra Papers: Correspondence*. Box 1429, Folder 8: Letter from Richard Neutra to Mr. Scott. Los Angeles, undated, unsigned.

<sup>20</sup> UCLA/ Young Research Library/ Special Collections. *Richard Neutra Papers: Correspondence*. Box 186, Folder 5: correspondence regarding writings: Letter from Todtmann to Neutra, São Paulo, July 24, 1947, in German.

<sup>21</sup> Idem. Letter from Neutra to Todtmann, Los Angeles, November 29, 1948, in English.

booksellers in Switzerland, France, Italy, Portugal, Israel, Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Germany, Sweden, Colombia, Spain. They were also sent to important periodicals, like *The Architectural Forum*, *Architectural Press*, *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, *Parchitecture* etc for reviews.<sup>22</sup>

In parallel, negotiations were being made with Pietro Maria Bardi for the organization of an exhibition of Neutra's architectural work at the Sao Paulo Art Museum, in which he recognized an important asset for the publication itself as to his own prestige, particularly if "such an exhibition" would not only be shown in Sao Paulo but "later, elsewhere – all over Latin America, perhaps". To Neutra, the idea would seem most desirable as it could support the showings of the book, "not only in Sao Paulo, but in all South American capitals and perhaps even in all North American art museums, colleges, etc." Besides "the name of your publishing house may be better known and the book may sell better".<sup>23</sup>

No matter all the efforts made, in February 1949, Neutra seemed worried for the lack of interest in his book from the part of the American reader.<sup>24</sup> Along the years Todtmann would be continuously charged for neglecting the book's international distribution or its envoi to periodicals, editor houses or events like the Bergamo CIAM meeting. In April '49 his sister in law, Regula Thorston, hired as his private secretary, wrote Todtmann about the poor advertising of a book that, according to her, had greatly ennobled its publisher: "It may not be usual that a publisher explains his intent, but a Brazilian publishing house, collecting and publishing for the first time the work of a leading American architect, may be permitted to give its motivations." A sort of book release for the Brazilian reader was then suggested:

*"Brazil has been celebrated for its novel and impressive architecture of the last years. A vast country with many areas in the beginning of development, Brazil, like many other countries, needs the stimulating influence of a practitioner in architecture, who has been known for his social consciousness. The pictorial review of Neutra's generic work in this respect is here more important than the glamorized portrayal of this or that individual building. Neutra's ideas sprang from a rich contact with broad and diversified groups of society and their representation. The pictorial preface depicts briefly this background of the author."*<sup>25</sup>

Seen as a unique contribution to the local professional milieu – in a country in urgent need to realize "that it takes more than a most handsome Ministry building to bring health and education to the people of a vast and relatively undeveloped nation"<sup>26</sup> - the book should be praised as offering a mostly utilitarian and humble response to the national lure for the monumental and the luxurious in architecture.

<sup>22</sup> Idem. Letter from Todtmann to Neutra, São Paulo, December 24, 1948, in English.

<sup>23</sup> Idem. Letter from Todtmann to Neutra, São Paulo, December 6, 1948, in German; Letter from Neutra to Todtmann, Los Angeles, December 17, 1948, in English.

<sup>24</sup> Idem. Letter from Neutra to Todtmann, Los Angeles, February 4, 1949;

<sup>25</sup> Idem. Letter from R. Thorston to Todtmann, Los Angeles, April 20, 1949.

<sup>26</sup> Idem. Review of "Architecture of Social Concern". By Theodor C.

## CONCLUSION

It is interesting to acknowledge that one of Neutra's closer colleagues, British architect Maxwell Fry, had in 1940 written him about his own frustrations with the CIAM discourse and the anxieties he felt towards the near future<sup>27</sup>. Like Neutra and many other architects, Fry and his wife, architect Jane Drew, would soon embark on their tropical adventure, working as planners and architects in British West Africa (Le Roux, 2003: 337-354). As we all know, the outbreak of war had created a wide diaspora of modern architects, mainly to England, France and the USA (Otto, 1983; Cormier, 1986; Benton, 1996), but also to Latin America and other countries (Ruiz-Funes, 1996; Falbel, 2003; Bozdogan, 2003; Nicolai, 2004; Nolden, 2004; Le Roux, 2004; Wright, 2008). As the undecieving war years proved its destructive effects on professional's self-pride and opportunities, a whole generation of expatriate architects from Britain, France, Italy, the U.S., along with many others from Poland, Hungary, Portugal etc, would also move to "Third World" countries. Either to work with colonial infrastructure, including town and village planning, educational buildings, houses for expatriates, government offices etc, or to independent and modernizing nations seemed to be opening up new professional horizons within the public commission and the real estate market (Lira, 2008; Silva, 2010).

The flow of western architects and planners to the South and the East would soon construct a whole new network of design for the tropics. (Le Roux, 2003: 350)<sup>28</sup> Although post-colonial opportunities seemed to be more and more limited, it is interesting to see how some architects' experiences in the post-war period would both grow into rather successful careers abroad and affect their former principles of design. One could say that the very mainstream of modern architecture, under attack since the outbreak of war, had gone into the wave of tropicalization. This process would probably transcend the climatic approach, fostering the dissemination of new architectural devices. Defining an in-between space, for instance, a second skin, isolated from the modernist glass wall, would generate formal solutions independent from the inner functions of the buildings and promote the reassessment of monumental values. "Tropical" devices like that had been widely tested in Brazil and would soon maybe conquer mainstream architecture, from Le Corbusier's Chandigarh to Mies van der Rohe's Nationalgalerie in Berlin. (Liernur, 2004: 30-31)

That seems to have been the case of Fry and Drew, who while maintaining their London based office would go on from Ghana to practice in India, Kuwait, Nigeria, Ceylon and Iran. And also of Neutra. But his great international reputation and work abroad, would never prevent this émigré architect to remain at the VDL home and studio, fronting the Silverlake Reservoir, in Los Angeles. I do not tend to underestimate the shifts in Neutra's aesthetics as taking part of such a "tropical" wave in the 1940s and 50s. It is enough here to suggest though that his move from California to Latin America, in spite of the mild climate they share, represented a major shift on his perspectives of architecture as an asset to the world. Touching the keystone of development's ideology, the socio-technical benefits of his biorealistic approach had a founding compromise with the assumption of a world civilization, unable to accept that the very

---

<sup>27</sup> Hines, op. cit., p. 211.

<sup>28</sup> In 1952 twenty-five to fifty British architects had gone to work in the tropics, while in 1953 there were as many as two hundred students from tropical countries studying in Britain.

fact of civilization implies, and indeed consists in the coexistence of cultures exhibiting maximum possible diversities. (Lévi-Strauss, 1952)

## REFERENCES

- Bozdogan, S. (2003) Nationalizing the modern house: regionalism debates and emigre architects in Early Republican Turkey. In Nicolai, B. (ed.) Architektur und Exil: Kulturtransfer und architektonische Emigration 1930 bis 1950. Trier: Porta Alba Verlag.
- Castillo, J.V. (2003) Richard Neutra: un lugar para el orden. Un estudio sobre la arquitectura natural. Sevilla: Universidade de Sevilla/ Junta de Andalucía.
- Cormier, L.H. (1986) Walter Gropius, emigre architect: works and refuge, England and America in the 30s. Providence, Brown University (PhD dissertation);
- Drexler, A. and Hines, T. (1982) The Architecture of Richard Neutra: from international Style to California Modern. New York: The Museum of Modern Art.
- Falbel, A. (2003) Lucyan Korngold: a trajetória de um arquiteto imigrante. São Paulo, Universidade de São Paulo (PhD Dissertation);
- Gorelik, A. (2008) "La Aldea en la Ciudad: ecos urbanos de un debate antropológico", Revista de Antropología 1, Córdoba.
- Hines, T. (2005) Richard Neutra and the search for Modern Architecture. New York: Rizzoli.
- Lamprecht, B. (2006) Neutra, 1892-1970: survival through design. Koln: Tachen.
- Le Roux, H. (2003) "The networks of tropical architecture". The Journal of Architecture, 8, Johannesburg, pp. 337-354.
- Le Roux, H. (2004) Modern architecture in post-colonial Ghana and Nigéria. Architectural History, 47, London, pp. 361-392.
- Lévi-Strauss, C. (1952) Raça e história. In Antropologia Estrutural Dois. Rio de Janeiro: Tempo Brasileiro, 1987, pp. 328-366.
- Liernur, J.F. (2004) "Vanguardistas versus expertos: reconstrucción europea, expansión norte-americana y emergencia del "Tercer Mundo": para una relectura del debate arquitectónico en la segunda posguerra (una mirada desde America Latina)", Block6, Buenos Aires.
- Lira, J.T.C. (2008) Gregori Warchavchik, designer, builder, developer: São Paulo, 1939-1954. Proceedings for the 13th Biennial Conference of the International Planning History Society. Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., July 10-13.
- McCoy, E. (1979). Viena to Los Angeles. Two journeys. Santa Monica, CA: Arts + Architecture Press.
- Mumford, E. (2000) The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press.
- Museu de Arte de São Paulo.. (1951)Neutra: Residências/ Residences. São Paulo: Todtmann & Cia.

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

- Neutra, R. (1948). Architecture of Social Concern in Regions of Mild Climate. São Paulo, Gerth Todtmann, 1948.
- Neutra, R. and Instituto Eduardo Torroja La Construcion y del cemento. (1968) Richard Neutra. Madrid: Patronato de Investigacion Cientifica y Técnica Juan de La Cierva.
- Nicolai, B. (2004) "El cuerpo dócil: reflexiones sobre aculturación y transculturación a través de arquitectos exiliados en Turquía y África Oriental". Block, 6, Buenos Aires.
- Nolden, S. (2004) Austrian Architects in New Zealand. Auckland: The University of Auckland.
- Otto, C.F. (1983) "American skyscrapers and Weimar modern: transactions between fact and idea". In Jackman, J.C. and Borden, C. (eds.) The Muses flee Hitler: cultural transfer and adaptation, 1930-1945. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 151-165;
- Ruiz-Funes, J.I. (1996) Arquitectos espanoles exilados en México: sua labor en La Espana Republicana (1931-1939) y su integracion en México. Barcelona, Universidad Politécnica de Catalunya (PhD dissertation);
- Silva, J.M. de C. (2010) *O arquiteto e a produção da cidade: a experiência de Jacques Pilon em perspectiva (1930-1960)*. São Paulo, Universidade de São Paulo (PhD Dissertation).
- Wright, G. (2008) Global ambition and local knowledge. In Isenstadt, S. And Rizvi, K. (eds.) Modernism and the Middle East: architecture and politics in the Twentieth Century. Seattle: University of Washington Press, pp. 221-25.



## BEIJING TRANSFORMED (AGAIN): AN EXPLORATION OF THE 2008 OLYMPIC BUILDING PROGRAM—ERODING THE 'FIGURE' OF A CITY OR OPENING PUBLIC GROUND?

Jennifer SMIT, PhD. Student  
University of Tasmania, Australia  
Jennifer.Smit@utas.edu.au

### ABSTRACT

*The scope and scale of Beijing's 2008 Olympics mega-projects are an unprecedented example of the transformation of large portions of an ancient city for the explicit purpose of providing ground for venues and their associated public arenas. This paper will review the discourse surrounding the building program where debate focuses on the prioritizing of political agendas to reconstruct the image of contemporary China. I will argue that the controversy surrounding Beijing's transformation needs to be viewed in the broader context of understanding the break-neck pace of modernization throughout Asia—a context that surfaces polarized views on the nature of the new urban terrains being generated. I present an optimistic view of the potential for the vast new park provided by the Olympic domain to create a significant public surface for Beijingers. I argue that this potential is mediated by three paradoxes presented by the Olympic refiguring of urban and national identity in China.*

### INTRODUCTION

*"Beijing presents itself as a border condition in which an accelerated rate of change gives way to hybrid conditions that coexist at a magnified level: preservation and modernization; the low horizontal city of the hutong, and the vertical city of the skyscraper; the forces of the market and those of a closed political system; the new urban rich and the agrarian poor; the European paradigms of architecture and an Eastern culture embracing Westernisation and twenty-first century change".<sup>1</sup>*

The Games provide a direct stimulus for the rapid transformation of a host city by both private and public sector organisations with an agenda to not only provide the necessary games infrastructure, but also capitalise on this once-off opportunity to bathe the city in the spotlight of the international media. The building programs that precede the big event sees vast sums of public and private money mainlined into capital works that re-figure both a cities' form and image. The Games provide a rare and concentrated opportunity to investigate a cities' transformation within a short time frame: the eight years or so between a bid city winning the Games and the actual event. Furthermore, the complex relations between citizen, city and nation-state highlighted in the flurry of media interest during this time, as well as during the Games, provide rich ground for the examination of often competing agendas between these interest groups.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Tina DiCarlo, "Pre Text," *Perspecta, The Yale Architectural Journal* 39, no. Re\_Urbanism: Transforming Capitals (2007).

<sup>2</sup> J. R. Short, *Global Metropolitan: Globalizing Cities in a Capitalist World* (Routledge, 2004).

While the scope and scale of Beijing's 2008 Olympics mega-projects do provide a fascinating focus for reviewing urbanism at speed, what is unique to Beijing's Olympic site is the sense that the site is just one island of accelerated development in a city – and indeed a nation – that is urbanizing at an unprecedented rate. Set against this backdrop, the Olympic site becomes doubly interesting as other agendas—political agendas and implications for public space—are reified.

The Games also present an opportunity for a nation to develop a meta-narrative of creating a global city.<sup>3</sup> Beijing's Olympic slogan "One World, One Dream" encapsulates this idea of a presenting China as a nation equal to its international counterparts; the Olympics providing a capstone event to its three decades of economic regeneration. Interestingly, the Olympic slogan can be translated from the Chinese as "One Same World, One Same Dream" which has been interpreted as a statement that embodies the aspiration of the Chinese people to achieve the same living standards and levels of comfort enjoyed in the West. The imperative for China is to present to the world during the media-saturated time frame of the Games, an urban figure that embodies not only the sense of national identity, but the aspirations of the Chinese people.

The Olympic status as a supranational event makes the Games site a global space.<sup>4</sup> Significantly, over 1000 hectares of urban matter on the Olympic site were cleared, an act of creating a blank slate, a *tabula rasa* of open ground. (Refer Figures 1, 2 and 3). Because of the scale of urban reconstruction, instability exists surrounding the dominant narrative of the Beijing Games that makes them 'subject to capture'.<sup>5</sup> Global civil rights groups have sought leverage from the public-power of the Games to link the issues they deem important to the Olympic story—and the link is not a difficult one to make. In the face of wholesale clearance of residential urban matter, there is a legitimate human rights issue that should not be ignored, but what is notable is the prevalence of a mainly Western attitude of nostalgic lament for the loss of traditional city form.<sup>6</sup> That all this 'newness' comes at the expense of traditional city fabric, the assumptions made appear to be that China is neglecting a historical imperative as it enacts these kinds of erasure as it rejects a fixed and singular notion of the 'city'.

I will consider the proposition that there is an optimistic view of the potential for the emergent types of public space generated by Olympic Game-space, arising from three paradoxes presented by the rapid transformation of urban form in China and viewed from the physical and historical contexts of the Olympic Green and Forest Park. Firstly, that parks have a limited heritage in Beijing and are gaining in popularity, yet this newest park is reportedly largely uninhabited; the Olympic park presents an enigma in type and scale in rapidly modernising Beijing. Secondly, the Olympic green can be seen as a vast and unwallled garden. The wall in China has been identified as a marker of social space and collective subjectivity, yet as economic and urban reform sweeps aside this physical manifestation of a social order, the wall is still evident as a residual spatial syntax. What are the ways in which specific boundaries still operate in this

---

<sup>3</sup> T. J. Campanella, *The Concrete Dragon: China's Urban Revolution and What It Means for the World* (Princeton Architectural Pr, 2008), pg 106

<sup>4</sup> M. E. Price and D. Dayan, *Owning the Olympics: Narratives of the New China* (Univ of Michigan Pr, 2008).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> A. Hornsby, "Hey Fuck! Where'd the City Go?: Abstract Dreaming/Pouring Concrete," in *The Chinese Dream: A Society under Construction*, ed. A. Hornsby and N. Mars (010 Publishers, 2008).

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

context? Thirdly, China is now enacting the erasure and rebuilding of its cities: a process of modernisation that occurred in the West 150 years ago. Generic urban matter created in much of China is a byproduct of economic development and globalization—indistinct and ad-hoc—while the Olympic site contains a clear symbolism, and unique boundaries.



*Figure 1: Olympic Green, Beijing. Feb. 2002. Image from Google Earth. Acquired using Google Earth's recent facility for historical imagery, this image demonstrates the extant structures on the Olympic site prior to demolition.*



Figure 2: Olympic Green, Beijing . may, 2005. Image from Google Earth.  
This Image DEPICTS The site with most of the existing structures demolished.

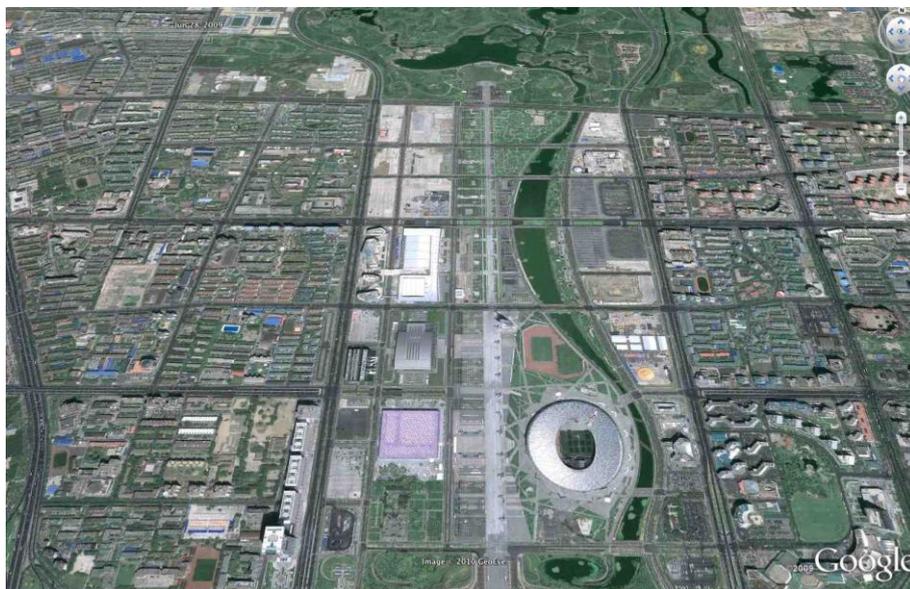


Figure 3: Olympic Green, Beijing . SEPT, 2008. Image From Google Earth  
The image depicts the completed Olympic site, with Forest Park to the North replete with turf and trees and all Games Venues in place.

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

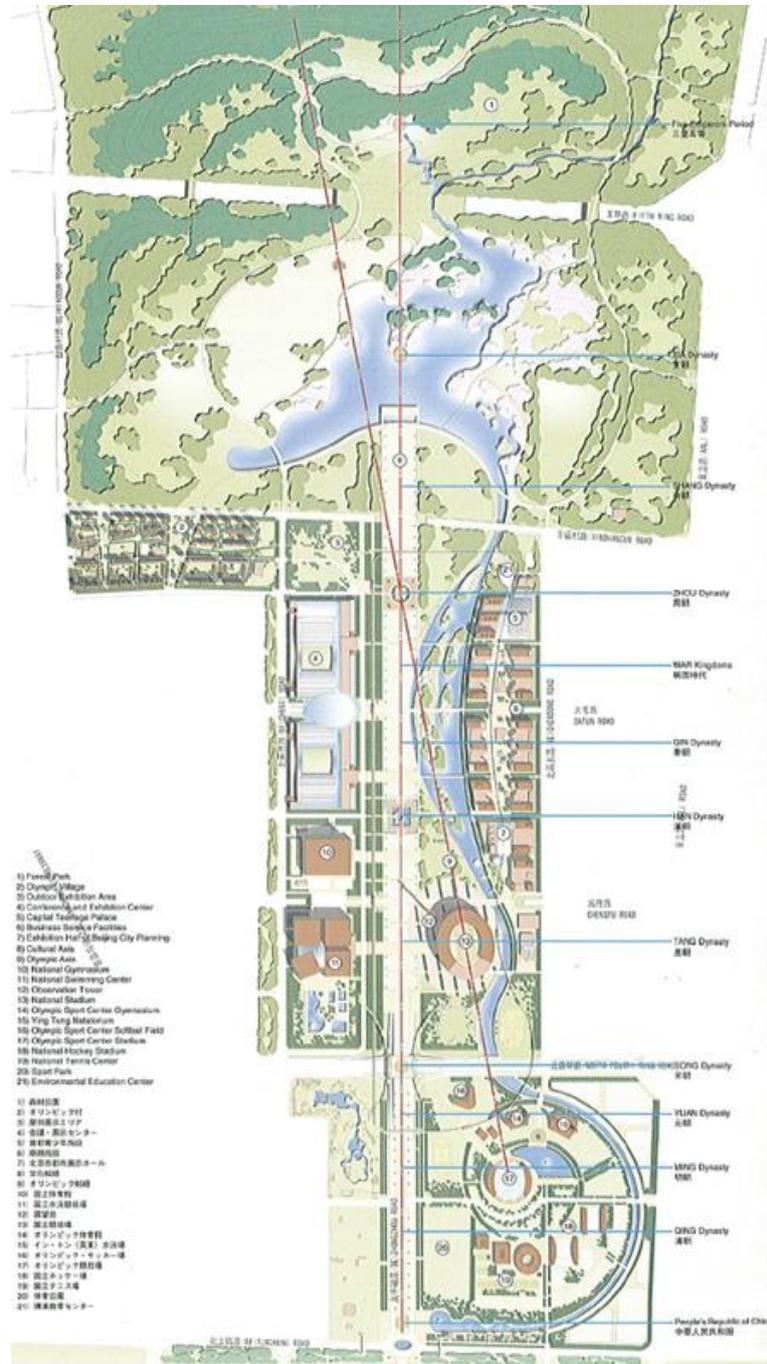


Figure 4 Sasaki and Associates 2002 Olympic Green Masterplan

## THE PARADOX OF THE URBAN PARK IN BEIJING: THE OLYMPIC GREEN.

Sasaki and Associates' 2002 winning scheme for the Beijing Olympic Green and Forest Park provides a contained and concentrated exemplar for the kinds of erasure and rapid morphological change being carried out in China. Formed roughly in a T-shape across the Fourth and Fifth Ring Roads in the Chaoyang district, the park was formed from city fabric scraped clean. Perceived as a 'new growth centre', city planners intend that the Olympic Green and associated venues might become a satellite town with the venues and public facilities providing a new hub, and importantly a new space for public recreation, for the rapidly growing development areas in this Northern fringe of Beijing.<sup>7</sup>

The design concept has three fundamental elements: The Forest Park, and its extension Southward, The Cultural Axis, the Northward extension and conclusion of the great Imperial Axis, and The Olympic Axis, linking the Asian Games site with the National Stadium. Each of these elements is layered with symbolism intended to increase legibility, identity and imaginability of both the Games site and thereby amplify the political 'message'.

The Forest Park presents a monumental instant forest planted in 2004 with mature trees. Connected by broad decks called 'ecological corridors' spanning across the Fifth Ring Road. The Southern section is designed for active uses (tennis, hockey and archery venues for the Games were included in this zone) and houses a subway station connecting the site to central Beijing, a shopping arcade and large outdoor amphitheatre and a 301 acre lake in the form of a dragon. Three artificial peaks created from excavated material circle the lake, the highest peak being located on axis with Beijing affording views of the Olympic Axis, Games venues and further away to central Beijing.<sup>8</sup>

The Cultural Axis embodies a monumental commemorative plaza, recalling China's great dynasties by chronological inscription in the plaza deck, segmented in 1000 metre sections, with each zone celebrating a millennium of Chinese history. Significantly, the 'Cultural Axis' is perceived as an extension of Beijing's ancient Imperial Axis which anchors central Beijing to its ancient city form and is the most important extant symbol of national and cultural Identity in Beijing.<sup>9</sup>

The second axis proposed in the Sasaki Scheme is the Olympic Axis. Skewed across the Cultural Axis, this imaginary line connects the existing 1990 Asia Games site with the 'Birdsnest' stadium and a Sports Hero's Garden to the NorthWest and appears almost as an afterthought, dwarfed as it is in meaning and significance by the primary Cultural Axis.

---

<sup>7</sup> R.Ong, "New Beijing, Great Olympics: Beijing and its Unfolding Olympic Legacy" *Stanford Journal of East Asian Affairs*, 4, No2 (2004), pg44.

<sup>8</sup> F R Steiner, "Olympic Hopeful: A City Short of Parkland," *Landscape Architect* 98, no. 3 (2008).

<sup>9</sup> The office of Albert Speer (Jnr.) was commissioned to revitalise a 100 square kilometre long corridor linking the Olympic Green and Forest Park in the North, to the Forbidden Palace, Tiananmen Square in the centre of Beijing and a new 'Ecological Park' and transit terminal in the South. The imperial axis of Beijing, designed by Albert Speer Jnr. has been compared to the Hitler's vast ceremonial axis planned for Berlin and designed by Albert Speer during the 1930's. See Carolyn Marvin, 2008.

While the use of symbolism within urban design schemes to bolster national identity and reinforce both overt and covert political agendas is certainly at play here (in the homage paid to the Imperial Axis in Sasaki's scheme, the appeal to ancient imperial epochs where China was a mighty empire on the world stage, as well as the provision of monumental urban gestures that in their sheer size appeal to a Chinese ideal of representing its international importance) what is interesting to note is the Olympic Green and Forest Park provide a new type of public space to the city of Beijing, previously little known in the Chinese garden tradition: a recreational green space as a public space. Traditional Chinese gardens were the domain of 'private scholars' and represented high culture and were designed for and used by educated elite as spaces for contemplation.<sup>10</sup> Often walled, these spaces were part of a former Imperial complex, and not open to the people until the 1920's and 1930s, just prior to the ascendancy of the Communist party in 1949.<sup>11</sup> What the Olympic venue provides is a largely unfamiliar surface for public gathering, an idea in itself that has chequered history within China as the political disposition of bodies in public space raises bloody histories and altercations between citizenry and ruling classes and the Communist state.

The provision of the Olympic Games' parks appear in this context to continue the tradition of opening a once forbidden enclave, the garden, to the citizens of Beijing. Yet, in spite of the fact that these new parks associated with the Olympic domain are open to the public, and do not require the purchase of an official 'Parks Pass' as do many of the older parks in central Beijing, there appears to be a reluctance to use these new green spaces. American journalist, Thomas Boswell notes that during the Beijing Games the venues and parks were eerily quiet. He suggests that the size of the Olympic Green was too vast to sustain a sense of publicity, and 'at least five times bigger than necessary to hold the number of people who actually use it'.<sup>12</sup> In the face of Beijing's rapid urban growth which will continue to densify the Chaoyang district, one wonders if the Park will eventually attract Beijingers.

Before examining the Olympic Green further, and its status as a vast and 'unwalled' public space, it is important to review how urban thinkers assess the current relationship of the capital to its historic diagrams, and in particular Beijing's structural DNA as a city of walls.

## PARADOX 2: A GENEALOGY OF WALLS

In his book, 'Beijing: The Nature and Planning of a Chinese Capital City', Victor F. S. Sit surveys the city's history of more than three thousand years, and notes Beijing's historical status as capital, cultural and political centre during the Qing dynasty (1644-1912), as well as the earlier Liao, Jin, Yuan and Ming dynasties. Reviewing the origins of Beijing's form, Sit identifies that the early city was structured according to ancient Confucian principles of imperial city design dating back to the Han Dynasty Emperor

---

<sup>10</sup> M Padua, "Modernity and Transformation: Framing the Park in Post Mao Chinese Cities," *Landscape Architect, IFLA Conference Papers* (May, 2006), pg 31.

<sup>11</sup> Judith Farquhar, "The Park Pass: Peopling and Civilizing a New Old Beijing" *Public Culture* 21 (Fall 2009), pg566.

<sup>12</sup> T Boswell, "Where'd Everybody Go?," *Landscape Architecture: Beijing's Olympic Green lacks a key ingredient - crowds of people using the space* 98, no. 10 (2008), pg 196.

Han Wudi (141-87BC) found in the *Zhou Li*.<sup>13</sup> Within a section of this text devoted to the design of cities, the *Kaogongji*, the imperial capital is described in detail as a gridded morphology, secured from intruders by a city wall, and “set out as a square with sides of nine *li*, each side having three gateways. Within the capital there were nine meridional and nine latitudinal avenues, each of the former being nine chariot tracks in width.”<sup>14</sup> At the heart of the formal grid resided the emperor’s palace, facing South and approached by a linear ceremonial axial route, representing the power of the emperor. This gridded structural form bisected by the Imperial Axis still underpins the morphology of Beijing today and the city still preserves much of its original central axis culminating in the Forbidden City, despite having lost its original city wall and undergone enormous city development.

While Sit and others have noted the prevalence of walls in the underlying structure of the Chinese city, David Bray, in his text ‘Social Space and Governance in Urban China’ considers the social implications of a walled morphology for the space of society: the manner in which the wall has historically normalised certain social practices in Chinese society, first in the traditional form of the city and family compounds, and then later in the Communist work compounds (*danwei*) introduced under Mao. Using the theoretical positioning of both Michel Foucault and Henri Lefebvre, Bray speculates on the manner in which this morphology informs—and is in turn informed by— social practices and subjectivity.

Bray, referring to urban theorist Zhu Wenyi, points out that the ‘macro’ design of the walled and gridded form of the ancient city is often over emphasized at the expense of understanding the social spaces that constitute the everyday spaces of the city: residential, market and other ‘commercial’ zones. For Bray, the ‘micro’ practices of everyday life were enacted in the spaces of the grid, firstly in the form of neighbourhoods (*li-fang*) defined by the spaces between the interlocking grid of the avenues making up the city, and then in the residential compounds, the domain of the Confucian family, which were also walled. In this context, the wall represents the traditional Confucian order, marking and regulating the collective unit of the family and the imperial order of the city.<sup>15</sup> These walled ‘units’ of society would in effect provide for a system of self-policing and facilitate social and moral order by constructing a sense of collective subjectivity, first within the family, and then later aligned within the workplace and state.

Considering that the Olympic program has accelerated the destruction of this traditional urban form of the ‘walled city’, it is necessary to explore firstly the mechanisms of the clearance of the old city and then to look at what arises as ‘new’ physical form: what emerges as a foil for sustaining social collectivity, or indeed public life. In order to point to some of the emergent urban forms, I will situate the urban transformation of Beijing within two contexts. Firstly, the French project of modernity in mid-nineteenth century (an early example of the impetus for rapid and wholesale demolition and reconstruction city fabric to elicit political and societal reform) and secondly urban growth in China in

---

<sup>13</sup> F. S. Sit, *Beijing: The Nature and Planning of a Chinese Capital* (Chichester; New York: Wiley, 1995).

<sup>14</sup> Quoted in D. Bray, *Social Space and Governance in Urban China: The Danwei System from Origins to Reform* (Stanford Univ Press, 2005), pg 22.

<sup>15</sup> A detailed explanation of the physical characteristics and social consequences of the walled compound typology of the Confucian family module is found in Bray (2005) pages 25-36.

order to underscore the fact that the pace and intensity of new building taking place across China involves the erasure, replacement and expansion of China's urban areas at a rate almost unthinkable in a Western context.

### **"DESTROY THE OLD TO ESTABLISH THE NEW" CHAIRMAN MAO 1966**

Mao's famous slogan of the Cultural Revolution, encouraging the nation to rapidly industrialise, is now being re-enacted in contemporary China under a more literal guise. In Beijing, the erasure and rebuilding of the city appears to be driven by forces concerned to modernize and redefine the *appearance* of Beijing. Deemed unsightly, the dilapidated single courtyard homes (*siheyuan*) and the laneways (*hutong*) that support them are being systematically removed. Official statistics state that roughly 40% of the 3,700 hutongs recorded in the 1980's have now been erased.<sup>16</sup> A resident of Beijing and political activist, Michael Meyer offers an emotive account of the demolition of the remaining courtyard homes in Dazhalan, South of Tiananmen Square. The *hutong* are under threat, he says, "from an unseen specter residents call the Hand. It enters the lanes at night and paints the Chinese character that means "raze", in ghostly white on the courtyard's grey walls. There is no arguing with the Hand".<sup>17</sup>

The destruction of the city's fabric, already well underway by 2001, was vastly accelerated in the rush to transform Beijing into a modern Olympic city. In "The Concrete Dragon", Campanella captures the zeitgeist of urban transformation in China's post-Mao era: "[B]y Spring 2005 some 300,000 people had lost their homes to Olympic related development projects, mostly in the vast, semi-rural district North of the City Centre, chosen for the Olympic Green".<sup>18</sup> Much of the historic fabric of Beijing, from as far back as the 16th and 17th centuries, was erased and reconstructed into neo-traditional (faux) courtyard homes built to the edges of wider, gentrified and pedestrianised shopping streets.

The rationale for the large-scale demolition of urban fabric in Beijing is not so dissimilar to the ideas of urban renewal that informed the Modernist project. During the middle decades of the nineteenth century in Paris, social thinkers, architects, engineers and the ruling elite continued to search for new mechanisms to bring about greater efficiency in social order as well as improved hygiene to increasingly overpopulated inner city spaces. Paul Rabinow in his book *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*, examines the conditions of French modernity. He identifies social norms, or *codifiable* patterns of behavior, in parallel with the instruments used to give *form* to these ideas: the synthesis of historical and 'natural' elements into a legible schematic for the planned city as a template and regulator for modern society. According to Rabinow, urbanism provided a synthesis of historical and natural elements into an object and was "exemplary in its demonstration of man's ability to exploit, in a comprehensive functional form, and in the name of general welfare of the population,

---

<sup>16</sup> Carolyn Marvin, "All under Heaven" - Megaspaces in Beijing," in *Owning the Olympics: Narratives of the New China*, ed. M. E. and Dayan Price, D. (University of Michigan Press, 2008), pg252.

<sup>17</sup> M Meyer, "The Death and Life of Old Beijing," *Architectural Record* 07, no. 08 (2008), pg73

<sup>18</sup> T. J. Campanella, *The Concrete Dragon: China's Urban Revolution and What It Means for the World* (Princeton Architectural Pr, 2008), pg 129.

previously naturalized elements (geography, demography, hygiene) as subjects of pragmatic knowledge.<sup>19</sup>

Rabinow describes the tactics of modernism's grand duo, Louis Napoleon and Baron Haussmann, as they reorganised the surface of Paris. Approaching the city as a technical object to be worked on, improved and regulated, Haussmann's boulevards tore through the slums of Paris forging new roads which enabled traffic flow, cleared slums and opened up 'breathing space'. The boulevards created new bases of economic, social activity, bringing enormous numbers of people together. At the street level they were lined with small businesses and shops of all kinds, with every corner zoned for restaurants and terraced sidewalk cafes. Of importance to the project of improving the health of the city was a significant increase in the number and area of parks—a formal strategy intended to not only provide an aesthetic improvement, but also an instrument of hygiene.

Berman, in his seminal text, "All That Is Solid Melts into Air" imagines that the boulevards created a new socio-political condition: a space where one could be private in public, ultimately together without being physically alone. He notes an irony in the fact that the modern project allowed 'the physical and social transformations that drove the poor out of sight now bring them back directly into everyone's line of vision'.<sup>20</sup> In this way, the opening up of the old city makes visible the mechanisms of social exchange and political disparities.

This idea has particular resonance with the phenomenal re-cycling of Beijing's inner city spaces. The clearance of the slums (under the guise of modernizing the city) is similar to Rabinow's description of Haussmann's attitude to the city as a technical object to be worked on, improved and regulated. As the removal of the urban poor from Paris 'cleaned up' the appearance of the city interior, so too does the project of Olympic beautification, transplanting the socially disadvantaged residents of the *hutong* to the periphery of Beijing. Also, by removing the old city (de-walling) the Chinese government are reforming and making visible certain social and political disparities. As Berman suggests, the gentrification processes—in this case the removal of *hutong* of historic Beijing and the creation of recreational and commercial spaces in their place—allows for the creating of new, albeit conditional forms of, public space.<sup>21</sup> China's contemporary public spaces hold this potential: to give visibility to an urban underclass who have the right to access these spaces.

Further to this idea, Mao's remodeling of Tiananmen Square is another example of the project and erasure and reconstruction for political purposes, and relevant here too in the tactical creating of a public space of assembly. Positioned adjacent the imperial court of the palace, Tiananmen gate represented the perfect location for Mao to declare the birth of the People's Republic. What followed was the clearance of 50 acres of urban fabric in the expansion of the imperial forecourt to create a vast square for public assembly. Trading on the embedded imperial legacy of the square by association, the

---

<sup>19</sup> P Rabinow, *French Modern: The Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (London, England: MIT Press, 1989), pg12.

<sup>20</sup> Marshall Berman, "All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity," *Penguin Books* (1982), pg153

<sup>21</sup> Meyer, 2008 opcit, pg 76. Anne-Marie Broudehoux in her book "The Making and Selling of Beijing" (2004) recounts the removal of the *hutong* in *Wangfujing* adjacent the forbidden city, and their replacement with Beijing's first shopping mall and Mc Donalds.

new Square required none of the original gates or walls— the traditional markers of Chinese social order. Signalling the triumph of socialism over the past, Mao cut through the North-South axis with a Haussmann-like boulevard forming the broad Chang An Avenue as a venue for state displays of military dominance.<sup>22</sup>

To return once again to the Olympic site, Carolyn Marvin speculates that the Olympic Green was intended to supplant Tiananmen as a site of public gathering. If Tiananmen, as an open and unwallled civic space was an epochally new kind of Chinese public space where citizens could gather together to affirm the nation state under Mao, then how might the Olympic Green neutralise this possibility? She suggests that the siting of the Green to the North of Tiananmen was not a neutral gesture: according to Confusian logic that which is Northernmost is superior; the Green's Northern extension of the fourteenth century imperial axis extends to its successor in the twenty-first. In this way, Tiananmen Square looks "more like a relic of a completed phase of Chinese history".<sup>23</sup> Further to this idea, the super-sizing of the Green as a public space, 60 times larger than Tiananmen, appears to dilute the possibility for public assembly—there is no singular surface for public gathering on the Green.

While these strategies to disarm possible political instability may not have been deliberately deployed, it is clear that the resultant park eludes the potential for political unrest in its formal disposition. At great pains to not repeat the internationally televised Tiananmen student protests in 1989 during the 2008 Games, the ruling party employed all available strategies to avoid a repeat performance at the Olympic Green, from creating a monumentally vast public space with no fixed point of unified assembly to the omnipresent surveillance of CCTV systems positioned in light towers and on-the-ground security monitoring access.<sup>24</sup>

A more compelling argument that the Games-space specifically neutralized the possibility of protest Marvin cites, is the idea that the Olympic Green is created as a 'glitzy leisure space for public pleasures'. She writes: "The official vision of the post-Olympic commercial, exhibition and sports and entertainment spaces on the Green paints a civic portrait of obedient consumers attuned more to immediate gratification than politics."<sup>25</sup> The assumption here is that as Beijing is increasingly mallified, its citizens are subdued into the mindless act of consumption rather than protest.

The final paradox I will outline in the paper is the rapid transformation of Beijing as an economic surface, or as Marvin puts it the 'mallification' of China, as a condition within which the Olympic Green Masterplan arises.

### PARADOX 3: CHINA'S RAPID URBANISATION

*"Beijing appears to be subject to an evaporating resistance to capitalist ideology. The astonishing building program the city has undertaken in preparation for the coming-out party of the Olympics is an obvious extension of this attitude. The insistent grandiosity,*

---

<sup>22</sup> Carolyn Marvin "All under Heaven" - Megaspaces in Beijing." In *Owning the Olympics: Narratives of the New China*, edited by Price M. E. and Dayan P. D: University of Michigan Press, (2008). Pg 247

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, Pg 249.

<sup>24</sup> T Boswell, "Where'd Everybody Go?," *Landscape Architecture: Beijing's Olympic Green lacks a key ingredient - crowds of people using the space* 98, no. 10 (2008)

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, pg 249.

*the incredible extent, the mobilization of labor, the fixation on symbolism, and the centralization of planning, all announce a representational project as well as an urban and architectural one.*"<sup>26</sup>

Beijing's Olympic transformation needs to be viewed in the broader context of understanding the phenomenal pace of modernization throughout China. Thirty years of market orientated economic reform in China, initiated in 1978 by Deng Xiaoping's 'Open Door Policy', has seen China modernise as it embraced the global principles of foreign trade. In this context, urbanisation appears to be considered only as a byproduct of capitalism.

China is the fourth largest economy in the world, and growing at ten percent per annum. Home to twenty percent of the world's population, China's enormous and poorly paid workforce is capable of reliable mass production on a scale unmatched in the rest of the world. China is also becoming more urban: it is estimated that up to four hundred million people will migrate from the countryside to Chinese cities before the end of the second decade of the twenty-first century.<sup>27</sup> This urban migration includes a predicted increase in China's population by 2020 to 1.55 billion, 60% of which will be living in cities. Housing this increasing population is driving urban growth, forging the creation of new and efficient forms of design, building and construction systems.

Tracking China's urban growth appears to take on a certain textual melodrama: urban theorists engage in the trade of superlatives as they attempt to comprehend and then respond to the scale of urban change. Some theorists argue that rapid urban growth is creating new urban environments for which there is 'no adequate terminology or any conceptual framework to describe, interpret and understand exactly those forces that could redefine or revitalize it'.<sup>28</sup> These new, or emerging morphologies are perhaps not new at all. Population increases are driving the expansion of Beijing's periphery, and indeed pushing at the very edges of the Olympic site. A large demand for housing, and a shortage of available land is driving suburbanisation in the form of 'periphery clusters'.<sup>29</sup> The spatial morphology of these peripheral developments is strikingly similar to gated communities that have been documented and decried as anti-urban in the West.<sup>30</sup> Adrian Hornsby refers to the rise of this type of Chinese urbanism as the appearance of the 'Slick City'. He nominates the many forms of these instant and ad-hoc new towns as suburban enclaves, factory villages, military settlements and 'themed' towns. He goes on to describe their emergence as discrete entities of discontinuous development within a larger urban structure, but 'always as clearly

<sup>26</sup> M Sorkin, "Learning from the Hutong of Beijing and the Lilong of Shanghai" *Architectural Record* (2008).

<sup>27</sup> S Vendell, "The People's Urbanity of China and the Birth of a Megapolis," in *The Chinese Dream: A Society under Construction*, ed. N. Mars and A. Hornsby (010 Publishers, 2008).

<sup>28</sup> C. J. Chung, B. Chang, and R Koolhaas, *Great Leap Forward: Harvard Design School Project on the City* (Harvard Design School, 2001). Koolhaas' introduction, page 6

<sup>29</sup> Jing and Qu Zhou, Lei, "Peripheral Cluster Versus New Town: A Comparative Study of Two Types of Peripheral Developments in the Beijing Metropolitan Region," *Footprint: Metropolitan Form* 05 (2009), pg105.

<sup>30</sup> Joel Garreau in his seminal tome, 'Edge City' documents the rise of the gated community in America. The fragmented and stratified result is critiqued by, among others, Sorkin in 'Variations on a Theme Park'

delineated from the pre-existing.<sup>31</sup> “Increasingly these are *slick cities*—clean residential strongholds fortified against their muddled surroundings.”<sup>32</sup> The economic calculus that drives the production of these typologies is one of profit as China embraces the opportunities for getting rich quickly offered by capitalism.

At first glance the emerging urbanisms within Beijing have a residual spatial syntax of being walled as the rise of the gated community takes hold in China. But what is missing is a sense of collective subjectivity that was so much a part of the Confucian compounds and *danwei*. As the ‘slick’ commercial city rides over the top of the old city, it is not immediately apparent if the self contained and spatially discrete settlements of the gated community will sustain any sense of collective, or public life. Adrian Hornsby argues that the repercussions for the public realm in the rise of this appropriated Western form in China signifies the demise of the public domain as public spaces are reduced to the voids between these buildings and streets are reduced to transit space; arterial connectors between nodes of development.<sup>33</sup> The public vibrancy of the *hutong* is being supplanted by over-scaled public plazas and highways as the city is ‘stretched apart’.<sup>34</sup>

The paradox that is presented here, is that on the one hand the Olympic Green presents a relief from the generic matter of the increasingly (sub)urbanized urban realm. In this condition opportunities for public life are increasingly commodified and privatised. If the public vibrancy of the *hutong* has been erased along with the compounds that supported this life, where then is public life to take place? Purpose built and managed by the state, the Olympic Green is at least designed and sustained as a public surface. Unlike the plethora of gated private housing developments at Beijing’s fringe, and Western-style mega-malls, there appears to be *space* for the public on this site. On the other hand, as outlined earlier, the park appears to some urban commentators as a surface to neutralize the possibilities of public assembly and protest, in its vastness and appropriation of commercial surfaces.

Also, as the masterplan for the Olympic Green is completed with further mixed use development planned for its edges, there is increased opportunity for the park to be peopled. Announced at the start of this year KCAP Architects have won a masterplan competition for the Southern edge of the Olympic Park. The project provides 50 hectares of commercial, housing and office space and will activate the surface of the park—the Olympic Green may yet have a civilising population. As the development of urban matter continues to encircle the Green, it not only will continue to be increasingly populated, but it will also be physically enframed. As a site of spectacular significance to the Nation’s identity it will sit apart from the ordinary city fabric, distinct and physically

---

<sup>31</sup> Commodified private housing, built by developers has been replacing the state-subsidised housing provided by the communist work units (*danwei*). The *Danwei* of the communist period had within their confines office, residential and communal spaces (including kindergartens, hospitals, and markets). Contemporary gated communities do not have these civilizing spaces as built fabric is turned inward such that the interior operations of the compound are privileged over the public domain to the street.

<sup>32</sup> N. Mars and A. Hornsby, *The Chinese Dream: A Society under Construction* (O10 Publishers, 2008).

<sup>33</sup> The arguments Hornsby raises here recall the critique of devolution of public space due to increased privatisation of the public realm by Mike Davis in his 1992 text “City of Quartz”.

<sup>34</sup> Hornsby, *opcit.* pg 24.

separate. This appearance of a massive bounded Park, while a typographically unfamiliar urban form, may yet become normalised as Beijing's citizens appropriate yet another Western type and turn it to their own specific uses.<sup>35</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

Beijing's Olympic site provides a unique surface to study the affects of rapid transformation of city form – exposing latent forces that govern the specific relations between citizen, state and city. I have outlined three intersecting paradoxes that emerge from the specificities of the Olympic Green and Forest Park and the rapid processes of urban transformation that brought them into existence.

Firstly, the paradox of the park was explored as an unfamiliar typology with questionable popularity, yet it does provide a valuable symbolic, recreational and community space. The remaking of Beijing in the leadup to the 2008 Olympic Games has provided a super-sized public surface that appears in its infancy to be underutilised and as such presents both the possibility for public occupation and civic ownership, or an(other) template of foreign urban matter, or another space of control, that awaits a future erasure. Time will tell if the Olympic Green will live up to its symbolic representation as a surface for the people, created for the "People's Games".

Secondly, in this paper I have considered the genealogy of the wall in Chinese urban life. Traditional Chinese urban form, bounded as it was by the wall, informed a sense of social space and in this was a productive mechanism for the construction of a collective subjectivity. With the historical form of the Chinese city steadily undergoing erasure in the face of rapid urbanisation and globalisation, the physical manifestation, or formal representations of a social fabric are being increasingly overtaken by generic built form that fundamentally alters the arrangement of urban life. As China becomes 'de-walled', I have posed the question, what are the contemporary manifestations of the wall? I have demonstrated the way in which collective subjectivity have been politically stage-managed in urban forms in the design of the Olympic Green.

Finally, the third section of the paper examines China's evaporating resistance to capitalism and the forms of *spatial instability* in the public realm that arise from this. I suggest that the terrain of the 'slick' or generic city presents a paradox for China as these predominantly Western forms still require negotiation of program, use and meaning. In this process the Chinese citizenry is also negotiating their identities in relation to the West in parallel with the generation of new urban form and the public spaces they support. The case study of the Olympic domain provides a unique exemplar for the examination of these negotiations.

---

<sup>35</sup>Judith Farquhar, provides further reason for optimism that the Olympic Green will be claimed by Beijing's citizenry as public space, so tightly controlled by the city and the state, as she notes the popularity of Beijing's parks. In her paper 'The Park Pass: Peopling and Civilising a New Old Beijing' she suggests that Beijing's green spaces offer a panacea to a rapidly densifying and increasingly hostile urbanity, and that in a reaction to this Beijingers are asserting their collective claims over its parks and vacant allotments.

## REFERENCES

- Boswell, T. "Where'd Everybody Go?" *Landscape Architecture: Beijing's Olympic Green lacks a key ingredient - crowds of people using the space* 98, no. 10 (2008): 196.
- Bray, D. *Social Space and Governance in Urban China: The Danwei System from Origins to Reform*: Stanford University Press, 2005.
- Campanella, T. J. *The Concrete Dragon: China's Urban Revolution and What It Means for the World*: Princeton Architectural Pr, 2008.
- Chung, C. J., B. Chang, and R. Koolhaas. *Great Leap Forward: Harvard Design School Project on the City*: Harvard Design School, 2001.
- Farquhar, Judith. "The Park Pass: Peopling and Civilizing a New Old Beijing" *Public Culture* 21 (Fall 2009): 551 - 76.
- Hornsby, A. "'Hey Fuck! Where'd the City Go?' Abstract Dreaming/Pouring Concrete." In *The Chinese Dream: A Society under Construction*, edited by A. Hornsby and N. Mars, 198-213: 010 Publishers, 2008.
- Jonas, A. E. G., and D. Wilson. *The Urban Growth Machine: Critical Perspectives Two Decades Later*: State University of New York Pr, 1999.
- Mars, N., and A. Hornsby. *The Chinese Dream: A Society under Construction*: 010 Publishers, 2008.
- Marvin, Carolyn. "'All under Heaven" - Megaspaces in Beijing." In *Owning the Olympics: Narratives of the New China*, edited by M. E. and Dayan Price, D.: University of Michigan Press, 2008.
- Meyer, M. "The Death and Life of Old Beijing." *Architectural Record* 07, no. 08 (2008): 73-76.
- Ong, Ryan. "New Beijing, Great Olympics: Beijing and Its Unfolding Olympic Legacy." *Stanford Journal of East Asian Affairs* 4, no. 2 (2004): 35-49.
- Padua, M. "Modernity and Transformation: Framing the Park in Post Mao Chinese Cities." *Landscape Architect, IFLA Conference Papers* (May, 2006).
- Price, M. E., and D. Dayan. *Owning the Olympics: Narratives of the New China*: Univ of Michigan Pr, 2008.
- Rabinow, P. *French Modern: The Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*. London, England: MIT Press, 1989.
- Sasaki. "2008 Beijing Olympic Green." <http://www.sasaki.com/what/portfolio.cgi?fid=204>.
- Short, J. R. *Global Metropolitan: Globalizing Cities in a Capitalist World*: Routledge, 2004.
- Sit, F. S. *Beijing: The Nature and Planning of a Chinese Capital*. Chichester; New York: Wiley, 1995.

- Sorkin, M. "Learning from the Hutong of Beijing and the Lilong of Shanghai " *Architectural Record* (2008).
- Steiner, F R. "Olympic Hopeful: A City Short of Parkland." *Landscape Architect* 98, no. 3 (2008): 90-97.
- Vendell, S. "The People's Urbanity of China and the Birth of a Megapolis." In *The Chinese Dream: A Society under Construction*, edited by N. Mars and A. Hornsby, 31-89: 010 Publishers, 2008.
- Zhou, Jing and Qu, Lei. "Peripheral Cluster Versus New Town: A Comparative Study of Two Types of Peripheral

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION AND THE SOCIETY



## SUBURBIA AGAINST SOCIALISM. UNITED STATES PROPOSALS FOR THE METROPOLIS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Maria Margarita GONZALEZ CARDENAS, PhD. Student

Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales - Centre Maurice Halbwachs  
mgonzal@ehess.fr

### **ABSTRACT**

*This article focuses on several proposals suggested by scholars and intellectuals during the late fifties with the hope to solve urban conflicts in the United States. Their efforts towards an urban debate helped to the discussion, but the federal government did not implement significant reforms. The scholars and intellectuals' propositions were accompanied by radical suggestions, challenging Federal Government's decisions. This article analyze how such critical essays established the need for change the urban policies, and it concludes how those writings played an essential role in the definition of new policies as well as new political tendencies.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

One of the most recognizable images of wealth and growth in America is the suburban pattern developed in the fifties. This prosperity has been related to Dwight Eisenhower's eight years of presidency and his policies on highways construction and financing houses. The decade started also with rhetoric sparked through the publication of the first prominent book, The Lonely Crowd, which criticized American's changing cultural behaviours (RIESMAN et al., 1950). As a part of a series in Studies in National Policy organized by the Yale University Press, this book intended to characterize novel social behaviours presented across new suburban inhabitants, most of who were living away from the city for the first time in their lives.

At the end of the decade, suburban sprawl resulted in an unexpected metropolitan growth that reflected a governmental chaos and its consequential criticism. Each individual suburb was an independent unit without any political relation with the city or the region. Without any policies to regulate the land, United States government did not politically react to prevent urban growth. Since there was neither regulation on urban land nor on urban planning, many scholars and public intellectuals, closely related with the regional planning association and the planner's institute, started to analyze urban planning developments' future, reaching to the criticism that The Lonely Crowd provoked.

Criticism shown by scholars and intellectuals, who could not be classified as planners or politicians, yet most were considered as part of an "elite" (COSER, 1965; KADUSHIN, 1974), was a key form of participation from a minor part of the society. Some of the so-called 'public intellectuals' publicized their ideas in popular medias, as well as in books that swiftly became best sellers. Their proposals nourished a debate reaching the U.S.' Congress discussions. Urban debate hence became a political issue in the 1960's presidential campaign, forcing the democrat candidate, John F. Kennedy to take into consideration proposals for urban solutions.

This paper intends to undertake two central tasks. The first is to introduce the role of the government on urban changes. The second task is to highlight some of the metropolitan changes suggested by four scholars, who later fuelled governmental policies: Robert C. Wood, William H. Whyte, Lewis Mumford and Luther H. Gulick. As a conclusion, we will analyze how such proposals reached the political arena, and their relationship with urban transformation and urban reform.

## **INTELLECTUAL'S IDEAS: BETWEEN A REPUBLIC AND A DEMOCRATIC ERA**

Since the election of the Republican candidate Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952, the country started an era of change. To begin with, both parties wanted for him as a candidate, creating the image of Eisenhower as a heroic leader in post war times. With huge rating approvals supporting him, in 1956 Eisenhower signed the Federal-Aid Highway Act, creating the Interstate Highway Program, the largest public works program in the U.S.' history: "the result has been the literal transformation of American Life" (KATZ, PUENTES, 2005). This was his first public project, which reorganized the country following highways systems connecting all states between them. Eisenhower thus supported private enterprises' enlargement: from automobiles production, which has struggled since the end of the WWII, up to urban developers, who saw highways constructions as a way to built the rural fringes. These measures allowed him to lead a country mostly engaged in private developments, at a time when senator McCarthy was fuelling popular fears with communist invasion ideas (GRIFFITH, 1987). Eisenhower then became the leader of a country in which the lesser educated population took a long time to learn how to form an opinion about any international matter and even more time to change it (RIESMAN, GLAZER, 1964), and in which the communist fear was a patriotic assessment against everything related with common property and public opinion.

Land property showed more growth than ever during the fifties, and since the suburbs were offering more than a roof, property was swiftly related with suburbs as its urban shape. U.S. growth was accelerating and by 1960, about 30.5% of Americans, or 55 million of 180 million, lived in suburbs. Thus urban sprawl was a country's concern, since many in Congress thought that state and local governments were unable to respond to metropolitan problems without significant federal intervention. In the mean time 'the middle classes' who had moved to the suburban areas, were considered a class without any influence. Even if this class maintained the country's economic prosperity, it was named the discontented class (RIESMAN, GLAZER, 1964). In this atmosphere, the fifties intellectual's enthusiasm and vitality started to become almost exclusively part of the universities, leaving public opinion without academic intervention.

Thus the 1960's presidential campaign held a long debate on urban solutions. Candidate John F. Kennedy promised that if elected he would create a Department of Urban Affairs (PRITCHETT, 1960). Supported by many scholars, the new president traced the end of the fifties era, starting a new decade of research for urban solutions. Yet, as Americans emerged from fifties' quietude, John F. Kennedy would help usher a new age of social activism and cultural unrest, for which intellectuals, scholars and activists were already prepared. Thus, after the prosperous Eisenhower years of the 'American Dream', it became the tumultuous sixties of 'The Great Society.' Nonetheless, Kennedy was a product of the Eisenhower years, and as well as his

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

predecessor, private interests coated him. His social measures were not as radical as he would have us believe, and although he was broadly supported by intellectual critique, his urban reforms passed through Congress with modest success. Even if his successor, Lyndon B. Johnson had been called the greatest American president ever for combating the urban problems, these times remained without effective solutions.

In that sense, the sixties presented failures in both political and economical systems, reflected in urban planning. Nonetheless democrats in power brought a new kind of idealism. In the early 1960s, most urban policymakers believed that the problems of metropolitan growth –traffic congestion, loss of open space, and an inefficient government- were the most pressing concerns, helping democrats to develop the idea of a 'Great Society' within an urban context. Indeed in a speech at the University of Michigan in 22<sup>nd</sup> of May, 1964, the President Lyndon B. Johnson quoted Aristotle idyllically regarding the relationship between man and cities: "Our society will never be great until our cities are great," the President declared (JOHNSON, 1964).

Scholars and public intellectuals fed this search of a 'Great Society.' Most of them started to work together publishing critical books on urban studies, as well as leading conferences and public debates, trying to drive urban policies transformations. In a time when radicalization could be worse than alienation, intellectuals and scholars never held back in presenting their ideas on urban issues. They were polemical if not belligerent against the establishment, and by looking more closely at the socialist inspiration than towards the capitalist perspective of growth and benefits, they questioned the basic principles of the suburban development, and its primary idea of the Local Governmental Division in the United States.

### SOME THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS ON SUBURBIA POLICIES

During the fifties and the following decades, scholars nourished public debates, despite their apparent absence of the political arena. It is hard to generalize, but the most popular intellectuals became national best sellers, writing at the same time in popular newspapers and magazines. Some of them, who had spent their early years at the university, later became part of the Federal Government.

Since the urban problems were focused on the suburbs, scholars and intellectuals started to analyze this issue from different perspectives. Land property, class affinities, government perspectives, and further subjects came to fore. The breaking point of main discussions was the development of rural fields regardless of planning or management rules. In that sense, scholars saw the genesis of the suburban development in the British 'Garden City' idea, and looked at it as a utopian urban pattern. The original idea thus became a pattern to follow in order to achieve a better urban development: it expressed the necessity of communal land property, as well as a regional government, both points that scholars and intellectual's propositions started to query in the search of a better future for the country's urban development.

From the late fifties and the early sixties urban publications, we will highlight four books in order to explain and relate to date the metropolitan government as a theoretical and crucial discourse for our urban world.

## ROBERT C. WOOD, A NEW LOOK ON SUBURBAN STUDIES

In 1958, Robert Coldwell Wood, who later became the Under Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development during the Johnson government, wrote a book called Suburbia, its People and their Politics. He was a recent graduated Ph.D in government who soon became involved in university life at an administration level. As "another book of American suburb," it was barely noticed by the media, but it was revolutionary inside the academia. It questions first the complexity of political relationship between suburbs and its inhabitants, and secondly the waste of land and political effort in the construction of suburbs and metropolitan developments. Wood continues nourishing the suburb debate started during the early fifties, calling for more political approaches.

While critics were seeing the suburbs as the revelation of a modern America with a growing and consuming middle class, Wood looks at this development as the contrary: a step back towards colonial times. 'Suburbia' for Wood reveals the anachronistic relation between the modern American man and his political environment, displaying a drastic continuation of the first American urban settlements with a local and not such powerful government. In that sense, suburbs' government appears obsolete from their conception, giving the impression that the small community produces the best life, and more particularly, the best local authority.

Wood's propositions attempt to change suburban government scale. Since the suburbs are in constantly spreading, threatening the agricultural lands, they should have a metropolitan government to manage them. It is not simply a matter of practicality, thinks Woods, but a matter of sustainable development. Therefore, he explains the Garden City pattern as an ideal example to manage cities or suburbs at a regional scale. But in this sense, Garden City's idea of government seems to derive from the precincts of a socialist reform.

The idea of a metropolitan government was totally against American suburban development. The suburban unit scale in America was used to keep their exclusive borders, a limit that was creating deep controversies by stimulating the production of gated communities, almost exclusively made of the white middle classes. Besides the car market growing as well as men's professionalization, the suburban scale was following a corporate philosophy in which everyone gets what he or she wants. In that sense, Wood was looking for a planning tool able to keep this 'dream' unharmed. Thus, a metropolitan government helps to join communities at a region scale, keeping their independence and maintaining communal goals, like improvement of public transport and development of local resources such as schools and sports centres. In other words, the metropolitan government strengthened relations, already well instilled with the construction of the federal highway.

Since suburban communities were mobilized against the idea of the metropolitan government, Woods believed that they fell into a "historical confusion", considering land property as a house in a tiny plot within a region. In that sense, it seems than an irony appears in suburbia conception: in a country that had grown with the aim of progress and change as beneficial, suburbia keeps the most grassroots legacy maintaining the original idea of the village. America thus regrets the idea of the metropolis: "the American faith loses its best opportunity to defeat the corporate philosophy at its own game." The rejection of the metropolis as a governmental level involves, in Wood's

words, the possibility of securing a cosmopolitan pattern of living, created by a free people and maintained by a free government.

Therefore, Wood blames Americans for fearing metropolitan changes. He insists in his book that a modern man needs a modern government, and in 1961 he revealed a real dreadful in a book about New York Metropolitan Region in which he counts 1400 local governments (WOOD, 1961). Later he would go on to implement the Model Cities Program, dreaming of a metropolitan government with a possibility of change.

Appreciating how Wood's suggestions stretched and strengthened a metropolitan American liberty requires knowledge of similar propositions from popular voices. Metropolitan government benefits were also discussed by the editors of one of the most powerful media enterprise, William H. Whyte for The Times Inc.

### THE URBAN SPRAWL AS A FIFTIES PATTERN: THE MEDIA CONTRIBUTION

In the same way as Wood, William Hollingsworth Whyte, the fifties chief editor of *Fortune*, in 1958 edited *The Exploding Metropolis*. It appears as a book openly against the suburban movement and the United States government policies. In its pages, Whyte and his colleagues accused the speculative building as entirely responsible of urban development.

Since urban development was so aggressive, Whyte and his colleagues were worried about rural soil. Because the highways had already been built or in process of being built, there was little chance of controlling their location, unless, says Whyte, the communities got together to secure a pattern of open space and orderly development. His aim was to create a citizen's movement to save the open space.

The idea became after a joint discussion of Times Inc. Corporation's publications. In close relation with his colleagues from *Architectural Forum*, Whyte organized the conference 'The City's Threat to Open Land' in 1958. Such a conference concluded with a chart of propositions for the days to come. Despite some pro metropolitan government participation, the chart would not demand the creation of a new level of government, but something quite more radical: the State Government should buy land in order to create a 'Special District Authority' which could regulate prices to avoid land speculations. Arguing suburban development as a "cliché" difficult to stop, the round table concluded that the "sprawl must be controlled" (AF, 1958). They advocated for more planning bodies to prevent further developments and open land sales. The round table looked for a commitment of States' Government in order to give them the power to encourage for a more equitable prices assessment. The land could be paid with the State's income, analysed the panellists, making a profit for the common good, and stabilizing metropolitan growth.

In that sense, the search for open land was a mechanism to return to the city. For Whyte, suburban development was so modern that it was destroying the American's cultural environments as well as their social relations. Contrary to Wood's propositions, Whyte was one of the creators of the Myth of the suburb, an early fifties tendency to censure suburban development as against American ideals.

Finally the debate for open land against suburban construction was part of the government agenda during the early sixties. In 1960, a number of liberal Democrats

were pushing for a federal program to help local governments acquire large 'banks' of land at the limits of metropolitan settlement. Public officials could sell or hold the fringe properties in accordance with public plans. Nonetheless, the real estate and the homebuilding industries started to press State governments and media, discussing that the proposal was dangerous, and 'catastrophically socialist' (ROME, 1998).

Despite the ambition of Whyte and The Architectural Forum's proposals, the following administrations partially endorsed the land banking idea. The research for open land benefits was well accepted in Whyte's home state of New York. There, the 1960 legislature created a \$75 million program to help local governments acquire open space. Swiftly the idea spread over the main states and by 1965 six more states, including California, offered grants to local governments for open-space acquisition. Several other states began ambitious programs to acquire land for outdoor recreation – in some cases the open space acquired doubled. Across the nation, local spending for park acquisitions rose sharply in the early 1960s. The number of cities and counties with nature trails almost tripled from 1960 to 1965. A few local governments even acquired land solely to create greenbelts.

After this achievement, Whyte signed his retirement from the world of journalism to the environmental battle. He writes several books showing his engagement against private developments and urban sprawl. Several studies have shown him as one of the contemporary leaders on environmental protection (PLATT, 2006). But, what happened with the metropolitan idea? Why was Whyte's proposal so quickly accepted while a metropolitan government proposal for the region never passed?

## LEWIS MUMFORD AND THE METROPOLIS OF A DIFFERENT ERA

Even as a proposal of one of the most prestigious intellectuals of the United States, Lewis Mumford, the idea of a metropolitan government never became a central discussion in sixties' governmental program. Mumford appeared in this period as the author of an historical compendium of the city, in which he goes from its origins to the suburban sixties sprawl. His 1961 book The City in History received the National Book Award, and it pushed him to testify before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on the negative impacts of urban renewal (BILES, 1998). This work in particular shared a big part of Wood's thoughts.

Advocating for the city, including the suburban development as a cohesive space for public development, Mumford recalls Wood's explanation on metropolitan government in order to support it as a way of generating common goods and services, but as an impossible feature in a deviational pattern as the American City. In the five final chapters of his book, Mumford accuses the capitalist society of the construction of the American city, calling it the contrary of a public institution as in the ancient times. The American city, Mumford believes, is a private commercial venture to be carved up in any fashion that might increase the turnover and furthermore the rise in land values.

He is constantly reminding us that the original suburban pattern appeared as an option to escape from the city during the industrial revolution. Since the theory of this pattern regards property of land in common hands as something necessary to maintain better surroundings, Mumford proposes the land around the suburbs should belong to the people, and to be administered, not in the interests of the few, but in the real interests of

the whole community. The Garden City pattern is for him one of the first attempts to generate a sustainable environment.

As well as Whyte and his colleagues, Mumford claims for an organized land property, but not only to prevent the consumption of open land, but also to control housing business. In fact public land property had demonstrated admirable results. Mumford explains this with reference to Craig's plan for Edinburgh: such a city was possible because of "the unified ownership of the land, and the unified control of the architect and builder." He adds in a discourse addressed towards the American city, "if the land had been first broken up into individual parcels, sold to competitive private owners, each proud of his own tastes, jealous of his own whims, ferocious in defence of his own ideology, the result would have been the chaos that too often prevailed in the late nineteenth-century street, urban or suburban" (MUMFORD, 1960).

Mumford goes far beyond this proposal. Criticizing the capitalist economy as a system in which private developments prevailed, he believes that some public facility can be respected and achieved, like for instance a good public transport system or public schools. In that sense, Mumford condemns the reduction of people's possibilities in the country. Engaging *The Lonely Crowd's* critique against homogenisation and directed characters, Mumford believes that suburban Americans were holding the flag of freedom only superficially, because in reality suburban developments were encouraging them to be prisoners of other's interests, reducing among others, people's facilities to move. In this way, their lives practically became dependent on the private car.

Indeed, a mass public transport system has never been part of the public agenda. Since the Eisenhower era the federal government has allowed the deterioration of massive transport systems, encouraging the maximum use of the private car, hence reproducing a bizarre relation between the city and its suburbs. In order to gain suburbs' attention towards the downtown, municipalities invest in financing central stores, an action that failed because of the distance. As a result the relationship between the city and its metropolitan communities generates what Mumford calls a "weekend liaison", a totally different economic relation from a "marriage" where the decentralization of state governmental institutions consents the inclusion of the whole region.

Mumford as well as Wood declared his worries about suburban subdivision and metropolitan government. The American suburb is the result of economic speculations; it is the summary of free market policies; it is the end of common negotiations. Indeed, suburban development was the contrary of the American people's principles. It was not only a rejection of the past but also a sharp turn towards an aggressive future. Taking this stance, Mumford has been always considered as a left wing intellectual fuelling the lines of the most passionate activists. The Metropolitan Governmental proposals suddenly became a broad discussion on American ideals, commanding a more cohesive approach.

## THE METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT AS AN AMERICAN IDEA

In 1962, four years after Wood's publication, Luther Gulick, the "Dean of American Institutions" and the director of the National Institute of Public Administration, wrote a book based on a series of lectures given at The Michigan University. The lectures were

granted by the Stern Family foundation with the aim to explain the metropolitan government as a genuine “American idea.”

In The Metropolitan Problem and American Ideas, Gulick follows Wood’s proposals exploring new assignments for the government. As Mumford, he uses the frame of the capitalist ideals in order to call for government unification, independent from the State and the Federal Government, advocating more freedom for metropolitan regions. He demands from the federal government a decent co-ordination at the top of many federal programs, in order to have an impact on metropolitan affairs. At that time, Kennedy was already the president, and he was accomplishing what he promised during his campaign, the creation of a new cabinet department of urban affairs. Nonetheless Gulick like his predecessors, was looking for a real engagement, and he criticized the new department as the evidence that the Federal Government nostalgically believed that the United States remained a rural nation, looking at the metropolitan phenomenon as a temporary ‘emergency.’

As a government and administration expert Gulick tries to explain the metropolitan government under American freedom ideals. Since freedom is the key word of the American constitution, he explores in depth Wood and Mumford’s proposals in order to explain the metropolitan government as a representation of autonomy even stronger at governmental level. If property, Gulick says, is the materialistic idea of power, it remains powerless in the suburbs, divided across hundreds and thousands of hands. In that sense, the metropolitan government is an institutionalization of the society’s power; a power that the big cities achieved under the nineties urban theorists regard. Gulick was judged as a “revolutionary” for such a socialist approach (DIXON, 1963).

Gulick was probably the first to reflect on the social cohesion of the metropolitan area. As a democratic government, Gulick advocates that the metropolis must deal with social classes, races, industrial developments and economical planning, giving to the metropolitan scale more power to solve particular problems that apparently concern only local governments. In a land organized on unities a cohesive power is essential. Indeed Gulick insists that the federal government must honestly recognize “that there is nothing to be ashamed of when the national government does something for urban populations to help solve their nationwide metropolitan problems.” Since private help is inexistent, its excessive benefits are defragmenting urban spaces and politics.

As well as Mumford, Gulick strongly criticized “the market mechanism”, which collapsed as a regulator of both production and prices, and therefore the allocation of scarce resources. His remedy is to call for a metropolitan government that also involves Whyte’s open land regulation proposal: as a conclusion the metropolitan level of regulation should not only allow but also endorse the freedom and needs of the people as well as of the developers.

Gulick’s book reassembles Wood, Mumford and Whyte’s proposals from the administrative point of view. In a time when many people advocates for total independence between public and private sectors, and the separation between politics and administration, Gulick advocates for engagements and activism, for a government made by the consensus of public and private powers, recognizing this association as a principle of freedom. His active implication in both the public and intellectual arena makes him a vigorous and stimulating actor of the mid twenty-century in America. Unfortunately these proposals were misinterpreted, and none of the aforementioned

ideas were completely developed. Despite their engagement to participate in political discussion, scholars seemed unable to pledge for a better urban government.

### **INTELLECTUALS AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. SOME ACHIEVEMENTS AS CONCLUSIONS**

The four personalities that we have evoked here are each distinct in their own right. In fact, what seems more problematic is that they are not only part of the academic sphere, but also they reached the institutional and government debates on urban problems. Intellectuals became refugees of the Academia (JACOBY, 1987). Nonetheless, they were a group of men who, whatever their field, took part in and contributed to general ideas and speculative thoughts, against a "New morality", and the rise of misconceptions towards communism, socialism and any relative word.

During the fifties, the intellectuals disappeared from the city. They were no longer living in Chicago, San Francisco or New York, but in the college towns, "safely distant from blighted city" (RUSSELL, 1987). Inside such an atmosphere they could no longer control what they produced. Despite their broad acceptance, their ideas soon became dissociated from them and their immediate coteries. Despite their intentions to integrate property and government, intellectuals and scholars were taken over by the function of dissemination and translation, and the alienation of their "product" left them with a feeling of impotence and isolation. Some intellectuals' ideas were quickly taken over by the mass media and transmitted into the common stock of middlebrow conceptions (RIESMAN, GLAZER 1964).

Nonetheless, in 1959, senators Joseph Clark and Nelson Rockefeller proposed the creation of a commission on Metropolitan Problems, following Whyte's proposals (PRITCHETT, 2008). They were looking for the reduction in consumption natural resources, and the coordination of traffic facilities and schools, but their bill never passed. The United States Congress surely listened to intellectuals and scholars proposals, and in the late 1960s, tried to resurrect resettlement programmes following earlier garden city and greenbelt town designs (BILES, 1998). Hence, the Congress passed The New Towns Legislation, providing financial assistance to the private developers to build new towns across the country. However, during the 1980s the U.S. government concluded that the experiment had failed, finalizing the program. The sixties Great Society beliefs and the governmental implementation of intellectuals and scholars ideas, failed under the intention to recuperate the State's sovereignty in urban growth.

The metropolitan governmental idea under the Garden City pattern implies multiple items, including the environmental. Intellectuals and scholars call for a sustainable environment was not only related to natural resources, but also to their management. The idea also appeared to be against the U. S.' principles and desires, seemingly a left wing initiative. In that sense, Gulick was a little better able to present the idea, turning the urban sprawl into an American principles discussion, proclaiming the metropolitan government as the American way to be locally governed.

Nowadays no metropolitan area has been organized. Metropolitan 'governmental' division only counts within country's statistics. We can say that one of the most advanced countries continues growing as it were during its past colonial times, because of the apprehension towards a share government. The appeal for a

metropolitan government remains, and the answer can be achieved by regarding contemporary urban history literature, which could fully nourish present times.

## REFERENCES

- Architectural Forum (1958) "Roundtable: The City's Threat to Open Land", Architectural Forum 108 (1), 87-90/164-166.
- Biles, R.(1998) "New towns for the Great Society: a case study in politics and planning" Planning Perspectives, 13 (2), 113 – 132.
- Bratt, R.G. and Keating, W. D. (1993) "Federal Housing Policy and HUD: Past Problems and Future Prospects of a Beleaguered Bureaucracy," Urban Affairs Quarterly, 29, 3.27.
- Coser, L.A. (1965) Men of Ideas. A sociologist's view, New York, The Free Press.
- Dixon, B. (1963), "Reviewed work: The Metropolitan Problem and American Ideas by Luther Halsey Gulick", The Western Political Quarterly, 16, 1, 236-237.
- Griffith, R. (1987) The Politics of Fear: Joseph R. McCarthy and the Senate, University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst, MA.
- Gulick, L. H. (1962) The Metropolitan Problem and American Ideas, New York, Alfred A. Knopf.
- Jacoby, R. (1987), The Last Intellectuals. American Culture in the Age of Academe, New York, Basic Books, Inc.
- Johnson, L. B. (1964) "Remarks at the University of Michigan" Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson, 1963-64, Volume I, entry 357, 704-707.
- Katz, B. and R. Puentes (2005) "Transformation Reform for the Twenty-First Century: An overview.", Taking the High Road. A Metropolitan Agenda for Transformation Reform, R.R. Donnelley, Harrisonburg.
- Kadushin, Ch. (1974) The American Intellectual Elite, Boston, Little Brown.
- Mumford, L. (1961) The City in History, New York, Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich.
- Platt, R.H. (2006) The Humane Metropolis: People and Nature in the 21st-Century City, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Pritchett, W. E.(2008) "Which Urban Crisis?: Regionalism, Race and Urban Policy, 1960-1974" Journal of Urban History, 34, 266-286.
- Riesman, D. with R. Denner and N. Glazer (1950) The Lonely Crowd. A Study of Changing American Character, New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Riesman, D. and N. Glazer (1964) "The Intellectuals and the Discontented Classes" in Bell, D. The Radical Right, New York, Doubleday Anchor Books, 105-136.
- Rome, A.W., (1998) "William Whyte, Open Space, and Environmental Activism", Geographical Review, Vol. 88, No. 2, 259-274.

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

Wood, R.C. (1958) Suburbia. Its People and Their Politics, Boston, The Riverside Press  
Cambridge.

Wood, R.C. and V. Almendinger (1961) 1400 governments: The Political Economy of  
New York Metropolitan Region, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

Whyte, W.H. Jr (ed) (1958) The Exploding Metropolis, New York, Doubleday &  
Company, Inc., Garden City.



## THE RELATION BETWEEN RETAIL ACTIVITY TRANSFORMATION AND SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY: A CASE STUDY OF BAHÇELİEVLER 7TH STREET, ANKARA / TURKEY

Özge YALÇINER ERCOŞKUN, Dr. Research Assistant  
Gazi University, Turkey  
ozgeyal@gazi.edu.tr

Burcu ÖZUDURU, Research Assistant  
Gazi University, Turkey  
bozuduru@gazi.edu.tr

### ABSTRACT

*Retailing and urban planning literature discusses the negative impact of shopping center developments on social sustainability of traditional shopping spaces, in particular of main street shopping areas. This study will analyze one of the main street shopping areas in Ankara, 7th Street in Bahçelievler. First, it will explore the transformation of this main street and the impact of this transformation on social sustainability. Second, it will describe the characteristics of the case study area and present a detailed land use analysis and brand classification (local, national, international) of existing retail facilities. The study aims to assess the level of social sustainability under the scope of shopping space transformation. This approach will be helpful to investigate the shift in qualifications of shopping spaces in relation to urban controversies, contrasts and challenges, the impact of shopping centers on communal life, and the relationship between local trade areas and social sustainability. Additionally, the study will offer guidelines for urban design and policies for urban revitalization in traditional shopping spaces.*

### INTRODUCTION

Fastpaced growth of the number of shopping centers has an impact on allocation of retailing activities in cities. The literature investigates the fact that shopping centers have a negative impact on traditional shopping spaces and city centers (Southworth, 2005; Teller, 2008). Most stores selling national and international brands, located at city centers have moved to emerging shopping centers, leaving most city centers deprived, which puts an economic strain on most local retailers located at city centers. After the 1990s, there have not been any comprehensive plans and projects to promote shopping street vitality and viability in Ankara, and public spaces with this potential are often ignored. The amount of shopping center leasable area per 1000 people is the highest in Ankara in the country<sup>1</sup>, mostly due to 1) its socio-economic structure, which is mainly composed of public officials and university students, creating a relatively stable economic system, convenient for shopping center investments, and 2) the encouragement of shopping center construction by the Greater Municipality of Ankara. However, as major traditional shopping spaces, main street shopping areas are the

---

<sup>1</sup>Soysal Shopping Center Catalogue, 2008

most important public spaces representing urban identity and enrichment of the urban culture, which is equally important for sustaining urban social activity.

Traditional shopping spaces, in particular, main street shopping areas, have been integrated with various public spaces. On the other hand, contemporary shopping spaces, shopping centers, are regarded as the focus of a consumer society that aims to satisfy its materialistic needs. Shopping centers vary by site size, range of commercial and social facilities, and economic value of the investment. This variation has a negative impact on sense of community and locality. The assessment of this differentiation as it cannot be assessed by quality will: 1) offer an awareness of increasing viability and vitality of main streets in the city centers, 2) eliminate the possible negative impact of the new retail spaces, shopping centers, and 3) provide policies to promote the social sustainability of city centers within the framework of urban revitalization. In Turkey, urban revitalization projects are undertaken by municipalities. However, in most cases, free market regulations are in effect. For this reason, some deprived areas in metropolitan cities cease to be revitalized and left obsolete.

The aim of this study is to investigate the differences of social qualifications in traditional and contemporary shopping spaces, and to offer policies by assessing the impact of this differentiation on traditional shopping spaces. The major goal, therefore, is to analyze the characteristics of transformation of a traditional shopping space, an important main street shopping area, 7th Street in Bahçelievler, Ankara in relation to the issues of social sustainability. First, the literature on the relationship between social sustainability and shopping centers will be reviewed. Next, with the help of the case study area, the land use will be depicted in detail and the retailer brands in the area will be classified. Finally, possible main street shopping area design principles and urban revitalization policies will be discussed.

## SHOPPING CENTERS VERSUS MAIN STREET SHOPPING AREAS

Shopping and retail activities are indispensable social and economic activities that enhance the vitality and viability of urban public life. Initially, these activities took place at central places of metropolises, called agora or forum. In time, the activities are diversified and blended in the urban pattern (Biol, 2005). The transformation of shopping spaces peaked in the 20th century (Alzubaidi et al., 1997). City centers integrated with urban public space lost its importance with the economic restructuring of the 1980s. Its impact on consumers and retailers has been vast. Shopping centers have become important agglomerations of retailing units as they offer convenience to consumers, retailers and manufacturers (Leo and Phillipe, 2002). Consumers are able to find all types of shopping goods and services on their daily commuting trips and are also able to utilize other activities, such as entertainment, culture, etc. Comparison-shopping, in other words, the opportunity to compare goods and services at one location is another convenience that shopping centers offer in fast-paced urban living. Most retailers benefit from the high volume of pedestrian areas and manufacturers from the more organized sale of their goods.

On the other hand, this convenience comes with a price: The importance of locality and sense of community fades and the traditional urban spaces, city and neighborhood centers degrade. In this section, the reasons for the transformation in shopping spaces, the impact of shopping centers on urban social life and the relationship of social sustainability with local trade areas will be discussed, hence the characteristics of

traditional shopping spaces and purposefully designed shopping centers will be clearly identified.

### **Transformation of Traditional Shopping Spaces**

The transformation of traditional shopping spaces changes consumption needs and lifestyle of a community. When their evolution processes are considered, traditional shopping spaces have evolved in time and are not specifically designed or located at central areas (Ogden and Ogden, 2004), they just happen to be there. Teller (2008) mentions the spontaneity and independent store characteristics of these spaces, located naturally at the most convenient and accessible places in cities, city centers. Main street shopping areas are such spaces, and are at the same time close to many employment centers and are the transportation hubs of cities. In addition to shopping, other cultural and social facilities, such as museums, libraries, cultural centers, movie theaters, etc. are located on these streets. These streets are functionally and physically integrated with open public spaces (parks, public squares, sidewalks, etc.) serving various purposes. The variety of goods and services sold at main street shopping areas are diverse, specialized, and somewhat personal, thus these streets have a lot of loyal customers living in the area (Leo and Phillipe, 2002). These spaces encourage social relations, importance of locality, sense of community and place, therefore are assets for a community.

The major characteristics of main street shopping areas are that they are occupied by local, independent storeowners. Southworth (2005) describes main street shopping areas as walkable areas, lined with low-rise buildings with retail facilities on their ground floors, interlinked with the urban environment where public service facilities are located and social activities took place. He also mentions that sense of life at these spaces is encouraged with these activities and urban spaces invite people. Shopping centers are also grounded in the concept of main street shopping (Southworth, 2005) and have evolved into commercial strips and strip malls, with their small parking spaces, consumption oriented, conveniently located commercial facilities matching the transforming lifestyles. Additionally, they are also designed for a single purpose: Consumption. Other activities, such as entertainment and cultural activities, have followed the act of consumption. The emergence of shopping centers in Turkey is much later than the United States and many European countries. When the retail market was saturated with shopping centers in the US in the 1980s, in Europe new shopping malls at the outer skirts of cities were emerging. In Turkey, however, this process began after mid-1980s with the restructuring of the economy, in particular retailing and wholesale sectors, with neo-liberal policies, and peaked even much later; in the second half of the 2000s (Tokatli and Boyaci, 1999).

### **The Relation of Social Sustainability with Local Trade Areas**

The concept of sustainability is composed of three topics: social, economical and ecological. For an effective sustainability policy and program, all of these three topics should be enhanced and the other two should complement each one. For example, if the economic health of an urban system is investigated, the quality of labor should be increased. It is beneficial for people to contribute to the economy to enhance the economy of the city. This is interlinked to the urban pattern. If people live where they work or the city offers an effective mass transportation system, then environmental utility increases and dependency on fossil fuel decreases, which also diminishes the emissions related to private vehicle use. The literature presents a number of studies on

economic and ecological sustainability but there is little evidence to investigate social sustainability.

The Brundtland report (1987) prepared by World Commission on Environment and Development suggests that in order to have powerful and dynamic communities, the most fundamental needs of people should be satisfied and traditions as well as related activities should be enhanced. The fast-paced development of technology, consequent restructuring of economy and social relations threaten the idea of a society with a strong social and cultural background, rather this approach encourages individualism. In social terms, sustainability appears where community spirit is adopted, equal, diverse, integrated, democratic relations and high quality of life is preferred. For this reason, in order to pursue a social sustainable system, distribution and opportunities for health, education, justice, gender equality, political responsibilities and participation should be encouraged (Assefa and Frostell, 2007)

Traditional shopping spaces are such spaces. Sensitive, public utility oriented diverse communities are the future of a socially sustainable community (Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998). In order to encourage social sustainability at traditional shopping spaces, local and independent trade facilities should be kept at their locations and be supported with special projects and programmes. Additionally, diversity of retail facilities and other entertainment and cultural activities should be proposed. Main streets are not only physical entities. In contrast they are the end-products of a social living. Health, education, social services, recreation, cultural facilities, etc. are also vital parts of it.

## BAHÇELİEVLER 7TH STREET

The case study of this paper is one of the main street shopping areas of Ankara, 7th Street in Bahçelievler, located approximately 3 km to the west of the city center. The area is surrounded by a major intercity highway, Konya highway, and an urban park, Atatürk Forest Farm on the west and major boulevards Fevzi Çakmak Boulevard on the east, Bahriye Üçok Boulevard on the north and Akdeniz Boulevard on the south. The National Library is also located on the south of the street (Figure 1). The street is only 2 km away from a famous ship-like shopping center named Armada. 7th Street is selected as a study area due to its popularity as a shopping and entertainment street. The street was the subject of a pedestrianization debate for sustaining the vitality and viability of the area. An analysis of this area will offer a better understanding of what appears to be a cutting-edge retail main street phenomenon and will be helpful to identify the changes in retail systems in relation to social sustainability.



Figure 1. 7th Street, Bahçelievler, Ankara (Google Earth)

**The History of Bahçelievler**

Bahçelievler was developed as a housing cooperative by Hermann Jansen in 1936. Row houses are located on the north and semi-detached houses are located on the south of the area. Two-floor garden houses, a school and a marketplace were planned at the center. It was designed for state officials in the after 1945. The construction was completed in 1938 (Yalçinkaya, 2007). After the dismissal of the cooperative in 1950, and fast-paced development of Ankara toward the area, some homeowners requested density increment, thus transformation of their houses into multi-story buildings with larger floor areas, which would be beneficial to earn rent. This request has altered the 'low density, spacious garden' qualification of the area (Tekeli and Ilkin, 1984). The area had experienced density increase without provision of the necessary infrastructure, which caused a lot of urban problems. Today, primary attraction facilities of the street are clothing, gift shops and a wide range of cafe and bars. Accessibility to the area is a challenge, along with traffic congestion and inadequate parking.

**Land Use and Retail Store Tenant Analysis**

The site survey findings show that there are 400 residential and 188 commercial units with office spaces on the street. The commercial units are composed of eateries (24%), perfume, gift and jewellery shops (22%), clothing (18%) and banks (13%) (Figure 2).

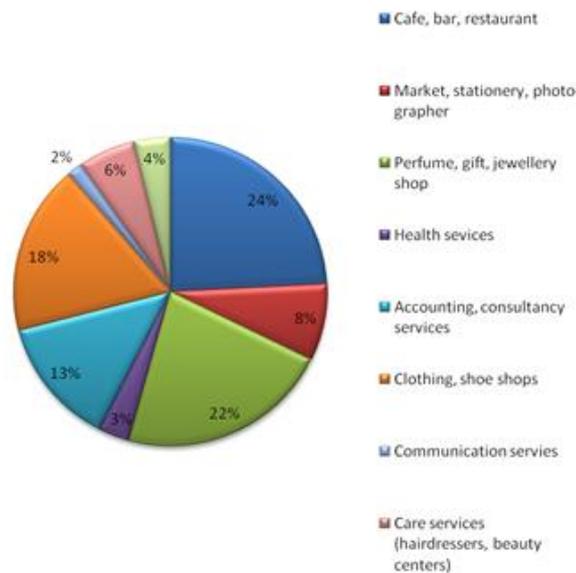


Figure 2. Retail Store Tenant Characteristics of 7th Street

42 buildings located along the street have four or less floors. Ground floors are mostly occupied by eateries, which is the most common store type. There are 17 cafes, 2 of them are patisseries and 3 of them are famous global coffee shop chains known as hotspots for social interaction. There are 6 bars and most of them have multi-floors. National and global brands are found here more than local ones. Some national chain

cafes (Özsüt, Café Crown, Mado, etc.) and international ones (Tchibo, Starbucks etc.) have gained popularity. 20 eateries, 10 supermarkets, 27 clothing shops, 11 gift shops and an eclectic mix of flower and perfume shops are located on this street. Majority of the customers are either students or state officials employed in the public institutions surrounding the area. Upper floors are occupied by office spaces, such as health centers, veterinary, hair transplant centers and thermal resorts, which contribute to the street's vitality. Beauty centers and banks are the other complementary commercial facilities located on the street. The area is also occupied by a lot of offices located at the upper floors.

### Retail Store Brand Classification

In this section, retail store brands are analyzed to understand the retailing structure and the circumstances of local shopkeepers. 124 (66%) local, 44 (23%) national and 19 (11%) international brands are located on the street. Local brands constitute the majority of the area (Table 1, Figure 3).

Table 1. An Analysis of Brands in the Street

Floors	Local	National	International
Ground Floor	97	34	19
Upper Floors	34	21	10
Multi-story	7	11	9
Total	124	44	20

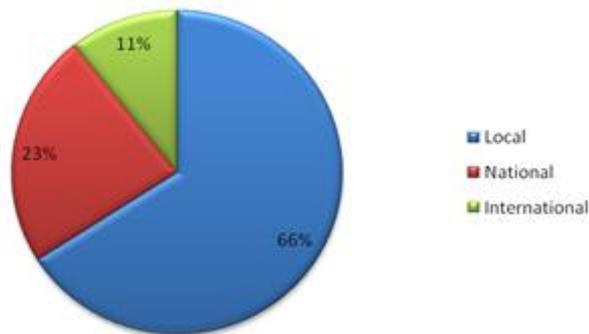


Figure 3. Distribution of stores selling local, national and international brands

This study provides further evidence to support recent discussions of the dislocation of the 'local' and the 'global/local interplay of contemporary capitalist restructuring processes' (Hankins, 2002). The fact that global stores, which embody a very global system of production and consumption, are present on main streets such as 7th Street offers cloning such as virtually indistinguishable from one another. The main streets are getting replaced by a monochrome strip of global and national chains that means its retail heart could easily be mistaken for dozens of other town centers across the country (Simms et al., 2005). Fortunately local brands are still dominant in the street and constitute 2/3 of the retail facilities (Figure 4 and 5).

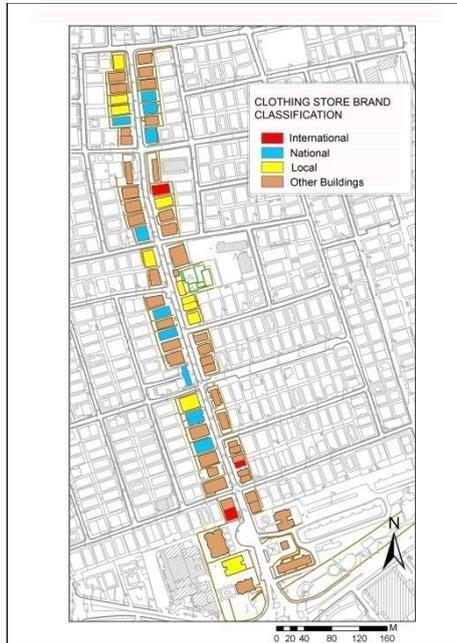


Figure 4. Distribution of clothing stores selling local, national and international brands in the street

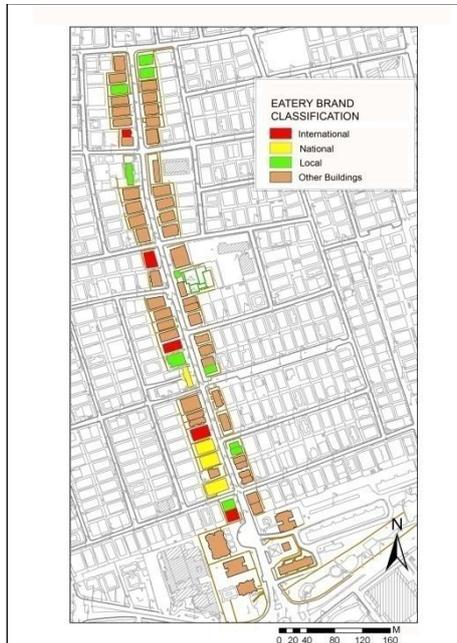


Figure 5. Distribution of eateries due to local, national and international brands in the street

Another element of retail spatiality is in the changing locations of retail establishments. Retail firms associated with the physical built environment, may choose their locations according to customer preferences, rents etc. The number of shops in the street was 149 in 2000, which has increased to 173 in 2008 and 188 in 2009 (Table 3). Not only number but also types of the shops have changed. Some retailer types have decreased and some of them have increased (Table 3).

Table 3. The Change in Retailing Structure of 7th street for Selected Years (Eke, Özdemir and Erol, 2000, Temel, 2008, Aydın, 2009)

FACILITIES	2000		2008		2009	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Cafe, bar, restaurant	4	2.7	38	22.0	45	23.9
Market, stationery, photo shops	25	16.8	11	6.4	15	8.0
Perfume, gift, jewelery shop	31	20.8	39	22.5	41	21.8
Health services	12	8.1	6	3.5	6	3.2
Accounting, consultancy services	24	16.1	24	13.9	25	13.3
Clothing, shoe shops	37	24.8	32	18.5	33	17.6
Communication services	4	2.7	3	1.7	3	1.6
Hairdressers and beauty centers	5	3.4	10	5.8	11	5.9
Hardware shops	1	0.7	1	0.6	1	0.5
Furniture shops	5	3.4	8	4.6	7	3.7
Wedding halls	1	0.7	1	0.6	1	0.5
Total	149	100.0	173	100.0	188	100.0

The number of cafes, bars and restaurants has increased 10 times from 2000 to 2008. This trend continues in 2009. The number of supermarkets, stationery and photo shops has decreased from 2000 to 2008. The number of perfume and gift shops has also increased. Health centers and clothing are decreasing. The number of care services such as beauty centers has doubled. This ten-year period is an indication of a growing and changing retailing structure of 7th Street, which has very high property and building values.

The presence of global chain stores, unprecedented in firm size and scope that can afford the dramatic increase in rents is evidence of the changing dynamics of retail capital. The shop rents vary between 4000 TL to 44000 TL. The maximum two rents in the street are 24000 and 44000 TL. Restaurants and fast-food spaces boom but there is inadequate space for ventilation of the kitchens and gardens for customers. The shop owners do not want to hire their shops to clothing. The profit of clothing is rather low and they often cannot afford the rent. Instead of this, the owners prefer corporate or chain brands. As doers, municipalities are not involved with such free market regulations and owners rule the tenant structure of the street, which, in turn is the major issue of the urban revitalization processes.

The name of the shops are in foreign language mainly in English. The name of 90 shops are in English. The use of Turkish brand name is 50%, half of the number of total shops in the streets (Çolak, 2008) which is important for locality and identity.

#### **Social Sustainability in 7th Street**

A map in the GIS environment was prepared according to the site survey in the street. The problems, potentials, vitality of the street life and some paths are mapped (Figure 6).

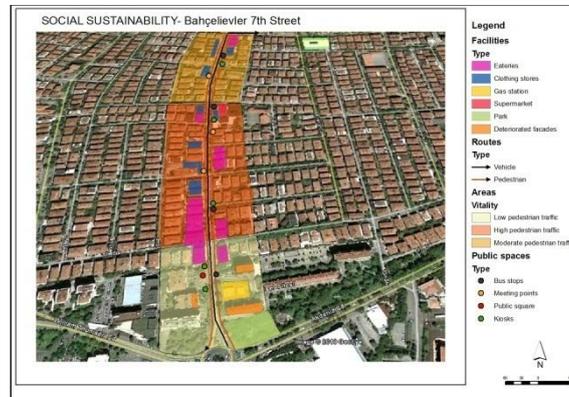


Figure 6. Social Sustainability Map of the street

Retail facilities that generate low pedestrian traffic are located at the entrance of the street, next to the National Library. This is due to the existing high rise buildings and the distance of their facades and entrances to the street. The gas station is in proximity to residential areas, which is not preferable for the safety of the residents. The park, which provides a vivid space for public interaction is not easily accessible due to the location of its entrance. The town square offers another opportunity for social interaction on the south of the street. However, this area is used as a parking space, which causes its deterioration. The middle part of the street is the liveliest part due to the fact that the retail facilities are diverse. Cafes, bars and restaurants are clustered at this part. Mixed use buildings, enclosed bazaars and supermarkets, along with a bus stop and a flower shop create a vital area. The northern part of the street also hosts cafes and bars, clothing shops, which brings vitality as well. It is a habit of young people to drive by the street (from south to north) or gather to chat at the front of various cafes and bars on the street.

## CONCLUSION

The increasing number of shopping centers in the 1980s had an impact on traditional shopping spaces, in particular on main shopping streets. This paper presents recent changes and existing condition in one of the main shopping streets in 7th Street, Bahçelievler, Ankara by analyzing its land use and retail store tenant classification. The findings indicate that the local characteristics of the area is sustained by the local brands and the number and variety of open and public spaces increase the level of social sustainability in the area. Such positive attributes are helpful to maintain a healthy social and economic structure in the area. On the other hand, the retail variety has changed drastically and the number of eateries is the highest compared to other types of retailing facilities, which is in fact a clustering. The vitality and viability of the street survive with the clustering of a particular type of retail facility.

The findings of this paper suggest that sustainability of traditional shopping spaces is possible when specific policies and programs are offered. For example, the UK planning policy recommends a special plan and program, 'town centers first' and 'sequential approach' policies to preserve the development balance of retail areas. Such policies will offer more sustainable urban environments, in particular main street

shopping areas, which will promote the health and diversity of communities. Particularly, in Turkey, the municipalities, as doers, should be more in charge of the regulations of main streets. Similar to many world examples, private- public partnerships can be established for effective development of main street revitalization programs. For a main street program to be successful, it should embrace some design guidelines, such as:

*Strategic:* Public improvements, business recruitment or promotional events can revitalize main street.

*Simple:* Successful revitalization programs begin with simple activities that demonstrate that new things are happening. As public confidence in the main street grows, the street is able to tackle increasingly complex problems and more ambitious projects.

*Helpful:* That means convincing residents and business owners of the rewards they will reap by investing time and money in main street.

*Collaborative:* Both the public and private sectors must work together to achieve common goals of main street's revitalization.

*Identifying:* Every main street has unique qualities like traditional buildings in human scale that give people a sense of belonging. These local assets must be capitalized.

*Qualitative:* From storefront designs to promotional campaigns or educational programs, efforts should be given on quality.

*Transitive:* Transition in attitude and practice and improving the physical appearance of the main street will help shift public perceptions and practices to support and sustain the revitalization process.

*Practical:* Small projects which have visible results pave the way for larger ones and regular activities creates confidence in the main street program and greater levels of participation.

**Acknowledgement:** The authors wish to acknowledge Doğukan Aydın who contributed this study with site surveys, and maps with great effort.

## REFERENCES

- Alzubaidi, H., Vignali, C., Davies, B. and Schmidt, R.A. (1997) "Town centre versus out-of-town shopping: a consumer perspective", International Journal of Retail & Distribution Management 25, 2, 78-89.
- Assefa, G. and Frostell, B. (2007) "Social Sustainability and Social Acceptance in Technology Assessment: A Case Study of Energy Technologies", Technology in Society, 29,1, 63-78.
- Aydın, D. (2009) "Alışveriş Merkezlerine Karşı Alışveriş Caddelerinde Canlılık: Bahçelievler 7. Cadde (Aşkabat Caddesi) Örneği", SBP482 Undergraduate Thesis, Gazi Uni. Dept.of City&Regional Planning, Ankara.
- Biol, G. (2005) "An Alternative Approach for Analysis of Traditional Shopping Spaces and A Case Study on Balıkesir", Trakya University Journal of Science, 6,1, 63-75.

- Çolak, B. (2008) Haber Dokuz, Dilde Yabancılaşma, Yozlaşma ve Unutulan Türkçe, [http://www.haberdokuz.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=225&Itemid=60](http://www.haberdokuz.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=225&Itemid=60)>19/01/2010.
- Eke, F., Sönmez, N. and Erol, D. (2000) "Merkez Oluşumu, Bahçelievler Alt Merkez Örneği", Gazi Uni., Scientific Research Report, Dept.of City&Regional Planning, Ankara.
- Hankins, K. (2002) "The Restructuring of Retail Capital and the Street", Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, 93,1, 34-46.
- Leo, P.Y., Phillipe, J. (2002) "Retail Centres: Location and Consumer's Satisfaction", The Service Industries Journal, 22,1, 122-146.
- Nahapiet, J. and Ghoshal, S. (1998) "Social Capital, Intellectual Capital and the Organizational Advantage", Academy of Management Review, 23,2, 242-266.
- Ogden, J.R. and Ogden, D.T. (2004) Retailing: Integrated Retail Management, South-Western College Publications, Chula Vista, CA.
- Simms, A., Kjell, P. and Potts, R. (2005) Clone Town Britain, New Economics Foundation Pub., London.
- Southworth, M. (2005) "Reinventing Main Street: From Mall to Townscape Mall", Journal of Urban Design, 10, 2, 151-170.
- Tekeli, İ. and İlkin, S. (1984) Bahçelievler'in Öyküsü: Bir Batı Kurumunun Yeniden Yorumlanması, Kent-Koop. Yayınları, Ankara
- Teller, C. (2008) "Shopping Streets Versus Shopping Malls- Determinants Of Agglomeration Format Attractiveness From The Consumers' Point of View", The Int. Review of Retail, Distribution and Consumer Research, 18, 4, 381-403.
- Temel, M. (2008) "Bahçelievler 7. Cadde'nin Yayalaştırma Potansiyeli ve Yayalaştırılmama Sorunsalının İncelenmesi", SBP482 Undergraduate Thesis, Gazi Uni. Dept.of City&Regional Planning, Ankara.
- Tokatli, N. and Boyacı. Y. (1999) "The changing morphology of commercial activity in Istanbul", Cities, 16,3, 181-193.
- Yalçınkaya, F. (2007) "Ankara-Bahçelievler Aşkabat Caddesi'nin (7. Cadde'nin) Yayalaştırılmasının Peyzaj Mimarlığı Açısından İrdelenmesi", unpublished



## TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC SPACE LEADS TO TRANSFORMATION OF NEIGHBORHOOD IDENTITY: A CASE STUDY FOR EVALUATING THE EFFECT OF URBAN SPACE TRANSFORMATION IN TEHRAN ON NEIGHBORHOOD IDENTITIES

**Majid Mansoor Rezaee FOUMANI**, MA. Student  
Azad Tehran Center University, Iran  
mmr\_udp@yahoo.com

**Shabnam ESMAEILI**, Urban Anthropologist  
Azad Tehran Center University, Iran  
shabnam.esmaeily@gmail.com

### **ABSTRACT**

*The aim of this article is to evaluate the effect of neighborhood public space transformation due to rapid urbanization in Tehran since 1960s, on the formation of neighborhood identity. In order to find the role of public spaces in enhancing neighborhood identities, two middle class neighborhoods with different spatial organizations are compared with each other: Nazi Abad a planned neighborhood and Mehran a typical unplanned neighborhood which developed through rapid urbanization.*

*Next, the effect of neighborhood public spaces on neighborhood inhabitants is evaluated from two perspectives: Perceptual dimension and social dimension. The findings indicate that planned spatial organization and various neighborhood public spaces result in stronger neighborhood identity. It enhances both perceptual dimension of neighborhood identity (place attachment) and its social dimension (sense of community). In contrast unplanned spatial organization which is the typical feature of Tehran neighborhoods leads to weak neighborhood identity.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

Before 1920, inside each "Mahalle" (urban neighborhood in Iran) we could find a variety of neighborhood public space. Some spaces were shared between some neighbors while others belonged to all residents of a Mahalle. Therefore, a basis was formed for different levels of social interaction between the inhabitants which consequently caused the neighborhood identity to improve.

After 1960s, Iran led itself to a more rapid rate in its process of urbanization. This transformation occurred because of brisk changes in social life, political structure and economic formations. As a result, a high level of rural-urban migration occurred. This process has intensified since 1976 (The IRANIAN revolution and the war between Iran and Iraq) and one can almost say that the city took a more persistent route in its process of mutation.

These rapid changes were the cause of great transformation in the form, function and identity of neighborhoods and their social structures much that they couldn't be called neighborhoods but merely as residential districts. Evident shifts in the spatial organization of residential areas and reduction of public spaces were the most

significant signs of this change. Tehran as the capital city of Iran is a good case study of this phenomenon. Due to the mentioned process of mutation, the quality and quantity of neighborhood public spaces have deteriorated and this has caused the fading away of neighborhood identities. There have been exceptions however; among these residential districts some few planned neighborhoods were constructed which hold various pockets of defined public spaces and activities.

This article seeks to explain the transformation of public space in the neighborhoods of Tehran and the role of contemporary public spaces in the identity of a planned neighborhood. This will be achieved through drawing parallels between two neighborhoods sitting within this metropolitan city: A fully planned and spatially organized neighborhood with a series of public spaces; and the other, an unplanned residential district which grew after the 1960s.

“Neighborhood identity” within neighborhood public spaces will be discussed in the context of the two examples as mentioned above by the theme of that of the *planned* and that of the *unplanned*. The two will be compared and analyzed in order to highlight the role of these spatial entities in the formation of identities and the social structures of our living space. The article argues that, despite rapid urbanization and great changes in lifestyles, neighborhood public spaces play a vital role in forming urban neighborhood identities.

### **Neighborhood identity**

Identity is a term used to describe an individual's comprehension of him or herself as a discrete, separate entity. This entity could be an ego or a social group. Sociologists, anthropologists and physiologists have defined two types of Identity: 1: self identity 2: social identity, which of course interrelate each other.

It is often argued that people need a sense of identity, of belonging to a specific territory, and/or a group in order to be able to function within the framework of their society. People used to define themselves through various features such as belonging to a special social or ethnic group, a territory etc. Neighborhood identity is one which belonging to a particular territory (Residential neighborhood in a city) is its main factor.

Relph(1976) mentioned that: it is not just the identity of a place that is important, but also the identity that a person or group has with that place, in particular whether they are experiencing it as an insider or as an outsider. Ardrey(1967) suggested that “the concept of inside/ outside is most easily understood in terms of territoriality, people's definition and defense of themselves – physically and psychologically- by the creation of a bounded often exclusive domain”. Knox and Pinch also echoed the importance of the notion of a territory: “Suggesting that people structure groups and define each other by distinguishing between ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ territoriality is frequently the basis for the development of distinctive social milieus, that moulds the attitudes and shapes the behavior of their inhabitants.”(Carmona, 2003,p:98)

Neighborhood identity as a sense of belonging to a particular territory, includes belonging to a community (people who live in one neighborhood) and to the territory as a place simultaneously. Two concepts of “community attachment” and “place attachment” are often used for defining these two aspects. Also it should be mentioned that these two aspects are not completely separable from each other.

Hummon (1992) argued that community attachment appears to be the most strongly rooted involvement in local social relations, however he also acknowledged( admitted) that the built environment might also contribute to such emotional ties if perceived in favorable terms”(Brehm, et all, 2006)

The above mentioned are different factors in examination of attachments to neighborhoods. Emotional factors, spatial perception factors and social factors are all used to examine levels of attachment to neighborhoods .Length of residence, localized social relationships, liking or disliking the neighborhood, tendencies to leave the neighborhood, having clear image of the boundaries of the territory are the factors which are being examined in various studies.

In the course of this research we have used these factors in order to compare the level of community attachments in two different neighborhoods in Tehran.

### **The role of neighborhood public space in neighborhood identities**

It has long been acknowledged that different housing neighborhoods acquire different social identities (Roberts, 1971; Harvey, 1973, 1992).( Douglas Robertson, et al). The creation of place or neighborhood identities is a complex and dynamic socio-cultural process. Various factors affect how housing neighborhoods gain a certain identity and let their inhabitants define themselves through it, like it and make their social relations within it. Length of residence, homogeneity/heterogeneity of residence, built environment, stigmas related to a neighborhood in common sense of a city etc. may affect the sense of attachment of people to their neighborhoods. These factors include social aspects and environmental (physical) features simultaneously.

According to Kasard and Janowitz model (1974), “long – term residence emerging as a strong indicator of increased sentimental ties to a local place. From this approach, community attachment appears to be strongly associated with social integration that develops with time, through interpersonal associations and localized social networks.” (Brehm, Joan M et al 2006). However, it is also worth mentioning that neighborhood public spaces are the milieu for social integration which develops with time. Public spaces provide social interactions and so are essential factors for shaping localized social relationships. There are possibilities of repeated interaction in the streets, parks or, if they exist, shops and pubs, helping to build local social networks. Crang (1998,p.103) suggested that “places provide an anchor of shared experiences between people and continuity over time.”(Carmona, 2003)

Environmental opportunities clearly affect what people can and cannot do. Human behavior is therefore inherently 'situational': it is embedded in physical and also in social, cultural and perceptual contexts and settings. Hence, public spaces as environmental opportunities are one of the most effective factors in the shaping of neighborhood identity. Some writers such as Jane Jacobs and William H. believed that : Good streets, sidewalks, park and other public spaces bring out the best in human nature and provide the setting for a civil and courteous society.(carmona,2003, p:109)

Many commentators have discussed how spaces affect people, their feelings and behaviors. (Ralph, Rappoport, Montgomery, Gehl,...)

There are three main categories in their discussions and each conceptualizes these categories in different manners. These 3 main categories are as follows:

- 1: Physical characteristics of space
- 2: activities which take place in space
- 3: meanings of space

Carmona in his book<sup>1</sup> refers to these 3 categories as morphological dimension, social and functional dimension and perceptual dimension. Relph (1974) argues that physical settings, activities and meanings constitute the three basic elements of the identity of place. According to Relph, the relation between people and place happens through the concept of the existence of a “sense of place”. Sense of place does not, however, fall into the 3 categories mentioned above but lies within layers of human interaction with these elements. Rapoport(1999) defines built environment as 3 organizations. 1: organization of space 2: organization of communication 3: organization of meaning. Lynch, has emphasized perceptual dimension. He mentioned that “We must consider not just the city as a thing in itself but the city being perceived by its inhabitants” (Lynch, 1960:3). His Concept, “imageability” refers to the physical characteristics of space and its effect on people’s perception of it.

Gehl illustrates how the environmental quality of public spaces affects the intensity of people’s use of those spaces. According to Gehl(1971) outdoor activities in public spaces can be divided into three categories: ‘necessary’ activities; ‘optional’ activities and ‘social’ Activities. The crux of Gehl’s argument is that when public spaces are of poor quality, only strictly necessary activities occur. When public spaces are of higher quality, necessary activities take place with approximately the same frequency – although people choose to spend longer doing them – but, more importantly, a wide range of optional (social) activities also tend to occur. (Carmona, 2007)

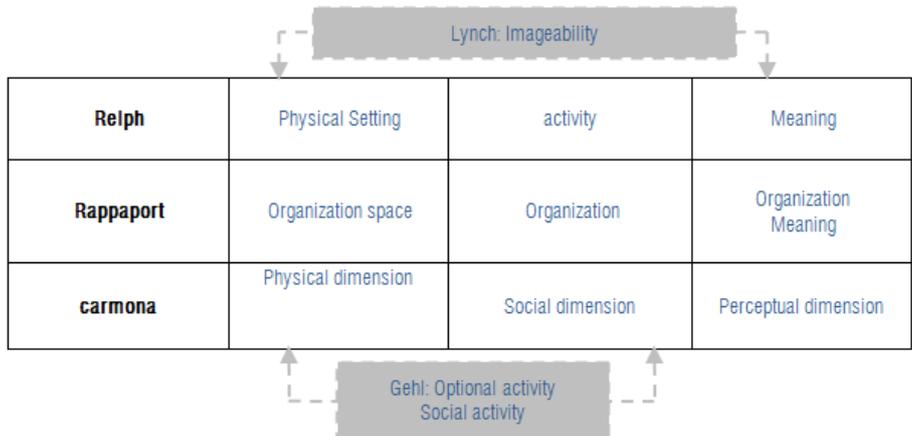


Diagram 1: Main 3 categories in analyzing how spaces affect people  
Reference: authors

In order to find and high lightthe role of public spaces in enhancing neighborhood identity, the indicators have been chosen according to these 3 categories. Diagram 2

1 Public places, urban space,(2003)

shows the relationship between public space and neighborhood identity from this article point of view.

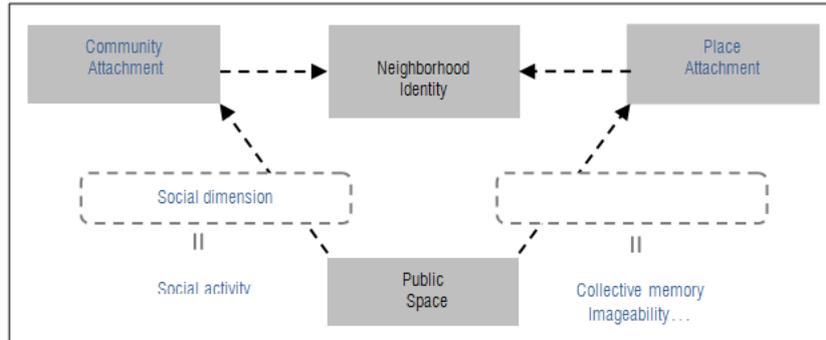


Diagram 2: The relationship between public space and neighborhood identity  
Reference: authors

## RESEARCH DESIGN AND APPROACH

This research focuses on two urban neighborhoods in Tehran: “Nazi abad” in the south west and “ Mehran” in the west of Tehran. These two neighborhoods were selected based on a great difference between their spatial organizations.

Both of them are middle class neighborhoods which have existed for more than 40 years, and at least two generations have lived there through this period.

### Study Communities

Nazi abad is a neighborhood, located at the south west of Tehran. The development of this neighborhood began from 1940's (the industrialization period of Tehran). It continued during 2nd Pahlavi dynasty and by 1960 it had become a complete neighborhood. The area was constructed based on an urban development plan in this plan all the public spaces and cultural/educational centers were considered. Its population is now 42874. Mehran is located at the west of Tehran. The development of this neighborhood began from 1960's. In contrast to Naziabad, “Mehran” wasn't constructed based on urban planning. Its development is the typical pattern of contemporary Tehran neighborhoods which have developed from 1960's till now. Its population is now 24940.

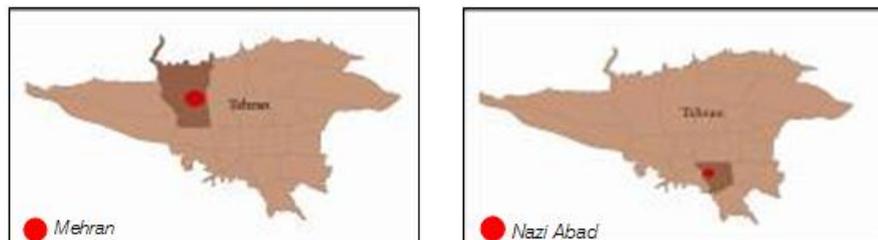


Figure 1: Location of neighborhoods in Tehran

### **Data collection**

Data presented in this report is the result of a survey done in May 2010 in the two neighborhoods. In each neighborhood 100 inhabitants took part in the survey. As people's relations with public spaces differs according to their age and gender, therefore quota-sampling method was selected for this survey. Samples were chosen based on the age pyramid of Tehran (according to national surveying 2007.)

### **Variable measurements and analysis Approach**

The analysis presented consists of two parts: The first section is focused on comparing the two neighborhoods in terms of neighborhood identity, and the second part evaluates the effect of public spaces on the establishment of different levels of "neighborhood identity" in these two neighborhoods.

According to this structure, the questions of the questionnaire were designed in two parts. The section of questionnaire designed to measure neighborhood identity included 6 questions. These questions addressed social and perceptual aspects of neighborhood identity. The main considered variables are:

- 1: length of residence
- 2: tendency to leave the neighborhood
- 3: sense of belonging to community
- 4: localized relationships

Because "length of residence" itself is argued as an important factor in forming a neighborhood's identity, in order to find out the effect of public spaces, the other 3 variables are compared between the part of the sample which had the longest length of residence also. (More than 15 years).

In the second part, in order to find out the role of public spaces 9 questions were asked. This part includes 5 items:

- 1: Imageability (conception of the neighborhood as a total visible form)
- 2: spatial features which respondents knew them as characteristics of their neighborhoods;

In this question people were asked to count the main features of their neighborhood and the number of respondents who mention public spaces and spatial features are compared in the two neighborhoods.

- 3: Diversity of activities and experiences in public spaces;

In this part respondents were asked to speak about their activities in terms of their neighborhood public spaces. The words they chose to explain their experiences and diversity of activities were the main element sought in their answers.

- 4: Social relations in public spaces

In this item, respondents were asked if they use neighborhood public spaces for visiting their friends.

5: The role of neighborhood public space in the formation of a neighborhood community's collective memory;

In this item people were asked if they come to neighborhood public spaces in national ceremonies or religious rituals. Iranian national ceremony "4shanbe souri" one of the New Year's(Nourouz) eve celebrations and Ashura the greatest religious ritual were the two main events which were asked about. In order to compare the two neighborhoods, each event is given 1 Weight and the number related to each respondent indicates the number of events that he/she attends in the neighborhood.

In order to fully comprehend how public spaces are playing a positive role in neighborhood identities, the spatial organization of each neighborhood is also analyzed. The spatial organization of each neighborhood, the distribution of public spaces in the spatial organization, their quantity and quality, variety of them according to scale and activity are the main items mentioned in this part.

## RESULTS

### Neighborhood identity

The analysis of neighborhood identity indicators in two neighborhoods (Nazi abad & Mehran) shows that the neighborhood identity in Nazi Abad is stronger than in Mehran. The all 4 evaluated indicators in Nazi Abad are in higher rank in comparison with Mehran.

The average length of residence in Nazi Abad is 28.6 years and is 11.2 years. In Mehran. 66% of respondents in Mehran tended to leave the neighborhood and live in another place if it was possible, while 35.5% of respondents in Nazi Abad had such tendency.

Two questions were asked to evaluate the respondents' attachment to the neighborhood's community. At first they were asked if they considered themselves as a member of the neighborhood's community. Then they were questioned about bad stigmas about their neighborhood. In Mehran 63.3% of respondents believed themselves as a member of the community and 32% showed reaction toward the bad stigmas, whereas in Nazi Abad 88.8% of all respondents identified themselves as a "Nazi Abadi" ( a person who belongs to Nazi Abad neighborhood), and 76.6% of them showed reaction toward bad stigmas. 50% of the sample society in Mehran has chosen more than half of their friends from their own neighborhood while this indicator is 70% in Nazi abad. (Figure 1)

By comparing 4 indicators (tendency to leave the neighborhood, sense of belonging to community, reaction toward bad stigmas, Having friends inside the neighbourhood) among those whom their length of residence in the neighbourhood exceeded 15 years, one can conclude meaningful differences between both case studies (Figure 3). It indicates that, as well as "length of residence", there are other factors playing a significant role in the establishment of neighborhood identities. Spatial organization and public spaces are factors which will be further analyzed in the next section.

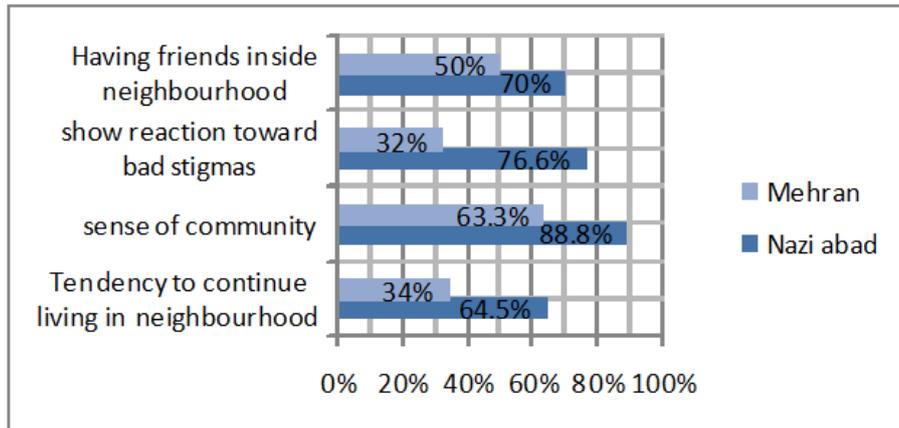


Figure 2: Neighbourhood identity factors

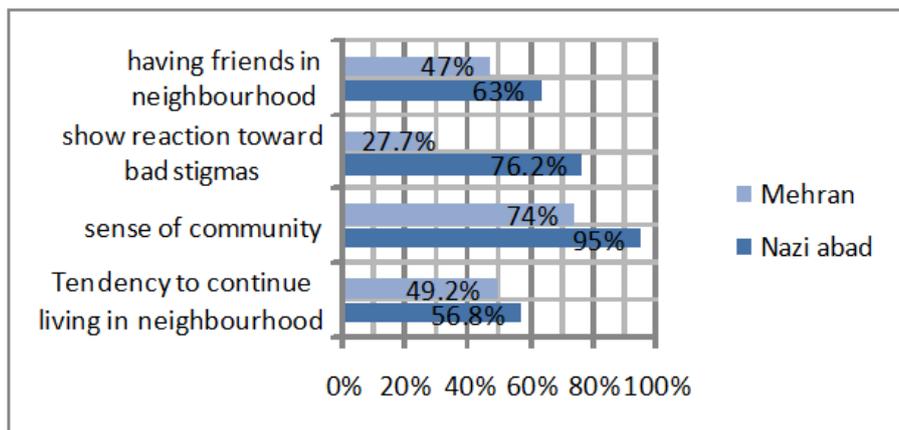


Figure 3: Neighbourhood identity factors among respondents with more than 15 years length of residence

## THE ROLE OF NEIGHBORHOOD PUBLIC SPACES IN NEIGHBORHOOD IDENTITY

### Spatial organization of Nazi Abad

Nazi Abad has been constructed according to an urban development plan. The neighborhood concludes 3 main zones: Residential zone in the south, industrial and cultural zone in the north. Two main streets are the main orthogonal axes of the spatial structure.(Figure 4)

There are two types of housing in Nazi Abad. In the north of the residential zone, there are 3residentialcomplexes,with wide and green open spaces between 4storey blocks, Hezar Dastgah, Farhangian & Police. The other part of the residential domain is laid out on the basis of repetition of cellular units.



Figure 4: Spatial organization of Nazi Abad  
Referenc: Author

In each unit, houses surround a public square.

This way of spatial organization on the city scale is essentially a redefinition of the open space pattern in traditional Iranian houses whereby the courtyard is the shared space between neighbors.

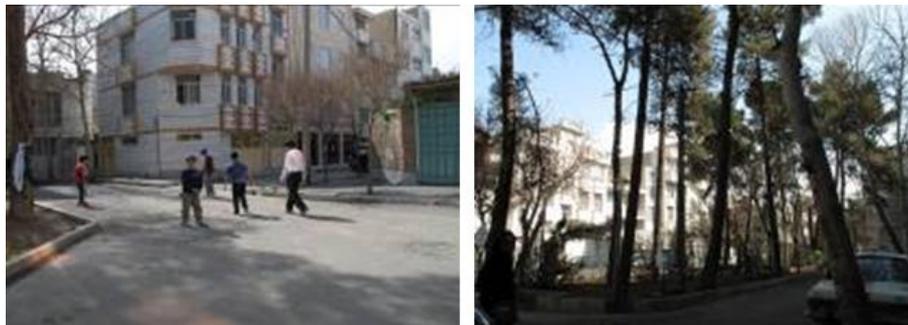


Figure 5 & 6: Nazi Abad Neighborhood public squares shared between neighbors  
Reference: Author

#### Distribution of public spaces in Nazi Abad

There are various layers and types of public spaces in Nazi Abad, examples of which are: parks, public squares, leisure axis, a cultural center and wide and green pedestrian paths.

Public spaces are distributed all over the neighborhood and there are pedestrian accesses to all of them. Wide and green pedestrians, encourage walking in the neighborhood.

#### Distribution of public spaces in Nazi Abad

There are various layers and types of public spaces in Nazi Abad, examples of which are: parks, public squares, leisure axis, a cultural center and wide and green pedestrian paths.

Public spaces are distributed all over the neighborhood and there are pedestrian accesses to all of them. Wide and green pedestrians, encourage walking in the neighborhood.



Figure 7: Distribution of public spaces in NaziAbad  
Reference: Author



Figure 8: Madae'n pedestrian



Figure 9: Sketch of madae'en pedestrian

Spatial organization of Nazi Abad has a powerful centrality in providing a community center for the neighborhood. Like any other neighborhood centre for each 'Mahalle' (Iranian old neighborhood), Nazi Abad's comprises a mosque, a public square and a Bazaar. The Central Public Square in NaziAbad is "Bazaar Dovvom" and "Mada'en"

street is a redefined version of Bazaar. Due to successful pedestrianization and a vast range of activities, these spaces have become dynamic and vital locations.



Figure 10: Sketch of Nazi Abad Neighborhood center  
Reference: Author



Figure 11: Nazi Abad main public square (Bazar dovcom)

### Spatial organization of Mehran

Mehran neighborhood has an unplanned spatial organization. The area has shaped its form according to street access network and land slope. The open spaces are not defined and are merely scattered in empty spots of land which were left un-used.

Abuzar Street divides the neighborhood in two separate parts and almost all of the public spaces and activity centers are in the south. Houses follow a terraced (A row of houses that are joined together) pattern.

### Distribution of public spaces in Mehran

Mehran neighborhood has two typologies of public spaces: Parks and a cinema. The other outdoor spaces are car oriented and do not form public realms.

In contrast to Nazi Abad, the spatial organization of Mehran has no center.

Access network in Mehran is car oriented and pedestrian traffic is more or less impossible because of the lack of pedestrians.

## PEOPLE'S RELATION WITH NEIGHBORHOOD PUBLIC SPACES

Comparing the results of the survey shows great difference in people's relation with neighborhood public spaces in the two neighborhoods. 5 factors are used for measuring the effect of neighborhood public spaces on inhabitants:

- 1: Imageability
- 2: spatial features which respondents knew them as characteristic of their neighborhoods;
- 3: Diversity of activities and experiences in public spaces;
- 4: Social relations in public spaces
- 5: Role of neighborhood public spaces in making neighborhood community collective memory;

Data analysis shows that, there isn't a common image of neighborhood, as a total visible form, among respondents in Mehran, Only 20.6% of them identify one specific zone as their neighborhood. The others have different images of their neighborhood. Some of them refer to the alley, some use the name of a street or highway to define their neighborhoods.



Figure 14 & 15 & 16: Some space in Mehran neighborhood  
Reference: Author



Figure 12: Spatial organization of Mehran  
Reference: Author



Figure 13: Distribution of public spaces in Mehran  
Reference: Author

On the other hand, in Nazi Abad, 51.3% of the respondents call their neighborhood "Nazi Abad", as an integral whole, and 48.6% of them besides calling their

neighborhoods “Nazi Abad”, pair it with smaller spatial identities inside “Nazi Abad”. For example they said: Nazi Abad, Atlasi Square.

By referring to smaller spatial identities besides the whole territory, it is evident that the perception of respondents in Nazi Abad from their neighborhoods is more vivid and clear. In comparison with respondents in Mehran who even didn't have a clear perception of their neighborhood as an integral whole?

Poor public spaces in Mehran caused less attention of inhabitants to spatial features of the neighborhood, as only 29.8% of respondents mentioned spatial features as their neighborhood characteristic, whereas in Nazi Abad, successful public spaces encourage intensive use of them, so Nazi Abad's inhabitants have a stronger spatial image of their neighborhoods. More than 50% of respondents mention spatial features for introducing their neighborhood.

The difference between the two case studies is apparent in the intensity of land use and types of activities. In Mehran, 43% of respondents do not use neighborhood public spaces and 57% use them. However, the inhabitants' acquired literature in explaining their experiences demonstrates limited use of the spaces. They only ever mention “walking” and “child play areas” as their optional activities in neighborhood public spaces.

In contrast in Nazi Abad, only 11.8% of respondents don't use neighborhood public spaces while 88.2% do. Narrations of respondents about their experiences in the neighborhood public spaces, include various optional and social activities, such as watching people, self appearance, shopping and window-shopping, night picnics with family, studying, playing etc.

Public spaces are known stages for social interactions and are tools for enhancing them. Comparing results of the question that asked ‘if they visit their friends in neighborhood public spaces or not, show the effect of different spatial organizations on inhabitants localized social relations’, shows that in “Mehran” 48% of respondents visit their friends in neighborhood public spaces most of whom are old men and women. Many adults and youth visit their friends outside the neighborhood territory. In Nazi Abad 68.40% of respondents have their social relations inside neighborhood public spaces. These respondents include the elderly, youth and adults.

The table No1, shows the result of the analysis of respondents answer to this question according to their age.

The last factor is the effect of neighborhood public spaces in creating collective memory for neighborhood community. There is a meaningful difference between the two neighborhoods according to this factor. In “Mehran” 64% of people mention events which develop collective memory for them, while in “Nazi abad” 71% of respondents mention at least 1 event. Therefore differences in quantity and variety of events is also noticeable. Respondents in Nazi Abad mention more various events than Mehran Inhabitants. In order to measure this difference, each mentioned event is given 1 weight. Comparing the total sum of weights in the two neighborhoods show the difference. The total sum of events in Nazi abad is 155 while it remains at 85 in Mehran.

Table1: Use of neighborhood public space according to Age

Age \ Neighborhood	Nazi abad			Mehran		
	Inside neighborhood	Outside neighborhood	Others	Inside neighborhood	Outside neighborhood	Others
15-19	69%	-	31%	33%	58%	9%
20-29	52%	32%	16%	43%	42%	16%
30-54	80%	6.5%	13.5%	35%	35%	30%
Up 55	91%	9%	-	66%	20%	14%

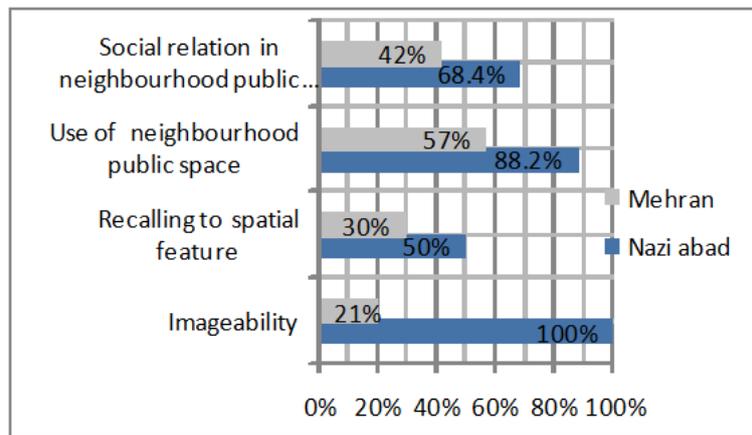


Figure 3: relation with neighborhood public spaces

### CONCLUSION

The rapid rate of urbanization in Tehran (after 1960) has resulted in a decline in the quality of Tehran neighborhoods' identity over time. The article argued that the transformation of spatial organizations of neighborhoods and their public spaces, because of a fast process of urbanization is one of the effective factors in decreasing neighborhood identity.

According to the survey, it appears that planned spatial organization and various neighborhood public spaces result in stronger neighborhood identity in Nazi Abad than in Mehran. Public spaces in these two neighborhoods affect people's relationship with their neighborhoods through both perceptual and social dimensions.

Diversity and appropriate distribution of public spaces in Nazi Abad affect the intensity of use of neighborhood public spaces which results in a more clear image and a sense of neighborhood for its inhabitants. Planned neighborhood identities enhance localized social relationships and support various activities happening in the neighborhood. With

a strong center acting as a core, various public events could happen inside neighborhood and these public (usually annual) events create more collective memories for Nazi Abad's inhabitants. These features result in more attachment to the neighborhood and increase a sense of community amongst them.

Finally according to this survey one can say that, neighborhood identity still could be meaningful in a metropolitan city such as Tehran if the role of public spaces is highlighted and given the attention it deserves within the spatial organization of public/residential domains.

## REFERENCES

- Ardrey, R. (1967), "The Territorial Imperative: A Personal Inquiry into the Animal Origins of Property and Nations", Collins, London.
- Brehm, J.M., Eisenhauer B.W. and Kranich, R.,S.,(2006), "Community Attachments as Predictors of Local Environmental Concern",American Behavioral Scientist,50, 1, 142-165
- Bridge, G., (2002) "The Neighborhood and Social Networks", CNR Paper 4, ESRC Centre neighborhood Research
- Carmona, M. and Tiesdell S. (EDS) (2007) "Urban Design Reader", Elsevier,
- Carmona, H., and Tiesdell,S, (2003), "Urban Places Urban Spaces", Architectural Press,
- Hesamian, F, Etemad, G.Haeri, M.R. (2004), "Urbanization in Iran", Agah Publication , Tehran (in Persian)
- Hummon, D.H, (1992), "Community Attachment: Local Sentiment and Sense of Place. in Altman, I. & LOW, S. M.(EDS), Place Attachment, NewYork, Plenum.
- Jarvis, R. (1980), "Urban Environments as Visual Art or Social Setting", Town Planning Review, 51, 50–66.Liverpool University Press.
- Kasarda, J.D., and Janowitz, M. (1974). "Community Attachment in Masssociety",American Sociological Review, 39,328-339.
- Rapoport, A. (1999), "Spatial Organization and Built Environment", in, Ingold, T.(1999), Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology, London, NewYork,Routledge, 460-502.
- Relph, E. (1976), "On the Identity of Places", in Relph, E. (1976), Place and placelessness, pion, London, 44–62.
- Robertson D., Smyth, J. and Mcintosh, I.(2008), "NeighborhoodIdentityPeople, Time and Place", Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- Tibbalds, F. (1992), "Places Matter Most", in Tibbalds, F. (1992), Making People-Friendly Towns: Improving the public environment in towns and cities, Longman, Harlow.



## PERSISTENCE AND GENTRIFICATION IN RATTANAKOSIN, BANGKOK

Heng Chye KIANG, Prof.

National University of Singapore, Singapore  
g0800533@nus.edu.sg

Nayada NAKHASIT, PhD Student

National University of Singapore, Singapore  
yaduse@hotmail.com

Davisi BOONTHARM, Dr. Assistant Professor

National University of Singapore, Singapore  
davisi@nus.edu.sg

### ABSTRACT

*This paper focuses on the changing use patterns of public space and the perceptual difference between the two urban situations: 'persistence' and 'gentrification'. The chosen locations of the case studies are in Saochingcha and Banglamphu (particularly its now-famous Khaosan Road) districts, where living connections within the past coexist with practices of the urban transformation. Here, the paper discusses the historical background of Rattanakosin, its transformation since 1782 with an emphasis on the recent changes (after 1982) by focusing upon the relationship between use patterns of public space and the pace of urban form. It presents an observation on the use (or practice) of public spaces driven by global forces and the associate values system which enhances everyday life within the two distinct examples of persistence and gentrification in Rattanakosin. The spatial and social conditions in both districts are also examined as well as the pace, the boundary and the spatial practice of the urban transformation are discussed in this paper. As a result, the comparative study of these two examples not only led us to confirm the factors which contribute to these differences, but also led us to define the differences of use patterns and the associate values within those public spaces.*

### INTRODUCTION

Through the 1980s rapid economic growth, regional and urban planners were compelled to reconceptualise the metropolis to acknowledge the spatial dynamics of the economy, labour force activity and land-use change (Askew, 2002). Since 1982, just after Rattanakosin bicentenary celebration, it has been confronting significant transformations. The Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) and Thailand Authority Tourism (TAT) projected Rattanakosin as the main tourist destination, which led to the establishment of several state investments. The architectural heritage such as palaces and temples of Rattanakosin is also an important factor that appealed and contributed to the tourists come to Bangkok to visit the famous monuments. These aspects added to the prominent image of Rattanakosin. Apart from this, intensive tourist industry directly effected rapid urban transformation of Bangkok in the past three decades. In this context, urbanization and the new notion of globalization heavily influenced Bangkok that is clearly indicated by the sense of urban transformation. Its

consequences generated the new emerging forms of contemporary communities in Thailand and the new urban phenomena.

This paper presents and discusses the changing use patterns of public space by comparing the perceptual difference between the two urban situations: 'persistence' and 'gentrification'. The chosen locations of the case studies are in Saochingcha and Banglamphu (particularly its now-famous Khaosan Road) districts, where living connections within the past coexist with practices of the urban transformation. These two case studies are obviously different examples to identify the relationship between public spaces and their practices within the context of Rattanakosin old town. The two districts are separated by Rachadamnoen Avenue (the most prominent axis in Rattanakosin). However, the two districts experienced different transformations, the changing use patterns of public space in Saochingcha district is driven by local practices, whereas that in Banglamphu district was driven by globalization. What actually is the striking difference of socio-spatial patterns between Saochingcha and Banglamphu districts? By choice, that investigation did not indicated the problems or seek the solutions. Rather, it engaged directly and openly with many ways of thinking forms of their practices, encouraging a more expansive vision of socio-spatial patterns within the new emerging forms of contemporary communities in Thailand. As a result, the comparative study of these two examples not only led us to confirm the factors which contribute to these differences, but also led us to define the differences of use patterns and the associate value within those public spaces.

The main body of the paper consists of four sections. The first section explains a brief review of theoretical frameworks regarding the urban transformation that related the globalization and localization systems. Its reflections contributed to the emerging of urban phenomena, 'persistence' and 'gentrification'. The second section describes the historical background of Rattanakosin and its transformations since 1782 with an emphasis on the recent changes (after 1982), by focusing upon the relationship between the use patterns of public space and their practices within the case studies. The implications of persistence and gentrification on changing use patterns of public space in Saochingcha and Banglamphu districts as revealed in the actual socio-spatial patterns are discussed in the third section, and finally conclusions are drawn in the fourth section.

## GLOBAL AND LOCAL

In order to understand the changing use patterns of public space in Saochingcha and Banglamphu districts, first I will be necessary to look at the urban development and the transformation of cities. A good account can be found in *The Transformation of Cities: Urban Theory and Urban Life* by David C. Thorns (2002), which describes about globalization that has been a key to transformation in the last three decades. Globalization is not a product, something that has now happened but an interrelated set of processes, economic, social, political, cultural and ecological, that are continuing to shape the world in which we live. For some, global processes have impacted upon the local in ways that have reduced our ability as individuals, families and communities to shape our lives. For others, resistance is still possible and in fact a very significant part of the global world (David, 2002). After considering the point argued by David, it can be said that the urban transformation works within the two systems – globalization and localization system. I would argue that these systems contributed to the

emergence of the urban phenomena in Rattanakosin that consists of the two current situations – persistence and gentrification.

Viewing the current academic and broader discourse on cities, term *gentrification* has become a valuable lens through which to examine a variety of intersecting phenomena in a city and/or neighborhood context. In *Gentrification* by Loretta, Tom, and Elvin (2008) describe stage models of gentrification. In their book, the authors found the asserted that one of the reasons due to which stage models of gentrification were developed to cope with the temporal variations in gentrification that were already apparent in the 1970s. Gentrification stage models were designed to represent gentrification in an orderly, temporal, sequential progression. Risk is the center stage in these models, for in the first stage or pioneer stage, risk-oblivious households are seen to move into risky neighborhoods. The pioneer gentrifier works in cultural professions, is risk oblivious, wants to pursue a non-conformist lifestyle, wants a socially mixed environment, and rehabilitates his or her property using sweat equity. Then more risk-conscious mainstream professionals move in, some with young families. Realtors and developers start to show an interest, and as property prices increase the original residents might be pushed out. Over time, older and more affluent and conservative households move in, attracted to what is now safe investment. Eventually, gentrification is seen to stabilize at an endpoint of mature gentrification. In addition, Loretta, Tom, and Elvin point out that gentrification is seen as a positive result of a healthy real estate market, and 'the market' is always understood as the solutions, not a problem. In short, the interurban scale to which the expansion of gentrification worldwide, is directly related to the rise of service-based economies and the shifting functions of central cities.

Although urban is usually a dynamic system that can be seen in term of gentrification, but the term of persistence also occurred parallel into the gentrification context. David (2002) describes that the urban resistance in many cities has formed around the conflict between global and local agendas. The incorporation of cities into the global economy exerts new pressure upon land values and uses and may thus force locals out of these areas, as we know in term of gentrification. This forced displacement has led to various struggles. However, David suggests that the strength of the local communities and neighbourhoods builds a social cohesion and a clear strategy. This would further alter the outcome of urban development successfully and create more acceptable solutions for the present residents, thus modifying the impact of globalization upon their locality and the social movements as the route to political power. In this paper I would use the persistence conceptual opposition of gentrification within the localization and globalization systems that is reflected on the representations of place as a framework for understanding the changing use patterns and meaning of public space in Saochingcha and Banglamphu districts (see Figure 1).

## THE CHANGING USE PATTERNS OF PUBLIC SPACE AND REPRESENTATIONS OF PLACE

The changing use patterns of public space in Rattanakosin can be described through the urban development which involves the two different force systems: the local and global systems. Both systems have influenced the representations of place and social practices in which the communities in Rattanakosin have been structured. These different use pattern systems contributed to in part shaping and transforming the urban

morphology of Bangkok that can also be a new emerging form of socio-spatial patterns. The result of which generated the current urban situations in Rattanakosin: the persistence and gentrification situations.

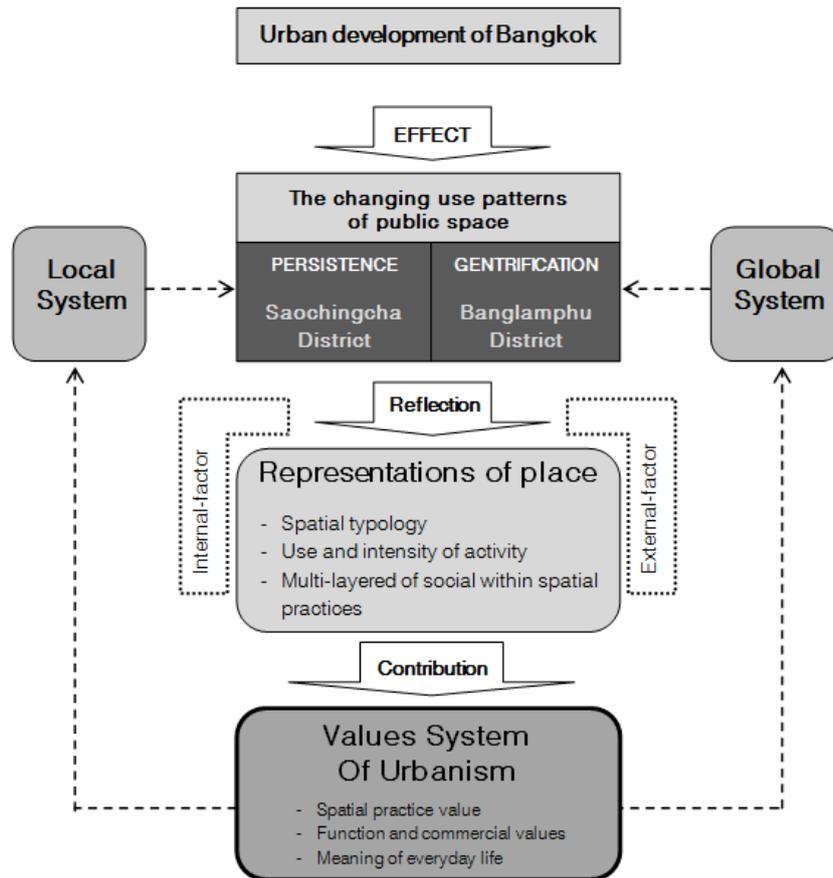


Figure 1 A conceptual framework for understanding the changing use patterns and meaning of public space in Saachingcha and Banglamphu districts of Rattanakosin

The evolution of urban development of Bangkok can be generally divided into four stages chronologically; however, each stage overlaps, and none of them has completely superseded the previous one (Cohen 1985; Kasama 2004). Kasama and Davisi (2008: 176) describe that "the first stage began in 1782 when Bangkok, a village along a waterway, was established to be the capital city of Siam (the former name of Thailand). The beginning of the second stage was marked by the shift from water-based settlement to land-based developments in 1857, when a new urban element, the "Western Street", was first introduced, and was subsequently followed by tramways and railway lines. The third stage began after WWII and accelerated in the 1960s when Bangkok primarily developed industrial activities and modern ways of living. The fourth

stage has been unfolding since the 1980s, when capitalism and globalization began to saturate the capital city”.

Further in this paper, I draw on the above-mentioned four stages to examine the use patterns of public space in Rattanakosin by focusing on Saochingcha and Banglamphu districts in order to understand its transformation. I will further look at the type of spatial activities and the hierarchy of socio-spatial uses that are associated with local practices in each stage. The three distinct categories of spatial activities can be defined into three main types: necessary activities (transport & commercial activities); optional activities (recreational activities); and social activities (Gehl, 1998). The hierarchical use of public space could be defined into three main types: the community level; the city level; and the international level.

### **1782, Bangkok as Water-based Settlement**

Rattanakosin was founded by King Rama I of the Chakkri Dynasty in 1782 and always a centre with rich culture heritage. It has been located at the eastern bank of the Chao Phraya River and surrounded by Banglamphu and Ong Ang canals which had already been dug in the Thon Buri Dynasty (Takashi, 1993). Rattanakosin started as an aquatic area of life that was named as the Venice of the East. Most of residents lived an agrarian lifestyle along intricate networks of waterways. Water was their source of life. The waterways not only facilitated everyday life, agricultural activities, trading activities, and cultural and spiritual beliefs, but they also provided the primary means of transportation and communication, lacing many local communities together (Kasama and Davisi, 2008: 177). Generally, these settlements were laid out densely along the waterways with their practices.

By the early period of Rattanakosin, the use patterns of public space between the two area studies: Saochingcha and Banglamphu could be divided into two distinct main types of activities, the necessary activities (transport & commercial activities) and social activities. The local used marketplaces for trading and exchange of goods and these commercial activities played an important role of necessary activities in agrarian village life. The marketplaces during this period were land markets and floating markets (Kiat et al., 1982). The floating markets were generally located at the junctions of the crisscrossed waterways such as Khlong Banglamphu Floating Market. The canal vendors used boats as mobile commercial spaces, and carried and sold everyday household goods and agricultural products along water circuitry. “When many of them gathered together at a specified time, usually very early in the morning, they transformed a waterway, which was normally used for transportation into a transitory floating market” (Kasama and Davisi, 2008: 177). Furthermore, because of the land marketplaces relied on the waterways for conveying and loading goods, they were often arranged in the areas close to the piers and boat-landings, where the land system met the waterways (Kasama and Davisi, 2008). Hence, the river and canals played an important role in necessary activities with local practices.

There were several religious institutes such as Buddhist temples, a Hindu temple, Thai Muslim mosques and Chinese shrines constructed within Saochingcha and Banglamphu districts, which were used as active community centers for vibrant social practices and traditions. In addition, the temple grounds and the village grounds were also used as periodic land marketplaces where temporary stalls were assembled and mobile vendors gathered temporarily transforming the ground and pathways into commercial space (Kasama and Davisi, 2008). Hence, it can be suggested that the

relationship between the use patterns of public space and local practices during this period were closely with the waterways and the religious institutes. These places served the two hierarchical of use of the public space, i.e. the city and community levels.

### **1857, Bangkok as a Civilized City: From Water-based Settlement to Land-based Development**

From 1782 until the reign of Rama IV (r.1851-1868), the traditional canal and river-based transport infrastructure of Bangkok supported the commercial expansion of the post-Bowring period, serving to link the provinces to the capital and the various districts of the city (Askew, 2002). The Choa Phraya River played a vital role as a gateway for maritime trade. The river strengthened the role of the capital city as a center of international and regional markets (Kasama and Davisi, 2008). In 1857, as a consequence of the British Bowring Treaty in 1855, the first sign of a formal land-based development had been introduced in Bangkok. This new development was based on Western idea of street, wide enough for vehicles and appropriate for international commercial patterns under the colonial influences, connecting the port with the city (Nid, 1982), which soon followed by the construction of railway lines and tramways (Kasama and Davisi, 2008). This rapid development resulted in the new settlements along the newly constructed road networks. Hence, it can be argued that the road was an important factor for urban transformation and morphology of Bangkok.

Since the land-based development began in 1857, the function of waterways as the main arteries for communication and transportation was gradually replaced by road (Korff, 1992). As part of the Ratchadamnoen Road construction, the wide avenue of Ratchadamnoen Klang separated the Saochingcha district from Banglamphu district. Thus, the relationship between the use patterns of public space and local practices were also gradually transformed. This also affected the use patterns of transport activities from the water-ways to the land-ways. Nevertheless, Kasama and Davisi (2008) argue that although many new roads were constructed, the everyday life of the commoners was still based largely on water transport and local trade, mobile street and canal vendors, and traditional marketplaces. Horse carriages were used mainly by the elites, rich merchants, and Westerners whose lifestyles were based more on international trade culture than on local tradition.



*Figure 2 A water-based settlement and Land-based development that brought up Bangkok to a modern city.*

*Source: Chanin Visessittikul, 2004.*

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

By the early twentieth century, physical boundaries of local neighborhoods became more clearly defined by the cutting of the new roads, which began to encircle the old settlements (Askew 1993a). In 1861, the first generation of shop-houses in Bangkok was constructed in a reinterpreted style derived from Penang and Singapore (Naengnoi 1996; Nid 1982). The acceleration of shop-houses development in the reign of Rama V (r.1868-1910) brought up to urban expansion and became a symbol of urban development and have characterized the urban environment of Bangkok ever since (Naengnoi et al., 1991; Santi 1978).

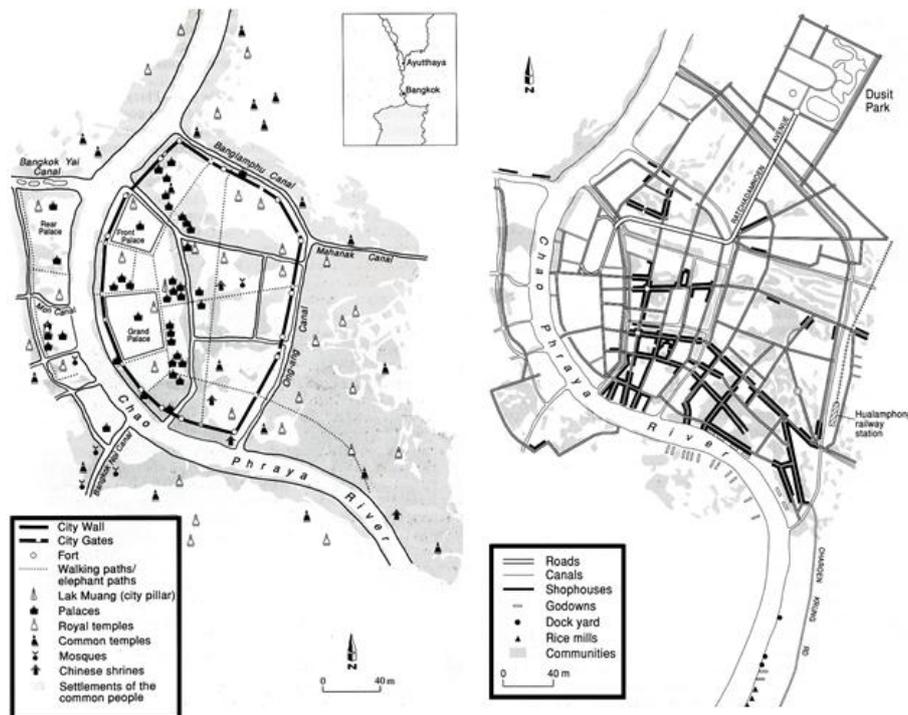


Figure 3 Left: Rattanakosin c. 1820, showing principal settlement areas; Right: Rattanakosin c. 1910, showing road networks and shop-houses development.  
Source: Askew (2002: p.21, 32)

Apart from this transformation at the end of the 1920s, the use patterns of public space in the way of local marketplaces started to move from floating along the waterways to being more stabilized on land, and movable stalls become more sedentary such as Saochingcha market at Saochincha district and Yot market at Banglamphu district. During 1940s, some shop-houses combined with local marketplaces and other kinds of entertainment activities such as theatres, thus producing the first generation of commercial places in Bangkok (Davisi, 2001) and generated the new forms of socio-spatial patterns ever since. For instance, Saochingcha Market was prospered in the time of Rama V. The market dealt in even metal decorations besides various food articles for everyday life. A gambling house (*rong bon*) was also set up around this market for gatherings. In addition, the owner of the gambling house asked another person to build a theatre to play a Thai opera (*lakhon*) in order to invite more people to

the house (Takashi, 1993). During the reign of Rama VI (1910-1925), Khaosan Road in Banglamphu district was the major rice market in Bangkok. Chaloem Krung Theatre adjacent to Saochingcha district was famous for the introduction of new American cinemas during the early twentieth century. Hence, it can be stated that the relationship between the use patterns of public space and local practices during this period not only consisted of the necessary activities (transport & commercial activities) and social activities, but also consisted of the optional activities (recreational activities) that enhanced the quality of life during those times. The hierarchical of use of public space in this period included the community level, city level, and it had also been gradually served to international level.

#### **1945, Post-WWII: Bangkok as a Modern City**

Rapid urbanization of Bangkok started after the second world war. During 1950s, the waterway networks and agrarian lifestyles were increasingly perceived as something out of date, whereas roads and land-based development presented an image of modernity and progress, introducing a modern automobile-oriented way of life (Kasama and Davisi, 2008). During 1960s, the government policy of modernization was generally tied to large-scale development, thus cooperating with overseas capital and private funds as a powerful mechanism for 'growth' (O'Connor 1989). As the result of rapid urbanization, it led to a depopulation of the inner city area. The nobels also moved their residences from the central part of Rattanakosin to the outlying areas such as Sukhumvit, Phya Thai, Dusit, etc. The old inner city area became readily available for either public buildings or immigrants from both rural areas and abroad. The transition from the 1960s to the 1970s was also seen in the change from a relatively compact city confined in a settled area, to an automobile and road-based city, displacing the former canal-based infrastructure (Askew, 1993b), along with a substantial increase in the number of private cars (Sternstein, 1982). Modern housing estates and department stores, affordable to the middle class, became a signifier of the modern lifestyle in Bangkok. As a sequence the most of use patterns of public space had been changed by modernization concept. For instance, Saochingcha Market was abolished in 1954-5 by BMA and then the site of it was turned to vast space for sports (Takashi, 1993) and it changed again to the city hall plaza in 2002. Likewise, Banglamphu district has increased the level of trading activity and it has also taken on new functions in response to the changing relations of Bangkok with the outside world, notably through international tourism (Askew, 2002). Hence, it would claim that various use of public space during this period not only served to the community level and city level, but also served to international level. The relationship between the use patterns of public space and social practices consisted into three main types of activities, the necessary activities (transport & commercial activities), social activities, and optional activities (recreational activities) in which these activities had been driven by economic competition.

#### **1980s, Bangkok as a Global City**

The dimensions of Bangkok transformation from the modern city to the global city started in the 1980s when globalization, marked by the influx of footloose overseas investment, saturated the capital city. Kasama and Davisi (2008) suggest that this period could be seen as a continuation of the third stage, but in a more explosive and massive way. An attempt to become a successful Newly Industrialized Country (NIC) in the early 1990s, which focused on drawing overseas capital into the country, led Bangkok to present itself in such a way as to attract foreign investment.

During this period, an important characteristics of the urban development of Thailand is that 'national integration is based on a center which itself is increasingly integrated into a global network' (Korff, 1996). Since 1982, just after Rattanakosin bicentenary celebration, it has been confronting significant transformations. The BMA and TAT projected Rattanakosin as the main tourist destination, which led to the establishment of several state investments. The architectural heritage such as palaces and temples of Rattanakosin is also an important factor that appealed and contributed to the tourists come to Bangkok to visit the famous monuments. Its results contributed to the rapid urban transformation within the local and global forces systems in which generated the economic boom in Thailand at the end of the 1980s.

It is important to note that the relationship of socio-spatial patterns in Bangkok was not only associated with local system, but also related with global system. Although the present-day public spaces of Rattanakosin can be seen in co-existence with overlapping layers of different stages of urban development, but as described earlier in this paper, the post world war II: Bangkok as a modernization influenced the changing use patterns of public space as we see them now. Hence, I would argue that the use patterns of public space in Rattanakosin consisted of two main types: persistence and gentrification. As a consequence, the present-day use patterns of public space are composed of diverse spaces and activities of various scales, which are driven by local practices and globalization. In the next section, I will investigate and illustrate changing use patterns of public space that found in the everyday life of Saochingcha and Banglamphu districts in the particular ways of persistence and gentrification.

## PERSISTENCE AND GENTRIFICATION OF SOCIO-SPATIAL PATTERNS

To understand how use patterns of public space reflected the representation of places with their practices into the terms of persistence and gentrification within Saochingcha and Banglamphu districts, I used field observation and secondary data. Utilizing thematic analysis to search for distinct use patterns of public space, three major attributes were identified: spatial typology, use and intensity of activity, and multi-layered of Social within Spatial Practices. These three characteristics can also be reflected to the values system of urbanism in contemporary communities of Thailand.

### **Spatial typology**

Saochingcha district (the area of the old Shiva swing) lies in the eastern section of *Khet* (Districts) Phranakhon, the old commercial center in the reign of Rama V. In administrative terms this settlement area comprises the three subdistricts (*khwaeng*) of Khet Phranakhon named San Chao Pho Sue, Racha Bophit, and Samran Rat. This area was wedged between Rachadamneon Klang Avenue, Ongang Canal, Klong (canal) Lot Racha Bophit, and Khumuengderm Canal. On the other hand, Banglamphu (particularly its now-famous Khaosan Road) lie in the northern section of *Khet* (Districts) Phranakhon, the boundaries of which encompass the old heart of Bangkok. In administrative terms this settlement area comprises the four subdistricts (*khwaeng*) of Khet Phranakhon named Talat Yot, Bowoniwet, Chana Songkhram and Ban Panthom (Askew, 2002). This area was wedged between Banglamphu Canal, Rachadamnoen Klang Avenue, Chaophar Road, and Chaophraya River.

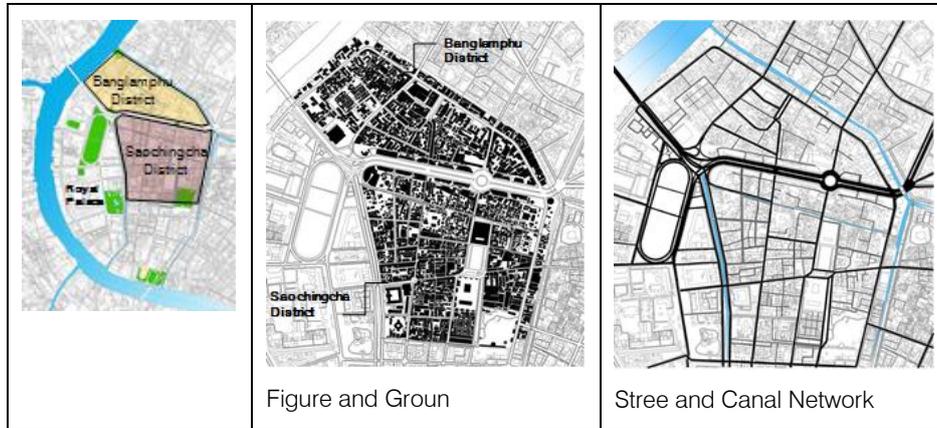


Figure 4: Site location (left), high-density of building and street networks of Banglamphu and Saochingcha districts

Rachadamneon Avenue, a magnificent road was constructed in these areas in 1899-1905, and the wide avenue separated the Banglamphu district from Saochingcha district as well. Nonetheless, these districts had been connected with one main road that runs along the north-south direction between these areas, thus, it consists of three roads: Tanao Road, Fuang Nakhon Road, and Ban Mo Road<sup>1</sup> (Takashi, 1993). Urban blocks in these areas enclosed by the main roads were generally laced by the network of sub-systems, laneways (*Soi*), and alleyways (*Trok*). Some laneways were built by the state, branching out from the main roads; others were initiated by private developments and connected with public streets. Generally, these laneways were straight and wider than the snake-like pedestrian paths as they were developed when automobiles became a part of everyday city life (Kasama and Davisi, 2008). Within these areas, local systems such as Tuk Tuk and motorbike taxi operated, linking the places within the block itself and connecting them with the main streets (Cohen, 1985). Along the lines and at the junctions of the roads in Saochingcha was found a 'neighborhood business strip' in which consisting of small shops, retail shops, a few old restaurants, medical services, catering to the basic needs of the local livelihood. While Banglamphu was often found both a 'neighborhood business strip' and a 'city business strip' which consisting of internet cafés, tourism agencies, pubs and restaurants, convenient stores, etc. These businesses in Banglamphu not only emerged along the side with roads, but also sprawled into the sub-system of the inner block in this area.

Thus by analyzing the above-mentioned processes, I would argue that the public spaces in Banglamphu are composed of diverse spaces of various scales, rather than Saochingcha. For instance, Santichaiprakan Park was founded BMA in order to celebrate the 72<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of the Rama IX in 1999. It is located in the north of Banglamphu district, along the side with Chao Phraya River. In addition, there is also included Phra Sumeru Fortress that was recently renovated to a part of this park and became to a landmark in this area. Khaosan Road also played on the major public

<sup>1</sup>At that time of the construction the road (1863) was called Fuang Nakhon Raod. But, at present, the road are divided into three sections, named respectively according to the place-names of each section, that is, Tanao or Ban Tanao, Fuang Nakhon, and Ban Mo (Takashi, 1993).

space of this area that consisted multi-function along the road. On the other hand, public spaces in Saochingcha are not composed the diverse space as found in Banglamphu, rather it consists of obvious spaces such as the City hall plaza, Saranrom Park, temples, and San Chao Phor Sua (the Chinese shrine). Here, it would claim that in Banglamphu district not only uses the Santichaiprakan Park is a public space but also uses Khaosan Road and many alleyways as a public space with their practices. In short, the spatial typology of Banglamphu associated with their practices into various scales, rather than Saochingcha. Likewise, the network of sub-systems especially the alleyways that have been gentrifying upon the commercial value were also found in Banglamphu, rather than Saochingcha.

### **Use and intensity of activity**

Banglamphu was famous for its market and a number of key products and specialist shops such as the traditional medicines, silverware, etc. By the late 1980s Banglamphu was described by the Lonely Planet guide as a 'World Traveler Centre' (Cummings, 1987). Viewed from tourist web sites, Banglamphu today is widely represented as an international space, a gathering place for young budget travelers with all the facilities they need: restaurants, internet cafés, travel agencies, trinkets and accommodation (Askew, 2002). These activities bring the change and gentrification of Banglamphu to support these demands. The guesthouses that once confined to Khaosan Road, expanded further north across Banglamphu Canal, as well as eastward behind Rachadamnoen Avenue and west around Wat (Temple) Chana Songkhram to encompass the area of Trok Kaichae and Trok Khieniwat. In addition, as a leisure precinct Banglamphu has undergone considerable change towards commercialization, with specialist pubs and music bars emerging on Khaosan Road and also sprawled to the network of sub-systems in this area. The mobile vendors usually used laneways and alleyways for their trading such as trinkets, T-shirts, backpacks, fruits, food, etc. Some of them even adapted the wall between alleyways for hanging the goods stalls. Yet the use patterns of public space along the Khaosan Road not only used by the tourists, but also used by several mobile/street vendors. The use patterns of public space in Saochingcha were found on the main type of social activities of the locals. Along the line of the Rachadamnoen Avenue, the wide footpaths played on an urban public space that they used the area into various functions: shared taxi stand, lottery stalls, stroll along the boulevard, and so on. The major node of mobile/street vendors in Saochingcha was found around the BMA guidelines, while Banglamphu they usually can be seen them as dispersed through the transport network systems. Several mobile/street vendors have been using footpath along other street networks in Banglamphu area for their daily trading activities.

It is interesting to highlight here that there are many interesting activities take place on Banglamphu district. The function of the community in that area is in continuous thus, continuously and rapidly changing its objective through time, while Saochingcha has gradually changed. Here, I would found that Banglamphu district as the symbolic dimensions of consumption in Rattanakosin, while Saochingcha as the symbolic dimensions of reminiscence of old Bangkok.



*Khaosan Road at Banglamphu district*



*Bamrung-Mueng Road at Saochingcha district*

*Figure 5 the use patterns of public space in Banglamphu and Saochingcha districts*

### **Multilayered of Social within Spatial Practices**

After the post-WWII marked a turning point in the history of the Saochingcha and Banglamphu districts, as it did for many settlements and immigrants in Bangkok. After the war the population rose dramatically, while wealthier people moved away from the area (Askew, 2002). This moment of original inhabitants generated various groups of people within Saochingcha and Banglamphu districts. The intensive of tourist industry also played on a major key of increasing a number of tourists especially the young foreign backpacker tourists that they as an important role of changing use patterns of public space in Banglamphu district.

Saochingcha was much crowded with new immigrants from rural areas and others that the amenity of residences in this area remarkably deteriorated. The area from San Chao Pho Sua to Soachingcha intersection on the west side of the road were reserved for the palaces<sup>2</sup> in olden days, and then was turned to be the laneways and the tenements in the course of time, which showed a vital aspect of urbanization, that is, from a palace to common houses. It has been argued by served studies earlier that multi-groups of people contribute to multi-uses of public spaces. Here, by using the two cases—Saochingcha and Banglamphu districts. I have tried to demonstrate that in Banglamphu area, the old palaces are now converted to shops/café serving its new urbanized users but still have physical connection with the past. Whereas, in Saochingcha area the earlier royal residences are now demolished and gave way to the tenements area for the middle-class population. The realtors on realizing the increased potential in financial terms of these old palaces in Banglamphu area, gentrified them as the contemporary concept of living/rising the built heritage. This place later became a sought after area with a perfect mix of the old city and modern lifestyle with several pubs and restaurants, several cafés and restaurants also. Hold art exhibitions, thus making them plus of major appeal to several people. This being another example of multi-layered of social activities, multi-layered of spaces, and multi-layered of times within contemporary communities of Thailand.

<sup>2</sup>The palaces in Saochingcha consisted of Prince Sapsat Suphakit's Palace, Prince Narathip Praphan's Palace, and Prince Phutharat Thamrongsak's Palace.

## CONCLUSIONS

After considering the theoretical reviews and the two distinct case studies of the use patterns of public space within urban transformation, I would argue that the set of processes, economic, social, political, cultural, and ecological have been a key to urban transformation of Thailand. It can also be said that globalization is one of the most effective system to accelerated urban gentrification. Likewise, the tourism industry has a significant part in economy reinforcement and urban transformation of Bangkok. Since 1982, Bangkok has developed as a global city in which tourism played an important role, which resulted in rapid economic growth of Thailand. The intensive tourism industry bring the change and gentrification of Banglamphu district. Here, I would extend this concern with how people make space for themselves through everyday practice and imaginative spatial tactics. The changing use patterns of public space in Banglamphu contributed to emergence of new values system effects associated with their places. Thus, public spaces and urban form of Banglamphu became valuable not only in the economic and functional values, but also as symbolic and sign of place-making for backpackers. It is interesting to note that those spaces in the alleyways of Banglamphu became more meaningful in different ways in which they have a new use with their practices. Nonetheless, although gentrification has positive in their example but at the same time Banglamphu lost its original population and was replaced by new users uses. The local character of Saochingcha district shows 'persistence' as represented into use patterns of public space that are associated with their practices as an everyday life.

The investigations reveal that new forms of local identity are emerging, based on a complex alchemy resulting from the reaction between the culture of each locale, and the challenges with which contemporary urbanization presents it. It is interesting to highlight here that are many interesting activities take place on Banglamphu district. It shows the existing spatial systems have demonstrated the capacity to adapt and integrate new forms and functions. While Saochingcha shows the use patterns of public space with their practices gradually changed. Here, it would argue that such changes in Banglamphu have been driven by globalization, while such changes in Saochingcha have been driven by local system. Their common distinctive use patterns of public space can be seen in its spatial typology, use and intensity of activity, and multi-layered of social activities, all of which are reflected on representations of place in which driven by local system and globalization. These processes contributed to values system of urbanism. It would be claimed that the values system of urbanism consists of the functions and commercial values that reflected on the representations of place within global city and became the meaning of everyday life.

## REFERENCES

- Askew, M. (1993a) "The Banglamphu District: A Portrait of Change in Inner Bangkok," Bangkok, Thailand: Development Research Institute.
- Askew, M. (1993b) "The Making of Modern Bangkok: State, Market and People in the Shaping of the Thai Metropolis," Bangkok: The 2010 Project.
- Askew, M. (2002) "Bangkok: Place, Practice and Representation," London: Routledge.
- Chanin, V. (2004) "Changes of urban social life in Rattanakosin Island, Bangkok," Bangkok: Master thesis, Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University.

- Cohen, E. (1985) "A Soi in Bangkok: the Dynamics of Lateral Urban Expansion," The Journal of the Siam Society, 73:2, 22.
- Cummings, J. (1987), "Thailand – a Travel Survival Kit, South Yarra," Victoria: Lonely Planet.
- David, C. Thorns (2002) "The transformation of cities : urban theory and urban life," New York : Palgrave.
- Gehl, J. (1998) "The form and use of public space," Paper for European transport conference, Loughborough University, England, 16 Sept. 1998.
- Kasama and Davisi (2008), "Mobile Vendors: Persistence of Local Culture in the Changing Global Economy of Bangkok," in Local sustainable urban development in a globalized world, 13, 175-201.
- Kiat Chivakul., et al. (1982) "Talat Nai Ktung Thep: Kankhayai lae Kanplianplaeng," [Markets in Bangkok. Growth and Change] Bangkok, Chulalongkorn University Press.
- Korff, R. (1992) "Bangkok: Urban System and Everyday Life," Saabruken: Verlag Breitenbach.
- Loretta Lees., et al. (2008) "Gentrification," New York: Routledge/Taylor&Francis Group.
- Naengnoi, S. (1996), "Palaces of Bangkok: Royal Residences of the Chakri Dynasty," Bangkok: Asia Books.
- Naengnoi, S., et al. (1991), Ong Prakob Tang Kayapab Krung Ratanakosin," [Physical Components of Rattanakosin] Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press.
- Nid, H. (1982) in "Ratanakosin Bicentennial Ceremony," Vol.1, Chulalongkorn University.
- O'Connor, R. (1989) 'Form "Fertility" to "Order", Paternalism to Profits: The Thai City's Impact on the Culture-Environment Interface,' in Culture and Environment in Thailand Bangkok: D.K. Printing House.
- Santi, C. (1978) in "Faculty of Architecture" Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University.
- Sternstein, L. (1982) "Portrait of Bangkok," Bangkok: Bangkok Metropolitan Administration.
- Takashi, T. (1993), Reminiscences of Old Bangkok: Memory and the Identification of a Changing Society, Supplement to the Bulletin of the Institute of Oriental Culture, The University of Tokyo.

## SPATIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION OF THE TURKISH COMMUNITY IN DEVENTER, THE NETHERLANDS

Özlem GÜZEY, Associate Professor  
Gazi University, Turkey  
odundar@gazi.edu.tr

Nevin GÜLTEKİN, Assistant Professor  
Gazi University, Turkey

Ogan KIRSAÇLIOĞLU, Instructor Doctor  
Gazi University, Turkey

Erman AKSOY, Research Assistant  
Gazi University, Turkey

Ela ATAÇ, Research Assistant  
Gazi University, Turkey

### ABSTRACT

*'Undivided city' is one of the basic objectives of current development strategies with the aim of integrating minority groups to the majority of population sometimes by destroying the ethnic identities in favor of social cohesion. One of the basic policies originates from discussions on ethnic dimension of residential segregation/concentration. Local governments propose developing heterogeneous/mixedhousing areas shaped by the renewal efforts. These kinds of policies consider a linear relationship between the concentration of different social groups (ethnic and/or social status groups) in housing areas -even if it is by law- and social cohesion and more precise a linear relationship between ethnic concentrations and the rising element of xeno-racism. The contemporary debate about the status of immigrants witnesses outbreaks of xenophobia/xeno-racism by a popular imagination of strong concentrations of muslim communities as 'threats to security'. In other words there is a linear relationship between the neighborhood effects – the behaviour of individuals are directly related with the neighborhood in which they live – (Kauppinen, 2006) and social exclusion directed by xeno-racist movements and policy formations.*

*Central in these discussions is an assumption that the civil disturbances have been sparked by the immigrants who have lacked assimilation (Cheong, et al, 2007). In this regard, especially second and third generation immigrants are accepted to be socially and economically excluded more with respect to their parents within the current economic conditions and their identity expectations in between their origins and the cultural sovereignty of a European Union country. However, destroying their social ties with their communities is in fact destroying their support in an environment in which they are excluded. Researchers prove the fact that there are other factors such as economic restructuring, transition from welfare society to market mechanisms, urban history, general housing policy and cultural orientation, in the residential segregation of immigrants (Deurloo, Musterd, 2001). Anti-immigration policies on the contrary, result in the empowerment of social solidarity networks reidentified within a system of ethnic and/or belief formations and strong (sometimes violent) resistance.*

*The aim of this study is to put forward the reasons of segregation and/or concentration of the immigrant Turks in the case of Deventer/the Netherlands to discuss policy concerns of social cohesion in a culturally diverse society. Thus social inclusion is clarified with an evaluation of the factors of segregation and concentration within the forms of 'institutional racism'.*

## INTRODUCTION

In many European countries, the popular imagination is currently being haunted by images of a Europe swept by foreigners, perceived as 'welfare-scroungers', 'job-snatchers' and 'threats to security' (Economist 2000 in Laachir, 2004). This new form of racism is related to what Balibar calls 'external groups', the ones blamed for crossing 'the threshold of tolerance', some of whom have been living and integrating (despite their cultural difference) in Europe for a long time (Balibar 1997 in Laachir, 2004).

The phrase further implies the 'belief' that strong concentrations of immigrants or ethnic minorities in specific places (or ghettos) constitute an obvious reason for social conflict. This argument is based on the (so far unproven) hypothesis that ordinary people become racists as a reaction to the increased visibility of immigrants (King 1995, Silverman 1992 in Laachir, 2004).

However, it has to become clear to a future European public consciousness that the European Union will need at least 1.6 million migrants a year to ensure the continuity of its workforce (Economist 2000 in Laachir, 2004). Europe's economy though prospering relies on an ageing population. Thus Europeans will have to face that immigrants are necessary and 'desirable' and that xenophobic fears of the 'other' must be overcome (Laachir, 2004).

### **Xenophobia/Islamophobia**

Xeno-racism is used to describe the new racism that has emerged across Europe over the last ten years, especially following September 11, and is directed at those who, displaced and dispossessed by globalization, and are being thrown up on Europe's shores (Sivanandan, 2001 in Fekete, 2004). It is xeno in form in that it is directed against foreigners irrespective of colour; it is racism in substance in that it bears all the hallmarks of demonisation and exclusion of the old racism – and the mechanisms that set that foreign-ness in situ are legal and structural and institutional (Fekete, 2004).

In Slisli's words (2000 in Fekete, 2004) national security creates an exaggerated degree of fear and an exaggerated degree of threat in the name of "islamophobia". The Muslim, in this view, foments conflict: violence, war, militancy, terrorism, cultural dissension. He is a traditionalist, pre-modern, in the tradition of racial historicism difficult if not impossible to modernize, at least without ceasing to be 'the Muslim'. Thus it will be the duty of governments to overcome this problem mostly with the help of integration policies. However integration as used in most European government policies brings with itself the notion of "melting in a pot of uniqueness" irrespective of ethnical characteristics defined within a system of community networks also helpful to maintain in a foreign living environment.

Researches prove the fact that immigrant community networks are mostly structured with the elements of religious unity. Muslims have the solidarity networks that will bring participation in different areas. These networks will not be active if they give up the unity of Islam. In fact, destroying their social ties with their communities is destroying their

support in an environment in which they are excluded. Government policies in favor of integration pushing them to melt in a pot of uniqueness may further increase the tension between the excluded and the others. Upper level relations are determined by prejudice: Muslims claim that the Europeans are the partisans of freedom and faithless, the Europeans however judge Islam for being reactionary and terrorist. As a reaction to the assimilationist policies of the European governments it is interesting that there is an increasing tendency of especially the third generation immigrants coming from Islamic countries to the radicalization of Islam and isolation from the mainstream society.

### **Segregation or Concentration?**

Segregation is frequently based on race and ethnicity (Ratcliffe, 1998). Ethnicity includes factors such as cultural roots, 'religion and memories of a shared life,' and the sharing of an ethnic heritage is a significant criterion for living in the same space (Ratcliffe, 1998). Feeding on these cooperation patterns, socially excluded ethnic minorities mostly differ from the rest of the society spatially in urban space. Residential segregation becomes obvious when the members of a group are dense in some locations above the average and very scarce in others.

In line with the Neo-Weberian approach, housing is a scarce resource and different groups' access to this resource is also relative. Individuals differ from one another according to their power in the housing market (Rex, 1996). According to this approach, immigrants disperse into specific houses and specific neighborhoods based on their general preferences and constraints.

The debates that followed are constituted in two schools: the school of limitations and the school of ethnicity (Ratcliffe, 1999). According to the school of limitations, minorities suffer from the process of exclusion. Accordingly, the inadequate housing conditions with which the minorities face is results of external factors which are the elements of racist discrimination in the individual or institutional structure (Ratcliffe, 1999).

Yet a weak exclusion theory brings forth an inadequate and uni-dimensional explanation: for example, regarding racism as the single cause of exclusion treats minorities as a single group regardless of their internal differences (Ratcliffe, 1998). In fact, these groups are not only culturally/ethnically different from the others but they also differ among themselves with respect to class, age, place of birth and sex, (Ratcliffe, 1998; Özüekren, Van Kempen, 2002; Musterd, 2005).

However, the foremost positive aspect of residential concentration is that it eases the desired cooperation in the unfamiliar living space. It provides the continuation and development of social relations. These social relations help protect the cultures of those groups which are outside the values and norms of the majority culture (Portes, Sensen, Brenner, 1993). This opportunity contributes to social development (Burgers; Wilson and Portes; Saunders and Nee; Portes and Zhou; Bailey and Waldinger qtd. in Van Kempen, Özüekren, 1998).

Yet with the advent of the 21st Century, it is usually the negative effects of spatial segregation that are emphasized. Those who live in these spaces are restrained from participating in the larger society fully as their options in the housing market are limited. Writers specifically emphasize the fact that exclusion and concentration limit peoples participation in the civil society. This limitation is a result of the lack of interaction between the related individuals and institutions. In the point of view of Burgers (1997), concentration of the long-term unemployed in a certain space makes unemployment

inveterate. Those who live in concentrated spaces acquire a negative image in the society in the course of time. These results in the creation of self-feeding discourses and these spaces come to be regarded as places of shared wretchedness and as isolated places which are deserted by the majority of the society. This desertion not only physically but also intellectually destroys the empathy between the larger society and those who live in these spaces (Van Kempen, Özüekren, 1998).

### CASE STUDY: SEGREGATION OF THE IMMIGRANT TURKS IN DEVENTER, THE NETHERLANDS

Deventer which is located in the southwest of the Netherlands takes place in the Overijssel Region with an area of 135 km<sup>2</sup> (Figure 1). It has a population of 96.458 (in 2006) which is composed of 78,9 % local, 12,4 % non-European and 8,6 % European ethnic groups, Turks having the biggest share (6,7 %) in non-European ethnic groups (Figure 2). Turks are also the most segregated/concentrated ethnic group in Deventer.

According to the questionnaire results, for the majority of Turks (90%) living in Regions 2, 3, and 4, and for 57% of those in the 1st Region, Deventer is the first place of settlement in the Netherlands. This indicates that those who arrived in the Netherlands for the first time chose locations which are densely populated by the Turks. They also (43% in the 1st Region, 23% in the other Regions) moved in with relatives. On the other hand, those Turkish immigrants who settled in Deventer afterwards, mostly (70%) preferred the city center where they would live alongside foreigners.



Figure 1. Location of Deventer in the Netherlands

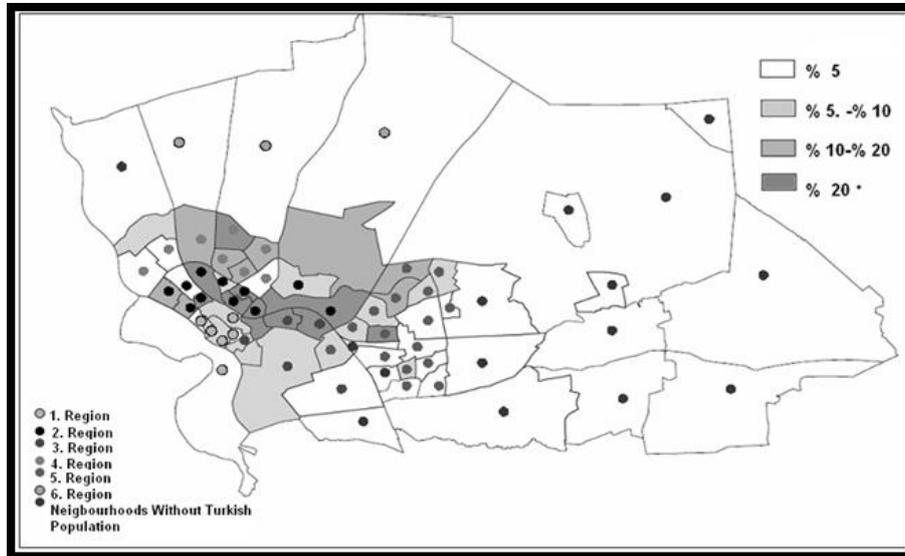


Figure 2. Population distribution of groups in Deventer, which are not Dutch and the Turks

In Region 2, the Turkish population, which was 926 in 2004, has increased to 2492 in 2006, thereby indicating that the majority of Turkish immigrants arriving in Deventer in this two-year period has settled in this region.

In Region 3, the ratio of the Turkish population to the neighborhood population is the highest (21.4%), whereby those who are not Dutch (3564 persons) constitute approximately 45% of the Region's population. Moroccans and the Surinamese also reside here. Despite sharing the same religion, Turks do not establish communication or everyday relations with the Moroccans because of the Moroccans' tendency to commit crime and violence. Living areas in this Region, which is named as "Dertalan" (trouble area) by the Turks, consist of housing awaiting demolition, a primary education school mostly (92%) attended by Turkish children, a small trade center where traditional Turkish food is sold, and a Turkish style coffeehouse where men spend time.

#### Internal Factors

Internal factors of spatial segregation and/or concentration are explained by demographic structure, education level, economic structure and social and cultural structure.

#### Demographic Structure

The Turks living in Deventer are a young population (50.3% at or under 24). As a tool to strengthen social ties, marriage is realized at a high rate (57% in the 1st Region, above 70% in the other Regions).

#### Education Level

The education level of Turks displays an increase (50 %) parallel to double citizenship. In Region 1, education beyond the high school level increases with double citizenship. In the other Regions, the rate of Turks' participation in education is around 30%. While

the education level of the 1st Region, which has a low segregation level, increases, that among those living in segregated neighborhoods decreases.

A primary school teacher:

“[...]Ghettoization applies not only to the adults but also to the children. ... schools are replaced by Turkish associations whose training is not appropriate to this country although their defense zones may be powerful.”

Under these circumstances, training in Turkish and in religion is provided by the mosques and/or other Turkish associations (Photo 1).



Photo 1. Turkish Immigrant Children being Trained at a Mosque

Nevertheless, from the point of view of Turkish immigrants, it is not the Turks but the Dutch who create segregation:

“[...] With the arrival of Turks, the Dutch stopped sending their children to these schools which are, today, named as Turkish schools. As such, the children and the parents had no Dutch friends left in these schools.”

A Turkish immigrant:

“[...] When the Turks first arrived in the Netherlands, they were significant. Later on, the circumstances changed. First, the teachers alienated the students. Yet, the segregation in schools is not the only barrier in education. The first generation who are, at most, elementary school graduates and who have not improved themselves here are not helpful in the training of the new generation.”

### ***Economic Structure***

Turks are socio-economically at a middle or low level (13.600-14.600 € annual income per person, in the Netherlands 16.423 €).

Of the Turks living in Region 1, 43% are retired, 14% receive social benefits; the rest are paid workers and there exists noone with a poor financial status. In the 2nd Region, paid workers (34.5%) and the retired population (11%) constitute an important

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

percentage. Regions 2 and 5 are the areas in which the most people depend on social benefits as a means of income (20%).

Turks in Region 1 hold professional careers or are retired; in Region 5, they are mostly workers and professionals, and in the other Regions, they are workers.

Most of the Turkish women are not working, not contributing to the family economy. Different individuals evaluate this from different perspectives.

An official in a Turkish Association:

“Turkish women who arrived in The Netherlands as housewives had difficulty finding jobs as they were not educated and they refused to work in marginal jobs (such as cleaning stores, babysitting, and the like).”

A politician with Turkish ancestry:

“Although there are approximately 300.000 open posts in The Netherlands, 600.000 are unemployed in the country. Regardless of sex, the unemployed are mostly those who retired early or those who are ill.”

An official in a health institution:

“Social benefits are abused among the Turks starting with the first generation. When factories started to lay off workers, both women and men found ways of achieving early retirement due to incapacitation. Due to these negative examples, the young started to retire early and live on social benefits rather than working.”

**Social and Cultural Structure**

Among the Turks, transition to dual citizenship is common (approximately 60%). While dual citizenship is foregrounded in all the Regions, it is concentrated among the 45-60 age group and mostly the first generation; in Regions 2 and 3, it displays an even distribution, and in the 5th region, it is concentrated among the 31-45 age group (Table 1). While there exists no one in Region 1 with solely Turkish citizenship, this rate is around 30% in the other Regions. The rate of those who are only Dutch citizens is 14.3% in Region 1, 10% in Region 5, and an average of 3% in the other Regions. The fact that the rate of dual citizenship and Dutch citizenship is high in Region 1 may be taken as the first sign of assimilation.

Table 1. Citizenship According to Age Groups

Age Groups	1. Region			2. Region			3. Region			4. Region			5. Region		
	TC	Dual Citizen	Holland	TC	Dual Citizen	Holland	TC	Dual Citizen	Holland	TC	Dual Citizen	Holland	TC	Dual Citizen	Holland
-18								5,2							
18-30							6,1	10,2	3,4	13,8	32,2		2,5	20,0	5,0
31-45	8,3		8,5	12,0	22,4		17,1	19,7	7,6	10,5	18,4	2,3	7,5	32,5	2,5
46-60	8,3	66,7	8,2	17,2	25,7		12,4	8,8	1,4	5,2	7,2		20,0	7,5	2,5
60+				5,5	11,9			8,1		5,2	5,2				
Total	16,6	66,7	16,7	34,7	60,0	5,3	35,6	52,0	12,4	34,7	63,0	2,3	30,0	60,0	10

The new generation speaks Dutch better. Those who speak Dutch very well make up 71.4% in Region 1, 43.6% in Region 2, and 56% in Regions 3, 4, and 5 (Table 2). Nevertheless, teachers claim that even if Turkish students speak the Dutch language well, they will not be successful as they cannot think in this language

Table 2. *The Proficiency in Dutch Language among Children according to the Language Spoken at Home*

Languages		Missed	Very Good	Good	Bad	Intermediate	Total
1. Region	Both Languages			14,3			14,3
	Dutch		14,3				14,3
	Turkish		57,1				57,1
	Total	14,3	71,4	14,3			100
2. Region	Both Languages		32,7	0,9		6,5	40,1
	Dutch		0,9	18,2		2,7	21,8
	Turkish		10	24,5		3,6	38,1
	Total	6,4	43,6	43,6		6,4	100
3. Region	Both Languages	1,3	24	12		1,3	38,7
	Dutch		1,3				1,3
	Turkish	1,3	32	16	1,3	2,7	53,3
	Total	9,3	57,3	28	1,3	4	100
4. Region	Both Languages		41,9	11,6		4,7	58,1
	Dutch		2,3				2,3
	Turkish		11,6	23,3			34,9
	Total	2,3	55,8	37,2		4,7	100,0
5. Region	Both Languages	4,2	41,7	20,8			66,7
	Dutch						
	Turkish		14,6	14,6		4,2	33,3
	Total	4,2	56,2	35,4		4,2	100,0

Turks living in Deventer frequently define themselves as Turkish but being Muslims is also a significant identity element. While the Turkish-Muslim identity is not accepted in Region 1 where integration is dense, 34.4% in Region 2 and 34.9% in Region 4 display the highest rates, which go down to 18.7% in Region 3 and 4.2% in Region 5. Throughout all the Regions, 55% of the 30-45 age group prefer only the Muslim identity (Table 3).

Table 3. *Definitions of Identity*

Identities	1. Region	2. Region	3. Region	4. Region	5. Region
Turk from Deventer	28.6	3.6	2.7	9.3	4.2
Muslim from Deventer	0.0	6.3	8.0	9.4	12.6
Turk from Holland	14.3	1.8	2.6	2.3	2.1
Muslim Turk from Holland	0.0	0.9	5.4	16.3	20.9
Turk	42.9	32.7	42.7	2.3	35.4
Muslim	0.0	14.5	9.3	25.6	20.8
Muslim Turk	0.0	35.4	18.7	34.9	4.2
Multicultural	14.3	0.0	6.6	0.0	0.0
Missed	0.0	3.6	4.0	100	100

A majority of the young living in Deventer do not define themselves as Turks. In the view of non-governmental organizations, children of Turks who are forgotten in The Netherlands by the Turkish government could become neither Dutch nor Turkish,

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

thereby being left in-between in relation to identity and life style (42% of the 18-45 age group define themselves as from Deventer or as Dutch-Turkish).

### ***Social Life and/or Socialization***

In Regions 2, 3 and 4, a rather enclosed life style is carried out (50%), and customs and traditions (religious holidays, circumcision, weddings, rituals of birth and death, and the like) are preserved according to denominational differences and transmitted to future generations. Yet the Turks living in Region 1 where they interact more closely with the Dutch drift apart from such habits.

The social life is limited to their rather infrequent participation in various courses, charity bazaars, associational activities, sports activities, and trips within the country or abroad (usually to Turkey) organized by religious associations. The most significant social activity for the community is shopping at the bazaar set up at the city center on Fridays and Saturdays. The bazaar is also an essential place for communication and for dining together (Photo 3). Apart from the bazaar, shopping is done at Turkish markets (Photo 4).



*Photo 2. Immigrant Turkish Women at the Bazaar at the City Center*



*Photo 3. Turkish markets in Deltaalan*

Socialization process changes according to their definitions of identity and to the environment in which they are with the Dutch. Almost half of those who define

themselves as “Turkish” and “Turkish-Muslim” and all of those who define themselves as “Dutch” or “foreign” indicated that they established close contacts with the Dutch. Only 10% of those who define themselves as “Muslim,” however, contact the Dutch closely, making it evident that those who define themselves through religion contact the Dutch less than the other groups. The proportional enormity of those who define themselves as multicultural or as Dutch in Region 1 is also traced in the level of close contact with the Dutch in business life.

It is observed that the Turkish immigrants' close contact level with the Dutch in Region 1, where the Turks seem to have become integrated at the urban scale, decreases as they move from the city center. In establishing contacts with the Dutch, the fact of “coming into this country alone,” which makes contact with the Dutch obligatory when there are no Turks in the close environment, is also as significant as integration, which 57% of those living in Region 1 have stated.

Business life is also an important factor in the socialization process. It is realized that the Turks living in Region 1 prefer the Dutch in business life and, for this reason, they are ahead in the adaptation process. Outside the 1st Region, business life-based friendship and fellowship can only develop if people are from the same ethnic background. Hence Sunnites, Alaouites, and immigrants with Eastern background are dissociated in business life, and the connections based on being from the same town become distinctive in business and social life-based relations. On the other hand, business owners prefer family management, and, therefore, their contact with others remain at the minimum level.

Turkish students have indicated that they did not make friends with the Dutch not only because of language but also according to the desire of their families and the Dutch. Hence, Turkish students, especially at vocational schools, become introvert and segregated from other students (Photo 3.4).



*Photo 4. Turkish Youth Dissociated from the Others at School*

Turks who prefer an introverted life style are able to socialize primarily with Turks, and especially with their own families and relatives, and through visits and religious activities. Religious associations and mosques are the places that Turks visit often and socialize. Consequently, as adaptation to the foreign country is established, solidarity based on religion decreases.

Religion is a significant factor throughout all the Regions in the case of participation in non-governmental organizations. There are 145 associations under the Federation of

Dutch Turkish Islam Culture Associations (HTIKDF), which is affiliated with the Dutch Trust for Religious Affairs. Turkish immigrants become members of these associations according to their religious denominations. Throughout the interviews, it was declared that the purpose of participating in these associations is not to enrich social life, which is true for the Dutch, but to achieve personal gain (receiving financial help, acquiring political power, and the like). There has been no membership traced among the Turks in any associations related to The Netherlands or to Deventer.

In relation to the institution of marriage, a major tool in socialization, 43% of the Turks in Region 1, 71% in Region 5, and 60% in the other Regions do not want their daughters to marry the Dutch. The basic reason for this has been explained as cultural differences in Region 1, and as firstly religion, then nationality and lack of trust in the other Regions.

All of those who define the treatment of the Turkish by the Dutch as hypocritical, discriminatory, degrading, and oppressive (60%) are those who have no contacts with the Dutch whatsoever. The fact that the same group has weak relations with other immigrants indicates that they become further introvert through discrimination. Only 1.3% of the Turkish immigrants regard the Dutch as friendly and 5.3% define them as "egalitarian and just." These attitudes become the most distinctive barrier in sharing a social life with the Dutch.

Thus the advantages of living in the same neighborhood is solidarity (38%) and neighborliness (20%). However, all of those who do not intend to return to Turkey (40%) suggested that spatial segregation does not provide any advantages, and that, on the contrary, it becomes a barrier in integrating into The Netherlands (Figure 3.3).

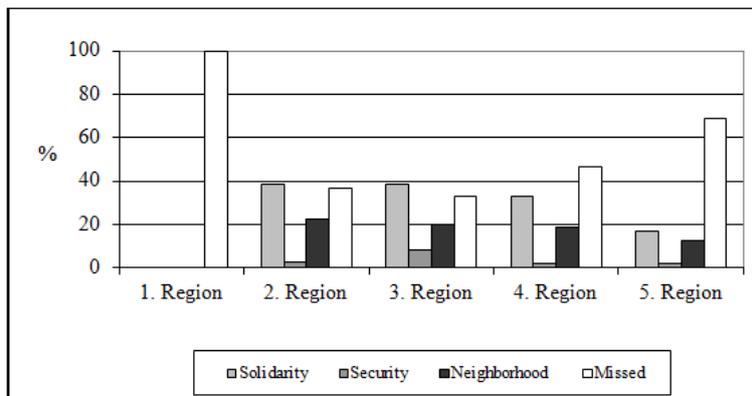


Figure 3. Advantages of Living in the Same Neighborhood with the Turks

There exists the concern that living separately would not be tolerated by the Dutch government (4.2%), which is another disadvantage (Figure 4).

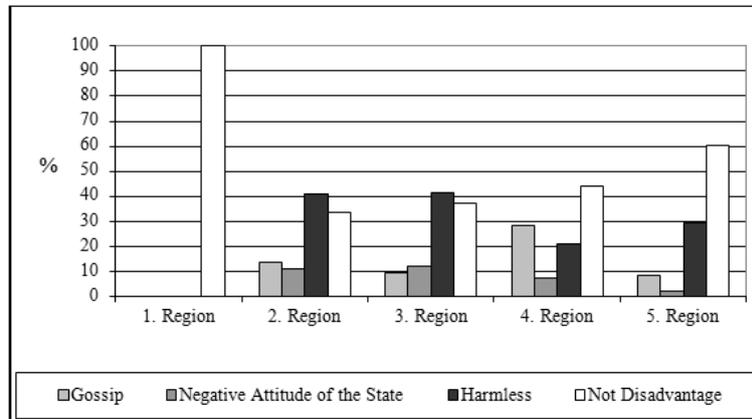


Figure 4. Disadvantages of Living in the Same Neighborhood with the Turks

### External Factors

In the integration process of the Turkish community, the external factors are as determinant as the reasons for spatial segregation/concentration stemming from within the community.

### Physical-Spatial Structure

In line with the housing policies of central management and of the State of Overijssel, in the regions where Turks are placed as immigrants, they have created living areas consistent with their own cultures. As such, Turks became dissociated by obligation in the 1960s and willingly in the 1980s, even surpassing the average population in some neighborhoods.

As such, Turks easily adapt to the housing policies and changes in The Netherlands. In the 1960s when they first immigrated, Turks lived in rented residences that the Municipality regarded as appropriate for them.

They usually prefer to buy houses through their desire to live in the environment they are accustomed to and with the ethnic group they belong to. The fact that houses for rent owned by the Municipality are sold for 20% less than the basic value (WOZ waard) determined by the market or related institutions has increased the Turkish immigrants' demands for these residences. Despite this practice that the Dutch mostly object to, Turkish immigrants who do not want to return to Turkey buy property through this system and regard this as a tool to make it easy for them to become permanent in The Netherlands. Hence Turkish immigrants who live together in houses owned by the Municipality as tenants and who carry over their life styles in Turkey into these neighborhoods have become or want to become property-owners in the same living areas. As these residential areas, known as Turkish neighborhoods, have lived through their physical life span, they will be demolished and rebuilt in line with the regeneration projects applied in these neighborhoods. Despite their inadequate financial standing, the Turks want to still be spatially segregated as an ethnic group, an outcome of their dependence on place. In other words, spatial segregation which started out as an

obligation through tenancy is now being sustained out of will through property ownership or the desire to do so.

***Policies on Immigration, Immigrants, and Integration***

The draft law from 1983 concerning minorities, which the Dutch government developed through the integration policies started in the 1970s, proposes that the immigrants keep their own religions, cultures, and identities, just like citizens with Dutch origins (Bendrif, Haney, 2004). However, despite its multicultural structure, The Netherlands, like many other European nations, has changed its attitudes towards the immigrants following events of terror (like the September 11 attacks) in which Muslims got involved and multiculturalism began to be regarded as a threat.

The immigration policies changing in Europe in the 1980s and afterwards have been discussed in relation to social and spatial segregation and as religion-focused ethnicity-based. In the period following the Cold War, as well, the role of hostility towards Muslims and ethnic conflict in the formation of terror and its effect on culture has been questioned (Henkel, 2004; Freilich, Guerette, 2006). The increase in organizational activities since the end of the 1980s and the increased relations between Muslim institutions with the local and central government cause the Muslim voice to be heard more, thereby strengthening integration (Grillo, 2004). With especially mosques and mosque associations becoming more prominent among institutions belonging to the minorities (McLoughlin, 2003), issues such as immigration, minority policies, and illegal immigrants have begun to be discussed throughout the whole of Europe. As a result, although being against immigration has triggered anti-immigration parties (which have 3 seats out of the 150) in the Dutch Parliament as well, this has not created a huge threat on behalf of the immigrants. However, the disappointment and complications caused by multiculturalism in the country have been made a current issue (Bendrif, Haney, 2004), and terror attacks have resulted in justifying those who are against immigrations and in causing negative reactions towards the immigrants. Thus through ethnic or religion-based clashes reinforced by developments of this kind, new policies have been designed against immigrants, and racism and discrimination are more severely carried out than before in The Netherlands, as well. Viewed from the perspective of the immigrants, religions become a special power in the development of social solidarity and social capital.

***Social (Dis)Integration and Return***

Social (dis)integration is the most important factor that determines the continuity of life in a foreign country and/or contentment. The majority of Turkish immigrants (60%) has indicated that the European Union's integration policies create a concealed pressure and that integration has been replaced by assimilation, also stating that developments like these hamper integration. In the 1st Region, even the Turks who have achieved progress in the integration process (71.4%) claim discrimination and assimilation to be continuing. Turks in Region 1 have evaluated the point of view of the Dutch towards the Turkish through these policies as getting worse (57.1%). Those in the other Regions mostly (72%) believe the situation to be getting worse (Figure 5).

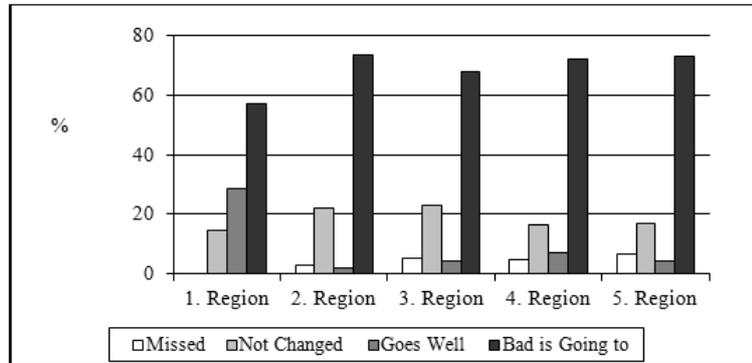


Figure 5. The Dutch View of the Turks

According to the living conditions and to the Dutch government's policies that encourage return, 60% of the Turkish immigrants have stated that, after retirement, they would like to live partially in The Netherlands and partially in Turkey. All of those who live in Region 1, 29% of those in Regions 2 and 4, and 22% of those in Regions 3 and 5 refuse to go back permanently. 42.9% in Region 1 and 10% in the other Regions want to remain in The Netherlands. For reasons such as getting tired of living in a foreign country and suffering from homesickness, 60% of the Turks want to return permanently.

According to a politician a permanent return to Turkey took place in the first years that immigrants came to The Netherlands, and then, for the second time, after the September 11 events in 2001. While foreigners not only in The Netherlands but throughout the whole of Europe were regarded as a part of the cultural mosaic until this date, afterwards they were treated as potential dangers, and this has further triggered dissociation and discrimination. The negative politics towards foreigners that were initiated in 2001 with these developments in The Netherlands, caused 3000 young people between the ages 20 to 25, who were born and educated in The Netherlands, to return to Turkey in 2006.

## CONCLUSION

The research findings prove the fact that Turkish immigrants in Deventer preserve their ethnic culture and identities and transmit them to future generations, and they live through difficulties in integrating to the native society because of their efforts to sustain these differences without transforming or adapting to place and time and of their resistance. Nevertheless in their integration problems, it is not only their sense of belonging based on ethnic structure and/or religion but also discriminatory policies that have become prominent in the post-September 11 period that are definitive factors.

Integration Problems: The second and third generation immigrants who have mostly overcome the problems of the first generation, live through difficulties related to preserving ethnic culture and identity and to discrimination. Yet in the community in general, the language problem, low education levels and economic negativities cause integration problems, and that this is related to the unskilled structure of the workforce as a result of low education. The fact that the Turks do not display any efforts in opening up to the outside, understanding others, and expressing themselves in these

ongoing social and cultural inconsistencies and in ethnic and religious clashes has been regarded as the most vital factor.

Discrimination Policies: While terms such as cultural mosaic is frequently used in political discourses, Turks are still defined as "immigrant workers" in Deventer and their inclusion in the society is not desired. The anxieties of the Dutch increase as being Muslim is an important factor in exclusion. In the recent years especially, the agenda for the Turks consist firstly of xenophobia, discrimination, difficulty of finding jobs, language problem, health and education services, and demand for housing, and secondly of prejudice and cultural differences and the related immigrant policies.

The fact that segregation is created as a result of reasons stemming from the ethnic groups themselves and from outside the community indicates that this concept is formed through multi-layered and complex relations. Cultural diversity requires that planning instruments be both sensitive to and responsive to the social needs of particular communities and any cleavage between social objectives and institutional instruments is further sharpened by multiculturalism (Qadeer, 1997).

## REFERENCES

- Amin, A. (2002). Ethnicity and the multicultural city, living with diversity. Report for the Department of Transport, Local Government and the Regions and the ESRC Cities Initiative, U.K.
- Bendrif, A., Haney, M., (2004), The Politicization of the Headscarf in the Netherlands, Humanity in Action, at <http://www.humanityinaction.org/publications/2004/bendrif.pdf>
- Bolt, G., Van Ham, M., Van Kempen, R., (2006), Immigrants on the Housing Market: Spatial Segregation and Relocation Dynamics, paper for the ENHR Conference, Slovenia.
- Cheong, P. H., Edwards, R., Goulborne, H., Solomos, J. (2007). Immigration, social cohesion and social capital: a critical review. *Critical Social Policy*, 24, 24-49.
- European Commission, (2009), Moving Europe: EU Research on Migration and Policy Needs, European Communities, Luxembourg.
- Fekete, L. (2004). Anti-Muslim racism and the European Security State. *Race and Class*, 46(1), 29.
- Freilich, J.D., Guerette, R.T., (2006), Migration, Culture Conflict, Crime and Terrorism, Book Reviews, *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management*, 16, 1, 246-247.
- Grillo, R., (2004), Islam and Transnationalism, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30, 5, 861-878.
- Henkel, H., (2004), Rethinking the dar al-harb: Social Change and Changing Perceptions of the West in Turkish Islam, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30, 5, 961-977.
- Kauppinen, T., M. (2006). Neighborhood in a European city: secondary education of young people in Helsinki. *Social Science Research*, 36 (1), 421-444.

- Laachir, K. (2004). Crossing the "threshold of intolerance": contemporary French society. *Critical Studies*, 20, 79–95.
- Mcloughlin, S., (2003), Muslims and Public Space in Bradford: Conflict, Cooperation and Islam as a Resource for Integration, *Cooperation and Islam as a Resource for Integration*.
- Musterd, S., Priemus, H., Van Kepmen, R. (1999). Towards undivided cities: the potential of economic revitalization and housing redifferentiation. *Housing Studies*, 14 (5), 573-584.
- Musterd, S., (2003), Segregation and Integration: A Contested Relationship, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 29, 4, 623-641.
- Musterd, S., (2005), Social and Ethnic Segregation in Europe: Levels, Causes, and Effects, *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 27, 3, 331-348.
- Musterd, S., De Vos, S., (2007), Residential Dynamics in Ethnic Concentrations", *Housing Studies*, 22, 3, 333-353.
- Pratt, D., Göb, B. (2007). Islam and christian-muslim relations in Germany: recent developments and continuing issues", *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 18(1), 43-65.
- Portes, A., Sensen, Brenner, J. (1993). Embeddedness and immigration: notes on the social determinants of economic action. *American Journal of Sociology*, 98, 1320-1350.
- Özüekren, Ş., Van Kempen, R. (2002). Housing careers of minority ethnic groups: experiences, explanations and prospects. *Housing Studies*, 17(3), 365-379.
- Qadeer, M. (1997). Pluralistic planning for multicultural cities: The Canadian practice. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 63(4), 481-494.
- Ratcliffe, P. (1998). Race, housing and social exclusion. *Housing Studies*, 13 (6), 807-818.
- Ratcliffe, P. (1999). Housing inequality and 'race': some critical reflections on the concept of 'social exclusion'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(1), 1-22.
- Rex, J. (1996). *Ethnic minorities in the modern nation state: working papers*, London: The MacMillan Company.
- Van Kempen, R., Özüekren, Ş., (1998), Ethnic Segregation in Cities: New Forms and Explanations in a Dynamic World, *Urban Studies*, 35, 10, 1631-1656,
- Van Kempen, R., Weesep, J., (1998), Ethnic Residential Patterns in Dutch Cities: Backgrounds, Shift and Consequences, *Urban Studies*, 35, 10, 1813-1833.
- Online References: [www.euroasiaforum.com](http://www.euroasiaforum.com)

**URBAN TRANSFORMATION ECONOMY  
AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT**



## THE ECONOMIE ET HUMANISME MOVEMENT: THE POLITICIZATION OF URBAN PLANNING IN BRAZIL AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Maria Cristina DA SILVA LEME, Prof.

University of São Paulo, Urban Planning, Brazil  
crisleme@usp.br

### **ABSTRACT**

*This study is an attempt to reflect on the theoretical matrices and research methods of the Economie et Humanisme Movement in Brazil. The Movement was founded in 1942 by French Dominican priests, and it intended to create the bases of a new project to confront the social doctrine of the Catholic Church. This project took on a new direction after the visit of one of the founders, Father Louis Joseph Lebreton to Brazil and new ideas and concepts were embraced. One of the most important for the local social reality was the concept of under development. Brazil and other countries in Latin America continent became a kind of laboratory of research on social problems and transformed and enlarged the fundamentals of the Economie et Humanisme Movement. The research teams contributed to form a new generation of young urbanists, architects, sociologists and economists. They were involved in a project for transforming society through urban and regional development projects. Therefore, they had an important role in transforming the urban planning milieu in Brazil.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

In France, within the context of the Second World War, the Economie et Humanisme Movement was founded by French Dominican priests. As a center of study it intended to create the bases of a new project for renewing the social doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church. At the end of the war, with the leadership of one of the founders, Father Louis-Joseph Lebreton, the Movement gained new impetus as it moved in the direction of social research and, due to the support from CNRS - Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, (the National Center for Scientific Research), it took on a national dimension. In this context, research teams were organized, known by the acronym SAGMA<sup>1</sup>, and they took part in the modernization efforts of the governments of the Sixth Republic as the result of an agreement made by Lebreton with the Minister of Reconstruction, Raoul Dautry. Father Lebreton intended to introduce an effective reconstruction policy that started from precise knowledge of housing conditions in the country. Dautry was persuaded and commissioned a survey in the cities of Lyon, Saint Etienne, Nantes and Marseille., where Le Corbusier's first experiments with housing complexes were being carried out. In these cities a local team of the Economie et Humanisme Movement was organized.

However, at the time that Lebreton involved the Movement in building a Christian Democratic Europe, he was also starting a dialogue with Marxism. The Catholic Church judged this new direction of the Movement, which was getting ideologically close to the

---

<sup>1</sup> SAGMA Société d' analyse Graphique et Mécánographique des Agglomérations

communists, to be sufficiently dangerous to bring the experiment to an end<sup>2</sup>. In this period of crisis in the Movement, Father Lebreton turned to the Third World and Latin America became his research laboratory in urban planning<sup>3</sup> and economic development.

Lebret's activities in Latin America<sup>4</sup> established a new direction on the studies of the Economie et Humanisme Movement as he increasingly included the theme of under-development in them, which during the 1950s became dominant in the Dominican priest's studies. In his writings on under-development, Lebret was influenced by the studies of the Brazilian sociologist Josué de Castro. Moving in entirely the opposite direction of the predominant thought at the time, which insisted on projecting an image of Brazil as a promised land that had everything that was needed for no one to die of hunger, the studies of Josué de Castro revealed the harsh reality and incredible inequality that existed in the country.<sup>5</sup>

In Brazil, Lebret managed to achieve what he had been unable to accomplish in France in the 1940's. His influence was felt in different sectors of the Roman Catholic Church and political circles in government organizations in the cities of Recife, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, where he formed local teams and developed new research methods that revealed the socio-economic situation in the communities he analyzed.

## FATHER LEBRET AND RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL CIRCLES IN BRAZIL

The first years after the formation of the Economie et Humanisme Movement in Brazil cast a light upon the religious and political circles in which Lebret moved and the way in which he established his network of contacts. At that time, the congregation of Dominican priests in Brazil was directly linked to the Province of Dominicans in Toulouse, which favored maintaining regular contact between Dominicans in France and Brazil. It was in conservative, Catholic political circles that the first contacts were made. But, with the beginning of research work, his catholic relations became increasingly restricted to more progressive circles. Lebret's approximation to the PDC (Christian Democratic Party) politicians made it possible to set up a support network for the Economie et Humanisme ideas.

The first opportunity for Lebret to visit Brazil was provided by the Dominican clergyman Father Dale, who invited him to give a course at the institution where he taught, *ELSP Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política* [Free School of Sociology and Politics].

---

<sup>2</sup>One of the actions it took in this sense was to demand the destruction of unsold copies of the book, *Signification du marxisme* [The meaning of Marxism] written by Father Derosches, Father Lebret's closest collaborator in the Economie et Humanism Movement. According to Pelletier, Denis, *Economie et Humanisme .De l'utopie communautaire au combat pour le tiers monde 1941-1966* Ed. du CERF, Paris, 1996.

<sup>3</sup> The term used is '*aménagement de territoire*' that can be translated as 'the arrangement of territory'.

<sup>4</sup> Lebret's activities in Latin America took place in Brazil, in particular, but also in Uruguay, Chile and Colombia.

<sup>5</sup> According to the Brazilian intellectual Antônio Cândido, two books, *Geografia da Fome* [Geography of Hunger] (1946) and *Geopolítica da Fome* [Geopolitics of Hunger] (1951), became classics. They have been translated into several languages.

Lebret arrived in São Paulo in 1947. In his PhD thesis, Denis Pelletier emphasizes the new theoretical direction that was impressed upon on the Movement, now clearly influenced by Marxist ideology; this became public knowledge in the course that Lebret taught at the ELSP [School of Sociology and Politics in São Paulo] from April 14 to June 5, 1947. The lectures for audiences of students and intellectuals and later organized into four books were a first attempt at synthesizing human economics as being practical and a theoretical response to the impasses of political economics. Four of the longest chapters are dedicated to Marxism and two to Leninism and the Soviet economy. The book, "*Introduction générale à l'économie humaine*"<sup>6</sup> [General introduction to human economics] in four volumes was never published. According to Pelletier<sup>7</sup>, the course was "a key stage in the intellectual journey of Lebret". It closed the cycle that had been initiated in 1938 and that was linked to the war years and the community utopia that underscored the start of the Economie et Humanisme Movement.

In the period during which he remained in São Paulo, Father Lebret set up a local Economie et Humanisme Movement study center and SAGMACS<sup>8</sup> research office, organized along the same lines as the French SAGMA team. The first pieces of research work carried out in São Paulo by the SAGMACS research office dealt with the living conditions of domestic staff and the social situation of employees of the hippodrome named Jockey Club.

On Lebret's second trip to Brazil, in 1952, he spent some time in Rio de Janeiro<sup>9</sup>, where he coordinated research that had been commissioned by José Arthur Rios, one of the members of the Economie et Humanisme Movement. As a consultant for the Josué de Castro in the Comissão de Bem Estar Social [Social Well-being Commission], Father Lebret also helped to set up a survey into living conditions in 34 Brazilian cities. The questionnaire was prepared using the Economie et Humanisme model and Josué de Castro invited Father Lebret to write an interpretation chapter that would be added to the report and published in 1954<sup>10</sup>.

In São Paulo, due to the election of Lucas Nogueira Garcez as State governor, demand for research from the SAGMACS' office was guaranteed. The work that the new governor, a founding member of the SAGMACS office in São Paulo, asked to be done on development possibilities for the state was written by Lebret between June and August, 1952. After six weeks of global contact with the state, flying over the territory by plane, interviewing local personalities and consulting statistics, he prepared a 64-page report.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> Pelletier, Denis *opus cit*, p 101

<sup>7</sup> Pelletier, Denis *opus cit*, p 127

<sup>8</sup> SAGMACS – Sociedade de Analise Grafica e Mecanografica Aplicada Complexos Sociais [Society for Graphic and Mecanographic Analyses as applied to Social Complexes.]

<sup>9</sup> The city of Rio de Janeiro was at that time the capital of Brazil.

<sup>10</sup> Louis Joseph Lebret "A pesquisa brasileira de padrões de vida", Serviço Social, 1954 XVI -72, p 10-47 *Feuillets d'enquêtes et d'instructions aux enquêteurs*, NA 45 and AS 103 in Pelletier, Denis, 1996, *opus cit*, p 305.

<sup>11</sup> *Conclusions provisoires du voyage d'études effectué par L. J. Lebret et B. Santa Cruz a la demande du gouverneur de São Paulo ( 1er juin 31 août 1952)*, 64 type-written pages AN45 AS 102 in Pelletier, Denis, 1996, *opus cit*, p. 306

This study made some economic development proposals based on a new regional division and the revitalization of municipalities. The report drew attention to the anarchical growth of São Paulo and recommended a reform of agrarian structures.

This first mission was well received by the government and confirmed the need for research of regional studies. Throughout 1953, research was commissioned from SAGMACS by the CIBPU Comissão Interestadual da Bacia Parana Uruguai [Interstate Committee of the Paraná Uruguay Basin], which brought together eight states. This research then developed into a more in-depth survey of the State of São Paulo <sup>12</sup>

The method used would serve as a model for subsequent research. It dealt with the quality of life and the needs of rural populations in the State. The accurate study of 64 municipalities led to a proposal that the State be divided into 11 regions, each one comprising 3 to 8 homogenous zones in the economic plan. This same method and approach scheme was then used in a survey on the living conditions in rural zones in the State of Paraná, also carried out by the CIBPU.

The last survey of the period dealt with the development and industrialization conditions of the State of Pernambuco and of the Northeast<sup>13</sup>. An Economie et Humanisme team was set up in Recife on the initiative of Benevenuto de Santa Cruz and by a young engineer and sociologist, Antonio Bezerra Baltar. In Recife, the Economie et Humanisme Movement benefited from the support of Archbishop Msgr. Helder Camara.

This research was part of a mobilization movement for the development of the northeast of Brazil, which had on the one side the founding of the Banco do Nordeste [Bank of the Northeast] in 1952 and on the other the creation of CODEPE Comissão de Desenvolvimento de Pernambuco [Pernambuco Development Commission], with which the SAGMACS research contract was negotiated.

Two studies were prepared<sup>14</sup>: the first was a proposal to deconcentrate the economy, by locating industries in medium size towns around the state capital, and the second, which was complementary, detailed a proposal for locating activities in Recife and developing the road links with the network of towns. The survey itself was conducted by a local team<sup>15</sup> in two weeks of general contact, followed by interpretation of the overall findings. Father Lebret only took part at the end the research.

The regional surveys by the SAGMACS' research groups in this period were included in the general rationale of developmentalism and public authority intervention in the economic management of the country.

---

<sup>12</sup>*Problemas de desenvolvimento, necessidades, possibilidades do Estado de São Paulo*; São Paulo, CIBPU, 1954, 550 p, 11 books of plans, 302 p in Pelletier, Denis, 1996, *opus cit*, p 306

<sup>13</sup>*Estudo sobre desenvolvimento e implantação de indústrias interessando a Pernambuco e ao Nordeste*, Recife, CODEPE, 1955, XII + 80 pages and maps, AN45 AS 105 in Pelletier, Denis, 1996, *opus cit*, p 307

<sup>14</sup> The studies are: "Diretrizes para um plano regional para o Recife 1951" and "Idéia de um zoneamento e de vias rápidas para o Recife" in Leme, Maria Cristina da Silva (coord) 1999, *Urbanismo no Brasil 1895-1965*, São Paulo, Studio Nobel, FAU-USP, FUPAM, 1999, p 430

<sup>15</sup>Souza Barros for CODEPE and by Baltar for SAGMACS.

## THE RESEARCH METHOD DEVELOPED BY FATHER LEBRET

Lebret's research method was developed as a result of the experiments he carried out in France and later in Brazil. It is possible to recognize some points of similarity with the sociological method applied by Frederic Le Play in France, at the end of the 19th century. There are similarities between them: both had a Catholic, rural background and came from port cities. They both trained as engineers (Polytechnic and Mines in the case of the former and Naval in the case of the latter). Both were great travelers and outside the scope of their university studies developed social science that was subordinate to immediate action. Both constructed scientific models for understanding society based on the natural sciences; both supported Catholic morals at the beginning of an analysis that was claimed to be empirical; and both gave the same emphasis to the monographic research that constitutes an intimate knowledge of the object of study.<sup>16</sup>

However, their forms of research differ in essential points: Economie et Humanisme research is built based on the tension between the qualitative and the quantitative, between the monograph and the statistics. The method developed by Le Play, from his research into families, tried to arrive at a type of European family and used the inductive method that moves from the particular to the general, in contrast to the research done by Economie et Humanisme that does not look for "types" of family, but rather compares multiple case studies, analyses the causes of the disappearance of communities, and investigates the ills of modern urban society.

According to Pelletier, the research of the Economie et Humanisme Movement had strong normative and moralizing content, marked by a Christian social order. However, its rural bias, marked by the community and Christian ideal of the first phase of the Movement, was replaced as it became dominated by the laity, both in France, where they carried out research into housing, under the contract with the Ministry of Reconstruction after the Second World War, as well as in the first research study they conducted in Brazil. The ideal of an organized Christian family remained only in the manuals, but disappeared as the research was formulated and in the interpretation of the information collected. It was also adapted to fit cities from another climate and with a different economic status.

The evolution from reflecting on economic development to a territorialized analysis of society was the result of an encounter that took place between Father Lebret and his collaborators and the French architect and urbanist Gaston Bardet.<sup>17</sup>

Bardet proposed a new form of urban and regional spatial organization that started with community relations, by introducing spatiality into the theory developed by the Economie et Humanisme Movement. The French architect published a series of articles in the *Revue d' Economie et Humanisme* [Economie et Humanisme journal] between 1943 and 1948, disclosing his ideas.

Economie et Humanisme developed a theory of needs<sup>18</sup> that was divided into three categories; the first was dignity, the second *confort* and the third *dépassement*<sup>19</sup>. These

---

<sup>16</sup> Pelletier, Denis, 1996, *opus cit*, p 134.

<sup>17</sup> Gaston Bardet studied with Marcel Poète, his future father-in-law, at the IUP Institut d' Urbanisme de Paris (Urbanism Institute in Paris). Leme, Maria Cristina da Silva (coord), *opus cit*, p 543.



According to Le Bret tertiary goods, such as free time dedicated to unselfish scientific research and artistic creation are very important, but cannot be measured. One of the chief difficulties of this method was in constructing a scale of values for each unquantifiable criterion. To obtain rapid visualization of the data collected, a technique was developed for constructing diagrams. Each attribute researched received a mark and a graphic representation on the diagram; when these attributes were superimposed, they should generate a qualitative and quantitative visualization. In the researcher's manual<sup>20</sup> prepared by Le Bret we can follow the steps of the research method: initially, an overall view was recommended, which could be obtained by the sum of elements: a map with a scale of 1: 50,000, aerial photos, and overflying the territory, which if it was difficult to do could be replaced by views from high points in the city.

Detailed procedures were added to the overall view: first, identify the major zones by activity, which must be followed by a visit to the allotment, marking out the sectors and observing the people. Then, pay visits by automobile to the outlying areas and on foot to the most characteristic zones, in order to identify the different standards of living condition. Observe the location of industries and visit at least one of each type. Travel along the major roads and observe the volume of traffic. During the visit to the outskirts, observe its transportation links with the city, and its degree of dependence or autonomy in terms of industry and commerce. Observe the people from the different social classes in cafés and restaurants. Le Bret's recommendation was "it is necessary to listen, to ask questions, and to put yourself in the school of harsh reality."<sup>21</sup>

## THE STUDIES OF THE SAGMACS IN SÃO PAULO

In the second half of the 1950s the SAGMACS research office becomes more independent vis-à-vis the Economie et Humanisme Movement. Difficulties with the Catholic circles contributed to this distancing. In March 1954, the hostility of the Cardinal Archbishop of São Paulo with regard to Economie et Humanisme ended up bearing fruit and the director of the movement in São Paulo, Father Benevenuto de Santa Cruz, was transferred to the monastery in Rio de Janeiro and forbidden to come to the Diocese of São Paulo. This sanction, as well as the internal tensions within the team, brought laypeople into strategic positions of responsibility in SAGMACS, thus renewing the link with the first phase of the association.<sup>22</sup>

SAGMACS in São Paulo was set up in accordance with the French model and conceived of as a social research laboratory. As was previously observed, the political involvement of SAGMACS was wide-ranging and contacts in the Church went from socialist to conservative catholic circles. Furthermore, as the action of the group became more consolidated around carrying out research, the alliances grew more restricted to the socialist groups.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> Le Bret, Louis Joseph *Guide Pratique de l'enquête sociale, vol III, L'enquête urbaine, L'analyse du quartier et de la ville*, Paris, ed. PUF, 1955 p.9

<sup>21</sup> Le Bret, *opus cit*, p. 10.

<sup>22</sup> Pelletier, Denis, 1996 *opus cit*, p. 321

<sup>23</sup> Research into the social problems of minors was prevented as a result of the intervention of a Catholic institution, and the Jockey Club, which had made it possible to set up the SAGMACS office in São Paulo, suspended its funding after research was published that denounced the wretched living conditions of jockeys. According to Le Duigou - Santa Cruz correspondence,

São Paulo, which was a small city in the early twentieth century with around 200,000 inhabitants, was dramatically transformed in the 1950's. Its population had reached 2,150,000 inhabitants and had expanded to occupy an area of 420 square kilometers. During this time, São Paulo's economic base changed from a coffee monoculture to an industrial centre. In fact, it became the most important industrial center of Brazil. This transformation of the economic base was accompanied by a process of rapid metropolization. In 1957, Wladimir de Toledo Piza, then mayor of São Paulo, commissioned SAGMACS to draw a detailed study concerning urban planning for the municipality of São Paulo<sup>24</sup>.

Although the subject of the research commissioned by the municipality was the city of São Paulo, SAGMACS expanded the territory and studied São Paulo agglomeration. In order to develop the field research, the region was divided into 360 units of analysis, defined as an "elementary unity of collective life" and grouped into four major areas: east, north, mid-south and west.

"The idea was that the needs, equipment and services of an urban region could be thought of in three levels of collective life: some elementary units being attracted by a better-equipped unit, forming a complex unit, and consecutively, some complex units being attracted by a better equipped and more complete unit"<sup>25</sup>.

The hypothesis of the proposal was that the tendency of São Paulo agglomeration was to structure itself in a polynuclear way into secondary centers, in order to give different regions a relative autonomy. This gave rise to sub-regions that were articulated and all attracted by the main center. Data collection was done using observation forms and questionnaires for interviews. Analysis was carried out by sampling, in such a way as to characterize all 360 units of analysis. The research provided elements and data that were transformed into numerical assessments of the real and relative situations, in which each indicator of the level of life of the local residents and existing equipment and services were ascribed values from 0 to 4. These marks were used to draw sector graphs, called "daisies," that presented a summary of the levels in each analysis unit. More general graphs were also prepared in the form of carpets, or dual entry matrices, in which the variables were inter-related on the lines and the elementary units were grouped by complex and complete units on the columns. Each small square intersection was colored white for the best situations and black for the worst, with intermediary hachures for marks 1, 2 and 3, thus creating a patchwork on which it would be easy to identify where the neediest parts were and what they were most in need of.

The dynamics of attraction and perceived displacement of the population were mapped out, linking the points of origin and destination with lines of different color for each variable and of a thickness proportional to the intensity of the dependence of the interlinked units and the direction of the displacement. So, a map was obtained of school, purchases, health service attraction etc, which gave the true polarization tendency and its deficiencies in equipment, road and transport links, with a

---

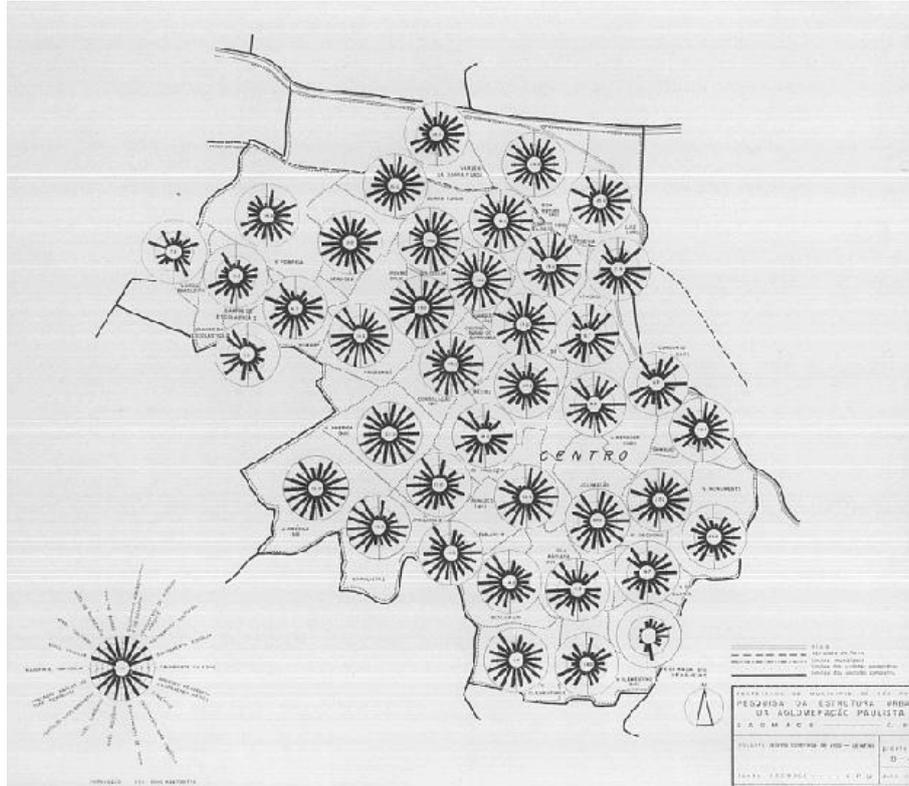
dated May 15, July 29, and November 27, 1949, NA 45 AS 104, after Pelletier, Denis, 1996, *opus cit.*, p 299.

<sup>24</sup> "Estrutura Urbana da Aglomeração Paulistana. (Estruturas atuais e estruturas racionais) Study prepared by SAGMACS and by the Comissão de Pesquisa Urbana da Prefeitura de São Paulo [Urban Research Commission of the São Paulo city administration]. São Paulo, 1958

<sup>25</sup> According to architect Celso Lamparelli, in an interview hold on May and June, 2000

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

simultaneous summary and analytical view capable of providing guidance for corrective measures that were needed and choice, based on priorities for an action program and suggestions of development and regulation policies.



*Illustration 2 indication of the level of life of the local residents and existing equipment and services in the center of the city of São Paulo. Source SAGMACS "Estrutura Urbana da Aglomeração Paulistana. (Estruturas atuais e estruturas racionais"1958)*

For urbanistic research, the type of occupation and use of the land was established. A set of 14 homogenous units were chosen as samples that covered the diversity of types established. In this survey, as in the others, we were able to identify an empirical and inductive basis that demanded a profound knowledge of the complexity of the urban agglomeration. Moreover, this knowledge was accessible to the greatest possible number of agents involved in the decision processes and linked in one way or another to the destinies of the city it was intended to transform.

The evolution from research methodology to intervention proposal was achieved by the precise characterization of the needs, possibilities and priorities of the entire urban area and the entire population, considering their way of life and living conditions.

The suggestions made centered on removing congestion from the main center of São Paulo, so that it could conveniently respond to its multiple functions of national projection, as this major agglomeration's economic and state government

administrative center and its local and municipal service and commercial function. It was necessary to save the center from drowning. An innovative subway solution was proposed, following the line of the Pinheiros and Tietê Rivers, joining the secondary centers that had been formed on their banks.<sup>26</sup> the proposal of a subway system linking the secondary centers were very different from the concentric radius transportation proposals that had prevailed until then in São Paulo urbanistic plans. It also foresaw links with a large turnpike road linking São Paulo with neighbouring municipalities crossing the Anchieta Road, as well as other long-term proposals that stimulated new types of business and of breaking with real estate market trends. It included proposals for decentralizing major political, management and administrative activities to increase the value of new areas, such as the city's east end. It contained proposals for a new location for the seats of both the city administration and state government.

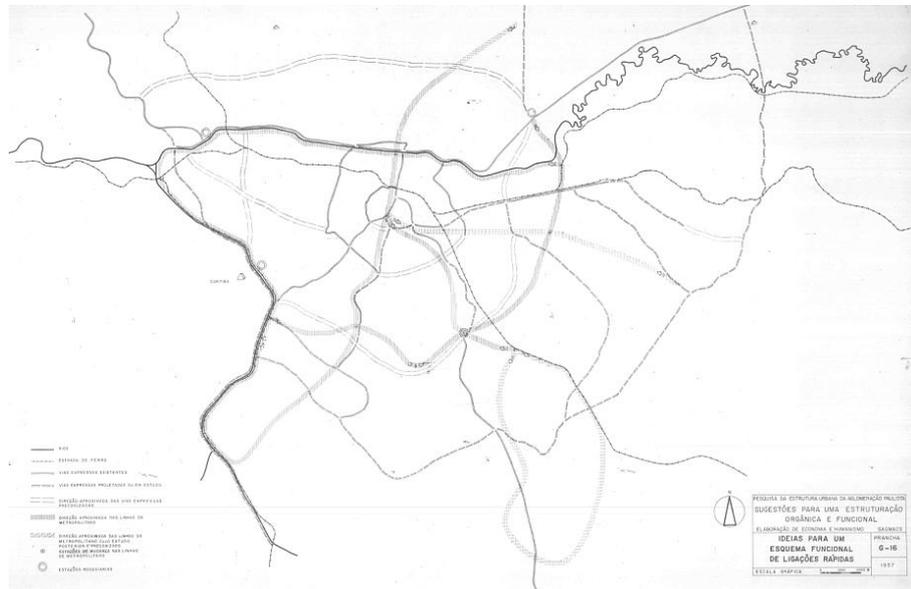


Illustration 3 The proposal of a new transportation system to the city of São Paulo Source SAGMACS "Estrutura Urbana da Aglomeração Paulistana. (Estruturas atuais e estruturas racionais)"1958.

The Urban Structure of the São Paulo Agglomeration research (Current structures and rational structures) developed the urban and regional study in an articulated manner. The first part "Historical, demographic and economic prospects of the São Paulo agglomeration," a critical analysis of the dynamic nature of São Paulo, proposed limits to urban growth based on demographic data. For the first time ever, an urban planning study of São Paulo included studies into the history of the formation of the city from its foundation, via its colonial and empire phases to its transformation into a metropolis in the 20th century. In the second part, "Urban Structure of São Paulo," a method was applied for identifying the forms of social organization in the whole urbanized area of the São Paulo agglomeration, including the municipalities of São Paulo, Santo André,

<sup>26</sup> the neighbourhoods centers Penha, Tatuapé, Belenzinho, Santana, Pinheiros, and Lapa.

São Bernardo and Guarulhos. The third part of the study consisted of the "Sociological Aspects of the São Paulo Agglomeration."<sup>27</sup>

### EXPANSION, DILUTION AND END OF THE SAGMACS OFFICES

A year after the survey of the São Paulo agglomeration, a study for Belo Horizonte, the capital of the State of Minas Gerais, was commissioned<sup>28</sup>. The study was prepared by local urbanists and some from the São Paulo team, reinforcing the development and spreading of the method defined by Lebreton and followed by SAGMACS teams. The city was studied as part of and as a function of the region; it constituted the region and was defined by it. This was a fundamental difference relative to the urban and regional studies that had been carried out until then, in which the region was understood as an extension of the city. The work was started in August 1958 and ended in May 1959. The report was coordinated and drafted by Benevenuto de Santa Cruz.

After doing the survey for São Paulo and Belo Horizonte, the teams' operational area expanded, but their methods and principles became weaker.<sup>29</sup>

The resignation of President Jânio Quadros<sup>30</sup> in August 1961 kicked off a period of great political instability. In this fourth phase, SAGMACS had already been restructured as a cooperative of technicians. Father Lebreton helped prepare the new bylaws and structure of the enterprise.

In March 1964, SAGMACS had eleven contracts that were either on going or about to be signed. The military coup of March 31 made them unfeasible. All eleven collapsed. It was a very large team engaged in three dimensions; technical-professional, administrative, and political, and it lost its point of support and cohesion. Some were persecuted and many fled the country, while congressmen and politicians lost their mandates, the technical team found itself without work and the office was left completely empty.

There was a general disbandment and a search for new forms of work and survival. Some went underground, others left the country and those who remained went their own ways. The destinies of the groups and teams of *Economie et Humanisme Movement* and SAGMACS in Brazil were sealed once and for all<sup>31</sup>.

---

<sup>27</sup> It was not itemized like other parts of the study. No copy has so far been located, which leads to the supposition that it was never delivered as a final study.

<sup>28</sup> The work was commissioned by the city administration of Belo Horizonte (municipal law 730, 8/2/1958) and prepared by SAGMACS, with the help of the office in São Paulo.

<sup>29</sup> One of their significant experiences was their participation in the Plano de Ação [Action Plan] of the state government under Carvalho Pinto.

<sup>30</sup> Jânio da Silva Quadros, elected president of Brazil on January 1962, stayed only eight months, and resigned on August 24<sup>th</sup>. His resignation started a period of great political instability in Brazil. His successor president Jango Goulart was deposed by a military coup d'Etat in March 31, 1964. From this date until January 1985 Brazil was under a dictatorial regime and was governed by military presidents.

<sup>31</sup> According to Celso Lamparelli, in an interview, May / June, 2000

## ADVANCES AND RUPTURES

I have been carrying out studies about the formation of urbanism in Brazil,<sup>32</sup> and the main proposal of this paper was to highlight the important contributions of the method introduced by Lebreton, which was developed through the experience of the SAGMACS office.

In first place, he introduced new methods on urban and regional studies. In dealing with the agglomeration, the surveys identified and differentiated regions, neighborhoods and neighborhood centers in the city, thus putting an end to the monocentric view that were dominant in the studies on São Paulo. Linked to this new view of the economic and social organization of the agglomeration, a new administrative and political model was proposed to decentralize the municipal administration, as well as to link the city of São Paulo to its neighboring municipalities and to the other regions in the whole state.

The perception of socio-economic diversity led to a new understanding of the process of urban structuring of the São Paulo agglomeration. It introduced a new concept of the outskirts, no longer as an area resulting from a center in continuous expansion, but as part and the result of an unequal urbanization process, with parts of the city well equipped and others extremely needy. This new way of seeing the city resulted in innovative proposals for the transportation system and the location of equipment.

As we highlighted in the case of São Paulo, until then the perception of the city and the urbanization process had been entirely from the center towards the outskirts. It was a concentric radius in terms of the transportation and circulation proposals and monocentric in terms of its political and administrative organization. The research method covering the urbanized area of the São Paulo agglomeration consolidated the perception of an urban reality beyond the limits of the municipality. Among the main contributions of the method introduced by Lebreton for urban studies in São Paulo is the perception of socio-economic diversity in the structure of the city's neighborhoods, and an understanding of the existence of the outskirts and their dialectic relationship with the center. They derive from the development and under-development concept devised by Lebreton in his studies for Latin America. A new generation of researchers was formed, committed to the political, social and economic transformation of Brazilian society. New possibilities arose for insertion and the expectation that the professional work of these researchers might produce results.

The studies of SAGMACS offices can be regarded as a new tendency of urbanism in Brazil, with different urbanistic principles from the concepts in force at that time. New, also, because it was constituted in a different environment, not only in technical terms, but mainly in political and ideological term

As we have seen, this experiment had already started becoming weaker when it began to get into new spheres of action - both in the state administration and in setting up large planning offices in the 1960s. On March 31, 1964, the military government took over which led to twenty years of dictatorship in Brazil. This caused the permanent breakdown of this experiment.

---

<sup>32</sup> Since 1992, coordinating the research network in eight Brazilian capital cities, regarding Urbanism in Brazil.

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION MEASURES: INTERPOLATION OF LAND AND HOUSE PRICES IN ISTANBUL

**Elif ALKAY**, Assistant Professor  
Istanbul Technical University, Turkey  
alkayel@itu.edu.tr

**Turgay Kerem KORAMAZ**, Research Assistant, Dr.  
Istanbul Technical University, Turkey  
koramaz@itu.edu.tr

### **ABSTRACT**

*Although one of the most important factors that affect housing market is land price, its affect has not been widely investigated in the literature. However, land values have remarkable affect on construction costs which has great importance for the supply responses to increasing housing demand. Therefore, this paper raises two main questions to search. The case area for the investigation is Istanbul. The former question is: do land prices contribute the variance in house prices? This question is tested by interpolation technique in Geographic Information Systems (GIS) in order to reflect whether the highest house prices are recorded for the high land price regions of the Istanbul or vice versa. Interpolation technique provides to estimate spatially correlated variables and to visualize this spatial correlation in a continuous surface. Of all interpolation techniques, kriging method is utilized in this paper to generate estimations with the data of both land and housing prices at sampled locations.*

*The latter question is: how do land prices affect the emergence of a local market? Researches show that an increase in land prices may cause the potential decrease in housing supply while the decrease in land prices may have positive influence on its supply. By applying geographic weighted regression, it is examined whether land and house prices are in consistency. It is assumed that in regions where land prices help to explain house prices moderately, the other properties are in poor condition. On the contrary, at areas where land prices explain house prices inefficiently, other properties are relatively in good conditions. By following the first assumption above, the areas corresponding to the assumed situation are recommended as residential transformation areas in Istanbul. Property values are low in these kinds of areas, so their exchange values attract developers to invest these areas.*

### **INTRODUCTION AND RELATED LITERATURE**

The neoclassical paradigm emphasize that a real estate market is assumed to be efficient, well-functioning and equilibrating entities much like the hypothetical market depicted in the perfect competition model (Leishman, 2003). However, this definition puts the main difference between real estate markets and the emphasized perfect competition theory at the same time.

It can be generally said that, different from the perfect competition theory, real estate markets are divided into a number of sectors one of which is residential sector. To an extent, there are several sub-sectors defined in the case of residential sector. This leads us to consider the housing market with its sub-markets. Traditional definition of housing submarkets have been understood in terms of the attributes of housing stock (type of dwelling, type of tenancy and price), household type (family status, economic status

and ethnicity) or location. Additionally, housing markets could be the spatial outcomes of land use changes, occupancy patterns, social area changes, housing prices and housing quality (Clark, 1982; Leishman, 2003; Knox and Pinch, 2006).

Housing is a composite good and its demand is thus derived from the demand for its component attributes. As emphasized formerly, its component attributes define the heterogeneity among sub-markets at any one time. Every property is fixed in terms of location and furthermore that only one property can occupy an exact given location. This suggests that, at the level of individual property, location may be an important determinant of price or value. The spatial fixity of supply and the partly location-specific nature of demand are of particular importance to a micro-level consideration of real estate markets. Indeed, these factors are a primary determinant of what may be termed 'local markets' (Leishman, 2003).

In such a context, the question comes in fort is that in terms of local market definition, what is the role of land price? Further explanation; is there a positive linear relationship between house prices and land prices? For instance, is it expected that house prices are inherently higher in areas at where land prices are relatively high according to remaining areas. In other words, how do land prices affect the emergence of a local market?

What could be the practical contribution to examine the delineated research question? In case of getting a 'no' response to the research question, in other words, if there exist areas where land prices are high but house prices are relatively lower, or reversely, if there exist areas where land prices are low but house prices are relatively higher, this will reflect local markets that are not basically defined depending on land values. However, it is expected that land rent is typically highest in and around central areas or decline to zero at the urban fringe related to transportation cost. Therefore, if land and housing values are not in consistency, there may be some other factors that impact on emerging housing markets.

Certainly, the definition and determination of housing sub-markets in an urban area could be done not only considering land values but also including in many other properties of housing such as physical properties, locational characteristics and environmental conditions. However, in this study by ignoring all the other properties, it is focused on only land price. The main reason of that is putting residential transformation areas across the Istanbul clearly. Since the aim of the study is not to analyze housing sub-markets structure, but, to put housing sub-markets consistent with residential transformation areas, it is restricted with land prices. Therefore, it is expected that the results of research question will direct to us to define housing sub-markets under two domains (1) housing submarkets that could be defined as residential transformation areas and (2) housing submarkets that could not be defined as residential transformation areas.

By explaining housing sub-markets depending on only land prices, it is assumed that (1) at areas where land prices help to explain house prices moderately; housing properties, locational characteristics or environmental conditions are relatively in poor conditions. (2) at areas where land prices explain house prices inefficiently; housing properties, locational characteristics or environmental conditions are relatively in good conditions. Literally, since the other properties are in poor condition, the land price is sufficient enough to explain the housing price in the former, reversely, the land price is not sufficient enough to explain the housing price in the latter because the other

properties are relatively in good conditions. Therefore, by following the first assumption above, the areas corresponding to the assumed situation are recommended as residential transformation areas in Istanbul. Property values are low in these kinds of areas, so their exchange values attract developers to invest these areas. However, the areas corresponding to the second assumption could not be interpreted as residential transformation areas because of the high property values.

Since the research focuses both the spatial distribution of land prices and house prices and their coincidence across space, examination is done by applying geostatistical analysis techniques. GIS, combined with interpolation and geographic weighted regression techniques, is used to perform clustering and investigation of housing sub-markets in Istanbul where the conventional statistical analysis cannot properly explain the spatial pattern.

Distinct from usual data analysis (like statistical methods), spatial analysis is a set of methods, the results of which may vary when the geographical locations have been varied. Tobler best defines the main principle of Spatial Statistics and Analysis as the first law of geography: "everything is related to everything else but near things are more related to each other" (Tobler, 1970). Among spatial analysis techniques, geostatistical analysis and interpolation techniques, have gained importance as one of the exploratory spatial data analysis applications in GIS. Interpolation technique is generating a continuous surface by the use of sampled data with the rules and functions of spatial autocorrelation. As the central aspect of spatial analysis and geostatistics, spatial autocorrelation is indicated with the degree of similarity of values of a regionalized variable over an observed sampled data (Griffith, 2003). Consequently, by means of interpolation technique, spatial pattern can be interpolated providing not only easy-to-use and effective tools for data display and visualization but also up scaling and generalization functions in environmental modeling (Burrough, 2001).

Two methods are used in this paper: Kriging and Geographic Weighted Regression. Kriging is an optimal linear unbiased spatial prediction or interpolation method. The start point is a decomposition of spatial variability into large scale trend and small scale spatial autocorrelation. It provides an optimal predictor for values in continuous surface by the use of observed sampled data and by introducing the accuracy test, the self-consistency is checked. As a conventional statistical analysis, regression analysis assumes the data to be constant over space. As an exploratory tool in GIS, Geographically Weighted Regression (hereafter, GWR) allows the modeling of processes that vary over space and investigate the spatial variations different across space (Charlton and et. al, 2006). The results of GWR can be mapped to produce continuous surface, interpolating the spatial data gathered from the entire study area. Most common applications in GWR are the studies of real estate markets, in ecology to examine spatial changes between species richness and environmental drivers (Foody, 2005), in epidemiology (Nakaya et al, 2005), and other case studies developed mainly by the research group that first introduced this methodology (Fotheringham et al, 2002). Briefly, GWR contributes on the nature of the processes of spatial data and take the place of traditional statistical analysis, especially regression analysis.

## METHODOLOGY

The data of the study comes from two sources. Housing prices are gathered from the asked prices from a weekly published real estate supplement of a national newspaper (Hürriyet Emlak; 2009) over the period of May to June 2009. The data reflect the prices of 1172 houses across the Istanbul. Spatial distribution of the data is limited with the offer of the real estate supplement of the newspaper (Figure 1.). This collected housing price data is inserted into GIS database by joining with the land price values. Land price data is gathered from the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in 2002.

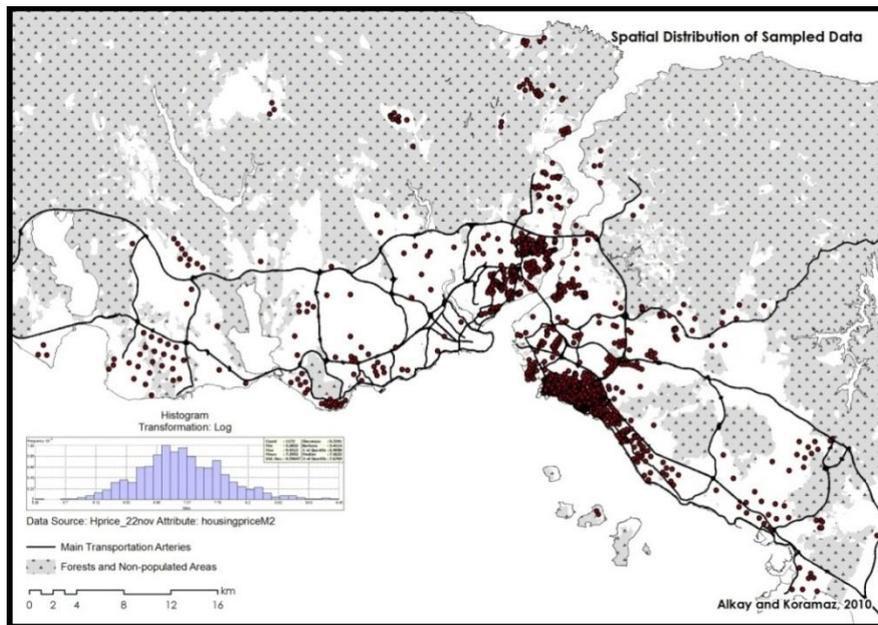


Figure 1. Spatial Distribution of Sampled Data

As emphasized in the introduction, the paper investigates the relationship between housing and land price values to determine the housing sub-markets in a broad sense and residential transformation areas as a representative of a sub-market in a narrow sense. Investigation is done with two different analyses of which are developed by means of geostatistical analysis techniques by means of GIS. The first analysis is to interpolate the spatial pattern of housing price in Istanbul on continuous surface. The aim of the first analysis is to examine whether the highest house prices are recorded for the highest land price regions of the Istanbul. The second analysis is GWR which is conducted in three steps. In the first step, regression analysis is conducted with a dependent variable of housing price and an independent variable of land price. In the second step, the relative predictive performance of regression analysis is tested by the help of the standard residuals generated from geographic weighted regression. In the last step, the local variations of standard residuals are interpolated in order to identify areas where the land price has a remarkable impact on housing price. These three

steps are taken in order to examine whether land and house prices are in consistency or reflect an obvious pattern in terms of inconsistency.

As one of the interpolation technique, Kriging is applied for developing the first analysis. Proposed methodology comprises the spatial interpolation of actual data for housing price in Istanbul. Therefore, housing price is modeled in a continuous surface across Istanbul regarding to the sampled data. Before the utilization of Kriging interpolation technique, actual data has been checked whether the data set reflects the inherent characteristics of normal distribution. By considering each variable's distribution characteristics (the distribution of a variable is not symmetrical about the median or the mean; each of them reflect positive skewness; each of them are leptokurtic), logarithmic transformation is applied to data set. After logarithmic transformation, as could be followed from the histogram on Figure 1, the data set appears to be close to a normal distribution (*mean: 7.2952; median: 7.2633; skewness: 0.3341; and kurtosis: 3.4114*).

In the production of the interpolation map, GIS with geostatistical module provides calculated statistics in terms of cross-validation, in order to generate predictions as close as to actual values (Fuentes, 2002). Several interpolation techniques with changing functions (such as semivariogram surface and defining neighbourhood in interpolation) are tested with these calculated statistics. As the best performing, exponential universal Kriging interpolation model is chosen for prediction of spatial variation of actual housing price value (*mean prediction error: 0.0021; root-mean-square: 1,129; and root-mean-square standardized prediction error: 1.903*) (Figure 2). In order to test whether it is generated accurate predictions, some main parameters that are outcomes of the interpolation should be checked. Constantly, mean prediction errors (*to be close to zero*), root-mean-square (*to be smallest as possible*), and root-mean-square standardized prediction error (*to be close to 1*) are expected to reflect the delineated figures in parenthesis. When the results of the interpolation model are evaluated, it may conclude that interpolation model reflect a good accuracy.

Figure 2 shows the spatial distribution of the changing levels of housing prices per square meters in Istanbul according to interpolation model. The interpolation map indicates clearly the distribution of housing price values from low to high across space. The higher interpolation values correspond to the higher housing prices. The distribution of the interpolation values emerge three distinguished housing markets in Istanbul: (1) the coastal region of Bosphorus and the surrounding area of new central business district, (2) peripheral housing development for high income households, and (3) unclassified housing settlements.

The first market is located along Bosphorus. Specifically, Arnavutkoy, Bebek, Emirgan, Beylerbeyi, and Kanlıca are the places where housing prices are the highest at this region. Also, Levent and Maslak accomodate the highest price housing areas as the new central business district of the Istanbul. Settlements stated in the second group are either located along Marmara Sea or along the main transportation arteries of the city. Housing prices of this group are lower than the housing prices of the first group. Florya, Yesilkoy, Moda, Goztepe, Erenkoy, Suadiye, Bostanci are examples of housing areas which are located along the Marmara Sea. Atasehir and Bahcesehir are examples of housing areas which are located along the main transportation arteries of the city. Although, Florya, Yesilkoy, Moda, Goztepe, Erenkoy, Suadiye, Bostanci are older housing areas than Atasehir and Bahcesehir, they were all peripheral housing areas in

the development process of the Istanbul. However, nowadays, they are almost situated in the middle parts of the city. Settlements stated in the third group reflect some different characteristics within the group. For instance, some of them are unplanned housing development areas like Sultanbeyli, some of them are old squatter areas like some parts of the Eyup and Kagithane, some of them are industry dense housing areas such as Bayrampasa, Bagcilar, Gungoren, and Pendik and some of them are historical housing areas like some parts of the Fatih and Eyup. Housing prices of the third group is the lowest among the others.

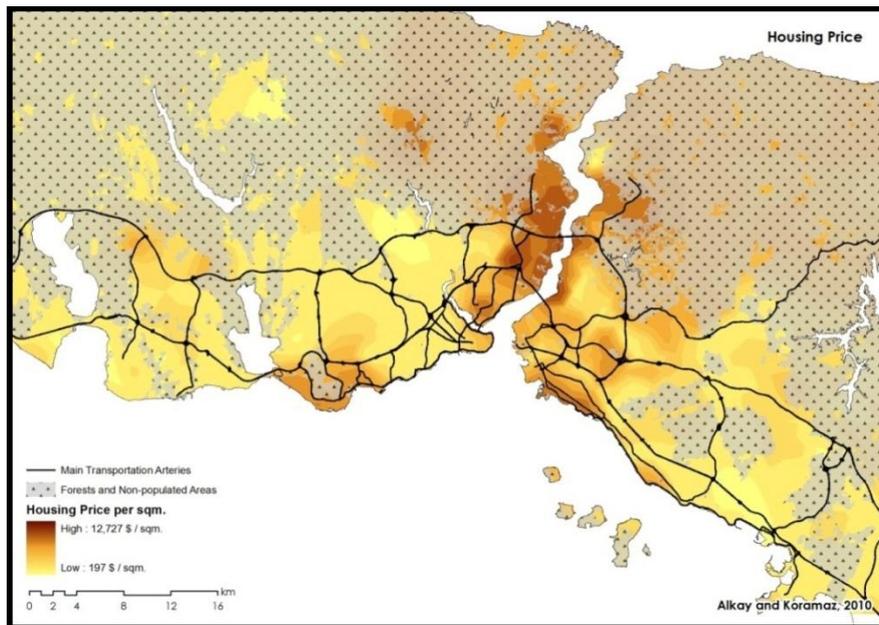


Figure 2. Kriging Map of Housing Price

Another analysis is applied for land values in order to make capable of comparison between the spatial distribution of housing and land prices. Figure 3 shows the spatial distribution of land prices per square meters in Istanbul. The highest land prices (the dark blue colored areas) can be followed in Acibadem and Altunizade at where a new central business district has been developing and Kanlıca which is located at the Bosphorous. Although the land prices are the highest at Acibadem and Altunizade region, the house prices are about average according to Istanbul distribution (Figure 1). The first group is followed by Florya, Yesilkoy, Atakoy, Moda, Goztepe, Suadiye all of which are located along the MarmaraSea (the light blue and dark green colored areas). As emphasized, all these areas have high housing price values. Additionally, some parts of the Bosphorous like Bebek, Arnavutkoy, Salacak, Kuzguncuk, Beylerbeyi have moderate land values, however, all of these areas have located highest value housing areas. Although some parts of the Besiktas and Sisli reflect high land prices, these areas are not totally included in the new central business district development area. As remarked, the new central business district and surrounding areas are accommodated the highest value housing areas. Some parts of the Bosphorous and some parts of the

MarmaraSea costs reflect moderate land values. Most of the historical parts of the city or some unplanned and old squatter areas show moderate values also. In summary, it can be obviously said that the old central parts of the city, new central business development areas, coastal regions and older housing areas of the city are relatively higher land values than the other parts. Land values of the other parts are lower than average value and generally located along main transportation arteries and the long distance areas from the central parts.

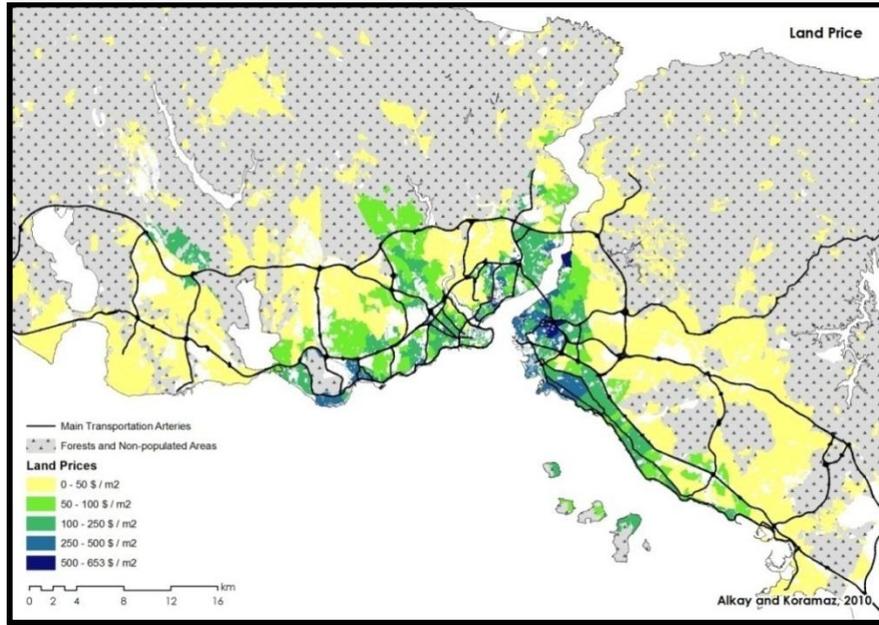


Figure 3. Land Price Map

After getting housing and land price maps in order to make some comparisons between spatial distributions of them across the city, the second step is applied. In the second step, using the GWR tool in the Spatial Statistics Module in ArcToolbox, a spatially calibrated model is generated in order to estimate the relationship between housing prices and land prices. The GWR tool gives regression coefficient and standard residual for each of the 1172 houses in the sample. In the model, housing price per square meter is used as a dependent variable. It ranges from \$197 to \$12,727, with an overall mean of \$1,784.27 and median value of \$1,424. Land prices per square meter is an independent variable and ranges from \$5.83 to 510.71, with an overall mean of \$216.35 and median value of \$232.20 (Table 1).

Table 1. Variables with basic descriptive statistics

VARIABLES	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.	Minimum	Maximum
Housing Price (\$)	321,210.37	205,855.44	395,099.91	27,447	5,000,000
Housing Price per sqm (\$)	1,784.27	1,427.00	1,338.57	197	12,727
Land Price (\$)	216.35	232.20	119.13	5.83	510.71

The GWR model is functionalized with the following equation:

$$y_i = \beta_0(u_i, v_i) + \beta_1(u_i, v_i) x_i + \varepsilon_i \quad [1]$$

Where  $y_i$  is the value of housing price per square meter at location  $i$ ;  $\beta_0$  is the constant term;  $x_i$  is the value of land price per square meter at location  $i$ .  $\beta_1$  is the value of coefficient and  $\varepsilon_i$  is the residuals. In this model, the coefficient varies depending on the geographical coordinate of the location as  $(u_i, v_i)$ .

The overall  $R^2$  (0.295) and adjusted  $R^2$  (0.280) values of the model are acceptable. The values of standard residuals vary from  $-1.666$  to  $+8.489$ . These standard residuals are supposed to be sum of the predictors which are omitted in the estimation process of the model. Consistent with the purpose of this paper, standard residuals from GWR model are mapped as raster surfaces by applying universal Kriging method to examine whether land and house prices are in consistency (*mean prediction error: 0.000884; root-mean-square: 0.9552; and root-mean-square standardized prediction error: 1.137*). Figure 4 illustrates Kriging interpolation map involving the standard residuals from GWR model.

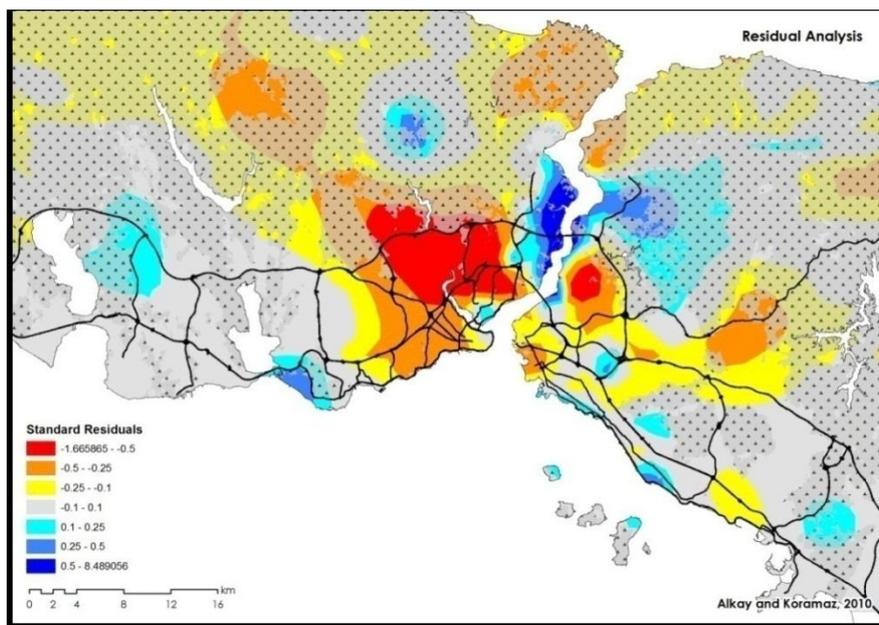


Figure 4. Residual Analysis

Blue colored areas in the interpolation map reflect the standard residuals are in positive sign whereas the areas in yellow, orange and red reflect the standard residuals are in negative sign. When the values of standard residuals are increasing in both positive and negative sign, it is assumed that land price is insufficient to explain the variance of housing price. On the contrary, the areas where standard residuals are getting close to zero are interpreted as land price is moderately explaining the variance of housing price.

Because the housing values are remarkably higher than that the land values, standard residuals are in positive signs and varying in a wide range in blue areas. Therefore, housing price is not explained moderately only depending on land values. Other factors such as physical factors, quality, accessibility and environmental conditions should be considered to include in the equation in order to make precise estimation. When considering the whole parts of the city, it is expected that housing conditions are relatively better than that the remaining neighborhoods in these areas. Moreover, considering the locational advantages, the environmental quality of these areas are expected to be higher than that the other parts. Therefore, related to the high use values and high property values, the exchange values are also high in these areas which mean that these areas are so valuable to be residential transformation areas.

Since variation is lower in yellow, orange and red areas, housing values are remarkably lower than that the land values. Additionally, because house values are explained moderately only depending on land values, it is expected that housing conditions are worse in this areas. The use value of housing is defined as the net utility of housing properties, surrounding environmental conditions and access to services such as educational, medical and leisure services. By structuring an environmental quality index for housing areas across Istanbul, Alkay (2009) shows that environmental quality is the lowest in these areas with low property values. Most of the yellow, orange and red colored areas of this study are merged with housing areas where the environmental quality index values are the lowest (Alkay, 2009). Therefore, these areas at where lands values are high but housing values are low could be interpreted as possible residential transformation areas of Istanbul.

What could be the possible effects of these transformation areas on Istanbul's housing market? The needs and aspirations of different socio-economic groups are matched to particular types of housing through a series of different market arrangements. In some inner-city neighborhoods, the deterioration of the housing stock has reached the stage where landlords can find no buyers and so are forced to abandon their property altogether. Since these residential transformation areas have a housing stock in poor condition, and there are lacks of some locational and environmental opportunities, it is expected that these areas has been going on being a kind of deteriorated areas. This will decrease the attractiveness of these areas for investments. This deterioration has itself led to a further depletion of the privately rented stock in many inner-city areas. However, transformation projects will have a huge influence on the capacity of any local economy to attract investment (Guy & Henneberry, 2002). Consequently, in such a context:

1. Transforming these areas could be increase use value of the properties
2. The use value of housing will be a major determinant of its exchange value in the market. Therefore, transformation of these areas may increase the exchange value of housing (Knox and Pinch, 2006)
3. It may prevent further deterioration of the housing stock
4. It may improve housing quality in the short run
5. It may encourage new investments to these areas by increasing the privately rented stock in these areas at the same time

On the other hand, transforming these areas could be emerged some disadvantages especially for low income families. It is expected that these areas could be resulted in low-income families spend a larger proportion of their income on housing because of higher rents as a result of transformation. Also, transformation may destroy neighborhoods while eliminating deterioration so may low-income housing. The other expected impact on low-income families is that it may trigger the filtering process. Transformation not only changes the character of a dwelling or improves the environmental quality of a housing area, but also changes the rental values of the area. If the newly available units after transformation are too expensive this means that low-income households will be filtered down. Therefore, while developing policies for transformation the attention paid not only increasing the attractiveness of the area for investments and improving the local economic capacity, but also avoiding making the poor worse.

## CONCLUSIONS

In this study, the residential transformation markets are investigated constituent with housing and land prices. By estimating the housing price depending on the land value, it is aimed to get responses to the questions below. Is only land value capable of explaining housing prices? What does this mean if it is moderately explain the housing price for the definition of housing submarkets in a city?

Applied analysis technique, Kriging, provides opportunities like offering spatial distribution of housing values as continuous surface across Istanbul. Therefore, it is capable of measuring values distributed across space; in which parts values explain housing markets or vice versa. Further, estimating the housing price depends on the land value by applying GWR show areas exactly at where land prices explain house prices moderately or vice versa.

Analysis results reflect that land prices and housing prices change consistently in most part of the city. Spatial variation of both housing and land prices are resulted in heterogeneity in housing market structure in the city. As a natural result of this situation, GWR estimation puts that while land values are enough to explain housing prices in some places; this is not realized in the remaining parts. Consequently, estimation result reflects the obvious housing sub-markets consistent with land prices. Among these sub-markets, the areas where land prices explain housing prices better than the other parts are interpreted as residential transformation areas of Istanbul. Determination of the spatial distribution of these areas may help politicians and practitioners to prevent the further deterioration of these areas and to attract investment for improving housing environment.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank to Prof. Dr. Vedia Dokmeci for supplying the housing price data.

## REFERENCES

- Alkay, E. (2009). The Relationship between Environmental Quality and Average Housing Sale Prices in the Istanbul Metropolitan Area, *A|Z*, 6(1), 60-76.
- Burrough, P.A., (2001). GIS and Geostatistics: Essential Partners for Spatial Analysis, *Environmental and Ecological Statistics*, vol: 8, pp. 361-377.
- Clark, W.A.V. (1982). *Modeling Housing Market Search*, Croom Helm, London.
- Fotheringham, A.S., Brunsdon, C. & Charlton, M. (2002). *Geographically weighted regression*. Wiley, Sussex, UK.
- Giaccaria, S. & Frontuto, V. (2007). GIS and Geographically Weighted Regression in stated preferences analysis of the externalities produced by linear infrastructures, Working paper No. 10/2007, Università di Torino, Dipartimento di Economia "S. Cagnetti de Martiis"
- Griffith, A.D. (2003). *Spatial Autocorrelation and Spatial Filtering: Gaining Understanding Through Theory and Scientific Visualization*, Springer-Verlag, Berlin, Heidelberg, Germany.
- Guy, S. & Henneberry, J. (2002). *Development and Developers: Perspectives on Property*, Blackwell Publishing, UK.
- Knox, P. & Pinch, S. (2006). *Urban Social Geography*, Pearson-Prentice Hall, London.
- Leishman, C. (2003). *Real Estate Market Research and Analysis*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- Nakaya, T., Fotheringham, A.S., Charlton, M. & Brunsdon, C. (2005). Geographically weighted Poisson regression for disease associative mapping, *Statistics in Medicine*, 24, 2695-2717.
- Tobler, W.R. (1970). A Computer Movie Simulating Urban Growth in the Detroit Region, *Economic Geography*, 46: 2, pp. 234-240.



## TRANSFORMATION OF ISTANBUL'S URBAN STRUCTURE AND ITS IMPACT ON REAL ESTATE PRICES

**Tuğba ŞENTÜRK**, Appraiser-Supervisor  
REAG Turkey, Turkey  
senturktugba@gmail.com

**Vedia DÖKMECİ**, Prof.Dr.  
Istanbul Technical University, Turkey  
dokmeciv@itu.edu.tr

### **ABSTRACT**

*Urban structure of Istanbul has been constantly transformed, restored and adjusted to the current needs of the society due to population increase, economic development and its strategic location under the influence of the changing global forces. After 1980s, the growth of service sector, economic development, development of telecommunication technology and construction of Bosphorous bridges and highways stimulated multi-center development of the city. As a result of suburbanization, middle and upper income families took place around these new sub-centers. The purpose of this study is to investigate the impact of these sub-centers with respect to office rent, retail rent and housing prices.*

*For the analysis, first the spatial distribution of population density is investigated. It is shown that the population is declining in the central locations, mainly due to a transformation from housing to business and changing family structure and life styles, but growing very rapidly in the peripheral districts in parallel to the growth of jobs in the sub-centers and in the industrial sites. Rising incomes and car ownership can be given as other reasons for decentralization of population. In addition, the location of larger portions of the population, jobs and wealth on the periphery illustrates that Istanbul by passed the typical developing country city stage where most of the lower income people lived in the periphery.*

*The spatial distribution of office rents is investigated as a representative of the development of multi-center development of the city and their impact on the real estate prices. The run-down urban structure of the old CBD could not provide appropriate space for the increasing demand for modern office buildings. In addition, the development of transportation and telecommunication technology eroded the importance of accessibility to the old CBD and stimulated the decentralization of office space and the development of sub-centers on the periphery.*

*The spatial distribution of housing prices is investigated also to illustrate the impact of new sub-centers. Istanbul's long history, world famous natural beauty and varying socio-economic structure caused large discrepancies with respect to the spatial distribution of housing prices. While some of the modern districts have become comparatively more attractive, the historic districts have lost wealthy population elements due to changes in life styles, deterioration of their neighborhoods and the settlement of low income migrants. These changes have created locational advantages and disadvantages, which are reflected in the real estate market and intra-urban migration, which in turn have affected demand for housing and housing prices.*

*The spatial distribution of retail rent is also investigated in order to show its impact on the other real estate prices. The analysis illustrates that the larger shopping centers within the*

*vicinity of new sub-centers have higher retail rent prices and they have higher impacts on the real estate prices in their environments.*

*Furthermore, restructuring waterfront areas and its impact on land prices is also investigated in Istanbul. It is illustrated that, giving new functions to the vacant industrial buildings along the Golden Horn shores increased land prices and caused functional transformations and thus revitalization of these shores*

*As a conclusion, multi-center development, revitalization of old CBD and redevelopment of waterfronts are the major transformation areas of urban structure in Istanbul. They effect real estate prices and cause functional changes in their surrounding areas.*

## INTRODUCTION

After 1980s, there are a lot of research on the intra-metropolitan location of economic activities and thus, multi-center development of cities and its impact on the urban structures. Globalization and free trade policy have played as a catalyst role for this transformation of urban structure in many cities. As one of the earlier studies, Griffith (1981) developed a model for the distribution of population density in multi-centered Canadian cities. In US, most job growth in the manufacturing, wholesaling, retail and service industries in the 1982-87 period has been in the urban peripheries of the twelve consolidated metropolitan statistical areas (Gordon and Richardson, 1996). Furthermore, Giuliano and Small (1991) analyzed the relationship between population and employment changes in the spatial context and the impact of edge cities on development of sub-centers. There are also several studies which investigated the decentralization of population and employment in European cities. Hall (1988) in a study of five rings around London, showed that while the most peripheral rings experienced fastest growth, in terms of both employment and population, the two most central rings have experienced negative growth. In the 1990s, a similar spatial trend of movement of population and employment was illustrated in Paris by Sahling and Anderson (1992). Dieleman and Faludi (1998) observed the same process in the Ruhr and the Milan region of northern Italy. Musterd et.al.(2006) illustrated a similar pattern of decentralization of population and employment in Amsterdam. As an example for developing countries, Mexico City experienced a similar pattern of multi-center development to developed countries (Rowland and Gordon, 1996). Several studies illustrate the multi-center development and its impact on restructuring process in Chinese cities (Yeh and Wu, 1999). This trend resulted in more balanced distribution of traffic and housing price than the mono-centric cities as in other countries. At the same time, these new sub-centers in the periphery stimulated redevelopment of the squatter areas in their surroundings.

Multi-center development and modern housing projects in their surroundings caused the decline of the old CBD and its historical neighborhoods as in some other metropolitan cities (Berry and Kim, 1993; Leinberger,1990). Several projects were proposed for the revitalization of the old CBD. On the one hand, restoration of the old buildings, regeneration and transformation of urban functions, on the other hand, pedestrianization of the main streets and construction of metro contributed to the socio-economic development of these declined zones (Ding et.al., 2000; Atkinson, 2000; Abraham, 2001; Criekeingen and Decroly, 2003; Fang and Zhang, 2003; Ergun (2004); Ozus and Dokmeci, 2005).

Another transformation area of post-modern cities is restructuring of waterfronts. Some of the major examples of these cities, Rotterdam (McCarty; 1996), Istanbul (Bezmez, 2008), Baltimore (Stover, 1995), Boston (Kotval and Mullin, 2001), San Francisco (Kotval and Mullin, 2001), New York (Campo, 2002), Barcelona (Malone, 1996), Hong Kong (Bristow, 1996), Singapur (Chang, Huang and Savage, 2004) and Tokyo (Saguchi and Malone, 1996) can be given. Transformation of vacant industries into cultural, recreational and trade facilities, luxurious housing and beautification of sea shores and beaches increased land prices and thus revitalization of these areas.

Thus, the review of the literature illustrates that the previous studies concentrate on the few dimensions of the restructuring problems of large metropolitan areas and there is need for more comprehensive approaches. The paper aims to present the changes in urban structure and its impact on real estate in Istanbul, in an effort to understand both the uniqueness and the universality of decentralization in a developing large-city experience. Three areas of transformation of Istanbul are taken into consideration: (1) Multi-center development and its impact on real estate prices and functional change in their surroundings; (2) Revitalization of the old CBD and (3) revitalization of the waterfronts. Background information about Istanbul is given in the second section with respect to distribution of population and employment. The impact of multi-center development on real estate with respect to office and retail rents, and housing prices; the impact of revitalization of CBD and also the impact of revitalization of waterfronts on real estate prices are given in section three. Final section is devoted to a conclusion and suggestions for further research.

## BACKGROUND

Spatial distribution of population and job locations are important determinants of multi-center development of cities. The population of Istanbul increased from 983.041 to 12.782.960 primarily due to rural migration between 1950 and 2009 (State Institute of Statistics, 2009). It is also the largest socio-economic, cultural and tourism center by being the capital of three empires in Turkey with unique natural and historical characteristics which further enhance its attractiveness. Its tremendous population growth resulted in its expansion and thus multi-center development of the city in the periphery.

The spatial distribution of population and jobs can be investigated according to the concentric zones which were developed during the different time periods (Dokmeci, 2009). The core area covers up to 3 km. from the center, which correspond to the old CBD (Figure 1) with a 2000 year history and has since been continuously redeveloped (Dokmeci and Berkoz, 1994). While this zone used to account for 6 percent of population, 33 percent of the service sector and 13 percent of the industrial sector in 1985, these ratios decreased to 2 percent, 13.5 percent and 3 percent in 2009, respectively. The core area is connected to the periphery by metro, rapid train, buses and ferries and thus, it has the highest pedestrian traffic due to its unique central location and being a major traffic exchange node. Its population has continuously decreased due to the transformation of land use from housing into business. After the 1980s, with the help of local and international revitalization funds such as UNESCO, it has continued to be an active business center due to its central strategic location and being an internationally renowned tourist center with its Byzantium churches and Ottoman mosques and palaces. These projects were also successful to start

gentrification in the historical residential neighborhoods of the core area (Dokmeci and Ciraci, 1999; Ergun and Dundar, 2004; Ergun, 2004; Ozus and Dokmeci, 2005).

The first ring reaches 10 km. from the center (Figure 1), which covers the area occupied by the city in the 1950s before the commencement of mass rural migration (Dokmeci and Berkoz, 1994). Most of the buildings in this zone experienced renewal due to the changes often in construction density ratios. While this zone used to have 50 % of the total population, 53 percent of service employment and 50 percent of industrial employment of Istanbul in 1985, these ratios decreased to 22 percent, 40.9 percent and 26.4 percent in 2009 respectively. Although the service and manufacturing ratios of the periphery surpass the first ring, this zone still forms the economic backbone of the city with all the headquarters of the banks and the larger firms, and the majority of the shopping malls are located in this zone being the inner ring of the city. This zone includes mostly upper and middle income people as well as a small amount of squatters (Dokmeci, 2009).

The second ring is taken as the peripheral area beyond the first ring (Figure 1). In 1985, this zone accounted for 35 percent of population, 14 percent of service employment, 37 percent of the industrial employment, these ratios were increased to 76 percent, 45.6 percent and 69.5 percent in 2009, respectively (State Institute of Statistics, 2009). The development of this zone accelerated after the construction of the second bridge over the Bosphorus and peripheral highways in 1986. The impact of infrastructure on population and jobs growth caused the transformation of land-use along the highways. This zone still continues to expand rapidly with planned and unplanned development of retail, residential and industrial establishments.



Figure 1. Concentric Zones of Istanbul

Thus, after 1980s, population and economic growth together with construction of infrastructure stimulated the development of sub-centers in the periphery of which caused on the one hand, transformations of land-use and urban structures in the periphery and on the other hand, decline of the CBD of Istanbul.

## TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN STRUCTURE AND REAL ESTATE PRICES

After 1980s, transformation of urban structure in Istanbul can be investigated into three categories: (1) the impact of multi-centers as spatial distribution office rents, retail rents and housing prices; (2) Revitalization of old CBD (Beyoğlu and Sultanahmet); and (3) Redevelopment of waterfront.

### The Impact of Multi-Centers

The impact of multi-centers on urban structure can be investigated in three categories: (1) The spatial distribution of office rents; (2) The spatial distribution of retail rents; and (3) The spatial distribution of housing prices. The combination of these three types of forces causes the functional and structural changes in the surrounding areas of multi-centers.

### Spatial Distribution of Office Rents

After 1980s, the number of office buildings increased as a result of restructuring of economy, globalization and growth of service sector in Istanbul as in many world cities. Development of transportation systems and improving telecommunications system has contributed to the decentralization of CBD activities. Development of these new office markets has a great impact on the distribution of urban property values. Different characteristics of these centers with respect to location, density requirements, urban and architectural design quality, transportation and social services effect office rents (Aksoy, 2005). High office rents areas mark the sub-centers in Istanbul (Figure 2). They develop along the radial road which is parallel to Bosphorus high income neighborhoods, at the highway intersection nodes or near the large modern housing projects.

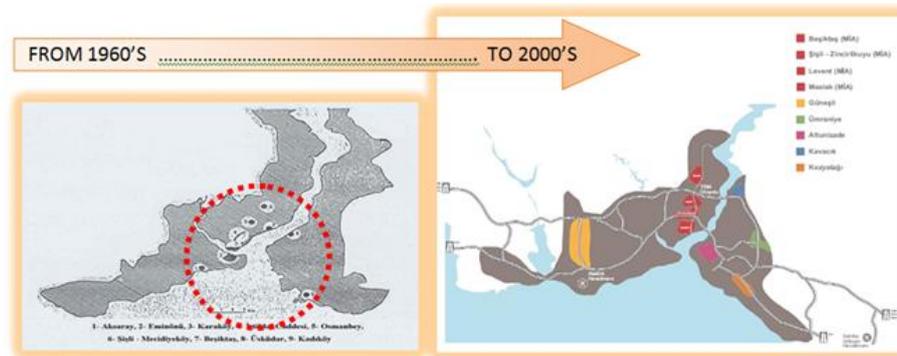


Figure 2. Transformation of Istanbul as multi-centered city

In terms of the future development of office market in Istanbul, the location of new sub-centers should be determined by using comprehensive and dynamic research methods, not only benefit of the private sector developers as it is today, but also for the economic benefits of the city. Otherwise, in the free market economy, private investor would use the land for the sole purpose of extracting the largest net return over a foreseeable period of time, but experience has shown that the market consume

resources in a short-sighted way, creating almost insurmountable problems for generations to come (Ratcliffe, et.al. 2004).

The sub-centers have the highest real estate prices in the city and, thus they tend to increase real estate prices in their surrounding areas which cause functional transformation. Restructuring of their environment mutually effect real estate prices in the sub-center itself. Therefore, determination of efficient location of sub-centers is a crucial task for urban planners to stimulate redevelopment of the city.

### ***Spatial Distribution of Retail Rents***

After the 1980s, globalization and economic restructuring increased Istanbul's integration with the world economy (Keyder and Oncu, 1994) and encouraged the transformation of retail organization by shifting power from traditional small traders to large domestic and foreign firms (Tokatli and Eldener, 2002). One of the reasons of the attractiveness of the retail market for large domestic and foreign companies has been the significant increase in per capita income in the country since 1980s (Tokatli and Boyaci, 1999). The transfer of western capital and the rapid transmission of the western consumption culture are apparent in different parts of the city. Increasing exposure to other cultures stimulated the growth of a new consumer culture and lifestyle under the influence of global consumption patterns. The spatial expression of this transformation was in terms of large shopping malls which are flourishing throughout the Istanbul Metropolitan area (Terzi, et.al. 2005). Between 2005 and 2010, the number of shopping malls increased from 32 to 105. 14 of them are under construction and 4 of them are off plan properties. Despite the growth of shopping malls, the traditional shopping streets are also flourishing in a competitive way. The majority of shopping malls are concentrated in the high income neighborhoods or near them. Thus, there are still districts which do not have any shopping malls.

The shopping malls as a social space provide good opportunities for family use and for people of different age and income groups through the variety in goods availability and services (Erkip, 2005). On the one hand, shopping malls display international culture and life style, on the other hand they adjust themselves to shopping behavior of districts with different income and cultures. The retail segment comprises 40-45% of overall family spending and consumer expenditure grew 8.8% in 2005 and 9.4% in 2006.

The shopping malls by displaying a new way of life attract many customers and they are very influential in their surroundings. The spatial distribution of retail rents (Figure 3) illustrates their power of their influence on their environments. According to their location within the city, some of them transform middle class housing or squatters into office buildings, some of them transform into luxurious housing.

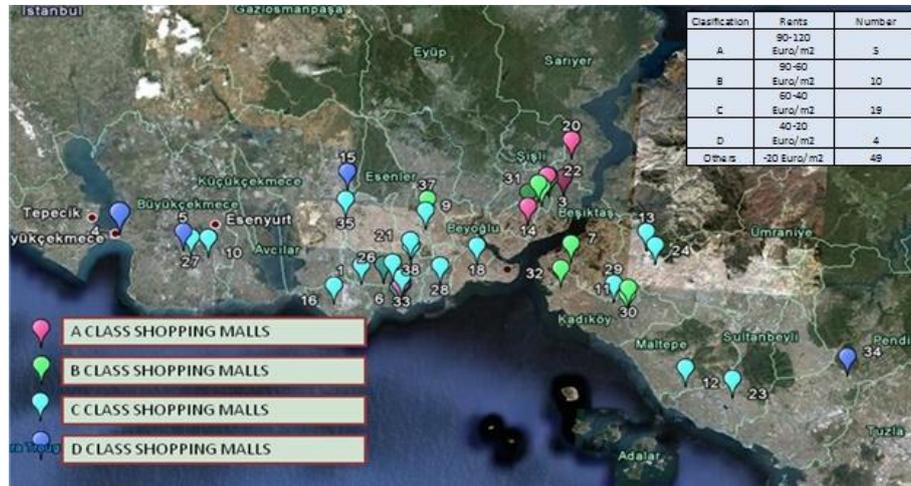


Figure 3. The distribution of retail rents in Istanbul

### Spatial Distribution of Housing Prices

In Istanbul, the spatial distribution of housing prices varies according to the historical background of the area, socio-economic level, accessibility to the centers and amenities (Ozuz and Dokmeci, 2007). Moreover, the rapid growth of the city since the 1950s due to rural migration, has affected the quality of life in various sections of the city. While some of the modern districts have become comparatively more attractive, the historic districts have lost wealthy population groups due to changes in life styles, deterioration of their neighborhoods and the settlement of low income migrants. At the same time, development of the new transportation network and multi-center development affected the spatial distribution of housing prices. In addition, the construction of the modern housing projects on the periphery has created not only new opportunities for housing markets but also a trend toward living in modern urban settlements surrounded by green areas with suburban amenities (Figure 4). Meanwhile, since officially sanctioned housing, services and infrastructure have not kept pace with the rapid population increase and unauthorized settlements on the periphery have resulted. These changes have created location advantages and disadvantages, which are reflected in the real estate market and intra-urban migration, which in turn have affected demand for housing, and housing prices (Dokmeci et.al., 1996; Dokmeci and Berkoz, 2000; Ozuz and Dokmeci, 2007).



Figure 4. New neighbourhoods around the city

By the year of 2010, the spatial distribution of housing rents was investigated in Istanbul. Housing rents were obtained from the advertisements in real estate brokerage's websites for the year of 2010. There were 300 cases gathered regarding rent, size, features and location of houses in 2010, respectively. Average house rent and average house size of housing units show variation among neighborhoods according to their socio-economic backgrounds.

Some neighborhoods of 10 districts in the Asian side of the city and some neighborhoods of 21 districts in the European side were taken into consideration. The mean values were higher on the European side than the Asian side according to the investigation. However, the average house size was larger on the Asian side. There were some variations in values among neighborhoods. In 1990's, there were three peak housing prices: on the Bosphorus, on the Western side of the Marmara Sea shore and on the Eastern Marmara Sea shores (Onder, et.al. 2004). In 2010, in addition to the higher price housing locations of the previous period, there were also higher price neighborhoods in the northern part of the periphery which was the impact of multi-center development of the city. Moreover, these sub-centers in the periphery stimulate the restructuring of squatter areas in their surrounding. Thus, this restructuring process does not only provide benefits to the individuals but also increases tax benefits for municipal governments and contributes to the development of a city with an identity.

#### Revitalization of CBD

After 1980s, multi-center development of the City has caused the decline of the old CBD, while some of the modern districts have become comparatively more attractive. These new neighborhoods had more green areas, better road networks and large parking areas, able to cope with the increasing amount of traffic. Thus, people preferred to live in these modern neighborhoods rather than in historical districts which fell short of their modern needs (Dokmeci et.al, 1996). The historical districts have lost population

due to the deterioration of their neighborhoods. In addition, construction of the highways and bridges over the Bosphorus and Golden Horn altered the accessibility measures of urban structure.

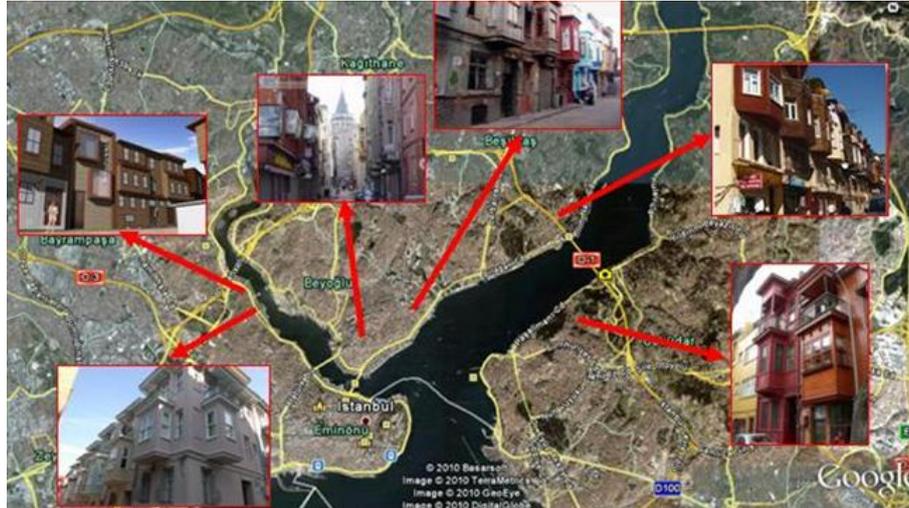


Figure 5. Gentrified Areas in Istanbul

In order to revitalize the city center, the main street was pedestrianized, and one of the main arteries of this street which was parallel to the main street, was enlarged to prevent traffic congestion. In addition, organization of film, music festivals and book fairs were contributed to the revitalization of the old CBD. As a result, trade activities were increased, new restaurants, coffee shops and bars were opened and the numbers of customers were increased. By the impact of the revitalizing actions made in these historical residential areas, the deteriorating buildings have started to be bought and restored, resulting in the restoration and improvement of buildings in areas that had been deserted and ruined because of neglect (Figure 5). Artists, architects and middle class people started to return to the restored buildings (Dokmeci and Ciraci, 1990).

The revitalization process has provided economic development in historical residential areas. Thus, during the last 10 years, real estate prices increased 20 times. As a result, these historical neighborhoods attracted the interests of national and international investors.

As a result of globalization and economic development and its population increase, Istanbul is in a continuous development and redevelopment process. The success of this process lies on the preservation of its historical values for cultural identity and tourism development while sustainable economic and social development and revitalization provided.

#### **Revitalization of Waterfronts**

The relocation of port activities away from central cities caused by containerization and increasing space consumption by port industries has given many cities new opportunities to redevelop their waterfronts (Hoyle, 1988). Brown and Pollakowski

(1977) studied the economic significance of undeveloped public land along the water, Steinnes (1991) measured the impact of perceived water-quality on land values, Garrod and Willis (1994) estimated the impact of waterside location on house sales prices along canals in Great Britain, Leggett and Bockstael (1999) measured the effect of water quality on property values along the Chesapeake Bay using Maryland Property View data. However, Oliva (2006) studied on analyzing the impact of waterfront development on housing prices nearby shores by using hedonic estimation. Also according to the research about Waterfront Brownfields Revitalization, the values of surrounding commercial and residential property were raised 10% and 30% respectively. (Hara Associates 2003).

The waterfront revitalization project of Istanbul includes regeneration of the Golden Horn shores, and redevelopment of the Marmara Sea shores. The purpose of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality's Golden Horn Waterfront Revitalization project was to clean run down industries and warehouses, to increase green space with pedestrian walking areas along the shores, to clean water by eliminating the pollution resources, to give new functions to the historical buildings which will provide social integration with the rest of the city and add new functions wherever necessary for the same purpose (Figure 6).

The functional transformation of industrial buildings not only gives them vitality but also fulfills the demand for cultural and educational facilities in Istanbul. Moreover, the impact of functional transformation of industrial buildings is investigated by analyzing real estate prices in their surrounding and by surveying people. The results illustrate that, although people complain about losing their jobs due to functional transformation, there is economic development in the surrounding areas which is reflected in real estate prices. While historical buildings were restored and occupied by higher income people or used as boutique hotels, coffee houses and restaurants were opened near by these developments. Provision of green areas along the Golden Horn shores not only improve the quality of scenery but also provide recreation areas which are high demand in Istanbul. Thus, physical, social, cultural and economic development was achieved along the Golden Horn shorelines. The findings of this research are generally in accord with the transition over the last decades in the perception of the role of revitalization of waterfronts and of appropriate revival strategies. It is illustrated that transformation of historical buildings while preserving their architectural qualities has played an important role in the success of the revitalization projects. (Figure 7)



Figure 6. The old and the new vision of Golden Horn shorelines

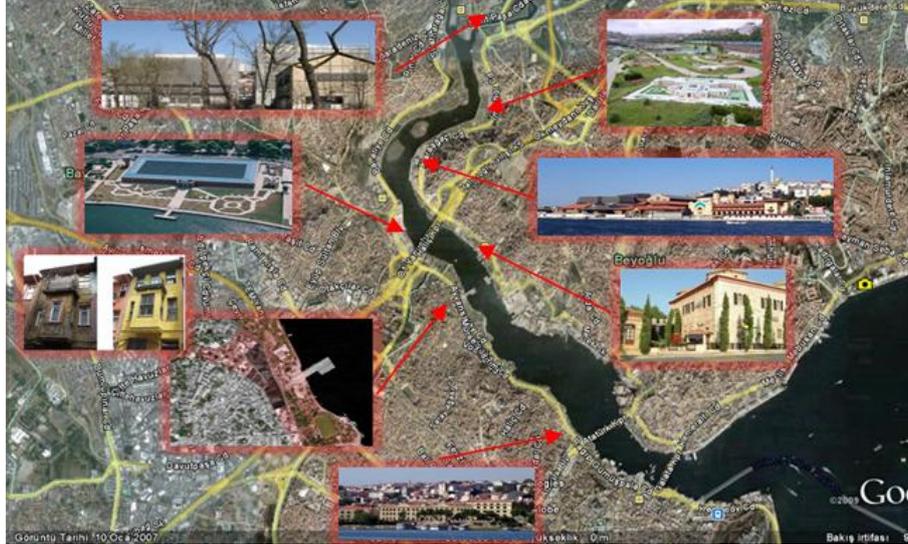


Figure 7. The revitalization projects by Golden Horn shorelines

Thus, the development of sub-centers with respect to office and retail rents contributes to the restructuring of their environment, revitalization of the old CBD provides regeneration of historical buildings and redevelopment of waterfronts revitalizes the neglected areas and creates amenities in Istanbul.

## CONCLUSION

In this study, three important areas of transformation were investigated in Istanbul: (1) multi-center development; (2) revitalization of old CBD, and (3) redevelopment of waterfronts. For the analysis, first the spatial distribution of population density is investigated. It is shown that the population is declining in the central locations, mainly due to a transformation from housing to business and changing family structure and life styles, but growing very rapidly in the peripheral districts in parallel to the growth of jobs in the sub-centers and in the industrial sites. Rising incomes and car ownership can be given as other reasons for decentralization of population. In addition, the location of larger portions of the population, jobs and wealth on the periphery illustrates that Istanbul by passed the typical developing country city stage where most of the lower income people lived in the periphery. Second, the multi-center development of Istanbul is investigated with the help of spatial distribution of office and retail rents and housing prices and their impact on their surrounding areas. Thus, the development of sub-centers with respect to office and retail rents contributes to the restructuring of their environment. These sub-centers are located on the intersections of the radial roads and the peripheral roads. Growth potential of these locations also stimulates urban restructuring due to increasing accessibility. Planned development of these areas is necessary in order to provide urban growth with an identity.

In order to revitalize the city center, the main street was pedestrianized, and one of the main arteries of the city, which was parallel to the main street, was enlarged to prevent

traffic congestion. In addition, organization of film, music festivals and book fairs were contributed to the revitalization of the old CBD. As a result, historical buildings were restored, trade activities were increased, new restaurants, coffee shops and bars were opened and the numbers of customers were increased. Artists, architects and middle class people started to return to the restored buildings.

With respect to redevelopment of waterfronts, new functions are given to the deserted industrial buildings along the Golden Horn shores which stimulated redevelopment in their surrounding areas. In addition, The Marmara Sea shores are redeveloped as recreation areas and amenities provided. These projects also contributed to real estate developments in near by areas.

The results of this study can be useful for urban planners, investors and policy makers. Further research is suggested to analyze the economic and social impact of functional and physical changes in the surroundings areas of revitalization projects in order to provide more comprehensive backgrounds to develop more efficient strategies to guide revitalization projects in the future.

## REFERENCES

- Abraham, M. (2001) Southwest: A Star Rises Over the High Desert, Academic Research Premier, 93,190.
- Aksoy, S. (2005) "Analysis of the factors which effect office rent in the Istanbul Metropolitan Area," Master Thesis, Istanbul, Maslak: ITU Institute of Science and Technology, Master Thesis.
- Atkinson, R. (2000) "Measuring gentrification and displacement in Greater London," Urban Studies, 37, 1, 149-165.
- Berry, B.J.L.and Kim, H.(1993) "Challenges to the mono-centric model," Geographical Analysis , 25, 1-4.
- Bezmez, D.(2008) "The politics of urban waterfront regeneration: The case of Haliç (the Golden Horn), Istanbul" International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 32, 4, 815-840.
- Bristow, R.(1996) "Hong kong: A political economy of waterfront development," in City, Capital and Water, Malone, P.(ed.) 110-133, New York: Routledge.
- Brown, G.M. and Pollakowski H.O. (1977). Economic Valuation of Shoreline. The Review of Economics and Statistics 59 (3), 272-278
- Campo, D.(2002) "Brooklyn's vernacular waterfront," Journal of Urban Design ,7, 2, 171-199.
- Chang, T.C., Huang, S. and Savage, V.R.(2004) "On the waterfront: Globalization and urbanization in Singapur," Urban Geography 25, 5, 413-436.
- Criekinging, M.V. and Decroly, J.M.(2003) "Revisiting the diversity of gentrification: Neighborhood renewal processes in Brussels and Montreal," Urban Studies, 40, 12, 2451-2468.

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

- Dieleman, F.M. and Faludi, A.(1998) "Polynucleated urban regions in Europe—Theme of the special issue," *European Planning Studies* 6, 4, 365-377.
- Ding, C. and Bingham, R.D.(2000) "Beyond cities: Job decentralization and urban sprawl," *Urban Affairs Review*, 35, 6, 837-856.
- Ding, C., Simons, R. and Baku, E.(2000) "The effect of residential investment on nearby property values: Evidence from Cleveland, Ohio," *Journal of Real Estate Research*, 19, 1/2, 23-48.
- Dokmeci, V. and Berkoz, L. (1994) "Transformation of Istanbul from a monocentric to a polycentric city," *European Planning Studies* 2, 2, 193-205.
- Dokmeci, V., Levent, H., Yurekli, H. and Cagdas, G.(1996) "Residential preferences in Istanbul," *Habitat International*, 20, 2, 241-251.
- Dokmeci, V. and Ciraci, H. (1999) "From westernization to globalization: An old district of Istanbul," *Planning History*, 21, 3, 13-23.
- Dokmeci, V. and Berkoz, L.(2000) "Residential-Location preferences according to demographic characteristics in Istanbul " *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 48/ 1-2, 45-53.
- Dokmeci, V.(2009) "Hierarchical analysis of the multi-center development of Istanbul and its impact on real estate," in *New Approaches in Urban and Regional Planning* , N. G. Gulersoy, F. Gezici, A.B.Önem and K.Y.Arslanlı (eds.) Istanbul: ITU Urban and Environmental Planning and Research Center.
- Ergun, N.(2004) "Gentrification in Istanbul," *Cities*, 21, 5, 391-405.
- Ergun, N. and Dundar, E.(2004) "Functional changes as an indicator of transformation near the old city of Istanbul," *European Planning Studies* 12, 5, 723-738.
- Erkip, F.(2005) "The rise of the shopping mall in Turkey: The use and appeal of a mall in Ankara," *Cities* 22, 2, 89-108.
- Fang, K. and Zhang, Y. (2003) "Plan and market mismatch: Urban redevelopment in Beijing during a period of transition," *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 44, 2, 149-162.
- Garrod, G. and Willis, K. (1994). *An Economic Estimate of the Effect of a Waterside Location on Property Values*. *Environmental and Resource Economics*, 4, 209-217
- Giuliano, G. and Small, K.A. (1991) "Sub-centers in the Los Angeles region," *Regional Science and Urban Economics* 21, 2, 163-182.
- Gordon, P.and Richardson, H.W.(1996) "Employment decentralization in US metropolitan areas: Is Los Angeles an outlier or the norm? *Environment and Planning A*, 28, 10, 1727-1743.
- Griffith, D.A.(1981) "Modeling urban population density in a multi-centered city," *Journal of Urban Economics* 9,3, 298-310.
- Hall, P.G.(1988) *London 2001*, London: Unwin Hyman.
- Hara Associates (2003). "The Benefits of Waterfront Brownfields Revitalization: Economic, Social, and Environmental" *Brownfields Research Consortium*

- Hoyle, B.S. (1988). Development Dynamics at the Port-City Interface. In B.S. Hoyle, D.A. Pinder, & M.S. Husain, *Revitalizing the Waterfront: International Dimensions of Dockland Redevelopment* (pp. 3-19). London and New York: Belhaven Press
- Keyder, C. and Oncu, A.(1994) "Globalization of a third-world metropolis: Istanbul in the 1980s," *Review* 22, 383-421.
- Kotval, Z. and Mullin, J.R.(2001) "Waterfront planning as a strategic incentives to downtowns enhancement and livability," in M. Burayini (ed.) *Downtowns: Revitalizing the Centers of Small Urban Communities* , New York: Routledge.
- Leggett, C. G., & Bockstael, N. E. (2000). Evidence of the Effects of Water Quality on Residential Land Prices. *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management*, 38, 121-144
- Leinberger, C.(1990) "Urban cores," *Urban Land*, 49, 4-9.
- McCarty, J.(1996) "Waterfront regeneration in the Netherlands: The cases of Rotherdam and Maastrich," *European Planning Studies* 4,5, 545-560.
- Malone, P. (ed.) *City, Capital and Water* , New York: Routledge.
- Musterd, S., Bontje, M. and Ostendorf, W.(2006) "The changing role of old and new urban centers: The case of the Amsterdam Region," *Urban Geography* 27, 4, 360-387.
- Oliva, S. (2006). "The Effects of Waterfront Development on Housing Prices: The Case of Eastern Baltimore" *Master of Community Planning*.
- Onder, Z., Dokmeci, V.and Keskin, B.(2004)."The Impact of Public Perception of Earthquake Risk on Istanbul's Housing Market" *Journal of Real Estate Literature* 12,2,181-197.
- Ozus, E. and Dokmeci, V.(2005) "Effects of revitalization in historical city center of Istanbul," *International Real Estate Review* , 8, 1, 144-159.
- Ozus, E. and Kiroglu, G., Dokmeci, V. and Egdemir, G.(2007) "Spatial analysis of residential prices in Istanbul," *European Planning Studies* 15, 5, 707-721.
- Ratcliffe, J., Stubbs, M. and Shephard, M. (2004) *Urban Planning and Real Estate Development* , New York: Spon Press.
- Rowland, A. and Gordon, P.(1996) "Mexico City", In A Gilbert(ed.) *Mega-cities in Latin America*, Tokyo: United nations University Press.
- Saguchi, T. and Malone, P.(1996) "Tokyo: Waterfront development and social needs", in *City, Capital and Water* , P. Malone, New York: Routledge.
- Sahling, L.G. and Anderson, V.A.(1992) "Paris: A bold game plan for the 21st century," *Urban Land* , 51, 5, 46-51.
- Steinnes, D. (1992). Measuring the Economic Value of Water Quality. *The Annals of Regional Science* 26, 171-176
- Stover, J.F.(1995) *History of Baltimore and Ohio Railroad*, Indiana: Purdue University Press.

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

- Terzi, F., Mutlu, H. and Dokmeci, V.(2005) „Retail potential of districts of Istanbul,“  
Journal of Retail and Leisure Property , 3, 4, 314-325.
- Tokatli, N. and Boyaci, Y. (1999) “The changing morphology of commercial activity in  
Istanbul,” Cities 16, 3, 181-193.
- Tokatli, N. and Eldener, Y.(2002) “Globalization and the changing political economy of  
distribution channels in Turkey,” Environment and Planning A 34, 217-238.
- Yeh, A.G. and Wu, F.(1999) “The transformation of the urban planning system in China  
from a centrally—planned to transitional economy,” Progress in Planning 51, 3,  
167-249.

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

## INDEX

### Authors

---

Ahmad Sanusi HASSAN	Volume 2 p.197
Akihiro KASHIMA	Volume 1 p.147
Alda RIBERIO COELHO	Volume 3 p.221
Alessandro FRIGERIO	Volume 2 p.159
Ali Fatih UYSAL	Volume 2 p.518
Alice Viana ARAUJO	Volume 1 p.701
Alicia Sainz ESTEBAN	Volume 3 p.157
Alois HUMER	Volume 3 p.147
Alvaro Rojas LEZANA	Volume 1 p.609
Ana FERNANDES	Volume 1 p.59
Ana Paula KOURY	Volume 1 p.229
Andréa BORDE	Volume 2 p.374
Andrea SAMPAIO	Volume 2 p.374 - Volume 2 p.400
Andreia GARCIA	Volume 1 p.3
Antonella CONTIN	Volume 2 p.159
Ashantha GOONETILLEKE	Volume 2 p.452
Aysegül Didem ÖZDEMİR	Volume 2 p.242
Aysin DEDEKORKUT	Volume 1 p.135
Ayşe Sema KUBAT	Volume 1 p.243
Banu TEVFIKLER ÇAVUŞOĞLU	Volume 2 p.386
Banu TOMRUK	Volume 1 p.83
Betul BRETSCHNEIDER	Volume 2 p.103
Breda MIHELİĆ	Volume 3 p.109
Brian J. HUDSON	Volume 2 p.3
Burcu ÖZUDURU	Volume 2 p.602
Caio SMOLAREK DIAS	Volume 1 p.609
Candida Malta CAMPOS	Volume 1 p.509
Carla Pinto da SILVA	Volume 2 p.45
Carsten SCHMIDT	Volume 3 p.137
Cátia SANTANA	Volume 2 p.183
Celia FERRAZ DE SOUZA	Volume 2 p.532
Celina Borges LEMOS	Volume 1 p.701
Chen HUA	Volume 2 p.55, 67
Christine GARNAUT	Volume 3 p.35

**Authors**

---

Ciğdem ÇİFTÇİ	Volume 1 p.537
Davisi BOONTHARM	Volume 2 p.630
Denise ELIAS	Volume 1 p.681
Devrim IŞIKKAYA	Volume 2 p.440
Diane BRAND	Volume 2 p.11
Didem DİZDAROĞLU	Volume 1 p.523
Diego Filipe Cordeiro ALVES	Volume 1 p.47
Duygu SABAN ÖKEŞLİ	Volume 1 p.171
Ebru GÜRLER	Volume 1 p.427
Ece Ceylan BABA	Volume 1 p.591
Ela ATAÇ	Volume 2 p.644
Elif ALKAY	Volume 2 p.674
Elif GÜNDÜZ	Volume 2 p.320
Elif KISAR KORAMAZ	Volume 1 p.625
Eloísa PETTI PINHEIRO	Volume 1 p.29
Emine ÖZŞAHİN YILDIZ	Volume 2 p.518
Emmanuel MARMARAS	Volume 1 p.257
Eneida Maria Souza MENDONÇA	Volume 1 p.293
Erman AKSOY	Volume 2 p.644
Errol HAARHOFF	Volume 2 p.230
Eugenia Doria VIANA CERQUEIRA	Volume 1 p.701
Fabio Jose Martins De LIMA	Volume 2 p.210
Fadim Yavuz ÖZDEMİR	Volume 1 p.537
Faris Ali Mustafa	Volume 2 p.197
Fatih DUR	Volume 2 p.113
Fatma Pelin ÖZTÜRK	Volume 1 p.201
Fernanda AZEVEDO RIBEIRO	Volume 2 p.171
Fernando ATIQUE	Volume 1 p.95
Fredrick OMOLO-OKALEBO	Volume 3 p.123
Ge DANDOG	Volume 2 p.55
Gökçen KILINÇ	Volume 1 p.577
Güven BİLSEL	Volume 2 p.490
H.Filiz ALKAN MEŞHUR	Volume 1 p.537
Hale ÇIRACI	Volume 1 p.201
Haluk ÇETİNKAYA	Volume 1 p.357
Handan TÜRKOĞLU	Volume 1 p.625

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

### Authors

---

Hande AĞAN YALÇINTAŞ	Volume 1 p.577
Hatice AYATAÇ	Volume 1 p.119
Hector RIVERO	Volume 1 p.279
Heng Chye KIANG	Volume 2 p.630
İclal DİNÇER	Volume 2 p.346
İpek Yada AKPINAR	Volume 1 p.83
James STEELE	Volume 1 p.71
Jennifer SMIT	Volume 2 p.571
Jill GRANT	Volume 1 p.487 - Volume 3 p.13
Joaquim Rodrigues DOS SANTOS	Volume 1 p.213
Jocelyn WIDMER	Volume 2 p.91
John G. HUNT	Volume 2 p.23
Jon KELLETT	Volume 1 p.305
Jonathan BUNKER	Volume 2 p.113
José Francisco Bernardino FREITAS	Volume 2 p.143
José Tavares Correira DE LIRA	Volume 2 p.556
Josep-Maria Garcia-FUENTES	Volume 2 p.474
Josianne CERASOLI	Volume 2 p.464
Julia STRUTZ	Volume 3 p.169
Kadriye DENİZ TOPCU	Volume 2 p.490
Karel POLLAK	Volume 3 p.109
Kenjiro MATSUURA	Volume 1 p.317
Leandro DE AGUIAR E SOUZA	Volume 1 p.47
Leifka VISSERS	Volume 1 p.487
Les DAWES	Volume 1 p.523
Lilian FESSLER VAZ	Volume 1 p.347
Lineu CASTELLO	Volume 2 p.504
Luis Renato Bezerra PEQUENO	Volume 3 p.63
Luisa BRAVO	Volume 2 p.544
Luo YINAN	Volume 2 p.55
Lydia KIROFF	Volume 1 p.665
M. Serhat YENİCE	Volume 1 p.537
Ma QIAN	Volume 2 p.67
Madalena Cunha MATOS	Volume 2 p.183
Majid Mansoor Rezaee FOUMANI	Volume 2 p.614
Manel GUÁRDIA	Volume 2 p.474

**Authors**

---

Marco AMATI	Volume 1 p.459
Marcus PATERSON	Volume 3 p.13
Maria Cristina CABRAL	Volume 2 p.374
Maria Cristina DA SILVA LEME	Volume 2 p.662
María Cristina GARCIA GONZÁLEZ	Volume 1 p.371
Maria JOAO NETO	Volume 1 p.3
Maria Luiza DE FREITAS	Volume 1 p.229
Maria Margarita GONZALEZ CARDENAS	Volume 2 p.589
Maria Soares de ALMEIDA	Volume 2 p.532
Maria Stella BRESCIANI	Volume 2 p.218
Marichela SEPE	Volume 3 p.95
Marijn MOLEMA	Volume 3 p.3
Marisol RODRIGUEZ	Volume 1 p.279
Marlice Nazareth SOARES DE AZEVEDO	Volume 1 p.187
Marluce Wall de Carvalho VENANCIO	Volume 2 p.131
Marta ENOKIBARA	Volume 2 p.254
Masao FURUYAMA	Volume 1 p.147
Matthew BRADBURY	Volume 2 p.35
Mine ULUSOY	Volume 2 p.518
Miray AKINCITÜRK GÜR	Volume 1 p.357
Müge AKKAR ERCAN	Volume 2 p.266
Nabil Georges BONDUKI	Volume 1 p.229
Nadia FAVA	Volume 2 p.474
Nadia SOMEKH	Volume 1 p.509
Nayada NAKHASIT	Volume 2 p.630
Neha GOEL	Volume 3 p.203
Neil SIPE	Volume 1 p.135
Neslihan AYDIN YÖNET	Volume 1 p.383
Neslihan SERDAROĞLU SAĞ	Volume 2 p.412
Nevin GÜLTEKİN	Volume 2 p.644
Nevnihal ERDOĞAN	Volume 1 p.651
Niki TAVAKOLI	Volume 3 p.189
Nilüfer AKINCITÜRK	Volume 1 p.357
Nilüfer BATURAYOĞLU YÖNEY	Volume 1 p.441
Ning GAO	Volume 2 p.55, 67
Nuran ZEREN GÜLERSOY	Volume 1 p.427 - Volume 2 p.360

## URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

---

### Authors

---

Ogan KIRSAÇLIOĞLU	Volume 2 p.644
Özge YALÇINER ERCOŞKUN	Volume 2 p.602
Özgür EDİZ	Volume 1 p.357
Özlem GÜZEY	Volume 2 p.644
Paul Anton RAPPOPORT	Volume 2 p.292
Pedro JANUÁRIO	Volume 1 p.3
Pirooz HANACHI	Volume 2 p.304
Rahmi ERDEM	Volume 2 p.320
Rania SHAFIK	Volume 1 p.71
Raquel Fernandez REZENDE	Volume 2 p.210
Raquel Von Randow PORTES	Volume 2 p.210
Renato PEQUENO	Volume 1 p.681
Renato REGO	Volume 1 p.107
Robert FREESTONE	Volume 1 p.459 - Volume 3 p.49
Roisin MCCARTNEY	Volume 1 p.471
Roseli MARTINS D'ELBOUX	Volume 2 p.332
Salahaddin Yasin SHWANY,	Volume 2 p.197
Salvador Guerrero LÓPEZ	Volume 1 p.371
Sarah FELDMAN	Volume 2 p.426
Savvas TSILENIS	Volume 1 p.257
Sergio Moraes Rego FAGERLANDE	Volume 1 p.637
Seungyeoun CHO	Volume 1 p.563
Severine MAYERE	Volume 1 p.135
Shabnam ESMAEILY	Volume 2 p.614
Shun-ichi J. WATANABE	Volume 1 p.17
Sidney Piochi BERNARDINI	Volume 1 p.415
Simone Aparecida MONTANHEZ	Volume 1 p.95
Sinan LEVEND	Volume 1 p.537
Sinan POLVAN	Volume 1 p.383
Solange Irene SMOLAREK DIAS	Volume 1 p.609
Somaieh Fadaei NEZHAD	Volume 2 p.304
Stamatia KOULIOUMBA	Volume 2 p.79
Stefanie LEONTIADIS	Volume 3 p.181
Stephen LEGG	Volume 3 p.83
Susan Tahir ISMAIL	Volume 2 p.197
Süveyda BAYRAKTAR	Volume 1 p.243

**Authors**

---

Sven CONVENTZ	Volume 1 p.713
Takashi TANIMURA	Volume 1 p.147
Tan YIĞITCANLAR	Volume 1 p.471 - Volume 1 p.523 - Volume 2 p.113 - Volume 2 p.452
Tânia Beisl RAMOS	Volume 2 p.45
Tsuyoshi KIGAWA	Volume 1 p.147
Tuğba ŞENTÜRK	Volume 2 p.686
Turgay Kerem KORAMAZ	Volume 2 p.360 - Volume 2 p.674
Vedia DÖKMECİ	Volume 1 p.651 - Volume 2 p.686
Vera Ferreira REZENDE	Volume 2 p.171
Vilma HASTAOGLOU-MARTINIDIS	Volume 2 p.278
Wang WEIJEN	Volume 1 p.335
William RICHARDSON	Volume 1 p.157
Yara Landre MARQUES	Volume 1 p.47
Yıldız ÇAĞLI	Volume 1 p.357
Yıldız SALMAN	Volume 1 p.441
Yinan LUO	Volume 2 p.67
Yingchun LI	Volume 1 p.335
Yuheng LI	Volume 1 p.391
Yüksel DEMİR	Volume 1 p.553
Zehra ÖNGÜL	Volume 2 p.386

URBAN TRANSFORMATION: CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

