IPHS International Planning History Society

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

14th IPHS Conference

12–15 July 2010 Istanbul, Turkey

URBAN TRANSFORMATION:
CONTROVERSIES, CONTRASTS and CHALLENGES

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

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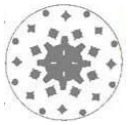

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WELLCOME NOTES

Welcome Note from The Mayor of Istanbul

ISTANBUL METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

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07.04/2010

Dear Ms. Nuran ZEREN GULERSOY,

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

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

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

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

Sincerely Yours,

Kadir TOPBAŞ
Mayor of Istanbul

Opening Remarks by the President of Istanbul Technical University

Distinguished Professors, Colleagues and Guests,

Good Morning.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you.

Professor Dr. Muhammed Şahin,
Rector

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

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

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

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

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

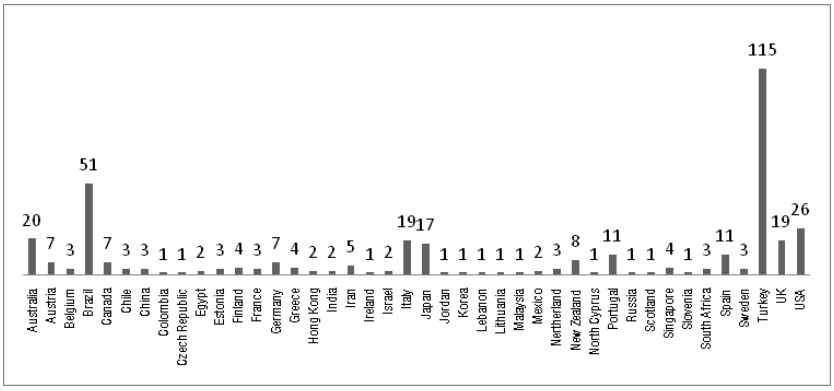
Prof. Dr. Orhan HACIHASANOĞLU
Dean ITU Faculty of Architecture

Wellcome Message from the IPHS 2010 Convenor

14th International Planning History Society Conference will take place in Istanbul, between the dates July 12-15 2010 in a city which has been the cradle of civilizations with eight thousand years of history and a geographical focal point of all humanity.
The conference addresses the theme of "Urban Transformation: Controversies, Contrasts and Challenges". Urban transformation, as one of the major issues throughout planning history, has been attached new dimensions within the context of rapid globalization especially during the last two decades. It is of major importance today to share professional and academic knowledge and expertise across the world in order to deal with controversies, contrasts and challenges that cities have been facing for a sustainable future. Istanbul, one of the largest cities in the world, once the focal point of the worldwide trading, and capital city for Byzantine, Roman, and Ottoman Empires, and chosen as European Capital of Culture for 2010 has been in transition throughout its more than eight thousand years of history. The choice of Istanbul as the conference city provides an excellent venue for the conference theme with its massive expansion and transformation processes throughout its history to explore different aspects of transformation in planning history not only for Istanbul but also across the world. The conference is considered to be a major contribution to Istanbul's present and future urban transformation process.

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

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



Participants coming from 42 different countries

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

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

- Planning Culture: 38 Papers
- Heritage Sites: 28 Papers
- Planning Models: 27 Papers
- Public Space and Landscape: 27 Papers
- Emerging Concepts under Urban Transformation: 16 Papers
- Urban Form and Architecture: 37 Papers
- Urban Space: 10 Papers
- Strategies, Policies and Tools: 10 Papers
- Economy and Finance: 6 Papers
- Industrial and Commercial Districts: 15 Papers
- Urban Management: 16 Papers
- Social Justice: 10 Papers

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

- The Peril-Urban Interface: Between Planning History And Landscape History
- Land Tenure, the City Statute and the Right to the City in Brazil

- Urban Design in the Thirties under Italian Fascism: Comparative Perspectives on Urban Forms and Ideologies in Italy and the Colonies
- The Planning Ideas and Legacy of Gordon Stephenson
- Port Cities and International Networks
- The Social Geography of Indian Cities: Transformed Documentation of Urban Space
- Tourism, Place Identity and Urban Transformations
- Peril-Urbanization and Environment
- Cities, Political Transformation and Civic Design: Promises and Limits of Public Space
- Cultural Identity and Urban History: The Boukoleon Monumental Itinerary as a Case Study

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

- Urban Transformation in the Planning History: 4 Papers
- Urban Transformation and Management: 4 Papers
- Urban Transformation and the Historic Environment: 6 Papers
- Urban Transformation and Urban Space: 4 Papers
- Urban Transformation and the Society: 6 Papers

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

Conference Proceedings are organized in 3 volumes.

The first volume comprises of three parts:

- Urban transformation in the planning history
- Urban transformation strategies, policies, tools

- Urban transformation, land use, housing and squatter settlements

The second volume comprises of three parts:

- Urban transformation and the urban space
- Urban transformation and the society
- Urban transformation and the economy

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

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

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

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

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

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

Prof.Dr. Nuran ZEREN GÜLERSOY
IPHS 2010 Convenor

CONTENT

SPECIAL SESSIONS PAPERS

REGIONAL POLICIES AND NATIONAL PLANNING SYSTEMS IN THE NETHERLANDS AND GERMANY, 1950-1980

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ABSTRACT

This paper argues that spatial planning can be interpreted as a social system. Spatial concepts play a major intermediary role in this system, linking the various actors involved in planning. In order to illustrate this, we explore the conceptual divide between 'overdeveloped urban space' and 'underdeveloped rural space' that existed in the Netherlands and Germany between the 1950s and the 1980s. Although both categories were present in the two countries, the urban-rural divide was more pronounced in the Dutch case. We will identify the mechanisms that lay behind these differences and relate these to the connections between spatial and regional policies in both countries.

INTRODUCTION: FRAMES, CONCEPTS AND SPATIAL PLANNING

Planning processes involve many different actors, who operate at different levels and in various societal domains. For example, state organizations can operate at the national, regional or local level. Spatial planning is also widely discussed in the academic domain, and scientists themselves can shape and transform ideas about spatial planning. All of these actors working on planning-related subjects are linked in the sense that they can influence one another. For instance, a scientist's articles, presentations or recommendations might alter the way in which a governmental organization approaches a certain planning issue. However, the scientist's work may itself originate in state policies that, in turn, have been developed by governmental organizations.

From an analytical perspective, we can observe the interaction between actors involved in planning issues as a form of social system. This interaction constitutes a system because the articles, presentations and policy documents contained within it are related to and can influence each other. Moreover, it is social in the sense that the 'work' that is undertaken can be seen as a form of communication between individuals or organizational actors. A scientist's articles or presentations are, just like the policy documents produced by a government department, *communicative* acts. This notion of a social system composed of all kinds of communication is derived from ideas of the German sociologist, Niklas Luhmann (Luhmann 1984). In his social systems theory, Luhmann developed instruments for analyzing processes of interaction between individual and collective actors. The most important element of his theory was the idea that communication processes that involve many actors tend towards specialization and specific themes. We can see spatial planning as such a theme, and can therefore analyze communication about spatial planning in terms of a social system.

This theoretical perspective offers us analytical tools to investigate the role of frames in spatial planning. Frames are often used in planning theories to analyze how individuals or organizations grasp 'the outer world' (Healey 2001). The term 'framing' refers to the process of interpreting phenomena and events through a particular lens. As such, frames play a major role in communication, in that they shape individual actors' and organizations' interpretations of the world. From a social systems point of view, it is important to emphasize that each individual and/or organization that interacts in a communication process has a different frame. Indeed, what makes them individual or collective *actors* is the unique way in which they interpret the phenomena in their surroundings. Nevertheless, different actors are able to cooperate and reach agreement on specific matters, such as spatial planning. However, it should be noted that every actor involved brings his or own background and reasons for cooperating with other actors in the communication process.

From this theoretical perspective, we can see how spatial concepts play an intermediary role for the various communicating actors who are trying to understand and agree on spatial planning issues. A spatial concept contains certain ideas about how to understand and shape spatial phenomena; the concept of 'central places' is one example (King 1984). Although different actors may use the same spatial concepts, they may have different reasons for using them. From a national planner's perspective, the concept of a 'central place' is an instrument for steering development. However, the mayor of a 'central place' may embrace the concept as a means of attracting investment into the local economy. Both use the same concept, but having different frames means that they interpret and use the concept in different ways.

From this perspective, we can derive a number of research questions that focus on concepts that play important roles in planning systems. Specifically, we can investigate the ways in which certain influential concepts play an intermediary role for various actors. Such research not only helps us to understand the communication processes involved in planning, but it can also reveal why planners may have more political influence at particular times. Planners and politicians are different types of actors and operate within different frames. Their interests relating to spatial concepts sometimes overlap, however, and when this occurs, planners are able to exercise political influence. When do such opportunities occur, which actors are involved, and what are their motives or interpretive 'frames'?

We will use these questions to examine a powerful concept in spatial planning systems: that of the urban-rural divide. During the first half of the twentieth century, people became increasingly aware of the rapidity with which urbanization was occurring. In the 1930s, the first calls were made for national spatial policies in both the Netherlands and Germany. Such policies should steer the urbanization process and prevent pollution, overcrowding in cities, and congestion. However, it was not until the 1950s that these calls were reflected in policy documents and governmental strategies that attempted to steer spatial development on a national scale. Indeed, it was many years before politicians would listen to spatial planners' arguments.

Several studies have explained the development of spatial planning against the background of broader shifts in political culture (see, for example, Leenertz 2008). While agreeing with this approach, this paper tries to add another dimension to the

mix. In addition to cultural processes, it is argued here that 'hard politics' played a key role. The work undertaken by spatial planners proved useful to politicians who were involved in economic policy in vulnerable regions. Politicians who advocated regional policies were able to exploit the notion of an urban-rural divide and spatial planners' solutions for reducing disparities between 'rich' and 'poor' regions.

REGIONAL POLICIES

The process of urbanization brings certain drawbacks: falling mobility levels and a lack of space and fresh air can take their toll on public health. The center may also gain at the expense of the periphery, as core economic regions attract skilled workers and resources from the surrounding environment. These 'pull' effects may be accompanied by 'push' effects. As a result of low economic growth, decreasing regional income and high unemployment levels, a disproportionate number of young people may leave a region, aggravating the problems experienced by the periphery. This drain on capital and manpower can add to a region's vulnerability. The problem of the overdeveloped center versus the underdeveloped region as two sides of the same coin has provoked much political debate in all western industrial states (Seers and Öström 1983).

Regional unemployment and concentrated poverty were already attracting attention in the 1930s, during the years of economic crisis. It was not until the post-war period, however, that serious policy strategies were developed in response. Regions throughout the whole of Europe raised their voices, drawing attention to their vulnerable economic situations and their socio-economic underdevelopment in comparison to other places and national averages. Not only local mayors and regional politicians, but also economic organizations such as chambers of commerce, attempted to highlight their economic difficulties. They held speeches, wrote press releases, and commissioned reports in the hope of attracting the attention of national politicians, who would have the power to convert their pleas into much-needed policies underwritten by government support.

The question was, would national politicians listen? Yes, they would. Of course, within Europe's national political arenas, regional representatives were able to look after regional interests directly, and regional politicians also participated in party political networks. There is a more important reason why national governments started to develop policy strategies for boosting vulnerable regions, however, and this had to do with the negative aspects of economic centralization, such as overcrowding and scarcity of space.

Soon after the Industrial Revolution had spread throughout North West Europe, a number of socially-minded individuals became concerned about living conditions in big cities. This resulted in the passing of spatial planning acts. The social reformers wanted more, however. They campaigned for more regulation on spatial issues, on the grounds that the rapid growth of the economy and the accompanying demographic growth had thrown up huge challenges. How would it be possible to keep the big cities healthy and livable? How would governments be able to steer economic and demographic processes in a rational way?

One answer lay in the spatial plans that were not only produced for neighborhoods and cities, but also for the larger areas known as 'regions'. At the time, these

studies attracted little attention. In the 1950s, however, the political landscape was transformed. In the Netherlands, as in West Germany, a number of big political issues – such as that of post-war reconstruction – were resolved, or at least ceased to dominate politics. As a result, the new space that appeared on the political agenda could be filled with concerns about future social, cultural and economic development. This was the moment that spatial planners had been waiting for, and they had their ideas ready (Faludi/Van der Valk 1994; Ernst 1992). This time, the political arena would be receptive to their alternative development schemes.

Due to this high prioritization, this period saw an intersection of spatial planning with regional economic policy. To varying degrees, in the 1950s and 1960s, policies focused on attracting industry by using financial incentives and infrastructural measures (Vanhove 1999). By attracting industry to regional development centers, the latter would become catalysts for inward development. The notion that policy measures should be concentrated regionally became very important. The scientific case for the approach was elaborated by the British economist John Maynard Keynes, whose ideas about demand managament by significantly expanding and contracting the national economy were applied in many countries. These general ideas about stimulating the economy in times of crisis were expanded to include the notion of stimulating the economy in vulnerable regions. The industrial sector was seen as the key to economic improvement. This sector was the future, and would become the source of new jobs for unemployed workers in the regions.

At the beginning of the 1950s, several European countries developed regional industrialization policies. These focused on the construction of roads and industrial parks. Factories also received a premium for locating their works in development areas. All these measures were intended to increase industrial employability. By concentrating policy on a regional development center, politicians and policymakers hoped that it would function as a 'growth pole'; that is, as an engine for the surrounding area, which would profit from the rise in industrial employability. Local stores, schools, theaters and other facilities would be made viable by the industrial impulse. Regional industrial policies were intended to prevent deprivation in more 'backward' economic areas.

The Merger of Regional Policy and Spatial Planning

From the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s onwards, the political importance of spatial policy grew. Due to the spatial planners' alarming assertion that overdevelopment and underdevelopment were two sides of the same coin, in both the Netherlands and Germany, steering measures were thought to be necessary for balanced economic, demographic, social and cultural growth. These steering measures did not need to be invented, however; they already existed. To reduce economic backwardness and overcome regional vulnerability, a set of steering instruments had already been put in place.

These regional policy instruments were seen as tools for implementing a strong spatial policy. Increasing the regions' political importance and financial involvement should help to avoid congestion, prevent migration to already-overcrowded cities and distribute the population over the country. These ideas, which were embraced by national politicians and policymakers, were also welcomed in the regions. Regional actors including provincial boards, local political party associations and chambers of commerce saw the popularity of spatial planning as an opportunity to campaign for increased regional economic

development. In this way, the paths of regional economic policy and national spatial policy crossed at the end of the 1950s, and the one intensified the other.

The case of the Netherlands illustrates this cross-fertilization between regional industrial policy and national spatial planning. One influential example of the many reports that were written at the time was entitled, 'The West … and the rest of the Netherlands' (*Het westen… en overig Nederland* (Rijksdienst voor het Nationale Plan 1956). This concise report, which was published in 1956, almost reads like a marketing brochure. Its brief, clear text transmitted one simple message: that the Netherlands was in danger of becoming seriously skewed. The west of the country was growing so fast that the quality of the natural environment was threatened, while many other areas fell short on key indicators. Graphs and statistical charts were used to underline the argument, giving scientific authority to the planners' statements. Something had to be done; it would be necessary to develop a policy that would help to spread the Dutch population in a rational manner over the entire country.

This particular report put spatial planning on the national political agenda. The Dutch parliament demanded an overview of all the relevant processes that would lay the foundations of political intervention in the country's spatial development. This demand resulted in a 'Report on spatial order', which was published in 1960(Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting 1960). A second report followed in 1966. Soon after the publication of 'The West … and the rest of the Netherlands', the three northern provinces of Groningen, Friesland and Drenthe responded with their own report: 'The North of the Netherlands' (Bestuurscommissie Noorden des Lands 1958). This communicated the same alarming spatial planning message: that the North was threatened by immigration, unemployment and an ageing population, while the West was struggling to deal with the consequences of overdevelopment. The report argued that the North could help to relieve the West by following a policy that backed provincial development.

The solutions that were offered were not new. Rather, they constituted an enlargement and reinforcement of measures that were already being implemented. From 1951 onwards, subsidies for improving infrastructure and attracting industrial entrepreneurs had been introduced in so-called 'development areas'. Although these areas were not restricted to the northern part of the Netherlands, four of the eight national development areas were situated there. Once regional economic policy had merged with spatial policy, these development areas were replaced by the notion of 'problem areas'. The northern Netherlands as a whole was proclaimed to be a 'problem area', and the infrastructural and industrial policy instruments that had been designed to tackle its plight were reinforced. This regional policy was expanded during the 1960s.

In Germany, a policy for 'emergency areas' or *Notstandgebiete* appeared in 1949. To be classified as an emergency area, the region in question had to have an unemployment rate that exceeded 25% (Eberstein 1996). The policy provided budgets for the building of roads and industrial parks, as well as public grants for the erection of factories. A commission composed of policymakers from several national state departments determined the main line of the regional policy. National spatial planners also sat on the commission. After a couple of years, the term 'emergency area' was replaced with a more neutral term, that of 'reconstruction' (*Sanierung* in German). In the mid-1950s, annual programs were drawn up. In order to concentrate policy measures in regional centers, in 1959, a

'central place program' was established. By the end of the 1950s, infrastructural arrangements and factory premiums had been concentrated in central places. These regional central places were seen as 'cart horses' for the surrounding rural areas. In this sense, German regional policy also intersected with spatial planning. Following a recommendation by spatial planners, regional centers were renamed 'federal development places' (*Bundesausbauorte)* in 1963. These places were situated in 'federal development areas', or *Bundesfördergebiete*. During the 1960s, new regional development centers were regularly established. The zenith of this spatial-economic policy came at the end of the 1960s, with the establishment of Regional Action Programs.

THE NETHERLANDS AND GERMANY COMPARED

As we have seen, the Germany and the Netherlands both focused on disadvantaged areas in ways that merged economic ideas about regional development with ideas about national order in spatial development. Despite the similarities between the two, however, I think that there is something unique about the Dutch case. This uniqueness lies, in my opinion, in the intensity with which the spatial-economic strategy became a national endeavor. During the 1960s, many leading Dutch politicians and policymakers embraced the strategy of distributing economic activity across the Netherlands. Moreover, regional economic, political and civil society actors also gave considerable support to the idea of spreading the population more evenly. Policy strategies were no longer restricted to planning agencies, and the public responded to development plans with enthusiasm. In this wave of enthusiasm, it became generally accepted that the Randstad was an overdeveloped urban center, while other regions were the underdeveloped, rural periphery. The process of embracing a spatial-economic strategy to attract industry to the regions thus transmitted the conceptual divide between urban and rural space.

Although Germany embraced similar ideas concerning the harmonious development of the whole country, enthusiasm about distributive economic activities was not as widespread as in the Netherlands. Why, then, was the Dutch response more pronounced? The first part of the answer lies in the small size of our country. In the Netherlands, processes of agglomeration resulted in the spatial metaphor of the Randstad, which consists of a number of big cities in the west of the country. The Randstad as an urban center is unique to the Netherlands, given the great contrast between the enormity of the area and its important cities, Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and the rest of the Netherlands. This is also one of the main reasons why the Netherlands has a rich and long-standing tradition in developing strategies that promote the rational distribution of the population from urban centers to rural areas, a notion that was widely accepted between the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1970s.

The urbanized West could attract – and, indeed, has attracted – so much attention from spatial planners because, from a national perspective, the disproportionate role played by the Randstad was unprecedented. Experts, spatial planners and politicians saw future spatial disorder in the continuous growth of the big, western cities. The Netherlands was becoming a 'deformed' land. Because the Randstad was the only big, urban center, most of the spatial consciousness focused on the disconnection between the West and the rest of the country. Concerns about overdeveloped centers and underdeveloped regions, which could be heard all over

North West Europe, were focused in the Dutch case on the divide between the Randstad and the rest of the country. This made the message about spatial deformation all the more alarming, and increased its influence on the national planning system.

Political systems have to do something about alarming messages before problems can be turned into policy solutions, however. If we take the Dutch political system into account, as well as the small size of the Netherlands, then we arrive at the full explanation for the uniqueness of the Dutch case. Although the Randstad is the economic, cultural and social center of the Netherlands, the Netherlands is a decentralized nation state. The Netherlands is made up of provinces, and actors at the provincial level are endowed with both formal and informal power. Many actors are responsible for looking after regional interests, including provincial politicians, regional labor unions, and chambers of commerce. This is also the case in Germany, but compared to the Netherlands, the distance between regional actors and the federal or national centers of power is huge. Due to the small size of the Netherlands and the decentralized nature of its political system, the conceptual divide between urban and rural space plays a greater role in the Dutch spatial planning system. The Dutch nation state gives the regions – or, to be more precise, the provinces – a great deal of formal and informal power. They have strong connections with political power at the national level. After the Second World War, several provinces campaigned for regional economic policies that would lessen their economic vulnerability. These made extensive use of the conceptual divide between the 'urban West' and the 'rural rest'. This resulted in a strong regional policy that was eventually institutionalized and, once the strategy of distributing the population had been embraced, backed by the instrument of spatial planning. Regional politics and the protection of regional interests have thus had a major influence on spatial-economic development strategies.

Here we see a combination of features: a loud and clear divide between the overdeveloped West and the underdeveloped rest, in the midst of a political community that offers regions many opportunities for looking after their own interests. Given this combination, the spatial-economic development strategy that was developed in the 1960s became very widespread. The process of accepting the distributionist philosophy also had the effect of transmitting the spatial frame of the 'urban West' and 'rural rest'. The spatial-economic strategy was thus the medium for the far-reaching idea that the Randstad was the urban center of the Netherlands, while the rest of the country had a more or less rural character.

ADAPTION FROM THE 1970s ONWARDS

Structural transformation in the 1970s changed the context in which this development strategy operated, with its focus on distributing the population and developing regions using industrial policy (Pollard 1997). First, the industrial sector began to experience economic difficulties. Previously high growth in industrial production plunged, while processes that had involved people were replaced with machines. These developments had important implications for the future, and in the 1970s, the strong link between regional development and industrial advancement was severed. Besides, the idea of spreading economic activity from urban centers to the regions in the Netherlands and Germany became less attractive. The economic recession had a serious impact on big western cities. Unemployment grew in large urban centers, and people left the cities; the city

itself turned into a kind of 'development area'. Second, population forecasters turned out to have been mistaken; the population did not grow as fast as had been predicted in the 1950s and 1960s. In this changing context, the spatial-economic strategy of relieving urban centers and developing rural regions lost momentum.

Drawing on the comparison between the Netherlands and Germany, one can see the differences in the light of dialects of progress. It may be the case that Germany adapted its ideas and plans relating to spatial development sooner than the Netherlands due to the fact that the conceptual divide between urban and rural space had less influence on Germany's spatial planning system. Indeed, it may well be the case that Germany has a stronger tradition in the theory and practice of 'peri-urban' planning and landscapes. Given that this research project ended with the merger of spatial and regional policies in the 1950s and 1960s, I have so far been unable to test this hypothesis.

CONLUSION

This paper analyzed the influence of spatial concepts within the framework of social systems theory. It was argued that the influence of concepts within the spatial planning system depends on interaction between various actors involved in planning. Case studies illustrated how a conceptual divide between overdeveloped urban space and underdeveloped rural space played an influential role in both Germany and the Netherlands during the twentieth century. It was argued that one important reason for this lies in the cooperation that occurred between spatial planners searching for political influence and politicians who were keen to develop regional policies for economically vulnerable areas. The urban-rural divide functioned as a crucial link between actors who were operating with different ideas, interests and interpretive 'frames'.

The differences in the potency of this conceptual divide in the Netherlands and Germany were explained in terms of differences in the size and political systems of both countries. The relatively small size of the Netherlands and its decentralized political structure enabled Dutch actors to emphasize conceptual differences between urban and rural space in their communications about national spatial order. It could be argued that from the 1970s onwards, this initial lead in the spatial planning debate was transformed into a lag. The notion of a conceptual divide lost its influence as a result of the economic crisis, which had a serious impact on 'overdeveloped' urban areas. However, this paper has tried to stress the mechanisms at work in spatial planning systems. Interaction between various actors can explain the influence of concepts within the whole of the planning system, processes of interaction that are shaped by both physical and political phenomena.

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SCIENTIFIC CLOAK / ROMANTIC HEART: GORDON STEPHENSON AND THE REDEVELOPMENT STUDY OF HALIFAX, 1957

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ABSTRACT

In 1957 Gordon Stephenson prepared an urban renewal study for the city of Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada. An English architect-planner newly arrived at the University of Toronto via Australia, Stephenson epitomized the professional expert hired to diagnose urban ills and prescribe solutions. The paper examines the tension between humanistic moral values and rational scientific approaches in Stephenson's study, and seeks to identify some of the influences on his thinking and methods.

Gordon Stephenson enjoyed an illustrious career on three continents. After studying architecture in Britain and planning in the United States, Stephenson practiced as a planner and scholar in Britain, Australia, and Canada. This paper examines Gordon Stephenson's 1957 urban renewal study for Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada. Stephenson's report represented a milestone in several ways. As one of the early comprehensive studies conducted in Canada it offered a template for those that followed. As Stephenson's first major project of the sort it cemented his reputation as an authority in urban renewal. As an exhaustive compilation of slum conditions in Halifax it served as an indictment of neglect and as a rallying call for clearance: the moral judgements rendered in the report continue to tug at the social fabric of the city six decades later.

Through conducting his study, Stephenson became the vehicle for achieving Halifax's long desired 'house-cleaning' to recapture the centre of the city for modern uses (Paterson, 2009). By delineating areas that required attention Stephenson facilitated local government's access to federal funding to expropriate and clear land for commercial redevelopment. In his analyses Stephenson used empirical approaches that applied quasi-scientific methods to substantiate expert moral judgements about the needs, health, and well-being of disadvantaged community members. As such, the Halifax study epitomised the modernist perspective: combining technical expertise with a discourse of moral improvement and humanism. Stephenson cloaked romantic Victorian notions about the requirements of the family and the welfare of women and children within a technical discourse that relied on data, formulas, and maps to itemise and spatially delimit blight.

Given that Stephenson provided few sources in his writings to indicate where he obtained his ideas[1], scholars may find it challenging to trace the origins of the concepts and methods he used. Some of Stephenson's articles (e.g., Stephenson, 1958a, 1958b) and books (Stephenson, 1992, 1994) revealed his interest in planning history and philosophy but they generally lacked the discipline and rigour to fully illuminate his approach or explain his methods. At times his major works frustrate the reader by reporting curious vignettes and lists of pet ideas. In reviewing Stephenson's biography Rodwin (1995, 524) complained that the book proved 'terse and often uninformative' with 'no vigorous analyses of ideas'. In introducing Stephenson's 1994 monograph, noted historian Gordon Cherry (1994, i) wrote that the work 'is a compelling read – for its insights as well as its biases'. Several scholars offered substantive evaluations of Stephenson's work the year he died. Alexander and Greive (1997, 225) described Stephenson as 'an icon of modernism' who saw planning as inherently having social purpose. Dix (1997, iii) suggested that Stephenson's 'influence on architecture and planning … has been significant, beneficial and soundly based, yet … frequently underestimated'. In a more critical recent paper, Gregory (2010) noted that in his efforts to establish himself as a 'compassionate planner' Stephenson took a typically modernist, top-down approach that neglected engaging those who might be affected by his projects. Little has been written about Stephenson's work in Canada aside from occasional acknowledgement of his role in redevelopment studies (e.g., Collier, 1974).

This paper evaluates the ideas and approaches Stephenson used in conducting the redevelopment study of Halifax and seeks to situate his study in the context of its time and place[2]. It begins by reviewing the interest in urban renewal in the post-war period before discussing conditions in Halifax leading up to Stephenson's appointment. Following a brief introduction to Gordon Stephenson's ideas and professional history the paper proceeds to review the Halifax study. The analysis sections discuss the ideas and methods embodied in the Halifax redevelopment study to relate them to the professional and national context of the time. The paper concludes by reflecting on Stephenson's legacy in Halifax and his approach to the profession. Stephenson's Halifax study revealed the continuing tension between his moral perspective that 'town planning was … a humanitarian corrective to the urban degradation of yester-year' (Cherry, 1994, i) and his professional efforts to establish his technical credentials as an expert town planner who offered recommendations based on sound evidence and rational logic. Like many planners of his era, Stephenson struggled to bridge the moral and the physical: investigating his work provides useful insight into how planners in the post-war period developed methods and theory as they negotiated the tensions in their work.

URBAN RENEWAL IN CANADA IN THE POST WAR PERIOD

> *'…our cities must be renewed; for if they are not, the blight spreading at the centre will slowly and insidiously strangle the efficiency of the city and*

[1] Stephenson is not alone in this deficiency. Planning journal articles in the 1940s and 1950s often prove depressingly short on citations. Even authors mentioned in text may not merit complete citations.

[2] Archival sources provided many original materials examined for this study. Those included Halifax City Council minutes and reports.

> *may eventually render it unable to carry out its functions.' (Pickett, 1957: 131)*

When Stephenson arrived to take up a chair in planning at the University of Toronto in 1955, urban renewal was already underway in Canada. In its report on housing and community planning, the Advisory Committee on Reconstruction (1944) had highlighted the need for extensive slum clearance to address urban problems and provide appropriate housing to meet Canadian needs. In the summer of 1955, the City of Toronto was conducting its own urban renewal study (Advisory Committee on the Urban Renewal Study, 1956). The city had gained prominence for beginning to tackle slum housing with large scale clearance at Regent Park North in the 1940s (Rose, 1958). After seeking voter approval to borrow the funds to clear slum lands, the City of Toronto obtained federal funding to build modernist style public housing on the site. By 1951 over 1000 units were available in new buildings (Rose, 1958).

Toronto commissioned the renewal study for the second phase of Regent Park South in 1955. In the *Community Planning Review,* Albert Rose praised the 24 page redevelopment report, the first of its kind in Canada.

> 'One is immediately struck by the excellent format of the printed Report. It is a handsome document, well arranged, well documented, replete with maps, diagrams and photographs. … The Report is a very real contribution to the scant Canadian literature on housing and redevelopment.' (Rose, 1955, 113)

As Regent Park took shape, and pictures of its happy residents in their sparkling new kitchens hit the news stands, planners across Canada saw the redevelopment as a success. Rose (1958, 181) argued that Regent Park housed people in good units at high density but with abundant open space. He lauded the creation of a community with a diversity of ages and incomes and no signs of overcrowding.

Stephenson arrived in Toronto as the government of Canada was revising the National Housing Act provisions on slum clearance. Initially the legislation provided funding to local governments to build public housing to replace cleared slums. The revisions discussed in 1955 and passed in June 1956 permitted wider possible uses in redeveloping cleared lands. The Minister of Public Works, speaking to the bill on second reading, said that

> 'Canadian cities have inherited a stock of housing which is caught in the relentless process of deterioration and obsolescence. … In most cities there are areas where deterioration has reached a condition that can only be rectified by complete redevelopment.' (Winters, 1956, 79)

Noting that providing housing in central areas proved costly, and that Canadian families generally preferred detached housing, the Minister indicated that the amendments to the Act would begin to facilitate urban redevelopment to achieve the 'highest and best use' and the 'most effective function' of cleared land (Winters, 1956, 80). The changes encouraged wide-scale re-planning of central city areas and permitted private interests to participate in redevelopment. Local authorities needed to ensure they provided adequate housing to accommodate those displaced, but that could be outside central areas. To further assist local governments, the federal government's housing agency, the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), would provide funds for housing studies to build the case for redevelopment. These changes to the legislation provided the legal and

financial framework for Halifax's encounter with Gordon Stephenson and the city's foray into slum clearance.

The 1950s proved a pivotal time for community planning in Canada as it gained in importance and credibility (Wolfe, 1994). The Community Planning Association of Canada (CPAC), a citizens' association funded by CMHC, organised conferences and published its journal, *Community Planning Review*, to promote planning to the lay public and political leaders. Slum clearance and urban renewal became popular themes in the journal, alongside ideas such as comprehensive planning and neighbourhood units. The *Review* reprinted many conference addresses and speeches by political, business, and academic leaders affirming the need for planning. Senator David Croll crystallised the fear of blight: 'The slum, like its blood brother cancer, is a national plague and must be dealt with at the national level with local cooperation' (Croll, 1956, 144). Croll argued that local governments needed to follow the lead of Toronto in Regent Park to tackle 'the decaying and drying-up areas which breed disease, crime and social maladjustment' (1956, 145). In the public discourse of the 1950s cleaning up the slums reflected significant efforts to modernise the city.

Allen (2008) argued that slum clearance became the centrepiece of British housing reform policies in the late 19th century. In the post Second World War period, American cities coast to coast had jumped on the slum clearance bandwagon. Carl Feiss, a Washington-based planning consultant and professor who advised the US government, addressed CPAC's national conference in 1956 to talk about 'the desperate plight of our worn-out cities' (Feiss, 1956, 147). Feiss suggested that Congress saw slum clearance as part of a strategy to enable 'the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family' (1956, 147). Science and technology, Feiss suggested, could improve the urban environment and allow planners to design 'the city of the future' (1956, 156). Because the residents of slum areas sometimes resist leaving their homes, Feiss argued that strong citizens' associations (like CPAC) should lobby local governments to engage in planning and redevelopment.

THE HALIFAX CONTEXT

With its huge military infrastructure, Halifax experienced boom-bust cycles through most of its history. In war time the city grew rapidly, only to languish during times of peace. By 1943, Halifax city council had appointed a citizen committee to plan for peace time growth: the Civic Planning Commission (1945) produced the 1945 Master Plan recommending slum clearance for several run down neighbourhoods (Pacey, 1979). In 1950 the city adopted an official plan and zoning by-law (Halifax, 1950) to identify the projects -- including slum clearance ideas from the 1945 plan -- that it would carry out over a ten-year period (Paterson, 2009).

Paterson (2009) documented several efforts by council members in the early 1950s to designate areas for clearance: uncertainty about strategies for moving slum clearance forward and political repercussions to announcements about areas proposed stalled implementation. In December 1955, knowing that changes were coming to national legislation that would facilitate redevelopment of the city centre, Halifax council passed a motion indicating its intent to initiate slum clearance (Paterson, 2009). Early in 1956 the mayor visited Ottawa to meet with federal officials about how to proceed. Shortly after his return, Council passed a

motion to request $12,000 from the federal government for a survey of housing conditions to determine where redevelopment should occur. On 15 March 1956 the mayor told Council that the Minister of Public Works recommended Professor Stephenson for the job. Council minutes indicated that Council appeared to have considered no other candidates.

On 4 April 1956 Gordon Stephenson made his first appearance before Council to discuss the requirements for a housing survey (Paterson, 2009). Stephenson advised council to broaden the scope of the survey to a redevelopment study that would cost about $15,000 and take six months. The local paper, the *Halifax Mail-Star*, announced on its front page on 7 April 1956 that council had decided 'to engage Dr. Gordon Stephenson, one of the country's foremost authorities on housing, to conduct a study of housing conditions in Halifax with particular reference to redevelopment and zoning' (Paterson, 2009, 37). With funding agreements in place, council approved Stephenson's contract in July 1956 (Paterson, 2009).

GORDON STEPHENSON: BIOGRAPHY OF AN EXPERT

Stephenson joined the cohort of experts in town planning recruited to Canada in the period after the Second World War. Educated in architecture at the University of Liverpool, trained in planning at MIT, apprenticed in the atelier of Le Corbusier in Paris, schooled in hard knocks in the reconstruction group within the Ministry of Town and Country Planning during and after the war years, and respected as Lever Chair of Civic Design at the University of Liverpool, Stephenson enjoyed an exemplary reputation when he arrived to take his professorship in Toronto. His writings and designs revealed his adherence to a mix of values and theories popular in his time, and especially point to the influence on his thinking of people like Patrick Geddes, Lewis Mumford, and Clarence Stein.

In articulating his approach to town planning Stephenson (1949a) described 19th century towns as chaotic. As developers responded to industrialisation and the influence of the railroad in shaping spaces, Stephenson suggested that they ignored the needs of families. In Stephenson's view 'Town Planning or Civic Design is the science of ascertaining human needs and the ability to meet them' (1949a, 143). Following Mumford (1949), whose paper appeared three months earlier in *Town Planning Review,* the journal that Stephenson edited, Stephenson argued that the purpose of planning is meeting people's needs in varying phases of their lives. In Britain, he says, 'We have recognised that every family has the right to a decent home and that those in greatest need come first' (Stephenson, 1949a, 127). The planner must provide good living conditions because 'A slum environment creates a slum mentality. A family may fight its surroundings for a generation, but they will eventually reduce some members to a hopeless and helpless state' (Stephenson, 1949a, 132). This commitment to meeting family needs became a central theme in Stephenson's work, and led him to cite Mumford (1938, 1949) on many occasions.

Writing about design and economics, Stephenson suggested that 'Civic Design should express the purpose, aim, or intention of citizens. It is a means to an end and not an end in itself' (1953, 280). Like many other planners of his time, Stephenson saw planning and design as civilising influences overcoming the chaos of the industrial age: 'one of the main objectives of Civic Design [is] the provision of a civilised, efficient, and economically sound environment for human activities' (1953, 283).

In an address to the national conference of CPAC in Vancouver in 1957, as he was conducting the Halifax study, Stephenson reaffirmed his commitment to planning as a transformative tool to impose order on cities. If we want great cities, Stephenson said, we need to give up the focus on machines: 'We shall be talking of children instead of cars, of the good life rather than dollars, of the city as a symbol of our civilization' (1958, 4). Stephenson (1958) articulated a view of the city that had bachelors and childless couples living in apartments in the city, but families with children safely inhabiting planned suburbs with appropriate amenities. Previewing a conclusion in his Halifax study, Stephenson (1958, 10) linked crowding with specific concerns for youth: 'Overcrowding and life in rooms induces mental ill-health. Juvenile delinquency is a form of mental ill-health. It seems to be most intractable in areas of inadequate housing and congestion'. His rationale for clearing slums was simple: 'Slum areas, even though they are the only places in which some people can afford to live, must be cleared because they are slum areas – and a drain on the public purse as such. The worst slums, more often than not, will be where there are pressures for change of land use' (Stephenson, 1958, 9). Stephenson would plan affordable housing in new suburban areas where land costs and densities are lower and reuse the vital central cities to enable commerce to grow.

THE HALIFAX STUDY

Stephenson completed several redevelopment studies during his years in Canada, including ones for Ottawa, London, and Kingston. The study for Halifax was his first major undertaking in the country: as such it had quite an impact on him and on Canadian planning. In his biography, Stephenson (1992, 159) explained: 'It broke new ground as it was a voyage of discovery leading to the determination of related problems. … The work was rewarding; the report the most satisfactory of those with which I have been associated.'

> Hand-written note in the University of Liverpool Archives' copy of Stephenson's 1957 Halifax study [likely to Gerald Dix]:
>
> '*Gerald,*
>
> *This is probably the most effective job I ever did (I believe the fee was $5000 and the job occupied two summer vacations). It was effective if only because government and local government took effective action on nearly all the projects on p. 56 & p. 57 (Map 14). The manner of the presentation resulted from considerable thought and the close cooperation of the University of Toronto Press.*
>
> Gordon 27 / 7 / 82'
>
> [University of Liverpool Archives, item D.307 / 3 / 1 – on lined paper about 5 inches by 7.5 inches]

The report won kudos in Canada at the time of its release. In a review of the work, Thrift (1957, 182) wrote, 'This study will probably be regarded as one of the more distinguished of its kind and a model for many others to follow.'

Local authorities welcomed the report and committed themselves to implement it. In his Foreword to the report Mayor LA Kitz wrote,

> 'Two centuries of living… have worn our City fabric thin, and many of our streets are unsuitable for modern needs. … We have been fortunate in having Professor Gordon Stephenson, with his skill and broad experience, to give us this outstanding and comprehensive report.' (Stephenson, 1957, v)

Mayor Kitz picked up on metaphors and messages that pervaded Stephenson's report: of a frayed historic city worn down by the years and in danger of falling behind modern times. Stephenson's Preface pointed to the National Housing Act's interest in seeing cleared land redeveloped to its highest and best use to facilitate 'healthy growth and transformation' (Stephenson, 1957, vii). Throughout the report Stephenson described good planning as providing the tools to diagnose Halifax's problems and identify potential remedies. Strategies of separating land uses and replacing blighted areas with new development promised to deliver efficiency, health, and amenity to the city.

The report began with a historical review of the growth of the city that identified the early suburban extensions of the city (from the early 19th century) as the areas designated for the redevelopment study. A pictorial study provided an overview of conditions in the study area highlighting buildings that warranted rehabilitation or removal. In Section III of the report Stephenson mixed theory and evidence from his survey to identify problems and proposals. One paragraph effectively summed up his case.

> 'The survey has shown that the central fringe areas are not only obsolescent but are also the most costly for the City to service and administer. Although it is impossible accurately to estimate costs in relation to revenue, and the considerable losses which must occur, a series of maps illustrate the point. A great deal of the police and fire department work is concentrated in the older residential districts. The City is involved in the heavy costs of dealing with the mental and physical ill-health of young and old, which can to a considerable degree be attributed to bad housing conditions. There is an amazing concentration of juvenile delinquency and welfare cases immediately to the north of the central area.' (Stephenson, 1957, 21)

Stephenson outlined projected needs for housing and described a range of improvements suggested for the city. The worst areas of the central city were identified for redevelopment. While advocating renewal, Stephenson showed appreciation for Halifax's assets.

> 'It is of importance to the City of Halifax, and to the inhabitants of the metropolitan region, that the City Centre, which is a symbol as well as a main meeting place and focal point, should expand and grow in an orderly way. History has given the present generation a City Centre of great character. Despite complaints to the contrary, its compactness and intimate scale is of considerable advantage.' (Stephenson, 1957, 24-25)

Solutions Stephenson proposed to the problems identified proved fairly consistent through the report: clear slum housing, re-house people away from the city centre or sites needed for industrial use, improve zoning to clarify and differentiate uses, build parking lots near commercial areas, and design modernist structures on new sites.

The survey and recommendations occupied the second half of the 62 page report. Stephenson presented his detailed findings with a series of maps, tables, and

illustrations. While not as succinct as the Toronto study completed in 1956, the Halifax report certainly looked professional and comprehensive, and provided the answers that city council sought.

IDEAS EMBEDDED IN THE REPORT

Stephenson's Halifax report, as with his body of work generally, reflected the pervasive influence of several related ideas about urban conditions and human experience that dominated the discourse of planning in the 1950s.[3] Rather than explicitly frame a position based on theory, Stephenson presented his views as assertions: the expert understanding of the way that cities and people operate. Although the report included a section titled 'some references' Stephenson included only background studies on the Halifax situation. In the body of his report he named only two scholarly sources: M Allen Pond on the relationship between housing and health and Sir Cyril Burt on the effect of home conditions on mental health. Elsewhere the reader had to depend on Stephenson's expert judgement and interpretation.

What theory and ideas inspired Stephenson's work? Throughout his writings Stephenson often alluded to the importance of humanism, even titling his 1992 biography '*On a Human Scale*'. For Stephenson, humanism in planning involved a commitment to the principles developed and promoted by Ebenezer Howard, Patrick Geddes, William Lever, Raymond Unwin, Patrick Abercrombie, Thomas Adams, Clarence Stein, Lewis Mumford and others in the garden city and regional planning movements. These thinkers and planners sought to promote improved housing conditions for working people and wrote about managing the urban problems created by mechanisation and industrialisation. Stephenson (1958b, 1994) described such thinkers as philosophical radicals or practical Eutopists. Although some of the thinkers Stephenson admired linked their planning theories explicitly to their religious views, Stephenson appeared to take a pragmatic approach in adopting humanism as his philosophy. Modern town planning offered tools to redesign cities to accommodate healthy family life and 'human values': that became Stephenson's mission.

Stephenson (1949a) revealed his commitment to planning for human needs – his interpretation of humanism – in a paper in *Town Planning Review* shortly after he became editor of the journal. His view of civic design had morality and human dignity at its core; he pointed to Mumford's (1949) argument for addressing the needs of the family within a five minute walk of the home. In his editorial notes to the next issue of *TPR* Stephenson praised Clarence Stein and Henry Wright as 'humanists who were both skilled and practical' (Stephenson, 1949b, 185).

In the years leading up to Stephenson's arrival in Canada other planners wrote about human needs as a central theme in planning. Toronto planner Eugene Faludi (1950, 71) asked a rhetorical question in the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*: 'Shall we plan on a human scale for individualism, or on a de-humanized scale for collectivism?' Writing on humanism in community planning, Aronovici (1951, 23) said, 'The movement has been directed towards bringing about some

[3]Given that the academic style of the 1940s and 1950s often dispensed with citations it proved frustratingly difficult to trace Stephenson's intellectual lineage. His 1992 biography is barely more helpful, as it lacks probing analysis or insightful detail.

kind of symmetry between the accelerated and mechanized tempo of life and the unyielding and antiquated pattern of the physical plan.' While some voices (e.g., Ravitz, 1955) cautioned that cities needed to overcome problems of racism and insufficient attention to enforcing standards, the professional consensus held that planners who understand human needs could improve family life as well as urban revenues through physical improvements to the city (Alonso, 1966). Urban renewal would be both an ordering and a civilising process.

For Stephenson, reforming housing conditions took priority. In a paper published in the 1956-1957 report of the Town Planning Institute of Canada, Stephenson (1956/1957, 3) highlighted the contributions of Geddes, Howard, Unwin, Adams, Abercrombie, Stein, and Mumford:

> 'These are men who have enriched our minds but not themselves, who have had faith in people and their essential goodness. In short, they were humanists. They gained understanding of the industrial revolution and its tremendous effect on urban life. They inherited the legacy of the great Victorian thinkers to whom we owe so much. They have agreed with Charles Dickens that "the reform of habitations must precede all other reforms, and without it all other reforms must fail", and they have broadened the concept.'

The worry that poor housing harmed people pervaded Stephenson's report on Halifax.

> 'Poor accommodation, food, clothing, and heating make for a miserable family life, ill-health, juvenile delinquency; all are costly to the community. … Preventive medicine is now generally accepted as more effective and less costly than remedial. Clearance and redevelopment in the City will undoubtedly increase the efficiency of the hub of the metropolitan region, and remove some of the worst slums in the older parts. It will also provide new accommodation for a proportion of families now housed in bad conditions. It will not remove the causes which bring slums into being. Amongst these, and without doubt most important, is overcrowding of dwellings through a shortage of housing accommodation whose cost, in terms of purchase price or rent, must be within reach of the lower and lower-middle income groups.' (Stephenson, 1957, 22)

His discussion of overcrowding, disease, and crime revealed the links that Stephenson saw between these problems. The high costs of overcrowding, he wrote, 'can be measured in human terms in a study of records of juvenile delinquency, the public health services, and the fire and police records' (Stephenson 1957: 34). Stephenson often presented pathetic anecdotes to make points: for instance, in one case he described a family of father, mother, grandfather and 10 children living in four rooms (one a kitchen) sharing a toilet with nine other families and experiencing a high incidence of tuberculosis. He made clear that lack of sanitation, insufficient privacy, and crowding undermined the quality of family life. Such circumstances contributed to problems that could be averted by good planning.

> 'Juvenile delinquency is a sign of mental ill health, at an early age. Although it is not confined to one section of a community, it is more readily curable where home conditions are good and the physical environment

> provides outlets for the enormous amount of energy generated by youth.' (Stephenson, 1957, 38)

Stephenson did not let empirical evidence temper his theory, which can be characterised as environmentally deterministic. For instance, he wrote:

> 'On the whole children on the streets near the city centre are very cheerful. They play well together, seemingly without any sign of racial, social or religious intolerance. But their homes are crowded and inhospitable and, as may be judged from Section 6, they are exposed to sights and examples which must badly affect some of them. … In improved and new neighbourhoods, arranged with as much thought for the needs of children as those of automobiles, children will not so easily get into trouble.' (Stephenson, 1957, 38)

The target of attack in the renewal process was blight: a term applied with great regularity but less commonly defined. To situate Stephenson's work in his time it proved helpful to examine some of the key planning journals that he may have read in the years before and as he conducted the Halifax study. From 1949 to 1954 Stephenson served as editor of the Town Planning Review. He would likely also have been familiar with the Journal of the American Institute of Planners, as it had already gained prominence and regularly published papers on approaches to urban renewal. When he came to Canada, Stephenson would have encountered the Community Planning Review, the journal of the Community Planning Association of Canada4. These journals thus offer useful insights into the thinking that governed planning in the period and provided contextual material to illuminate Stephenson's contribution.

In presenting the American Institute of Planners' position to a Senate committee, Alfred Bettman (1945, 5) said, 'The disease which we call blight must be something less visible, more subtle, deeper, than the mere age or structural obsolescence of the existing buildings'. Metaphors of disease and decrepitude commonly accompanied discussions of blight in the literature of the period. Planners described blighted areas as containing jumbled uses that made them inefficient in light of modern technologies and poor sanitary standards that undermined the health of those living in them. Stephenson (1949a, 1953) added to this list of problems the notion that in good civic design, areas near important civic functions should present the best face of the city and offer a lasting legacy. Thus he wrote in the Halifax report: 'Within a stone's throw of the factory and City Hall is to be found derelict land and bad housing' (Stephenson, 1957, 12). 'The buildings along Brunswick Street, below the Clock, are also unworthy of their position' (Stephenson, 1957, 14). Removing blight would restore hierarchy, order, and beauty in the city centre.

In Stephenson's view, the passage of many decades and inappropriate mixing of uses in the core created blight. Dealing with blight would open opportunities for commerce to expand and for the city to modernise.

> 'The need is to forecast the growth of the non-residential elements, and their land requirements, and through planning to make a clear cut

[4]Although the Town Planning Institute of Canada was meeting during Stephenson's years in Canada, it didn't begin to publish *Plan Canada* until 1959, after the Halifax study.

> distinction between land for residential and non-residential uses. Uncertainty leads to confusion and further deterioration.' (Stephenson 1957: 18)

The recommendations for improvements in the busy and successful shopping district on Gottingen Street affirmed 'it will be important to have clear-cut zoning to distinguish the shopping and commercial development from the residential, educational, and ecclesiastical' (Stephenson, 1957, 26-27). Referring to the mixing of uses near Gottingen the report noted, 'An intermixture of this kind always presents severe obstacles to healthy growth' (Stephenson, 1957, 27). The recommended solution involved replacing residential uses with parking lots for shoppers.[5]

While blight could affect areas of varying uses, blighted districts inhabited by people earned the designation of slum. For planners who saw themselves as humanists, slums were places of human misery generated by overcrowding and blighted conditions. As Faludi (1947, 11) wrote,

> 'Nearly all the towns and cities of Canada now have problems of over-crowding and housing shortages. Residential districts almost everywhere have been gradually declining in recent years, and neighborhoods degenerate faster than the houses in them, once deterioration has set in.'

While Stephenson's primary worry was that letting residents live in slum conditions undermined the moral character of inhabitants, his case for Council also stressed the cost to city coffers.

> 'A great deal of the police and fire department work is concentrated in the older residential districts. The City is involved in the heavy costs of dealing with the mental and physical ill-health of young and old, which can to a considerable degree be attributed to bad housing conditions. There is an amazing concentration of juvenile delinquency and welfare cases immediately to the north of the central area.' (Stephenson, 1957, 21)

Like other planning experts of his time, Stephenson gave little attention to the possibility that slum residents may wish to remain in their homes or that they may have formed place-based communities. For instance, his analysis of Africville, an African-Nova Scotian settlement of about 70 homes at the north end of the peninsula outside the municipal service district, described deplorable living conditions and sanitation standards. Stephenson (1957, 27) wrote that the residents needed to be re-housed: 'The land which they now occupy will be required for the further development of the City.' Although Stephenson (1957, 27-28) suggested that 'Africville stands as an indictment of society and not of its inhabitants,' he advocated displacing inhabitants of a community that had occupied the site for over a century.[6] Moral improvement required improved housing.

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[5]One of the early clearance projects developed parking lots for Gottingen Street as Stephenson recommended. A vibrant shopping district in a mixed income neighbourhood when Stephenson saw it, by the 1980s Gottingen Street had lost many of its premier shops; by the 1990s it had more vacancies than occupants and social services dominated its tenant profile. In recent years gentrification is producing new condominium projects on the street as residential uses displace commercial uses.

[6]In light of Stephenson's report and consultation with other planning experts in the 1960s, the city evicted residents and razed Africville. Years of controversy and dissention followed. The

Modernising the city in the 1950s demanded attending to economic conditions and called for applying new strategies.

> 'With nearly all the land of the City now in urban use, there can be some stocktaking. The time is ripe for urban redevelopment and improvement, in which many of the bad results of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century vicissitudes may be removed. New healthy growth in place of the old which has decayed, will add economic strength, give far better living conditions, and increase both the efficiency and the beauty of the City.' (Stephenson, 1957, 6)

The language of 'healthy growth' provided a euphemism for planned development[7]: growth in desired ways with separation of uses and appropriate amenities. The AIP (1954, 53) statement of policy on urban redevelopment published the year before Stephenson arrived in Canada explained:

> 'The spread of blight from the outmoded and run-down central areas of cities, with its wake of excessive crime and fire rates and falling real estate values, must be stopped. New and healthy growth must be encouraged if our cities and their citizens are to have a wholesome future.'

Thus Stephenson's prescriptions for the health of families in crowded and blighted conditions in the city centre involved relocating them either to the suburbs or to new affordable housing projects outside the core, while his plans for healthy growth in the city proposed room for commerce to expand in the city centre and envisioned new industrial districts on the periphery. The future Halifax would have space for parking and easy automobile access from the peripheries to the city centre while its residential areas would protect pedestrians from having to deal with street traffic.

METHODS FOR THE REDEVELOPMENT STUDY

Given the relative paucity of redevelopment reports conducted in Canada prior to the Halifax study, Stephenson had few models to emulate. While he had prepared plans for new towns in the UK, he had not previously done a redevelopment study. The studies previously completed for Toronto in 1956 and already underway in Saint John, New Brunswick, in 1956 as he began his work likely influenced his approach in some ways. As Stephenson (1992) claimed and Dix (1997) confirmed, however, the Halifax study broke new ground. Stephenson likely also drew extensively on approaches to urban renewal being discussed in the planning literature of the period as he developed methods not previously seen in Canada.

American cities carried out many urban redevelopment studies in the 1940s and 1950s: the pages of the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* reported on the results as planners developed their methods and described their positive results. McHugh (1946) employed statistical methods to determine desirable

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Africville Genealogy Society finally reached an agreement with the city and federal government in 2010 to accept a financial settlement that would permit the rebuilding of the community church and an interpretation centre at the former site of Africville.

[7]As Halifax began to develop a regional planning strategy in the early 2000s it returned to the language of 'healthy growth' in branding its public consultation process.

densities in New York: his elaborate charts and analyses led him to conclude that 'urban rebuilding standards for better city living in almost every town are likely to call for lower than existing densities' (McHugh, 1946, 30).

A symposium organised by AIP (1950) paid special attention to articulating the criteria planners used in delimiting redevelopment areas. AIP asked nine prominent city planners to describe the specific statistical indices of blight or slum conditions they used. Among the luminaries responding were Charles Bennett (Los Angeles), Edmund Bacon (Philadelphia) and Harland Bartholomew (St Louis). The planners pointed to a range of statistical analyses they employed. The measures used by one or more of the cities included age of dwelling, condition/ need of major repairs, no bathroom, poorly constructed buildings, inadequate ventilation or light, value of dwelling, assessed values (low or decreasing), tax delinquencies, ownership diversity (proportion of tenants), obsolete platting (e.g., short lots), average monthly rents, average population density, more than one person per room, pulmonary tuberculosis (cases or deaths), juvenile delinquency, crime, fires, welfare cases, infant mortality, transmission of disease, cost of providing services, availability of public services, vacancies in buildings or lots, conversion of use, population trends (racial trends), traffic conditions, street patterns or conditions, and scattered development. Some cities used some combination of a specific number of these factors to designate areas of blight. Bacon wrote, 'the more factors are present, the more nearly certain blight has advanced to the point requiring corrective public action' (API, 1950, 117).

In response to the question, 'What are the relative stresses placed upon statistical criteria and upon judgment of intimate first hand knowledge', Harland Bartholomew answered 'Both are indispensable' (AIP, 1950, 119). Herman Berkman from Chicago said, 'In the standards used, although there are elements of subjectivity, an attempt has been made to quantify the elements of blight in terms of percentages and penalty points' (AIP, 1950, 114). Charles Bennett cautioned readers, however:

> 'even though it may usually be relatively simple to make determinations as to the location of blight through judgment and field inspection alone, that in itself is insufficient to convince the courts that condemnation under this expanded power of eminent domain is legally justifiable. Supporting evidence in the form of statistical criteria is an indispensable medium in establishing the existence and amount of blight in any given area.' (AIP, 1950, 115)

Bartholomew set out a rating system with weights whereby homes surveyed earned penalty points: no running water = 25, age of buildings = 20, no private bath = 20, needing major repair = 20, tenant occupied = 10, overcrowding = 5. George Duggar and William Ludlow from San Francisco developed a penalty score-sheet for evaluating areas that totalled to 100 points. Higher penalty scores identified candidate areas for clearance. Numbers evidently provided rhetorical power.

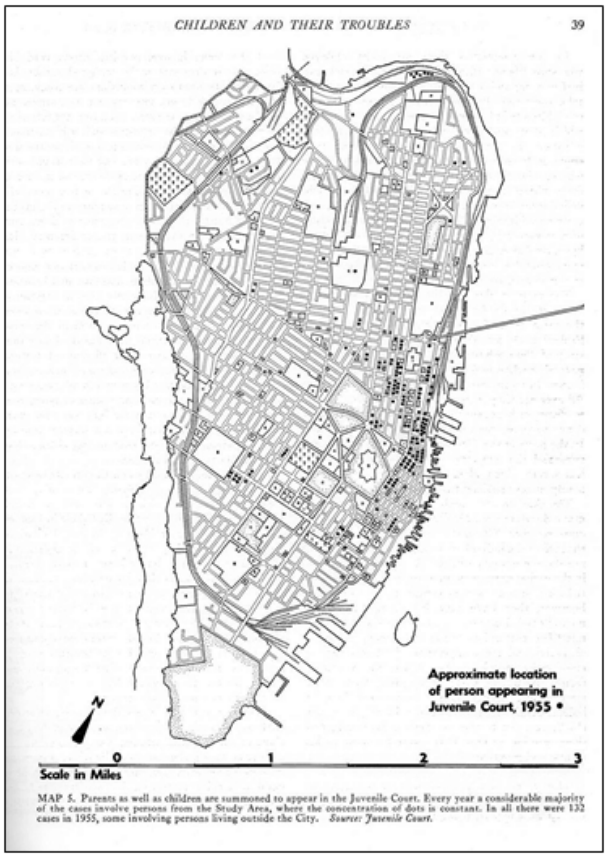
Several of the American cities used procedures from the field survey set out by Committee on the Hygiene of Housing of the American Public Health Association. The field assessment allowed planners to confirm conditions on the ground as assessors looked for signs of blight such as dirty areas, unpainted houses, littered yards, broken windows, and insufficient open space. The correspondent planners indicated that they assembled and mapped the data to show blighted areas.

Charts, tables, and score sheets permitted them to show at a glance which areas were blighted.

Planners in the 1950s had a keen interest in developing tools for displaying data and informing decision making. While Stephenson was editor of *TPR* the journal published a paper discussing techniques for representing density on urban population maps (Hunt 1952). A few years later in *JAIP*, Creighton (1956: 33) argued that planners should use the latest technology to 'develop large-scale visual methods of presentation such as were used in solving the problems of invasion and aerial combat during the last war.'

Stephenson would have been quite familiar with the other slum clearance studies completed or underway in Canada. In conducting its study of Toronto the Advisory Committee on the Urban Renewal Study (1956) developed a series of maps documenting population and housing characteristics such as dwellings in need of major repair, crowded dwellings, earnings of family heads, and net densities: the report, however, did not include these maps. The report provided relatively few illustrations apart from photographs of housing conditions and maps of redevelopment areas, leaving readers with limited ability to evaluate the recommendations. Georges Potvin's (1957) renewal study of Saint John acknowledged that Gordon Stephenson visited the city twice to assist with the project. Potvin pointed to the original survey methods that his team had pioneered in conducting its research: the small scale of the city enabled them to document housing conditions in detail and to use toned maps extensively to illustrate some of the features described. Stephenson built on these examples in doing his work in Halifax.

Stephenson's methods show that he was well aware of the strategies the field was developing. Stephenson used and elaborated many of the methods described in the literature of the day and in the Canadian precursors. His 'pictorial description of the city' (Stephenson, 1957, 6) began with an idyllic view of bathers at a city beach before continuing to document dreadful conditions in the city's slums. The section included 27 images taken from a variety of perspectives; captions presented a combination of philosophical positions, evidence of blight, and proposals for change.



The analytic section of the report, 'The survey and recommendations', contained three parts: Part IV set out data on the city as a whole; Part V described the study area; Part VI provided development proposals. The survey presented 14 maps (plus a fold-out key map to block numbers identified in tables), eight tables, three formulas, and five figures illustrating redevelopment potential for key sites.

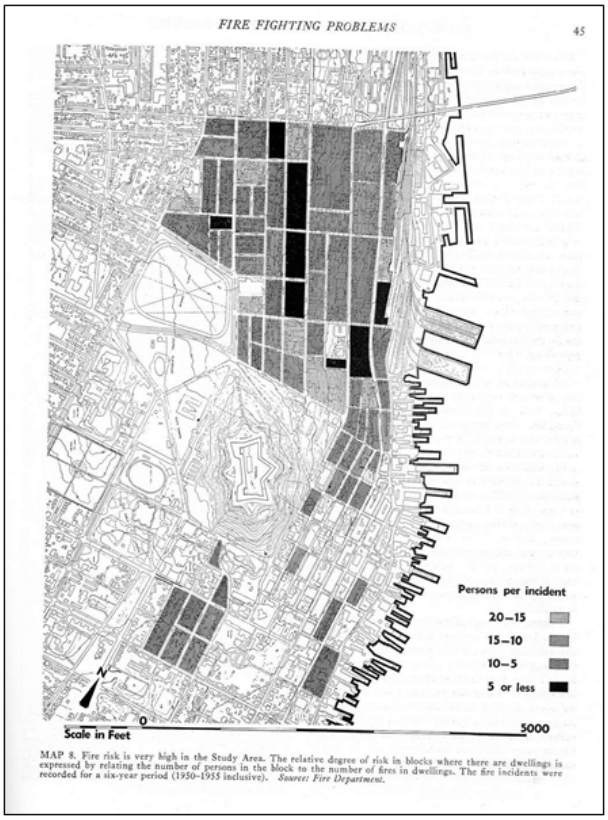
The maps proved striking (see Figure above): Stephenson used tones and dots to draw readers' attention to the inadequacies of parts of the study area. Each map took an entire 8.5 by 11 inch page on the right side of the report. Ten of the maps illustrated features used to delimit blight (see Table 1) while others identified land uses in the area and sites for remedial action.

Stephenson's choice of using one dot to represent 100 persons may have reflected his familiarity with Hunt's (1952) work on mapping conventions. The themes he chose to investigate and display – for instance, fire and police calls, tuberculosis cases, and unsanitary conditions -- clearly corresponded to the priorities appearing in the American literature, but the earlier Canadian studies had not documented these issues in the same way. The decision to use tones on the maps probably followed common practice, but the variations in tonal saturation Stephenson presented were less than crystal clear in the printed report (and certainly less effective than those Potvin used in the Saint John study).

Table 1: Content of the feature maps in Stephenson's 1957 report

Map number (and page)	Feature described	Display strategy
Map 2 (33)	Distribution of population in city by block, 1951 census	One dot = 100 persons
Map 3 (35)	Location of school children in the city testing positive for tuberculosis	One dot = one person
Map 4 (37)	Location of relief case (welfare recipient) in the city August 1956	One dot = one case
Map 5 (39)	Approximate location of person appearing in Juvenile Court in the city 1955	One dot = one person
Map 6 (41)	Density of criminal Code incidents per acre in the city	Six saturations of tone indicating density of incidents per acre (from 0.00 to 12.00)
Map 8 (45)	Fire risk indicating persons per incident in study area (1950-55)	Four saturations of tone indicating numbers of persons (from 5 or less to 20-15)
Map 9 (47)	Overcrowding as percentage of all dwellings in block in study area	Seven saturations of tone indicating percent (from no overcrowding to 75% or more)
Map 10 (49)	Unwholesome sanitary conditions percentage deficiency in study area	Five saturations of tone showing percent (from under 5% to 30% or more)
Map 11 (51)	Condition of residential buildings percent inadequacy in study area	Five saturations of tone showing percent (from 15-29% to 75% or more)
Map 12 (53)	Property values in study area in dollars per square foot	Seven saturations of tone showing value per sq ft (from 0-3 to 50 or more)

In representing some data, Stephenson muddied the analysis. Two maps suffered from showing categories that were not mutually exclusive or exhaustive (see Figure below). The map of fire risk may have constituted a compromise, as in text Stephenson talked about the preponderance of fire calls coming from the study area and indicated that fires there claimed heavy loss of life. His Map 8 in the volume, however, showed neither the total calls nor deaths but rather 'persons per incident' (Stephenson, 1957, 45): in so doing, the map essentially linked housing density with fire responses over a six year period to support the argument that slums increase costs to the city.



Most tables that Stephenson included offered simple counts: the data tables demonstrated conditions in each of the 119 blocks in the study area. Three tables presented calculations derived from formulas that Stephenson developed (see Table 2). The first formula calculated a percentage of overcrowding in dwellings in a block (Stephenson, 1957,, 46). It reflected the common view at the time that one person per room was an appropriate standard for avoiding crowding. The second formula developed a complicated calculation that required assessing the availability of three sanitary fittings for each household in each building in a block to issue penalty points that could then be rendered into a 'percentage deficiency' (Stephenson, 1957, 48-49). Wholesome conditions in this perspective required that each family have private access to sanitary facilities. In introducing his third formula, Stephenson (1957, 50) acknowledged 'in this section judgement is, in part, subjective.' He provided a scoring system that evaluated each dwelling on his list of possible infractions: the worst score possible for a building was 3 while the best was 0. Scores were multiplied by the number of occupants and then the block 'percentage inadequacy' could be calculated. While the formulas may have added a scientific aura to Stephenson's presentation, they depended on problematic premises and calculations.

Table 2: Formulas Stephenson used in the Halifax report

Reference in report	Purpose of formula	Formula

Pages 46-47, *Overcrowded families*	To determine percent of homes in block that have more people than rooms	Number of persons-number of rooms X 100 Number of persons
Page 48-49. *Unwholesome sanitary conditions*	To determine deficiency in provision of sanitary facilities within blocks; penalty points given for deficiency in each of three elements (toilet, sink, bath)	Number of points against X 100 Number of persons in block X 3
Pages 50-51 *Condition of residential buildings*	To determine the percentage of buildings in poor condition by block (including use, size, windows, vermin, dampness, running water, heating)	Number of points against X 100 Number of persons in block X 3

The survey section of the report reflected the tensions that Stephenson negotiated in preparing the report. On the one hand, he needed to play the role of expert professional, offering up scientific facts and prescribing remedies. On the other hand, he could not completely avoid pronouncing value judgements. In his discussion of police problems and crime, for instance, Stephenson accompanied detailed counts by type of crime and police beat with intense speculation based on the mores of his humanistic position.

> 'Does bad housing have a direct bearing on the work of the police and add to the cost of policing the City? It is not possible to make an evaluation without more evidence than is likely to be available. It is, however, reasonable to surmise that there is a direct, if complicated, relationship. Certainly, most of the young who get into trouble come from the bad housing areas … They are forced on to the streets from overcrowded, objectionable homes. The same conditions break the parents. The man stays away from home. The woman gets into squabbles with neighbours who by the nature of the dwelling invade her privacy.' (Stephenson, 1957, 40)

Although Stephenson had the mandate of assessing conditions within a particular study area he insisted that Council understand the city's problems within a wider context. His choice of presenting several maps at city-wide scale reinforced that search for a comprehensive perspective. In identifying areas for redevelopment he mapped outside the defined study area to point to the need to prepare locations for replacement housing and to plan for the requirements of the larger metropolitan region.

Stephenson's legacy in Halifax

Halifax city fathers enthusiastically accepted Stephenson's study and promptly obtained resources to implement his recommendations. As Pacey (1979) noted, the city exceeded the scale of renewal that Stephenson suggested. Where the 1957 report recommended clearing nine acres, eventually Halifax cleared 18 acres. Where Stephenson had envisioned redevelopment scaled appropriately to the Halifax context, the 1960s brought high-rise modernist towers to the city, obstructing some of the views from the Citadel that Stephenson had praised (Pacey, 1979). Much of the central redevelopment area that Stephenson saw as ripe for redevelopment sat vacant for a decade waiting for developers to take an interest in investing in growth in Halifax (Collier, 1974). By the time the projects finally welcomed occupants the momentum for urban renewal had dissipated in Halifax, as it had in many other cities (Grant, 1994).

For planners of Stephenson's era, tackling blight and renewing the urban core provided the critical justification for establishing professional planning as a function of local government. The concerns about the effects of blighted districts and slum housing provided planners with arguments that zoning alone was not sufficient to protect the quality and efficiency of the modern city: comprehensive planning by competent professionals was essential (AIP, 1954). Ample provision of statistics, charts, maps, and tables in their redevelopment studies provided important rhetorical devices for planners in the post-war period to substantiate their arguments and cloak their advice in the authority of science. Yet underneath Stephenson's jacket beat the heart of a Victorian romantic. Like Ebenezer Howard before him, Gordon Stephenson fundamentally saw planning as a tool to protect the family and to enhance individual development. His prescriptions for redesigning the city had at their root the desire to safeguard women and children.[8] Like so many of his contemporaries, Stephenson sought through his career to marry the technical and the moral.

Although it appeared in 1957, the Halifax redevelopment study remained a social product of the late Victorian age and a technical artefact of the post-war modernist era. It represented the epitome of modernist planning in prescribing strategies to instil order on a disorderly and blighted city. Its author acknowledged the city's social and economic inequities without offering fundamental solutions to them. In preparing the report Stephenson essentially spoke to and for power.

In his biography, Stephenson (1992, 161) revealed great pride in his Halifax work, claiming that 'All those who worked on the study must be proud that action was taken on all twelve proposals.' He reported that slum dwellers had relocated to new housing near the city centre: he included the plan and a photograph of Mulgrave Park public housing. The biography offered few insights on or regrets about the troubling consequences of urban renewal planning in cities like Halifax. Firmly committed to his moral stance that his planning work improved local conditions, Stephenson permitted little reconsideration of these early projects. While he acknowledged that in his redevelopment projects he may not have had enough concern about historic preservation and may have been overly eager to

[8]Stephenson's humanism may not have extended to recognising fully the contribution of his wife, Flora, who like him had a master's degree in planning from MIT. He thanked her for 'encouragement and continuous help' in his preface and noted that she contributed to the survey in 1956, yet Stephenson earned the glory.

accommodate the car, Stephenson remained committed to the paradigms that infused the 1957 Halifax study.

The Halifax study launched Stephenson as an expert in conducting such surveys. It permitted him to develop a suite of techniques that served him well. As he noted (Stephenson, 1992, 162), 'Using the survey techniques tested in Halifax we soon discovered that Kingston was indeed "not quite as slummy as Halifax".' Halifax became a standard of decrepitude against which Stephenson evaluated other cities while Stephenson's report became the indictment against which authorities in Halifax evaluated their city's quality and prospects for decades to come.

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GORDON STEPHENSON AND CAMPUS PLANNING IN AUSTRALIA

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ABSTRACT

University planning and design became part of British architect-planner Gordon Stephenson's repertoire in the early 1950s. Over subsequent decades he contributed to the redevelopment of existing, and the planning of new, campuses in Canada, Ireland, Singapore and Australia. In his autobiography, On a Human Scale: a life in city design (Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1992), Stephenson devoted a chapter to university design and, reflecting on the standing of this professional specialisation in his career, he remarked that it had given him 'a great deal of pleasure'. Drawing on published and primary archival sources, this paper surveys Stephenson's work in the realm of campus planning and design in Australia, where he left his mark on universities in Western Australia, South Australia and Queensland. The discussion identifies the political and academic context, the individuals, and the planning paradigms and ideas that helped shape his philosophies and plans. It draws on specific university planning projects across time to illustrate the application of his ideas and to assess his contributions.

INTRODUCTION

Gordon Stephenson (1908-1997) left 'a legacy around the globe' following his long working life as an architect, planner and academic (Gregory 2010: 1). In 1953, on the eve of his departure as Lever Professor of Architecture in the School of Civic Design at the University of Liverpool, he wrote to his one-time lecturer and later mentor and close friend, American architect-planner Clarence Stein, that at that point in his life, he was content with the prospect of a peripatetic career. 'In the way of practical work I should like it to be my lot to work in newer or underdeveloped countries. Though I am at heart an architect and am leaving an office which has a lot of interesting architectural work, it would probably give more satisfaction to help other people along, be they students or struggling technicians and politicians in underdeveloped countries' (Stephenson to Stein 27 July 1953). So began for Stephenson, his wife Flora Crockett and their three daughters Gail, Ann and Sarah, a working and family life on the move between England and the 'newer' countries of Australia, Canada and the United States. Eventually, in 1960, they made their home in Perth, the capital of Western Australia, which Stephenson had described after his initial visit there as 'a vast and largely undeveloped state' but one with 'quite a future. The community of kindly people is very isolated and the general support [for planning] needs building up' (Stephenson to Stein 27 July 1953; 16 November 1953).

Stephenson had in fact experienced life abroad from early adulthood. In the final years (1927-29) of his professional training in architecture under Charles Reilly at the School of Civic Design, Liverpool, he travelled with William Holford, his peer, good friend and later professional partner, to Paris, Italy and New York (Cherry and Penny 1986; Stephenson 1992). Stephenson returned to Paris in 1931-32 and in

1936-38 to the US where he completed a masters in city planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). He was a Commonwealth Fellow at MIT, an achievement that proved of significance to his career as a university planner.

University planning emerged as a strand in Stephenson's work in the early 1950s and he recalled that it gave him 'a great deal of pleasure' (Stephenson 1992: 180). His discussion of 'University design' in his autobiography, *On a Human Scale*, focuses on his extensive contributions at the University of Western Australia (UWA). By contrast, this paper is an introductory exploration of his larger portfolio. The research has adopted an empirical approach. It draws on published sources, notably Stephenson's own writings about university planning, and project reports that he co-authored with his collaborators, as well as primary materials. The latter includes his correspondence (1949-1969) with Clarence Stein held at the University of Liverpool Archives, Liverpool, and archival records in collections of the University of Adelaide and the Flinders University of South Australia. Surviving personal papers as well as recollections from a small number of key collaborators have assisted preliminary identification of the nature and extent of Stephenson's contributions beyond UWA. I am yet to examine documents on university planning contained in a collection of Stephenson papers that came to light in Perth in early 2010 or to undertake field work beyond Adelaide.

The discussion is in three parts. The first begins with a very brief introduction to university planning and design andthen surveys the post-war tertiary education sector environment in Australia. The second part introduces the Australian university projects with which Stephenson was associated while the last outlines the ideas and principles which informed his thinking on campus planning.

UNIVERSITY PLANNING AND DESIGN

Universities have a long history and their layout and design have been informed over time by a variety of factors. Social, cultural and economic forces, educational philosophies and government policy have all played their part. So too have architectural and urban planning principles and paradigms. British and American traditions and exemplars have dominated. The Oxbridge or collegiate model on which institutions like Oxford, Cambridge, Chicago and Yale were laid out is well-known(Coleman 1999). Here compact, monastic style courtyards and cloisters offered linked open spaces for both communal and individual use. The American 'academical village', a phrase coined by Thomas Jefferson to capture the intent behind his design for the University of Virginia (1817), encapsulated the notion of the university being its own community or 'city in microcosm' (Turner 1984: 3). Colleges were located in spacious, open settings but turned their back on the idea of cloistered structures in favour of being 'open to the world'. They did, however, retain their emphasis on forming a tight-knit, autonomous community.

Historically, the physical growth of university campuses was slow and prior to the twentieth century the growth in numbers of new universities was not sharp. However, circumstances changed dramatically after World War 2 when access to tertiary education was opened up internationally. The changed context led to 'demands for more open [design] approaches' and ones that acknowledged university planning as a process 'in tune with modern principles of change and growth' (Hunt 2002: 325; Turner 1984: 260). While on the one hand the Oxbridge

approach came under review as 'the postwar educational institution became more complicated, the need was also felt to break it [the institution] down into smaller units, and in other ways to regain the positive qualities of the traditional college'.

THE AUSTRALIAN POST-WAR TERTIARY EDUCATION ENVIRONMENT

Each Australian capital city had one university prior to World War 1 and they were all designed on the basis of an 'eclectic aesthetic-based planning' derived from a mix of international, domestic and adapted influences (Freestone 2000: 187). Education was a state responsibility, and tertiary institutions therefore relied primarily on financial support from the state. However, they did receive injections of Commonwealth money for particular purposes like scientific research. After World War 2 the Commonwealth supported ex-service men and women to attend university by offering them funding under the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme which proved to be a highly successful initiative.

In 1950 the Commonwealth government introduced grants 'for general university purposes … [but these] turned out to be little more than a palliative' and the states pressured the Commonwealth for regular financial assistance (Bayliss 1984: 4). Consequently, in December 1956, Prime Minister Robert Menzies established the Committee on Australian Universities (CAU), appointing Keith Murray, then chair of Britain's University Grants Commission, as its leader. At the time of CAU's formation Australia had nine universities and two university colleges catering for approximately 35,000 students (Table 1).

Table 1 Australian Universities and University Colleges 1957

University	Foundation date	Enrolments (1957)
University of Sydney	1850	8,318
University of Melbourne	1853	7,908
University of Adelaide	1874	4,317
University of Tasmania	1890	1,004
University of Queensland	1909	5,709
University of Western Australia	1911	2,356
Australian National University	1946	67
New South Wales University of Technology	1949	5,041
New England University (founded originally in 1938 as New England University College)	1954	1,149
Canberra University College	1930	396
Newcastle University College	1951	Incl in NSW UT

Source: Report of the Committee on Australian Universities, September 1957: 23.

Like countries overseas, Australia experienced a dramatic increase in demand for post-secondary education in the post-war period. Demand was fuelled by various factors including a significant baby boom; an immigration program initiated by the Commonwealth government in 1947; exponential growth in manufacturing industries and in exploitation of natural resources; new international defence and diplomatic corps commitments and, under the Colombo Plan, the opening up of opportunities for tertiary students from South East Asian countries to receive education in Australia (Parliament of Commonwealth 1957: 12-16). The pressure of higher student numbers revealed inadequacies in existing tertiary institutions. Menzies therefore charged CAU, inter alia, to '"indicate ways in which the

universities might be organized so as to ensure that their long-term pattern of development is in the best interests of the nation"' (Parliament of the Commonwealth 1957: 5).

Faced with new endeavours and challenges one of Australia's critical post-war needs was to produce 'a very large number of very highly educated men and women' in all fields across the arts, sciences and technology. As CAU reported in an influential document known as the Murray Report (1957), the community considered that one of the roles of the university was to educate graduates 'in every walk of life' as well as to carry out research in traditional and new fields, but especially in science and technology. Equally, at a time when post-secondary education was more widely available and desirable, the universities' role was to find ways to assist students 'of an increasing variety of kinds', from full to part-time, internal to external. Universities also had a duty to provide residential accommodation, especially given actual and anticipated future enrolments from rural areas (Parliament of the Commonwealth 1957: 13, 120).

In the circumstances, members of CAU predicted thatin the decade from 1957 student enrolments in Australian universities would increase by over 100 per cent. They urged the government to take 'immediate action … if the situation is not to become catastrophic' (CAU 1957). Based on submissions from each of the universities, government departments and various individuals and agencies, the Murray Report outlined existing deficiencies in university resources. They ranged from inadequate teaching accommodation, laboratory and staff spaces, student recreational and living facilities to a paucity of equipment for teaching and research. The Report recommended that the Commonwealth fund an immediate program of capital grants in each of the following three years – 1958, 1959 and 1960. Significantly, too, it proposed the establishment of a committee charged with making recommendations to the Commonwealth regarding university matters generally and financial investments specifically. Accordingly, in 1959, the Menzies government established the Australian Universities Commission (AUC).

Table 2 Australian Universities established 1957-1975

Name and location	**Date**
Monash University, Clayton, Victoria	1958
Macquarie University, Sydney, NSW	1964
La Trobe University, Melbourne, Victoria	1964
University of Newcastle, Newcastle, NSW	1965
Flinders University of South Australia, Bedford Park, Adelaide, SA*	1966
James Cook University, Townsville, Queensland	1970
Deakin University, Geelong, Victoria	1974
Murdoch University, Perth, WA	1975
University of Wollongong, Wollongong, NSW	1975

Source: Fifth Report Australian Universities Commission (1972: 8-9)
**Initially built and opened as a campus of the University of Adelaide at Bedford Park*

The AUC was pivotal in guiding and shaping the redevelopment of existing 'first generation' and the establishment of new, 'second generation' universities in Australia in the 1960s and 1970s (Table 2). Financial aid from the Commonwealth was dependent on AUC support. Planning and building occurred on a triennial basis and universities were required to make submissions to the Commission. Essential components included their policy for academic growth and proposed physical plans and capital works for the forthcoming triennium. 'Owing to the unavoidable paper

work and the Commission's visits to the universities. Submissions [sic] were lodged … about two years before the triennium to which they referred' (Bayliss 1984: 4).

STEPHENSON'S AUSTRALIAN UNIVERSITY PLANNING PROJECTS

Gordon Stephenson became involved in university planning and design as a consultant to the University of Western Australia (UWA) in 1953, before the AUC was established but when the stage was set for 'enormous university expansion' in Australia (Winston 1960: 25). It was a new field for him. His first foray into the area had occurred in the previous year (1952) when he advised on the design for a new national university in Dublin, Ireland (Honorary Degree citation 1988). Then, as Professor of Town and Regional Planning at the University of Toronto from 1955-60, he consulted on planning matters to that university and to the University of British Columbia (Stephenson 1992: 170). When reflecting on the planning history of UWA, Stephenson noted that he had developed his appreciation of the historical evolution and the growth and spatial design of universities by studying 'older examples' (Stephenson 1986: 43). The sites that he knew and admired 'most' were Oxford and Cambridge in England and, in North America, Harvard, Yale, Virginia and California (Berkeley). Additionally, he was acquainted with William Wurster, the influential Dean of the College of Environmental Design at Berkeley. He referred on several occasions to Wurster's 1959 article about campus planning at Berkeley, as well as a 1956 report on that campus' 'Long Range Development Plan' (Stephenson to Stein 27 July 1953; Stein to Stephenson 11 October 1959; Stephenson 1966: 30).

Stephenson's initial appointment at UWA did not come about because he was considered to have a reputation as a campus planner but rather through serendipitous circumstances – he was visiting the state as consultant to the City of Perth on a metropolitan plan for Perth at the same time as another former Commonwealth Fellow, Noel Bayliss, was the Acting Vice Chancellor at UWA. With demand for tertiary education escalating and Commonwealth funding imminent for capital works in universities, '[h]e [Bayliss] could see that the University was about to grow rapidly and wanted some planning advice' (Stephenson 1986: 3).

Stephenson established his reputation in campus planning in Australia through his professional consultancies at UWA in the 1950s and then through his work there as consultant architect (1960-1969) and inaugural Professor of Architecture (1966-1972). He advised on the replanning and development of the campus in several stages, taking careful account of the plans of 1911 and 1926-27 by, respectively, Melbourne-based architect Harold Desbrowe-Annear and Leslie Wilkinson, Head of the School of Architecture at the University of Sydney (Stephenson 1966; 1986; 1992). His objective was to expand the campus according to a comprehensive plan that unified its existing and its projected new parts in order to cater for a much larger student body than had been envisaged when the plans were originally made.

Guided by a considered set of principles, introduced later, Stephenson worked 'closely with the Vice-Chancellor, the Senate Buildings Committee and all those concerned with the development of the campus and the design of the buildings' to produce long-term, flexible plans for UWA (Stephenson 1986: 10-11). Their deliberations were informed by research into a variety of factors including predicted future student numbers, academic policy and future curriculum directions and physical resourcing needs, as well as by the requirements of the

Australian Universities Commission. As consultant architect he worked in partnership with architects from private practice to ensure that 'each building, whilst expressing the individuality of its designer, took account of its neighbours and of the intended general character of the campus' (Edwards 1972: 7). His specific role in the collaboration was to consult with the university as the client, to prepare the brief and to mediate if required between the client and architect. He left the design and project supervision to his 'temporary partner'.

Stephenson's first consultancy outside of UWA came in October 1962 when he was appointed to work with the University of Adelaide's staff architect, Geoffrey Harrison, on the site plan for the university's new campus at Bedford Park (known from 1966 as the Flinders University of South Australia)(University of Adelaide Council 1962).The location was the outer metropolitan area, about twelve kilometres south-west of the city centre. It appears that Stephenson was offered the job through the agency of Harrison. They had not met but Harrison knew of Stephenson's work and reputation (Hillary Harrison pers com 27 November 2009). As part of background preparations for its new campus, the Council of the University of Adelaide sent Harrison on a seven-month overseas study tour to universities in the United Kingdom, North America, Europe and Scandinavia (Harrison 1962). It also asked him to advise on possible planning consultants. Since he was passing through Perth en route overseas in January 1962, he took the opportunity to contact Stephenson informally:

> … on the way over … [I spoke to] Gordon Stephenson in Perth … [He] had come to Perth with an international reputation to do the Perth City plan, and had then returned for another stint … and he was actually at the University of Western Australia at that time' (Interview with Geoffery [sic] Harrison 1986: 6).

Stephenson expressed interest and some months later Harrison wrote to him seeking confirmation of his availability.

> Before I left Adelaide the University Council asked me to report on the possibility of employing a [site planning] consultant. As I have travelled around America and Europe I have come increasingly to the view, which I think you may have planted in my mind, that the responsibility for planning at Bedford Park should rest with an Australian architect who can maintain very close contact with the project and with the University. …
>
> I have made two recommendations to the Vice-Chancellor. The first is that an architectural firm or professional staff members should be appointed … The second … is that a consultant planner should be appointed; I think that this is someone to whom the site planners can refer for overall guidance and who might be asked to visit Adelaide for one or two periods of intensive discussion during the next few months …
>
> In January you mentioned that you might be interested in consulting. I wonder if this is still the position. … If you are interested the question of remuneration arises. … (Stephenson to Harrison August 1962).

Stephenson obviously replied in the affirmative and the University of Adelaide acted quickly to secure his appointment. At the same time it appointed Harrison as Staff Architect at Bedford Park. Harrison recalled that Stephenson did not take on the planning of the 370 acre site alone but shared the task with him.

> I was associated with the site planning, and that was really due to Gordon Stephenson's generosity, and I suppose a bit of commonsense in wanting somebody on the ground – on the spot – associated with him in the planning work. I … was joint author of the plan. … But at the same time, I was preparing briefs … ' (Interview with Geoffery [sic] Harrison 1986: 7).

The hilly topography and the fact that the site was intersected by several steep-sided valleys determined the physical arrangement of the elements. The plan was formed by 'a series of courts stepped down the sloping crests of the ridges and enclosing a variety of open spaces' (Harrison 1965: 155-156). The court form offered a formula that could and would be repeated as the campus developed (Petersen 1979). Stephenson and Harrison adopted Radburn principles and determined that a perimeter road would encircle the entire central area. The latter would be a pedestrian precinct housing the academic buildings in two 'parcels' on a north and a south ridge linked by a dam and a small lake in the intervening valley (Interview with Geoffery Harrison 1986: 14-15). Hassell, McConnell & Partners were appointed architects for the project. Harrison was retained as staff architect and later as a consultant until his retirement in 1993. He kept in contact with Stephenson, apprising him of the development of the campus over three decades. In an exchange of letters in 1993 Stephenson acknowledged Harrison's commitment to the original vision: 'Flinders must forever be indebted to you for translating the ideas of 1964 into the simplest and most successful of all Australian universities' (Stephenson to Harrison 14 May 1993).

Stephenson's UWA work, coupled with his contributions to the Bedford Park campus, led to a number of requests for his services. Invitations came from the University of Queensland which was planning a new campus in the north of the state at Townsville, the University of Tasmania in Hobart, the Canberra College of Advanced Education (CAE) (a tertiary institution but not a university) and from the Board established to guide the development of a new university in suburban Perth.

The University of Adelaide invited his involvement for a second time, in March 1964, but on this occasion for a redevelopment project at the North Terrace campus. The Vice Chancellor, Henry Basten, asked him because the University Senate wanted 'someone of real eminence' to assist in resolving 'difficult problems' in relation to the forecourt to a new Arts building, the Napier Building, then nearing completion. The precinct was adjacent to the prominent boulevard of North Terrace and to the city's cultural institutions and it would add to an existing series of forecourts that opened the cultural buildings to the city; as such it had 'enormous civic importance in Adelaide' (Basten to Prescott 25 March 1964 UWA). Stephenson was keen to assist but had 'virtually committed' to the University of Queensland project. He suggested that he collaborate on the project with Geoffrey Harrison, and ultimately that is what happened (Stephenson to Basten 20 March 1964 UWA). They produced a joint report, the scope of which suggests that their brief was extended to encompass not only the Arts building precinct but also the central space of the campus and miscellaneous minor areas (Stephenson and Harrison 1964). The present day Napier Court is the product of their partnership.

Stephenson endeavoured to accommodate all requests for external consultancies to other universities despite his schedule being congested with his regular academic and consulting commitments at UWA as well as the demands of his membership of the National Capital Development Commission and the National Capital Planning

Committee (Stephenson to Prescott April 1967; Robertson to Prescott 14 April 1967 UWA). His workload was acknowledged internally and by some of those who requested his assistance: 'I know how hard pressed Gordon Stephenson is by a variety of tasks and how [much] he has to do for your own University. These are the penalties which are attached to the possession of the qualities which he has' (Basten to Prescott 25 March 1964 UWA).

Perhaps it was the pressure of his schedule that apparently reduced his proposed involvement with the University of Queensland's new university campus on a 400 acre site in Townsville. Stephenson had planned on 'about 4 visits (each of one week duration) during the next 12-15 months' (Stephenson to Prescott 9 March 1964 UWA). But according to his collaborator James Birrell, with whom he and the consultant engineers co-authored a report on the 1964 master plan, Stephenson 'spent about a week in Queensland, about two days in Townsville, two half days in my office at St Lucia campus of UQ and half a day addressing the Buildings and Grounds Committee of UQ [about the master plan] … which had been prepared by me had been sent to the Australian Universities Commission … Stephensen's [sic] only contribution was to delete a service road to the central library' (Birrell pers com 19 January 2010).

Table 3 Gordon Stephenson: Australian university planning projects

University name and location	**Date (plans and published reports)**	**Project type: replan existing/ plan new university**	**Role**
University of Western Australia, Perth, Western Australia	1955-56 1962-67 1965-68	Replan and expand existing campus	Planning consultant (various dates from 1953) Consultant architect (1960-1969) and Professor of Architecture (1966-72)
University of Adelaide at Bedford Park, Adelaide, South Australia*	1964	New university	Planning Consultant (with Geoffrey Harrison)
University of Adelaide, North Terrace, Adelaide, South Australia	1964	Replan selected spaces in existing campus	Planning Consultant (with Geoffrey Harrison)
James Cook University, Townsville, Queensland	1964	New university	Planning Consultant (with James Birrell)
Murdoch University, Perth, Western Australia	1973	New university	Planning Consultant (with R J (Gus) Ferguson)

**from 1966, the Flinders University of South Australia*

In the upshot, Stephenson did not take up all of the university planning consultancies offered to him despite generally receiving his employer's approval to engage in them. Thus, he did not realize his requested involvement in the proposed CAE in Canberra or at the University of Tasmania (Stephenson to Prescott April 1967; Stephenson to Whelan September 1971 UWA). As it turned out, the latter conflicted with a significant invitation, which he did accept, to take up the role of site planner and architect (with RJ (Gus) Ferguson) for a new university in Perth, Murdoch University. Noel Bayliss, with whom he had worked previously, was Chair of the Murdoch University Planning Board and undoubtedly had a hand in

recommending Stephenson. Given the scope of his proposed role at Murdoch, Stephenson resigned from UWA, effective 29 February 1972. UWA waived the usual expectation of six months' notice 'in view of the importance [of his involvement] to Murdoch University' (Whelan to Stephenson 8 October 1971 UWA). Table 3 lists Stephenson's realized Australian university planning projects.

STEPHENSON AND UNIVERSITY PLANNING IN AUSTRALIA: IDEAS AND PRINCIPLES

Gordon Stephenson articulated a number of general and specific ideas and principles regarding university planning in his writings on the subject. Dominant themes were: the role of historical precedents; integration of the university with the community; open-ended or flexible planning; organic growth; open space and institutional character; physical arrangement on the site; and planning organisation. In terms of his praxis he explained that he adhered to four principles which he first adopted as the basis of the 1955 plan for UWA (Stephenson 1966, 1986, 1992). The principles related especially to the themes of open-ended planning and physical arrangement on the site. They were:

> 1. buildings for all faculties and major departments should be so designed that they could be expanded when required.
>
> 2. faculties and departments should be placed in the most convenient possible physical relationship.
>
> 3. buildings and departments should be arranged to face a series of quiet inner courtyards and spaces … .
>
> 4. cars should be confined to car parks and a ring road on the edge of the campus. Paths and promenades through the inner parts of the campus should be for pedestrians only (Stephenson 1966: 25).

The following expands in an introductory way, and mainly from Stephenson's perspective, on the above themes and principles.

Historical Precedent

Stephenson believed that in order to plan for the future, architects, planners and university administrators needed to 'look back with understanding' and to use 'historical knowledge' to appreciate the range of factors that contribute over time to the built environment of a university. On this point he was influenced by the words of British architectural historian W.R. Lethaby whom he quoted often: 'No art that is only one man deep is worth much; it should be a thousand deep. We cannot forget our historical knowledge' (Lethaby in Stephenson 1986: 43; Edwards 1972: 8).

As noted, he admired a number of British and North American universities and made frequent reference to the fact that they had a long history. He was particularly enamoured by the pattern of development of the colleges at Cambridge in England and by the use of courts and pedestrian precincts in all of his examples (e.g. Stephenson 1986: 43-44).

Integration with Community

Stephenson argued that, ideally, universities should be located in city centres to facilitate social and cultural connections between town and gown. He stressed that where possible the community should engage with the function, activities and facilities of the university. He regarded the University of Adelaide as the Australian exemplar of this ideal relationship, praising its prominent location adjacent to the major civic boulevard of North Terrace – 'the finest street in Australia' – and to the parklands (Stephenson to Basten 20 March 1964 UWA; Stephenson 1965: 150).

Open-Ended Planning and Organic Growth

One of Stephenson's fundamental beliefs was that a university was a city in microcosm and that, inevitably, it would grow and change. Accordingly 'a plan for a university, old or new, must be a plan for *continuous growth* which will allow for change of many kinds' from fluctuations in student numbers to alterations in teaching and research foci and concomitant adjustments in building requirements (Stephenson 1965: 149). While there should be 'a continuity of ideas' and a 'main structural concept' in every plan, open-ended planning and flexibility in detail were important to allow input from successive generations; therefore, almost every building or group of buildings, apart from key 'monuments' like the library or a great hall, should be capable of expansion (Stephenson 1966: 30; 1986: 43). However, growth needed to be organic so that even with different stages of development the campus 'will always seem to be complete' (Stephenson 1965: 149). He cited his work at UWA as an example of the successful collective application of these principles. Birrell (1965: 154) commented that the initial plan on which he and Stephenson worked for the Townsville campus of the University of Queensland was 'designed to allow an organic growth over at least one and a half centuries' and that, although development would be staged, 'the various stages should appear as complete units.'

Open Space and İnstitutional Character

Stephenson considered that open space was critical in a university and that it helped define an institution's character. The setting for buildings, as well as their spatial relationship, contributed to the total experience of the place – 'one which gives a feeling of being in a special kind of community, one devoted to … higher learning'. He referred to his historical exemplars where open space was used to effect – the 'tranquil peace and quiet beauty of Oxford and Cambridge or Harvard and Yale' – and explained that the challenge faced by mid-1950s campus planners, as expressed by colleagues at Berkeley, was to achieve 'maximum building space concurrently with the preservation of the park-like environment appropriate to a great institution' (Stephenson 1966: 30).

Physical arrangement on the site: courts, pedestrians, cars and Radburn principles

Although topography played a major part in determining the physical arrangement of a campus site, Stephenson argued that, on the basis of historical precedent, the court formed by buildings that looked inwards, and perhaps also by cloisters and ambulatories, should be the basic building block of the plan. The court was a quiet, reflective space and 'from the inside there is a completeness, and the noisy outside world is shut off' (Stephenson 1965: 150). He noted that a strong theme in the historical examples which captivated him was the 'hierarchy of spaces [courts] formed by buildings' (Stephenson 1986: 43-44). Each space served a distinctive purpose but played an integral part in the comprehensive design. Being a replicable unit, the court was well-suited to his notion of campus planning being based on a

system of ordered growth over time. By way of example he noted the Bedford Park campus of the University of Adelaide.

Stephenson believed that university campuses should be given over to pedestrians and that the plan should include separate routes for pedestrians and vehicles, with the latter being kept at the perimeter and away from the main activities of the campus. His view was strongly influenced by Stein and Henry Wright's plan for Radburn, New Jersey, and as early as July 1953 Stephenson wrote to Stein that he had proposed that UWA should be redeveloped according to Radburn principles (Stephenson to Stein 23 July 1953). Later, after Wurster published on campus planning, Stephenson adopted his dictum that 'The pedestrian must be king on the campus' (Wurster in Stephenson 1966: 32).

In 1965 Stephenson suggested that 'Nearly all the interesting and workable campus plans of recent years are based on the Radburn system of layout' (Stephenson 1965: 150). Although the popular predilection was to drive as close as possible to the door of buildings (Winston 1960: 27), Stephenson (1965: 150) argued that the mingling of cars and people was not in the university tradition: 'To be modern one has to be in the tradition. A new university should demonstrate, even more than an old, that a large agglomeration of buildings can be set in peaceful surroundings rather than in the usual urban chaos.'

Planning Organization

Reflecting a wider view of university planning in the post-war era (Turner 1984), Stephenson (1965: 150-51) emphasized campus planning as a process and one that was holistic and collaborative and involved a range of parties.The architect-planner was 'a key figure' whom he argued should work alongside the Registrar as part of the university's executive team. Given that in Australia the university planning and design environment was guided by the Australian Universities Commission, it was critical that campus planners and administrators were conversant with the Commission's requirements and specifically that a university's 'policy for academic growth … was expressed in a physical plan.' Planners therefore needed to be apprised of and familiar with a variety of topics – 'facts, philosophies, ideas, ideals, policies and politics of the campus' – and have the capacity to translate relevant information into an imaginative, inspiring but practical design. He recognised the breadth of the challenge, quipping that, 'in short, … [the campus planner] should be an angel'.

CONCLUSION

This paper has introduced Gordon Stephenson's university planning work in post-war Australia. It has thrown early light on the local context and on the people, ideas and planning and design principles that influenced and informed his contributions. However, ahead of a critical assessment and appraisal of his campus planning portfolio in Australia, further research is required into his and his collaborators' specific contributions, particularly to university planning projects outside of UWA. Additionally, due consideration needs to be given to this strand of his work within the context of his entire oeuvre.

Amongst the preliminary conclusions that can be drawn from research to date, perhaps two stand out. Firstly, it is clear that Stephenson was a well-known figure in campus planning circles in Australia especially in the 1960s and that he was

respected for his contributions. Indeed, at the height of requests for Stephenson's services, UWA Registrar Arthur Williams proffered: 'It seems to me that in view of the contribution that you are making to the development of new Universities one of them should give serious consideration to calling one of its campuses the Stephenson Campus!' (Williams 1964UWA). Secondly, three possible reasons emerge to explain Stephenson's statement that his university planning work gave him a 'Great deal of pleasure':

(1) The university planning projects with which he was involved at least at UWA and in Adelaide appear to have gone ahead predominantly according to ideas that he forwarded, circumstances that would have given him cause for satisfaction.

(2) Strong professional relationships and personal friendships were important to Stephenson and his university planning projects extended his networks and led to him developing close professional and personal ties with at least three key colleagues: Noel Bayliss, Stanley Prescott and Geoffrey Harrison. He, Bayliss and Prescott were of the same generation and shared similar backgrounds. 'We were also aware of the beauty and longevity of some of the great … universities' (Stephenson 1986: 37). Harrison was younger but he and Stephenson struck up a working collaboration and a friendship that lasted until Stephenson's death.

(3) Campus planning was an undeveloped area in post-war Australia and the number of individuals locally with appropriate knowledge and expertise in the field was limited. Stephenson was able to draw on the knowledge and experience that he acquired and applied in the 1950s and to disseminate it to others through the projects with which he was associated in the following two decades. Thus, in part, he could claim to be satisfying his long-held personal ambition 'to help other people along'. And no doubt that would have brought him pleasure.

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GORDON STEPHENSON AND THE LONG-TERM PLANNING OF CANBERRA

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ABSTRACT

Canberra, Australia's national capital city, was transformed through the 1960s from a straggling city beautiful on garden city lines to a modern new city of international standing by the powerful National Capital Development Commission, established in 1957. Gordon Stephenson first visited the city in 1954, became a consultant to the NCDC in 1960, and was appointed to the National Capital Planning Committee in 1967. His activities ranged across all scales – residential communities, town centres, and the development of a long term metropolitan planning strategy. Stephenson appears to be an underrated figure in the urban metamorphosis of Canberra through the 1960s. Drawing on a mix of extant primary and secondary sources, this paper sketches the extent of Stephenson's role and influence in Canberra, concentrating on his input into a long term urban development strategy.

INTRODUCTION

Prominent British expatriate planner Gordon Stephenson first visited Australia's national capital city in either 1954 or 1955 when working on the metropolitan planning scheme for Perth and Fremantle. Canberra in the mid-1950s had the character of a country town, albeit set within the elaborate geometric template inherited from its historic 1912 plan, but it was on the verge of a growth boom. Stephenson's career at this time was stalled in an interregnum. He had resigned as Lever Professor at Liverpool and his hopes for the chair of planning at MIT were fading. In the uncertainty at the time of his first visit, he may well have imagined that here was another place that might bear his stamp sometime in the future. He could certainly appreciate that the development of the city was set to accelerate. As fate would have it, when he returned to Australia from Toronto in 1960 to take up the role of consultant architect and foundation head of the School of Architecture at the University of Western Australia, and given leave to explore other professional opportunities, he was to play a key role in guiding and refining that process. He says himself that he was 'fortunate enough to share a few of the halcyon days' (Stephenson, 1990, 48).

Taking as read fuller accounts of Stephenson's life and career (Gregory, 2010; Stephenson, 1992), this paper briefly overviews the role Stephenson played in Canberra over a decade to the early 1970s. His major contribution to Canberra was less in operational planning and direct urban design and more in his influential advocacy of a long term, integrated and interdisciplinary approach to strategic planning. This is the main focus of the paper. The first section introduces the city and planning regime which Stephenson encountered. The second summarises his various engagements from 1961 to the early 1970s. The third and major section explores the development of a long term urban strategy for Canberra in the 1960s

and Stephenson's role in that process. Overall, Stephenson's roles were mainly behind-the-scenes, often collaborative, and usually as advisor or reviewer, but nonetheless helped indirectly shape design outcomes at a variety of geographic scales.

CANBERRA FROM THE 1950s

Canberra as a new planned capital had been conceived and initiated amid both fanfare and controversy in the early twentieth century (Reps, 1997). The winning scheme in the 1911-12 international design competition by Walter Burley and Marion Mahony Griffin envisaged a multi-centered streetcar city synthesising gridiron and radial morphologies amplifying the fine natural qualities of the site (Figure 1). The Australian Parliament held its first sessions in Canberra in 1927 but thereafter the city languished and far from realising the 'city beautiful of our dreams' ideals of the founders became a target for criticism about best planning practices (Freestone, 2010).

By the mid-1950s Canberra was a 'garden city in the doldrums' (Stephenson,1990, 48). It was caught between ad hoc responses to post-war growth pressures, the somewhat ill-fitting geometric legacy bequeathed in 1912, and a small garden town mentality. A single planner, Trevor Gibson, buried away in the Commonwealth Department of the Interior was doing his best to balance the legacy of the past, contemporary best planning practice, and what consensus could be secured on the city's future. What was shaping as a potential national embarrassment was to be averted by a major parliamentary inquiry by a Senate Select Committee which would bequeath a radical new governance structure. The National Capital Development Commission (NCDC) was formed as an all-powerful body to design, develop and construct the city under an act of parliament approved in August 1957. It was a new town styled corporation inspired partly by British models and the special-purpose Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Authority, another contemporary Australian project of national significance. The NCDC's vertically integrated holistic organisation was conceived to single-mindedly prosecute the specific objective of city development. By the late 1960s the NCDC had transformed the isolated 'bush capital' into a city which many contemporary observers regarded as the model planned metropolis of the late twentieth century.

Through this golden era, Canberra's population increased from less than 40,000 in 1958 to 155,000 in 1972 (Sparke, 1988). This growth was mostly diffused into low density living so that Canberra for many observers was confirmed as the apotheosis of suburbia, albeit of the meticulously planned variety. The development of its new town structure – large, discrete suburban districts intended to be relatively self-contained - broke the shackles of the Griffin scheme with its design population capped at 75,000. This was a different kind of metropolitan growth model compared to the incremental fringe extension and leapfrogging more characteristic of the longer established coastal capital cities. Canberra came of agein the 1960s, with completion of major civic and public buildings. When long-time Prime Minister RG Menziesretired in 1966 the city lost its chief political patron and the NCDC confronted a more volatile political environment and a less quiescent population scrutinising its decision-making (Sparke 1988). But the authority continued to be well-funded and directed more by parliamentary scrutiny than by the messiness of full public accountability.

The initial blueprint for the phoenix-like new order was laid out by Stephenson's friend, colleague and professional rival William Holford brought in by Prime Minister RG Menzies to advise the Government on future planning needs. Holford's *Observations on the Future Development of Canberra* was published in December 1957 and a later report *The Growth of Canberra 1958-1965 and 1965-1972* appeared in December 1965. Most of his attention focused on the design of central Canberra and the location of parliament house as the key to the functional and aesthetic jigsaw of the entire city. Stephenson's interests would prove complementary, being at once more metropolitan and suburban in orientation.

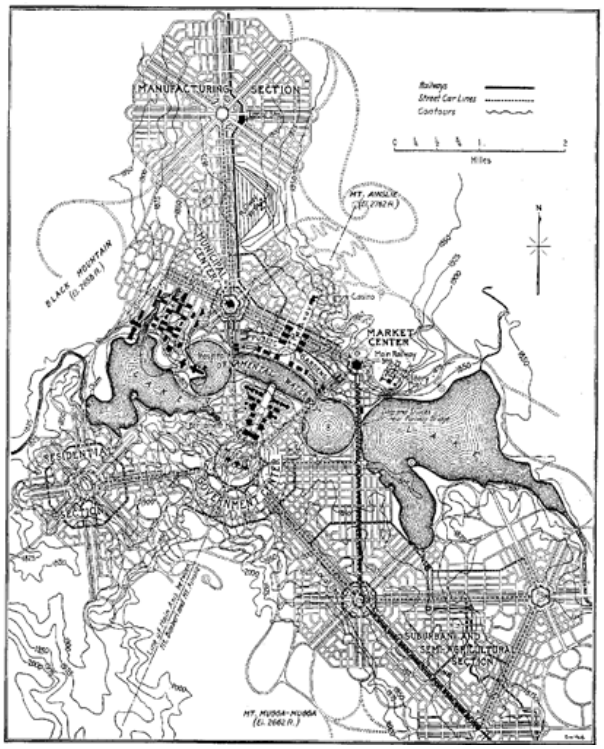

Figure 2: The Griffin plan for Canberra, 1912 (from Engineering News (USA), July 1912) A redrawn version of one of the competition winning plans by the Chicago-based Walter Burley and Marion Mahony Griffin. This combined city beautiful, garden city and diverse other influences into a distinctive landscape-driven plan.

With a modest professional staff, the NCDC was a project-driven organisation, responsive to the latest trends, and expansive in its use of planning consultants and designers (Fischer, 1984). Stephenson's seniority in the planning world, his big picture thinking, his relative independence from the local scene, his primary and restless commitment to practice rather than research as an academic, and his connections to key Canberra people helped to set up his initial engagement as a consultant.

His first visit in the 1950s was at the invitation of Grenfell Rudduck, then an Assistant Secretary in the Department of National Development. He returned in

1960 with Rudduck an Associate Commissioner of the NCDC. Stephenson's main professional confidante in the Commission was Peter Harrison (1918-1990). Harrison was Chief Town Planner from January 1959 until his resignation in late 1967 (Norman, 1993). He came to Canberra from the University of Sydney where he taught alongside the foundation professor Denis Winston, another of the University of Liverpool alumni (from the same Charles Reilly era as Stephenson) who feature so prominently in post-war Australian planning history (Colman, 1993). Stephenson and Harrison had first met at a planning convention in Adelaide in 1954. They did not agree on everything, but a mutual respect was forged around a shared faith in the modernist planning project, respect for the seminal contributions of American architect-planner Clarence Stein, and personal styles valuing pragmatism and honesty.

On Harrison's recommendation, in December 1960 Stephenson was formally invited by NCDC Commissioner John Overall to inspect planning and development projects and share his impressions. He spent several days touring the city and in discussion with senior officers in late May 1961, offering his impressions in a letter to Overall the following month. While impressed at the tempo and scale of the city building operation, he was nonetheless critical of many aspects. Placement and interrelationship of new buildings lacked a coherent design philosophy and those in the city centre reminded him of anodyne fringe buildings of the kind found in Los Angeles or indeed any big city. He voiced his concern that 'cars were taking possession of [the landscape] wherever it was vulnerable' and that 'a long term plan for the Canberra city-region is most urgently required'. He endorsed the idea then taking hold of new districts separated by open space corridors but recommended a re-examination of 'the whole road system'. Overall continued to cultivate the possibility of Stephenson becoming more formally involved in Canberra. In August 1961 Stephenson indicated that while his main work would have to be his campus development work at the University of Western Australia, he would be interested to 'make some small contribution to the work of the Commission'.[1]

OVERVIEW OF STEPHENSON'S ACTIVITIES IN CANBERRA

Directly arising from these exchanges with Overall, Rudduck and Harrison came Stephenson's engagement as a planning consultant and the unfolding of crucial professional inputs across a range of projects. As a planner of world standing, he was called on for commentary on a range of matters through the 1960s, although there appears to have been little professional interaction with Holford or Holford's man in Canberra, Richard Gray, whose main brief was civic and landscape design. But both men played comparable roles as external critics alongside a cast of other consultants brought in regularly to help scrutinise and validate the direction of NCDC decision-making.

Stephenson's primary interest throughout was a regionally-scaled plan for the long term development of the city. His first major commission, however, was to advise on the planning of Civic, Canberra's main commercial area. He was also prevailed upon to comment on plans for Woden Town Centre, the first major civic-commercial area outside the city centre. His peer review role evolved into a more

[1]National Archives of Australia (NAA), Prof. Stephenson's visit to Canberra, A1340/1 1960/1276, 21 August 1961.

formal appointment in two 3-year terms as a member of the National Capital Planning Committee between 1967 and 1973. Alongside that role was a skilful juggling act which saw him project managing a novel social science-infused planning process for the suburb of Wanniassa and collaborating with an architectural firm on the design of the Radburn-styled suburb of Charnwood. Table 1 provides a distillation of these various roles.

Table 1: A summary of Gordon Stephenson's roles for the National Capital Development Commission

Role	Projects	Period
General planning consultant	Advice on specific projects including Woden Town Centre; 1962 plan for Civic (CBD); 1963 Transportation Study	1961-1966, and intermittently to 1984
Advisor on city outline plan	Input into the Long Term Planning Committee	1963-1966
Member of the National Capital Planning Committee	The NCPC was the peak body advising the NCDC on planning, development and construction	1966-1973
Consultant for the Belconnen 20 residential neighbourhood	Working with Perth architects Cameron Chisholm & Nicol on conceptual planning and design for the Radburn suburb of Charnwood	1969-1970
Project head for the Wanniassa residential neighbourhood	Directing the interdisciplinary Tuggeranong Residential Environment Study to devise a new conceptual designs for the suburb of Wanniassa	1969-1971

The discussion below concentrates on just one of these encounters, his role in the development of a new city outline plan. This was his main concern and obsession, as he recalled in 1992: 'From the beginning, I realised that the development of Canberra was about to accelerate, and that Griffin's plan should remain inviolate, but be greatly extended in such a manner as to allow for continuous growth' (Stephenson, 1992, 192).

LONG TERM PLANNING

For the first couple of years, the NCDC's long term plan for a metropolitan-scale Canberra was Trevor Gibson's scheme for 110,000 produced for the Senate Select Committee (Sparke, 1988). Before joining the Commission, Peter Harrison had worked on his own scheme for a target population of 250,000 inspired by Ebenezer Howard's 'group of slumless, smokeless cities' (Fischer, 1984). This had been presented to the NCDC as a private proposal and was instrumental in Harrison's appointment in early 1959. Other champions of the need to look towards the long term included senior planner Keith Storey and engineer-planner Ian Morison. For Harrison the choice was clear - coupling urban sprawl and renewal typical of existing cities or 'preserving the open character of the City by limiting the existing population area and forming new areas or residential districts on the surrounding rural areas' (Norman 1993, 226). The hills-and-valleys topography of the city site fortuitously accommodated this vision.

The NCDC produced its first long term strategy in 1959 - an outline development plan for a city of 250,000, with residential areas as comparatively self-contained new districts in open valleys (Gilchrist, 1985). Essentially, this was the vision published in *The Future Canberra* (1965), underpinned by a transport study

undertaken by American planning consultants De Leuw Cather two years earlier. However by this time even official thinking within the Commission had moved on. The 1963 transport plan'strangled' Griffin's city with roads (Reid, 2002, 259). The prevailing view was that it would generate intolerable central area congestion because of the dominant radial-concentric structure of the city. Around this time, the desired scale of districts also expanded as the concept of self-contained new suburban towns was better appreciated. Associate Commissioner Bill Andrews reported back from an overseas trip in 1963 proposing the optimum size of new urban districts as 100,000.

The 'notional pattern' thus emerging was a more emphatic corridor-shaped urban footprint concentrating growth to the north and underpinned by 'free use of the private car' with mass transit a long term option only (Harrison, 1964). Evidence of radial corridor expansion was already evident in metropolitan planning strategies for other Australian and overseas cities including Washington DC (1961) and Adelaide (1962), and would surface later in Melbourne (1967), Sydney (1968) and Perth (1970). The Central Lancashire New Town (1968) study would come 'closest to Canberra's current long-range development plans' (Fischer, 1984, 69). While the conception was thus not completely exceptional, Canberra was uniquely positioned to pursue the formula because 'public ownership of land … eliminated the expensive and tortuous acquisition processes' characteristic of other cities (Fischer, 1984, 77).

The analytical justification for Canberra's liaison with linearity came from an urban planning and transport study undertaken by American consultants Voorhees and Associates. Alan Voorhees (1922-2005) was already known to Bill Andrews and NCDC Secretary-Manager Bob Lansdown. Ian Morison who wrote the study brief spent several months of 1966 in the Voorhees office in Washington DC. The methodology was able to link the dynamics of urban structure with transport options. The study assumed a metropolitan population of one million and evaluated six different growth scenarios in concentric, fan-shaped and linear arrangements. This led to the preferred general plan arrangement, with corridors of new communities extending along two arms out of the Australian Capital Territory and into the neighbouring state of New South Wales; hence the description, the 'Y Plan'.

Fischer (1984) notes that while the plan was in the tradition of Howard's garden city there were important differences: an enlarged scale, increased degree of functional independence of districts, linear spatial structure, and a rectangular road system geometry with the addition of peripheral transportation corridors. Harrison felt it more flexible than the earlier sub-centralised plan model (Freestone, 1991). In draft form the concept was endorsed by the NCPC in October 1966. It was previewed by Harrison in 1968 in *Architecture in Australia* (Figure 2).

Stephenson made an important if somewhat intangible contribution to this evolution of thinking. Morison suggests that in the first instance he may have been co-opted by the NCDC to help get it 'off the hook' following the release of the disastrous De Leuw Cather transportation study.[2] He was well equipped to assist the Commission given his reputation for weighing up all considerations in search of balanced solutions, familiarity with both British and North American city planning, and an insistence on the need for the NCDC to organise for long-range planning

[2]Ian Morison, interview, Canberra, September 2009.

needs. His first advice to the NCDC on the transportation study early in 1963 stressed the desirability of looking further into the future. He floated the idea of planning a road network for two million people, developing it incrementally as the need arose.[3]

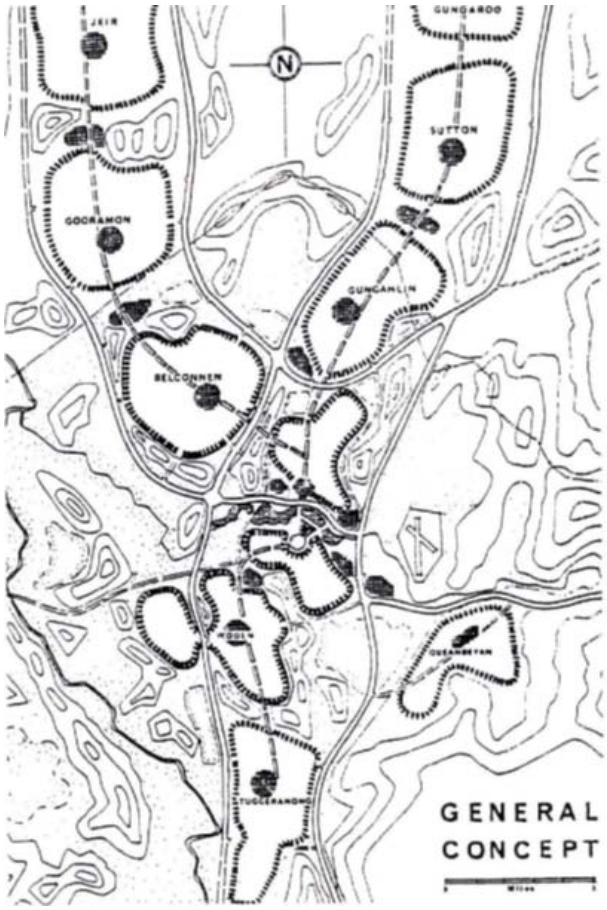

Figure 2: Peter Harrison's 'General Concept' plan for Canberra (Harrison, 1968)

The area covered by the Griffin Plan reproduced in Figure 1 is confined to the two central cells of North and South Canberra. A grid of freeways frame the projected districts with their town centres connected by a mass transit line. Over 40 years later this plan has largely come true, minus the mass transit and without spreading across the state border to spawn the new towns of Jeir, Gundaroo, Gooramon and Sutton that still remain rural-residential zones.

In May 1963 the NCDC held a three day retreat at the Academy of Science to discuss various strategic matters including the future 'outline plan' for the city and the structure of urban government. Stephenson joined a discussion on the

[3]NAA, National Capital Development Commission (NCDC), Minutes, 7 May 1963.

'relationship between policy and administration and proposals for transportation in the outline plan' in the exclusive company of John Overall, his two Associate Commissioners (Rudduck and Andrews), and the Secretary-Manager (Lansdown). At another meeting on 11 May he variously offered critiques of and support for the planning assumptions on the table. Stephenson agreed that 10 persons per acre was a reasonable density and that higher densities were 'impracticable' at that time, but he disagreed with some of the thinking about parklands and stressed the need for open spaces 'left specifically for expansion to meet unforseen requirements [and] which might be planted in the meantime'.[4]

His earliest and most sustained contribution was consistent advocacy of the philosophy of 'continuous growth'.[5] Stephenson himself recalls:

> In the general debates about Canberra (ever since I've known Canberra) people refuse to take the long-term view. I always disturbed them in the sixties by saying that, "it's not going to be Burley Griffin's city you are going to end up with, you are going to end up with a large city, so the first thing to do is prepare a plan for half a million". This is when there would be only 100,000 at the most .... I said "You need to plan for a million because the place will go on growing and you don't want to try to restrict the growth because that has proved all over the world an impossible task .... You cannot restrain growth.[6]

Peter Harrison somewhat apocryphally recalls Stephenson 'stalking around the corridors in a loud voice, "Where's your plan for a million?"'.[7] They were to collaborate in a landmark paper that first canvassed the need to allow for continuous growth (Morison, 2000). This was presented at the combined Australian Planning Institute Convention and Planning Officers' Conference at the Canberra Rex Hotel on the theme 'Planning in the National Capital' in November 1963. A conference flier records the original title of their paper 'The Crystal Ball' with an explanatory note: 'Although long term planning must be speculative about future needs and activities, its aims are to provide a flexible framework for future growth which avoids any notion of a target population or arbitrary limitation upon the ultimate size of the city'.[8] This was the paper published under Harrison's name only in the *Australian Planning Institute Journal* in 1964. Just why this was done is unknown; in the identical conference version Stephenson is accorded the status of senior author.

Morison speculates that Stephenson may actually have been a quiet catalyst for formation of the NCDC's Long Term Planning Committee around 1963.[9] This Committee comprised all the senior people minus Overall with Lansdown as chair and planner Tom McKenna as executive member for most of its life. The forum was intended for the exchange of ideas and information between specialists reviewing the plan for 250,000 towards a new outline plan based on a population target of 500,000 against a backdrop of continuous growth by 1968. Stephenson was invited

[4]NAA, NCDC Minutes, 9-11 May 1963.
[5]ACT Archives (ACTA), Long Term Planning Committee File, AR/126, LT 2 Doc 30.
[6]Oral History interview with Gordon Stephenson, p. 231. REF No. OH2532, JS Battye Library of West Australian History.
[7]James Weirick interview with Peter Harrison, typescript, National Library (1990).
[8]1963 conference flier, courtesy Ian Morison.
[9]Morison, interview, 2009.

'to accept the challenging role of constructive critic', as he described it in seeking formal approval to become involved in a letter to University of Western Australia Vice Chancellor Stanley Prescott in June 1965. The proposed schedule of five working weeks in Canberra spaced over 18 months 'would refresh rather than tire me', he wrote.[10]

Stephenson's peer review brief ranged widely. He provided critiques of numerous documents to assist the NCDC in refining and clarifying its objectives and methods. He was less concerned 'with the arithmetic beyond satisfying himself that we are working to a reasonable discipline'. McKenna acknowledged that 'valuable advice' also emerged from 'loose rein' speculations in meetings with the 'The Prof' often raising subjects 'of his own interest'.[11] Inevitably Stephenson was drawn into the land-use transportation modelling which was to underpin the Y Plan. Overall was so concerned about Stephenson's disappearance from the scene on impending sabbatical leave in the US in 1967 that he sought to ensure ongoing contact through correspondence. Stephenson agreed to read and comment on reports and visit Voorhees in Washington DC with Clive Price, the NCDC's Chief Engineer in May 1967. Some internal discussion in NCDC ensued about the exact purpose of this visit, its duration, reporting outcome and, the fees payable.[12]

The major intellectual construct guiding Stephenson in his contributions to Canberra's metropolitan strategy was Clarence Stein's notion of 'the regional city', a model based on a constellation of moderate-sized communities interconnected by 'townless highways' but divided by open areas. The Canberra planners also drew from Humphrey Carver's *Cities in the Suburbs* (1962), itself influenced by Stein and evolving from a planning culture in Canada in which Stephenson has been a key participant (Carver, 1975). Along with Howard, Abercrombie and Unwin, Clarence Steinwas one of Stephenson's heroes. Stein was the co-founder of the Regional Planning Association of America and designer of the iconic Radburn layout (Parsons, 1994) for which Stephenson became a life-long disciple. Stephenson brokered publication of Stein's *Toward New Towns for America* (1957) by the University of Liverpool Press and they corresponded regularly for decades. As early as June 1961 Stephenson wrote Stein of his new advisory role in Canberra: 'I have been trying to get your notion of the Regional City into the Canberra planners' heads. I was there only a week or two ago, when they involved me in a series of discussions'.[13] Peter Harrison acknowledged the connection in a paper 'Policies for new towns' delivered to the Joint Conference of the American Society of Planning Officials and the Community Planning Association of Canada in Toronto in April 1965. He noted a similarity between his prospectus for Canberra and Stein's restatement of Howard's 'Social cities' as the modern regional city idea, acknowledging Stephenson as a possible conduit, being both 'an avowed disciple' of Stein and 'a regular and welcome visitor to Canberra over recent years' (Freestone,1991, 5). Stein's

[10]University of Western Australia, Human Resources section, Gordon Stephenson file, Gordon Stephenson to Stanley Prescott, 2 June 1965.
[11]ACTA, Long Term Planning Committee File, AR/126. LT 2 Doc 41 (T McKenna), 24 August 1965 – 'Spring Visit by Prof Stephenson'; LT 2 Doc 72 (T McKenna), 4 Feb 1966 - "Summer visit by Prof Stephenson".
[12]NAA, A1340/1 1960/1276.
[13]University of Liverpool, Civic Design Archives, D616, Correspondence between Prof Gordon Stephenson and Clarence Stein (1949-1969), Stephenson to Stein, 14 June 1961.

Radburn planning would also make an impact on Canberra's residential landscape and partly via Stephenson's influence.

While the development of thinking from cluster to corridor cities may read as an inexorable progression there was resistance to such long range planning. Harrison recalled an early reluctance on the part of the NCDC to contemplate a population of even 150,000.[14] Stephenson remembers a prevalent view in the early 1960s that Canberra 'should be a garden city forever'.[15]Gren Rudduck was the greatest sceptic, much preferring a continuation of small town Canberra. But Rudduck died in 1964 and official attitudes toward continuous urban growth shifted within the NCDC, no doubt partly due to the vision of Stephenson. A major professional cultural change was underway, as Fischer (1984, 155) notes: 'The initial inhibitions of a planning team with little experience, which fears that urban growth might get out of control, soon gives way to a self-confident welcoming of rapid growth as a sign of success and as something that will enrich the city and everyone who has to do with it'.

[14]James Weirick interview with Peter Harrison, typescript, National Library (1990).
[15]Oral History, 231

Figure 3: The 'Y Plan' from Tomorrow's Canberra(NCDC, 1970) The official metropolitan strategy announced in 1970 embodied the functional logic of continuous corridor growth which had been tried and tested in the Voorhees study but omitted the longer term districts which would have necessitated crossing a state boundary into a completely different political jurisdiction. The metropolitan footprint of Canberra today is comparable to this vision, with significant recent population expansion coming via intensification of development in existing districts.

The Y Plan was eventually publicly released in 1970, accorded a high profile announcement in a high quality book-style plan which set a new standard for metropolitan planning documents in Australia. The strategy illustrated in *Tomorrow's Canberra* endorsed a number of key principles which Stephenson had helped develop and refine through the 1960s(Crocket et al, 2006):

• The new transport system would channelprivate vehicles to parkways on theperiphery of urban districts and concentratepublic transport travel between the districtsonto a central spine linking the towncentres.

• The hills and ridges wouldbe retained in their natural state to act as abackdrop and setting for the city and alsoas a means of separating and defining thedistricts (this was later to become known asthe National Capital Open Space System).

• New urban districts would be developedas relatively self-contained new townsaround mixed used town activity centres tobe supported by decentralisation of publicsector offices.

• Major national uses would be located in theCentral National Area.

• The National Capital would be one withhigh environmental standards.

CONCLUSION

Gordon Stephenson's encounters with Australia's national capital comprise a peripatetic experience spaced over more than a decade. He may not have had the ear of the Prime Minister like William Holford. But he was a confidante of John Overall, almost as powerful a figure through the 1960s. His time in Canberra was important to both the development and testing of his ideas and their impress can be read at various scales from regional spatial structure to the design of streetscapes, although he never assumed a detailed design and implementation role. He devotes a chapter of *On a Human Scale* to Canberra where he writes: 'I enjoyed working in Canberra when the NCDC was in full flight' (Stephenson 1992, 192).

The planners with whom he worked closely in the early 1960s remember a quietly spoken individual who brought a big picture approach to addressing the challenges of the day, notably the conservation of civic and human values in the motor age. The NCDC as a new organization in the 1960s with an enormous brief for comprehensively developing a new city benefited from both the critiques and the instilling of confidence he brought to its decision-making. His wisdom came from long experience in England and Canada and was typically conveyed through the repetition of 'simple truths'. Ian Morison remembers a 'fatherly teaching figure' and Keith Storey stresses his pragmatism, getting to and summarizing the key issues

in a way which was so valuable to the NCDC.[16] Richard Clough remembers him as somewhat didactic with 'sharp' but never unkind comments calculated to stimulate discussion and substantiate opinions.[17]

His most far-reaching contribution was arguably to the city's long term planning and his refinement of metropolitan policy towards a spatial structure of dispersed centralisation reminiscent of the 'regional city', Clarence Stein's adaptation of Howard's garden city cluster of new towns. He was in no doubt about the rightness of this direction, telling the 1969 ANZAAS Conference that:

Canberra promises to be the finest city region in the world, a constellation of towns, as conceived by Ebenezer Howard, with a movement system which allows for unending extension and change. The rapid transit routes will run through the centres of the series of towns, and the motorways in the open spaces between them. It is the only city region I know which is properly conceived in terms of continuous growth (Stephenson, 1970, 284)

Stephenson had in mind a proposed book on the regional city and was even thinking about retirement to write it. Naturally, he wanted to include a chapter on Canberra 'as one of the planned examples in history'.[18] While the corridor-cellular form toward which Canberra evolved under Stephenson's watch was a design which accommodated 'the bungalow-automobile syndrome' (Fischer 1984, 156), and recent developments retreat from the linearity inherent in his response to his premise of 'continuous growth', it has proven an adaptable and resilient metropolitan form for long term growth.

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URBAN ILLEGALITY IN THE FORTALEZA METROPOLITAN AREA: SPECIAL SOCIAL INTEREST ZONES AS AN ALTERNATIVE SOLUTION

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents some results from scientific research on the urban illegality conditions in the Fortaleza Metropolitan Area (FMA). This metropolis has been experiencing an intense growth of the informal, illegal and spontaneous city, a growth which shows itself in many ways and through distinct processes. This expansion is especially associated with the formation of shanty towns, turning areas of disorderly occupation made up of precarious housing units into a part of the metropolitan landscape. Although the expansion of poverty is mostly concentrated in Fortaleza, it is already occurring in other FMA cities. The problem is getting worse due to the fact that there is not a minimal institutional apparatus to put into practice the rules which might have controlled this situation. To better understand these phenomena, the following methodological procedures were used - a survey and analysis of census databases (IBGE) regarding their quantitative and spatial aspects, as well as analysis of technical work commissioned by the Ministry of Cities (Ministério das Cidades); a critical reading of technical reports drawn up by consultancies hired by state and city governments; interviews with the consultants and municipal institutions; an analysis of databanks, field surveys and diagnoses which provided grounds for drawing up urban policy instruments in the list of priorities of the state and cities belonging to FMA; - fieldwork carried out in occupied areas; these were adopted as working themes in subjects of Universidade Federal do Ceará's architecture and urban planning course between 2002 and 2007. The text is subdivided into three parts. The first one provides a context for the issue of land illegality through the analysis of urban planning processes which has taken place in FMA cities since the mid-1990's. The second attempts to assess the importance of the problem through several surveys which indicate different results, although they address the same spatial outline. The final part uses the process of revising Fortaleza's Master Plan and the proposal for Special Social Interest Zones as a strategy to promote land and urban regularization.

A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF THE URBAN ILLEGALITY ISSUE IN FORTALEZA

How have the city of Fortaleza and other cities which are a part of its Metropolitan Area been growing? Which factors have been conducive to the disorderly expansion of this metropolis? How is land illegality expressed in this metropolis' popular settlements? What new nuances may be added to the clandestine, illegal or irregular production of intra-urban metropolitan spaces in Fortaleza?

Those issues provide the starting point for this paper. In order to carry out this study about Fortaleza's situation, we will limit ourselves to the urban illegality associated with popular settlements, acknowledging the following as the agents involved: the government, the real estate sector and the population which has a

lower purchasing power and which, in the face of ineffective public policies on housing, look for a solution which is suitable to their own means and strategies.

Data from IBGE's (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) latest population count show that the FMA already has more than three million inhabitants. Besides Fortaleza, another dozen cities make up the FMA. These cities have been absorbing part of the problems associated with the issue of housing arising from the capital, notably those in the outskirts of Fortaleza. Its population is concentrated in the capital city of Fortaleza and neighboring cities; there has been a conurbation process of different features, all of which are associated with each axis' predominant housing configurations, some of which are

- firstly, motivated by the fact that large social interest housing developments were located on the border between Fortaleza and neighboring cities in the Southwest and West (Maracanaú and Caucaia) during the 1970's and 1980's. Those estates were promoted by the State Housing Company (Companhia Estadual de Habitação, COHAB-CE) and funded by the National Housing Bank (Banco Nacional da Habitação - BNH);

- secondly, in a continuous process which intensified from 1970 onwards, through the expansion of vacation homes along both the East and the West coasts, which are gradually becoming primary residence neighborhoods;

- thirdly, through the expansion of irregular, occupied, at risk areas along the urban rivers (Cocó and Maranguapinho) and on dune cordons in strips of beach which has intensified since the 1990's;

- lastly, deriving from the implementation of private housing estates and housing developments from the 1990's onwards in the Southwest expansion axis promoted by the real estate sector, replacing old country houses and small ranches.

The analyses carried out from technical works and scientific research which address housing conditions contained in Brazilian metropolitan spaces have been pointing out Fortaleza as one of the most unequal, precarious and deficient metropolitan areas. Fortaleza has had an explosive demographic growth and its housing conditions are among the most inadequate, which favors the expansion and aggravation of social and environmental vulnerabilities.

As a rule, studies which aim to characterize the issue of housing precariousness in cities classify the subnormal types of housing in the following manner: shanty towns, occupied without any payment for the land's acquisition; tenement houses, whose inhabitants pay rent for a room and share areas with access to water with others; irregular or clandestine lots, commercialized illegally, not registered with the municipal government and with no access to infrastructure networks. More recently, other subnormal categories started being taken into account, such as squatter buildings and high risk areas. These are separate from the category of shanty towns and even the small housing estates provided by the government, whose projects and building processes led to their speedy deterioration. In a short period of time future actions by the local government became necessary (Rodrigues, 2003).

Contrary to Brazilian metropolises located in the southern region, Fortaleza gathers most of its housing sub normality around the formation of shanty towns. Several factors may be pointed out as causing this situation, although their nature is

hypothetical and arises from field verification and preliminary analyses of technical reports. Some of those factors are:

- popular demand was partially met by social interest housing programs promoted by COHAB-CE and by BNH in peri-urban fringes; it was also later partially met by the implementation of popular lots in remaining large empty spaces. One of its features is an incomplete urbanization, especially of open spaces and institutional areas, which were later occupied by social groups who were excluded from public policies and unable to get access to the real estate sector's offers for low income brackets.

- the lack of inspection by government agencies for urban control in the less privileged areas of the city; this favored the formation of shanty towns in urban areas of permanent conservation, such as riverbanks, streams and lagoons, dune slopes and strips of beach;

- this continuous poverty situation, given the predominance of informal employment relations and, consequently, a low level of income, induces home sharing as a survival strategy in poorer neighborhoods. Families live together in the same lot, either on a second floor, encouraging self-built vertical expansion, or in the back of the lot, in which case its occupation rate increases;

- the following point to a juxtaposition of precarious housing types: the presence of a rental market for low income people in popular suburban neighborhoods and the recent formation of tenement houses in shanty town areas located in small urban fragments close to where people employed in the non-specialized and unofficial tertiary sector work;

- the informal habit of offering the right to housing in country houses and small ranches in peripheral fringes to families (usually more than one family), who will act as the care takers of the property.

All of those factors bring to light the importance of new detailed studies on the formation of FMA shanty towns. Such studies would be carried out in connection with other types of housing, including the following: popular lots in suburban neighborhoods; large housing estates and the expansion fronts where the residential segregation areas are concentrated.

ANALYSIS OF FIGURES PERTANING TO THE FORMATION OF SHANTY TOWNS IN FORTALEZA

Urban illegality, when associated with precarious living conditions in Fortaleza, presents itself as a historical problem in this city's production of space. Castro[1], while describing Fortaleza's 1887 plan, points out that 30% of families lived in straw huts close to strips of beach and on the banks of rivers and lagoons, a clear indication of shanty town formation.

The analysis of urban form elements, such as streets and lots, points to the presence of disordered fragments close to central areas and along main roads. It also clearly shows the presence of informal and spontaneous occupations in other

[1] This information was obtained from an undated text, written by Professor Jose Liberal de Castro. In that text He details information from Fortaleza's historical plans.

stages of the city's expansion; such occupations were gradually inserted into the urban fabric.

Its speedy growth during the 20th century was directly linked to migration flows from Northeastern Inlands caused by droughts. It caused natural resources to be compromised by a continuous and irregular occupation process, since the migrating families did not have any means to acquire land or a home.

Large removals associated with the implementation of roads in the main transport system led to the implementation of large suburban housing estates in the golden age of the Financial Housing System (Sistema Financeiro de Habitação - SFH) in the 1970's and early 1980's, both in Fortaleza and in cities of Greater Fortaleza, such as Maracanaú and Caucaia. However, the lower offer of social housing programs after the end of BNH occurs in a period during which impoverishment increases. Thus, the shanty town is increasingly reaffirmed as the predominant type of housing among the poor. There is an expansion of an informal housing market in public land, dubbed "*local government land*", either for sale or rent.

In 1985 COHAB-CE, together with the State Secretariat for Social Action (Secretaria de Ação Social do Estado), carries out the first census of subnormal settlements, counting over 250 shanty towns in Fortaleza. In 1991 this census was updated and 314 shanty towns were identified, in which over 108 thousand families lived. This represented approximately 30% of Fortaleza's inhabitants. On the latter date, the formation of small shanty town cores in the neighboring cities of Maracanaú and Caucaia was already noticeable. They were located in the housing estates' green areas and on the banks of rivers, streams and lagoons.

Figure 1 shows Fortaleza's Shanty Town Map, grouping the data from the 1991 census as well as the sectors considered subnormal by IBGE in the 2000 census. It should be emphasized that a significant part of areas considered as subnormal crowds by IBGE had already been identified in the specific shanty town census, carried out by the state government. It is worth reminding that areas defined by IBGE as special subnormal sectors are those which gather at least fifty households, in which the disordered occupation by precarious housing is predominant, and whose land situation is irregular and lacks urban infra-structure.

A preliminary analysis of this mapping allows us to see: - a larger amount of areas to the West of Fortaleza where later large housing estates were built, resulting in the trend of rapid increase in shanty town areas toward the suburban cities; - a clustering and greater size of areas situated near the strip of beach in the West, next to the Mucuripe port, in the central portion of the coast and in the city's farthest limits where its main rivers debouch; - its diffusion and fragmentation through small shanty towns which supposedly occupy open areas in irregular lots in the city's central parts; - the development of a shanty town formation semi-circle, from the far West of the city, around the central neighborhoods and going in the direction of the port sector, along the railway; - the distribution of shanty towns along the rivers, occupying permanent conservation areas and representing environmental degradation lines; - the emergence of new areas is concentrated in the outskirts, and a semi-circle is formed in the bordering areas between Fortaleza and neighboring cities; - the formation of actual masses of shanty town areas making up large territories of social and spatial exclusion.

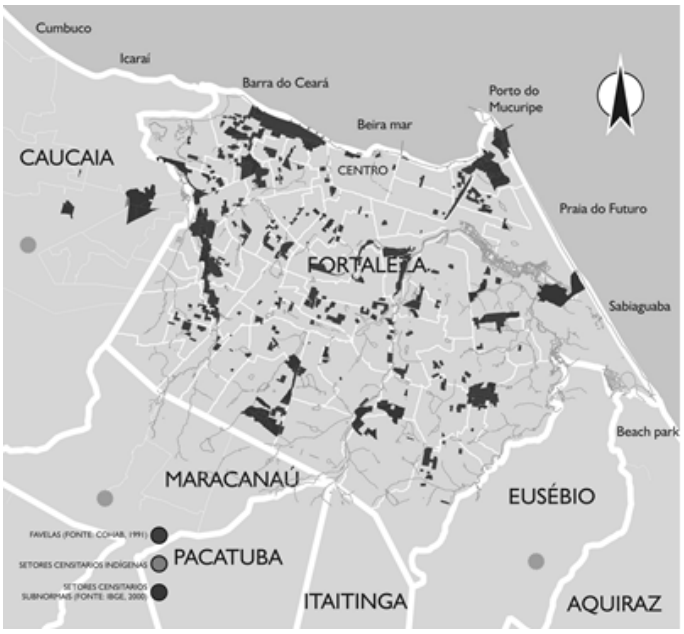

Figure 1: Fortaleza: Shanty town map according to the 1991 and 2000 census
Source: Pequeno, 2009.

The dismantling of institutions responsible for the implementation of the social interest housing policy in all of Brazil has the effect of extinguishing COHAB-CE. The responsibility of providing housing is transferred to municipal governments. Following the neoliberal guidelines in its administrative reforms, the state government dismantles most of its work structure in that sector. However, neither did Fortaleza's municipal government nor other governments for the metropolitan area organize a structure to face the situation.

Thus, municipal governments take on the challenge of planning and managing housing policies. In Fortaleza's case, there is a need for change in welfare practices carried out by the Social Service Foundation (Fundação de Serviço Social), in order to find new ways to meet the demands. However, the practices are still directly linked to City Hall, keeping a clientelist feature in the form of a Special Committee for the Implementation of Social Interest Housing Programs (Comissão Especial para Implantação de Programas Habitacionais de Interesse Social - COMHAB).

In the late 1990's, Fortaleza becomes a part of the Brazil Housing Program (HBB), funded by the Inter-American Development Bank (BID) and by federal bank Caixa Econômica Federal (CEF), by forming a partnership with the Special Secretariat for Urban Development (SEDU), which was later incorporated into the Ministry of Cities, aiming to promote its institutional development in order to address those issues. It began organizing databanks, making an official list of settlements in precarious conditions, formulating policies and programs, drawing up specific procedure and regulation booklets for Social Interest Housing (HIS), commissioning projects, training technicians, acquiring equipment. All of that was part of the

program which the municipal government adopted between 1999 and 2006. The benefits obtained from HBB were reduced, since the issue of housing did not manage to move local authorities between 1993 and 2004, although the pressure from social movements was great.

Almost at the end of the partnership, in 2004, Habitafor - Fortaleza's Social Interest Housing Foundation was created as a means to speed up the process of obtaining and managing funds. When it was created, there was a clear dismantling of sectoral actions distributed among the several municipal bodies. Habitafor took on the role of promoting integrated planning and coordinating such actions.

In its first years, this Foundation has experienced difficulties in formulating housing policies and efficient programs to address issues such as the formation of shanty towns and other types of urban illegality which devastate the city. The execution of urbanization and housing provision works has shown poor judgment when defining which areas will be targeted.

Although they focus on different types of precarious housing, such actions have been targeting shanty town areas in a situation of environmental risk. Such areas represent a priority for housing provision services as the most vulnerable sectors. Other issues that have attracted little attention from the Foundation's interventions are land and urban regularization of occupied areas and housing estates which were precariously built by the local government in the last two decades.

One can see that when the local government establishes high risk areas as a priority it is actually reducing its intervention target and reducing the size of the problem to be addressed. This occurs regardless of the change in the municipal administration's political orientation. In spite of the availability of funds to compile a new registry of irregular occupied areas (shanty towns and lots), as made available by the HBB Program, the fact is that the surveys were limited to the occupied areas in a risk situation. Three moments were recorded. The first was the counting of 4,500 families in 43 risk areas in 1997, made by the Center for the Defense and Promotion of Human Rights of Fortaleza's Archdiocese. Then the HBB Risk Areas Intervention Plan, carried out by COMHAB in 2001, counted 79 areas with over 9,300 families. The third was a survey made by Fortaleza's Municipal Emergency Management Agency in 2006, pointing to over twenty thousand families in 102 endangered areas.

The occupied areas in risk situations are already expanding into neighboring cities. They are forming degradation corridors along urban rivers and strips of beach (Pequeno, 2009) or are even sparsely distributed around lagoons. It should be highlighted that the spaces which join risk areas, coincide with social-occupational types entitled 'popular-worker and lower'[2], where there is a higher density of workers from the informal and non-specialized tertiary sector, from the traditional secondary sector and workers in the construction industry. (Pequeno, 2008).

[2] Studies carried out by the author about FMA infrastructure, adopting the same methodology as the Metropolis Observatory Research Network (Rede de Pesquisa Observatório das Metrópoles). The studies identified seven social-spatial typologies, characterized by the social and occupational content of data expansion areas according to data from the 2000 census sample carried out by IBGE.

It is difficult to implement a broad and multi-faceted housing policy without determining the size and space occupied by the housing universe in precarious conditions. A significant number of land issues will remain unresolved if there is no survey on irregular lots, especially in a city in which precarious housing conditions become homogeneous in suburban spaces.

As for the land regularization processes, so far there are experiments on sustainable land regularization in shanty towns located on federal government land, as well as the formulation of a land regularization program for housing estates built between 1988 and 2004 by the local government.

Even considering the interventions in risk areas, the fact that municipal policies have little effectiveness is clear. A low number of areas were covered by such policies and there is no planning process which defines priorities. Of the 79 risk areas identified by the HBB Program in 2001, only three were intervention targets. Two were targeted by the local government and one by the state government. In all of them most families were removed and later resettled on empty pieces of land close to low, high-density multi-family buildings. The new aspects introduced by those projects were defining rooms for commercial use in their typology, distinguishing houses according to the number of bedrooms and the small size of common areas, in order to avoid common expenses.

However, some negative aspects may be pointed out, indicating the low quality of such housing projects, including the following: the room's small size, precarious finishing, excessive occupation density of resettlement areas, lack of treatment of open spaces, the way the settlement is segregated from the area around it, among others.

Considering the increasing and dominant formation of shanty towns in the urban landscape, gathering on the same site housing precariousness, lack of infrastructure, disorderly occupation of spaces and an irregular land situation, would it be possible to state that other types of illegal settlements are being neglected by state and local governments?

The results from studies carried out by the Ministry of Cities' Center for Metropolis Studies regarding the urban settlements in precarious conditions favor that hypothesis. Such studies bring new figures pertaining to urban and housing precariousness in FMA. In our case, a discriminative analysis was adopted as the methodological procedure, building a type of census sector in precarious conditions based on the similarities between results obtained for sectors which are considered to be subnormal in some variables obtained per household and person in charge in IBGE's 2000 Demographic Census. It should be noted that the consultancy service offered by the Center for Metropolis Studies (CEM) is based on the premise that the adopted methodology offers an intermediate tool to diagnose more precisely urban precariousness, which depends on verification carried out on site.

Table 1 shows the growth, in absolute figures and in percentages, considering only the number of households. While before only Fortaleza and Caucaia had subnormal sectors, the study shows that all other cities, except for Horizonte, have sectors which are considered to be in precarious conditions. Furthermore, Fortaleza and Caucaia have new urban and housing precariousness figures, reaching much higher numbers.

As for the entire FMA, little over 24% of its households would be in a precarious situation. Maranguape should be noted for the fact that nearly 1/3 of its population would be living in precarious settlements, surpassing even Fortaleza. The same would be true of Itaitinga, a small town that was created after being declared independent from another district. Over 25% of households are in precarious conditions. Our attention is drawn to the fact that cities which have experienced more intense industrialization, such as Horizonte, Pacajús, Maracanaú and Eusébio, show the best results.

Table 1: FMA - Precarious settlements according to city - 2007

municipality	(A) Households in subnormal sectors	(A)/(D) %	(B) Households in precarious settlements	(B)/(D) %	(C) Households in subnormal sectors and precarious settlements	(C)/(D) %	(D) Households in all types of sectors
Aquiraz	0	-	1,274	9.82	1,274	9.82	12,979
Caucaia	1,653	3.07	9,544	17.75	11,197	20.82	53,771
Chorozinho	0	-	177	7.53	177	7.50	2.352
Eusébio	0	-	192	2.65	192	2.65	7.258
Fortaleza	82,956	15.77	60,949	11.59	143,905	27.36	526,057
Guaiúba	0	-	722	20.45	722	20.45	3.530
Horizonte	0	-	0	-	-	0.0	6.767
Itaitinga	0	-	1,575	25.69	1,575	25.69	6.130
Maracanaú	0	-	3,958	9.39	3,958	9.39	42,149
Maranguape	0	-	5,195	34.66	5,195	34.66	14,987
Pacajus	0	-	436	5.31	436	5.31	8,204
Pacatuba	0	-	1,131	10.28	1,131	10.28	10,998
Sao Gonçalo	0	-	643	11.44	643	11.44	5,622
Total FMA	84609	12.07	85,796	12.24	170,405	24.32	700,804

Source: Ministry of Cities / Center for Metropolis Studies, 2007, from IBGE's 2000 census data.

With regard to the other cities which make up the FMA, one can state that the diffusion of shanty town formation advances in two directions. There is on one hand, the expansion of poverty from the suburbs of Fortaleza toward those cities and, on the other hand, the arrival of permanent migration flows from rural areas and the state's countryside toward the metropolis, for which those cities are entry points.

Furthermore, the process of urban reorganization of those metropolitan cities, associated with new productive activities, results in the formation of several irregularly occupied areas in a precarious situation. As for cities where the industrial sector is expanding, the implementation of popular lots without properly urbanizing open spaces and institutional areas, the formation of shanty towns is already present. On the other hand, coastal cities, where tourism and the real estate market take advantage of the areas occupied by traditional communities, have their peri-urban spaces as a preferred target for resettling those people in a disorderly and precarious way.

PROSPECTS FOR FIGHTING URBAN ILLEGALITY IN FORTALEZA

With regard to facing the issue of urban illegality associated with occupied areas, the analysis will be restricted to the city of Fortaleza due to the lack of specific information on other cities belonging to the FMA.

Despite the attempts made since the 1990's[3] to establish urban planning processes in the other cities, their scenario remains one of institutional deficiency regarding the agencies, policies and tools for urban planning and management. Although the situation is alarming, not once was the housing issue addressed, in terms of land irregularities, whether during the diagnostic stage or when proposing strategies for action.

Even in Fortaleza one notices that land and urban regularization faces difficulties to be dealt with, due to shattered initiatives which mostly cater for specific situations as experimental projects. Other factors contribute to this situation, among which are the following: the fact that Habitafor[4], a municipal institution responsible for implementing a social interest housing policy, is still being structured, as well as local resistance from landowners in solving issues which involve land regularization.

Starting in 2002, the process of revising Fortaleza's Master Plan according to the City Statue Act has offered a space in which political and ideological conflicts surface, especially the understanding that the city is produced in an unequal and contradictory way. It should be emphasized that these seven years of conflict between social movements, the government and the private real estate sector expose how fragile local consultancies are with regard to both their lack of knowledge about these new instruments and their problem accepting and using participatory methodologies. This results in a diagnosis which does not correspond to reality and as a rule, is restricted to the technical approach without incorporating the community's view of the problem.

In its first revision attempt, the Master Plan bill was withdrawn from the City Council by the mayor's office due to a complete lack of discussion and debate about the proposals with the society, favoring business owners in the building industry. Additionally, other issues can be mentioned, such as: the theoretical-conceptual weakness and the fact that its technical team is outdated and still using conventional urban planning procedures. The Public Attorneys' Office recommendation, arguing against the type of contracting and the quality of services, and the actions demanding rights which were implemented by NGOs, social movements and unions all contributed to the bill being withdrawn.

Even if the hired consultancy was exempt from a bidding process due to its reputable knowledge[5], the products they presented were disqualified by specialists

[3] In the late 1990's Master Plans were drawn up for FMA cities through the state government's Urban Development Program. Those plans have been recently revised and to some of them the City Statute principles were applied. However, those processes took place in a technocratic way, without further concerns with their implementation.

[4] Created in late 2004, Fundação Habitafor had its first management during mayor Luizianne Lins' administration. When it first started out, an institutional diagnosis showed that the roles attributed to it were spread among fifteen secretariats and autonomous agencies.

[5] The initial team had Professors from Universidade Federal do Ceará (Ceará's Federal University - UFC), who were included as consultants of the Technology Center Foudation

from different but related fields of expertise. A number of problems were pointed out. Some are the absence of the metropolitan issue, the use of outdated information from the 1991 Census, the indiscriminate inclusion of all instruments from the City Stature in the proposal, in a general way and without addressing any of their specific aspects applied to the current situation in Fortaleza, among others.

In its second term, which began in 2006, the new municipal administration hires a team of professionals, once again based on their reputable knowledge, to work as consultants responsible for revising the Master Plan.[6]

The new process had the recommendations published by national campaigns promoted by the Ministry of Cities as its paradigm. Its beginning was marked negatively by the society's limited and ineffective mobilization and training, due to the short time given for drawing up the new plan. The consequence was that similar problems that affected the previous process reoccurred.

Thanks to the consultant's profile, as well as the local government's position favoring grassroots participation, there was a very positive expectation on the social movements' side. However, because of methodological procedures adopted and the short amount of time available for drawing it up, the Master Plan's revision was then carried out in an atmosphere of suspicion and conflict between the parties involved. In the initial stage, when there would be a confrontation between popular and technical views, the weakness of the methodology used was exposed, with reaction coming from different sectors. Although the problem was being discussed with the Master Plan's managing group, which gathered representatives from different sectors of the society, the alleged lack of time to finish the planned stages prevailed.

Thus, the Housing Center (Núcleo de Habitação - NUHAB), a network of entities and NGOs which provide consultancy services to grassroots movements, supported by some segments of public universities, joined forces to offer training sessions. Their subject was using Special Social Interest Zones (ZEIS) as a tool to promote land regularization, considering the urban illegality environment which has spread across the city.[7]

Lectures, debates, field classes and practical activities were used to train several community leaders to become part of the process of drawing up the plan. These leaders were elected as delegates and began representing their neighborhoods and communities in regional hearings. From then on, they manage to formulate

(Fundação do Centro de Tecnologia) from that institution. Changes in legislation pertaining to soil use and occupation right in the beginning of the process led to political and methodological disagreements between the team of consultants and the city government. This resulted in this team withdrawal from the process. Other consultants formed another team of professionals, and most of them were not linked with the university and did not have the same qualification. They took on the role of conducting the process by meeting the demands and pressures of the real estate market.

[6] The new consultancy was provided by Instituto Polis, a non-governmental organization from São Paulo. A team of professionals was brought to Fortaleza, to which local professionals were added.

[7] Special Social Interest Zones (Zonas Especiais de Interesse Social - ZEIS) have been the object of study of many researchers in the field of urbanistic Law and urban planning, among which are Alfonsín (1997); Souza (2001); Fernandes (2003); Saule (2004), and others.

proposals for land and urban regularization as ZEIS in the most critical sectors of the areas they represent and begin to have a direct influence on the process of drawing up Fortaleza's Master Plan.

At the end of that process, the city was able to rely, for the first time, on proposals to solve the issue of illegality in occupied areas, all of which were gathered in a ZEIS map and classified by type according to the occupation conditions: shanty towns; popular lots or housing developments; open, urban spaces or underused buildings. Despite compromise between the local government and sectors of the real estate market, the proposal manages to be approved in the Master Plan congress and is sent to the City Council for discussion.

After the required meetings were held by the consultancy company, as well as the meetings of the management team, which was created to follow the process of drawing up the master plan, the discussion process with the society is slowly forgotten. This weakened the social movements' initiatives to promote mobilization and favored changes and regressions in the bill.

After being analyzed by the City Attorneys' Office, the new Master Plan remained under discussion at the City Council. As one of the most controversial topics, the adoption of ZEIS provoked reactions from council members who represent the most conservative sectors, especially those contrary to ZEIS, located in more valuable real estate areas.

Considering the goal of this paper, we will focus on analyzing the points pertaining to land and urban rectification associated with areas of shanty towns and clandestine and irregular lots, especially those associated with the use of ZEIS. It is worth emphasizing here that the Urban Territorial Responsibility Bill (Lei de Responsabilidade Territorial Urbana - Bill 3057/2000), still awaiting approval by the national congress, highlights the need for subnormal settlements to be recognized as ZEIS in the respective master plans so they can be regularized in the future (article 88, Bill 3057/2000), as well as considering possibilities for cities who fully manage their social assistance to make indexes more flexible (article 38, Bill 3057/2000).

With regard to Fortaleza's Master Plan Bill, drawn up with the assistance of a contracted consultancy company, the technical quality of that plan must be highlighted, given the relevance of their instruments to the different zones which make up the macrozoning. Nevertheless, we should also point out the problem arising from outsourcing that activity, since when the responsibility over the direction urban policies will take is transferred to others, instead of these policies being developed in the institution itself, there are greater difficulties in implementing them, such as: the discussion with the City Council about the proposed guidelines, the definition of urban indexes and parameters, the choice of priority projects, updating the diagnosis, among others.

In Fortaleza's case, which has Brazil's fifth largest city population[8], the lack of a qualified technical team to perform these services may be seen as an indicator of a future which is not very promising. Some of the causes of that problem are the extinction of the Municipal Planning Institute (IPLAM) in past administrations; the several administrative reforms the city went through, causing the duties of

[8]Classification according to data from the last population count made by IBGE in 2009.

planning and urban control to dissipate; the subdivision of the city into administrative areas without any concerns about integrating their actions later.

According to the Master Plan, in article 123: *Special Social Interest Zones - ZEIS - are parts of the territory, either public or privately owned, whose priority destination is promoting the urban and land regularization of existing and consolidated low income housing settlements and developing social interest and popular market housing programs in non-built, non-used or underused areas; the latter is subject to special building, division, soil use and occupation criteria.*

Three types of Special Social Interest Zones were defined by the Master Plan:

- ZEIS (1) made up of irregular settlements of a disordered occupation, in public or private areas; they comprise a low income population; they are precarious from the urban and housing points of view; their purpose is land, urban and environmental regularization (article 126);

- ZEIS (2) made up of clandestine or irregular lots and housing estates, public or private, which are partially urbanized, occupied by a low income population; their purpose is land and urban regularization (article 129);

- ZEIS (3) made up of areas which possess infrastructure, gathering non-built land or underused or non-used property; their purpose is the implementation of social interest housing developments, as well as other uses which are valid for their zone, after a specific plan has been drawn up. (article 133)

With regard to the ZEIS in connection with the other urban policy instruments which are part of the Master Plan, it is worth highlighting that such ZEIS are already associated with some of those instruments, which include the following: compulsory division, for type 3 ZEIS (open, urban spaces), immediately pointing out the need for this land to fulfill the social role of property; onerous assignment of the right to build, and type 1 and 2 ZEIS (shanty towns, precarious housing developments and lots) are the targets of compensation for their urban regularization; transfer of the right to build as a way of compensating landowners which are defined as type 3 ZEIS and that will have their building potential decreased; a real estate consortium, also for type 3 ZEIS, ensuring the possibility of forming a partnership between the owner and the local government aiming to expand the offer of social interest housing; urban consortium operations with ZEIS areas having priority in interventions, favoring the urban and environmental recovery of degraded areas inclusively.

The possibilities mentioned above point out the instrument's potential given its flexibility in establishing specific urban indexes and its capacity to establish a link with the other instruments.

After an initial analysis of the spatial distribution of ZEIS areas in relation to the process of urban growth in the city, it can be stated that, despite the growing number of families who live in shanty town areas in Fortaleza and the amount of housing estates still in an irregular land situation, a first look over the areas defines as ZEIS leads us to consider the low impact of their adoption in this Plan.

However, considering that this first grouping may represent only the beginning of a dynamic, in an optimistic view, it is possible to point out that it may, in case of a successful experience, be used in the future in other parts of the city.

It should also be highlighted that the mere inclusion of ZEIS in the plan is not enough if later the implementation procedures are not detailed. In Fortaleza's case, the instrument Special Social Interest Zones was already a part of the Urban Development Master Plan of 1992 under a different name; see articles 73 to 76, which address spontaneous settlements and their possibilities in terms of urbanization and land regularization. However, no area was ever mapped, which made this plan (which is still valid) progressive in content but at the same time empty with regard to its applicability and implementation.

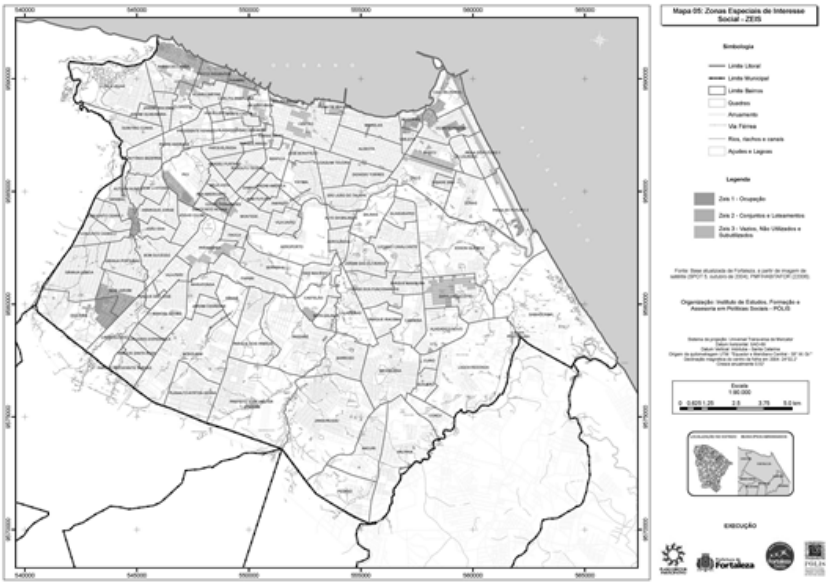

Figure 2: Fortaleza: Type 1, 2 and 3 ZEIS, according to 2007's Master Plan
Source: Fortaleza's Participatory Master Plan, 2007

As for the distribution of the proposed ZEIS, one can see that the areas so far shown are concentrated in strips of beach and surrounding areas, a clear reaction to the pressures of the real estate sector on the communities who live in those sectors; this represents a resistance strategy adopted by the inhabitants of those shanty towns. The following map presents the set of areas considered as ZEIS.

Based on the analysis of the Master Plan, of all areas identified as probable ZEIS we emphasize in this study an area situated in the Sapiranga-Coité neighborhood, also known as Água Fria, due to the name of the lot in that sector.

This soil division has been registered with the local government since March 1957, and its owners were Mr. Péricles Moreira da Rocha and Mr. João Gentil Junior. It was only launched in the 1970's. Located along the way to country houses and small ranches in Messejana, the target audience of this development was the more privileged classes who used to take that route on weekends on their way to country houses, small ranches and vacation homes. At the time, entire blocks were sold to those who realized the area offered an easy investment and a positive mid-term reward.

However, the distance from the center of town and from areas where most of the other real estate investments were, in addition to the lack of urban infrastructure, caused it to be unsuccessful, since at the time, urban transportation conditions toward the Southwest, where the lot is, were deficient.

When analyzing the urban project for that division, the indifference to local topography is clear. This compromised the natural draining of surface water resources, whether running or still water, temporary or intermittent. Other lots situated nearby were subjected to similar procedures, deriving in the expansion of extreme vulnerability situations and compromising ecosystems whose importance is relevant to Fortaleza's urban environmental quality, such as mangrove swamps, dune cordons and tableland woods, and causing micro and macro climate changes.

Additionally, the expansion process of the real estate market, associated with the explosive demographic growth of the 1970's and 1980's, led to a number of land occupations, due to reasons mentioned previously in the first part of this article. Such reasons cause shanty towns to be the housing option for the poor to this day. Open spaces and institutional areas in these residential lots were priority targets of those actions.

In the case of Planalto Água Fria, interviews with community leaders who have lived in the area since the 1970's indicate that the residential occupation began in areas which were destined to two of its squares. This occupation was fast and disorderly. The Lagoa Seca and Campo do Alecrim communities settled in those areas. After they reached their limits, these communities began expanding onto the lots' streets and onto the neighboring blocks.

Some housing estates derived from housing policies were implemented by the state government in that same lot. They contributed significantly to the neighborhood's occupation process, since they caused the arrival of public works and infrastructure in surrounding areas.

This land occupation took place in two moments: first, with Alvorada Housing Development (Conjunto Habitacional Alvorada), promoted by Ceará's Social Security Institute (Instituto de Previdência do Estado do Ceará) and aimed at state civil servants in the late 1980's; second, during the 1990's, with a housing estate built by COHAB-CE which met the demands of clientelist social movements through the commonly named popular housing societies of the area. Both changed the local dynamics, bringing new social groups to the area and generating conflict with inhabitants of irregular occupations.

Parque Colosso lot, situated to the north of the area of study, should also be noted as part of the urban dynamics of the sector under analysis. It has been approved since 1985 and although still uninhabited, it is still waiting for shanty towns around it to be removed, which would add to it a greater exchange value and thus make the investment more profitable. (see Figure 3)

From the 1980's onwards the city's growth, combined with residential segregation, begins to move southwest. This sector is consolidated as a new center and attracts large facilities, private teaching institutions, shopping centers and others along Washington Soares Avenue - FMA's main axis of residential segregation.

After that, from the 1990's onwards, the growth of tourism as economic activity turned this area into an important target of the real estate market. The

implementation of private housing estates grew rapidly in the areas around that lot and in some of its blocks. The social and spatial inequalities increased greatly. At the same time, they were close to people's workplace since the formal tertiary sector, the construction industry and other non-specialized services, such as domestic work, favor the growth, expansion and multiplication of occupied areas. These move into some permanent conservation areas and compete with the real estate sector for territory.

Although its informal occupation process is shattered, the social movement manages to become stronger in that part of town when fighting for access to the infrastructure networks and better transport conditions. At the end of the 1990's, some communities in that sector became a target of the international cooperation program focused on fighting urban poverty[9]. Integrated development plans were drawn up for that program and a debate started about land regularization via ZEIS. After that, some young community leaders of that neighborhood became part of the teaching body of the Urban Planning and Popular Research School that belongs to the NGO, CEARAH Periferia[10]. They excelled as assiduous participants of training activities and of actions demanding the right to the city and housing. They applied the instruments made available by the City Statute commendably to their neighborhood's situation and made a significant contribution to the discussion about the Master Plan and about actions to regularize land.

In this second review of the Master Plan, reinforcing what had been formulated in the training provided by NUHAB, these young leaders participated effectively in public meetings and proposed ZEIS based on a connection between areas which were occupied irregularly and empty urban spaces nearby. Souza (2001) names this strategy inverting priorities. In this geographer's opinion, in order to map ZEIS there has to be a juxtaposition of situations which gather precarious urban access to infrastructure networks, a situation of social and economic inequality in relation to the surrounding area and land irregularities.

It should be noted that this sector shows other occupied areas; one can imagine the conflict between landowners, real estate developers and the local communities who have been there for decades over increasing real estate speculation. There is an immediate need for the either the state or municipal government's presence in order to mediate and avoid possible territorial conflicts. The ZEIS may be the instrument which best adapts to the situation described above.

[9] Urban PRORENDA: a program of international cooperation between Brazil and Germany, valid between 1992 and 2002. It was carried out in two stages, adopting shanty town areas as a target of interventions related to community empowerment, creation of jobs and environmental sanitation.

[10] A non-governmental organization founded in 1992 by assistants to the popular movement in urban and housing issues. It is internationally renowned for its innovative practices in training community leaders.

Fig.3 - Fortaleza: Planalto Água fria Lot: shanty towns, housing estates, empty areas

Figure 4 - Lagoa Seca: irregular occupation in Planalto Água Fria, 2005
Source: edited by the author

Figure 4 shows the occupation of Lagoa Seca, one of the first in the neighborhood and which was built on a public square, a piece property for public use. The intensity of the occupation in that area, in its subnormal parts, combined with the precarious infrastructure networks and the situation of environmental degradation of urban lagoons uncovers the need for an integrated urbanizing plan. This is to truly ensure its urban and environmental recovery, as well as its sustainable land regularization combined with the resettlement of families in empty areas nearby. One can see that the availability of empty spaces considered as type 3 ZEIS in the proposed Master Plan could guarantee not only better urban housing conditions for families in occupied areas by reducing density, reopening streets, organizing the transportation system, but especially by providing housing.

As part of a zone where the Master Plan showed moderate occupation as a proposal, Planalto Água Fria's main urban indexes in its immediate vicinity are the minimum lot with 150 m2, an occupation rate of 40%, a permeability rate of 50% and maximum building height of 48m. In taking actions such as compulsory division, real estate consortiums, transferring the right to build and even consortium urban operation, we could be facing an alternative for this urban front's development, provided that we could overcome the hurdles which drive the city toward social and spatial segregation, which increase social segmentation, differentiation and exclusion.

An accurate analysis of urban soil occupation conditions in this sector point to situations in which spatial inequalities increase. Figure 5 shows a clear example of the social and economic inequality situations which are in effect in Fortaleza in terms of land access.

Some differences can be noted between them when gathering four neighboring blocks in that same lot. Block 1 shows an entire block occupied by a single family, who are believed to be one the first inhabitants of the neighborhood and who arrived with the first illegal occupants of that lot. Block 2 on the other hand, was entirely divided as a horizontal condominium grouping 36 residential units and a private leisure area, internal circulation is restricted to its members and there is a strong security system. Block 3,an irregular disorderly occupation, gathers more than forty families who live in precarious housing and whose access to

infrastructure and transportation networks is difficult. This requires different types of improvisation. block 4, an entirely empty block, including vegetation. What those blocks have in common, in addition to their location in the same lot and their dimensions, 120 x 80 m2, is the fact that nearby streets which provide access to them are entirely occupied by extensions of shanty town areas. This contributes to environmental degradation conditions and makes the neighborhood even more vulnerable.

Figure 6 shows another example of a situation which shows the uneven way in which the city is being produced, even if the common aspect is its aggressive occupation when it comes to the appropriation of urban permanent conservation areas. In that case, the banks of the same water resource, an important element in the draining system of the sector being studied, are occupied by two segregation patterns. One is a small closed lot northwest of the pond. The other, in the southwest, is an at risk area occupied by a group which is in a condition of extreme social exclusion.

A situation such as this uncovers the need to adopt normative criteria and procedures which may prevent these areas from becoming environmentally compromised when the time comes to regularize their situation. In addition to families' resettlement, permanent conservation areas which are occupied irregularly should be put to new uses.

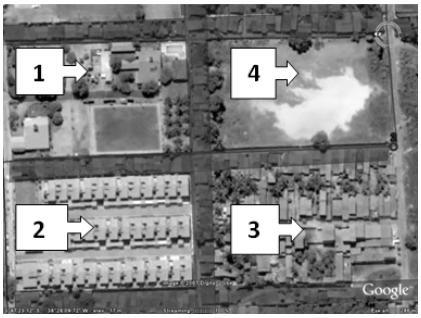

Figure 5 – Planalto Água Fria: blocks in a situation of inequality, 2005

Figure 6 – Açude Coité: inequality in a situation of environmental risk
Source: edited by the author

FINAL COMMENTS

Although of a preliminary nature, the analyses carried out offer a bleak perspective with regard to the issues of land and urban regularization in Fortaleza's Metropolitan Area, including the capital and the other cities.

Considering the policy to reduce the state government's participation in the urban and housing development sectors, it is unlikely that any planned action which includes the metropolitan area will be taken. As for the cities which comprise the FMA, even though the marks of urban illegality are increasingly clearer, the ineffectiveness of the institutions responsible for implementing urban and housing policies show that no change is likely to take place in the near future.

However, we believe that the first steps have been taken with the inclusion of some instruments from Fortaleza's Master Plan, in the appropriate locations. They still need to be detailed. It is believed that the effective adoption of ZEIS in Fortaleza, the capital and FMA's hub city, may result in this instrument being used by neighboring cities and the positive inclusion of those institutes in municipal Master Plans.

In order to change the current situation, it is necessary for municipal managers to show political will to address such issues, which have been historically neglected. Furthermore, the following factors are considered essential: more professionals need to be hired, the acquisition of equipment, as well as drawing up official lists and defining the minimum procedures to be followed.

Based on estimates of the size of the problem, it is believed we are facing a phenomenon which is to be resolved progressively by multi-professional teams which are open to participation and certain of how important the society's participation is in planning processes. In this case, as set forth by the Urban Territorial Responsibility Bill (PL 3057/2001), those should be the minimum requisites for cities to fulfill the requirements to have full management power over their urban development policy.

Separate experiences and experimental projects are being implemented in several Brazilian cities. However, the specific features of each city must be taken into account when adopting urban procedures and parameters. It is still necessary to investigate qualitatively and quantitatively the urban indexes to be adopted; and to contrast the current situation of the informal and spontaneous city, especially with respect to the social and environmental diversity in FMA's suburban space, and the situation established by urbanistic rules, the size of which approaches that of an unattainable ideal city for most of the population.

Although far from offering a definite conclusion, we also emphasize that the situations outlined here contribute to reinforcing the need to execute urbanistic plans for the ZEIS areas of in a broader nature, including other scales. Likewise, minimum standards of what can be considered a space occupied by a family must be established. The aim is to avoid legitimizing and legalizing extreme poverty by regularizing precarious settlements with families living in extremely small lots and in subhuman conditions.

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PLANNING MORAL AND SOCIAL HYGIENE: VENEREAL DISEASES, THE REGULATION OF PROSTITUTION, AND INTERWAR INDIA

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The interwar period (1918-39) was one of rapid socio-political change in colonial India. It saw the emergence of mass-movement anti-colonialism, communal nationalism, and a thoroughgoing women's movement, as well as the scalar reorganisation of the state through the systems of dyarchy (partial provincial self-government) and fuller regional autonomy through the Government of India Acts (1919 and 1939). Inflected by all these changes, but possessing a logic that was both its own and linked to broader international shifts, were trends in medicine and public health. These trends can be framed in various narratives: the shift from curative to preventative medicine; the movement from a colonial enclavist concern for the elite to a more nationalist concern with the broader population; or the diffusion of scientific spatial organisation from medical institutions to the broader public sphere. These are questions of racial sociology, geography and anthropology, but running throughout them all is a shift in the scientific episteme from that of contamination to that of contagion. This shift had been ongoing since the late 19th century, but in the interwar period it was refracted through the logic, and "art of government", of hygiene. This emphasis had effects not just on parasitological understanding and pathogenic theories, but also on the planning of cities and the way in which international campaigners focused their social reform efforts in India. This chapter will open with some reflections on contagion theory and urban planning, and will then move on to consider the emergence of hygiene theory and its effects on colonial biopolitics. It will demonstrate this shift through, firstly, an analysis of changing public health policies in India, with special attention paid to Delhi and policies regarding venereal diseases and prostitution. The latter case will also be used to explore internationalist campaigning against sexual contagion, via the British Social Hygiene Council's work in India.

CONTAGION, HYGIENE, AND COLONIAL BIOPOLITICS

In his classic work *Colonizing the Body* David Arnold makes it clear how intensely geographical Indian colonial medicine was.[1] One of these geographies was spatial and concrete; the institutions (the hospital, jail, and barracks) that allowed intense observation, and control, of disease. These spaces of colonial modernity allowed an aesthetic, a limited practice, and a boundless fantasy of control to spread through the imperial imagination. (See, for instance, the images of King George's Hospital at Lucknow, opened in 1911, and the Mayo Hospital at Lahore, opened in 1871, included in the 1938 London publication *Social Service in India: an Introduction to some Social and Economic Problems of the Indian People*, figure

[1]David Arnold, Colonizing the body: state medicine and epidemic disease in nineteenth-century India (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 1

1).[2] But a second, more exotic, geography was that of the tropical landscapes of India within which European health was presumed to be more at risk.[3] This environmentalist paradigm was, of course, an ancient one, but its emphasis on *contamination* had a long life in the fecund tropical environment of India.[4] Colonial medicine was, therefore, long obsessed with medical topography; the mapping of diseased environments. The transmission of disease could be through direct contact, through rotting or infected matter, or through aerial miasmas or "mal-arias" (bad air), while the tropical climate was thought to weaken the body.[5]

The Government of India proved resilient to *contagion* theory until the 1890s, even as international sanitary conferences, and cholera outbreaks along pilgrim routes in India, presented evidence to support Koch's bacillus theory.[6] Yet this eventual transition did not mean a significant and immediate shift in the types of interventionist spaces created through state medicine. Environmentalist understandings of pathogenic environments fuelled demands for sanitary reform that were contrary to governmental financial preferences and the laissez faire non-interventionism of the mid- to late- nineteenth century.[7] Outbreaks of disease in the imperial port of Bombay necessitated, however, major infrastructural sanitary improvements that had a major impact upon its urban morphology, and the on the approach to urban landscaping in India more broadly.[8] Such interventions targeted environmental conditions that made the spread of contagion more likely and, as such, carried forward the geographical imagination of the environmentalist paradigm, and also reinforced the imperial claims to mastery over space (see figure 2 for a typical contrast between disordered Indian towns and the glistening urbanism of colonial modernity).[9]

Prostitution policies provide a famous example of this approach to space and disease. While "venereal diseases" had never been associated with miasmas, their genital origins being all to evident, they were closely associated with contagion. This was a metaphorical connection, drawing upon the Augustian depiction of the prostitute as the sewer that cleansed humanity. But it was also a practical one; the Contagious Diseases Acts (1864-69 in Britain, 1868 in India) had allowed for the registration, inspection and, if infected, compulsory incarceration of prostitutes.[10] The Indian Act was repealed in 1888, which left colonial authorities scrambling for a way of safeguarding their military cantonments from venereal disease. Only in

[2]Edward Blunt, Social Service in India: an Introduction to some Social and Economic Problems of the Indian People (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1938), 192
[3]Mark Harrison, Climates and Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India 1600-1850 (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999)
[4]James S Duncan, In the shadow of the tropics: struggles over bio-power in nineteenth century Ceylon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007)
[5]Arnold, 33
[6]Ibid., 194
[7]Duncan, 103
[8]M Dossal, Imperial Design and Indian Realities: The Planning of Bombay City, 1845-1875 (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1991)
[9]Blunt, 360
[10]P Howell, Geographies of Regulation: Policing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Britain and the Empire (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Kenneth Ballhatchet, Race, sex and class under the Raj: imperial attitudes and policies and their critics, 1793-1905 (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980); Philippa Levine, Prostitution, race and politics: policing venereal disease in the British Empire (London: Routledge, 2003)

the 20th century would a broader concern with the Indian population lead to a more thoroughgoing policy regarding prostitution and urban health.[11]

The evolution of such geographical imaginations, and their inherent power relations, have been theorised by David Armstrong as "public health spaces".[12] The environmentalist, or miasma, model associated disease with particular places and led to quarantine and the eradication of the threatening elements of the environment. This medical measure can be associated with the "sovereign power" to appropriate territory, and to use violence and force to reorder space.[13] The second model, of contagion, focused on flows between the body and the environment, and led to *cordon sanitaire* between pure and impure people and places. This can be associated with a disciplinary model of power that placed abnormal (unhealthy, threatening) people or places under surveillance so as to monitor and reform infected people and places; a model of power based itself on the medieval European plague town.[14] In her work on colonial Singapore Brenda Yeoh has shown that: "Through the interplay of strategies and counter-strategies, negotiation over the control of sanitary aspects of the urban environment played a key role in describing the relationship of power between ruler and the ruled."[15] In attempting to lower the mortality rates of Chinese and Malay inhabitants of the island, disciplinary tactics of categorisation, inspection and surveillance were adopted, to limited effect. The impossibility of producing a self-disciplining "native subject", due to the limited funds of the municipal government and the radically different medical episteme of the local population, led to a shift in tactics:

> "The municipal 'inspecting gaze' had shifted from overseeing the daily practices of the Asian population carried out in specific spaces (such as the house, street, market, or public place) to controlling the dimensions, arrangements, and legibility of particular spaces (such as the house, the building block, and ultimately, the city as a whole) in order to influence the practices of those who inhabited or used such spaces"[16]

This shift in emphasis to the practices, not just the movement or health, of individuals is the key change here and marks the deeper influence of contagion theory on public health spaces. This final model was termed that of "hygiene" by Armstrong and marks a concern with the interlinkages between personal and public health, as mediated by personal conduct. The association of the health of the individual body and that of the body politic is a keystone of "biopolitics", and the concern with the "conduct of conduct" is central to Foucault's interest in liberal governmentalities.[17] This shift does not, however, make hygiene any less

[11]Stephen Legg, "Governing Prostitution in Colonial Delhi: from Cantonment Regulations to International Hygiene (1864-1939)," Social History 34, no. 4 (2009)
[12]David Armstrong, "Public health spaces and the fabrication of identity " Sociology 27, no. 3 (1993)
[13]Michel Foucault, Security, Territory, Population: lectures at the Collège de France 1977-78, trans. Graham Burchell (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), chapter one
[14]Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), 195
[15]Brenda S.A. Yeoh, Contesting Space: Power Relations and the Urban Built Environment in Colonial Singapore (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 82
[16]Ibid., 146
[17]Michel Foucault, The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-79 (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)

geographical. The emphasis on the personal brought the home into the purview of health officials, and led to a broader conceived "… dream of hygienic containment" which came to dominate "… the extensive culture of hygiene which we know as public health…"[18] Contagion and hygiene are, therefore, not separate concepts or practices, but hygiene marked a distinct development in 20th century thinking regarding how to address the threat of contagion. But how would hygienist discourses play out in colonial arenas, which were marked by a neglect of individual care for colonial populations perceived as, at best, religious or ethnic communities, or, at worse, an undifferentiated category of "the native"?[19]

This question has been most directly addressed by Alison Bashford's groundbreaking *Imperial Hygiene: a Critical History of Colonialism, Nationalism and Public Health*.[20] Bashford showed that the boundaries, borders, enclosures and interventions associated with hygiene, and public health, were also spatial tactics deployed by colonialism, nationalism and racial administration: "All these spaces-these therapeutic, carceral, preventative, racial and eugenic geographies-produced identities of inclusion and exclusion, of belonging and citizenship, and of alienness."[21] Yet in the 20th century such policies had to apprehend an emerging emphasis, even in the colonies, on health and welfare, and later, citizenship, in which hygiene was not just a public health responsibility of the state, but also a duty of each individual. This marked, for Bashford, a clearly new stage of biopolitics, the administration of the life of a population through encouraging new conduct, but also through collecting new statistical information about a population. As Deana Heath has put it: "Hygiene connected the governance of the self to larger governmental projects and thus became a means of imagining and embodying the strength and purity of the individual, community, nation, and empire."[22] Yet she also acknowledges that imperial projects to manage the flow of polluting material (whether of the mind or body) around the Empire often came into conflict with colonial models of hygiene which took on national, and unique, inflections. There were colonial logics at play that *depended* upon undermining the self-governing capacities of Indians so as to justify colonialism, to refute anti-colonial nationalist claims for *swaraj* (self-rule), and to further obfuscate the fact that so much Indian ill health was created by the conditions of colonial modernity (the overcrowded town fostering tuberculosis and venereal disease, or the newly cultivated paddy field conducive to malarial mosquitoes).

The nature of these logics is the focus of contemporary work on colonial biopolitics. Warwick Anderson's work, for instance, on American colonialism in the Philippines, examines the abstract depiction of American laboratory and public

[18]Alison Bashford and Claire Hooker, "Introduction: contagion, modernity, and postmodernity," in Contagion: historical and cultural studies, ed. Alison Bashford and Claire Hooker (London; New York: Routledge, 2001), 1

[19]Stephen Legg, Spaces of Colonialism: Delhi's Urban Governmentalities (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 21

[20]Alison Bashford, Imperial hygiene: a critical history of colonialism, nationalism and public health (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004)

[21]Ibid., 1

[22] Deana Heath, "Sanitizing modernity: imperial hygiene, obscenity, and moral regulation in colonial India," in Enchantments of modernity: empire, nation, globalization, ed. Saurabh Dube (London; New York; New Delhi: Routledge, 2009), 117

health spaces and bodies with Filipino embodiment and impure spaces.[23] As against programmes of immunization, which made war on a diseases population, hygiene marked a biopolitical engagement with individual health, though modified to take into account presumed native capacities.[24] Similarly, Laura Briggs has examined American policy in Puerto Rico, examining how the "difference" of the latter was reproduced through women's' bodies and sexuality.[25] Inspired by British anti-Contagious Diseases legislation, a series of moral panics were mobilised to stoke fears over syphilis and the threat it posed to the American navy, women and children, and to Puerto Rican claims to US citizenship and status.

Sarah Hodges has most directly addressed late-colonial biopolitics in India, through her work on birth control and the related debates linking health and governance.[26] Vitally, she stresses that such debates should go beyond the boundaries of the state, as governmentality studies have insisted, taking in social action and knowledge production regarding food or housing. Hodges also contrasts "top-down" immunisation with "bottom up" projects aimed at improving health in general through behavioural changes. Yet the latter were filtered through Indian "difference" by the "strange beast" of colonial welfare:

> "Succinctly, in the colonial Indian context, there existed neither institutions nor the desire to gather the kind of totalizing knowledge about the Indian subject population, nor was there either the political will to engineer large-scale transformations in the overall health profiles of the population."[27]

Through such a lens, Hodges' interest in sex and sexuality is less concerned with the micromanaging studied by Ann Stoler and others.[28] Rather: "In the 'welfarisation' of colonial sexuality, sex remains significant but less in terms of the precise acts and parties involved and more in terms of how sex was mobilized to connect individual practices to a broader social body."[29] This was exactly how prostitution came to be re-envisaged through the lens of hygiene; not as a perversion, or even as an urban nuisance, but as a risk to the population and, as explicitly rendered, the race. The demand that Indian women, both prostitutes and wives, be treated and cared for was part of a welfare push from Indian representatives that clashed with attempts to hem back the colonial state and reduce expenditure. This led to increasingly outward looking Indian scientific elites, who looked to bodies like the League of Nations for inspiration in their project to "decolonise international health".[30] Understanding the development of

[23]Warwick Anderson, Colonial pathologies: American tropical medicine, race, and hygiene in the Philippines (Duke University Press: Durham, 2006)
[24]Warwick Anderson, "Immunization and Hygiene in the Colonial Philippines," Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences 62, no. 1 (2007)
[25]Laura Briggs, Reproducing empire: race, sex, science and US imperialism in Puerto Rico (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002)
[26]Sarah Hodges, Contraception, Colonialism and Commerce: Birth Control in South India, 1920-40 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008)
[27]Ibid., 7
[28] Ann Laura Stoler, Carnal knowledge and imperial power: race and the intimate in colonial rule (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2002); Levine,
[29]Hodges, 8
[30]Sunil Amrith, Decolonizing International Health: India and Southeast Asia, 1930-65 (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006)

contagion theory and its influence on planning and governmental policy, therefore, demands an appreciation of diachronic historical change and legacies in specific places, as well as a synchronic appreciation of imperial and internationalist networks. The rest of this chapter will attempt to convey some of this complexity through a summary of the evolution of public health in Delhi as explored through debates about urban living, and venereal disease in particular. Secondly, an examination of the work of the British Social Hygiene Council will give an insight into some of the internationalist influences on sexual regulation in interwar India.

MUNICIPAL POLITICS

After the uprising of 1857 Delhi was apportioned to the Punjab Province but was administered by its own Chief and Deputy Commissioners. In 1863 a Municipal Committee was established, consisting of the Deputy Commissioner, three European and seven nominated Indians.[31] The municipality immediately set about a series of infrastructural improvements to create a healthier environment in the city. In 1878 a sanitation sub committee was established inline with broader trends across larger municipalities throughout India. Many of the ideas informing the logic of the committee were crystallised in the vice-chairman of the Calcutta municipal board Reginald Craufuird Sterndale's 1881 *Municipal Work in India; or, Hints on Sanitation, General Conservancy and Improvements in Municipalities, Towns and Villages*.[32] In fitting with contemporary orientalist discourses, Sterndale praised India's ancient texts for embodying the principles of municipal rule, yet claimed these traditions had become extinct, until revived by the "…liberal minded administrator, the late Sir Cecil Beadon, during his Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal."[33] One of the key duties of a municipal committee was to apply sanitary science so as to remove the sanitary evils which resulted from departing from the rules of nature. While later hygiene science would emphasise the importance of domestic and personal health, the sanitary mindset condemned the Indian for prioritising such concerns and failing in infrastructural science and public health: "Ancient, however, as sanitary laws may be, they do not seem to have been in vogue at any time among the Hindus; and this, although the Hindu shastras teem with laws for the purification of the body and household cleansing."[34] Such laws were said to be appropriate for scattered dwellings but not for cramped urban living. Liberal sanitary laws and regulations were said to be based on three simple principles:-

1. That the protection of health and comfort was as much a right as that of security of life and property
2. That property brings duties and responsibilities as well as rights and privileges; noone should cause offence to their neighbours
3. That individual interest must be subordinate to the interests of the community at large.

[31]Madho Pershad, The history of the Delhi Municipality 1863-1921 (Allahabad: The Pioneer Press, 1921)
[32]Reginald Craufuird Sterndale, Municipal Work in India; or, Hints on Sanitation, General Conservancy and Improvements in Municipalities, Towns and Villages (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co, 1881)
[33]Ibid., 3
[34] Ibid., 19

> "… in the present day it is necessary to base our sanitary regulations upon a [more] utilitarian foundation, - *viz*., that the individual must be content to sacrifice a small part of the possible profit or pleasure he might derive from the unrestricted use of his own estate for the general benefit or enjoyment of the community."[35]

What this makes exceptionally clear is that sanitary science was not just part of, but at the vanguard of, liberal governmentalities that sought to craft out possessive individualistic subjectivities through the manipulation of material space, in the name of contagion theory. This immediately, however, called forth the inherent tension in liberalism; give people individual rights and they can use them to block inconvenient projects for the common good. Liberal governmentalities relied upon these checks on state power, hemming back government to allow the free functioning of society and population. Sterndale also noted that certain writers on economics ("JS Mill") oppose state interference on such matters. He could, however, fall back on the notion of *difference*; what he was detailing was not just *liberal* governance, but a particularly *colonial* governmentalty:

> "It must, however, be admitted that the State must protect those who are incapable of discriminating between what is and what is not necessarily for their own good;- and this is undeniably the condition of the mass of our Indian town populations. In regard to questions of sanitation and hygiene, they are as ignorant and helpless as children or imbeciles, and it is, therefore, the undoubted duty of the State, and under it the local authorities, to do for them what they cannot do for themselves, and what selfish and short-sighted landlords will not do for them;…"[36]

Despite the mention of hygiene, it was the environment of the poor land labouring classes which was thought to represent the most urgent threat, being quarters where soil and atmosphere reached the lowest depths of contamination, where subsoil and surface water went undrained, where houses were surrounded in filth and the air was burdened with "noisome emanations". This was the rallying call to municipalities across India and, while Delhi motioned towards suitable action, the money, motivation, or capacity was not supplied until it became part of the capital region in the early 20th century.

The annual reports by Delhi's medical officer charted the growing frustration with this organisation, as Delhi became more and more congested as people flocked to the capital city.[37] One of the most passionate campaigners for health reform in Delhi was Dr KS Sethna, whose 1929 report charted and statistically tabulated the disease and congestion which wracked the old city. But the problem was as much one of medical approach as material conditions. He argued that "Although the Science of Hygiene has developed at a rapid rate, the public outlook on Health as opposed to Disease has not altogether changed."[38] Sethna wrote that the old idea of medicine was to cure. While still correct, hygiene also aims to prevent illness,

[35]Ibid., 24
[36]Ibid., 25
[37]See Legg, Spaces of Colonialism: Delhi's Urban Governmentalities, 159
[38]Report on the Administration of the Delhi Municipality for the Years 1929-30, volume II: Annual Report of the Medical Officer for Health for 1929 (Delhi Municipal Press, 1930), 63

which was still underappreciated in India. Health should accompany human progress and comfort:

> "We have talked about a 'Sanitary Conscience' but we have not yet evolved what I should call a 'Health Atmosphere.' More and more responsibility is taken from the shoulders of the general public and placed on the Health Department, so much so that instead of acting and thinking for themselves many people require someone to act for them."

While there was ever increasing demand for municipal sanitation, this need would lessen were people to act hygienically (to stop throwing refuse in the street, to use drains, to keep food clean, to notify rather than hide infectious diseases). In sum, the need was for popular *cooperation*.

Alas, nine years later, Sethna found that his calls had gone unheard. In the 1938 report he argued that while the cost or preserving public health was great, it was less than the cost of disease; reducing the cost of the latter depended on prevention. He chastised the public for not showing themselves worthy of such investment, not of knowing what they, as *citizens*, paid for: pre-natal clinics were not used; diseases not notified; women not given access to venereal disease clinics by their husbands. Sethna had gone so far as to hire Health Propagada staff who went through the city singing "health songs" composed by his department. His object was that all members of public health departments be "disciples of hygiene" to guide the public. The benefits of this distanced yet intense conduct of conduct would be to remove the paralysing fear of sickness. In his retiring address, after 24 years of public service in Delhi, Sethna pleaded that:

> "The evolution of public health work from the prevention of contagious diseases to the prevention of all diseases and further from the negative prevention of diseases to the positive appeal for health has resulted in a very complex health organisation… [but] Health, like Charity, begins at home."[39]

The home was, thus, returned to, but as the site for a revolution in health, not for Sterndale's sparing approval of Hindu domestic economy. Yet the domestic, and individual conduct, was a realm that remained beyond the scope of capacity, or even desire, of the colonial government, whether the New Delhi authorities, the Delhi Administration, or the Municipal Committee. While tuberculosis wracked the city, there were no effective measures to rehouse slum dwellers, while the city extensions were taken up by the expanding middle classes.[40] Similarly, while rates of venereal diseases remained high in the city, thoroughgoing legislation was not passed until the 1940s.[41] This was, in large part, the result of campaigning by Meliscent Shephard, the representative in India of the Association of Moral and Social Hygiene (AMSH).[42] But Shephard's objections to prostitution were dominated

[39]Report on the Administration of the Delhi Municipality for the Years 1937-38, volume II: Annual Report of the Medical Officer for Health for 1937 (Delhi Municipal Press, 1938), 66

[40]Legg, Spaces of Colonialism: Delhi's Urban Governmentalities, chapter four; Stephen Legg, "Ambivalent Improvements: Biography, Biopolitics, and Colonial Delhi," Environment and Planning A 39 (2008)

[41]Legg, "Governing Prostitution in Colonial Delhi: from Cantonment Regulations to International Hygiene (1864-1939),"

[42]Stephen Legg, "An intimate and imperial feminism: Meliscent Shephard and the regulation of prostitution in colonial India," Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 28, no. 1 (2010)

by the concerns of *moral* hygiene, namely, the unequal moral standard and the exploitation of women to satisfy the desires of men. *Social* hygiene focused more intently on science and medicine and proffered an alternative set of techniques for challenging the most infamous of the "contagious diseases".

THE BRITISH SOCIAL HYGIENE COUNCIL

> "… contagion is always about contact. This through most of the nineteenth century 'contagious diseases' meant sexually transmitted diseases – transmission through the closest and most problematised contact of all."[43]

If hygiene marked a new peak in the intensity of biopolitics then it also marked a novel intervention into the governing of the sexual self.[44] Hygiene emerged as a key technology at several intersections of the domains of sexual conduct and population regulation.[45] These included the literature of sexology; Havelock Ellis, for instance, wrote both the six volume *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* and *The Task of Social Hygiene*.[46] Another was that of public feminism, in which venereal diseases and the role of men and women were discussed, while a final intersection was that of eugenics and public health. Bashford has shown that segregation was *not* simply the spatial response of a contagionist mindset; "health detention", or the lock hospital model, continued into the 20th century in Queensland, for example.[47] But she also shows how, in the pages of the British Social Hygiene Council's (BSHC) journal, *Health and Empire*, the "threat of compulsion" was highlighted and the need for voluntary healthcare for infected women was prioritised, while also stressing the *imperial* threat that venereal disease posed. In terms of town planning, the emphasis on hygiene led to less of an emphasis on zoning, cordon sanitaire, and the cleaning of infected areas. Rather, it focused on the insertion of treatment centres into areas of concern such that people could reduce their own infectiousness, and on general programmes of education that targeted the population as a whole, not a deviant sub-population. Indeed, in campaigning against policies which backed toleration and zoning, the BSHC inadvertently contributed to a major shift in the town planning of colonial Indian cities by removing the justification for red light districts, and encouraging the abolition of tolerated brothels. But they did this through the arguments of science, not of sin.

As suggested above, while moral hygiene drew attention to the immorality of prostitution, social hygiene focused on the threat posed by prostitution to the health of population. In the USA it was closely associated with sexual regulation, prostitution, and the control of venereal diseases, while in the UK, at its broadest,

[43]Bashford and Hooker, "Introduction: contagion, modernity, and postmodernity," 4
[44]Michel Foucault, The history of sexuality volume 1: an introduction (London: Allen Lane, 1979)
[45]Bashford, Imperial hygiene: a critical history of colonialism, nationalism and public health, 164
[46]Havelock Ellis, Studies in the psychology of sex, vol. I-VI (Philadelphia: FA Davis Company, 1910 [1925]); Havelock Ellis, The task of social hygiene (London: Constable & Company Ltd, 1927 [1912])
[47]Bashford, Imperial hygiene: a critical history of colonialism, nationalism and public health, 167

social hygiene targeted birth control, family policy, nutrition, industrial efficiency, social policy and "mental hygiene", especially of the poor.[48] The BSHC title was adopted in 1924 by the National Council for Combating Venereal Diseases (NCCVD), which had been formed to implement the recommendations of the 1916 report of the Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases.[49] It focused on extending free treatment for venereal diseases into the civilian population and was funded by the state. Yet its earliest reports show that it appreciated that venereal disease was as much an imperial and international concern. It appreciated not just the risk of venereal disease to the UK, but also of, for instance, diseased African soldiers returning home after the war. As such, a travelling commission of medical advisors was funded in 1920 to visit the East (Gibraltar, Ceylon, Colombo, Malta, Singapore and Hong Kong) and the West (the Bahamas, St Vincent, Bermuda, Jamaica, Barbados, British Guiana, and Antigua). The BSHC had also established a branch and dispensary at Bombay in 1918, the last of which had registered 1296 people in 1919-20, many of whom were prostitutes.[50] This branch had been taken over by municipal authorities by 1923.[51]

Unlike the AMSH, which focused on working with and through local organisations, the BSHC wanted organisations throughout the Empire affiliated to it, and working upon the same general lines.[52] Perhaps with this in mind, the Government of India declined the offer of a visit from the travelling commission, although a separate commission was accepted between November 1926 and March 1927.[53] The state of Bihar and Orissa pronounced themselves opposed to the commission and refused to cooperate, while the "political atmosphere" in Bengal made a visit impossible.[54] During the tour Mrs Neville-Rolfe had an interview with the Public Health Commissioner, who admitted that the large towns needed action, but the Government was wary of raising the question of prostitution. The resulting BSHC report on India highlighted what it viewed to be high levels of gonorrhoea and syphilis, and a low level of out-patient care, and a near total absence of full course treatment for venereal diseases. This was attributed to a lack of medical staff, premises and equipment. The BSHC made recommendations along three lines, that bridged the medical concern with the 'contagiousness' of venereal diseases with the hygiene concerns about their 'socialness'. Rejecting any notion of compulsory segregation or detention, the medical recommendations were all regarding in- or out-patient care, the establishment of teaching hospitals, child welfare centres and drug distribution centres. In terms of social action, there was need for a campaign of "public enlightenment" that would explain the relationship between commercial prostitution, venereal disease, and the "racial effects" of syphilis and

[48]David J Pivar, Purity and hygiene: women, prostitution, and the 'America Plan', 1900-1930 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2002); Greta Jones, Social hygiene in twentieth century Britain (Wolfeboro, New Hampshire: Croom Helm, 1986)
[49]Alan Hunt, Governing morals: a social history of moral regulation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 183
[50]Fifth Annual Report of the National Council for Combating Venereal Diseases, 1919-20 (London, National Council for Combating Venereal Disease, 1920), 9
[51]Wellcome Trust Library (henceforth WTL), London/SA/BSH/B1/3: box 17; Imperial and International Questions Committee minutes, 25/9/1923
[52]Sixth Annual Report of the National Council for Combating Venereal Diseases, 1920-21 (London, National Council for Combating Venereal Disease, 1920), 9-10
[53]Twelfth Annual Report of the British Social Hygiene Council, 1926-27 (London, British Social Hygiene Council, 1927), 24
[54]WTL/SA/BSH/G2/India Sub-Committee minutes, 27/1/1925 and 20/3/1925

gonorrhoea. The Council also recommended cinema censorship, the penalisation of commercial prostitution, and that hostels be provided for those undergoing treatment. In line with the work of the AMSH and Indian social reformers, it was think logic that led to a planning revolution in interwar India that saw red light districts being closed throughout major cities across the subcontinent. Whilst this provoked a debate over small cities that promised to abolish red light districts but did not, and to the fate of women expelled from brothels onto streets, the impact of hygiene thinking on interwar planning was profound.

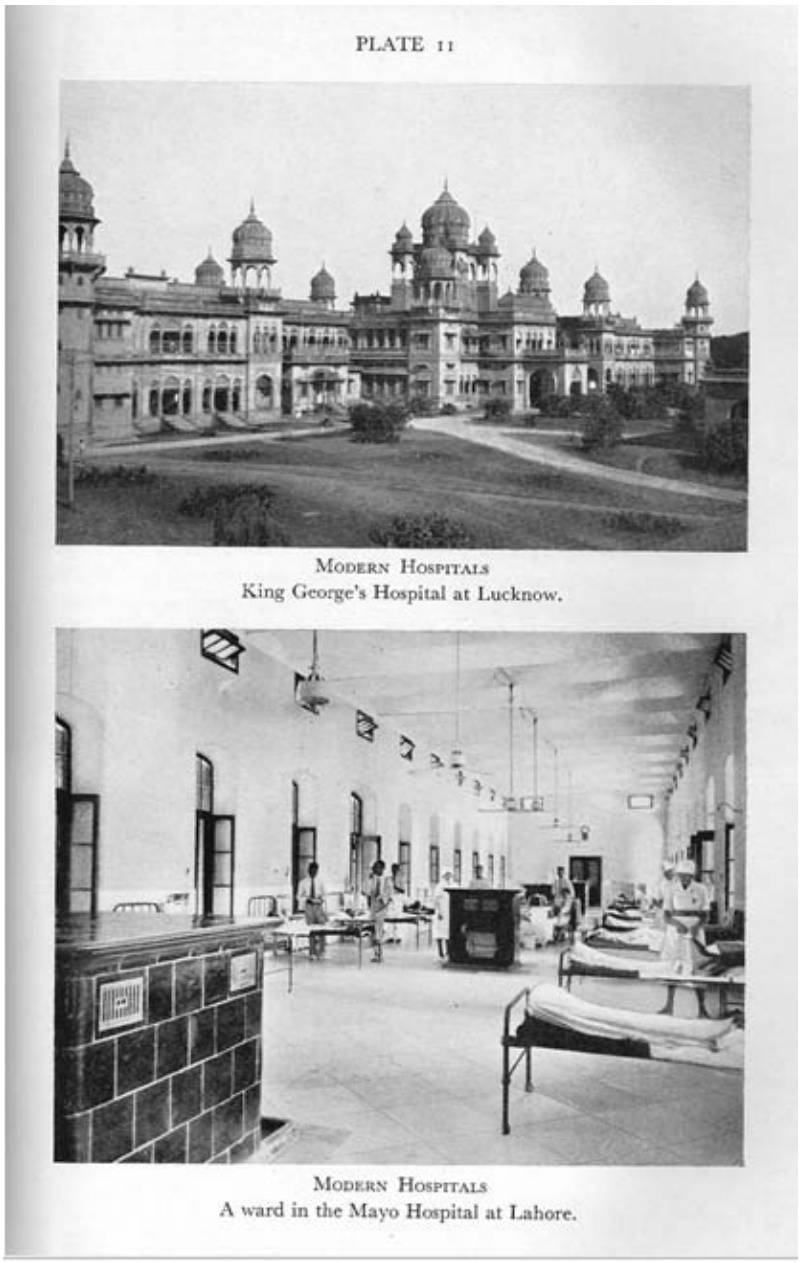
PLATE 11

MODERN HOSPITALS
King George's Hospital at Lucknow.

MODERN HOSPITALS
A ward in the Mayo Hospital at Lahore.

Figure 1: Spaces of medical modernity in colonial India (out of copyright, confirmed by the HMSO)

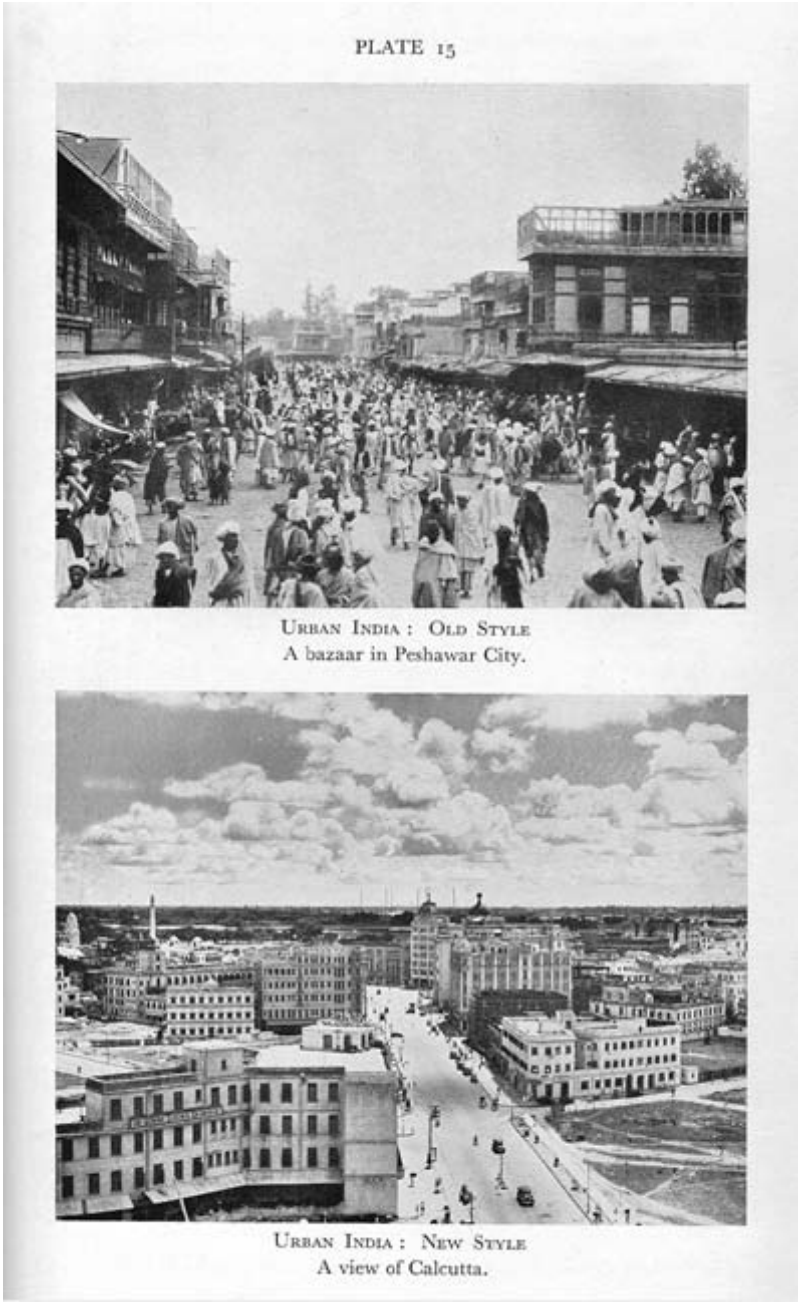

Figure 2: Contrasting urban forms in colonial India (out of copyright, confirmed by the HMSO)

URBAN POLICIES, PLACE IDENTITY AND CREATIVE REGENERATION: THE ARABIANRANTA CASE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

Nowadays, the transformation of cities must be accompanied by changes in the urban design and planning tools, modifying those already existing and creating new ones. These tools must be suited to interpreting new processes and should not be merely guided by market forces. As regards, the history and identity of the site has to be taken into consideration and ensure that the urban regeneration is supported by the activation of sustainable creative processes.

Starting from such premises, the aim of this paper is to investigate the concept of the creative city and illustrate the Arabianranta case study in Helsinki, a case of creative urban regeneration in which the involvement of population, place identity and sustainability of interventions play an important role. Waterfront redevelopment and enhancement is increasingly becoming a starting point for implementing complex urban redevelopment strategies which involve not only the waterfront but also the whole urban area. The more value is given to the local cultural peculiarities – such as cultural heritage and place identity – the more the operation of regeneration may be embedded within the local fabric and be attractive for residents and visitors.

INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, the role of culture has become a major and often driving factor for the process of urban regeneration. The focus on culture as a factor in regional transformation has been particularly extensive in response not only to competitiveness among cities but also to sustainability requirements in the cultural sector. In the same perspective of this approach, culture in its broadest sense assumes a decisive role in constructing a system of interventions where employment, social and sustainable development become the product of the integration of places, people, economies and traditions (Scott, 2000).

Creative cities are currently working on how to improve the interaction between regeneration building, economic development and social renewal in order to achieve more comprehensive development of the city (Carta, 2004; Florida, 2005). Existing creative cities may be seen to revolve around the design, promotion and activation of urban areas established due to their particular local characteristics. Such areas become creative clusters as a result of economic and structural innovations, related to the realization of innovator projects achieved with the help of local development strategies based on the economies of excellence, culture and territorial quality. Two main types of clusters may be recognized within the creative city. The first are cultural clusters, created around activities such as fine arts, music, cinema, architecture and design, and whose start-up is encouraged and planned by local administration. The second is the cluster of events, whose

development originates in the organization of great events or different kinds of recreational and cultural manifestations (Carta, 2007; Mommaas, 2004).

Starting from such premises, this paper aims to investigate the concept of the creative city, what factors condition creativity in cities, and how they stimulate sustainable urban innovation. By way of example, the case study of Arabianranta in Helsinki is illustrated. (Sepe, 2010a). These case study is related to the regeneration of urban waterfront. Such places are able to absorb tangible and intangible energies from the water, combine them with the urban context and transform them into local resources of value to residents and visitors alike. In this regards, it is important not to place too much stress on tourist development where the term "cultural" is an instrument rather than a quality: for sustainable development, a real engine of change, the "cultural" element must offer quality to tourism, not vice versa(Sepe, 2010b). The more value is given to the local cultural peculiarities – such as cultural heritage and place identity – the more the operation of urban regeneration may be embedded within the local fabric and be attractive for locals and visitors. (Evans, 2001; Richards, 1996; Unesco, 2006).

PLACE IDENTITY AND INNOVATION

It is generally acknowledged that creative cities are able to generate economies of innovation, culture, research and artistic production, and hence strengthen their own identity capital. It is a question not only of boosting existing culture-based economies but also producing new economies out of cultural capital, understood as an essential element of both tangible and intangible place identity — and creating a system together with other urban capital (Carta, 2007). Indeed, the changes in the contemporary city have contributed to an increasing urban identity crisis, transforming European cities into complex heterogeneous societies. Recognising the value of place identity as a fundamental component in implementing urban change serves as a reference point both in terms of society's wishes and in safeguarding and constructing the sustainable urban image (Carter et al.,1993; Castells, 1997; Hague and Jenkins, 2005; Neil, 2004; Sepe, 2007). Built *heritage narratives* facilitate the creation and enhancement of national identities by 'denoting particular places as centres of collective cultural consciousness' (Graham, 1998). Cities have to find out how to reduce the risks inherent in the tendency of contemporary urban societies to fall back on their heritage and roots as they face up to an identity crisis. In this respect, innovation in urban space design represents an opportunity to construct an identity of places and give international scope to the urban form of European cities (Gospodini, 2004; Massey and Jess, 1995).

Florida (2002) observes the relationship between the transformations in the capitalist mode of production – in particular those occurring at the urban scale including the clusters of high-tech firms, the dissemination of leisure activities and the urban economic networks – and the changes in identities of the actors involved in such transformations. Florida argues that the more cities are able to attract the creative class of workers and managers in the various sectors of the economy such as art, design, fashion and advanced technologies, the greater are the chances that those cities can successfully face up to the challenges of competition among cities imposed by globalization (Landry, 2000). However, creativity is typically present not only in the entrepreneurial spirit but also in the dissemination of behavior favorable to cultural exchange as well as enhancement of lifestyle diversity. The

city may be viewed as an organism: all elements are inextricably interwoven and planning is based on how people feel the city from an emotional and psychological point of view. Its guiding principle is placemaking rather than urban development (Landry, 2008). In this way, the creative city recognises the complexity and addresses the spatial, physical and land use conditions which help people to think and act with imagination and live the city as a satisfying experience. The creation of an urban environment which encourages the setting-up of innovative activities requires, at the local level, the construction of a specialized production system and the establishment of an urban environment which can support the testing of consensual practice of regional government (Scott, 2006).

The creative city is moving from a city where the creative class attracts new economies to cities where the creative class generates new economies, producing new identities and new geographies based on culture, arts, knowledge, communication and cooperation. The objective is to nourish creativity within the city, and produce a creative class from inside rather than attract one from outside. In this framework there is the creative *milieu*, intended as a place, which may correspond to the whole city or to a part thereof and which contains the characteristics necessary for generating a flow of creative ideas and innovations. It is possible to define the milieu as a local system, where its players can operate in open contexts and are capable of global experiences, and where, in turn, spatial interactions create new ideas, products and services, and thus contribute to the regeneration of the city. In the creative milieu, clusters and districts capable of strengthening the cultural urban structure can be developed (Carta, 2007; Florida, 2005).

THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Nowadays visitor demands are many and varied, and the task of the city is to create an environment designed for low-impact consumption of culture and place identity. The city has to provide new types of cultural uses - meant in the broadest sense -, where the wishes of residents, visitors and tourists will coincide in some points. Indeed, the formation of an international creative district must be accompanied by lines of action to make the factors of development, enabled by the cluster, consistent with the identity and sustainable growth of the city (Nijkamp and Perrels, 1994). Creative resources are usually more sustainable than physical ones: monuments and museums are often subjected to degradation, while creative resources are constantly renewable. Furthermore, creativity is more mobile, because it does not depend on the concentration of cultural resources and can be produced anywhere (Richards and Wilson, 2006). Furthermore, the development of a creative district has to be considered alongside sustainable development intended in the economic, social and environmental sense (Ferilli and Pedrini, 2007), conditions which are equally important and interdependent for the sustainability of cultural resources.

The *economic sustainability* of culture as a resource depends on a complex system of balances and social actors which may become decoupled as a result of an overly instrumental attitude toward the economic potential of culture (Comunian and Sacco, 2006; Zukin, 1995). Although culture and cultural institutions have benefited from the recognition of its social and economic value, when public policies primarily focus on the potential of developing culture, the result is a gradual loss of attention toward intrinsic motivation of the production and consumption of

culture: particular emphasis is laid on its economic benefits. As Comunian and Sacco argue, the risk of this type of operation is to conclude that "all that is creative is good", relegating to second place the quality of projects and initiatives. Thuseconomic sustainability can be defined as "the ability to generate income, profits and work within a system of equal opportunities for all the elements of society, inside a model which enhances and increases land resources, and furthermore does not produce a collapse of the same in quantity or quality". The characteristics of territory, seen as a complex system where tangible and intangible cultural resources become elements of a chain of added value, assume a key role in developing the local system. In this way the district, starting from the elements of territory and their enhancement and promotion, will be economically sustainable in the long term (Ferilli and Pedrini, 2007).

Social sustainability is the ability to guarantee the same opportunities of growth and welfare conditions in society. Setting up a development model based on enhancing culture fosters social regeneration in the area, generating in people a perception of belonging, an increase in the social capital, the change in place image, and an increase in the level of education. Cultural production and use perform the functions of generating and disseminating creative thinking. Furthermore, this use provides tools for the growth of individual opportunities by creating a process for socially sustainable development.

Finally, with respect to *environmental sustainability*, the area should be understood in its various historical and cultural values, and in its tangible and intangible capital. Territory is characterized by both types of capital, and its identity cannot be considered separately from them. However, even if the consequences of resource depletion on the nature of territory are known, depletion of intangible capital is less evident, albeit just as important. It is therefore necessary to create a close relationship between production systems and central areas, so that companies interact in processes which generate value for the territory.

URBAN POLICIES IN CREATIVE REGENERATION

The transformation of cities must be accompanied by changes in the urban design and planning tools, modifying those already existing and creating new ones. These tools must be suited to interpreting new processes and should not be merely guided by market forces.

The experiences of creative cities can lead to the promotion of areas in cities which base their competitiveness on local peculiarities related to the value of the "city brand" (Anholt, 2007), and also highlight the possibility of steering the evolution of urban systems in the city. These areas become creative clusters as a result of innovative economic and structural initiatives, implemented within appropriate local development strategies based on territorial quality and excellence (Bagwell, 2008; Caroli, 2004).

Two main types of clusters may be recognized within the creative city: cultural clusters and event clusters (Carta, 2007). The competitive advantage of the cultural cluster is the use of new technologies and the creation of districts in which to allocate and develop regional excellence.

Cultural clusters are created around activities such as fine arts, music, cinema, architecture and design, which are encouraged and planned by the local administration. The intangible resources and skills of the actors depend on the local authorities that through local planning aim to restore the whole region.

Examples of cultural districts include: the Ciudad of Valencia, the Guggenheim of Bilbao (Fig. 1), and Liverpool's Albert Docks and Tate. Public support for the cultural cluster serves in the start-up phase to give credibility to the project, and allows visibility at the international level. Area policies are devoted to creating the social and economic conditions to develop an urban environment that attracts culturally interested actors.

Figure 1. Bilbao, Abandoibarra project area (from: www.bilbaoria2000.org)

The second cluster type is that of events which is fuelled by the interconnections of innovative resources in cities. This cluster intercepts new cultural flows and leads to new cultural infrastructures being built. Its origins lie in the organization of great events or different kinds of recreational and cultural activities which are bound together by the importance that the city gains in connection to these events. The cluster of events includes Expos (Fig. 2), the *Venice Biennale*, the European Capital of Culture and the Olympic Games.

The manufacturing and services "machine" which is built around the event is active throughout the year, while the event has a limited duration. To ensure a cluster of urban creativity a system of governance needs to be created to support the network of players who must cooperate so as to generate new resources and enhance those already existing, as well as contribute to embedding the results in the area.

The risk of losing the positive long-term effect of such operations at the conclusion of the event is thereby avoided.

Thus the function of the cluster should serve to transform the intangible energies connected to culture, art and leisure, into financial, productive and social resources both for the host city and the surrounding area, which in turn are capable of transforming them into structural resources.

By way of example, an emblematic case study of creative cluster is illustrated, namely Arabianranta in Helsinki contextualized in the cluster of events, which have used waterfront renewal as an opportunity for urban regeneration as well as social, cultural and economic revitalization.

Figure 2. 2008 Expo Zaragoza site (from: http://www.milladigital.es)

Substantial urban revitalization is now under way involving sea shores or river banks - mainly for business use - after they have fallen into disuse. Waterfront redevelopment and enhancement is increasingly becoming a starting point for implementing complex urban redevelopment strategies which involve not only the waterfront but also the whole urban area (Guala, 2002; Smith, 2007).

This project was chosen because it is based on a particular attention to place identity, strong involvement of the population and sustainability of the interventions, which are to be considered key elements for urban and cultural regeneration for both citizens and visitors.

THE ARABIANRANTA PROJECT IN HELSINKI

Helsinki European Capital of Culture

The opportunity provided a European Capital of Culture is to enhance, develop or transform its own cultural identity and gain international visibility. The proposed regeneration plan of this city, although begun at least 10 years before, experienced most visibility in 2000 and beyond on the occasion of Helsinki European Capital of Culture. Helsinki is a city of about 600,000 inhabitants and the capital of Finland. In 2000, in addition to being designated European Capital of Culture, it also celebrated its 450th anniversary. The specific theme for the European City of

Culture for 1998-2000 focused on the impact of society on urban development, while the topics for the anniversary were knowledge, technology and future. In the late 1990s, Helsinki strove to become a European model for the city, in terms of variety, quality and efficiency of services.

The project for the area of Arabianranta, based on integrating environmental regeneration of the waterfront, the creation of mixed-use housing and of a district for the arts within a "third-generation park", can be considered as part of the broader objective of Helsinki for innovation and experimentation.

The project

The Arabianranta project covers an area originally occupied by the Arabia ceramics factory founded in 1874. The area is built around a park along the shoreline, which stretches from Sornainen to the mouth of the Vantaanjoki river (Camerata, 2008; Somervuo, 2007). The Department of Urban Planning of the City of Helsinki started the planning of the area in the 1990s. The plan was designed in agreement with the municipal administration by Pekka Pakkala and Mikael Sundman. The elements that inspired and guided the whole operation are based on the history and nature of the place, social diversity, creativity and innovation. Construction started in 2000, with a completion date in 2012. The authors designed the plan as a set of residential blocks around courtyards, with one side open towards the coastal park in order to allow the building to be wholly integrated with the landscape (Figs 3-4).

To meet the concerns of the local community about the environmental impact of the interventions, the designers decided to make a 1:1 scale model of the corners of buildings and place them in the area in order to study the effects in loco and to collect suggestions from residents.

The urban planning tradition in Finland is mainly plays upon differences, an aspect that Sundman wished to take into particular account and consolidate.

Realization of the common courts was therefore conceived as a set of independent lots which, remaining the property of Arabian Palvelu Oy, could not be privatized by the construction companies.

Figure 3. Arabianranta, residential blocks, project and photo (from: http://www.arabianranta.fi)

An element to be stressed is that the apartments targeted users and uses of various kinds: not only flats to be rented and sold at market prices, but also homes sold under the Hitas system, which guarantees - on the basis of a preliminary agreement between the City and the builder - the final sale price of houses built on public land (Fig.5).

Figure 4. Arabianranta, residential blocks, project and photo (from: http://www.arabianranta.fi)

Figure 5. Arabianranta, residential block, detail (from: http://www.arabianranta.fi)

The themes of knowledge, technology and the future established by the Helsinki European Capital of Culture have been achieved by building, along with other infrastructures, an experimental fibre-optic broadband network. The network is designed to allow the construction of low-cost connection services to residents, cultural institutions and businesses. To ensure proper implementation of this operation, guidelines have been drawn up by the ADC (Art and Design City Helsinki Oy) and the Department of Public Works to install information technology in residential buildings and have been included in the assessment criteria for the assignment of lots to builders.

Another factor of interest is the construction of the Cultural District Kumpula-Arabianranta that includes in itself all the strengths of the project. The construction of this district is in continuity with the creation of science parks such as Otaniemi, Oulu, Tampere and Viikki in recent years in Finland. The purpose of these parks is to attract capital to companies wishing to build their headquarters in areas close to the production of know-how, and offering opportunities for research and work as well as residences and services. The Arabianranta district contains the University of Art and Design, the Arcada Polytechnic of Swedish language, the Polytechnic Stadia with the Pop and Jazz Conservatory and the Aralis library, and the Kumpula campus.

Figure 6. The Arabian old factory chimney(from: http://www.arabianranta.fi)

The district is based on an image of culture and innovation well grafted onto the historical memory of the site's industrial past. This is evoked by the old factory chimney familiar to customers of the Iittala factory shop that still produces pottery under the Arabia trademark (Fig.6).

To promote in an integrated manner the presence of art within the site, the plan envisages that 1-2% of construction costs are reserved for the creation of art works to be included in the district during the construction process. An Artistic Director coordinates the integration of artists, architects and engineers for the creation of

sculptures, installations, ceramics and photographs in the residential blocks (Figs 7-8).

The presence of art in the form of entertainment and understood as a form of neighbourhood bonding is also ensured through events of applied theatre organized by the Faculty of Culture of Stadia Polytechnic.

These events aim to raise awareness on common problems to the residents and how to face them, and the opportunities to influence social policy (Ilmonen, Kunzmann, 2007) (Fig. 9).

Figure 7-8 Art works in the district(from: http://www.arabianranta.fi)

The approach of the plan and the status of implementation are as follows: the cultural identity of the neighbourhood has not been imposed from the top nor has it developed as a spontaneous process.

The Administration has started to work from the place and its history, specific planning rules have been studied, and appropriate policies have been adopted which have been helpful as well as acting as an incentive to creativity (Camerata, 2008).

In 2006 50% homes were new and from that date all dwellings were equipped with an Ethernet network for free. In 2010 Arabianranta will host 7000 workplaces,

10,000 residents and 6,000 students. Furthermore, considerable attention has been paid to communication and the care and enjoyment of public spaces, understood not only as places for physical interaction but also for virtual communication.

One of the clearest manifestations of this operation, communication and integration between the plan and the residents is the Helsinki Virtual Village, the local web managed by the ADC, which contains an open area and an intranet area which is managed by real estate companies.

Figure 9. Spaces for children(from: http://www.arabianranta.fi)

CONCLUSION

This paper has illustrated the concept of the creative city with particular attention to the relationships between place identity, involvement of population and sustainability of interventions. Traditional policies of urban renewal, mainly based on combating social exclusion and building physical constructions, are now changing and realising that cities are not just buildings and material structures, but also people, networks and intangible elements, such as memory, history, social relationships, emotional experiences and cultural identities. In this way, the creative city recognises the complexity and steers the spatial, physical and land use conditions which help people think and act with the their imagination and live the city as a satisfying experience. Furthermore, culture, communication and cooperation are the resources which the creative city offers cityadministrators, planners and designers, and constitute the fundamental elements with which to generate innovation and quality.

In this regard, we illustrated an emblematic case study of creative cluster related to urban waterfront regeneration particularly devoted to city residents, namely the Arabianranta project in Helsinki.

In the urban regeneration of an area, the history and identity of the site has to be taken into consideration and ensure that it is supported by the activation of innovation processes, which in turn generate a virtuous economic mechanism. As occurred in the case of Arabianranta, creating the identity of the neighbourhood started from the place and its history, constructing the most suitable urban policies and strategies, and involving students and residents in many ways and occasions.

Many ingredients were also used that seem to have had positive effects: from controlling the pressure of the real estate market to the promotion of activities not focused only on consumption; from the involvement of architects, artists, to the inclusion of local socio-cultural capital diversity. A balanced mix of historical memory and technological innovation seem to be a recipe for success even if, for

instance, in relation to the Helsinki Virtual Village portal, a recent survey showed that not all residents are convinced that a virtual community is able to offer added value.

In any case, it is necessary during the period of project completion to ensure that public policies do not only focus on the potential of developing culture. To achieve the long-term success of urban and cultural regeneration it is important to attain throughout the process the involvement and integration of the local community at all levels, and enhance and consolidate place identity, all in respect of economic, social and environmental sustainability.

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WHAT MAKES HISTORIC TOWNS IDENTIFIABLE; WHAT TO PRESERVE AND WHAT TO TRANSFORM? THE CASE OF LJUBLJANA

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ABSTRACT

The city is a living organism, a system, which embraces social, economic, technical and symbolic subsystems and interacting amongst them. It is not a concrete system, anchored in a specific time period, but a dynamic system, which changes constantly. The city can subsist for centuries, even millennium and it survives also when its original concept and meaning changed or expired. The city is constantly in the process of transformation, it is willing to accept new contents and a new formal character. A series of cities proves this: e.g. Florence as the birthplace of the Renaissance and is medieval in its original urban form, Rome is perceived as a baroque city today, but a series of monuments points towards its antique origins, medieval and renaissance traces can be unearthed. Baroque Ljubljana, which also has a medieval urban form. In short, as Mumford states: »Cities have an endless capability to adapt to new living conditions.«

Ljubljana is a specific case, which derives its identity from its situation, its natural conditions and its turbulent history. This makes debates about preservation and transformation very difficult. The debates are not only academic; they are closely connected with the concrete transformations of historic towns and mainly concern two different problems:

What makes the identity of a historic city, what should be preserved and what can be transformed?

Is the ability to adapt to new living conditions purely an advantage, or is it also becoming a threat?

INTRODUCTION

The concept of the preservation of historic towns was included in the Venice charter, adopted in 1956, which emphasised that "the sites of monuments must be the object of special care in order to safeguard their integrity" [1].This concept was furthermore developed in the Washington charter for the conservation of historic towns and urban areas, adopted in 1987 by ICOMOS[2], which concerns "historic urban areas, large and small, including cities, towns and historic centres or quarters, together with their natural and man made environment" and also the

[1] http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/towns_e.htm
[2] http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/towns_e.htm

values of traditional urban cultures. The charter defines the city as a physical and social structure, which expresses community life and the memory of mankind. Its identity consists of its material and spiritual elements and qualities. Another vital document was the Declaration on the Conservation of Historic Landscapes (Paris 2005)[3] which also recognized the changes and transformations as qualities to be preserved, which express the diversity of societies throughout history. »Continuous changes in functional use, social structure, political context and economic development that manifest themselves in the form of structural interventions in the historic urban landscape may be acknowledged as part of the city's tradition, and require a vision of the city as a whole with forward-looking action on the part of decision-makers, and a dialogue with the other actors and stakeholders involved."

CHANGES AS THE ESSENCE OF CITIES

Many authors compare the city with architecture. Alberti wrote in his book of De re aedificatoria[4] about this point: "If a city, according to the opinion of philosophers, be no more than a great house, and on the other hand, a house be a little city; why it may not be said, that the members of that house are so many little houses; such as the court yard, the Hall, the Parlour, the Portico and the like?" In a way we can describe the city through architecture, because it also defines space and organizes it into interdependent sections, but on the other hand the city cannot be perceived like a house from one point and at one time, where once built it does not change anymore. It is not created in a definite span of time, and it is never completed. A city is not a concrete system, anchored in a specific time period, but a dynamic organism. It grows and changes constantly and its image is never definite or, final. Unlike a house, a city has the ability to adapt constantly, it can subsist for centuries, even millennium and it survives also, when it's original concept and meaning is changed or expired.The city is also morecomplex and embraces the social, political, cultural, economic and symbolic subsystems and interacting amongst them.

Many urban planners felt the temptation to create a city as that of a work of art, with a final form. During the renaissance for example city planners from Filarete to Scamozzi, impressed by the invention of a central perspective, calculated from the viewpoint of a single static observer, designed cities as ideal forms in the shape of a star or circle, surrounded by a wall.

The ideal city as a final definite form challenged urban planners throughout history; many urban plans for new towns were designed as ideal structures, from the renaissance period to our own time, including Ebenzar Howard's Garden city or Tony Garnier's Industrial city.

Even Le Corbusier viewed as one of the pioneers of modern planning couldn't resist the idea of designing a city as a work of art, which once created doesn't change anymore, which is proven through his Radiant city or Plan Voisin for Paris. [5]

It is difficult to say, whether it is a good or bad thing, that cities are never preserved unchanged from their original form, but they do change constantly.

[3] http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-47-3.pdf
[4] Alberti, L.B. (1986) »The ten books of architecture«. Dover, Book 3, p.13
[5] Le Corbusier, Oeuvres completes 1929-34, p. 93

Would Rome be a more beautiful city without the transformations ordered by Pope Sixtus V or would Paris be more attractive without Haussmann's interventions. The changing of cities is steeped in the historic process itself and the change is its very essence. Generation after generation, individuals and groups build, alter, destroy and replace artefacts and all these interventions make cities identifiable.

The changing nature of cities led many theorists to describe the city as a living organism and compared cities to human beings. Maks Fabiani for example wrote: "Again and again we encounter the question, when the final arrangement will be attained? When the image of the city will be final? Never! A living organism constantly grows and changes. Just like a man it is not finally shaped at birth."[6]

Hans Blumenfeld in his famous book The Modern Metropolis[7] compares the city to a living organism, and its elements to the genes of a human being, which are in permanent interaction with each other. He also thinks that a city cannot be compared through architecture or as a work of art, as it is in a constant state of flux: "If the undeniable beauty of cities cannot be understood as the beauty of a work of art, perhaps it can be understood as the beauty of a natural organism.« He believes that like a human being a city has an identity, and this identity persists even if not one single stone of its original buildings can be found and when its original concept and meaning has changed or expired completely. Changes are the very essence of its existence and Athensis a very good example of this. Despite the fact that the original hilltop city disappeared and that people moved into more convenient locations at its foot, the rock still identifies Athens from everywhere both from land and on the sea.

WHAT IS THE IDENTITY OF A CITY, WHERE DOES IT COME FROM?

Speaking of identity in general terms, means the establishment or search for characteristics, which make a person, an object, an architecture or a city distinct, different from others. In the case of the city it means identifying its general and particular characteristics, which are legible in its physical forms or its functions, or which are expressed in its cultural, spiritual or symbolic background.

The general and particular characteristics of a city result from its natural environment and its social conditions.

Natural conditions (climate, relief, geomorphologic characteristics) are the most stable factors of its identity. Climate creates favourable or less favourable conditions for the creation of settlements and cities. Alberti was aware of the importance of climate in the creation of cities: "How great the influence of the air (climate) has in generation, production, aliment and preservation of things, is unknown to nobody. It is even observed that they, who draw a pure air, have better understanding than those who breathe a heavy moist one: which is supposed to be the reason that the Athenians had much sharper wit than the Thebans."[8]

[6]Fabiani, M. (1988) O kulturi mest/ On Culture of Cities: Selected writings 1895-1960, Trieste, p. 61
[7]Blumenfeld, H. (1972), Continuity and Change of urban Form, in The modern Metropolis. M.I.T.Press, 247.
[8]Alberti, L.B. (1986) »The ten books of architecture«. Dover, Book I, p.3

Similarly Tomáš Valena[9] believes that climate, the fertility of land and forms of landscape influence the character of people and their mentality and consequently also the form and the lifestyle of cities. The mild climate of Mediterranean cities encourages people to live outside in public squares and open spaces,which where the centres of urban life and therefore spaces of particular carethroughout history, while in northern cities civic life developed more or less inside. One can see the difference between life in Southern and Northern European towns even today[10].

Figure 1: Mediteranean city of Koper was originally an island, today it is tied to the inland, because the surrounding waters were filled in.

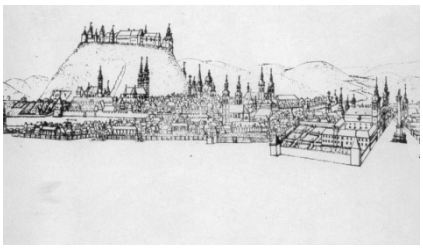

Figure 2: Medieval city of Ljubljana, continental town under the feudal castle

Relief has a decisive role in the creation of the image of the city. Originally the shape of the surface was an important security factor and security was of primary importance in the formation of historic cities. The hilltops, the islands and capes or sites, which were well protected by steep slopes and by water, were often selected as the most suitable places for urban settlements. These strong natural features in turn determined the original shape of cities and gave them their permanent identity (Athens, Salzburg, Ljubljana, Koper, Venice …). The growth of cities and urban transformations could increase or reduce the importance of these natural features. The building of the quays on the Seine in Paris, which opened a vista onto the river, gave more importance to the river in the city's landscape. The subordination of new urban developments toward the dominant natural features (Ljubljana, Salzburg…) exposes to a greater extent the castle hill as the dominant landmark and the symbol of the city itself. On the other hand man made changes and the growth of cities often modify or hide the original site's real identity. Many island cities lost their identity when in the process of growing and when the surrounding waters were filled in, thus tying the island to the mainland. (e.g. Koper)

Nevertheless natural features represent the most stable element of urban identity, while the social conditions, which embrace the historical, political, economic, cultural, intellectual and technological factors, are more flexible; they change more rapidly and give rise to more radical and continuous transformations. Many authors believe in social determinism toward urban planning and architecture. For Giedion for example, the city is the expression of the diversity of social

[9]Valena, T. (1990) Stadt und Topographie: Die europäischje Stadt im topographischen Kontext unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der bayerischen Stadt (Berlin)
[10]Zucker, P. (1959) Town and Square. From the agora to the village green. New York

relationships which have become fused into a single organism"[11]. Each period gave to the cities and architecture a specific character and "we recognize the character of the age as easily as we identify a friend's handwriting beneath attempted disguises".[12] The character of historical periods is always closely connected with the political power. Tommasso Campanella in his book City of the Sun[13] comprehends a city as a monumental expression of the organisation of society. Many examples demonstrate that there is a close relationship between political power and urban forms, and that stronger power more decisively shapes cities identities. Pope Sixtus V transformed Rome in just a little more than five years, giving the city a completely new identity, Napoleon III transformed Paris in the middle of the 19th century into the centre of Europe, and many other European cities followed this model. The Habsburg family, which ruled the Austrian monarchy for more than 700 years, left its imprint not only in the imperial centre of Vienna but also in other urban centres of the monarchy, so that still today one can recognize the borders of the ancient monarchy by observing the architecture of government buildings, museums, hospitals, schools and other public buildings.

Changes in political power are often followed by transformations within cities, which may cause the loss of the historical identity. Like Orhan Pamuk writes in his book on Istanbul how many signs of the Ottoman identity were lost to the city when the political regime and the social system changed: "When the Empire fell, the new republic while certain of its purpose was unsure of its identity; the only way forward, its founders thought, was to foster a new concept of Turkishness, and this meant a certain cordon sanitaire from the rest of the world. It was the end of the grand polyglot, multicultural Istanbul of the imperial age; the city stagnated, emptied itself out, and became a monotonous, monolingual town in black and white." [14]

The same is true for many other cities in Europe and beyond. Rulers always wanted to express their power by imposing new identities to the cities, pulling down old symbols and erecting new monuments, symbols of their own power. This holds true throughout history and also for the times in which we now live in. We just need to remember the impoverishment of many eastern European cities after WWII, which before the war actually presented important artistic, cultural and also economic centres (e.g. Prague). And after 1990, after the fall of the iron curtain it happened again; that all the political symbols of the socialist period in Eastern Europe were pulled down.

Cities derive their identity also from their economic power, trade and industry. Cities were trade centres from their very inception. Most European cities were founded as trade centres or have been granted the designation as a town by law, mainly because of their trading activities. During the end of the 18th and the whole of the 19th century cities changed their identity due to industrial development. The size of new industrial plants, which encircled old cities, completely changed the scale of traditional cities. In quickly developing countries, take as an example

[11]Giedion, S. (1954) Space, time and architecture, Cambridge, p.41
[12]Op.cit., p.19
[13]Campanela, T. (1623), La città del Sole.
[14]Pamuk, O. (2006), Istanbul: memories of a city, Faber and Faber, London, p.215.

England, industry with its "thousands of smoking chimneys"[15], completely transformed traditional English urban landscape.

Until the end of the 19th century industrial development caused many problems in cities (hygiene, overpopulation, bad living conditions …). But on the other hand the development of industry and commerce made many cities also very rich. Those in particular, which made their money from industry and trade with their colonies, completely changed their identity and became important centres for new art: for example the Catalonian cities of Terrassa, Barcelona and Reus and also Brussels or Glasgow, just to mention a few.

Industrialisation, the rapid growth of cities and demographic changes caused by industrialisation, called for new solutions in the field of housing, transport, sanitation, hygiene etc. which contributed to the rise of new ideologies. New ideas in city planning promoted by people such as Gropius, Le Corbusier and also CIAM, again transformed the traditional cityscape based on traditional urban elements such as the street and the square enclosed by the walls of surrounding buildings. Wide roads and large crossings, without reference to the surrounding architecture completely transformed traditional relations between urban form and architecture, which shaped the very essence of the city.

Elements of Identity

And what exactly creates the identity of a city? Which elements make cities identifiable and those that should be preserved?

According to Hans Blumenfeld, these elements are the name, the situation, the site, the pattern and the memory.

The Washington charter defines them as urban patterns as defined by lots and streets, relationships between buildings and green and open spaces, the formal appearance of buildings ,the relationship between the town or urban area and the various functions that a town has acquired over time

And the UNESCO Declaration on the Conservation of Historic Urban Landscapes (Paris, 2005) recognised also the changes and historic transformations to be an element of identification.

THE CASE OF LJUBLJANA

Following these definitions we can define also the identity, which make Ljubljana a distinct city. It was created gradually and derives from the situation of the city at the crossing of different cultures, from its strong natural features and from its turbulent history.

Situation

The Ljubljana basin was already settled during the prehistoric era. It has a very advantageous position on the crossroads from the Baltic Sea to the Mediterranean, the famous caravan "amber route" and the passages from Western Europe with Asia. The situation was also a meeting point of different cultures, northern and

[15]This is how F. Schinkel described English landscape during his first visit in England in 1826, in: N.Pevsner, Factories, *History of Building types,* London, 1986, str. 277

southern, German, Romance and Slavic, which are leasable in the form of the city as well as in the character of its architecture from the medieval period until today.

Ljubljana is one of the best examples of the continental type of a feudal city with its castle on the hill, which dominated the well protected city at its foothill. The origins of the continental type of medieval cities can be found in the feudal tradition of northern European towns. The oldest urban continental towns developed in Carinthia, i.e. the Slovenian region on the northern side of the Alps. Development of the feudal town of Ljubljana is related to the big and powerful feudal familiy of Habsburgs, of German origin, who founded the towns as their feudal estate. The feudal castle dominated the city both administratively and economically, and it also granted the city its civic rights. Urban life in the city was under the direct control of the feudal family and the city did not have autonomy. The social structure of the inhabitants was differentiated. It consisted of craftsmen, free workers, clergymen and the secular aristocracy and those inhabitants who lived partly through the cultivation of the land. The number of merchants here was relatively small in comparison to those of Italian towns on the coast and other European cities because most trading activities took place at the weekly markets and involved foreign merchants, without a permanent residence in the town itself. To become fully entitled to be a citizen one had to apply to the city authorities for citizenship.

Natural Features

The well protected site, the water and fertile plane presented favourable conditions for settlement, which was continuous from prehistoric times until today.

The castle hill, which dominates the city is well recognizable from different parts of the town and is visible from all entering motorways. The height of the castle hill defines the scale of the city even today.

Figure 3: Bird's view of the medieval Ljubljana

The medieval city developed under the shelter of the castle hill and the Ljubljanica River, which represents another vital natural element of the city. Strong natural features and the dominating power of the feudal castle are manifest in the form of

the urban settlement, in the orientation of its street network, location of urban squares and the morphology of building plots.

Up until the end of the 18th century the city developed within the city walls, and only at the beginning of the 19th century did it actually start to expand outside onto the new vacant land of the former suburbs and along the 5 main roads that connected it with the hinterland. It developed the star shape form, which later became the basis of all urban plans. The first regulation plan was designed and adopted at the end of the 19th century, after a strong earthquake which struck the city. The plan was designed by Maks Fabiani. The starting point of his plan was a morphological analysis of the city, which put the castle at the centre of the new design. The new plan subordinated the street network and the arrangement of open spaces of the new town quarters in relation to the castle hill, which was viewed as most important symbol of the city. Since then the preservation of vistas on the castle hill and the adaptation of its urban form towards it, remains the primary and most important requirement and the most important constant in the development of the city.

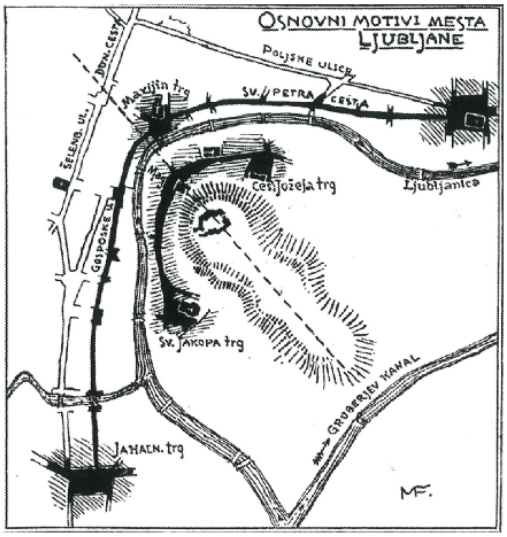

Figure 4: Main features of the Ljubljana urban form as identified by Maks Fabiani in his urban plan from 1895

Historical Facts

From the 13th century onwards, the city developed under the power of the Habsburg family for more than 700 years, which considerably influenced its development. Unlike in the form of the city, in the architecture of Ljubljana one can recognize mixed German, Italian and also Slavic influences. During the baroque period for example the Italian influence was very strong. "Academia operosorum", the first scientific academy on the model of contemporary Italian academies was founded (1693). Its goal was the improvement of the sciences and the arts. The Academy invited to Ljubljana important Italian architects and artists, (Andrea

Pozzo, Giulio Quaglio, Francesco Robba etc.) who created during the 18th century the new central core of the city and gave it a completely new Italianate image.

Figure 5: Baroque town shows strong italian influence

The 19th century architecture of Ljubljana was guided more under the auspices of the imperial centre of Vienna, which gave it a German character.

During the nineteenth century the city developed outside its medieval walls and up until the end of the century its image was completely subject to the imperial town. At the end of the nineteenth century the central government in Vienna strived hard to preserve the unity of the multinational state by creating a universal style of state funding and official buildings. This gave cities all over the monarchy a strong identity, which is recognizable even today.

Figure 6: Opera house in Ljubljana shows the influence of the imperial centre of Vienna

At the end of the 19th century and particularly at the beginning of the 20th century, when national tensions increased between the Slavic and Germanic population of the city, many Slavic architects came to Ljubljana to work on the reconstruction of the town after the earthquake, which barely damaged the city.Like in other Slavic countries within the Austro Hungarian Empire, this was the period of increased national awareness and the search for national identity was present all over the monarchy also in art and architecture.

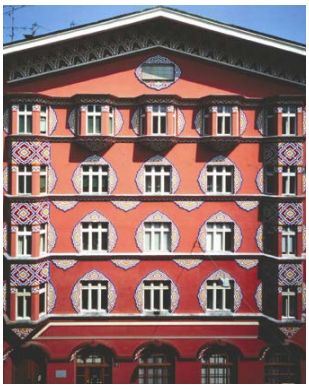

Figure 7a: The search for national identity in the late art nouveau architecture - Facade of the cooperative bank by Ivan Vurnik

Figure 7b: The search for national identity in the late art nouveau architecture - Interior

After the fall of the Empire, when Ljubljana became the capital of Slovenia, a region within the Yugoslav monarchy, contacts with German culture almost completely stopped and the connections with other southern Slavic nations within the new state of Yugoslavia increased.

Two key architects are particularly meritorious for the development of Ljubljana as national capital, Maks Fabiani and Jože Plečnik. Thanks to Fabiani Ljubljana achieved a totally new look at the beginning of the 20th century. Besides the regulation plan he made the plan for Slovene Square and he designed a series of private and public houses, which are now recognised as pinnacles of Slovenian modernarchitecture from the beginning of the 20th century: the Krisper, Hribar and Bamberg houses, girl's lyceum Mladika, the Jakopič art gallery etc.

Through his urban design and his architecture, which shows his artistic development from a pure Secessionist stage through to strict modernism, Fabiani left an indelible imprint on Ljubljana at the turn of the 19th century. This was also recognised by Plečnik, who in 1910, commended Fabiani's work as the "best modern works in Ljubljana". (Marco Pozzetto, 1997)

Plečnik, who started to work in Ljubljana after the WWI applied himself as an urban designer working to transform the city into a modern national metropolis with a personal quality derived from the needs of the population and evolved from its historical foundations. In twenty years he gave the city his own imprint, and it is quite usual today to call Ljubljana from the period between the two world wars Plečnik's Ljubljana. If Fabiani had tried to make of Ljubljana an efficient and well functioning city, Plečnik managed to give the city a symbolic value.

Figure 8: Plecnik gave the identity to Ljubljan between the 2 WW

CONCLUSION

It is generally accepted also by politicians that the historic, medieval city of Ljubljana has to be preserved and also Plečnik's Ljubljana is generally recognized to be worth to save. Mainly in last years, vast sums of money have been invested into the improvement of public spaces and the renovation of buildings in the historic core, which strenhten its identity.

But on the other hand it is still not generally accepted that the historic town extends over the onetime medieval walls and that the concept of the historic town is broadening and thatin recent years new towns and new suburbs of the late 20th century were recognized to represent important episodes in national history.

There we face every day the pressures and argumentations in favour of transformations. One of the recent examples in Ljubljana, which encountered a large response was the attempt by a private investor to pull down an important public building from the middle of the 19th century, (albeit in a poor state), which has statutory protection as a local monument. Theinvestor bought the building, opened an international architectural competition for the project of a new building, which would replace the old protected one, invited 6 foreign architects to contribute, and appointed a jury, with the head of the municipal urban planning department and a representative of the Ministry of culture as members, responsible for cultural heritage. The awarded winner proposed a 100m high skyscraper in place of the actual monument. After that the developer started to pressurise for the modification of the planning document and a repeal of the act of proclamation. Finally he was successful, and it seemed that Ljubljana will soon have a new landmark, which would predominate over the castle hill. Fortunately the current economic crisis has halted the whole action, but nobody knows for how long.

The question as what to preserve and what to transform is not easy to answer, but certain principles have already been adopted since the time, when interest in historic cities arose. They are written down in different international charters as

well as in laws and regulations and a number of best practices show that historic cities can comply with the need of the actual life style required by its inhabitants.

The identity of a city derives largely from its history. Its material evidence is an extraordinary source of information. In its physical form we can read the history, it represents the spatial context of all the economic, demographic and social processes. Understanding of the historic environment is, therefore, crucial to our lives: it tells us what is important and why, it explains how our towns and cities have evolved, and it helps people to define what to protect, to care for and to appreciate the special qualities of the places where they live.

YOUNG RESEARCHERS SESSIONS PAPERS

TWO CITIES IN ONE: THE GENESIS, PLANNING AND TRANSFORMATION OF KAMPALA CITY 1900-1968

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ABSTRACT

The system of indirect rule in Uganda, like most British colonies was made to ensure that the 'Native Societies' would not be polluted by the 'sophistication' of European based trade, mining and administrative urban centres. Therefore, for several years there existed two worlds in one, with limited contact and little understanding of each other – the world of the European and the world of the African – the 'Native', each with their planning ideologies and culture. Planning as an activity was technical and so was a domain of a few technocrats, mainly consultants from the United Kingdom who used planning as a tool to further the manipulation of space as a means of fostering hegemony and thus the alienation of native residents from the modern urban environment. Through review and deduction of archival and documentary resources, this paper focuses on how the city has transformed over time and the planning Ideas at play since the evolution of territorial and administrative dualism in the late 19th century, an aspect that for a long time has remained almost unstudied.

INTRODUCTION

This paper reviews the role of planning Ideas in the transformation of Kampala city from pre-independence and disects the concept of 'two cities in one', as the coexistence of modern and traditional landscapes within a single geographical space, resulting from imperialist policies of the nineteenth century. The concept of planning 'Ideas' or 'values' in this paper, simply means those things which are deeply cherished, or literally highly valued and which have a bearing on how the quality of the urban environment was envisaged and judged to be of high quality or ideal.

In East Africa, "new" colonial settlements were established, sometimes from scratch and sometimes on the sites of earlier settlements. Sometimes colonial settlements were superimposed on and attached to existing towns and cities. Kampala was founded next to one of the few important African Agglomerations in Eastern Africa – Mengo capital of the Kingdom of Buganda and the seat of His Highness the *Kabaka* (King). Hance submits that the capital of the ancient Kingdom of Buganda, which had one of the best evolved hierarchical administrations in East Africa naturally, drew the first European settlements to Uganda (Hance 1970:216).

The focus of this paper is twofold. First, the paper explores and describes how Indirect rule as advocated for by Frederick Lugard and sealed by 1900 Buganda Agreement, brought about the transformation of a once famous Kingdom in East and Central Africa into two discrete subsections: Kampala primarily for Europeans and Asians, and the *Kibuga* (capital city) exclusively for Africans. This, although later, the African city engulfed the European city, and then the European city grew

outwards into the native city creating a 'two cities in one' structure, manifested the existence of the civilised and traditional, European and native landscapes.

Secondly, in Kampala Urban planning was used to shape the physical spaces of city life as a way to create consent as well as domination, while in Mengo planning was more for the *Kibuga*, and the palace and the rest of the Municipality grew naturally.

These two worlds – the European city and the Native city, which we inherited from the colonialists continued to exist unabated till 1968 when administratively Mengo and the *Kibuga* became part of Kampala.

Background

Before the Europeans set their feet in Uganda, all political power in Buganda was vested in the king who had a government formed by chiefs (Van Norstrand, *et al*. 1994). The Buganda Kingdom itself, "was divided into ten districts (awasaza), each ruled over by a chief; these were divided from one another by rivers or swamps, while others had valleys, or gardens, which marked their boundaries" (Roscoe,1965:233). By the nineteenth century, Buganda had expanded considerably and comprised about 50 clans. These clans upheld traditional religious beliefs, involving the worship of deities and spirits. From the death of Kabaka Suna in 1859 until 1890 the capital changed at least ten times (Southall and Gutkind, 1957: 1). The capital usually moved from one hill top to another with the ascendancy of each new king. With the death of Kabaka Mutesa I in 1884, and the succession of Kabaka Mwanga, the palace was moved to Mengo where it still stands today (Southall, 1967:299).

In 1862, Speke and Grant, coming from the South, reached the capital of Buganda, the first Europeans to do so. On their return to 'civilization', they told of a Kingdom under the absolute rule of a cruel and despotic King, Mutesa. Life was held 'cheap' and human sacrifices practiced. Little more was heard of this land until Henry Morton Stanley explored Uganda. He found that conditions had improved as a result of the civilizing force of Islamic influence (Kendall, 1955: 13).

Following Stanley's request to King Mutesa of Buganda to allow missionaries, the first mission, the Church Missionary Society, established itself at Natete in 1877, and then moved to Namirembe Hill in 1884, the White Fathers from France were allocated Rubaga Hill in 1879, Nsambya Hill became the headquarters of the Mill Hill Fathers from England in 1895. Kibuli Hill was already occupied and was the headquarters and social focus of African Muslims. But as is evident from the following words of encouragement and wisdom emanating from Stanley, to his compatriots behind his religious zeal were the commercial possibilities of Uganda and the neighbouring regions. To quote:

> "There are fourty million people beyond the gateway to the Congo, and the cotton spinners of Manchester are waiting to cloth them. Birmingham foundries are glowing with the red metal that will presently be made into iron work for them and the trinkets that shall adorn those dusky bosoms, and the ministers of Christ are zealous to bring them, the poor benighted heathen into the Christian fold." (Mukherjee 1985:117)

Thus Lugard, who arrived in Uganda in 1887, to establish the Imperial British East African Company declared quite candidly,

> "The scramble for Africa by the nations of Europe – an incident without parallel in the history of the world – was due to growing commercial rivalry, which brought home to civilised nations the vital necessity of securing the only remaining fields for industrial enterprise and expansion. It is 'will' then to realise that it is for our own advantage – and not alone at the dictates of duty that we have undertaken responsibility in East Africa. It is in order to foster the growth of the trade of this country and to find an outlet for our manufacturers and our surplus energy, that our far seeing statesmen and our commercial men advocate colonial expansion. I do not believe that in these days our national policy is based on motives of philanthropy only…..There are some who say we have no right in Africa at all, that it belongs to the natives! I hold that our right is the necessity that is upon us to provide for our ever growing population – either by opening up new fields for emigration, or by providing work and employment which the development of over sea extension entails, and to stimulate trade by finding new markets, since we know what misery trade depression brings at home…" (Mukherjee 1985:118-119)

Within a few days of his arrival, Captain Lugard signed a treaty with King Mwanga on the 26th December 1890, and then built a stockade which was subsequently replaced by a substantial fort erected in 1891. On the 29th May, 1893, before setting out for England, Sir Gerald Portal signed a treaty with Mwanga taking Buganda under the protection of Queen Victoria and on 18th June 1894 the Protectorate was formally declared over Buganda.

The 1900 Agreement and the evolution of duality

This agreement set the seal for the colonization of the country and the establishment of the colonial administrative headquarters next to *Mengo* the indigenous capital.

The principal parties to the Agreement were the Baganda oligarchy (who wanted to retain their traditional power and desired long-term British military support to guarantee their security from other tribes) and Johnston, the British Special Commissioner and representative of the British Crown (who needed to secure the best arrangement feasible for Britain's economic profit). Under the final terms, the British allocated 10,034 square miles of land to the 'great chiefs' and the Royal Household, and retained all uncultivated, waste and forest lands for the British Crown. An additional eight thousand square miles of land were divided among notables and lesser chiefs (Mamdani, 1996). Peasants now became tenants of the new Baganda mailo (mile-owning) landlords, and Native Councils would continue to exist and chiefs were required to collect taxes to enable the government of the Protectorate to be run on a basis of complete self-sufficiency (Guglers, 1968).

The hill on which the British fort was originally situated by Lugard in 1891 quickly became congested as the bazaar extended and trading took place on an ever increasing scale. It was imperative for colonial government to find a more suitable site than the fort area for trading purposes. Thus the Government transferred its offices and bazaar to the adjoining Nakasero hill to the east. When the removal took place the name "Kampala" was given to the new settlement. 'Kampala' is derived from the Luganda word "impala", a type of antelope (Aepyceros melampus) that the Kings of Buganda used to keep and graze on the hills where the present Old Kampala stands.

The immediate consequence of the Agreement led to the division of Buganda Kingdom into two distinct areas; the African dominated part administered by Buganda government called the *Kibuga*, centering on and around Mengo hill, and Kampala administered as a township by the British and dominated by Europeans and Asians (figure 1). All the areas surrounding Kampala were under the Kabaka's administration, who resided at the Lubiri on top of Mengo hill. This division between Kampala and the *Kibuga* remained until 1968.

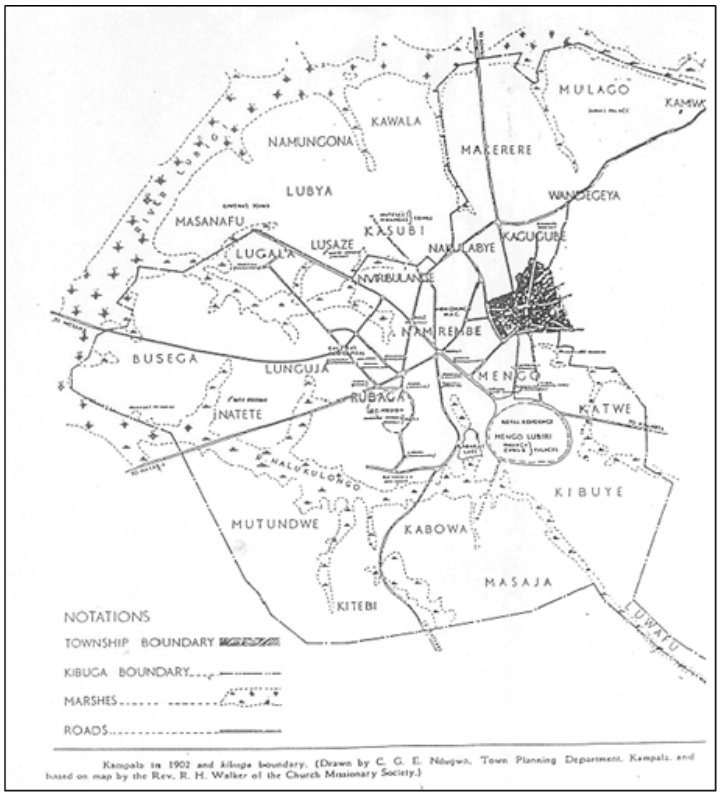

Figure 1. Dark spot shows KampalaTownship in 1902 in Relation to the Kibuga. Source: Prabha, 1993

The *Kibuga*: The Native City

The *Kibuga* functioned as a political and economic centre point of the Buganda Kingdom. It was the seat of the highest political authority, including the Kabaka's royal residence, the highest Courts of the Kingdom, a trading centre and the base of the army. Decisions regarding the organization of the *Kibuga* were made by the Kabaka and the chiefs. The city was organized on the basis of their interests and priorities, and certainly not in the interests of the peasants whose task was to build the city.

For the *Kibuga*, the Buganda capital and the *Lubiri* (palace), the works of Sir Apolo Kagwa (1934), and of Rev. John Roscoe (1911: reprint 1965) provide the oldest

studies of its socio-political organization (Gutkind, 1960:30). Roscoe's account of the *Kibuga* provides an insight into the organization of the capital and its functions:

> "The capital was divided into a number of sites corresponding to the country districts; every leading chief was surrounded by the minor chiefs from his district, and a portion of uncultivated land was left on which peasants could build temporary huts when they were required to reside in the capital for state work. By this plan all the people from a particular district were kept together, and the sites remained the official residences of the chiefs of the district to which the sites belonged……" (Roscoe, 1921:192 cited in Gutkind, 1960)

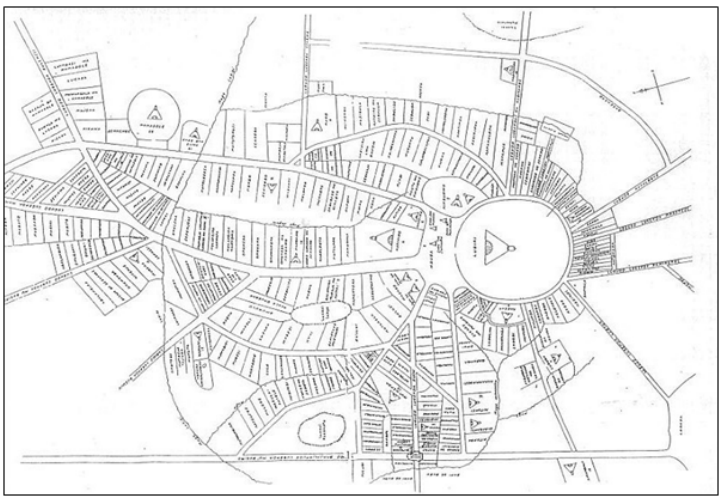

Figure 2: Plan and Organization of the Kibuga.
Source: P.C.W Gutkind, 1960

The Organization and Transformation of the Lubiri (Kings Palace)

In this feudal society, the *Lubiri* (kings' palace) was the nucleus and the *raison d'etre* of the *Kibuga* and therefore was the most organized place in the Kingdom (Gutkind, 1960). The *Lubiri* was designed in keeping with custom. According to Kagwa, as a rule the palace was built facing east which was the direction from which the ancestors were supposed to have arrived. The palace was an oval enclosure "about 1105 by 1122 yards by European measure" (Kagwa, 1934:74). According to Roscoe:

> "The whole of the royal enclosure was divided up into small courtyards with groups of huts in them; each group was enclosed by a high fence and was under the supervision of some responsible wife. Wide paths between high fences connected each group of houses with the king's private enclosure….. All the land between the royal residence and the lake was retained for the king's five hundred wives and here they grew their plantains……" (Roscoe, 1921:88-9; in: Gutkind, 1960).

From 1884 onwards, the Lubiri was restructured, the main entrance in front of the royal residence was the only way by which the public was allowed to enter or leave

the court. A man made lake of approximately 2km^{2}and about 200 feet deep was dug up for the Kabaka for sporting activities – especially swimming and fishing.

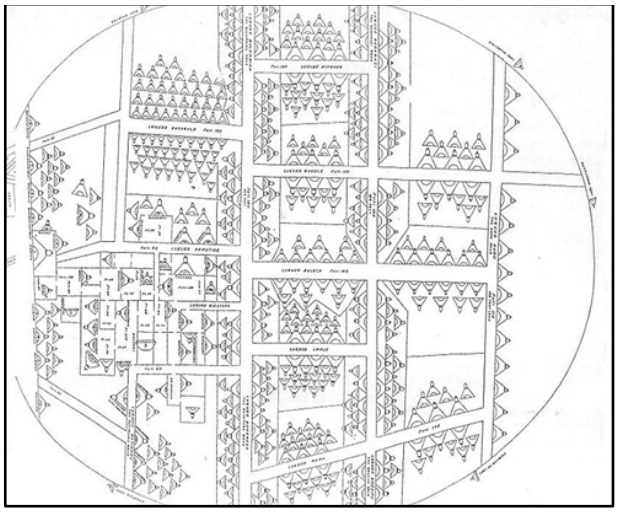

Figure 3: Organization of the Lubiri (KingsPalace) during the reign of Kabaka Mutesa I (Source: Gutkind, 1960)

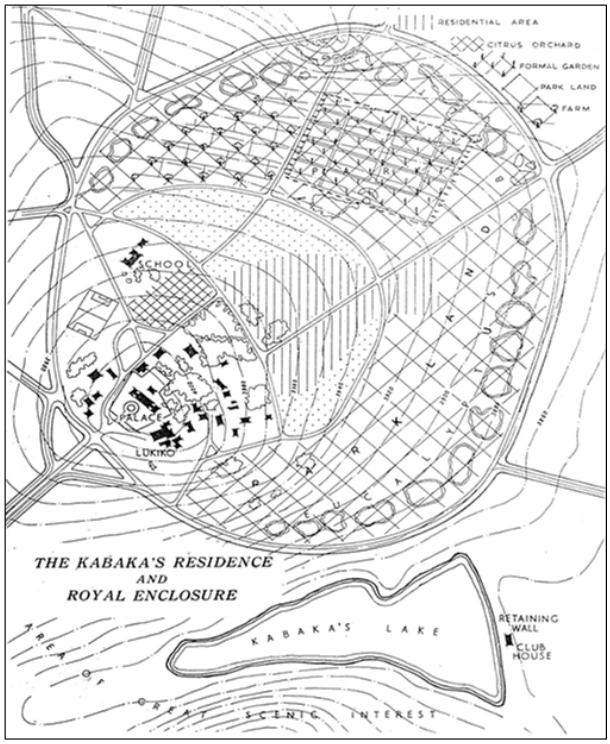

Figure 4: A map showing the Lubiri – from 1884 to date.
(Source: Gutkind, 1960)

Kampala: The Modern European Town

With the erection of a fort on Nakasero hill and signing of the 1900 Buganda Agreement, residential, economic and administrative centres were established and Kampala came to represent the principal 'node' of colonial administration from which the surrounding regions could be placed under the colonial gaze (Byerley 2005). Lugard argues that colonial designs on space and socio-economic spatial re-ordering in the territory that was to progressively become Uganda were evident even before the proclamation of a Protectorate in June of 1894. Lord Salisbury, the then British Prime Minister, stated for example that: 'We do not value Uganda for what she is, but for what she might become' (Lugard 1893; in: Byerley 2005). The colonial period was marked by a reorientation of urban patterns to serve the needs of trade and administration and to establish 'acceptable' living environments similar to those in Europe, and this was to be achieved through city design and planning as in the rest of the British Empire.

The Ideal - Utopia for Kampala

Ideas about garden cities/garden suburbs that dominated the planning discourses in Northern Europe in the first half of the 20th century came to define the parameters of colonial planning and practice in the newly created Kampala Township. The town area was getting congested as trading and business took centre stage and attracted every individual to town leading to the growth of slums, increases in population and housing densities, lack of housing standards, siting and building regulations, and noise and nuisance making (Prabha, 1993:52).

To address this anomaly and to transform Kampala into an acceptable modern environment, a legal framework for the orderly growth of Kampala was first laid down in the Uganda Ordinance of 1903, which gave powers to the colonial Governor of Kampala to define the city's boundary and make rules and regulations governing the physical development of the city that was at the time developing haphazardly. In 1906 the boundary was set for Kampala as a 3-mile radius from the Fort. The Kampala Local Sanitary Board was designated as the "Authority" for urban administration in the Kampala Township Area. Gutkind estimates that the *Kibuga* had a population of around 32,441 in 1911 and therefore was considerably larger than the European Kampala, though almost completely separate (Southhall, 1968). The question of what kind or ideal urban environment was needed featured and the first planning scheme for Kampala was prepared in 1912

Many of the concepts which were implicit or explicit in British planning had *a prioristic* and utopian origin. They are the idea of nineteenth-century reformers, and especially those of the utopian writers, who saw social conditions and relationships in terms of black and white, and in terms of straightforward interactions. They believed firmly that environment directly determines human character and social structure-and that their recipes for the reform of environment (such as industrial villages and garden cities) had universal validity and would assure that men everywhere live happily ever after. They were confident, moreover, of the power of rational persuasion and of a steady sequence of social progress, directed by a 'super-planner', as the diagnosis appeared to be so simple,

and the cure so obvious, there seemed to be no need for systematic inquiry (Glass, 1959).

Structuring of Kampala along Health lines – sustaining the duality

From 1913, onwards, Kampala urban space was to accommodate residential, office and commerce within the new city. However, earlier Ideas of planning were superseded by health concerns, and this was at the most critical time, when European powers were seeking methods of exercising control of colonies. The colonial state was in a position to formulate and implement policy and to channel this through the dominant utilitarian theories of the era that were founded largely on the medicalisation of space did, however, facilitate a strategy that eventuated a de facto racial segregation. A perspective, if formulated as the politically contested production of space – implied that within these parameters the colonial state needed to produce a reproducible space or terrain of operation that would meet and serve the needs of the self-sufficiency goal (Byerley, 2005)

Chadwick and his model for improving public health later formed the famous nineteenth century movement which led to subsequent efforts for town planning. This was also a period when the mosquito theory made its appearance, buttressed by the findings of a team of British colonial medical officers led by Dr. Ronald Ross at the University of Liverpool's School of Tropical Medicine, which identified the anopheles mosquito as the vector for malaria (Curtin, 1985; Frenkel & Western, 1988; Njoh, 2008). From these medical Ideas, the rationale of protecting the health of Europeans was the basis for the segregation of European reservations by building-free zone.

The origin of the policy of Segregation for health influenced the urban formations and patterns in a number of colonies in Africa and Asia. Colonial urban form increasingly sought to enforce separation: white from black, migrant from native, traditional from modern, men from women and family (Home 1997: 219). In Kampala as in the whole of East and West Africa, the thread of racism became increasingly strong as the First World War approached. The most elaborate segregationist proposa1s, combining racist and sanitary objectives, came from William J.Simpson of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, who, on a tour of Kenya, Uganda, and Zanzibar in 1913-14, made recommendations, followed by an elaborate final report filed in July 1914.

Town planning in Europe, he believed, required the separation of commercial, residential, and manufacturing areas, but in Africa different principles were necessary - "... something more is required where the races are diverse and their habits and customs differ from one another..... it has to be recognized that the standards and mode of life of the Asiatic do not ordinarily consort with the European, whilst the customs of Europeans are at times not acceptable to the Asiatics, and that those of the African unfamiliar with and not adapted to the new conditions of town life will not blend with either. Also, the diseases to which these different races are respectively liable are readily transferable to the European and vice versa, a result especially liable to occur when their dwellings are near each other. Simpson emphasized that in the interests of each community and of the healthiness of the locality and country, it is absolutely essential that in every town and trade centre the town planning should provide well defined and separate quarters or wards for Europeans, Asiatics and Africans, as well as those divisions which are necessary in a town of one nationality and race, and that there should be a neutral belt of open unoccupied country of at least 300 yards in width between the European residences and those of the Asiatic and African" (Simpson 1914).

All the plans before World War II excluded Africans from the urban environment. Africans were kept in the rural areas to undertake agricultural activities especially cotton cultivation, and the Colonial Government felt that urbanization would separate Africans from family, clan and tribal authority as well as social codes of behaviour, discipline, custom and perhaps religion which originally guided their thought and actions with the object of making them useful members of the tribe or community to which they belong(Molohan 1957:1, 11-12; Mbilinyi, 1985; Obbo 1980:21). Although the Africans lived communal traditional lifestyle, the reasons for keeping Africans out of the urban environment by the Colonial Government were justification and pretext for racial segregation. In Africa, however, the traditional pattern of living was collective and in group settlements mainly because of the need for common defence against external enemies. The village was essentially composed of blood relatives who were kept together by well defined and historically evolved social customs and traditions. As Nyerere wrote,

> "Africans lived together and worked together because that was how they understood life, and how they reinforced each other against the difficulties they had to contend with……These difficulties were such things like uncertainties of weather and sickness, wild animals, human enemies and "the cycle of life and death" (Nyerere 1968:106).

However, later the medical officers argued, it was possible for Europeans to work safely with members of the indigenous population during the day, returning to their exclusively White enclaves at night – a rare advocacy for nocturnal segregation.

The Africans' right to Urban Space

The end of World War II brought significant changes in the British Empire. The extensive physical rebuilding of cities following the war lent new urgency to town planning.In 1947 Great Britain enacted its significant Town and County Planning Act, which placed all development under regional control. The new colonial policy issued in the mid forties was built on new principles that aimed at leading the Colonial territories towards self government. Partnership was now replacing the old trusteeship policy. Local governments were supposed to play a critical role in this process of conferring more political representation and autonomy to the local people. On the economics side, the Colonial Office also launched important modernisation programmes that aimed at setting up the economic framework for the development of the colonies (Home, 1997)

At this time there were a number of negotiations to incorporate areas from the Kibuga into the Modern Kampala municipality in order to be able to raise the service standards in these areas such that they could also then be developed as part of the colonial economy – for instance Asian business men were keen on establishing themselves in some parts of the Kibuga (Southall, 1967). However, the Buganda government was hesitant to accept the Kampala administration taking over responsibilities in the Kibuga partly due to prospect of losing revenue to the colonial administration – remember this took place during independence struggles.

By 1944, Kampala Township now covered more than 4,600 acres, engulfing residential and industrial zones in the Eastern direction of the town. At this point, it is important to note that by 1945, the Development Plan for Uganda, just like in other colonies, began to raise the issue of housing for Africans and their right to urban space.

From 1948 Kampala's population was estimated at 24,198 people and later in 1949 Kampala gained Municipality status; this however took effect in 1950 when a Council was appointed with a Mayor as its head (Prabha 1993). This period was dominated by the ten year development plans using the colonial development and welfare funds. The planning orthodoxy was that the major land uses of the city should be clearly distinguished and provided for in separate 'zones'. Undertakings included construction or improvement in infrastructure like roads, water supply, drainage, sewage networks and airports; and construction of public buildings including schools, hospitals, and health and social welfare centres (Kironde, 1995:50-52). This was the period when comprehensive planning was accepted in most colonial cities. It was a period of Town and Country Planning Acts and urban master plans. In Uganda, the first planning legislation was the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1947 which immediately was replaced by the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1951, which was also revised in 1964 and became the Town and Country Planning Act of 1964.

In Kampala the principle of comprehensiveness found expression in, the 1951 planning scheme for Kampala and was categorised into five major land use zones: residential; commercial; industrial; forests areas; open spaces, both public and private. The issue of housing for Africans and their right to urban space as raised by the Development plan for Uganda led to the detailed planning of Nakawa and Naguru residential zones and the subsequent construction of houses for the natives in native reservation camps.

Kampala City – After Independence

The immediate effect of Uganda's independence in 1962 was increase in urbanization that showed a remarkable spurt of growth in Kampala city itself and all major towns neighboring the city. The gradual transfer of government ministries and departments from Entebbe (once administrative capital) that started in the nineteen fifties was accelerated when Kampala was granted city status from Municipality, in 1962. The National Parliament was established there. With Independence foreign missions arrived. The Treaty for East African Co-operation led to the establishment of the headquarters of the East African Posts and Telecommunications Corporation and the East African Development Bank in Kampala. More importantly, the operations of the corporations administered by the Community, that is, railways, harbours, posts and telecommunications, airways, and certain services, all had their offices in the new administrative and commercial capital of Kampala. Described as the expatriate headquarters, many Africans from beyond the borders of Buganda, and many from neighbouring Kenya, came in search for opportunities and settled in the national capital, in domestic quarters and in the housing estates (Gugler, 1968).

The substantial increase in the labour supply that was attracted to Kampala by wage employment brought population to well over 50,000 people within Kampala city and over 150,000 in the city and the new Mengo Municipality. In describing Kampala and Mengo Southall said,

> "Kampala-Mengo is interesting because it contains within itself most of the major factors, combined at different strengths, which are found in African cities of quite varied type, such as the older, more traditional West African cities and the newer, European dominated cities of East and Central Africa. It combines both segregation and political dominance of a particular African

> tribe; it includes both European and African controlled land, traditional and modern roles, local African residents of long standing and high status as well as thousands of temporary migrant labourers of many ethnic backgrounds." (Southall 1968:326)

Dissolving Duality

The Metropolitan Area of Kampala had four separate local government authorities: Kampala City, Mengo Municipality, Nakawa Township and Kawempe Town Board. The first one was controlled by Uganda Government, and the other three by the Kingdom of Buganda Government. These were all different types of local authorities, and at different stages of development. The problem lay in the coordination of the different authorities, which proved difficult, yet co-operation was moreover lacking between the different authorities. Litherland, a UN expert on town planning in his submission said;

> "....the more local authorities there are the more difficult is the task of bringing them together and getting them to agree on the coordination of matters which transcend their own boundaries, and the more complex are the matters which have to be coordinated. It is desirable to have one metropolitan development authority to undertake with Government the physical planning and control of physical development in the future Kampala metropolis." (Litherland, et al, 1966:15-16)

The idea of a metropolitan area for Kampala arose from the assumption that this model that combined an agglomeration – the contiguous built-up area with peripheral zones not themselves necessarily urban in character, or a large metropolis and its adjacent zone of influence would improve coordination and management of the urban activities, provision of infrastructure and services, and the development of transportation routes and physical growth of Kampala-Mengo region.

The UN mission that had been tasked to offer advice on how Kampala should develop and prepare schemes to that effect, noted that past development in Uganda provided little guidance and therefore no comparative models. They had presumed that in Britain, a well planned city was composed of an orderly 'cellular' structure of geographically distinct neighbourhoods or 'environmental areas'. This presupposition was central to the view most town planners held at the time of the ideal urban structure. As Lewis Keeble (1969:10) had put it: "The town ought to have a clear legible structure." This ordered view of the ideal city found expression in spatially distinct 'neighbourhoods' conceived as village-like communities expressed in the radburn idea, which originated in the 1920s in the work of the American sociologist Clarence Stein and Henry Wright. It combined Clarence Perry's neighbourhood unit concept (Perry, 1929) with a radically new street layout of Raymond Unwin's and Barry Parker's cul-de-sac method of residential layout for houses combined in super blocks of 30 to 50 acres plus (Stein, 1957).

Despite all the effort put into planning, all idealized geometrical schemes and plans remained on paper, except for an experimental cul-de-sac residential layout on Mulago hill. No single 'radburn' was built in Kampala-Mengo to date and Kampala and the surrounding areas continued to grow and expand on ad hoc basis, a trend before the involvement of the UN team. Failure to transform Kampala-Mengo into ordered neighbourhoods was blamed on lack of resources both human

and economic, and the nature and comprehensiveness of the plans that rendered implementation to be a slowly expanding process taking many years to complete.

In 1966, there was a turn of events, the first prime minister of Uganda, Milton Obote, abolished all Kingdoms in the country. The overthrow of the Kabaka of Buganda as well as the other monarchies by the Prime Minister led to the forced incorporation of the *Kibuga*into Kampala Municipality with Kampala City Council as the administrative unit and from 1967-1968 the size of the city of Kampala increased from 21 sq. km. (8sq. miles) to 195 sq. km. (75 sq. miles) with the inclusion of Kawempe, Lusanja, Kisaasi, Kiwatule, Muyenga, Ggaba and Mulungu urban centres.

CONCLUSION

This paper has explored, analysed and described the two distinct landscapes of (pre)colonial and the first decade of post colonial ordering that resulted directly or indirectly from British administrations' capitalization on making treaties and provoking new divisions within the once dominant Kingdom in East and Central Africa. The fashion of rule, which emphasized working through native leaders and utilizing native social structures, became the official policy of British imperialism throughout the empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.The original native capital (*Kibuga*) functioned as a political and economic centre point of Buganda Kingdom. It was the seat of the highest political authority, including the Kabaka's royal residence, the highest courts of the kingdom, a trading centre and the base of the army. Settlements had conscious spatial layout, although not in the sence of mordernformal planning of the western world.

The colonial period was marked by a reorientation of urban patterns to serve the needs of trade and administration using urban planning theories and ideologies of the era.Four main ideas informed planning and transformed Kampala – First, the Utopian ideals of the Century; secondly, the health concerns- fear of catching 'native' disease, malaria and plague; thirdly, racial segregation and lastly, the growth of the modernist planning ideas – which became popular in the colonies most especially after independence. Health concerns and the mosquito theory, and the need to provide colonial administrators and early settlers with an acceptable living environment transformed the structure of Kampala city from forested hills, vast hunting and grazing lands, and small concentrations of chiefdoms into 'civilised' forms of urban settings – though without tampering with the centre of the native administration. For ages of time, Uganda's village communities lived their own lives, without being closely integrated with colonial government and other aspects of the greater society. The duality persisted and still persists – the bright modern City surrounded by a sea of poor, informally growing periphery where the great majority of the people – over ninety percent lived and worked. An influx of migrant labour into Kampala City to meet an expanding urban need in the immediate post war years gave rise to a sudden demand for accommodation within Kampala-Mengo region, an issue that led to the inclusion of Nakawa and Naguru areas into Kampala and consequently construction of housing for the Africans on the newly annexed areas. But this is not a unique situation because the African reservations were still kept at a distance of about two and three kilometres from the European residential areas and the city centre, respectively. The material and cultural antagonism between the City and the surrounding areas of the Kingdom is also an old problem that persisted – glaring the duality that for decades was very

evident until 1968, and today the duality can still be seen in certain sections of the City, despite the various transformations the city has experienced.

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NEW YORK: HOW THE PROPOSED LOWER MANHATTAN EXPRESSWAY AROUSED THE PUBLIC VOICE, 1938-1969

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ABSTRACT

Manhattan Island´s insular position prevented unrestricted growth of the city. The economic crisis of the 1930´s put an end to the free rein given to developers and entrepreneurs in the absence of a defined system of US-American urban development. During the periode spanning the Great Depression and the end of World War II various institutions changed the direction of US history of architecture and promoted the leitmotivs of modern architecture and city planning. They created a new awareness in architecture and urban values, e.g. parks, recreational facilities and fluent traffic. In the 1950´s civic movement against government and business decisions regarding the changing face of cities and towns is rooted in the unmindful demolition of historical structures and neighborhoods across the country. People would no longer remain indifferent to the architectural changes of their city. The citizen´s right to architecture rallies in the early 1960´s was refected in fierce public debates in town halls and daily papers, and demonstrations.

INTRODUCTION

On August 2, 1962, more than 150 architects and critics demonstrated in front of Pennsylvania Station in an attempt to save the Beaux-Art masterpiece from the wrecking ball. The local newspapers called it "the best-dressed picket line in New York history," but the action was in to be vain - unlike the march right on the night of August 9, 1962 to stop the proposed construction of the Lower Manhattan Expressway. A group of nearly 100 demonstrators, among who were politicians, urban critics and residents, started the march on Sullivan Street in Greenwich Village at 7:30 and wound their way down to Broome Street. In contrast to the self-defeatist argument that "you can´t fight Big Money," which doomed the Penn Station action, this group hand-delivered a letter to Mayor Robert Wagner at Gracie Mansion with hope: hope that the building of the expressway would be canceled and hope that the neighborhoods and architecture of downtown Manhattan would be preserved.

ADVANCE OF URBANISM

Until the 19th century the district called SoHo today was pastoral fields and meadows dotted with the occasional farmhouse. By the middle of the 19th century the wooden structures had been torn down to make way for multistoried stone and cast-iron buildings. Private residences gave way to shops, minstrel halls and theaters. Between 1840s and the 1860s the area became Manhattan´s pulsing center of commercial life. The city´s most luxurious hotel, the St. Nicholas (1853), opened its doors at Broadway and Spring Street; the first passenger safety elevator created by Elisha Graves Otis was installed in the Haughwout Building (1857); and

cast-iron buildings, after which the district would later be named, proliferated. The city´s commercial center eventually migrated uptown leaving SoHo to slide into obscurity. Toward the end of the 19th century the city authorities were worried about two urban trends: the so-called "Black-and-Tan dives" where white women (mainly prostitutes) drank and danced with black men, and the horrendous working conditions in the fire prone cast-iron buildings, as documented in photographs by Lewis W. Hine and Jacob Riis. They showed factory floors crammed with hundreds of women and young children toiling away at sewing machines. The district was the heart of the printer and textile industries at the beginning of the 20th century. It provided jobs to thousands of law-skilled laborers; until the Great Depression light industry represented 28% of the labour market in the city. After World War II the industry declined from an all-time high of 324,753 workers to 177,198 in 1970.

HIGHWAY OBSESSED

Manhattan´s urban growth was restricted by the street grid plan laid down in 1807 and zoning regulations (1916). Developers, on the other hand, were given preferential treatment so much so that Manhattan might have been the prototype of what the historian and town sociologist Sam Bass Warner Jr. called a "private city." From the moment the financial crisis of the 1930s halted individual and collective advancement, Manhattanites familiarized themselves with the advantages offered up by planned urban development.

On June 19, 1938, the New York Times published what was deemed the "master plan" for the future of the city´s traffic system. The Regional Plan Association developed a long-range program to unify the major highways, parks, suburban rapid transit and railroads. The express routes of the major highway system designed to facilitate traffic flow was given urgent consideration. One of these would link up New Jersey, Manhattan and Brooklyn by the way of the Holland Tunnel, Canal Street, the Manhattan Bridge, Flatbush Avenue and Atlantic Avenue to Sunrise Highway - called the Lower Manhattan Crosstown Expressway. Robert Moses began to campaign in the 1940s for what would later be nicknamed "Lomex".

On May 16, 1944, the New York Times published a detail view of the proposed connection between the Manhattan Bridge and planned Expressway. It showed ramps and elevated rolling multi-lane roads which rose above buildings and sidewalks. Furthermore the article reported "that the Manhattan Borough President (Edgar J. Nathan Jr.) recommended a double-decked elevated express highway along Beach Street to Varick Street and thence bordering White Street to the Manhattan Bridge. The plan provides for convenient access to the Holland Tunnel and the Williamsburg Bridge."

Unlike Nathan´s ideas which proposed a route south of Canal Street, on October 14, 1946 the New York Times presented the new route, endorsed by Robert Moses and the new Borough President Hugo E. Rogers, to be built north of Canal Street. According to the master plan of 1938 the Moses-Rogers plan picked up the original idea of connecting New Jersey, Manhattan and Brooklyn. The "new facility will carry six lanes of mixed passenger and truck traffic on an elevated structure linking the West Side Highway and Holland Tunnel with the Williamsburg and Manhattan Bridges." Construction was set to start in 1948 and end in 1949. The free space under the elevated expressway was to be used for parking while a series of small

neighborhood recreational facilities was to be built on excess lands between the Avenue of the Americas and Essex Street. The new plan called for the widening of Broome Street to 150 feet; the Haughwout Building (1857) and the elevated railway structure running along the Bowery were consequently demolished. Furthermore Moses and Rogers praised the state of the arts of the express highway design, proclaimed that Broome Street would become the broadest thoroughfare in Manhattan with the Expressway running down the center and a minimum distance of fifty feet from the buildings on either side.

The Moses-Rogers plan moved the New York Times reader Harold M. Lewis to criticize the expressway route and argued in support for the Nathan plan. Lewis but forward the contentions that the West Side Highway diverted much more traffic to Manhattan than to the Williamsburg Bridge, that the ramps proposed for the Holland Tunnel would cause massive non-tunnel traffic congestion and that the much needed parking areas were not to be found along Broome Street but in the office district south of Canal Street.

In 1948 the projected start of construction of the Expressway was replaced by new traffic restrictions in the Canal Street area. On December 18, 1948, the streets became one-way and all daytime parking was banned. Unlike the $23.5 million necessary for constructing the Lower Manhattan Crosstown Expressway, the costs for new traffic signs amounted to a mere $800. For the next decade the future of the Lomex scheme was cloudy.

The Lomex scheme gained fresh impetus in the late 1950s when David Rockefeller entered the fray. Since 1956 he had been a prime mover for the planned 60-storeyed headquarters of the Chase Manhattan Bank in the Wall Street area, which kick started the financial district´s urban renewal. To counter the Park Avenue boom and insure his own downtown investments, David Rockefeller created the Chamber of Commerce Committee on Lower Manhattan Redevelopment in 1956. In 1958 the group was renamed the Downtown Lower Manhattan Association (DLMA), headed by David Rockefeller and John D. Butt. Traffic improvement was identified as one of the area´s major problems: "downtown Manhattan`s streets are not much wider today than they were when Peter Minuit clumped about them." The association´s strategic objectives brought together developers and urban visionary Robert Moses. The consensus was Lomex was an essential element of the DLMA program. It was further supported and substantiated by subcommittees, experts and published reports.

On November 28, 1961, Robert Moses urged Mayor Robert Wagner to step up action on the expressway. Four years later, on May 25, 1965, Mayor Wagner announced his decision to begin construction and set the date of completion in September 1971. Four months later, the case went to Washington, where Representative William F. Ryan asked Congress to block federal funds in the controversial "skyway." At the same time, Manhattan Borough President Constance Baker Motley asked Robert Wagner in a letter not to go ahead with land acquisition for the project. Contrary to the news on March 7, 1966, that the Lower Manhattan Expressway "is out, as far as the Lindsay administration is concerned," the Lindsay committee issued a new engineering plan at the end of March 1967. The expressway would be no longer be entirely elevated; instead the new route was to be built below ground of Broome Street and a tunnel stretching from Bowery to the Manhattan Bridge, which was first drafted in June 1964.

The design for the buildings by the architect Paul Rudolph in 1967 to accompany the proposed expressway drew the urban future even closer. In 1967, the Ford Foundation commissioned Rudolph to produce a design for a structure to be built over the expressway. Rudolph proposed a megastructure of gigantic pylons forming a base frame for hooked-in trapezoidal residential units as well as lower lying, linaer buildings situated directly above the roadways, whose cross-sections show a characteristic A shape. Rudolph employed the idea of using pillars as a basic frame for hooking modular apartment boxes into his contemporaneous design for the Graphic Arts Center on the Hudson River. Schmertz wrote "he has hoped to erect a genuine megastructure, inserted with factory-built apartment modules, which he called `twentieth-century bricks.`"

The battle continued with debates on air pollution and cam to a halt in July 1969 with the official announcement that the expressway is dead "for all time." A month later on August 20, 1969, the City Planning Commission revoked the Lower Manhattan Expressway project.

DOWNTOWN´S DEFENSE

In the early 1960s the Lower Manhattan Expressway provoked massive opposition on the local political level with residents up in arms and from urban and architectural critics. First, there were the politicians. District Assemblyman Louis DeSalvio was one of the expressway´s most vocal critics. His contention was not against the expressway itself but its location and the negative impact on residents and small businesses. Paul Douglas Jr., president of the Citywide Organization Against the Lower Manhattan Expressway also protested against the location of the traffic artery.

On June 18, 1962, a letter from Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt was read out at a hearing convened in City Hall which ran for eleven hours with fifty-nine speakers and an audience of more that 500 people.The letter, dated June 5, 1962, asked the city authorities "to find some solution for the downtown Manhattan traffic problem other than the construction of the Expressway" and criticized "the city´s urban renewal program for not finding new homes in the area of the new developments for displaced low-income residents." Furthermore Assemblyman Louis DeSalvio called the road "a mad visionary´s dream" and "a pork-barrel grab." Unlike the inconclusiveness of the local government, the protestors organized a march of August 9, 1962. Calling upon New Yorkers to oppose the expressway´s construction and led by thirteen speakers including Representative Leonard Farbstein, Senator Joseph Marro and Louis DeSalvio, and Chair of the Joint Committee to Stop the Lower Manhattan Expressway Jane Jacobs, the march began at 7:30 in the evening. A fortnight later on August 23, 1962, a picket line formed by about 100 local residents young and old marched along Park Row and City Hall carrying signs with skull and crossbones and the slogan "Kill The Expressway Now."

Lewis Mumford, city planning expert, wrote to Mayor Wagner to point that the expressway "would be the first serious step in turning New York into Los Angeles. Since Los Angeles has already discovered the futility of sacrificing its living space to expressway and parking lots, why should New York follow that backward example?"Ahead of the public hearings in December 1964, Harold Harmatz and Anthony Dapolito, co-chairman of the Citywide Organizations against the Lower Manhattan Expressway, wrote in the New York Times that "the indiscriminate

handing out of government funds for pie-in-the-sky projects is undermining the moral fiber of too many Americans and too many quasi-public and city agencies. We concur wholeheartedly that we should employ all conceivable methods to discourage the auto from the heart of the city."The next major public hearing scheduled three days before Christmas startet at 10:30 a.m. at City Hall with 117 speakers and ended at 1 o´clock the next morning. The New York Times reported "a crowd of more than 250 persons, largely opponents of the project, occupied the Board of Estimate chamber during the day. From time to time it cheered speakers with whom it agreed and booed those of whom it disapproved."

In the early 1960s the opponents of the Lower Manhattan Expressway were bolstered with details and arguments from urban and architectural critics.

Jane Jacobs, writer and activists published Death and Life of Great American Cities in October 1961. At this time she was fighting for the preservation of the Greenwich Village. She went on to lend her full support to the struggle against the Lower Manhattan Expressway project. Jacobs´ urban values focused on the vitality and variety of lower Manhattan, the neighborhoods and street life unique to each. In her article "The Missing Link in City Redevelopment" (1956) she criticized the urban renewal project that brought on death of the little shops and corners where people daily saw each other and talked.

What modern urbanists deemed nostalgic yearning became an urban rallying cry for Jacobs which she followed up with essays like "Downtown Is for People" (1958). To Jacobs, the results of urban renewal made cities look like a well-kept, dignified cemetery because "they will be spacious, parklike, and uncrowded. They will feature long green vistas. They will be stable and symmetrical and orderly. They will be clean, impressive, and monumental." Jacobs described downtown as a place with a concentration of diverse businesses, a sidewalk with an irresistible sense of intimacy, cheerfulness, and spontaneity and a mixture of old and new buildings. From 1962 on Jane Jacobs would become a familiar face at anti-expressway demonstrations. Jane Jacobs advised architects and urbanists to learn from these neighborhoods and her vision was obliquely supported by architectural historians and critics. While stirring up memories of old New York, the massive demolition of New York´s old buildings in the 1950s added fuel and garnered public attention to the preservation movement.

The architectural critic of the New York Times Ada Louise Huxtable, a former member of the department of architecture at the Museum of Modern Art, joined in Jane Jacobs´ focus on neighborhoods and their charm. Huxtable´s essay "City For People" in May 1960 took San Francisco as an example and examined the convivial relationship between architecture and people. Huxtable maintained that "today´s architect (was) concerned almost exclusively with abstract design standards and sociologically approved planning, San Francisco is a city that breaks all the rules," and argued that "a city can be good even with bad or anonymous building; and the quality of a city is far more than the quality of its architecture alone." Futhermore she did not sidestep the opportunity to vilify New York´s urban development which, in her opinion, eliminated small human-scale structures, local character, and the neighborhood. The task for architects should be to "produce more than correctly sterile housing projects and vacuous master plans" and San Francisco offered a seminal lesson on the awareness and concern of citizens for their towns and cities. Huxtable concluded with San Francisco´s chief architectural feature,

"the proper and primary relationship of buildings to people. And is that not, after all, what architecture is all about?"

In 1962, Huxtable continued this chain of reasoning linking Manhattan´s downtown cast-iron buildings with the term "street architecture." Huxtable had observed on Spring, Broome, Greene and Mercer Street "cast-iron fronted structures of virtually the same vintage and similar handsome colonnaded design as the better-preserved examples on Worth Street. This rare, isolated stand of the superior commercial "street architecture" of the Eighteen Seventies and Eighties is now a fire-prone slum." Furthermore Huxtable motivated artists to turn the commercial lofts into studios and appealed for a creative kind of rehabilitation and preservation.

Up until the early 1960s Manhattan´s cast-iron architecture of the 19th century was largely forgotten and neglected. This was to changed radically. In the New York Times on July 22, 1965, Huxtable presented a map of cast-iron structures on Broome Street destined to be torn down in preparation for the Lower Manhattan Expressway. Huxtable argued that the cast-iron structures with their oversized glass windows and metal frameworks were forerunners of the city´s modern skyscrapers. Furthermore she cited the Landmarks Commission which called the Haughwout Building "the Parthenon of New York´s Iron Age." The Landmark Commission would soon hold hearings on the preservation of cast-iron buildings. In 1970 the Friends of Cast-Iron Architecture opened an information office where they sold a booklet for 25 cents each outlining to visitors where the best restored examples were to be found. By the 1960s none other than Nikolaus Pevsner, the preeminent architectural historian, added his voice to the cause. He stated explicitly "there is a veritable museum of cast iron architecture in downtown New York, a greater concentration than anywhere else in the world."

In the 1950's New York City became capital of the art world with abstract expressionism, pop-art and minimalism. In Manhattan, the post-war prosperity boosted a brisk demand for affordable living space while the transition from a manufacturing society to a service oriented one gave way to an increasing number of abandoned factory building. As a result of the glut of abandoned loft spaces and the Lomex impasse artists began making use, albeit illegally, of light-industrial buildings as living and work quarters. It was also at this time that artists took on a nomadic lifestyle.

In the early 1960s, the artists in Manhattan token on the developers and city authorities to press for the amendment of regulations that prohibit the use of factory buildings for living. As a result of their protests, Mayor Wagner implemented a citywide, artist-in-residence (AIR) program that permitted artists to take over the top two floors of a commercial or factory building. In 1964 Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller signed into a law that permitted artists to live on all the floors of a loft building, but the stringent fire and building safety codes meant that many artists illegally occupying these spaces fced eviction.

One of the prominent artists fighting against the Lower Manhattan Expressway was Julie Judd, dancer and wife of sculptor Donald Judd, and a member of a committee called Artists Against the Expressway. Judd emphasized their serious intent "they´re not just a flubby, night camp of gypsies - many own buildings individually or co-ops.

The expressway would kill the last suitable place in the city for lofts. There´d be scarcer space and higher rents. And we don´t want to be urban-renewed." On June

19, 1969, Artists Against the Expressway called a meeting at the Whitney Museum and invited prominent speakers, including Barnett Newman, Richard Feigen, and James Marston Fitch of Columbia University. Originally the meeting was to be held at the Museum of Modern Art´s auditorium until "serveral persons at the meeting said that when the museum received word that some of its trustees were to be attacked." The meeting was attended by nearly 250 artists and members of civic organizations. Mr. Newman said "let us not overlook that the strongest forces against artists are the art lovers." He added that David Rockefeller was "the most vocal advocate for the Expressway" and asked him "to declare to us personally where his loyalty lies."

Ten years after her article "City For People," Huxtable pointed out that "as values rise, (SoHo) is starting to look very good to the speculators. Here we go again."

CONCLUSION

From 1938 to 1969 plans for the expressway remained, in one form or another on the urban agenda, until Mayor John Lindsay officially laid them to rest. Robert Moses, David Rockefeller, the Ford Foundation and the Automobile Club of New York sought ways and explored different strategies to turn the plan into reality. Their efforts however were thwarted every step of the way by the often spontaneous and ingenious actions of a public up-in-arms. Manhattanites, predominately women, deployed human, professional and intellectual resources to slay the project, all the while fighting for the preservation of local neighborhoods and their architecture. And they triumphed. They defiantly stood down developers and their plans. They courageously stood between the wrecking ball and the houses that they had taken under their wings. The death of the Lower Manhattan Expressway also meant the loss of $2 million in state and federal funds. Residents nevertheless rolled up their sleeves to convert the old industrial buildings, which had been labeled "worthless architecture," into a key element of the post-industrial city. Today SoHo stands for the modern metropolis that unites the historical and the community it serves.

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INTER-COMMUNAL COOPERATION IN SPATIAL PLANNING IN AUSTRIA. POLITICAL-ADMINISTRATIVE PREREQUISITES SINCE THE 1990'S.

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ABSTRACT

This paper highlights the role of municialities in spatial planning in the case of Austria. Today's challenges for the local level do not allow anymore isolated strategies and solely competitiveness oriented relations. New forms of coordinated planning have to be set in action to develop the territories in a more integrative and future oriented way. The forms of inter-communal cooperations are manifold in terms of legislation as well as vertical and horizontal interlinking. Four examples of cooperative initiatives in federal states of Austria – who are holding the legal competence in spatial planning – are comparably presented and discussed.

INTRODUCTION

Authorities and actors involved in organizing and developing public life have to cope with a multitude of arrangements and challenges in order to secure a productive surrounding for society, economy and environment. Growing diversification of lifestyles and consumption, specialisation of economic processes and production, higher mobility and technological innovations are main drivers and require intervention of planning. These challenges are deriving from different spheres of influence but actually always do have implications on the local level. In fact, global trends and challenges are gaining more and more importance – as connectivity and integration is proceeding – also for local policy and planning. New approaches and instruments have to be adopted in the field of spatial planning to provide integrated strategies and solutions for the local level.

This fact especially counts for urban areas, being places of high concentration, interaction and supra-local importance. The informal conference on ministers responsible for urban development in the EU Member States declared in the Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities that "We increasingly need holistic strategies and coordinated action by all persons and institutions involved in the urban development process which reach beyond the boundaries of individual cities." (Leipzig Charter, 2007: 2)

Latest with the wave of liberalisation of public services in the last decades of the 20th century and the resulting dependency on (semi-)private providers, the provision of services of general interest bacame also a matter of cost efficiency and – if not even profit making – at least cost coverage.

The need for and the benefit of coordination between municipalities on the level of city regions is common sense – at least for certain fields of intervention. The way to enable, organize and apply it depends on the political administrative prerequisites and practical application. This paper therefore will give an insight

into the system of spatial planning in the case of Austria and will present various approaches in facilitating and implementing inter-communal cooperation through spatial planning instruments with a special focus on the situation of city regions.

THE SPATIAL PLANNING SYSTEM IN AUSTRIA

By constitution, the Second Republic of Austria (since 1945) is a federation consisting of nine self-governing federal states. The third tier with self-governmental rights are the ca. 2.300 municipalities. While many spatially relevant policies are centralised at the federal ministries – such as agriculture and forestry, economics, high ranked traffic, environmental issues etc. – the federal states have the single competence in matters of spatial planning. This circumstance results in nine different laws on spatial planning, comprising partly different instruments, proceedings and contents. (Schindegger, 1999)

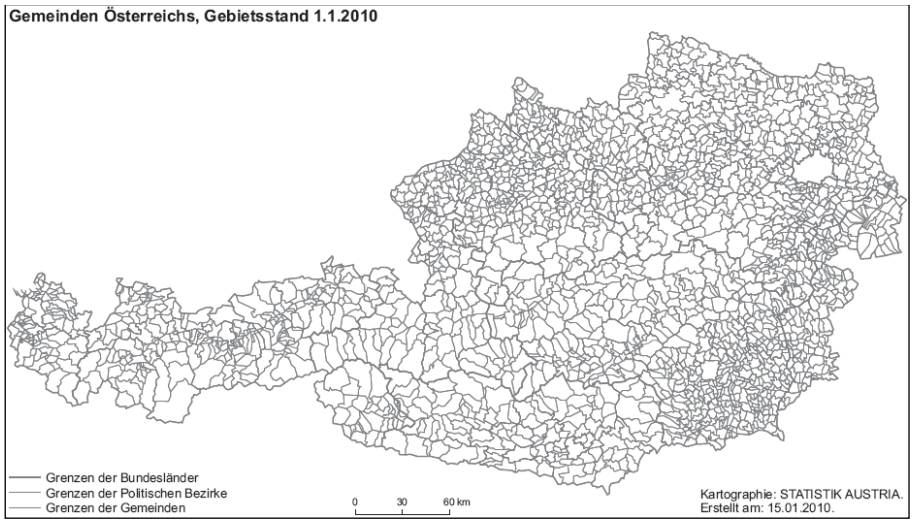

Figure 1: Territorial Division of Austria 2010: federal states, political districs and municipalities (source: Statistik Austria)

COORDINATION ON THE FEDERAL LEVEL – THE AUSTRIAN CONFERENCE ON SPATIAL PLANNING (OEROK)

Even though there is no legislative competence for spatial planning on the federal level of Austria, a platform has been established in terms of better coordination of planning policies. In 1971, the Austrian Conference on Spatial Planning OeROK (Österreichische Raumordnungskonferenz) was constituted.[1] This steady conference is chaired by the chancellor and comprises all ministers, federal governors, the presidents of the Austrian Association of Cities and Towns (Österreichischer Städtebund) and the Austrian Association of Municipalities (Österreichischer Gemeindebund) and furthermore – in a consultative role – representatives from unions and social partners. The highest board of the OeROK is meeting live or is

[1]http://www.oerok.gv.at (accessed at 04 April 2010)

deciding via written procedure in a biannual rhythm. Deputy boards as well as further committees of civil servants are in charge of the operative tasks within the conference. A supporting office with two directors and ca. twelve staff members hosted at the Austrian Federal Chancellery is organizing working groups, meetings and public events and is conducting – resp. coordinating – studies and reports.

The main purposes of the OeROK are to create dialog between the different planning authorities and a common knowledge base for more coherent decisions. Of growing importance is the coordinative function in relation to international and EU issues. In this respect, the OeROK established a committee on EU Regional Policy and is hosting the national contact points for the European Territorial Cooperation (ETC) Programmes CENTRAL EUROPE, SOUTH-EAST EUROPE, ALPINE SPACE, INTERREG 4C, URBACT II and ESPON 2013.

As the example of the Austrian Conference on Spatial Planning shows, cooperation and coordination in spatial planning between different levels and sector policies can build on a fairly long history and expertise in Austria. Still, two limiting facts have to be stated. First, the OeROK is a solely informal institution with non-binding results in a legislative point of view and second, most matters discussed and elaborated are related to a greater regional, federal and international scope. The Austrian experience with cooperation among actors for spatial planning on smaller tiers – i.e. within the local level – is comparably lower and younger.

THE ROLE OF THE MUNICIPALITIES – SELF-GOVERNMENTAL BODIES

While the federal states set the frame for spatial planning, the executive and operative power of planning is with the local level. The 2.361 municipalities of Austria[2] are responsible for developing and proceeding three binding planning documents for their respective area: local development perspectives,zoning plans and for built-up areas detailed plans. The Austrian Constitution gives all municipalities the right of self-government in planning their territory. (Austrian Constitution, Article 118) The federal states act as a controlling body but do not interfere in concrete planning processes. Besides some regional plans of the federal states, which still do not cover the full area of Austria, there are no binding instruments on higher tiers. To sum up, one can state a clear predominance of the local level within the hierarchical system of spatial planning. Taking into account the size of an average Austrian municipality (ca. 35km² and ca. 2.800 inhabitants[3]) the respective area of influence is often extremely small and administrative borders cut off functional relations.

THE UNDERSTANDING OF SPATIAL PLANNING – RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

During the 1990ies the Austrian Federal States modernized and amended their laws on spatial planning. Primarily the introduction of an obligatory local development perspective had impact on the spatial planning of the local level. A local development perspective shows the intended spatial development of a municipality over the next ca. 10 years. In the regular case it consists of a written part,

[2] source: Statistik Austria, http://www.statistik.at (accessed at 04 April 2010)
[3] The figures are excluding the outlier Vienna that is in the same time a federal state and the by far biggest municipality in terms of population.

comprising an analysis of the current state, objectives and actions, and a rough cartographic plan, visualizing the state, perspectives and limitations of green areas, sites for industry or housing etc. Indirectly this necessitates for the municipalities the inclusion of long term planning and therefore stricter steering of spatial developments. This long term and integrated way of planning did have influence on the conception of spatial planning on lower ties and partly replaced a more technical approach that was in use for conducting zoning plans.

An even more influential factor can be found in the introduction of EU Regional Policy since Austria became a member of the European Union in 1995. The General Principles[4] like "programming" and "partnership" as well as the cross-border oriented cooperation led to a modified understanding of planning in Austria towards a more integrated and cooperative planning.

Under the heading of "new forms of partnership and territorial governance between rural and urban areas" (Territorial Agenda, 2007: 5), the Territorial Agenda of the European Union points out the inter-dependency of cities and their surrounding area and promotes the elaboration of joint regional and sub-regional development strategies.

This more international and future oriented and integrated planning conception is still facing the legislative frame that especially on the small-regional level fosters competition. Built on the public tax system that is calculating on a municipal basis and the planning autonomy given in the Austrian legislation, the strong role of the municipalities is hindering cooperation in many policy fields.Further on, several examples of a re-arrangement of the planning system for lower tiers to overcome this situation are presented and discussed.

INSTRUMENTS FOR A COORDINATED PLANNING ON THE SMALL-REGIONAL LEVEL

The planning authorities in Austria recently have created a variety of inter-communal cooperation instruments. In this chapter, examples from different federal states will be presented. The portfolio reaches from intermediate planning tiers, cooperative spatial development perspectives to focussed cooperation agreements; more or less regulated and implemented from top-down or bottom-up.

SALZBURG: REGIONAL PLANNING ASSOCIATIONS

The Federal State of Salzburg created a new tier for spatial planning. The so-called Planungsregionen are foreseen in the Law on Spatial Planning in Salzburg since the version of 1992 and have been confirmed in the newest version of 2009.[5]

The Planungsregionen combine a top-down with a bottom-up approach. Following the traditional way of doing regional planning, the federal state is defining the sub-regions according to functional correspondance and initiating them via a spatial development perspective for the whole area of the federal state. The federal state's planning authority is using the Planungsregionen also for defining areas of

[4] http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/regional_policy/provisions_and_instruments/l60014_en.htm (accessed at 04 April 2010)

[5] http://www.ris.bka.gv.at/GeltendeFassung.wxe?Abfrage=LrSbg&Gesetzesnummer=10001071 (accessed 04 April 2010)

influence for central places. Once constituted, the municipalities comprised in a respective Planungsregion then operate on their own initiative – under the framework of a regional planning association (Regionalverband). Every regional association agrees on a binding planning document called Regionalprogramm. It comprises a list of objectives and actions for the spatial development of the region. In addition to the binding Regionalprogramm and the still existing local development perspectives, municipalities of the Federal State of Salzburg are offered to conduct (non-binding) small-regional development perspectives for their Planungsregion. This document's content is in accordance with the objectives of the federal state as well as with local planning instruments. In the guidebook for spatial planning in Salzburg, the purpose of Planungsregionen is summarized as follows: "For solving inter-communal problems, for linking the territorial structures and for developing and preserving a regional identity all municipalities should be empowered to participate actively in regional planning." (Mair, 2004: 5.3.3)

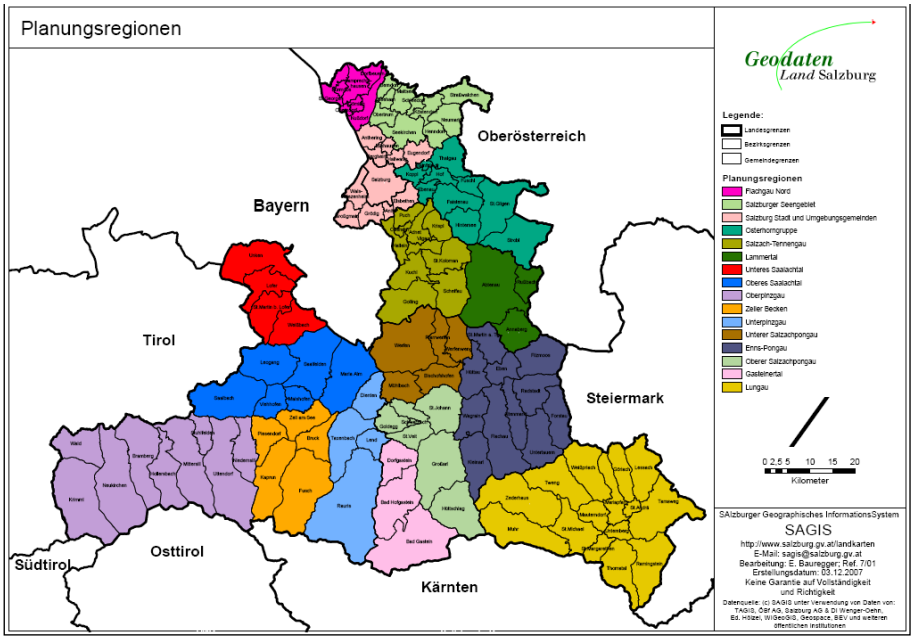

Figure 2: Planungsregionen Salzburg 2007 (source: SAGIS)

To mention an example, the Regionalprogramm for the City of Salzburg and its suburban municipalities comprises binding regulations for settlement and built-up area (priority axes for traffic, priority areas for industry, development boundaries for housing settlements) as well as open space (priority areas for recreation and preservation, agricultural areas).(Mair, 2004: 5.4.2) Local planning instruments must not contradict to those regulations. As a border city, Salzburg is facing a special situation. The core city has strong interlinkages with its surrounding municipalities of the own federal state as well as the neighbouring municipalities in Upper Bavaria/ Germany. Regional actors make use of the regional planning institution "EuRegio" and the regional planning association for Salzburg and its suburban municipalities and jointly develop a "Masterplan for the City-region of

Salzburg",[6] co-financed by the EU Regional Policy programme INTERREG IVa. Across national borders and in an inter-communal integrated way, a spatial development perspective – including sector policies like economy and transport – is being created. After the deadline for public consultation on 31 March 2010, Franz Dollinger, head of the division for spatial research of the Federal State of Salzburg, sees this project on a good way.[7] Several quite ambitious goals have been formulated or still need discussion. In order to resolve the distribution of local taxes, an official recommendation letter to the Austrian Minister of Finance is in preparation and for a restructuring of the local level in the city region, a merging of smaller municipalities to one larger local authority is on the agenda. During the developing phase of the Masterplan, the involvement of different stakeholders, experts and the civil society is given high priority.[8]

The two mentioned issues, local taxes and a merging of municipalities, are for sure hot potatoes in Austrian politics. At the same time, there lies huge potential in this approach for a better functioning of city regional planning.

STYRIA: NEW TERRITORIAL TIERS – REGIONEXT

The upcoming challenges for territorial development in the Federal State of Styria led to a re-orientation of the whole regional policy concept. "The increasing pressure on public budgets, the rising degree of complexity in planning and development, the connection to supra-national trends on global scale and especially the competition of the regions within Europe and the demographic developments urge for action." (Government of Styria, 2008) RegioNEXT stands for this innovative way of development policy in Styria. Governor Franz Voves points out that a redistribution of tasks, duties and decisions had to be initiated, towards decentralisation and subsidiarity.[9] The concept of RegioNEXT therefore takes influence on the multi-level structure of the federal state. The originally strongest tiers – the level of the federal state and the local municipalities – get relatively weaker whereas the seven regions (on basis of the EU nomenclature NUTS III) and the so-called micro-regions (group of municipalities) get empowerd to develop strategies and to take decision in elected boards. Behind all thematical objectives there lie the ideas of cost efficiency, creation of synergis and higher competitiveness. Best practise examples[10] show cooperation initiatives basically in the fields of public administration, technical and social infrastructure, tourism and regional development.

Concerning inter-communal spatial planning, RegioNEXT provides the instrument of development perspectives for micro-regions on a voluntary basis. If the respective municipalities decide to cooperate in the field of spatial planning, they can conduct a common development perspective in replacement to a local one for a single municipality. Those micro-regional development perspectives are co-

[6] http://www.salzburg.gv.at/rp2-masterplan (accessed at 04 April 2010)
[7] Official e-mail of the public consultation process "Masterplan für die Kernregion Salzburg" sent after on 01 April 2010 by Franz Dollinger
[8] a draft version of the Maserplan from January 2010: http://www.salzburg.gv.at/mps-entwurf1_2010-01-21.pdf (accessed at 04 April 2010)
[9] http://www.regionext.steiermark.at (accessed at 04 April 2010)
[10] http://www.regionext.steiermark.at/cms/ziel/13105015/DE (accessed at 04 April 2010)

financed by the EU Regional Policy Objective 2 "Competitiveness" and supported by the Federal State of Styria.

RegioNEXT is a soft policy in that way, that the authorities on lower ties can decide on their own how intensively they want to involve themselves into the cooperative development instruments. Municipalities are not forced to but somehow invited to realize mutual advantages. For the federal state this all means of course higher flexibility and complexity due to new inter-mediate levels of policies. The question can be raised if it's really beneficial if a federal state like Styria with ca. 1.2 mio. inhabitants is disaggregated into five tiers (federal state, districts and municipalities as the traditional tiers; regions and micro-regions as new inter-mediate tiers).

UPPER AUSTRIA: COOPERATION IN A FIELD OF COMPETITION – INKOBA

Cities and their neighbouring municipalities are in certain cases in a competing situation. This is especially true when it's about the hosting of industrial or commercial companies on their local territory. Business firms bring jobs, pay local taxes and additionally induce a variety of positive external factors and are therefore warmly welcome by actually every municipality. Depending on the type of business, companies have special needs in terms of location and there is no perfect location for a certain company in every random municipality. In many cases, not the fact being located right in "municipality A" is of importance for the company but the overall territorial setting in the region is attracting the company.

Following the expertise of spatial planning, different locations are serving different needs – i.e. that there are favourable locations for housing, recreation, nature protection as well as industry, production and business. The INKOBA initiative ("Interkommunale Betriebsansiedlung" – inter-communal business locations) of the Federal State of Upper Austria is providing solution for competing municipalities to go a cooperative way in terms of hosting companies and sharing financial and non-financial means.[11]

The INKOBA initiative started in 2005 and is carried out by the federal state owned developper company TMG and with support of the association "Regionalmanagement" and the district's offices of the chamber of commerce as well as the respective municipalities of course. The main aims of INKOBA are to foster and enlarge already existing sites for industry and production and also the provision of new areas and allocation of new firms. Several municipalities together build up one INKOBA initiative on a legally binding basis. A common contract on public or private law – both models are possible – assures a cooperative strategy for developing favourable areas for business in terms of spatial and infrastructural planning as well as management and marketing. Financial costs and profits are shared between the municipalities, disregarding on which territory the industrial site is being developed or where a new firm has settled. Ambros Pree from TMG summarizes the advantage as win-win-situation for the private companies and the municipalities. The firms get high quality infrastructure, financed with public money in an efficient way. Economies of scale and clustering give the whole region higher impact on the wider market. Seen under the light of sustainability, the

[11] http://www.inkoba.at (accessed at 04 April 2010)

region and its inhabitants profit from allocating industries on the most suitable site instead of the creation of several small scale areas that are sometimes even difficult and expensive to develop.

As convincing this initiative may sound, the overall success is still limited in certain parts of Upper Austria. One can notice that especially the more competitive central region of the federal state within the city triangle Linz, Wels and Steyr is not making too much use of INKOBA. On the contrary, it is rather the remote and rural regions that see advantages in being part of this initiative. In many cases, district capital cities like Freistadt start up an INKOBA together with it's neighbouring municipalities.One could draw the conclusion that a cooperative approach is chosen when a municipality on its own is not competititveenough. Nontheless, seen from a regional perspective it strenghtens the policentric structure and territorial cohesion of the federal state when nodes of development are being created in less favoured regions.

Figure 3: INKOBA Initiatives located in the Federal State of Upper Austria 2010 (source: TMG)

VIENNA/ LOWER AUSTRIA: CITY REGIONAL MANAGEMENT – SUM

The most prominent case in Austria, where inter-communal cooperation of a core city with its regional surrounding is facing obstacles, is for sure the City/ Federal State of Vienna and the neighbouring municipalities of the Federal State of Lower

Austria. The capital of Austria has a population of ca. 1.7 mio. inhabitants and represents the centre in terms of politcs, economy, culture and society. As an own federal state, the municipality of Vienna has more self-governmental rights than the rest of the Austrian municipalities. The ongoing suburban developments and commuter relations create the need for coordinated planning. (Austrian Conference on Spatial Planning, 2009)

Since the 1970ies, the three federal states in the east of Austria - Vienna, Lower Austria and Burgenland – are cooperating via the Planungsgemeinschaft Ost PGO (planning association east). For small-regional affairs of the city region of Vienna, a new platform was founded in 2006: Stadt-Umland-Management SUM (City-regional-management).[12] Officially the SUM is a registered association with a political steering committee being in charge. Two managers run the SUM-north and the SUM-south office.

The SUM is a truly soft development instrument, focussing on improving the dialog and information transfer between the stakeholders in the city region by organizing events and supporting decision makers. Thematically, in the first instance issues of spatial and traffic planning, settlement development, agricultural use and nature protection are on the agenda.

Even the direct impact of this cooperative institution might be limited, still it helps improving the rather passive and restrictive cooperation in the city region, where traditionally ambivalent political opinions - Vienna dominated by the social-democratic party, Lower Austria by the conservative party – and self-perceptions meet each other. Besides several cooperation areas on higher tiers (CENTROPE, Vienna-Bratislava-Region, PGO,…) the SUM is an instrument trying to resolve issues also on a small-regional scale, connecting the municipalities with each other on a fair and balanced state with equal rights.

DISCUSSION

The above mentioned examples of inter-communal forms of cooperation within the Austrian spatial planning system give an idea about the high variety of approaches. The probably most straight way to implement inter-communal cooperation by fully merging several municipalities in political and administrative terms is actually not existing in the concrete discourse in Austria. At least, in the development process of the Masterplan Salzbug there can be found thoughts about it.

In the majority of cases, a mix of hard and soft forms of government and governance is applied. In these hybrid cases, a distinction of roles of actors has to be made. There may be a huge influence from top-down, how the cooperation shall be organized or which issues have to be on the agenda. The relation on horizontal level between municipalities might be uneased as well if there is a predominance of single cities/ municipalities. The huge heterogeneity – or even uniqueness - of city regions do not really allow a one-fits-all-strategy. A quite pragmatic but also promising way for fostering inter-communal cooperation is to provide a guiding frame from top-down that still leaves enough freedom to the lower tiers to arrange themselves in the most appropriate manner and to chose the fields of cooperation. What concerns spatial planning, the legislative prerequisites could be set rather

[12] http://www.stadt-umland.at (accessed at 04 April 2010)

easily as the higher level of the federal state is having the role of just setting a frame for the operative planning on the local level.

A remaining cruical point is the dichotomy of cooperation and competition and the most difficult step is to make a cooperative approach to a betterment of every municipality's competitiveness. Overcoming the strict local based tax system could diminsh reasons for competing each other for hosting business and population on the local level or – formulated the other way – create a prosperous basis for cooperation. The INKOBA initiative shows an interesting approach of redistributing local business taxes. It could be worth a try to enlarge the model to residential areas.

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TRANSFORMATION OF THE HISTORIC CENTER AND URBAN LANDSCAPE OF VALLADOLID (SPAIN) WITH THE INTERNAL REFORM PLANS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

The Cort Plan of Valladolid in 1939 supposed an about-turn in the conception of the historical city and main lines of its future growth. It was a proactive plan, straddling the Haussman internal reform in the historical city and the new areas expansion plan of many Spanish cities of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This plan was approved by the municipality, but was not implemented due to major shortcomings in the management mechanisms that were required. However, its proposal for internal reform of alignments was taken up by the municipal authorities and technicians, who a few years later adopted another plan based on The Cort Plan, this time more feasible: The Alignments Reform Plan of 1950, and other plans that came later for the same purpose. With this alignment reform instrument began a complete transformation of the medieval landscape of the city, giving rise to an entirely new landscape, a mixture of medieval urban structure and modern buildings. Today, in this urban landscape, we can hardly guess the city that existed in the past. Despite changes in development plans which have since then occurred in the city and its different philosophy, it is certain that the municipal practice has confirmed the alignments reform strategy that began with the Cort Plan in 1939: even today the city is still being built based on its principles.

Existing urban areas that were the result of such a process are characterized by wide streets (20 to 25 metres wide) with straight track, parallel alignment, small twists to match the original medieval structure, buildings with great width (25 - 70 metres) and height (8 to 10 floors) and overhang elements in facades (windowed balconies, terraces). These residential buildings relate very poorly to the existing monuments, which are often dwarfed by these big buildings.

The process to reform the alignments of the historic center, which started in the mid-twentieth century, has led to a pendulum municipal policy, most of the time in favor of reforming all the streets and finishing the started task, and in other moments in favor of stopping the destructive reform and recovering what little remains of the medieval landscape. The end result is a point of no return, the almost complete disappearance of the medieval city is today a reality.

INTRODUCTION

Valladolid was a city with a high historic value.It had an important economic, social, and cultural development in the sixteenth century. Later, the city went through a decline that allowed the preservation of the city until the mid-twentieth century. In this century, a traumatic transformation of the historic city occurred. This study mainly aims to explain how this transformation started and took place. The specific objectives are:

- To define the transformation systems of the historic city of Valladolid: a group of plans were designed whose objective was to completely destroy the whole historic city.
- To establish the extent to which the interior reform planning affected the destruction process of the medieval city: The floor area ratio increase system, together with the systematic widening of streets.
- To show how the current landscape of the city is the result of a group of factors:
  - The dictatorial system of government of the city during the Franco Dictatorship (1939-1975)
  - The explosive economic development in the period 1960-1973
  - The social caracteristics of population in those years, coming from a period of poverty and autarchy.

VALLADOLID CITY

Valladolid as a Capital City

The city of Valladolid was the capital of Spain for a short period of time, approximately 40 years during the sixteenth century. Indeed, before this period, the monarchy had not designated a capital city, but moved from one city to another, staying short periods of time in each, bringing the whole Court to each new place. However, from 1525 King Philip II established the capital in Valladolid, where he was born, building a palace for his residence and steadily establishing the various apparatuses of government. That decision, which marked an important advance in the organization of organs of state power, was a major economic and urban boost for the city. It was the same king who moved the Court to Madrid in 1561, because of the location of that city in a more central position which allowed a more appropriate territorial control.

The Formation of a City

Following the establishment of the Spanish capital in Valladolid during those years, the city experienced a major population increase, with the construction of numerous new buildings and the occupation of new urban areas. The population increased to 40,000. The extension of the city reached its peak in those years in terms of number of inhabitants, as well as in terms of the urban surface area. The growth process was disrupted abruptly with the departure of the Court. From 1561 onwards the city experienced a significant decline, with a continued loss of population, the interruption of the spatial growth and the ruin of many of its buildings. This decline lasted for a long time: until the nineteenth century the city did not again reach the size it had in the sixteenth century.

The Frozen City

In these circumstances of no urban development and cessation of growth, the city of Valladolid remained frozen for several centuries; it was preserved as it was in the sixteenth century, during the period of maximum splendour. No significant transformation took place, apart from the progressive deterioration of its streets, and the ruin of many of its buildings. A similar decline was also experienced by other cities in the region. One of the most important for its significant growth at first and its subsequent decline was Medina del Campo. In this city, in the

eighteenth century, it was said that every day a palace could be heard falling down. In this period many buildings collapsed due to lack of care.

The Historical City and the Decline of the Church

The processes of transformation of the city began with the accumulation of capital, which had its origins in agriculture, with a timid incipient industrialization during the second half of the nineteenth century. The construction of the Canal de Castilla (1835) and later the railroad (1864) marked the beginning of an economic and spatial transformation of the city. One of the most important transformation processes took place as a result of the decline of the Church. The confiscation of the Church properties by the liberal governments led to these properties being sold at public auction to finance the Carlist War. Because of these circumstances large convents, occupying large areas inside the city, changed hands. This fact enabled the use of these great spaces for the new class, the bourgeoisie, and for other uses. Indeed, because of the gradual loss of power and influence of the Church in Spanish society, many of the convents and institutions in the town of Valladolid were auctioned, sold, demolished or used as housing for the bourgeoisie.

Disabling the Historic City

In Valladolidat the end of the nineteenth century, it was thought that the historic city that had been inherited was unacceptable: the city must be radically transformed. The historic town was lame in the opinion of municipal leaders. Many similar principles were set out in the early twentieth century on the city's defects. They usually enunciated that the historic town had narrow streets unacceptable for modern traffic and stinking places which were dark and unsafe. Wide and straight streets of European capitals were envied. The buildings were of poor quality. Public spaces were not acceptable[1].

THE REGULATION OF THE CITY WITH THE NEW INSTRUMENTS

Municipal Ordinances of the City of Valladolid, 1886

In 1886 the City Council approved ordinances that represented a first attempt to regulate the urban development of the city. The most unique aspect of these ordinances is the regulation of building heights in relation to the widths of the streets. The health and safety of the streets and homes of the city appears as one of the most important goals. There is also a concern about the aesthetics of buildings and the good image and cleanliness of the city. However, the focus of these ordinances is the regulation of building height and the width of the streets, setting the following proportion:

Table 1. Ordinances in building height and street width

Street category	Street width	Building height
First category	>13 metres	5 stories (max.) - 3 stories (min.)
Second category	from 8 to 13 metres	4 stories (max.) – 2 stories (min.)
Third category	<8 metres	4 stories (max.) – 2 stories (min.)

[1]Basilio Calderón Calderón: Cartografía y ciudad. Valladolid en el siglo XIX. Transformaciones espaciales en el inicio del proceso urbano contemporáneo. Ayuntamiento de Valladolid. 1991. Pages 56 and 57.

The way of measuring the height of the buildings includes the ground floor. This legislation included the adoption of the regulatory criteria of the Enlargements of the twentieth century that took place in other Spanish cities, such as the Enlargement of Cerdá in Barcelona and the Plan Castro in Madrid. As a result of this regulation, many convents and confiscated Church properties were transformed into streets with buildings that had more than 5 floors, (ground floor + 4 floors). These ordinances were the model for the first transformed urban fabric since the end of the XVI century city.

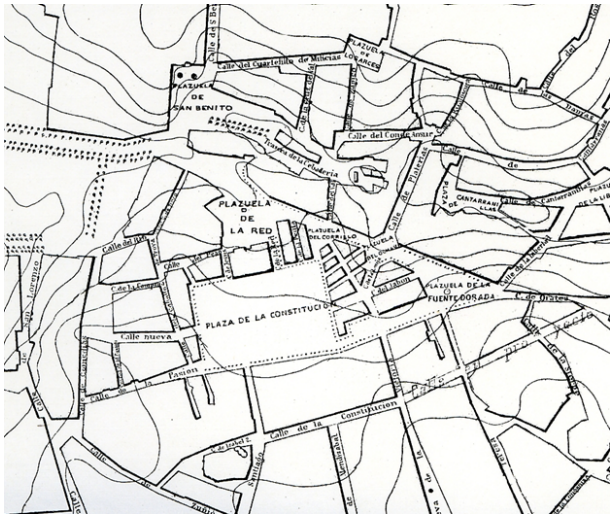

Figure 1 Part of the Pérez Rozas Plan, 1863.

Numerous alignment changes in the historical part of the city were initiated with these ordinances. It is important to say that many alignment reforms were carried out before the settlement of the 1886 municipal ordinances, justified in the narrow medieval streets (at least 48 projects carried out by the City Council[2]). For example, comparing the plan of 1864 by Perez Rozas (Fig. 1) and the plan of 1915, it is possible to see that widening of streets were developed through systematic reform alignments. The system involved the adoption of a new alignment plan by the City Council in the whole city. Thereafter, any new construction was set back by the new alignment, so that the two alignments (the old one and the new one) co-existed for many years. This is the case of the street "Cánovas del Castillo". In the 1915 plan, we can see the alignment transformation that was taking place on that date: new buildings were built with the new alignment rule. By the addition of medieval plots, which were narrow and deep, new plots were obtained which were larger, square, and appropriate to the new building model at the time. In the plan, we can see how the new buildings were set back, while many of the old buildings remained with the old alignment (Fig. 2). The case of "Duque de la Victoria" Street is also emblematic; the street was also widened through the setback of the buildings, which ceded land from their plots to the street. At the same time, a

[2]Basilio Calderón Calderón: Cartografía y ciudad. Valladolid en el siglo XIX. Transformaciones espaciales en el inicio del proceso urbano contemporáneo. Ayuntamiento de Valladolid. 1991. Page 55

typological change abandoning the medieval plot type was taking place, with the construction of new buildings in larger plots. The new buildings were constructed in connection with the business of rental housing, aimed for affluent social classes, with heights limited by the lack of elevators, and in conformity to the ordinances of 1886. The urban model that was followed in these alignment reforms was the same as the one followed for street openings made in the large confiscated convents.

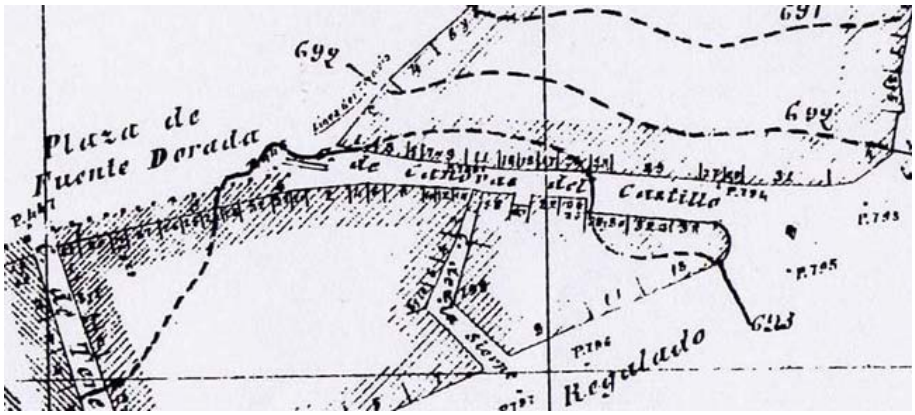

Figure 2 *1915 Plan, detail of Cánovas del Castillo street.*

These ordinances of 1886 were valid until 1945, when they were replaced by The Cort Plan[3] ordinances.

The ordinances of 1886 were the result of the adaptation of the nineteenth-century city model to the city of Valladolid and to its spatial and historical particularities. At the same time, they were the minimal regulation of trends that, as in other cities, were also taking place in Valladolid. The opening of new streets like Miguel Iscar, López Gómez, Gamazo and Muro respond to the need to modernize the medieval city.

It is very important to note that the transformation brought about by the ordinances of 1886 was based on a particular relationship between the street width and the height of the building. This relationship establishes a maximum of 13 metres width of the street with a maximum height of five stories, which is approximately 15 metresin height. This ratio is 15/13 = 1.15. Undoubtedly, this was a ratio that exceeded the relationship between streets and buildings in the Middle Ages, but it was still a moderate proportion.

THE CORT PLAN

The Cort Plan was the answer to the problems of a historical space that the city leaders judged inadequate. It was drawn up in 1939, during the Civil War, taking advantage of the war situation. The architect César Cort Boti, Urban Planning Professor of the School of Architecture of Madrid, had taken refuge in Valladolid in the Spanish Civil War. The City Council of Valladolid, with the presence of this

[3]José Luis García Cuesta: De la urgencia social al negocio inmobiliario. Page 58.

teacher in the city probably for a long period, commissioned a study of internal reform and enlargement project from him. The cartographic base of this study was the plan of 1915, which represented at that time the most faithful document of the urban reality of the city. It was supplemented with the plan that was initiated by the council in 1937. The end result was two collections of plans; the first one showed the state of the city at that time (Fig. 3) and the second one was a proposal plan. Both of them were drawn up in great detail, to a scale of 1:2000. More manageable plans were made together with this collection of plans , but in less detail, to a scale of 1:5000[4].

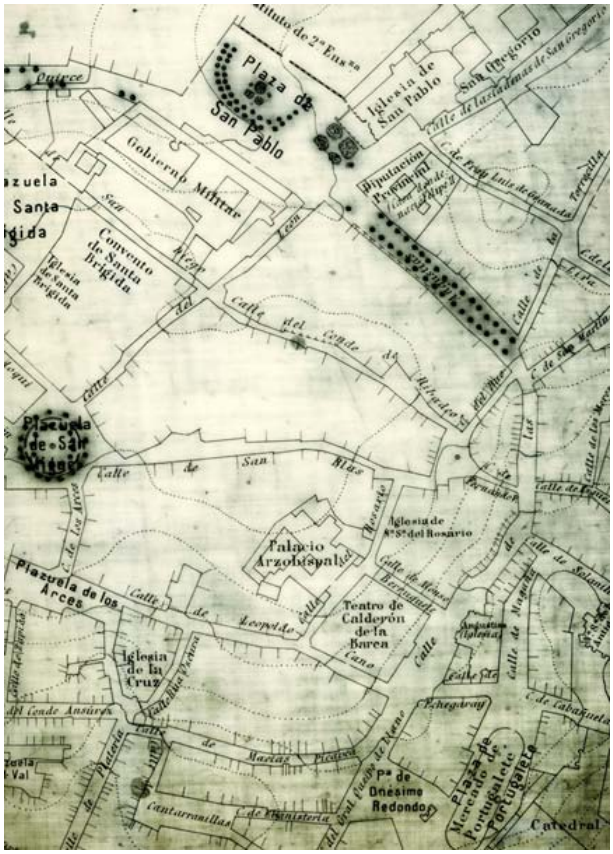

Figure 3 The Cort Plan, state of the city in that period.

Cort's proposal, entitled "General Plan of enlargement and internal reform", materialized the prevailing opinion in the city, incorporating a wide reform within the existing city and also proposing enlargements for new growth. It was the first instrument of general management of the city, which was considered at the same time the last Enlargement Plan and Internal Reform in Spanish urbanism. This plan

[4]Basilio Calderón, Salvador Mata, José Luis Sainz: La Cartografía de Valladolid (Parte Tercera). Ayto. de Valladolid, 1986.

applied the reform of alignments, which until then was carried out street by street, to the whole historical center. The report of the Plan states that "any improvement seems impossible if it is not based on the total destruction of what exists". And indeed the proposal was a wide-reaching reform, leaving only a few elements standing. The plan used two colors, red for the new alignments and black for the alignments that were conserved. As can be seen in a fragment of the plan (Fig. 4), red dominates on black. The regular planning done during the nineteenth century was preserved, such as road openings like López Gómez Street, or extensions in Santa María Street, Montero Calvo Street, Duque de la Victoria Street and Teresa Gil Street. Most of the streets of the medieval old town were reformed. Very few remained with their original alignments within the historic center and only one street of medieval origin remained: Gardoqui Street (Fig. 5), which attracts attention because it is an L-shaped street, clearly medieval.

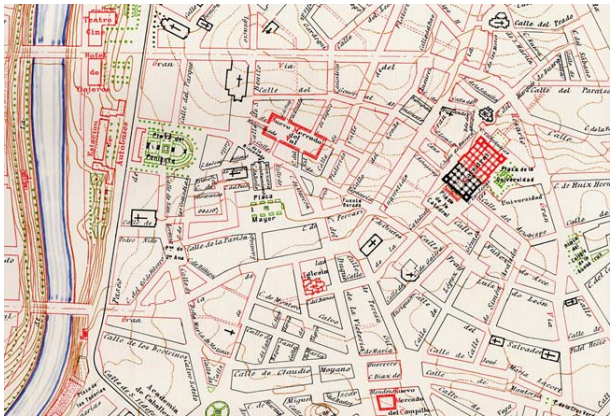

Figure 4 *Piece of the Cort Plan with the alignement reform proposal.*

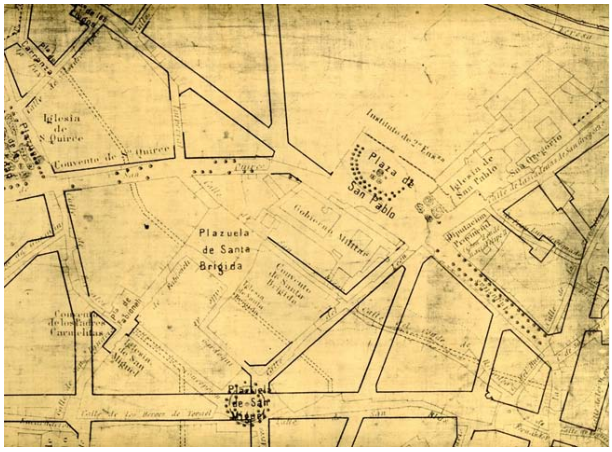

Figure 5 Piece of the Cort Plan with the alignment reform proposal.

In the proposal, there were two streets that were particularly significant for their structural role, as shown by a greater width in relation to other streets, and for their function as connectors between neighborhoods: Rosario Avenue and Angustias Avenue. Both streets were connected with the future extension district of Huerta del Rey by two separate new bridges over the river Pisuerga. The unique buildings received a special treatment. Worthy of note is the proposal that was made concerning the Cathedral of Valladolid, designed by Juan de Herrera in the sixteenth century. The completion of the unfinished building was proposed, which is represented on the plan (Fig. 4) by half the cathedral in black (the part of the building that existed) and the other half in red (the proposal). an intense complete urban reform was developed around the cathedral to enable the construction of two new squares in the two facades of the cathedral.

In addition to the intense internal reform of the old town, through the reforms of alignments of almost all of the streets, the Cort Plan proposed new extensions, most notably that of the Huerta del Rey neighborhood, west of the city. This was a new growth area, organized by the two streets that came from the newly created bridges on the river Pisuerga. To the east, two other enlargement areas were proposed, with industrial and residential use. To the south, extending Zorrilla Avenue[5], two new areas were developedas well. In all cases, large blocks were used.

Municipal Building Ordinances, 1945

Along with the current plans and proposals, the Cort Plan was accompanied by ordinances, the Municipal Building Ordinances of 1945. This was a document that accompanied the graphic documentation of the Cort Plan, but it was, nevertheless, not officially approved until 1945.

What most interests us in these ordinances is to highlight the new regulation of heights, expressed in Article 51. This article stated that the height of the building in the areas of extension may not exceed the width of the street, as a general rule. In the historical town, in the case of newly opened roads, the maximum height is also the width of the street. In the case of streets whose width has been increased by a reform of alignments, the maximum height will be one and a half times the width of the street, and the minimum height will be the width of the street6. A fixed relationship between building height and width of the street was established, according to the European urban tradition.

THE ALIGNMENTS REFORM PROJECT

After the Civil War, the political and economic conditions in the city changed dramatically. Many difficulties came up when implementing the Cort Plan, whose radical proposals for urban transformation became an obstacle to new building. The post-war city (represented after the Civil War by a small group that was dominated by the promoters) needed simple urban instruments for its development, and the transforming ambition of the Cort Plan became an obstacle. The basic problem was the economic management of the alignments reform. The private land needed to widen the streets could not be expropriated by a ruined municipality. Many plots that were going to be ceded to widen the streets

[5]José Luis García Cuesta: De la urgencia social al negocio inmobiliario. Page 62.
[6]José Luis García Cuesta: De la urgencia social al negocio inmobiliario. Page 64.

required extremely difficult agreements between land owners. Essentially, a system of economic management of the transformation was lacking. On the other hand, the land and housing market had collapsed after the war. In a few years, the need for a new plan was evident; a new plan which would apply the urban transformation in the city, in the real conditions of the latter.

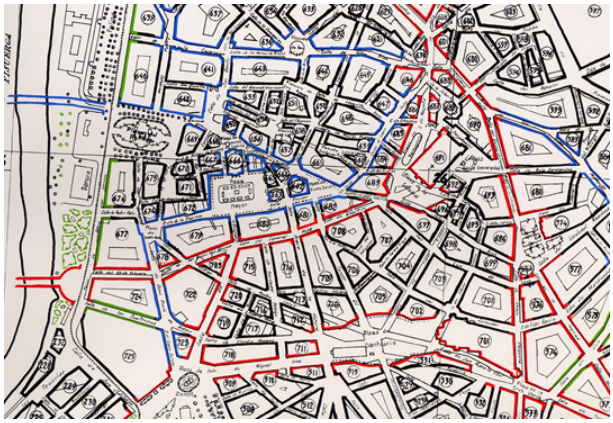

Figure 6 *Piece of the Alignment Reform Project plan.*

In 1950 a new Alignments Reform Plan was adopted, characterized, in connection with the Cort Plan, by reducing the width of new streets, (in order to cede less land), by limiting the reform of alignments in most cases to the elimination of irregularities and obstacles to movement (Heroes de Teruel Street, Leon Street, etc), by limiting the reform to one of the facades of the street (Juan Mambrilla Street, Esgueva Street, Duque de Lerma Street, etc). All of these changes had an essential objective: to facilitate the alignment reform system through building to buildingintervention, in which each private owner may cede, without big losses, a bit of land7. For that purpose, a hierarchy of streets was created, so most of the streets were designed only for small extensions. The most important interventions, with great expropriations of land, were linked to the ideological aspects of the Regime (Cathedral Square, Sanctuary Square) which required action by the Administration. It was precisely the latter which were not carried out (Fig. 6).

One element to highlight in this plan was the regulation concerning the widths of the streets and rules for façade sections established for the project of Sanctuary Square and the surrounding streets. The upper left corner of the map (Fig. 7) shows a generic representation of the sections of streets as "commercial artery," "non-commercial artery", "commercial side-street," "non-commercial side-street", and the representation of two streets that are identified with their names, "Calle Tudela" and "Calle de la Pasión". Next to them, two front sections are drawn corresponding to Sanctuary Square and the side streets of that square. Sanctuary Square was one of the major projects proposed in this alignments reform plan, linked to a religious significance; a fact that the authorities gave great social importance to. In this project, the height of the buildings was increased in relation

[7]Basilio Calderón, Salvador Mata, José Luis Sainz: La Cartografía de Valladolid (Parte Tercera). Ayto. de Valladolid, 1986. Page 45.

to the previous ordinances. With this regulation, a height of six and seven floors is reached, breaking the relationship between building height and width of the street.

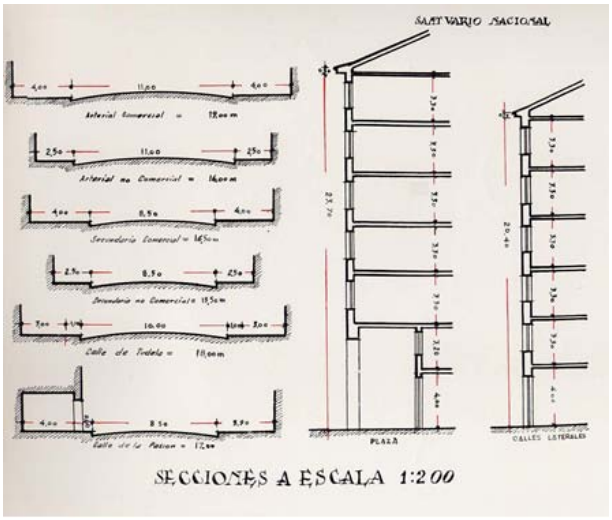

Figure 7 *Alignment Reform Project. Street sections.*

The Mechanism of Floor Area Ratio İncrease

Through these alignment reform plans and daily practice in the municipal offices, the difficulty of reforming the medieval city without a well-oiled economic management procedure was revealed. It was not enough to determine a new alignment, the replacement of the buildings had to be a good deal. The system used throughout the nineteenth century was progressively refined until it reached a certain level of effectiveness, using the following formula: to increase the floor area ratio more and more. The formula was applied, progressively increasing the heights permitted by the City Council for new buildings. It was widely accepted that any new building built in the historic city involved a rise in building heights and an increase in square metres. In view of the difficulties (and most of the time it was absolutely impossible) to get financial compensation from the municipality for the loss of private land that the owners had donated for the extension of the street, a solution was imposed: an increase in the floor area ratio, the acceptance of higher densities of housing and, consequently, the loss of the relationship between building height and width of the street. The municipality even authorized the total occupation of the plot with a building, not respecting the buildable depth, destroying the backyards and the pens of the medieval building. The engine of change in the landscape of the city focused on increasing the floor area ratio as compensation for the transfer of land.

Validity of the Cort Plan Today: Comparison of the Same City Block on Two Dates, 1915 and 2010

Analyzing one of the city blocks from the historic center, which is located between Antigua Street, Duque de Lerma Street and Arzobispo Gandásegui Street (Fig. 8 and 9), we can see how all of that block's alignments have changed between 1915 and

2010. Quevedo Street has disappeared, exactly as proposed by the Cort Plan in 1939 and by the Alignments Reform Plan in 1950. The fact is that the street disappeared in 2008, using the same criteria as those used in the past. This fact shows the extent of César Cort's ideas in the city. The heights of the new buildings that followed the rules of the Cort Plan reached 10 floors inside the historic center.

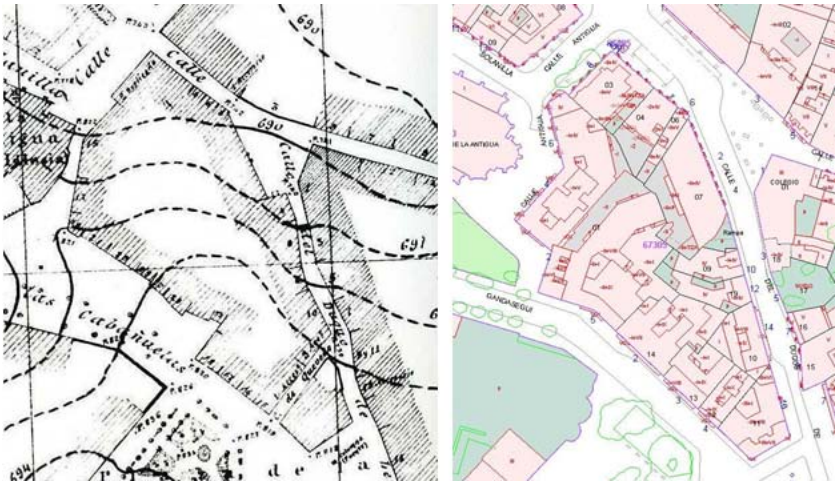

Figure 8 and 9 Comparison of the same block on two dates, 1915 and 2010

CONCLUSIONS: THE DESTRUCTION OF THE HISTORIC CENTER

The aim of the Cort Plan and the Alignments Reform Project was to transform Valladolid into a modern city. The plans described in this study were drawn up with the purpose of transforming the historic city of Valladolid. In the 50s, legal instruments and planning justification were ready. Only the economic recovery to carry out the internal reform in a comprehensive manner was missing.

With the arrival of economic development, the economic interests were the real base of that urban planning. These plans were perfected so as to reach the formula adapted to the interests of Realtors.

Indeed, when the activation of economic development in the 60s of the last century started, the historic city was destroyed. The result was an incomplete urban transformation. The city configuration did not matter. Urban transformation was exclusively a business. The objective of those planning instruments were not to transform the city into a modern city anymore, but to make money with urban operations. There was consensus on the technical instruments, there was a need for more social housing, there was a guarantee of huge economic benefits.

In the 80s, with the arrival of Democracy, the intervention criteria changed. From the 80s until today, changes and improvements in urbanistic laws have taken place in order to preserve the urban heritage and to promote a sensible development of the city. However, the formula used to transform the historical city in the 70s is still successfully being applied today, despite the existence of innumerable laws, regulations and plans designed to protect the historical city and monuments.

Unfortunately, the medieval city of Valladolid, which still existed less than 60 years ago, has disappeared forever. It is an unrecoverable landscape, lost forever to our society.

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URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY SÜLEYMANIYE MAHALLE, ISTANBUL

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ABSTRACT

Urban historians generally date the establishment of the first municipality in Istanbul to 1857 with the creation of the Altıncı Daire-i Belediye (Municipality of the Sixth District) operating the predominantly non-Muslim merchant district of Beyoğlu on the Northern side of the Golden Horn. Claiming that a municipality for intra-mural Istanbul was ipso facto only founded in 1868, it is generally agreed that urban administration and planning in Istanbul were instituted comparatively late, worked inefficiently and left the city in its chaotic state. While it is true that urban administration in Istanbul until the middle of the nineteenth century cannot be understood in the present-day sense as a body designed to complete tasks directly pertaining the city or the neighborhood having a defined level of autonomy or dependencies towards a centralized bureaucracy, this perspective nevertheless neglects the fact that Istanbul was of course in some way administered and that these administrative interventions had some effect. Instead of searching for a body called 'municipality' including on top of it procedures of collective decision-making, this paper tries to focus on municipal functions such as planning, construction works, security or municipal services fulfilled by a variety of bodies throughout the nineteenth century.

This paper approaches the topic not as usual via changes in the institutions, but tries to understand how institutional change affected a specific neighborhood, Süleymaniye mahalle. Süleymaniye mahalle is interesting in many ways: Mythicised as the quintessential example of an Ottoman neighborhood, Süleymaniye was during the nineteenth century a mainly residential area despite its eponymous mosque at its centre. Yet it is located between areas that changed and were transformed rapidly during the nineteenth century: Moltke's enlargement of the Divanyolu 1838, the development of a new entertainment area in Direklerarası, the market area increasingly affected by the opening of Istanbul's markets to the world economy and the redevelopment of the quays in 1836 and 1872. Since none of the devastating fires touched upon Süleymaniye mahalle however, it was not subjected to direct urban transformations as was the case in other neighborhoods, that had had been burnt down. Thus, the story of Süleymaniye is the story of a neighborhood in the backwaters of new construction projects and therefore gives us an opportunity to observe which effect institutional changes ordinarily had on the built environment and its social make-up. In a period extending from 1815 to 1885 – and thus long before academia dates the institutionalization of a municipality in Istanbul – this paper observes changes in the built environment and social change in the neighborhood and how these developments interacted with institutional change. It provides some evidence that indeed the institutionalization of a municipality in the 1860s, by contrast to other institutional changes, for Süleymaniye was only of minor importance.

INTRODUCTION

The history of municipalities and urban institutional change of Istanbul is generally told as a story of prolonged failure to establish bodies able to steer and govern the urban challenges of the nineteenth century. As a result, Istanbul's urban fabric in the course of the nineteenth century is said to have no longer suited the needs of urban intellectual, governmental and economic elites forcing them out of the historical peninsular to resettle in the north of the city. This urban outgrowth is understood as being led by Western and private interests rather than being controlled by the Ottoman government. An example for this exit of elites is Süleymaniye, a residential neighbourhood in the very heart of the historical peninsular. Never being completely burned down by one of the devastating fires in the nineteenth century, the neighbourhood has not been subjected to rebuilding and restructuring. Süleymaniye is however not an ordinary neighbourhood, but generally agreed by historians to be among the most beautiful[1], an "ulema neighbourhood"[2], having an "aristocratique"[3] character and housing the richest of the empire.

Using Süleymaniye as a caste study, this paper approaches planning history not as usual via changes in the institutions, but tries to understand how institutional change affected a specific location. This approach shows that the causes of urban transformation in the nineteenth century can not be found in the newly established municipal institutions, but in reforms, commissions and events largely unrelated to urban transformation at first sight. A short outline and evaluation of the conventional history of urban institutional change in Istanbul will be followed by an analysis of changes in the built environment and the social structure in the neighbourhood during the nineteenth century. The final part of the paper will relate these changes to the history of planning in Istanbul.

Urban historians generally date the establishment of the first municipality in Istanbul to 1857 with the creation of the *Altıncı Daire-i Belediye* (Municipality of the Sixth District) operating the predominantly non-Muslim merchant district of Beyoğlu on the Northern side of the Golden Horn. Claiming that a municipality for intra-mural Istanbul in the real sense was ipso facto only founded in 1868, it is generally agreed that urban administration and planning in Istanbul was instituted comparably late, worked inefficiently and left the city in its chaotic state.[4]Apart fromreasons such as lack of democratisation, "modern" population and budget, it is claimed that municipalities were alien to Ottoman society and were therefore predestined to failure.[5]

One of the pressing issues in nineteenth-century Istanbul was to prevent the wooden housing stock and its inhabitants from regularly being destroyed or threatened by fires. Thus, the Ottoman administration released numerous building regulations to regularise and broaden the network of streets or to control

[1]Ahmet Altınay Refik, *Eski İstanbul* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1998), p. 55.
[2]Istanbul Ansiklopedisi. s.v. "Süleymaniye".
[3]Robert, Mantran. *Istanbul Dans la Second Moitié du XVIIe Siècle* (Paris: Librairie Adrien Maison Neuve, 1962), p. 42. Besides Süleymaniye, he identifies Atmeydanı, Aya Sofya, Edirnekapı, Divanyolu,Vefa and Beyazit Square as rich areas.
[4]Rosenthal, Steven. *The Politics of Dependency. Urban Reform in Istanbul.* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980), p. 30.
[5]for a discussion of this see: Christoph Neumann, "Marjinal Modernitenin Çatışma Mekân Olarak Altıncı Daire-i belediyye"in *Altınıcı Daire - İlk belediyye. Beyoğlu'nda İdare, Toplum ve Kentlilik. 1857 – 1913. Sergi Kataloğu.* 2002, p. 4-5.

construction activity. Between 1839 and 1882 seven such regulations were passed determining streets widths and building heights to varying degrees and new constructions – including residential buildings – to be erected in stone and brick (*kârgir*).[6] These regulations restated again and again what was in practice rarely observed - the first *kârgir* residential buildings on the Historic Peninsular were apparently only built after 1855.[7]

A similar picture emerges when looking at the attempts to establish a municipality (*şehr-emânet).* Linked to the *meclis-i vâlâ* the first office of the *şehr-emânet* was created in 1854.[8] Besides genuine municipal functions like maintaining cleanliness, construction and maintenance of streets, this office was also responsible for the control of guilds, of market prices, the quality of goods and the measurement standards employed as well as for tax collection, food supply and charity.[9] The *şehr-emin* headed thenew city council (*şehir meclisi*) that consisted of 12 members nominated by the *meclis-i vâlâ* and the sultan. The council could deliberate on issues like pedestrian ways, matters connected to city hygiene and make proposals to the sultan.Indeed the office of the*şehr-emâneti* did not turn out to be a successful concept, something that was partly due to its closely monitored status as an organ of the *meclis-i vâlâ*, which could not decide on its own budget. During the 20 years of its existence, the *şehr-emin* changed 19 times and is said to have lacked experience as did the members of the city council.[10]

With the municipal code (*dersaâdet idâre-i belediyye nizamnâmesi*) of 1868, the *şehr-emânat* in fourteen districts of the city and two councils on a city-wide level were again re-established, following the example of the *altıncı daire* of Beyoğlu. The municipal duties of the *şehr-emin* formerly responsible for the entire city of Istanbul were now handed over to an office for technical affairs (*hey'et-i fenniye müdiriyeti*), an office for sanitary affairs (*hey'et-i sıhhiye müdiriyeti*) and an office for economic affairs (*umûr-u iktisâdiyye müdiriyeti*).[11] The *şehr-emâneti meclisi* consisting of one representative from each district and six members of the *bâb-ı âlî* acted as an administrative court and was in charge of the fire-fighters, control of the guild regulations, the fixed price (now exclusively applied to bread[12]) and the foundation of a museum. A second assembly, the *daire meclisi*, composed of four

[6]Zeynep Çelik. *The Remaking of Istanbul. Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 51.
[7]İlhan Tekeli. "19. Yu□zyılda İstanbul Metropol Alanının Dönu□şu□m" in eds. Halil İnalcık, Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu, *Tanzimat Değişim Su□recinde OsmanlıİmperatorluğU* (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2006) p. 368.
[8]Bilal Eryılmaz. "Osmanlı Yerel yönetiminde İstanbul Şehremaneti", in: *Osmanlı Yerel yönetiminde İstanbul Şehremaneti*, *Islam Geleneğinden Günümüzü Şehir ve yerel Yönetimler*, eds. Akyüz, Vecdi; Ünlü, Seyfettin (İstanbul: İlker Yayınları, 1996), p. 341, Kemal H. Karpat, "The Social and Economic Transformation of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century.", in: *The Social and Economic Transformation of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century.*, *Studies in Ottoman Social and Political History. Selected Articles and Essays.*, (ed.) Karpat, Kemal H.. (Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill, 2002), p. 263., İlber Ortaylı. *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basınevi, 2000), p.135.
[9]Ortaylı 2000: p. 137, Neumann 2002: p. 7., Sevgi Aktüre.*19.Yüzyıl sonunda Anadolu kenti mekansal yapı çözumlemesi* (Ankara: Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi baskı atölyesi, 1978), p. 94.
[10]Eryılmaz 1996: pp. 334, İlber Ortayli. *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Yerel Yönetim Gelenegi.* (Istanbul: Hil Yayin, 1985), p. 117.
[11]Karpat 2002: p. 287., Ergin 1995: p. 966
[12]Ortaylı 2000: p. 205.

representatives from each district, would hold a general assembly (*cem'iyyet-i umûmiye-i belediyye*) to exercise budgetary control and decide about infrastructural projects. The members sent by the districts were to be elected locally – which turned out to be among the stumbling stones of the reform as these elections with the exception of a few districts never took place.[13]

In 1876 the newly established parliament passed the *dersâadet ve vilâyet belediyye kanûnları* (Istanbul and Provincial Municipal Laws). These laws once again established elected councils now also involving the *muhtâr*s and the *imâm*s in cities and villages, which could prepare a yearly budget, control the property on land, discuss and make decisions.[14] 14 municipalities were founded in Istanbul (which were later increased to 20 and then again reduced to 10).[15]

In 1885, finally, another *şehr-emâneti* was founded in Istanbul with branches in all districts of Istanbul in 1886, but until the Second Constitutional Period elections for the councils were never organised in Istanbul with the exception of a couple of places.[16]

Telling the history of urban planning in nineteenth-century Istanbul this way, leaves no doubt of its failure. Situating this history in the context of the system of urban administration before the nineteenth century, however, may slightly alternate this evaluation. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century the city of Istanbul and its administration was deeply intertwined with and depended upon the tributary system of the empire. Until 1826, urban administration was a mélange of central and local bodies heavily interwoven or synonymous with imperial systems of military, economic and juridical administration. An example for this are the *kadı*'s of Istanbul: While making juridical judgements and sanctions, they had to implement governmental decisions on a local level, but also controlled the guilds and the fixed price. Wages to fulfil these urban tasks for the *kadı*'s and all the other bodies he had to co-operate with (the *muhtesib*, the *subaşı* etc.), were not paid by a central authority, but were attained through taxes and fees. This arrangement was relatively autonomous from the centre[17] and financially never centralised.[18] Throughout the nineteenth century, this system was transformed into an institutionalised structure with superintendencies evolving into ministries, their local branches and state officials paid by the central state – a process the contemporary planning discourse might call upscaling and centralisation. Admittedly, the functions of urban administration in this new form were badly

[13]Neumann 2009: 4., Ortayli 1985: p. 146., *Serim* Denel. *Batıllaşma sürecinde İstanbul'da Tasarım ve Dış Mekanlarda Değişim ve Nedenleri* (Ankara: 1982), p. 15.
[14]Ortaylı 1996, Çelik 1993: p. 51.
[15]Ortaylı 1985: 147., Christoph Neumann, *Elected, but Never in Office,* (unpublished paper 2009).
[16]Eryılmaz 1996: p. 342.
[17]Often this independence from the centre and *mahalle* institutions such as the *avariz vakfı* are interpreted as self-administration (e.g. Alada 2008, Çelik 1993). I believe there is an important difference between state officials people know personally and self-administration. The question, for instance, of whether the Imam was perceived as an outside or as part of the *mahalle*, is largely answered and might have changed over time and among different groups in the *mahalle*.
[18]Money for the "urban administrators" was gathered by themselves via taxes of shop owners (*yevmiye-i dekakin*), money for concessions, fees and the like. see: Sıddık Tümerkan, *Türkiye'de belediyyeler: Tarihi Gelişim ve Bugünkü Durum* (Ankara: İçişler Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1946), p.9, Ortaylı 2000: p.126.

fulfilled, but I would argue that this can be attributed to the sweepening transformations the system was plunged into, resulting in a state of considerable confusion and mismanagement. However, one might assume that with the passing of time, the system may have had the chance to aggregate into a clearer, new form.

This interpretation contrasts with the majority of studies on urban administration during the nineteenth century, which mostly date the formation of the first modern municipality to 1857 (the administration of the *altıncı daire*) implying with more or less rigour that before this date there was no institution concerned with the city as such and that the city was left to its chaos. This statement entails a very narrow understanding of institutionalisation, such as that put forward by İlber Ortaylı:

> "The point at issue with local administration is continuity and the attaining of legal personhood, in short institutionalisation. It is clear that for a long time we can not talk about such an administrative-legal process for societies in Ottoman cities and rural areas."[19]

For İlber Ortaylı, institutionalisation is equivalent to acquiring legal personhood and thus only a municipality can be an institution. A broader – and maybe more sociological than political science – understanding of institutions beyond legal persons, allows to perceive the "Ottoman case" before 1857 as equally institutionalised and maybe even more efficient. It furthermore gives an opportunity to spot developments other than the institutionalisation of municipalities and bodies designed to control the city's building activities. Examples are the urban significance of institutional changes such as the abolition of the Janissary corps and the establishment of the Directorate of Foundations (*Evkaf-ı Hu□mâyun Nezâreti)* in 1826. Another example is the *ıslahât-i turuk komisyonu* installed as a reaction to the devastating Hocapaşa Fire in 1865. This ad-hoc commission was entrusted with restructuring the area burned down by the fire with straight and wide streets organised in a grid. In fact, however, its sphere of influence by far exceeded the destroyed area and extended even to Beşiktaş and Beyoğlu. The commission's interventions, even if limited to a couple of years and even though the commission never attained the status of being a "real", i.e. permanent institution, left traces in the city. The impact of these developments on the built environment and the social composition of Süleymaniye, as we will see, was far more important than the establishment of the municipality.

CHANGES IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND THE SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF SÜLEYMANIYE DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The year 1826 marks in various ways a turning point for the neighbourhood of Süleymaniye. As a result of the abolition of the Janissary corps, their headquarters in the neighbourhood, the *Ağakapu,* was dissolved and after the reconstruction of the building converted into the office of a new religious body, the *şeyh-u□l islâmlik* or – as the building was called after Mahmud II forbade the use of the old

[19]Ortaylı 2000: p. 122. original quote: "Yerel yönetimde, devamlılık ve hukuki bir kişilik kazanmak, yani kurumsallaşmak söz konusudur. Böyle bir idari-hukuki sürecin ise Osmanlı kentleri veya kırsal alandaki topluluklar için uzun zaman söz konusu olmadığı açıktır."

name *ağakapu - bab-ı meşihat*. Only a stone's throw away the head quarters of the new army, the Seraskerlik, was placed. It occupied the area of the Old Palace (*eski saray*), which until 1826 was used as a secondary palace for entertainment and ceremonies by the imperial household[20].

Thus two of the most important new governmental institution established in 1826 moved to Su□leymaniye, which testifies to the importance that was attributed to Su□leymaniye during this period. This was continued with the opening of a series of new schools in Su□leymaniye after 1826, which underlines Su□leymaniye's sustained symbolic value also in the field of education. Besides the "traditional" *medreses* located in the region (Su□leyman Subaşı der Kirazlı Mescid Medresesi of 1587[21], the Mekteb Ataullah Efendi, the Siyavuş Paşa Medresesi of 1590 and *Nevruz Kadin Mektebi* founded in the eighteenth century) a number of new schools were established. In 1826, the hamam of the Kapudan İbrahim Paşa mosque complex was transformed into the *Takvimhane Matbaası* for a couple of years and then into the Muallimhane-i Nu□vvab (later called *Medresetu□'l Kuzat*) in 1845. The Muallimhane-i Nu□vvab had a two-year program to educate kadîs and the na'ibs to carry out their duties in the religious courts.[22] In 1839, one of the two new-style grammar schools, which stand for Mahmud II's attempts to form a modern educated elite, was set up in Su□leymaniye. Besides traditional subjects, the *Mekteb-i Umum-i Edebiye* installed in Su□leymaniye taught French and "modern" science.[23] Moreover, several new middle schools (*ru□şdiye*), which were consecutive to the *sıbyân* schools and instituted simultaneously, can be found in the area – such as the mekteb included in the İbrahim Paşa complex that was transformed into a *ru□şdiye* in 1839. The second educational reform of the nineteenth century under Abdu□laziz in 1868 that aimed at improving the students' abilities in between primary school and university with a new type of schools (*idâdiye*)24had similar ramifications for Süleymaniye: the *Dıvoğlu idâdiye* in 1868 and the Mekteb-i Nu□vvab were both located in the quarter. Moreover, the *Su□leymaniye İnas Mektebi* was opened in Su□leymaniye mahallesi in 1872, and the *Telegraf mektebi* linked to the Posta ve *Telegraf Nezâreti* in 1873.

The reorganisation of the military, education and religious apparatus in the years following 1826 coincides with the gradual incorporation of foundations (*vakıf*) into a central Directorate of foundations, the *Evkaf-ı Hümâyun Nezâreti*.[25] With this measure the central state tried to reach out for endowments and to concentrate them in its hands. The land endowed to a foundation, its purpose, income and (often quite dilapidated) state used to be out of the reach of the central bureaucracy, but were now assembled and controlled in the *Evkaf-ı Hu□mâyun Nezâreti*.[26] This step is of utmost importance for urban transformation carried out

[20]Ahmed Nezih Galitekin, , *Osmanlı Kaynaklarına göre İstanbul. Cami, Tekke, Medrese, Türbe, Hamam, Kütüphane, Matbaa, Mahalles ve Selatin İmaretleri.* (İstanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 2003), p. 205, Ortaylı 2000: p. 214.
[21]Galitekin 2003: p. 770.
[22]*Du□nden Bugu□ne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi,* s.v. "Medresetu□'lu□ Kuzat".
[23]Bernard Lewis. *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 84/85.
[24]Fortna Benjamin C.. *Mekteb-i Hümayun. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Son Döneminde İslami Devlet ve Eğitim.* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005), pp. 119.
[25]Seyit Ali Kahraman. *Evkâf-ı Hümâyûn Nezâreti*, pp. 6-7.
[26]Nazif Öztu□rk, Tu□rk Yenileşme Tarihi Çerçevesinde vâkıf Mu□essesesi (Ankara:Tu□rkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1995), pp. 68.

by the central state, since at the beginning of the nineteenth century almost all built-on property and arable land in the city was, to some degree, in the hands of foundations and thus out of governmental reach.[27]

After 1826 one can observe two trends with regard to foundations (and thus all kinds of public institutions): First, the new actor "central administration" and no longer only foundations entered the educational and religious scene often resulting in the improvement of the conditions of the existing structures. An example for this is the *Siyavuş Paşa Medresesi*, which like other foundations saw repairs by the central state of the building in 1848, in 1850 after a fire and again in 1873.[28] Secondly, with the changes in the administrative structure of the foundations, their eternal immutability untouched for centuries was now more easily transformed. For example, the hospital (*dâr-u□ş-şifa*) which formed part of the vakıf of the Süleymaniye mosque complex, used to cure male patients until the year 1845, when this specialisation was transferred to *Bezmialem Valide Sultan Gureba* Hospital. When the cholera broke out in 1865, the *dâr-u□ş-şifa* was used as a quarantine station. In 1873 it lost its function as a hospital and was transformed into a saddlery (*saraçhane*); later, in 1887 the harbiye nezâreti's military press (*askerî matbaa*) moved into the building. In a somewhat comparable manner, the *daru□Izziyale* (hospice) was transformed into a museum of Islamic art in the late years of the nineteenth century.

Thus, with regard to the monumental structures of the neighbourhood we can observe mainly the effects of educational reform and reform of the administration of foundations. They materialise in Süleymaniye in the form of new schools on the one, and with changed functions within the buildings on the other hand: a hospital alters its specialisation, a hamam turns into a school, a soup kitchen becomes a museum. By contrast to preceding centuries, the central administration (and this is probably the reason why we have traces of repairs, for instance) instead of the religious foundations cared for the maintenance of public buildings. What used to be impossible for centuries – to change the purpose and aim of a specific foundation – can be observed in various cases in the neighbourhood. In a sense the built environment of Süleymaniye during the nineteenth century changed considerably - but only within the frame of the already existing built structures.

As far as the network of streets in Süleymaniye is concerned, it remained comparably stable throughout the century as this area was not targeted for redevelopment with a grid plan. Still, minor activities pertaining to the street layout have to be noted. In the period from 1815 to 1885, a couple of new streets were added such as the Kayserili Ahmed Paşa and the Avni Paşa street. In many cases new streets were former cul-de-sac, which were opened up or extended to the next crossroad. The most drastic of these changes actually happened at the edges of our area of interest: Firstly, starting in 1839, the Moltke plan extended the Divanyolu in the south of Süleymaniye. Moreover, the *ıslahât-ı turuk komisyonu* restructured the whole area east of the Seraskeriat in 1865. The commission stated that the inhabitants of Bayezid, Aksaray and Fatih had great difficulty to transport wood and coal from the markets located at the coastline to their houses as there

[27]R.H. Davison, Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963). p 257.
[28]Mu□bahat S. Ku□tu□koğlu, XX.Asra Erişen İstanbul Medreseleri, (Ankara: Tu□rk Tarih Kurumu, 2000).

existed no street that could be used by carts and transport on horseback was difficult and expensive. Additionally, certain military vehicles had to pass to the Seraskeriat. It was thus ordered to built a street which allowed carts to pass easily extending from the South of Mahmud Paşa to the Southern end of Uzunçarşı passing by Mercan Street.29

With regard to residential structures, consistent sources are rare. Some traces of the vernacular, other than pictures and compilations depicting the wooden palaces of the neighbourhood in the second half of the nineteenth century[30], are offered by a collection of tax registers (*vâridât defterleri*) compiled for three mahalles (*Hoca Hamze*, *Hoca Gıyasüddin* and *Sarı Bayezid*) in the area in 1873/74.[31] Out of a total of 129 houses 30 were registered as houses (hâne), 94 as houses with garden (*hâne ma' bâğçe*) and five as mansions with a garden and a fountain (*konak ma' bâğçe ma' sebil*). Concerning the construction material of buildings other than commercial structures and public buildings, which were made out of stone, we find only one more brick house in *Sarı Bayezid* and 8 houses partly constructed with brick (*nîm kâr-gîr*) in *Hoca Hamze*. In *Hoca Gıyasüddin* 100% of the building stock was wooden.

Finally, the existence of monumental structures appears to have been an impediment to uncontrolled building activities. In 1868 the *ıslahât-i turuk komisyonu* ordered to tear down the wooden houses close to *"Hagia Sophia and around the Süleymaniye complex in order to provide for unobstructed view on these monuments."*[32]

Although Süleymaniye was not blessed by restructuring after fires and thus no trace of any genuine municipal intervention is visible, its built environment changed considerably in the course of the century. Not only that foundations and thus monumental structures change functions and the educational profile of the neighbourhood are sustained, we can observe slight changes in the network of streets.

CHANGES IN THE SOCIAL COMPOSITION

With the exception of isolated districts and periods, the sources at hand for urban historians do not provide an opportunity to observe changes in the composition of Istanbul's population yet. Tax registers (*vâridât defterleri*) of 1873/74 are no exception to this rule as they only allow for a list of property owners and their titles (tab. 1) .

Table 1: The rank of the shareholder of property

[29]Ergin 1995: p. 956.
[30]Sedad Hakkı Eldem. *Türk Evi: Osmanli Dönemi = Turkish House: Ottoman period* (Istanbul: Türkiye Anit; Cevre, Turizm Degerlerini Koruma Vakfi, 1984).
[31]Alp Yücel Kaya, Yücel Terzibaşıoğlu. Tarhir'den Kadastro'ya: 1874 İstanbul Emalk Tahriri ve Vergisi "Kadaro tabir olunur tahrir-i emlak", Tarih ve Toplum 9, 2009, p. 9-58., Başbakanlı Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA): ML.VRD 3842, ML. VRD 3717, ML. VRD 3807
[32]Çelik 1993: 59.

	Hoca Gıyasüddin	San Beyazid	Hoca Hamze	**Total**
Efendi	24	9	14	**47**
Haci	4	0	14	**18**
Ağa	13	2	12	**27**
Bey	2	7	10	**19**
Paşa	0	3	12	**15**
es-Seyyid	3	3	2	**8**
Molla	1	0	0	**1**
Hanım	28	7	15	**50**
non-Muslim	1	0	4	**5**
non specific	4	0	0	**4**
other high (military)	0	3	0	**3**
Total	**80**	**34**	**83**	**197**

However, the number of women (*hanım*) being property owners in Hoca Gıyasüddin is quite considerable and calls for an explanation. In some streets the mean of female property in Hoca Giyasu□ddin rises up to 71, 65 and 62 per cent. This stands in sharp contrast to streets in Hoca Hamze. These numbers are, even by today's standards, quite astonishing. As the registers reveal, the bigger and wealthier the house, the larger the share owned by men.If a woman is the single owner, does this imply that she is the only breadwinner of the household? If this was the case, female homeownership would be synonymous – and this again has not changed until today unfortunately – with poverty. Having said this, a look into the census of 1885[33] offers an alternative explanation. The 5% sample of the census data only contains 3 households in the vicinity of Su□leymaniye. All of them are located in TavanlıÇeşme Sokak numbers 3,7 and 9.

Thus, these houses are situated down the hill in Hızır Bey *mahalle*si – the tax registers of 1873 contain the street numbers 17 to 31 – making a direct comparison impossible. The households included in the census however are noteworthy: All of them are owned by single females aged between 15 and 41 years, two of which are given as widows, one of them as living together with a co-resident without familial relationship. This "co-resident" is from Circassia, working as agricultural worker (*rençber*) and only 21 years old. One of the widows, who is 15-years old,shares her house with a 20-year old, unmarried farmer from Erzurum. Although the profession of these young "widows" is registered as "unknown" in the census, there can be little doubt to the means these women make a living. Very obviously the three women living in three neighbouring houses in Tavanlı Çeşme Sokak were prostitutes.

Of course it is difficult to travel back 12 years in time, 100 meter uphill and conclude that some of the female homeowners in Hoca Gıyasu□ddin were also prostitutes. This guesswork nonetheless is supported by another hint, to be found in Cengiz Kırlı's work on the *havadis jurnalleri*. In 1840 one of the police officers overhears a conversation in a coffee house close to *Saraçhane*, where an officer complains about prostitutes in Su□leymaniye:

[33] I want to thank Prof. Murat Güvenç for his support at this point, not least for giving me access to the census data.

> *Devlet-i Aliyye'de bir zâbit olsam evvela Su□leymaniye'de olan yalan şâhidleriylefâhişelerin çâresine bakar idim. Bu çekilen sıkındı böyle hilâfı kabûl edu□bâşikâre yalan şâhidleri bayağı bir esnaf. Fâhişeler dahi saçlarını açsun, göğsu□nu□açsun buna Hakk'ın rızâsı var mıdr? Ya'nî böyle şeyler şer'inin hilâfı olduğunuKazasker ve hâkimler biliyorlar iken böyle kâziblerin şehadetlerini turub da'vâgörmelerine mu'cib olunur. Hakk teâlâ örf-i Osmaniyye'ye zevâl vermesin, kusûryine bizdedir.*[34]

Prostitutes strolling around in revealing clothes in 1840 and several whorehouses in a

row in 1885 clearly do not match the narrative commonly told about Su□leymaniye. Given the fact that Su□leymaniye was full of secondary schools, close to the harbour and the market area, imagining young men searching for "distraction" is not so difficult.

When looking at the other inhabitants of the district it is evident that more of an explanation is needed than placing the existence of prostitutes in Süleymaniye towards the end of the nineteenth century in a narrative of decline. Compilations of court records (*şeri'yye sicilleri*)[35] in addition tothe *vâridât defterleri* provide a long list of inhabitants who lived in the neighbourhood in the years 1816/17, 1855 and 1870 of which only few can be identified with a rank and profession. Still, it gives an idea of the prominent inhabitants living in the area. Among the inhabitants of Su□leymaniye *mahalle*, we find Miralayzade es-Seyyid Mehmed Sa'deddin Aba ibn Veliyyu□ddin, the Voyvoda of Tire[36] , the former *Odun Emîni* Mehmed Çavuş Aşa bin Osman bin Su□leyman[37], Hamdi Bey ibn el-hac (?) Osman Paşa, a functionary of the *Fevâid-i Osmaniyye Kompanyası*, the company providing passenger transport by ship across the sea of Marmara and Hasan Tahsin Efendi bin Hace Halil. Hasan Tahsin Efendi was probably a merchant granted the right to expand the gas plant in Yedikule.[38]We also have knowledge of the famous Kayserili Ahmed Paşa Konağı located in the street that took its name from that building. The owner of this house – the minister of maritime affairs who was involved in ousting Sultan Abdülaziz in 1876 – opted for a very particular decoration of his wooden house with a the Ottoman court of arms overarching the central sofa and wall paintings showing both tropical landscapes with camels and pyramids and the achievements of the Ottoman modernity like steamships (partly burning) and

[34]Cengiz Kırlı, *Sultan ve Kamuoyun. Osmanlı Modernleşme su□recinde "Havadis Jurnalleri" (1840-1844),* (Istanbul: Tu□rkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2009). p. 171/172.
[35]Nejdet Ertuğ, *Şeriyye Sicilleri'ne Göre İstanbul Tarihi: İstanbul Mahkemesi 121 Numaralı Şer'iye Sicili, 1231-1232/1816-1817* (İstanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006), ISAM library: Şer'iye Sicileri No. 199, İlam, 1271-1272, 0001/0199-001/013., Salih Şahin, *İstanbul kadîlığı 225. No.'lu Şeri'yye Sicilinin Transkripsyonu ve Değerlendirilmesi* (MA thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2001).
[36]Ertuğ 2006: no. 122: 2-349/37a-3.2
[37]the official in charge to organize the supply of construction material for the city, in: Özkan Gökçen, *İstanbul Bab Mahkemesi 149 No'lu Şer'iye sicili Defterine Göre Istanbul'da Sosyal Hayat* (MA thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2003), p. 248.
[38]Mehmed Su□reyya, *Sicill-i Osmani 1327/1909,* Vol. 2. (Westmead: Gregg International Publishers, 1971. p.55, Ergin 1995: p. 2636.

airplanes. The Kayserili Ahmed Paşa street however is not yet included in Ayverdi's map showing Istanbul around the 1880s, which indicates that Kayserili Ahmed Paşa must have built his house later than this date.

The existence of high-ranking official in the quarter - even if they were exceptions – questions the statement that "modern men of state" left Süleymaniye towards the end of the century. Instead high state officials were still moving to the area in the second half of the nineteenth century. To share a living environment with people of not necessarily honourable social status – like prostitutes – does not seem to have deterred them. As the analysis of changes in the built environment has already shown, Süleymaniye cannot be regarded as constituting a linear story of decline of an increasingly forgotten and dilapidating neighbourhood. The fact that the building stock was almost exclusively wooden, while elites in the late nineteenth century still move to and build wooden houses for themselves, questions the assumed bisection[39] of the city between modern apartment-living in the North and an increasingly impoverished remain in the wooden houses of Istanbul intra-muros.

[39]for this thesis see for instance: Tekeli 2006: p.373, Çelik 1993: p. 38.

CONCLUSION

The abolition of the Janissaries marked a radical change for Süleymaniye's built and social environment. Subsequent reforms of the religious foundations and the educational system likewise had an effect on the area. While Mahmud II's reign is often neglected when it comes to questions of urban planning and urban transformation, the example of Süleymaniye shows that Sultan Mahmud II produced *"the spaces of his authority and enhanced his rule through out his empire"*[40]. This only became possible by successfully bringing the authority of *vakıf*'s land under his control. None of the Empire's attempts to regularise the built environment found notable repercussion: Süleymaniye was and stayed wooden until the very late nineteenth century. An exception to this general deficiency of municipal organs was the *ıslahât-ı turuk komisyonu* as the only urban institution with an effect on Süleymaniye by contrast to any of the municipal undertakings in 1854, 1868 and 1885. The commission, as we see in the example of Süleymaniye, was not only concerned with rebuilding the areas destroyed by fire and with future fire prevention, but also with the visual display of mosques and the regularisation of traffic throughout the city. Even if the *ıslahât-ı turuk komisyonu,* founded in 1865*,* was an ad hoc reaction to the devastating fires, it was the first time any body of the new governance models introduced in the nineteenth century acted effectively with regard to the genuine functions of a municipality. Generally, academia seems to understate the role of the *ıslahât-ı turuk komisyonu***.** However, Osman Nuri Ergin, almost an eye witness, asserts that the work of the commission was all but negligible, but was by contrast to the newly established municipalities a well functioning institution that left its traces in Istanbul.[41]The prevailing hypothesis that urban transformation in Istanbul was only triggered by external factors and administrative attempts to go against their negative effects remained unsuccessful, thus is called into question. The example of Süleymaniye shows that both the administrative structure and the urban social and built fabric underwent considerable conscious and planned change during the nineteenth century. These changes did however not yet aggregate into municipalities able to issue building regulations that were observed by the majority of constructors.

[40]Gurallar 2009: p. 227.
[41]Ergin 1995: p.937.

TRANSFORMING URBAN SPACE BY CREATING 'CIVIC ART'; DEFINING WHAT THE TERM MEANS

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ABSTRACT

The transformation of an urban environment is a form of art; a process of deliberately arranging elements in a way that appeals to the senses of emotions. All the correlating codes and contextual selections that form a territory of a city must be put together to form what we might call "Civic Art"; an indirect expression of social communication and interpretation, symbolism, imageability, memory, etc. Images, in relationship to the surrounding urban fabrics, perpetuate familiarity to the observers, feeding a habitable vitality of space. The intention of this paper is to study the history of usage of the term 'Civic Art', which has been used and abused through time; either in a thoughtful and much investigated manner, or for the sake of bringing together the words 'civic' and 'art' in pursuit of a euphonic result for a book or article title - whereas it is almost an assurance, that when Vitruvius first used the term, he had much more in mind. 'Civic Art' definitions today are wide, unclear and unintentional; they lack the criteria to label a space in the civic environment as 'beautiful'. The goal is to extract the correct definitions and begin to form a contemporary model of Civic Art for our cities, to enhance and trasform the quality of urban space.

INTRODUCTION

Extensively discussed throughout the history of urban architectural design, 'civic art' has been expressed in various forms, and given various definitions. In some occurrences it is considered as any solitary artifact thrown in the middle of an urban landscape, in other occurrences it is described as the ability to design cities in a more general sense and at the grander scale, whereas the definition may also be found in any art that is embodied on urban architectural structures, such as graffiti, building-structures and ornamentation. The bibliography on "Civic Art" is thus very 'interdisciplinary', with no clear meaning of what the intentions are, or what the criteria is to label a creation in the civic environment as being artistic.

But if one studies the theoretical elaborations of architectural critiques through time, the conclusion is that Civic Art definitions are not in fact so chaotic. Writings on the creation of artistic urban environments seem to agree upon the existence of enduring formalistic artifacts, execution of rational results, expressive social communication and interpretation, meaning and symbolism, construction of places of consciousness, emotional comfort, and interpretational connectivity of human evolution, always in dialogue with the natural surroundings. The concepts all speak of a semiotic dialogue between man and environment, adjusting according to time, circumstances, and emotion.

The following paper is a short anthology of established Civic Art etymology through various times of urban architectural theory. The order of definitions is not chronological, yet it follows a fluidity of narrative sense, in pursuit of extracting an

understanding of the usage of the term through the perceptions of important figures of architectural design, primarily in the urban context.

'Civic Art' is not a term seen often, yet it is frequently implied through descriptions of a 'city articraft', the 'artistry of good urban space', the 'genius loci', the good 'public atmosphere', 'public art', 'land art', etc. To clarify the definition of Civic, it is helpful to look into Spiro Kostof's writings of "*The City Shaped",* a book that looks at the city as an enduring artifact of human creation, where he investigates art-forms of cities in a speculative and experimental manner, categorizing their formation into themes of *organic patterns, the grid, the city as diagram, the grand manner* and *the skyline*, and interprets each formation from hidden patterns and orders that resulted in those specific shapes. For Spiro Kostof, a description may be correlated to *civic,* where there are assemblages of crowds as "settlement densities", clusters of other towns and systems surrounding the urban fabric, "physical circumscription" creating borders between the inside of the city and outside, where unequal distribution of work and hierarchies take place, where income is involved, where the system is relied upon written records, where there is intermediacy with the countryside, 'monumental definitions', and cultural values. *(Kostof, 37-40)*

Leon Battista Alberti was one to devote his interpretation of aesthetics to public art/civic art, as he defined the highest service of architecture to providing public service to all. Hence, for Alberti, Civic Art takes place when the architecture's purpose is to function for the various levels of society, with its location being positioned at a proper site. For Alberti, a well-maintained temple is the highest example of Civic Art, and within a city, should be at the highest point of elevation. *(Turner, 72-73)* Investigating further the writings of this renowned Italian author, artist, architect, poet, priest, linguist, philosopher and cryptographer, we read in *"The Art of Building"* his conceptions of what makes Civic Art, which above all, is the creation of spaces that abide to a "consistent theory; for to follow a consistent theory is the mark of true art" *(Alberti, 33).* He points out the common fault of architects to change the consistent theory of an environment to suit their personal tastes and understandings, but rather should investigate the reasoning and intentions behind every line and every formation of space, for "the arts were born of Chance and Observation, fostered by Use and Experiment, and matured by Knowledge and Reason". *(Alberti, 34)*

In parallel lines, comes Charles Mulford Robinson's interpretation in his book "*Modern Civic Art or The City Made Beautiful*", that "there must be a joint worthiness of impulse and execution, else the act is not recognized as art". In other words, one can have all the theoretical ideas in the world of what civic art is, with strong impulses and highest artistic perceptions, yet if not able to execute a rational result, cannot be named a master. *(Robinson, 27-28)*

Leo Tolstoy defines art as a way of indirect social communication while contrary, Benedetto Croce and R.G.Collingwood were more keen towards the idealist view that the product of the creators (the architects and planners, in our case) can only be valued and appreciated in the minds of the creators *(Collingwood, 30*). This is obviously a selfish-oriented definition of art that does not fit into the social values of urban designing, which is a practice for the public whole and not the selfish expression of individual acts of people. However, a more recent thinker, Martin Heidegger, a well established German philosopher, has interpreted art as the

means by which a community develops for itself a medium for self-expression and interpretation.

Kevin Lynch stresses imageability and independence from practical functionality, as well as the will of meaning and symbolization. His theory of constructing mental maps inspires art proposed as a sort of grid, made up by reference points, independent from aesthetical or ideological evaluations within the city. *(Lynch, 4)*In this case, a web of associations overlapping an urban tissue by means of an artistic project creates an important base for appropriation of a place. Taking this further with his last book *"Good City Form",* he describes more tightly the relationship between the history of urban form and the reasoning behind it, setting up the description of Civic Art city formation into three "normative models" – *the cosmic model, the practical model* and the *organic model*, that in essence deal more with perceptual motivation, and less with political or economic reasoning. *(Lynch, 73-98)*

Heidegger's ideas were the core of developmental thinking that influence the architect and theorist Christian Norberg-Schulz, the Norwegian architect, architectural historian and theorist, who mentions that "man cannot gain a foothold through scientific understanding along; he needs symbols, that is, works of art which represent life-situations" *(Norberg-Schulz, 6).*Norberg-Schulz's interpretation of Civic Art is expressed inside the definition of *genius loci,* which in Roman mythology was defined as 'the protective spirit of a place', often depicted as a snake. In contemporary usage of the term, the *genius loci* will most likely refer to a location's 'spirit' and the kind of atmosphere that makes it unique. In critiquing modern architecture and Civic Art, the *genius loci* falls into the theoretical considerations of phenomenology, a philosophical method developed in the early 20th century, primarily elaborated by Edmund Husserl and developed by a chain of noteworthy figures, such as Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty, Jean-Paul Sartre, and other philosophers including Paul Ricoeur, Emmanuel Levnas, and Alfred Schulz.

From the point of view of Husserl, phenomenology deals with the construction of places of consciousness, the phenomena that lie behind these structures, and the objects that serve as analytical instruments to analyze a spatial situation. Husserl's perspective is important in the penetration of the deeper evaluation of a public space, as he not only deals with the evaluation of objects, but also the reflection of emotions that objects create within an environment. For his capacious and extensive consideration of things and perception, and his efforts to create a structure of explanation between the two, he was firm in trying to establish phenomenology as a 'rigorous science'. Edmund Husserl's theories on phenomenology had a vast impact on providing key concepts of public space evaluation, and supply tools of constructing an artful environment, where art here is defined as the *locus* of origination of emotion and meaning.

Taking this further by a German theorist who studied Husserl's philosophy, Martin Heidegger, stated that all investigations of being have historically focused on particular entities and their properties, or have treated being itself as an entity, or substance, with properties. He firmly supported the importance of psychology in the study of urban spaces and environments of existential importance, which explains his doctoral thesis in psychologism; a field where psychology is considered to play a central role in grounding or explaining some other non-psychological type of fact or law. This is interesting in the sense that psychologism is one of the two

fields (the other being historicism) that Husserl strongly criticized during his time, and particularly in his volume *"Logical Investigations".* Unlike his follower Heidegger, Husserl expresses clearly the difference between meaning and object, as he does in his book *"Experience and Judgement",* published in 1939. Heidegger, on the other hand, links meaning and object in a direct and almost symbolic way, going deep into the investigation of fields such as existentialism, hermeneutics (the art of interpretation), deconstruction, postmodernism, and continental philosophy in general.

Going back to Christian Norberg-Schulz, Heiidegger's follower, who deals with the phenomenology of place, it is important to punctuate Schulz's claims on *locus,*which particularly evolves in his book *"Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture",*as the concept of *dwelling*. Although dwelling was a word initially analyzed by Martin Heidegger as "a thing that gathers world", Christian Norberg-Schulz uses the concept to analyze the meaning further, always giving full credit to the borrowed thought processes and analysis of his primary reference author, Heidegger. Schulz, therefore, explains that a dwelling is an "existential foothold"; a place where man can orient himself, where he can identify with an environment, where the *locus* becomes something more than just a shelter, and where it is composed by spaces where life occurs as 'places', in the true sense of the word. In his book, he writes that in order for a man to *dwell* in a space, he must locate himself in space and expose to a certain environmental character. "The two psychological functions involved, may be called "orientation" and "identification" *(Schulz, 19).* In other words, in order for a man to feel at home with his environment, he must be able to recognize fundamental traces of his surroundings, and also be able to identify what he sees by certain signs, and recognizable elements. For our purposes of defining Civic Art, Christian Norberg-Schulz's *genius loci,* is a key hint for reaching important conclusions.

In pursuit of theorizing the concept of Civic Art, it is noteworthy to reference the contributions of Mark Jarzombek, who in his book "The Psychologizing of Modernity" makes his personal links between ranges of emotional comfort, and of "a basic structure to the fabric of their contact". This is very enlightening in the understanding of abstract forms that take place in the modern world, and Nietzsche's writings of man's will to emancipate contemporary design from existing norms and "accepted moral and pedagogical systems". *(Jarzombek, 24).* The above mentioned concepts were strongly developed with the realization of the Gestalt psychology, primarily studied in the Berlin School, and elaboration of the form-forming capability of our senses, further enhanced with perceptual concepts of *emergence, reification, multi-stability and invariance.* Mark Jarzombek's interpretation of perception and its relation to Civic Art is identifiable, when he writes about perception being non-arbitrary, but "linked to the same epistemological domain as the artworks themselves". He stresses that to analyze Art, we should not acquire the knowledge beforehand, but should empathetically commerce with its "representational interiority" *(40).* This creates some interesting connectivity between Mark Jarzombek's later distinction in the book between art psychology and art history, with Edmund Husserl's criticism on historicism. Jarzombek clearly expresses the inferiority of art history to art psychology, as the latter emphasizes with the intentions of art, whereas the former works on a basis of pre-existing knowledge and analytical predictability. An ideal speculation would be of course, the marriage of the two, in pursuit of our understanding.

In Spiro Kostof's book *"The City Shaped",* Civic Art forms the definition of the intentions behind the form of a city as a whole and single entity. The similarity that we find here between this more abstract approach and the intentions of analyzing and evaluating solitary spaces within a city is that Kostof also supports the connectivity of human involvement inside the interpretation of the resulting form. Very early in the introduction, he states: "Urban design is of course an art, and like all design it does have to consider, or at least pay lip service to, human behavior" *(9).* For Spiro Kostof, Civic Art is the whole intention behind the particular shape of one city, and the beauty of the consequences of the city's evolution; the result of the creation, and the "subsequent behavior". *(12)*

The transformation of Civic Art took different dimensions at the time of modernity, particularly influenced by Le Corbusier, the great architect, designer, urbanist, writer and painter of the International Style. In his theoretical writings of *"Towards a New Architecture"*, Le Corbusier gives his personal interpretation of Civic Art, while criticizing opposing points, with his blunt and straightforward linguistics, that parallel his formalistic expressions and beliefs. For Le Corbusier, the role of the architect is indeed to create Art for the public, hence; Civic Art. From the very beginning of his elaboration, he holds the architects responsible for creating civic experiences with sense of beauty *(1),* while at the same time accusing them for their failure of achieving harmonious and pure geometric forms like the engineers' projections. For Le Corbusier, Civic Art is the composition of primary forms, projected from a series of regulating lines, resulting from harmonious calculations of mathematical natural laws *(15).* It is the engineer who is most capable of producing Civic Art; "Art, according to Larousse, is the application of knowledge to the realization of a conception. Now, to-day, it is the engineer who knows, who knows the best way to construct, to heal, to ventilate, to light. Is it now true?"*(16)* Furthermore, Le Corbusier acknowledges "architecture [as] a thing of art", where harmony and function must be composed together in a way that moves us, and as a result of "a pure creation of the spirit". *(19)*

Extending the interpretation of Civic Art into the writings and perspectives of another great theorist, Umberto Eco, we approach another point of view of the formation of logic and "photomechanical explanation" of forms in the field of semiosis; the interpretation of signs that Eco analyzes in a number of places in his writings. For Umberto Eco, where there is dialogue and a clear connectivity between the signifier and the signified (the designer and the work of architecture), then the result may be analogous to musical theory, where "we recognize familiar melodies" and there is "sophisticated intertwining of intervals and notes". *(Eco, A Theory of Semiotics, 50).* Translating these concepts to architecture and in his essay "Function and Sign: Semiotics of Architecture", Eco hints to Civic Art as "the production of three-dimensional objects destined primarily to be contemplated rather than utilized in society, such as works of art" *(Eco, Function and Sign, 57*). Civic Art is seen here as an architectural object that withholds itself in time; because architecture passes messages of mass communication, according to cultural codes within an environment, the function of an object must frequently be varied through time, to serve the different needs of appreciation of the public. For this reason, the context often changes, while the building forms are not able to compensate. As Lagopoulos explains, "Eco suggests that architects should create structures which, while functioning as forms in their times, are open to new processes of signification appearing in the future". *(Lagopoulos, 56)*

Umbero Eco's consistent theoretical theme of signs and signification in the urban context, serving as codes of memory for orientation, may be paralleled in some ways to the writings of Robert Morris in his "*An Essay Upon Harmony"* referring to public spaces where the form, magnitude, dress, decoration and arrangement, the fitness and proportions, are all analogous to "Numbers and Nature". A civic space is considered valuable, where art manifests nature, and each part of the composition refers to the Whole. *(Morris, 116-117)* Another architectural theorist to dwell upon the lines of making connections between Civic Art and the specificity of the natural surroundings, is Ralph Waldo Emerson, the American essayist, poet and philosopher, who speaks of the connectivity of meaningful spaces to the human soul, and absorbing inspiration from nature. Emerson calls this mode of designing "organically reproductive", where complete balance is created between materiality and spirituality of a place. In thorough critical investigation of the origins of art, Emerson concludes that all formalistic intentions have an organic reasoning, inspired by Nature. *(Emerson, 447)*

Which leads us to the extreme articulation of Land Art; an interesting movement emanated in the United States in the late 1960s and early 1970s, where figuring and carving on the ground takes place, and the designer interprets the direct linkage between landscape and his work. Many a time, land art figures follow the existing patterns of the land, being traced as blueprints in quest of creating memories of past-existing contours. The intentions of Land Art were initially a movement of disapproval towards the modern developing movement of machinery, artificiality, 'plastic aesthetics', and commercialized architecture that was evolving during that time in America. Pursuing natural simplicity through concepts of minimalism, geometrical simplicity and organic expressionism, the movement has also spread in Europe, and other parts of the world. Where Land Art usually becomes positioned in the countryside, intended to reveal its pure concept from a bird's eye view, it would be interesting to see this concept developed inside the urban fabric, where the Art will partake in the traces of the memories of the urban ground, and offer a public experience of subconscious investigation.

Contradictory to the above theories of Man and Nature, it is always interesting to go back to the masters of thought and dwell upon original and profound ideas that made for the creation of withstanding cities in time: When Socrates, the great townsman and contributor to the formation of the *'polis'* said "I have nothing to do with the trees of the field, I have to do only with the man of the city" *(Gasset, 164),* one comes to wonder about the complexity of human thought and the ability to create artifacts in any period of time, and under the guidance of a variety of perceptions. However, when speaking about the urban public space, which foundation lies upon the 'public square', we analyze its behavior and see that the intention, really, is to turn its back to the countryside, creating a space where "man frees himself from the community of the plant and the animal, leaves them outside, and creates an enclosure apart which is purely human, a civil space". *(Bloomer and Moore, 5)*

To enhance the quality of public urban space, it is enough to consider definitions of Civic Art that have been used in the past and elaborated above, in a brief manner, in an effort to bring back memories of ways with which great thinkers executed their urban architectural compositions and took awareness of their surroundings, always inside the urban context. Speculating the concepts from a wider scope, the term embodies perceptual interpretations of the surrounding atmosphere and of

human emotion created within, applied into systematic creations or new forms. However simple it may sound, the *genius loci* to be found inside of every space is a continuous challenge that in the end differentiates a result of comfort and clearness from a result of obscurity and disorientation. However, with the elaboration of conceptual frameworks of modern times, and the reality of complex and multi-faceted cities, the final intentions are yet obscure.

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THE ROLE OF PHYSICAL IDENTITY OF CITY IN URBAN SUSTAINABILITY (THE CASE STUDY: YAZD, IRAN)

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ABSTRACT

Tackling with environmental social-cultural urban crisis is one of the subjects that many cities are involved with it.

Although in the past years changes and transformations in urban development occurred gradually and the facilities and variety of instruments, materials, and technology were limited, but dominant rules of urban planning and design led to ideal cities with harmonic , sustainable well-formed image and responsive spaces.

But nowadays in spite of growth and development of science and technology and creation of modern concepts in sustainable development, unfortunately we are tackling with increasing destruction, unfair and unstable cities. The lost of identity that plays a vital role in urban structure, is one of the problem of modern urban spaces. The importance of this concern is related to socio-cultural and conceptual aspects of urban spaces as a context of urban life.

Therefore urban sustainability is a challenge that not only should be considered from environmental concepts, but also both of its physical and conceptual aspects are important to present an integrative framework in urban planning and design.

Moreover one of the most effective ways to achieve a sustainable urban form is using physical identity characteristic and hidden feature of traditional cities in order to using their design pattern and updating them along modern movements.

Therefore, first, in this paper the role of identity in quality of city is considered and then some general physical indicators of sustainable city with an approach to traditional Iranian cities are presented .Secondly, one of the traditional sustainable cities, Yazd, as a case study is selected and analyzed according to its physical identity factors. Finally, this paper concludes the importance of sense of identity and physical elements in urban sustainability, particularly in traditional urban spaces.

INTRODUCTION

Cities are always going through motion and alteration.Changes which appear in everywhere and everything over time have quite affected formation and development processes of cities.These changes have caused various urban problem in social, physical and economical and also led to arising of unqualified environmets deprived of technical infrastructure, livable areas and meaningful places .Today urban identity in general and old-historical regions in particularly are being threatened, physically degraded, damaged or even destroyed by the impact of globalization in societies everywhere.Thus, the changing trends and developments in technology have negative socio-economic impacts on the historic districts.Since sustainability is about the quality of life in a community and has physical, economic and social dimensions, sustainable urban identity can be achieved by the reinforcing, revitalizing or improving the quality of economic,

social and especially physical structures of such areas. To this end, the urban designers and planners shall put an particular emphasise to the positive role of old urban identity in different occasions and this can be followed by the analysis of the significant and key indicators of urban identity (Tavakoli, 2009).There is no doubt, that the creation and continuity of the expected urban identity, without provision of essential bases is not possible and affordable (Zadrafiei, 2005).Nonetheless, identity is a dynamic notion and diagnostic mean, which cover a particular sense in community and urban spirit (Piran, 2005).Urban identity is an index for the quality of civilization and the social spirit ofeach nation and is the result of the people's decisions and thoughts about it (Ghavampour, 2008).

Identity as an objective-subjective concept is not only a complex topic but also the most important factor to reach urban sustainability (Tavakoli and Zarabadi, 2009).Physical identity can influence ondependency, conformityand interestof people in a place, where help people to connect with other places. Review the impact of physical environment on human's activities and perceptions shows that physical environmental characteristics are pivotalterms to motivateconcrete spirit and identity in a city through creation of meaning and spatial perceptions(Groeter, 1996).The historical context of a city is part of its cultural property, reflecting its identity and visual values through forming the inhabitants' collective memory and showing the lifestyle of their ancestors. (Ghavampour, 2008).

In this paper Yazd as a traditional, historical-cultural city, situated in the central part of Iran with one of the most arid territories will be analyzed and considered by identifying the principles andconcepts of sustainable design in the old fabric according to its sustainable physical identity. Despite natural restriction and lack of modern technologies in the past, the inhabitants of Yazd have created a city assisted by many creative methods, where is famous as "Bride of desert" in Iran.

METHODOLOGY OF STUDY

The issue of identity in Iran and especially in old Iranian cities is not a new topic, but in designing new cities, where tradition and modernization colnflict each other, is an essential tool to creat meaningful, structurful and livable city.In pursuing this aim, the methodology aims to evaluate the urban physical identity according to urban sustainability.So, in theoretical part, the paper briefly considers the cocept of urban identity, sustainable urban idicators and criteria of Iranian traditional urban identity with analytical method.Then in practical part, fisrt, the structure of city "Yazd" as a case study will be analysed concerning some of its main physical components in the old zone through a field study.Secondly, based on results obtained from theoretical part, the paper attempts to consider the form and feature of Yazd related to its sustainable factors and urban identity.At least the paper concludesthe sustainable physical elements in Yazd. The results confirm that old district of Yazd has especial characteristics such asphysical identity, historicalsigns, harmony, unity and meaning. This paper investigate the impact of historical-physical forms on built environment and design of urban type in Yazd as a sustainable sample.

THE CONCEPT OF URBAN IDENTITY

The concept of identity, which is considered in this paper as a physical criteria, shows its importance in tackling with undesired effects of modern urban design,

which is almost meaningless and without any unique identity. Urban identity is a major issue in contemporary urban planning, due to ongoing deterioration in older districts of cities worldwide. Loss of place-identity causes harmful effects on cities and their users.Recognising the value of a place as a foundamental component in urban, identity serves as a refrence point both in terms of the wishes of the society and in preserving and constructing a sustainable urban image.The design quality of cities and their spaces in the public realm can have a profound effect on the quality of life experienced by communities.Moreover urban identity can instill a sense of civic pride in residents and convey a much improved social image to visitors to the area (Author).

Identity as a normative concept can be evaluated in many different ways. It can be observed in line with the physical structure of city.Historical urban fabrics show identity, culture, system and values of society, economy and environment of each country.Here it is aimed to identify how historical cities respond to sustain urban structure. These criteria are developed via morphological approach, integration of main structure and urban fabric. Consequently, the indicators for evaluation of physical identity in a city are:

1. Difference and similarity: difference from others and similar with itself.
2. Continuity and evolution: connectto the past(continuity of the original meanings and values) in line with innovation, creativity and reflecting the contemporary status (to preserveits origin, but not remain in the past)
3. Unity and multiplicity : the relation between different, heterogeneous and various components.(Mirmoghtadaee, 2005)

Moreover, in order to gain urban identity and architectural identity the following terms are essential:

- A comprehensive definition of urban and architectural identity and explaining the theory of identity for modern society.
- Reinforcing the factors of identity and recognition them.
- Creative factors which reflecturban identity and ignoremeaningless elements.
- Reduceturbulency of urban feature and preserving similar spaces.
- Constituteclose relationships between people and urban society through direct and routine contacts.
- Designing symbolic components, elements andfamous architectural signs in built environment(Bazrgar, 2003)

Several factors are effectual to form Iranian urban feature and its identity as shown in Figure1.In addition to, urban structure with qualified distribution of elements coherent with their logical relevance can play vital role in urban identity.Continuity in urban structure is one of the issues that obtain an integrated form in the city .With correct and powerful connection between urban elements can creat an meaningful unity, which at least leads to structural identity in that place.Also the orientation of each factor in the city helps to better recognition of city.Theelements not only preserve their unity and integrity, but present their

quality as well.It is also mentionable that this unity and integrity do not result in monotony or dejection in city (Darabi, 2003).

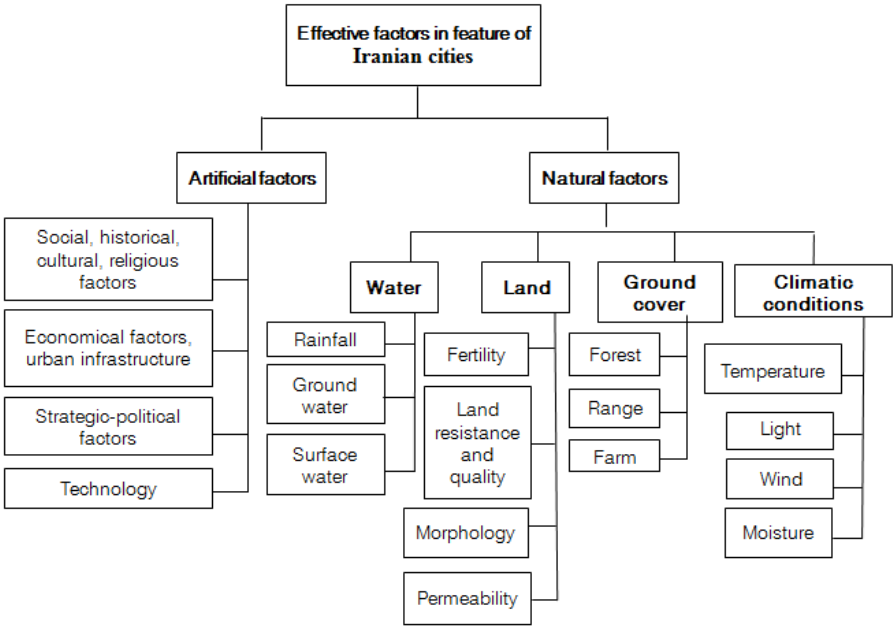

Figure 1 Effective factors in feature of Iranian cities(Farjami, 2003).

SUSTAINABLE URBAN CRITERIA

Sustainability is about integrating economic, social, cultural and environmental considerations to create a more livable world today and in the future.Sustainable urban design is a kind of changing in environment that attempts to invent new solution which have balance with environment and other mentioned purposes.City is an organic and alive system that its form and function have decisive effect on human's moral and satisfaction. By the way, according to meaning of sustainable development all important and effective elements in fields of urban sustainability should be analysed. For this reason the most principal indicators of sustainable city are classified in Figure 2(Tavakoli, 2010).Thereafter it is found that the main factors of sustainability are demonstrated in Iranian historical cities.

THE RECOGNITION OF TRADITIONAL URBAN IDENTITY

The important point of traditional urban identity is, its powerful convergence in social and physical environment.Traditional cities include suitable pattern of urban management, organized public participation and social determination in body of the city, which are caused by human's moral solidarity with urban society. The form of such city has distinctive physical signs, which have direct and complementary relation with its surrounded environment. Furthermore local architecture in old city is proportionate to its habitant's behaviour, culture and needs.The base of recognition urban identity can be classified in three level with

special indicators:Indicators of urban identity in Major, middle and minor level (Zadrafiei, 2005)

I. Indicators of urban identity in major level:

- Historical structure of society
- Civil structure of society
- Urban tourist capability
- Urban management
- Employment basis
- Sustainable environmental base of city
- Stability of urban population
- Unity and integrity of urban society
- Behavioural pattern of urban communities
- Historical culture of citizens
- Legibility of urban economical-political information

II. Indicators of urban identity in middle level:

- Urban scale
- Speed of urban expansion
- Legibility of urban physical spaces
- Efficiency of urban transport
- Potential of low energy networks
- Sustainable natural resources
- Cultural-tourism network
- Living opportunities
- Analytical characteristics of sky line
- Spatial and visual integrity
- Continuity of public urban spaces
- Urban morphology
- Urban physical scale

III. Indicators of urban identity in minor level:

- Analytical characteristics of city centers
- Mixed uses in the city
- Sprawl rules in urban spaces
- Quality of urban buildings and architectural signs
- Prominentarchitecture
- Visual symbological elements
- Spirtual spaces and elements
- Presenting places of vernacular cultural productions
- Coexistence of city with natural resources such as mountains, forests, ect.
- Colours and smells
- Contact of people with nature

- Memorable spaces
- Calm and secure spaces

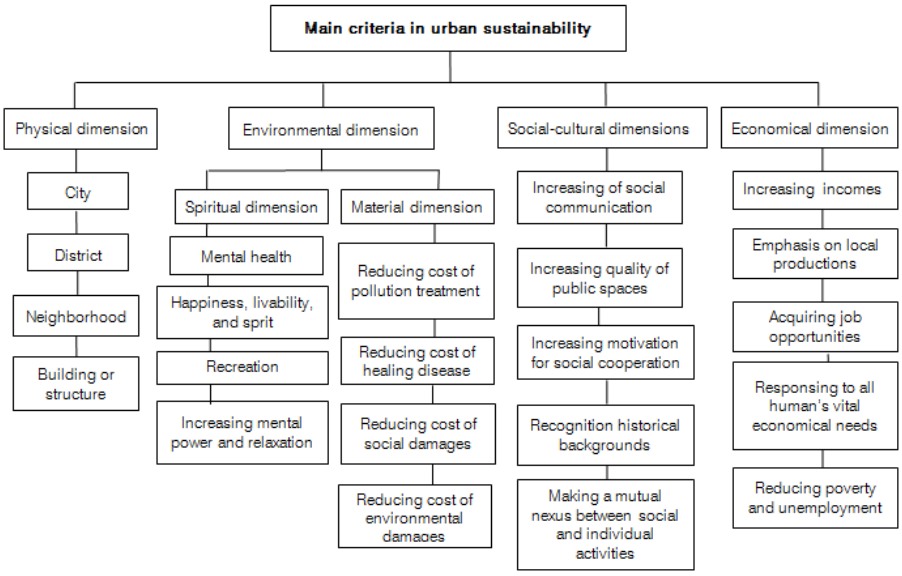

Figure 2 Effective factors in urban sustainability(Tavakoli, 2010).

THE TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE OF YAZD

Yazd is located to the east of Isfahan and to the south of Kavir-e-Loot in the central part of Iran (Bonine, 1980).Yazd is the center of heritage, culture, art, and creativity since thousands years ago and includes many singular architectural sites and urban structures.Some of the most valuable and historical physical structures in old zone of Yazd, which should be took into cosideration and play significant role in the old feature, are studied as below.

Qanat (underground water canal):

Average annual rainfal of Yazd is about 59mms on the plains and 112-470 mms in mountain areas.For an extensively arid area as Yazd, this little rainfall has afflicted the region with austere water resources.The most outstanding infrastructural and historical feature of Yazd is its underground water canals"Qanat" (Figure3).

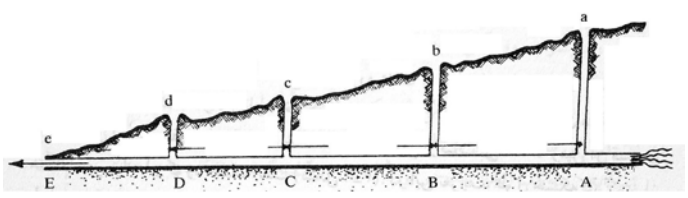

Figure 3 Diagram of a typical Qanat (Zarabadi and Karimi, 2008).

These canals are, in fact, the basis on which the foundation of urban development has been laid in a very logical way. (Ghoreishizadeh, 1997).This system which brings water to ground level land through a simple traditional technology, can transferwater to gardens, dwellings and public services. In these areas water is stored separately for each neighborhood (1983, Kamiar).

Baadgir (Windward shafts):

These traditional cooling structures are among the most conspicuous features of Yazd, giving the city a totally distinct appearance from other Iranian cities (Figure4).Old residential quarters, some mosques and the city's traditional water reservoirs have Baadgirs, which are indeed the breathing outlets of Yazd.These structures are small towers which are designed in such a way as to blow the natural air current into the building.These ventilation shafts are worthy of being mentioned as best examples of efficient clean energy systems.The shafts have four parts: body(or trunk), air shelves, flaps and roofs (Ghoreishizadeh, 1997).

Sabaats (roofed alley ways):

Sabaats are the roofed alleys and passageways in Yazd (Figure 5).The main objective behind their construction was to help the heat stricken passengers coming from hot saharas cool off in their shade, although it enriched the sense of neighbourhood among the citizens (Ghoreishizadeh, 1997).

Figure 4 Baadgir (Author)

Figure 5 Sabaat, roofed alley ways(Author)

Underground Water Storage:

These structure are usually located at the center of the city neighbourhoods and consists of four main parts:1)a reservoir, which is cynlindrically shaped and located below the ground surface.The water coming from underground canals, pours into this storage;2)a dome built over the storage, which keeps the water cool;3)Pasheer, the platform, which is used for taking water from the reservoir;4)Badgir, a windward shaft for bringing in the air in order to protect the water from spoiling (Figure6).

Mosques:

Yazd's mosques bear a tremendous significance in terms of historical, artistic and architectural features (Figure 7).The neighbourhood mosques, which are located at the center of each neighbourhood, are modest and simple.These small mosques are

usually roofed with archs(Taagh).Masjed-e-Jame stands out among other grand mosques across the whole province, and has a great importance because of the historical evolution of its Iranian-Islamic architecture, design and decorations.The high entrance, very proportionate domes, the allocation of various spaces to religious services, etc.reflect the Iranian artist's talent, artistic acumen and skills (Ghoreishizadeh, 1997).

Figure 6*Underground water reservoir (Author)*

Figure 7"Jameh" mosque *(Author)*

Old Bazaar:

There are two kinds of roofed Bazaars in Yazd which are built on the principles of traditional architecture and civil engineering:

1. *Bazaarcheh (the small Bazaar):*

These small Bazaars usually form the center of the urban old neighbourhoods and the scope of the activities of these small Bazaars is the neighbourhood and they include one or few small workshops, traditional apothecary, a mosque, an underground water reservoir

2. *Bazaar:*

The network of Yazd's old Bazaars is an extensive urban architectural complex located at the south of the city and includes several Bazaar passages, trade compounds and houses, mosques, squares, Hussainieh, schools, underground water reservoir, carvanserais and workshops.This complex operates on a regional-and to some extent, national-basis (Figure 8).

Zoroastrian Relics and Buildings:

The zoroastrian religion dates back to 2500 years ago.Main parts of their heritages are numerous Atashkadeh (fire temples) and other religious sites.At the temple altar which is built on a raised platform, fire burns.Around this altar are located several rooms wherein worshippers may offer prayers (Figure 9).

Figure 8 Bazaar & Bazaarcheh *(Author)*

Figure 9 *Fire Temple (Author)*

URBAN FORM OF YAZD

The old form of Yazd is simple, clear and has social unity, spatial continuity, monochrome, balanced and harmonize. The most prominentindicators of urban form in Yazd are turquoise-coloured domes and minarets in a khaki background.Spaces in the city have been such designed to balance any accumulation.The old urban form and its spaces have been never changed or transformed.Generally it has some important characteristics as follows:

1. Harmony between nature and human's being

In the past, people percieved their environment well.There was a balance between human with him/herself and nature, which formed his/her conceptual territory.It was also a source of respect to the nature, unity with it, being happy and has realistic perception, which caused creativity and initiative (Ortegay Gasset, 1997).

2. Spatial regularity

Conceptual regularity shapes spatial regularity and forms the city too.This arrangement includes similarity, contrast, unity and homogeneity.Such well-formed conceptual system creates systematic and regular urban spaces in Yazd and it has influence on human's perception, so both of them are effective for urban development.The most important point in spatial regularity of old zone is unity and continuity of all urban elements (Tavasoli, 1987)

3. Visual-artistic quality

Aesthetic and visual qualities can be seen in all old parts of the city.Rhythm, movement, unity and harmony are the special artistic points in old zone.

FEATURE OF YAZD

Features and signs are the first elements which affect the viewers' perception and have a strong visual effect.

Feature of old zone has some basic characteristics :

- Urban elements have relevance with their surrounded environment .
- Continuity can be seen every where.
- The feature is clear, alive and contiguous.
- There is a relation between memories, historical-cultural events and symbols.
- Some of the elements have special influence on viewr's mind.
- It creats sense of security.
- It is legible, simple, formic and meaningful (Hajforoosh, 2001).

It also consists of these components:

1. Ways:Main or secondary crossways, private or public alleys in old zone shape the fabric structure and in compare with the new ones they have the qualities such as: hierarchy, distinctive, create various light by making open and enclosed spaces, making contrast by changing the scale or kind of space, continuity, being surrounded according to climate, stability, dynamic and symmetry.

2. Edge: Yazd is situated in a flat field, so thenatural edges can not be found there. Nevertheless, built borders are historical, integrative, connective and have desirable image.

3. Vertices:Mosques, squares, crossroads, place of various activities and either districts are the old urban vertices.

4. Signs:Signs are a symbolic factor in Yazd.Natural sign such as Shirkooh mountain or the artificial ones such as minarets of main mosque, Mirchakhmagh square or religious places like Tekiyeh, Hussainieh and shrines are some of the powerful signs in old zone.They make easier orientation, legible image, human's comfort and better movement in the city.Moreover they are spirtual signs that have religious and holy roots (Hajforoosh, 2001).

5. Districts:Yazd has 43 districts and each one has a center of district.Furthermore more urban legibility, spatial connection between districts or their centers are possible through a main crossways.Some of their principles are:

   - Identity and characteristic
   - Social, cultural, economical nexus together
   - Being a spatial relationship between elements of the district
   - Makinng spatial connection between elements of district, city center and center of districts via corridors
   - A qualified proportion between residential and urban spaces

6. Skyline and image of city:The image of traditional Iranian cities has been formed mainly along two factors, the cultural and climatic.The unique sky line of an old city expose its activity, power, decline and the other characteristics and it is the first image which establishes the identity of a city. Any visible element on the skyline of a Yazd city such as mosque and Hoseinieh(at the neighborhood level) and minaret of "Jameh" mosque, "Amirchaqmag" square or wind tower(at the urban level) were and still are the main basis for urban characteristics and orientation subjects for visitors and residents (Soltanzadeh, 1986).

Figure 10 Skyline of Yazd (Zarabadi and Karimi, 2008)

SUSTAINABLE URBAN PHYSICAL INDICATORS OF YAZD

The sustainable physical indicators in designing old zone of Yazd can be classified as follows:

1) The basic factors in feature of Yazd:
- Urban fabric, which is warm and attractive in old zone of Yazd.It has a direct relevance between the texture and its environment in Yazd.Straw, clay, wood and thatch are the natural source of urban texture in Yazd.
- Color: Yazd is situated in a torrid zone of Iran with warm-dry climate, so according to its nature, the colour of the city is as same as the colour of the soil. Thematerials of building are light color with low thermal capacity
- Proportion and scale:In old part of Yazd the principle of proportions(relevance of different dimensions of a space) are created due to climate, cultural condition and human's sense of peace and relaxation.The spaces have also human scale .
- The architectural elements such as :Construction forms, technique of building, structure of buildings, materials, colour, architectural styles, scale, artistic critera, spatial density, geographical and natural factors.
- Urban symbols as the most important cultural elements within the urban fabric
- Using natural potentials such as wind, water, light and soilin urban structure

2) Surrounded spaces:
- Surrounding the spaces with symmetrical high roofs, arches walls or porticos(Riwaq)
- Simple form of urban spaces
- Building shelters with enclosed harmonized spaces and designing covered alleys, which provide shadow
- Building shadowy domes in squares and crossingways against sunlight with regular and coherent rhythm.
- Creating unity and continuity in enclosed spaces.
- Creating human's conceptual unity regarding being in a monomorphic surrounded space.
- Green spaces with full of shadow

3) Simplicity of urban design:
- Simple building design

- Simple synthesis of spatial elements
- Simple architectural materials
- Simple design of signs, symbols and their colour.

4) Dynamic and statics:
- Connective spaces such as main crossingways and extended spaces along squares are dynamic
- Form of the squares and spaces around them are statics

5) Symmetry and synthesis:
- Symmetry in architectural spaces, open spaces and its components
- Creatingsynthesis in spaces and their surrounded frame with the principle of unity

6) Distinctive spaces
- Heterogeneous spaces reduce monotony of connective spaces
- Two main characteristics of such spaces are :to become wide or narrow, to be surrounded or opened according to ecological condition(like sabaat)
- One of the famous sample of distinctive spaces is Masjed-e-Jameh mosque, includes:court of mosque, entrance spaces, Bazaar crossway, entrance of mini square(Meydancheh), main portal of mosque
- Irregular design of alleys to prevent circulation of undesirable wind within the city
- The scale of spaces and difference in method of surrounding spaces can create distinctive qualities between some spaces
- Visual attraction

7) Spatial territory:
- Clear spatial territory and neighbourhood typology
- Three type of spatial territory:1)private spaces :such as yard in houses, 2)semi private-semi public spaces: such as a private blind alley, 3) public spaces: such as squares, crossways, Bazaars, mosques
- The characteristics of semi private-semi public spaces are: giving sense of security and ownership to their citizens, permitting citizens to live in their private spaces, visittheir neighbours and improve their social life
- Belonging to several families and making an intimate place for more social relationship
- Relation and balance between empty, half full and full space
- Sequence of lost views and landscapes

8) Identity :
- Urban functional unity
- Unity of urban form
- Psychological urban unity
- Creativity, freedom, awarenes, human's need and individual or social belief are the reasons of existing identity and unity in Yazd.

CONCLUSION

Urban identity is not known only as a physical or natural element, but it is a mental and cultural element that its formation in people's mind has direct relevance with the interventions of history, religious and mythological beliefs, environment, traditions and etc. Consequently, urban identity is stage for the urban scenario. Since the historical fabrics of the city play an important role in this scenario and,

as they generally form the first societies in the city, their role is highlighted in granting the urban identity.Urban identity is known as an image reflecting the human relationships with his environment from past up to the present time.It has a physical and mental nature. Therefore, identity has the content in addition to physical features. It is also a relative phenomenon depends on culture, history and human's popular images (Ghavampour, 2008).

A city with an urban identity is a city, where there is no time break in the links from its past to the present and future. So it has a legible scenario from different periods and different historical layers. Texture, relations, and strains along with this union make the urban incidents in the city comprehensible and may include full of activities, memories and tangible identity.

In many cases our judgment on urban identity is the result of the relationships between the visual signs. The architecture, buildings bodies, sizes, proportions, colors, shapes, surface decorations, continuity and rhythm, the variety of the materials along with other signs and symbols, make the visual contact of the city possible.The importance of the urban identity in urban sustainability is inevitable.

The mentionable point is the enriched situation of traditional cities, because of their identity, meaningful and functional structure.The presence of such sustainable qualitative dimensions of built environment has influential impact on the urban form, function and meaning which are the basic factors of urban design .This is evident in historical cities of Iran such as Yazd, which is one of the old Iranian cities and has undoubtly a special identity in its physical structure.The technological and systematic function of the architectural buildings, along with social communication even in each small district, the dynamic economy pattern regarding the tourism attraction and economical focal points such as bazaar, utilization natural materials and resources as well as possible such as Qanaat or water storages, unity and integrity in urban form-feature and fabric, besides many other conceptual and meaningful components have been create a sustainable pattern, where can be a symbol of a sustainable historic city.

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SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS: THE URBAN VERNACULAR?

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ABSTRACT

Squatter settlements are among those housing patterns which have the most visible reciprocal interactions between user groups and their needs. Their idea of housing is essentially an activity or a process – it's not a static physical object. For them housing is a verb. But, there exists a very little qualitative understanding of these people made places, despite them being the single largest way of housing in urban areas.

On the other hand, the constraints of rigid social structures, climate & limited resources have been identified as key factors of vernacular environments. They have been widely admired for the distinct expression of these forces in their built environments. But urban squatter environments have equally rigid constraints of poverty, so why there has been so little interest in studying the forms of these settlements.

Squatter settlements are often assumed to be the opposite of vernacular environments as vernacular architecture is largely associated with traditional practices and forms. The paper attempts to demonstrate that far from inhabiting separate universes there are many points of commonality between them, and if our definitions are appropriately framed, we may regard much contemporary construction to be a continuation of existing vernacular traditions.

In the paper, rural villages are studied as examples of traditional vernacular while spontaneous settlements in the city represent the modified vernacular. Instead of limiting the discussions to the house forms or materials of both the settlements, the attempt is to find out the similarities in the factors they can be attributed to. These factors are then related to their way of life, social organization, concepts of territoriality, way of handling basic needs, the link between the dwelling and the settlement pattern. Thereby, core elements of vernacular architecture in the frame of reference of the causative factors are identified. Similarly, the aspects resulting in the built environment of squatter settlements are studied. These are then compared, so as to argue the inclusion of slums within the category of vernacular architecture.

INTRODUCTION

Squatter settlements are unanimously viewed as visual and social pollution. They are often prejudiced about the negative morals. "The slum, is basically an area of darkness, despair and poverty"(Stokes 1962).They are referred as 'depressed areas'(Pillai 1970)of a city which suffer from a low level of community feeling. The ordinary men living in these areas are deemed to be suffering from variety of handicaps. Views such as "Every city in third world is a dual city - an island of wealth surrounded by a black belt of misery. Outside the bright, shinning modern city of skyscrapers, flyover and desirable residences, the poor are cramped in squalor, disease and neglect shacks from plywood, cardboard, mud and straw".(Das 1988)state the offensive nature of slums to urban inhabitants.

Squatter settlements are often assumed to be the opposite of vernacular environments as vernacular architecture is largely associated with traditional practices and forms. It is believed to be found only in rural areas and historic centers. It is identified only with the past and is believed to be under threat from contemporary values and globalization. Such perspectives tend to be based on static notions of society which underplay processes of change."Spontaneous settlements are closer to traditional vernacular than to any other type of environments and farthest from professionally designed or high-style environment".(Rapoport 1988).

Vernacular architecture initially referred to traditional, rural, pre-industrial buildings but in recent times it has come to be associated with any building which is not 'consciously designed' by non professional people. While much attention is paid to the characteristics of a dwelling built in traditional vernacular environments, similar studies of shelters in squatter settlements are far from any researchers' interest.

"How is it that people who are often illiterate, with very limited resources & power, hence operating under stringent constraints – economic, informational, political and so on- are able to produce settings and environments that I at least judge to be vastly superior, in terms of cultural supportiveness and perceptual quality, than designers working in same places. I would go further – these environments are frequently even of higher quality than those of designers working in much more developed and wealthier places. The environments of spontaneous settlements are frequently comparable in quality to those of traditional vernacular, many of which professional designers admire."(Rapoport 1988).

Squatter settlements are based on processes of continuous change and adaptation. The squatters themselves directly apply their know-how and practices to deal with contemporary challenges. Their rural background knowledge and experience are modified to achieve a way of living in the present context and these processes appear to be similar to the processes of vernacular architecture. Hence, examining them through the lens of vernacular built environments can help us place meaning in their existence.

A key aim of this paper is to recognize the significance of current building processes, particularly the 'popular construction' taking place on a massive scale in squatter settlements in the cities of the developing world. It is an attempt to investigate the consolidation of squatter houses to discover the relationship between people and their dwellings and comprehend their various aesthetic or perceptual and formal environmental quality components.

Defining Vernacular

The term 'vernacular' derives from the Latin word 'vernaculas', meaning native or indigenous.(Oliver 1997)

Dictionary definitions associated with the discourse of "vernacular" relates to indigenous, domestic and non foreign, it is commonly understood to derive its form in connection with building and architecture of local life, style, materials and geography.(Oliver 1969). "Vernacular architecture comprises of dwellings and all other buildings of the people. Related to their environmental contexts and available resources, dwellings are customarily built utilizing traditional technologies. These forms are built to meet specific needs, accommodating the

values, economies and ways of living of the cultures that produce them".(Oliver 1997)

"Vernacular buildings are not built by architect but by society, with its relationship with the natural environment in mind, over generations."(Krisprantono 2003)

"The folk architecture is a direct and unself-conscious translation into physical form of a culture, its needs and values – as well as the desires, dreams and passions of the people."(Rapoport 1969)

Vernacular architecture is a contradiction in terms. It is built without a preconceived design and the builders employ a simple and more natural process of construction and technology which had been handed down from generation to generation over years. Hence, it can be defined as spontaneous, anonymous, indigenous & popular architecture, different from the mainstream architecture of trained modern architects.

The end product of vernacular buildings is therefore, the meeting of local needs by means of local beliefs, nature, local materials and social interaction. These needs relate to their environment, to their respective economies and occupations, to their inheritances and their aspirations and to their relationships with other social groups. In most of these societies the people are too numerous to be accommodated in single shelters, so settlement location, organization and communication routes are of great importance. These factors depend on the nature and structure of the society.

CASE STUDY AREA : SETTLEMENT IN BIDADA VILLAGE, KUTCH (WESTERN INDIA)

Location

Bidada village lies at the western most tip of India. It is situated in the southern coastal part of Kutch.

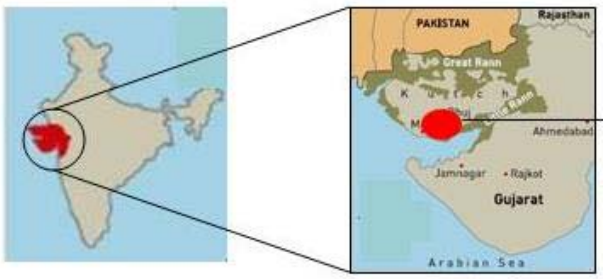
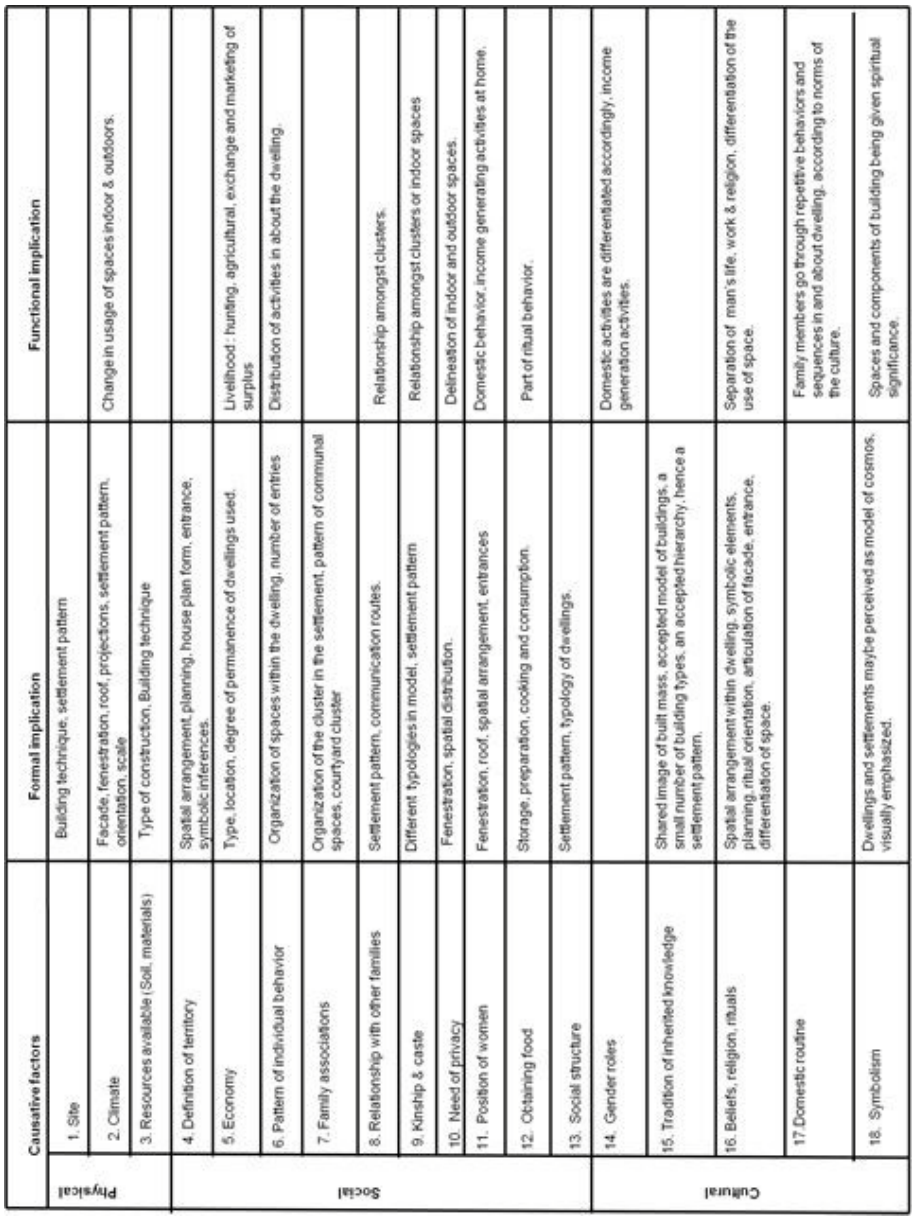


Fig 2: Kutch region (www.mapsofindia.com 2009)

Fig 3: Kutch region (Google earth 2009)



	Causative factors	Formal implication	Functional implication
Physical	1. Site	Building technique, settlement pattern	
	2. Climate	Facade, fenestration, roof, projections, settlement pattern, orientation, scale	Change in usage of spaces indoor & outdoors.
	3. Resources available (Soil, materials)	Type of construction, Building technique	
Social	4. Definition of territory	Spatial arrangement, planning, house plan form, entrance, symbolic inferences.	
	5. Economy	Type, location, degree of permanence of dwellings used.	Livelihood : hunting, agricultural, exchange and marketing of surplus
	6. Pattern of individual behavior	Organization of spaces within the dwelling, number of entries	Distribution of activities in about the dwelling.
	7. Family associations	Organization of the cluster in the settlement, pattern of communal spaces, courtyard cluster	
	8. Relationship with other families	Settlement pattern, communication routes.	Relationship amongst clusters.
	9. Kinship & caste	Different typologies in model, settlement pattern	Relationship amongst clusters or indoor spaces
	10. Need of privacy	Fenestration, spatial distribution.	Delineation of indoor and outdoor spaces.
	11. Position of women	Fenestration, roof, spatial arrangement, entrances	Domestic behavior, income generating activities at home.
	12. Obtaining food	Storage, preparation, cooking and consumption.	Part of ritual behavior.
	13. Social structure	Settlement pattern, typology of dwellings.	
Cultural	14. Gender roles		Domestic activities are differentiated accordingly, income generation activities.
	15. Tradition of inherited knowledge	Shared image of built mass, accepted model of buildings, a small number of building types, an accepted hierarchy, hence a settlement pattern.	
	16. Beliefs, religion, rituals	Spatial arrangement within dwelling, symbolic elements, planning, ritual orientation, articulation of facade, entrance, differentiation of space.	Separation of man's life, work & religion, differentiation of the use of space.
	17. Domestic routine		Family members go through repetitive behaviors and sequences in and about dwelling, according to norms of the culture.
	18. Symbolism	Dwellings and settlements maybe perceived as model of cosmos, visually emphasized.	Spaces and components of building being given spiritual significance.

Fig 1: Theoretical Framework (Author)

Climate

Kutch has a tropical monsoon climate with high average annual rainfall. The daily temperature variation is quite wide due to the presence of a vast desert. The central, western and southern coastal areas have hot and humid climate due to the proximity to the Arabian sea. The air is salty and the soil thick with salt. It is not suitable for cultivation.

Society

The village has about 500-550 houses and people are of various caste and communities like Harijans, Muslims, Brahmins and Darbari. The major population is of Hindus, Jains and Muslims. People of same communities stay together forming different zones of the village. The Harijans and Muslims being non-vegetarians, have their houses in the wind direction away from the village so that odors emanating from flesh and meat preparations can be avoided by the rest of the village.(Udamale 2003)

Spatial Arrangement of Settlement

Spatial pattern is that of long row type houses with narrow street network and dense population. The traditional settlement pattern responds to the hot and humid conditions very well(Udamale 2003).The narrow streets, common wall structures form a dense urban fabric that breathes through the smaller indoor open spaces like courtyards. The ratio of area of private territory to that of public territory is quite high. The close packing of dwellings reduces the external surfaces exposed to sun and results in maximum shading of private and open public spaces. The overall urban form is very compact with a combination of few flat and a mostly sloping roof forms.

Fig 4: Kutch settlement pattern (Google earth 2009)

Spatial Distribution

It is observed that the housing typology differs in the spatial pattern. The socio cultural attitudes and other factors defining the social grouping gets translated into the spatial pattern with changing position of kitchen, definition of public and private spaces, use of courtyard, open to built relationship(Udamale 2003).

The courtyard is used very effectively for various purposes such as defining privacy, to get light into the building, to link various public and private zones in the house. It majorly helps in negotiating the climate. It cools down the dwelling in the night by releasing the heat and allows the heat to penetrate during the winter.

Social Setup

Its built environment, public and private realm of this area is determined by the composition of open spaces, semi open and enclosed spaces together. The zoning of public and private spaces shows resemblance to a typical old Indian town.

The system of spaces is largely determined by the network of curvilinear streets, connected by chowks of various proportions and scale.

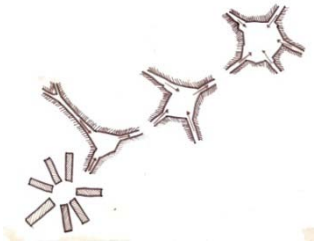


Fig 5: Hierarchy of open spaces (Author)

1. The main village or chowk is largest in size, from which main streets radiate.
2. At the junction of major arterial streets, main street intersection chowks are formed.
3. At the intersection of secondary streets, neighborhood spaces are formed.
4. Narrow streets terminate in formation of space around 5-6 houses which are door fronts or aangan.

Settlement Growth Pattern

Village settlement seems to grow in an organic manner, but it has a highly sophisticated rule system which guides its growth. These rules are determined by matters of privacy as they have adjacent roofs, windows and doors. They provide frameworks within which people can live together within close proximity.Streets are like water stream lines flowing smoothly in various directions. As they go ahead the width length goes on decreasing forming alleys in the village interiors.

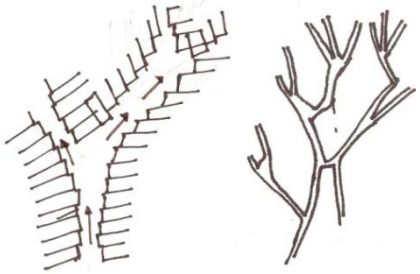


Fig 6: Street pattern (Author)

Streets are constantly turning in curves, in a particular direction through small chowks of Y- shape. They branch out in two or three directions and turn again.

Fig 7: Street scape (Author)

They behave like channels of wind through the village, and are all aligned along the south west direction. They are cooled by the shadows of the street walls, creating a micro climate of the village. They are formed by staggering houses by few feet;width of a narrow street varies from 8' to 18', with houses having a frontage of 10' to 15' width.(Udamale 2003).

Fig 8: Alternative courtyards (Author)

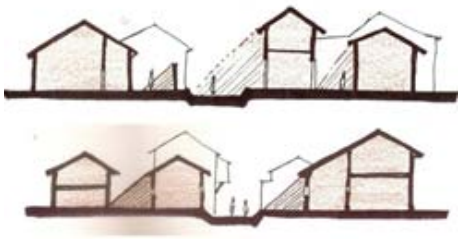


Fig 9: Street section (Author)

A typical feature is that the entry to a dwelling is faced by a courtyard across the street. (Udamale 2003)

This pattern repeats alternatively, to help achieve privacy and multidirectional flow of breeze and makes it dynamic and visually interesting. Main entrances never face in straight line, avoiding direct sight in the house.

Elements Evolved as Response to the Climate

Passive-cooling techniques used in the hot and humid region aims at increasing theair flow and reducing the heat gain. Due to water scarcity the evaporative cooling becomes very difficult. *Common walls:* The high density of the urban form facilitates mutual shading keeping the vertical surfaces in shade throughout the long, hot days of summer except for the time when the sun is at the zenith.

Thick external walls: All the external walls are very thick working on the principle of thermal mass where the thickness of the brick wall delays the heat gain and works as thermal battery during the cold and dry winters.

*Courtyard:*The central square courtyard with high height to width ratio works in a typical manner. During the summer time throughout the hot summer day it is a shaded and in combination with the thick external walls delaying the heat gain

keeps the interior cool. During the night the same courtyard becomes a heat sink and by natural convective cooling allows the hot air to be released outside.

Small wedge shaped opening on the outer walls: Due to the typical shape of this opening, pressure difference is created and airflow is generated. This in combination with the courtyard generates convective cooling during the during the summer night. The angle of the opening is developed considering the sun angle during the winter.

	Causative factors	Formal implication	Functional implication
Physical	1. Climate (Hot and humid type)	Sloping roofs, courtyard typology, thick external walls, maximum number of common walls, streets act like channels of wind aligned in south west direction.	Small wedge shaped opening on the outer walls to create airflow due to pressure differences.
	2. Resources available (mud, timber).	Walls are made of mud bricks, roof is made of timber.c	
Social	3. Settlement growth pattern	Streets turn in curves, branch out in a Y-shape , width varies from 8' to 18', with houses having a frontage of 10' to 15' width	Organic manner, but rules are determined by matters of privacy as they have adjacent roofs, windows and doors.
	4. Status of the family	Scale of houses, intricacy of carvings, size of openings, colors, the entry steps indicate the status.	
	5. Castes & communities (Harijans, Muslims, Brahmins and Darbari)	People of same communities stay together forming different zones. The Harijans and Muslims reside in the wind direction away from the village.	The size & number of rooms in the houses varied corresponding to the need of the dweller.
	6. Need for social interface amongst families.	A small open to sky shrine above a white cubical platform under a *neem* tree called *jakh*, chowks of various proportion & scales, perpetually shaded streets.	Sacred and interactive spaces for elders, women and the children.
	7. Need for privacy	The entry to a dwelling is faced by a courtyard of another dwelling across the street.	Avoids direct sight into the households.
Cultural	8. Tradition of inherited knowledge (a modular assemblage)	Resulted in a standard geometry, dimensions and proportions imparting uniformity and physical wholeness to the settlement.	Made it possible to provide extensions where required, at the same time control the form and spread of the building.
	9. Symbolism	Decoration of door and window with the pair of *gadkhi*, ornamentation of the lintel, carvings depicting birds, flowers and auspicious symbols marking the entrance.	

Fig 10: Architectural interpretation of contextual factosr of Bidada village (Author)

ATTRIBUTES OF VERNACULAR ENVIRONMENT

Vernacular building expresses the specific nature of specific cultures and employs numerous forms that symbolize the relationship between humans, society, nature and built environments they live in.

1. **Tradition as the force of law** – As tradition is honored by everyone through collective assent, the building know how is handed down through generations. It is accepted & obeyed and hence gives a collective control. It acts as a discipline.
2. **Owner is very much a participant in the building process and not merely a consumer** – Everyone in the society is aware of the prescribed methods of building and knows how to build.
3. **Dwelling model is fully uniform** - Certain building forms are taken for granted and any change is strongly resisted since societies like these, tend to be very tradition oriented. This final form is the result of changes made to it over a long period of time, until it satisfied the cultural, physical and maintenance requirements.
4. **Individual specimens are modified, not the type** - When a dwelling is built, the form or the model and materials are already known. What is individually determined are the specifics such as family requirements, the size and its relation to the rest of the built form.
5. **No pretentious aesthetics or styling** – The execution involves the use of principles applicable to every building. The form adjusts to given problems and available means. Such buildings are based on the idea that a task should be performed in the simplest, most unobtrusive and direct way possible. Being tradition bound, any change happens within a frame of a given common heritage and hierarchy of values.
6. **Open ended nature** – Vernacular architecture is unspecialized. It is easily modified in terms of additions and subtractions.
7. **Climate as a modifying factor** - Climate acts as a secondary factor, where as socio cultural factors are the primary forces which shape the built environment.

CASE STUDY AREA – KHICHRIPUR SLUMS, DELHI

Location

Khichripur squatter settlement is located in East of Delhi. It is in the walking range of the Ghazipur dairy farm and occupies an unobtrusive plot of land. The area is bounded by a slum resettlement colony of kalyanvas and Ghazipur drain.

Building Process

The beginning of acquisition of land on which to build was the primary determinant of the housing pattern in this squatter settlement. The organization of living and working activities within the combination of culture-rooted behavioral characteristics and resource limitations has furthered contributed to its growth.

Settlement Pattern

The settlement is very compact in nature and has the maximum amount of built up area possible. It has a very high population density and the ratio of area of private territory is much higher than the public. Dwellings are very closely packed and most of them share the common walls. Settlement is developed around a great variety of open spaces that include small, irregular squares and open areas in between units.

Fig 11: Buit up of slum area (Author)

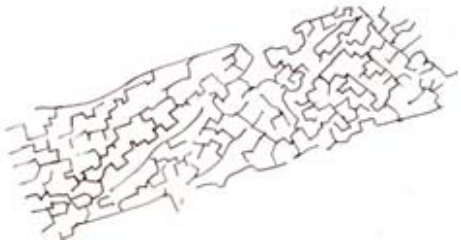


Fig 12: Street pattern (Author)

Street Pattern

As much as public spaces for social interaction, streets and paths in informal settlements also follow a hierarchy of different widths, finishes and public importance .Narrow streets and paths that might not provide access to cars are land-efficient and also serve for the ventilation and lighting of the units.

In many cases, narrow alleys also permit to have double access to the units, which is particularly useful for units that combine residence and income generationactivities or for units that house an extended family.

Fig 13 : Double access to units (Author)

Fig 14 : Double access to units (Author)

For example, by giving an independent access to the family of the married children. In case of insufficient land availability, this solution permits increasing densities and therefore allows more affordable solutions for the majority.

Public Realm

The public or semi-public spaces play a fundamental role in community building and in social interactions between residents. Therefore the settlement is punctuated by a series of open spaces.Each cluster of unit is woven aroundan open area (featured by a tree, a water tank or a shaded area). These open areas vary in importance and functionality providing multiplicity of interactions between dwellers.

Fig 15: Chowk (Author)

Fig 16: Streets (Author)

Absence of Distinction Between Public and Private Areas

There is hardly any discernable separation of public and private spheres of activities within the dwelling unit. Many activities which are considered to be private by a non-slum inhabitant for instance, bathing are public in a slum setting. Thus, the code for public and private activity does not exist and the there is a very bleak difference in the spaces.

Fig 17: Spill over activities (Author)

Fig 18: Spill over activities(Author)

Spatial Distribution

In its simplest form, a dwelling unit contains a single space which houses all sorts of activities. The number of rooms is obviously a function of the well-being of inhabitants. They usually use simple space organizations.

The dwelling units which contain up to 3 spaces have very simple layout organizations. Therooms are not specialized for certain activities in this phase and have multi-functional use with minimum furnishings. The toilets are generally located in a corner.

Fig 19: Dwelling unit (Author)

Fig 20: Section of dwelling unit (Author)

Personal Space

Although the external appearance of the dwelling is rough and unattractive, its small internal space is carefully and thoughtfully arranged. Small shelves are filled with objects of personal significance, and selected pictures are hung on the walls. The space under the beds is used for storage. No matter how restrictive the space is in terms of the area if compared to the standards of minimal space requirements for any human activity, there exists a sense of maximum usage of every square inch in the given area. There was hardly any space within the dwelling unit which was not being apparently put to use.

Fig 21: Section of dwelling unit (Author)

Territorial Behavior

The care and delineation of areas surrounding the house are regarded as very important. This squatter housing translates domestic activities in the mixed use of indoor, outdoor, enclosed, open and semi-open spaces. Various activities such as children's baths, laundry, eating, playing and a great variety of activities occur very often in semi-open or enclosed (but not roofed) spaces outside of the house. Since it is a warm climate, a great integration of indoor and outdoor spaces facilitates the development of these activities. Spaces delimited by walls but without roofs and by roofs without walls help the development of these activities.

Fig 22: Front area of a dwelling(Author)

Fig 23: Front area of a dwelling(Author)

Same Space, Different Activities

There is no specialization of domestic spaces in the dwelling units. The rooms are not dedicated for certain activities. None of the spaces are called after their functions, as there is no place which is earmarked for any particular activity. Functional usage of the space constantly changes throughout day on the basis of what time of the day it is. During the day, the bed is the area where most of the social and educational activities are carried out. The 'charpoys' are folded up and it turns into a space for interaction amongst the family members while they are having food or watching TV. Hence, the same room becomes a bedroom, a dinning room, a living room, a study room, a playing room and a workplace.

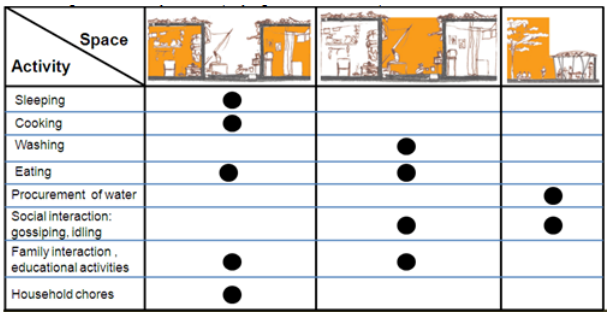


Fig 24: Comparison of inside, outside & neighbourhood spaces & activities.(Author)

Aesthetic Needs

This slum is a tangible proof of the importance that dwellers attach to the aesthetic appearance of their homes. The use of vibrant colors, façade decoration, and careful choice of textures demonstrate that not everything here is about lack of choices. Even in cases where the exterior facades of informal housing seem 'unfinished and dilapidated' (by formal standards), the interior of informal units frequently demonstrates the particular care put into to have a very tidy assembly of their paraphernalia.

	Causative factors	Formal implication	Functional implication
Physical	1. Resources available (building waste, corrugated iron sheets, timber, bamboo)	Walls are made of debris, roofs are made of iron sheets, tarpaulin sheets, weighed down by waste.	
Social	2. Close knit society : strong community feeling	Settlement is very compact in nature, is developed around a great variety of open spaces that include small, irregular squares and open areas in between units.	Organic manner, but determined by matters of adjacent roofs, windows and doors.
	3. Definition of territory	Dwelling with its immediate front is delineated as owner's area.	
	4. Pattern of individual behavior	A dwelling unit contains a single space which houses all sorts of activities.	The rooms are not specialized for certain activities, multi-functional usage with minimum furnishings, usage of the space changes on the basis of time.
	5. Need for social interface amongst families.	Streets are public spaces, follow a hierarchy of different widths, each cluster of unit is around an open area.	Streets and *chowks*, vary in importance and functionality providing multiplicity of interactions between dwellers.
	6. Absence of privacy	Spaces are delimited by walls but without roofs and by roofs without walls for various activities.	No separation of public and private spheres of activities within the dwelling unit, domestic activities spill in indoor, outdoor, enclosed, open and semi-open spaces.
Cultural	7. Gender roles		Wives are involved with domestic chores, and elderly people sit outside to socialize, men sleep and eat in the home, but they work outside.
	8. Aesthetic needs	Usage of vibrant colors, façade decoration, and careful choice of textures .	

Fig 25: Architectural interpretation of contextual factors of Khichripur squatter settlement (Author)

Expandability

Instead of setting up complex space organizations, users preferred simple groupings of spaces for their changing requirements. Adding an individual unit or a group of spaces to the existing layout demonstrates the feature of expandability of the dwellings in. Dwellings have grown over time following the availability of resources and the family needs. The original core and later additions and modifications tend to merge into a unified unit.

Material

The use of light materials (timber and corrugated iron sheets) and recycled components plays a fundamental role in the flexibility of the units. The recycling of materials and available building construction waste is one of the most efficient strategies adopted by the squatter settlement. It is therefore not rare to find an aluminum window, a ceramic toilet or a stone kitchen counter in a dwelling.

COMPARISON

Examining the various contextual aspects, their formal and functional implications, the processes of construction and consolidation reveals several similar characteristics between traditional vernacular architecture and squatter settlement.

Similarities Between Vernacular and Squatter Settlements

1. **Identities of designers** - People in these settlements are the occupiers as well as the builders. They are non – professionals.
2. **Purposes of designers** – Inhabitants construct their dwellings for their usage as homes and for the purpose of entitlement of identity amongst rest of the community.
3. **Presence of a single model or image** – Since there is availability of choice among a multiple options from various sources but in one place, this choice seems to b systematic which leads to visual coherence.
4. **Scheme underlying the morphology** – Elements such as circulation, projections, building heights, proportions, scale, usage and the like are similar and contribute to the overall vocabulary.
5. **Presence of specific formal qualities (specific model, plan forms, morphology)** – There exists a given set of unsaid rules which lay down the dimensions and proportions. Their slight variation within the acceptable bracket contributes to the specific forms in these settlements.
6. **Use of specific materials, texture, colors** - There has been an ingenious & daring use of materials in new ways, textural combinations & above all the use of color. Color is often used to indicate ethnics, religious, regional & other forms of identity.
7. **Efficiency in use of resources**: There exists an extreme competence in the effective usage of the available means.
8. **Open endedness allowing additive, subtractive & other changes**- When the life situations of the inhabitants changed (e.g. an increase in family

members or in the home improvement budget), they freely modified the built form according to their requirements. The respective environments can change to accommodate changes in life style and income. This open endedness, related to the flexible rule system, leads to many unique perceptual qualities in both & much higher levels of complexity.

9. **Degree of change due to temporal dimension** – There is a lack of specificity in usage of space over the temporal variation. This allows the residents to act in culturally appropriate ways & is critical in economic terms, allowing for many informal businesses & workshops & combinations of work with childbearing.

10. **Sharing of knowledge**- Since there is a lack of written records, people try to learn from the mistakes of the past, and then adapt themselves according to the needs, before passing knowledge on to their neighbors or to the next generation. Thus, design and construction is traditionally inspired rather than academic.

Differences

There are few characteristics that distinguish vernacular from squatter settlements.

- There exists a difference in the "conditions of existence" experienced by the inhabitants of vernacular and squatter settlements. Most of the vernacular examples belong to the extreme constraint of natural origins but the urban squatter settlements are constructed in situations of artificial constraints. These informal settlements are usually located in manmade environments rather than being located in natural environments.

- In contrast to the relatively stable context of vernacular environments, slums have emerged and continue to expand in the conditions of considerable instability & are often subject to rapid change.

CONCLUSION

In both the settlements, the house is much more than a shelter. Its 'function' is much more than a physical or utilitarian concept. The physical setting provides the possibilities among which choices are made through the taboos, customs, and traditional ways of culture. Even when the physical possibilities are numerous, the actual choices are severely limited by the socio-cultural forces. It is this limitation which is a typical aspect of both the settlements.

The environment sought reflects many socio-cultural forces, including religious beliefs, family & clan structures, social organization, way of gaining a livelihood and social relation between individuals. In both the settlements, solutions are much more varied than biological needs, technical devices and climatic conditions. In addition, built forms of both traditional and spontaneous buildings are the product of daily behavior, lifestyle, activity system, ritual, and the like. From these descriptions, there is little doubt that spontaneous settlements have the potential to be assessed as vernacular environment. The broader scope and greater complexity of vernacular frameworks can include spontaneous settlements as part of wider spectrum of non professional environments.

Due to a contrast in the two environments, one with the remote communities surrounded by natural elements and the other set amongst concrete constructions, the architectural challenges in both settlements are bound to be different. The squatters straightforwardly apply their know-how and practices to deal with contemporary challenges. They adapt their rural background knowledge and experiences to meet their current wishes and requirements.

	Causative factors	Responses: Bidada village, Kutch	Responses: Khichripur squatter settlement, Delhi
Physical	1. Climate	Pitched roof with broad eaves, central open space for light & ventilation.	
	2. Resources available	Walls are made of mud bricks, roof is made of timber.	Walls are made of debris, roofs are made of iron sheets, tarpaulin sheets, weighed down by waste.
Social	3. Structure of society	People of same communities stay together forming different zones.	Close knit society, settlement is very compact in nature, is developed around a great variety of open spaces that include small, irregular squares and open areas in between units.
	4. Caste structure (Hierarchy based on nature of work).	The Harijans and Muslims reside in the wind direction away from the village.	
	5. Status of the family	Scale of houses, intricacy of carvings, size of openings, colors, the entry steps indicate the status.	
	6. Need for social interface amongst families.	A small open to sky shrine above a white cubical platform under a *neem* tree called *jakh*, chowks of various proportion & scales, perpetually shaded streets.	Streets are public spaces, follow a hierarchy of different widths, each cluster of unit is around an open area.
Cultural	7. Need for privacy	The entry to a dwelling is faced by a courtyard of another dwelling across the street.	Spaces are delimited by walls but without roofs and by roofs without walls for various activities, absence of privacy
	8. Gender roles	Women involved in household activities, men are engaged in income generating activities.	Wives are involved with domestic chores, and elderly people sit outside to socialize, men sleep and eat in the home, but they work outside, income generating activities in the house.
	9. Aesthetic needs	Decoration of door and window with the pair of *gadkhi*, ornamentation of the lintel, carvings depicting birds, flowers and auspicious symbols marking the entrance.	Usage of vibrant colors, façade decoration, and careful choice of textures.
	10. Tradition of inherited knowledge	Resulted in a standard geometry, dimensions and proportions imparting uniformity and physical wholeness to the settlement.	

Fig 26: Comparison of the tree settlements (Author)

Hence, this phenomenon should result in as much interest to the study of these housing products as their vernacular counterparts elicit. These artificial constraints place them at an equal disadvantage.

In addition, the kind of habitat and the lifestyle which evolves in these settlements reflects the behavior, the social set up, implies upon the economy, traditions and the aspirations of the people. Throughout such a process, spaces and structures are always carefully modified according to the changing needs and behavior patterns of family members. Hence, the built environment is the result of the responses to the

contextual factors which maybe physical, social and cultural in nature, makes squatter settlements the closest contemporary of vernacular settlements.

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NAIROBI – RESHAPING THE SLUMS

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ABSTRACT

This work has the urban space of the so-called underdevelopment countries as its main scenery. The concepts of underdevelopment, sustainability and emergency will be reviewed in the realm of architecture.

A case study in the context of Mukuru Kwa Njenga - Nairobi, presented as a building project for a library and media lab, in the scope of an international architecture competition was the starting point for a theoretical and practical investigation that tries to reveal how can the architect conciliate the demands and pressures of globalization, with a growth that is sustainable and respectful of cultural values, traditions and local conditions, when intervening in informal settlements in an underdevelopment country.

Starting by an interpretation of this premise in the contemporary architecture field of study, the theoretical investigation is centered in the modern movement and the ways of thinking and doing architecture that arose from it, analyzing the social and human responsibility of the architect as an intervenient in the modeling and organization of space. Analysis advances into the dimension and origin of the world's tragedy, drawing a portrait of the present geopolitical situation and analyzing in which way the colonial disaggregation occurred, turning clear the differences between the two worlds, and showing how the gap is deeply rooted both in the urban organization and in the architectural design of cities.

The progress of our theoretical framework about the informal settlements, their formation and organization, that primarily started through a design for Mukuru Kwa Njenga, and the search for answers both of architecture to the human emergencies as of the role of the architect in these contexts, was recovered in a second phase of practical investigation, with the opportunity to travel to Kenya.

The confrontation with the reality of the informal settlements by visiting the slums of Kibera and Kitui Ndogo, in Nairobi, and the cooperation of a group of people from local NGO's and from the Un-HABITAT department in Nairobi, that intervene ad live in this reality presented a new perspective to the work which resulted in the development of a new proposal of intervention in the slums of Nairobi. The results of this expedition, once again are presented as a building prototype, no further than a most simplified system of housing assemblage for self-construction, whose design was directly inspired by the observation of existing structures.

INTRODUCTION

The paper now presented is a resumed version of a much broader investigation which was divided into two main phases.

A case study in the context of Mukuru Kwa Njenga - Nairobi, presented as a building project for a library and media lab, in the scope of an international architecture competition was the starting point for the first phase of this investigation. A theoretical and practical investigation that tries to reveal how can

the architect conciliate the demands and pressures of globalization, with a growth that is sustainable and respectful of cultural values, traditions and local conditions, when intervening in informal settlements in an *underdevelopment* country.

Figure 1 Virtual image of Library and Media lab

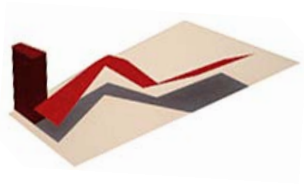

Figure 2 Concept

During the last decades it has been the *underdeveloped* countries to provide the major slice of population growth in the world. If, at the end of the second world war, 70% of the biggest cities were in the rich countries, today only 20% of these cities are concentrated in these countries. In the african continent as in other assumed *underdeveloped* areas, the rate of annual growth has been extremely high, while in the developed countries it has been falling rapidly. As the rate of population growth increases so have the urban centres, particulalrly the capitals, mainly because of migration from dislocated population as result of the insecurity caused by many years of military confrontations, by natural catastrophes and extreme poverty in rural areas. This enormous densification of urban areas in such a short period of time does not allow a rational growth of these cities, resulting in a gigantic social and human problem.

From all the problems that have affected urban areas in the past years, that which interests me the most is the phenomenon of urban *sprawl* in informal settlements – the disconexed and unruled way in which these areas have grown without minimum conditions for human living, but being, at the same time the only space that offers new urban dwellers a system adequated to their needs.

Therefore, there are two big issues that this investigation tries to answer: how to conciliate the demands and the pressures of globalization, with sustainable urban growth, respectful of cultural values, traditions and local conditions, when intervening in an informal settlement; and, waht is the role of the architect and his main instrument – design, when intervening in such conditions?

PART ONE

Theory and Analysis

Starting by an interpretation of these premisis in the contemporary architecture field of study, the theoretical investigation is centered in the modern movement and the ways of thinking and doing architecture that arose from it, analyzing the social and human responsibility of the architect as an intervenient in the modeling and organization of space and how the self-recognition of the architect as a social intervenient affected the way he designed and planned the urban spaces, specially in the european cities after the Second World War. This analysis advances into the dimension and origin of the world's tragedy, drawing a portrait of the present geopolitical situation and analyzing in which way the colonial disaggregation occurred and how this too quick and unplanned disagregation made clear the differences between the two worlds. The racial segregation of urban areas in

colonies, was deeply rooted in the urban organization and in the architectural design of cities, and quickly it became a symbol, not of racial but of social segregation. After the independence, europeans left the colonial areas and rural populations fled to the cities, hoping for better conditions, but the places occupied formerly by europeans were now occupied by natives that inherited power from foreigners and the poor continued just as poor as before. And the architectural barriers between those who have power and those who do not continue to persist through out time.

This colonial legacy is quite evident in Nairobi and the shanty towns that surround it. Nairobi is the capital of Kenya. Its origins go back to the nineteenth century, during the colonial period and, just from its birth, as the planned city grew so did the informal settlements around it. The slums around Nairobi have a similar origin to those of the industrial neighbourhoods of the industrial europe – rural exodus. But this origin is summed with one other issue, which is the organization of the colonial city and the zonification used in its planning, which was defined by racial segregation, dividing the different city areas according to the race of those who inhabited it and creating rules of development and growth accordingly. Therefore, when Kenya became independent, and there was a massive affluence of pepole to the city, the high areas inhabited by europeans were occupied by the powerful and rich natives, while the poors that came from rural areas were confined to the shanty towns, the only areas that they could afford to live in. These areas have risen enormously, being the home to more than a half of Nairobis population nowadays, counting a total of 200 recognized slums.

Informal settlers and slums are not a problem of modern times, but have accompanied the cities since there appearance. But, nowadays, with the dramatical growth of the urban population and the difficulty of response to this population's needs by urban social and infrastructural systems the informal settlements have become a main theme for urbanism and city planning.

But eventhough these illegal occupations are connected to serious urban problems they have become reknowned for their ability of self-evolution through time and the crucial support they deliver to the newly arrived populations. These aspects were considered as fundamental by many professionals such as John Turner or Ismael Serageldin that, analysing the capabilities of positive evolution of these settlements questioned the proposals that until then suggested these areas should be completely erradicated.

A simple settlement of illegal and transitory constructions has demonstrated the ability of consolidation, evolution and permanence. A shelter with a temporary character tends, normally to be upgraded as the conditions of its owner improve, specially his security and confidence in the future. And it is in the construction sector that the potentialities, evolving and consolidating capabilities of illegal occupation become more clear.

Besides the different readings that have been made of informal settlements – considered by some as urban pathologies and by others as potential integrated city areas – all the informal sector, is inevitably that where the most poor find more support; the place which generates a significant part of a country's economy, filling the lacks that legal organziations leave and creating different opportunities of employment and business between the intervenients in this sector.

Opinions diverge as which is the correct solution to solve the problem of informal settlements: while some insist in total erradication, others consider it an unhuman act contrary to the urban development process itself, declaring that the solution for these areas has to do with the creation and treatment of public spaces, management of infrastructures and services, and stablishing regulation mechanisms to help the gradual integration of these areas in the fabric of the urban area to which, somehow they already belong to.

The imediate and secondary effects of one and the other solution are, until a certain point dependent on the kind of administration and its main goals and functioning mode. According to John Turner, the fundamental aspect which determines the success or failure of a solution is related to the relationship between those who have power to make decisions, the different intervenients in the sheltering process and the population.

In fact, a balanced relation between these three factors is essential as it is most important, when intervening in an informal settlement, that those who decide and those who plan are completely aware of the complexity and variety of needs of poor families, which require a very flexible answer when it comes to shelter – the value of housing for the poor does not consist only on its physical aspect, on privacy, but in the way that it, as a whole answers to a group of priorities and demands, categorized by John Turner as economical and non-economical values.

"From the economical point of view, the most significant values are: the relation between income and expenses such as rent and delocations"[1].

The non-economical factors are constituted by "factors which indicate a good level of accessibility both geographically and socially (proximity to the economic source, or else, workplace, to friends and family, to public equipments such as shops and schools); that assure a relative security for long term stay in a specific location or easy transference; that offer an acceptable habitat and environment"[2].

The decision of housing priorities is supported by a balance between advantages and disadvantages connected to each of the refered factors, investing each family, its time, effort and capabilities in its home depending on the level of satisfaction they expect to achieve.

Strategies of progressive upgrade, defends Ismael Serageldin, demand involvement and cooperation from different entities. The power of decision and the control of central administration in the housing programs, under this point of view, should be descentralized and distributed between the different actors involved. An important first step consists on recognizing the different levels of participation – local, regional, central – each one demanding different scales and types of organization, different forms of participation and combination of techniques.

In Portugal, in 1974, there was created a housing program named SAAL, a governmental initiative, with architect Nuno Portas as one of its mentors, that had as main principle the organization of the population of degraded areas into associations or co-operatives of dwellers that, with the technical support of

[1]Turner, John F.C. Housing by people: towards autonomy in building environments, New York: Marion Boyars, 1991, pg. 67
[2]Turner, John F.C. Housing by people: towards autonomy in building environments, New York: Marion Boyars, 1991, pg. 70

architect "brigades" developed projects adequated both to their needs and capabilities but, above all, were meant to rellocate the dwellers in the exact same place by atributing land property rights to the associations. The governmental support covered the administrative and technical process, and partially financed the construction of the new dwellings and infrastructures.

Once again it is important to underline the urgency that all intervenients get involved in the different phases of these processes, from governments, passing through architects until the dwellers, so that everyone is aware of each others needs and responsibilities. And when it comes to needs and responsibilities when an intervention is made in an informal settlement there are two essential factors to be summed to those already indicated – technology and environment. The misuse of technologies or a misinterpretation of the environmental conditions for where one is designing can have catastrophic results when building in shanty towns as, the use of inadequate technologies will most certainly result in a quick degradation of housing. This said, it is important that constructions are thought in relation to the available local materials without threatening the environment and taking into account the functions of the facilities.

Overall it is important to underline that "architecture must use an adequate technology, [...]and good architecture has not to do with the technology one uses, but how that technology is used. One can make quality architecture using concrete, but there can also be marvellous architecture made with brick, or high-tech materials. It is how the materials are used that counts"[3]. So, architecture, materials and technology muas be supported by population and the surrounding environment.

PART TWO

Confrontation

This theoretical investigation about the informal settlements, that started through a design for Mukuru Kwa Njenga, which tried to find answers both on how architecture responds to the human emergencies and of the role of the architect in these contextswas in a second phase submited to a harsh confrontation with the reality of the informal settlements by visiting the slums of Kibera and Kitui Ndogo, in Nairobi, and the cooperation of a group of people from local NGO's and from the Un-HABITAT department in Nairobi, that intervene *ad live* in this reality. This opportunity to travel to Kenya created the conditions for a new perspective into the work realized until the moment, which resulted in the development of a new proposal of intervention in the slums of Nairobi.


[3]Correa, Charles, "Habitat: conceitos e estratégias" in Arquitectura e Vida, nº17, June 2001, pg 30.

Figure 3 and 4 Centre for orphaned children, ADDHU-CYCA

What I saw and especially what I felt when I arrived in Nairobi was truly unexpected.

For two weeks I stayed in an orphanage in a small village, 20km away from Nairobi. A place that, even though I knew was not a slum, was very much like an informal settlement. Kamura is a small village, that is part of the municipality of Ong'ata Rongai which is a small town with urban aspirations, yet quite rural and terribly poor. The people who live around here are mostly employed locally in small grocery shops, little carpenter's or locksmith's workshops, in agriculture, or in Nairobi. The only paved street that goes through Ong'ata Rongai and Kamura is the main street, the equivalent to a state route, which crosses the region from Nairobi until the border with Tanzania. The other small streets have no proper pavement and become impossible to drive through with just a little rain.

Figure 5 and 6 Main street inside Kamura

Kamura is a very small place. It has a butcher and a grocery store and most of the people who live in the village's main street sell on their doorstep vegetables and fruit, charcoal or even sweets.

But what really makes the difference between Kamura and a real slum is the fact that almost all the houses have electricity, water and sanitation; it has low-density housing, and stone is the predominant material of construction. However, there are still some houses made just of rammed earth or corrugated metal sheets. There are people that cook in the street, with charcoal, because they don't have electricity or gas, and for most of them water is supplied by a young boy that comes in a wagon pulled by a donkey, with a dozen 20l water cans. The conventional water supply, through pipes is very bad, or doesn't exist at all. So most people have homemade water tanks, which are supplied by private entities that come regularly to fill them up. When one passes by you can observe these small black towers that characterize the skyline of towns all around.

Figure 7 and 8 Kibera Slum

If it was a terrible smell, people with sad eyes and dirty children that I expected to see in the slums, nothing could be more different. In fact, the terrible smell exists in some places were there are garbage piles and the water just goes by carrying all kinds of dirt, but this smell gets mixed with the smell of dust, and cooking, giving Kibera a very particular and strange scent. The people are just the same that we see in the more cosmopolite streets of Nairobi – with impeccable suits, and a friendly but contained expression. The children walk around in the middle of the garbage piles, play between chickens and goats, but they are clean and smile all the time. Going through the slum during the day, there is no sense of insecurity or danger that is supposed to exist in these places. Kibera is the biggest slum in Kenya and the second largest in Africa. It has about one million inhabitants and grew in a very tricky and slope area in the surroundings of Nairobi just around 1948, as the result of a donation of lands to the Nubian that integrated the English army during the Second World War.


Figure 9 and 10 Kibera slum

Kibera is a city in itself. It has one of the biggest open-air markets of Nairobi; it has restaurants, bars, gambling saloons, hairdressers, and the best primary school of Nairobi. However, its population lives in an area of about 5ha, in subhuman conditions. The houses, with an area of $9m^2$ are home to an average of 4 to 10 people. They have only one compartment without water, sanitation or electricity. The public toilets serve more or less 500 people, and even these, are in most cases, nothing more than holes dug into the earth inside a cubicle made from the same technique of *wattle-and-daub* that is used in the home building. The houses are mostly made of earth; some are covered with metal sheets, or with a special earth mortar, sometimes, painted, and with ceilings of corrugated metal sheets. However, there are some that are extremely poor, and are nothing else besides a structure made of crippled sticks and leftovers of plastic and fabric. The houses are organized, mostly, in small closed condominiums, where only the owners are allowed.


Figure 11 and 12 Kibera slum

In Kitui Ndogo, another slum with about 5000 inhabitants and a decade of existence, the housing is similar to Kibera, they line up in narrow streets, which, sometimes don't have more than 50cm of width.


Figure 13 and 14 Kitui Ndogo slum

Kitui Ndogo is a slum that grew close to one of the industrial areas of the city of Nairobi and in the continuity of the biggest flea market of Eastern Africa – the market of Komba. Unlike Kibera, here the inhabitants are predominantly from Kamba ethnical group, which reduces the environment of tension and creates bigger unity between people.

Being a smaller and more recent informal settlement, the density of inhabitants is also minor than the one found in Kibera. Here, houses with 3 x 3metres are home to an average of 3 to 6 people.

Kitui Ndogo has only two public toilets for its 5000 inhabitants. Both of them have showers besides the toilet room itself and it costs 0.05€ to use them. That is the same price one has to pay for each 20l can of water that people have to buy at the water distribution kiosks because there are no other ways to get it. However, if one takes in consideration that the inhabitants of this settlement earn an average of 0.70€ a day, the prices to have access to these two basic and essential human needs are extremely high.

Figure 15 and 16 Kitui Ndogo slum

High is also the rent that one has to pay for a house that has no more than 9m^2, which has only one room and no infrastructures. Each month, the inhabitants of such houses have to pay between 8€ and 10€ to their landlords.

In the surroundings of Kitui Ndogo exists a compound of five storey buildings, made out of stone, with sanitation infrastructures, running water and electricity. The government with the purpose or relocating the people from the slum built these dwellings. However, the rents were too high, and made it impossible for the slum people to move to the new houses that were then occupied by middle low-income families. This situation is common to the major part of slums around Nairobi and even Kenya, as the government adopted several different methods to erradicate

informal settlements, since independence, without success. Everywhere the results have been the same. In Kibera, the houses that should have been occupied by the slum dwellers have now high fences and security guards that only let in authorized people.

Nowadays the government is working with UN-HABITAT, in order to develop some pilot projects that aim to improve the slums – KENSUP.

Figure 17 and 18 View of Nairobi

At the same time as the slums grow poorly and fiercely on the edges of Nairobi, the city centre grows with the proportions of an european city. It is true that the huge dimensions of the streets and the splendorous vegetation leave in the air a certain nostalgia from colonial times, but the movement, the noise, the polluted air, the fast-food restaurants remind us London.

Nairobi is a peculiar city, without extraordinary architecture, in its centre one feels the monumentality given by the buildings erected in the period that followed immediately after the independence that blend with more contemporary constructions from the multinational enterprises, the shopping malls and the ordinary housing and administrative buildings that all cities have. In the streets the volume of traffic is unbelievable, independently of the hour of the day, men and donkeys pulling carts mix up with normal cars and the typical *matatus*. At lunchtime, the gardens all over the city centre get full of workers that take the lunch pause to enjoy a little sun. At night as during daytime the city is full of life.

A NEW PERSPECTIVE

This expeditionresulted in a new approach to intervention in informal settlements presented as a building prototype, no further than a most simplified system of housing assemblage for self-construction, whose design was directly inspired by the observation of existing structures. This system has its main influences in the work of architect Álvaro Siza Vieira with the project for Bairro da Malagueira,in Évora, Portugal and the theoric project by Archigram "Plug-in houses"; and it is composed of two parts: an infrastructure network and a house prototype.

Figure 19 Plug-In Concept

The main goal was to create a simple design that would answer to the basic needs of the slum dwellers and be flexible enough, on one hand to adapt to the constant evolution of a slum on the other hand to be adaptable to different types of slums.

Therefore, the initial premise for the design lay in attempting to create an infrastructure network which is nothing more than a wall or portico that contains the basic infrastructures that a settlement might need: running water, sanitation and electricity. The materialization of this network can be done in two different ways – an infrastructural wall that is also the main structure for housing and as an infrastructural portico that gives support to public spaces and commerce.

The purpose of building a wall has to do above all with the belief that the people that inhabit the slums, in their major part, do not want to leave this space. They have established a system of relations, they have their own rules and laws and they do not want to be moved to other places that would implicate new relation systems, a bigger distance to their workplaces, and so, more expenses. So, my proposal is of intervening, in phases, directly inside the slums towards a gradual integration of these areas in the city's fabric.

Starting by intervening in public areas, acting exclusively in spaces that are recognized by all as public property (knowing that the issue of property is a very sensitive and complex one inside the informal settlements), and moving gradually to the intervention in the housing matters.

In the prototypes of the dwellings that are proposed, the areas presented are minimum, and given in accordance to analysis made by the United Nations themselves.

The houses are supposed to be developed in two phases, sheltering in their final phase six people. The limit of areas that is imposed has to do with to conclusions from the analysis made - the first is that the major part of the activities are realized in the exterior spaces, like cooking or washing; the second is that if one gives a family a house with more space than the minimum required they will quickly reduce their area of inhabitance to the minimum in order to rent the rest of the space.

So, the area studied for each house gives some flexibility for the interior organization; by being minimal it allows that with just a few openings it is possible to have a good natural ventilation of the interior space and it also allows one to work on top of the existing housing grid.

Such a project would implicate a high level of participation and cooperation between the different sectors involved – local community, local government and private sector, and central administration. Only with the cooperation between all these actors would it be possible to transform such a project into reality.

On a local level it would be of major importance to dialogue with the population, explain the project, understand the doubts and specific needs and give them formation – educate them not only to allow them to be part of the construction process but to make them able to maintain the structures after these are built and occupied. As for the private sector, which has the monopoly of infrastructures such as water and electricity it would be necessary to negotiate the passage of these infrastructures through the slum and how they could serve the communities at an affordable price. As for the state at a regional and central level it would be important to make them aware of their responsibilities towards the population and to finance, partially such an intervention.

Figure 20 Earth blocks

Figure 21 Natural Ventilation

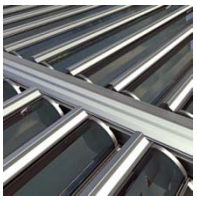

Figure 22 Solar energy

As for the project itself the concept is that of "plug-in" which means that the infrastructural wall/portico would be built and the public spaces and houses would then be plugged to this wall in order to have access to the infrastructures needed. In order to be sustainable the design was conceived to use local materials and integrate in a second phase low-cost photovoltaic panels.

Figure 23 Kibera train track aerial view

Figure 24 Kibera Slum

In a way to show the viability of the proposal, a small attempt of implementation of the phase of public structure was virtually tested in the settlement of Kibera. The choice of this settlement had to do not only with its symbolism but also because it has a very well defined public area: the train track. If, this train track, which is predicted to be relocated to the exterior part of the settlement by demands of the population and the will of the government itself, would be substituted by the infrastructural portico, it would create an axis of public spaces to be occupied by local commerce, public washing areas, playgrounds. And occupying this privileged axis it would help connect the slum to the city as a sort of promenade towards Nairobi. From here the portico could subdivide itself into the more dense housing areas of the slum allowing the gradual transformation of these areas and re-qualifying them.

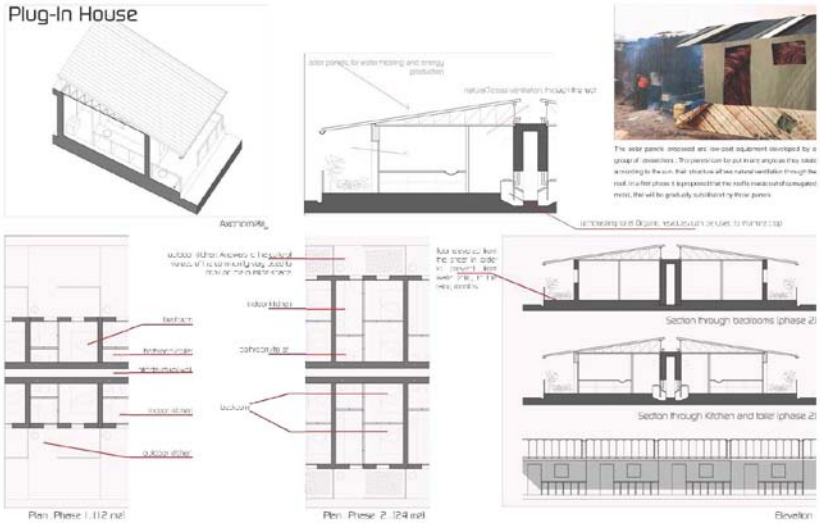

Figure 25 Plug-in house proposal

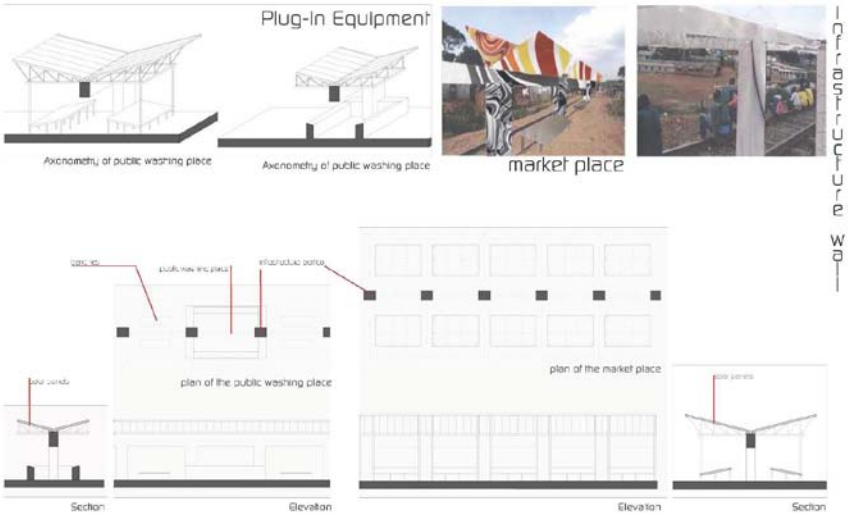

Figure 26 Plug-in equipment (public space) proposal

Behind this proposal of intervention lays one last premise, which is that of a design that is not closed nor definitive, in order to allow the interpenetration among the different parts of the city.

CONCLUSION

Overall, I believe that architecture and urbanism need "an interaction with its users that today we call actors – promoters, dwellers, managers – and that influence the final form of the architectonic object."[4] And it is in this particular context that the informal settlements of the underdeveloped countries, in which exists a demand for cooperation between different sectors, that it becomes necessary to rethink the role of the architect and his main instrument – design.

The intervention of the architect in underdeveloped countries, the way he manages his design and answers to imposed conditions, has a special meaning because in one hand it allows to propose adequate solutions to the local environment but it can also create job opportunities, local economical growth and the enhancement of local population.

Therefore, the contribution of the architect for the evolution of public space implies the recognition of his working area and all the components that it involves – architectonic, geographical, cultural, social and infrastructural.

As for the proposal resulting from the trip to Kenya, it is an on going investigation for which there is no possible conclusion as it needs to be tested in order to understand the range of its implications.

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[4]Portas, Nuno. "O processo também desenha" in Arquitectura e Vida, nº51, Julho/Agosto 2004, pg 35.

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INDEX

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