

**“The City Beautiful Comes to Industrial Scotland:
James Thomson’s 1910 Dundee Redevelopment Scheme”**

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From about 1880-1914 in large-sized provincial British settlements numerous significant civic design schemes, of varying scales and natures, were proposed and undertaken. Although many of the most important undertakings were found within the largest places at that time arguably the two most significant ventures – one proposed but not undertaken due to the onset of World War One in 1914, and the other a built scheme – occurred within settlements of smaller demographic stature. These two foremost schemes, in Cardiff and Dundee, not only were of the largest spatial scale of all projects suggested in Britain (discounting London) but moreover explicitly demonstrated how local authorities could, if they so wished, employ civic design as a means to allow their settlements to punch above their respective weights in terms of their demographic size and resources. Importantly too these large-sized projects displayed an international design and planning character, highlighting in particular the influence of the US City Beautiful Movement in British urban development. Whilst the creation of a civic centre in Cathays Park, Cardiff, aimed at establishing a quasi national image of the newly formed Welsh capital city, in Dundee the scheme put forward by City Architect James Thomson in 1910 not only aimed at giving architectural character to a city previously derided for its environmental quality, e.g. by *The Builder* in 1898 - partly a result of the Corporation’s prudent attitude to public spending in preceding decades, furthermore encouraged the development of the cultural status of an industrial settlement known previously as ‘Juteopolis’. Utilizing the British experience for remodelling and aggrandising existing urban cores in the late-1800s and early-1900s, this proposal for conference will thus outline not only the ambitious nature of Thomson’s 85 acre redevelopment project with its eight distinct components, which included the reclaiming of land, the removal of insanitary properties, the erection of a bridge and numerous grandiose public buildings, the laying out of garden spaces, avenues lined with trees and formal approaches to the proposed edifices, but will in addition examine the scheme’s management, with the municipality’s intention to not induce heavy local rates due to implementing the project, and its position within the evolution of the transforming of British town centres and British civic design prior to 1914. Described by the *Town Planning Review* (1913: 177) as being “interesting”, “important” and offering Dundee “the most magnificent river front in Britain”, the abandonment of the scheme due to the onset of World War One in 1914 thereby not only robbed Dundee but also Scotland and Britain of a unique monumental civic design scheme, a project on a par in terms of scale and pretension with those proposed and/or undertaken in the largest cities of contemporary America (e.g. Washington DC, Chicago and San Francisco). Nonetheless the implementation in 1918 of a much reduced version of the original plan despite being a loss to the civic design of the settlement was of national appeal and helped the Dundee Corporation quickly gain a reputation in the immediate post war era as being progressive and of a broad minded nature, a perception that was hardly applicable prior to Thomson’s proposal in 1910.

Keywords: Civic Design, City Beautiful, Municipal Policy, Scotland.

Background

“Considering the age, the historic importance and the present size and wealth of Dundee, it is disappointingly wanting in architectural interest”, remarked *The Builder* (1898: 139) upon a design situation had arisen by the end of the 19th century as a consequence of four factors. Firstly, Dundee was located between the Law and the Tay estuaries, a picturesque site that contributed to the settlement’s standing in the 1700s as a place renowned for its prettiness (Walker, 1977), a reputation that, upon the arrival of modern industry in the settlement in the 1800s, was made somewhat erroneous. Secondly, Dundee had developed during the nineteenth century with a townscape along the shoreline and hills largely with a built form of lesser stature when compared with large-sized Scottish settlements like Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow (*Ibid.*: 3), places lauded for the Classical design styles practised within them. Thirdly, much of Dundee’s historic architecture was cleared between 1871 and 1891 as part of the local government’s slum clearance/urban improvement programme and, finally, a wholly significant factor that contributed to Dundee’s 19th century architectural reputation (or lack of) was the development of industry, or more accurately jute manufacture, an industry that was so important to Dundee during the Victorian period that the settlement became known as ‘Juteopolis’ (Whatley, 1992.: 7). Collectively therefore these elements had the effect, according at least to *The Builder* (1898: 139) at the end of the 1890s, of producing a Victorian settlement with a population of about 150,000 (source: HMSO Census, 1901) that was filled to a great extent with just tenements, huge factories (see figure 1) and model dwellings (*The Builder*, 1898: 139).

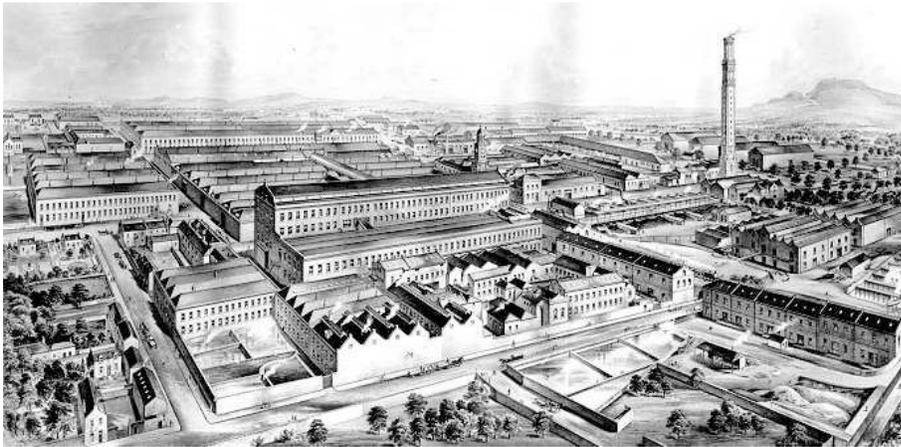
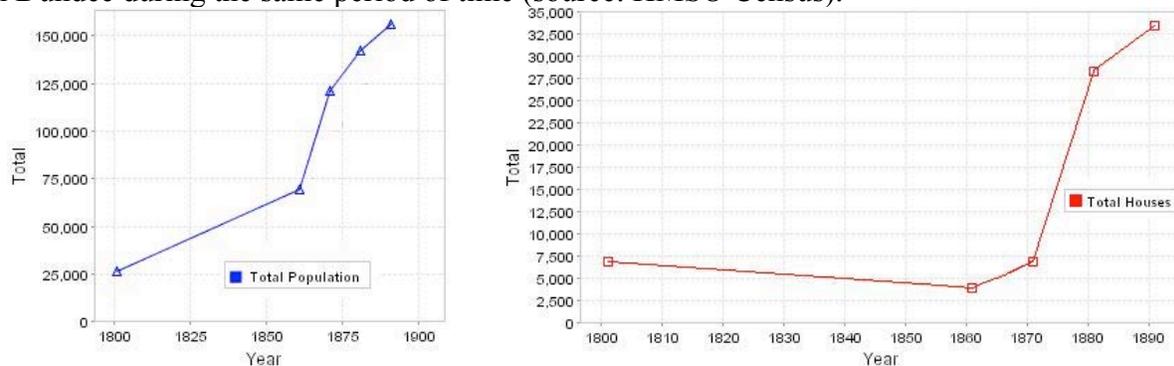


Figure 1. An example of the scale of jute manufacture in Dundee: A late-Victorian picture of Camperdown Works, once the world’s largest jute factory (source: University of Dundee Archive Services, MS 66/II/12/1 (1)).

Although at this point it is not necessary to appraise in detail the economic growth of Victorian Dundee certain factors that influenced the subsequent development of the local urban form should be noted. These include, by way of example, the actuality that Dundee’s economic development from the early-Victorian period was not only rapid but also of a large scale, being only surpassed by Glasgow in the Scottish context (Lenman, Lythe and Gauldie, 1969: 7). Moreover the economic booms experienced within Dundee helped produce a significant increase in the town’s demographic size, in part due to the arrival of rural migrants pouring into the settlement in search of employment. Consequently by 1851 the town’s population has risen to almost 79,000 (source: HMSO Census, 1851), and continued to rise in the following years, assisted by influxes of migrants from as far a field as potato-blighted Ireland, until it was in excess of 150,000 persons by the early-1900s (source: HMSO Census, 1901). However,

significantly, the waves of migrants that followed local economic booms affected Dundee's social composition to such a degree that it emerged as an industrial settlement with a proportionately smaller middle class population than other urban places in Britain. By 1861, for example, the middle classes comprised a little over 10% of the total population of the town. Furthermore as the settlement expanded a number of other significant incidences materialised. Firstly, like elsewhere in Britain, the pressure of rapid urban population growth led to the degenerating condition of the local environment so that vast sways of slum housing were produced. Secondly, as the town expanded the price of land rose considerably which made the cost of any proposed public architectural or planning scheme utilised as a means to rectify problems established by industrialisation and urbanisation thus very costly with, for instance, properties along central thoroughfares (e.g. the High Street) trebling their value between 1858 and 1875. Crucially too, Dundee's demographic expansion prior to 1860 occurred at a time when the settlement's total housing stock somewhat astonishingly decreased (as shown by figure 2), thus placing added pressure onto an already overcrowded and strained environment, thereby exacerbating existing urban environmental problems and other nuisances established by industrialisation and urbanisation.

Figure 2. Left: Total population of Dundee from circa 1800-90 and (right) the total housing stock in Dundee during the same period of time (source: HMSO Census).



Dundee and the Unfolding Political Culture of Frugality

For reasons already noted by the early-1870s environmental conditions in Dundee were so poor that the Corporation passed an Improvement Act in 1871 which permitted over the course of the next two decades 20 central slum removal schemes in order to improve the settlement, the first public attempt to shape Dundee's urban form since the mid-1820s when the town's council permitted a ruling to open new streets including Union Street (McWilliam, 1975: 132). Although the post-1871 schemes were a major undertaking and a crucial part of establishing environmental betterment in Dundee it should be noted in many ways they were, as emphasised earlier, essential given the expansion of the settlement, the deteriorating condition of many districts and the general lack of public planning and architectural activity that had occurred in the early-mid Victorian era, a consequence of the town council's financial problems which between 1842 and 1864 meant that the local council was effectively insolvent (RCAHMS, 1992: 27) and accordingly severely constrained in its remit. Hence public building schemes during that time tended to have a utilitarian as opposed to a more extravagant, aesthetic inclination. Nonetheless some notable public buildings were erected, such as the Infirmary (1852-5 by Coe and

Figure 3. The Town House, designed in 1731 by William Adams, as it looked in the late-1800s (source: Dundee Central Library, reference number WC0273).

Goodwin), the neo-Gothic styled Royal Exchange (1853-6, by David Bryce), and the French Gothic styled Morgan Hospital, erected during the 1860s. The seat of local government, the Town House, a building dating from the 1730s, was restored in the 1850s and not replaced with a new building as was common in other British cities, such as in Bradford, Leeds or Liverpool at about the same time, again as a result of fiscal limitation within the local government.



To sustain the flourishing administrative and cultural life of expanding Dundee during the Victorian era, as was the case in other British settlements in the 1800s, new quasi-public and public edifices were necessary and by the mid-1860s with the corporation now on a better financial footing than it had been for many a year new projects were undertaken. A Royal Infirmary, for instance, was erected, designed by Peddie & Kinnear, and after 1872, a proliferation of new schools were erected at a number of locations within Dundee's bounds - a direct response to a new parliamentary act (the Education (Scotland) Act), and not a direct initiative of the local government. Moreover, with regards to civic design from the mid-1860s scant attention was given to it by the town council and only the privately funded, Gothic-styled Albert Institute (1865-8, designed by Sir George Gilbert Scott but extended in 1873 and used as a museum and library following the 1874 Free Libraries Act) was of any note. This was a somewhat unusual occurrence given the general growth in public building in Britain and given the relatively large size of the settlement at that time (Morley, 2002). Such inactivity, apart from in field of Church building, which flourished in Victorian Dundee, may be attributed as being a hangover from the economic problems experienced within the town's government in previous decades and the town council's focus upon slum clearing, street widening and rebuilding too as opposed to the construction of grandiose civic edifices. Instead it was thus left to private benefactors, like the Baxter Family, to patronise civic design schemes like the Albert Institute, to sponsor education via the creation of the college (now University of Dundee) and the landscape through the establishment of public parks like Baxter Park (opened 1863), designed by Joseph Paxton. Other notable architectural sponsors in Dundee were Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919), who donated sums of money to pay for local libraries, and James Caird (1837-1916) who bestowed land for Caird Park and money for civic buildings, e.g. Caird Hall (1914-22).

Urban Remodelling and Aggrandisement in Dundee

In 1868, with the town council's financial problems largely resolved and the appointment of William Mackison as Burgh Engineer and Surveyor the prospect for public design and planning

within Dundee noticeably altered when compared to prior years. Without a doubt the appointment of Mackison was a turning point in the employment of design and planning in Dundee for he embraced the issue of urban betterment in a ruthless manner, in so doing from 1871 to 1891 utilising the town's Improvement Act of 1871 in order to remove and rebuild many dilapidated districts that posed an affront to local civic dignity, in so doing supervising works like the Commercial Street and Whitehall Street Improvement schemes by controlling the design of new buildings in the area so as to ensure stylistic uniformity was established (Walker, 1977). Such was Mackison's urban clearance appetite that under his guidance existing approaches to roadways improved and more than 150 new streets were formed (see figures 4) - a monumental number and especially extraordinary given the high value of land in Dundee at the time. The clearing and rebuilding evidently had a number of immediate benefits. It provided many new housing units for the expanding local population, establishing a large number of new shops and other business premises which helped ensure the local economy buoyancy, local traffic movement improved. Yet in contrast much local architectural heritage was destroyed and many edifices of historical interest were lost as a consequence of Mackison's amputations, hence *The Builder's* observation at the start of this paper (1898: 139).

The clearing of land around the central core of Dundee from the 1870s to 1890s, an era within which city status was granted (in 1889), despite offering great potential for civic lauding, pride and designing by the possible construction of new grandiose edifices and the laying out of urban spaces, did not result in a proliferation of new public buildings or open areas that might have been expected and instead established in a boom in tenement building, typically four storeys in height, to house those displaced by the slum clearances and to help resolve the huge housing problem in Dundee. But while the 1870s onwards did bring to the fore a period within which a lack of public architectural buildings at the urban core were constructed it nonetheless represented a watershed of sorts in the history of Dundee's public designing due to the unfolding domination of local design and planning matters by a small group of individuals before 1914. These individuals were David Mackenzie, Charles Edward and James Maclaren, (Walker, 1977) as well as William Mackison, William Alexander and James Thomson (1852-1927) who were employed by the corporation. However, as described subsequently, some unsavoury legacies of the local political past remained and these restrained civic design practice for many more years.

Figure 4. Left: Whitehall Close, part of a district where slums, disease and poverty was endemic, was demolished in 1883 and replaced with, right, Whitehall Crescent (source: Dundee Central Library, reference numbers WC0705 and WC3370).



In contrast to most other large sized provincial towns and cities in the late-Victorian period Dundee's local governments did not erect large-scale civic buildings (Morley, 2002) and instead, from the latter years of the 19th century onwards, concentrated on erecting maybe more cost effective small-scale public buildings which were to scattered throughout the settlement so as to help uplift the standard of the local environment. In aesthetic terms though by the 1900s was to be achieved through the use of Classical design styles for public buildings. But as already documented in this study, the mid and late-Victorian period was an epoch of financial prudence for Dundee's councils and this must be further understood in order to comprehend the nature of civic design practice in Dundee, even by the time of James Thomson, the focal individual of this paper. Thus to grasp somewhat why such fiscal cautiousness persevered attention must now be given to the financial income of Dundee's town councils. In terms of collected revenue town councils were able to draw upon 'common good' sources that included land, churches, houses and salmon fisheries yet, significantly, this income was only obtainable from sources found within the municipal and parliamentary constituency of Dundee, i.e. a small defined piece of land which in 1881 had a population of less than 16,000 (source: Census, 1881) even though Dundee as a whole at the same time had a population size of more than 140,000. Importantly as well, given that Acts of Parliament at intermittent times in the Victorian period had resulted in the town council establishing several boards, e.g. Police, Gas, Harbour, Parochial and Water, all of whom raised yet disbursed capital and so were at constant risk to debt, the town council walked a constant financial tightrope which with the introduction of arrears became increasingly more slippery. By 1881, with the boards having a collective level of debts of over £1.74 million, the town council had no option but to be parsimonious with regards to civic designing and other civic enterprises.

British Civic Design: An Overview

The late-Victorian and Edwardian period was an era of much social, political and cultural movement in Britain. Among the matters to evolve was civic design which was influenced by a range of factors. These included the development of legislation relating to the control and laying out of the urban form, such as local Improvement Acts, plus national legislative pieces like the Public Health Act (1875) and the Artisans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement Act (1875) in England and Wales. These two legislative pieces, for example, had major implications for civic design as they permitted the clearance of tracts of land containing insanitary or poor quality buildings within or close to the central core (Morley, 2002). This was of significance to civic design as previous research by this author (Morley, 2002) has recognised that most schemes in provincial Britain occurred on central brownfield sites, i.e. sites cleared and then redeveloped for the purpose of constructing a public building upon it. Therefore any legislative developments which permitted the clearance of urban land were of significance to civic design practice for they had the potential to open the supply of 'new' sites even though the passing of such legislative rulings were dependent upon the attitude of local authorities and their willingness to implement existing national environmental/building legislation or to pass new Acts in order to practice civic design. Moreover, with regards to the form of civic design the new rulings were of note for they effectively ensured that many civic design schemes that were to be undertaken would be done so on cramped sites with unequal boundaries that offered little or no available areas for laying out spaces other than that of a local roadway. Yet despite most civic buildings being erected upon somewhat cramped or irregular shaped sites civic designers in Britain generally tried to adopt the

same approach to the design and planning process as was evident on buildings erected on unencumbered sites. As the paper given by this author at the IPHS 2004 Conference in Barcelona, Spain, highlighted, British civic design from about 1880-1914 despite variances in the amount of schemes undertaken from place to place, and the often smaller scale and use of less civic design features within smaller-sized settlements, employed numerous universal elements including symmetrically formed main elevations and internal arrangements (Morley, 2004). Hence it can be argued that just as contemporary American civic design practice was systemised and based on a somewhat settled policy (Mawson, 1911: 255) so too was practice in late-Victorian and Edwardian Britain. Importantly as well, the author's aforementioned research has uncovered little evidence to reveal that characteristics, such as the degree of openness or the unencumbered nature of a site, affected the form and plan of civic architecture erected on it as symmetrically composed elevations were discovered on buildings of varying types, e.g. Town Halls, City Halls, Municipal Offices, Public Libraries, Museums, Art Galleries, Central Fire and Police Stations, and Public Halls - building types erected not only as a consequence of municipal pomp and circumstance. It was recognised thus that the shape of the site had little affect on the overall treatment of the elevations (Morley, 2002: 593).

Many of the largest and strongest British civic design schemes undertaken in Britain between 1880 and 1914 were noted, e.g. at the star of this work, to have occurred within the largest cities of Britain. Reasons as to why this situation arose include the larger settlements had corporations with an ability to possibly better establish large budgets to finance building schemes, a consequence maybe of high civic status which was especially significant after the 1888 Local Government Act was passed – an Act that gave the largest urban settlements County Borough status, a greater tax base, possibly the greater needs of the large local population than in smaller places, plus civic rivalry and the desire to be acknowledged as the 'second city of the empire' after London, the cultural, economic, political and social centre of Britain and empire. However it would be misleading to ignore smaller sized British settlements for many significant schemes, both suggested and built, occurred in lesser sized places. For example, undoubtedly the most successful civic design scheme undertaken during the period about 1880 to 1914 was the City Hall and Law Courts project in the Cathays Park district of Cardiff (population of about 164,000 in 1901: source, HMSO Census), an area developed with an apparent American City Beautiful influence which helped present a quasi-national image as the proto-capital of modern Wales rather than a "straggling and irregular" place that it was prior (*The Builder*, 1897: 239). The close proximity of the Cardiff edifices, their common colour, building materials, scale, style, axial planning lines that helped to relate the internal arrangements of each building together, detailing, symmetrical form, building lines and other common features all contributed to making Cathays Park a unique example of British civic design prior to 1914. A synopsis of some of British civic design's principal features before 1914 now follows.

As has already been mentioned, regardless of the shape of the site the vast majority of civic buildings erected from 1880-1914 invariably had their main and sometimes other elevations composed on symmetrical lines. Of note too the use of symmetry was irrespective of the size of the building and the overall design style employed. Both the largest and smallest sized public buildings were noted to be composed in symmetrical ways with the same kind of design features, highlighted subsequently. Explanations as to why symmetrical forms dominated British designing involve the rising significance of the Beaux Arts system of architectural education in the late-Victorian period which helped to dictate a balanced and axial disposition of the main

elements of a civic edifice, and this evidently had a major influence on the placing of prominent spaces within the internal arrangement, and the positioning of entrances and staircases too.

Within British civic schemes it was repeatedly discovered that one elevation was given greater attention than the others within the overall composition. The importance of one particular elevation over other ones, regardless of design form, was recurrently shown by it containing the principal entrance and, in some instances, it would face towards an open space other than that of a roadway. In many schemes it was noticed that the designer would give the principal elevation a treatment that included features like a broad flight of steps and sometimes lamp posts in front of the main entrance. Sometimes where an open space was created architectural elements like statuary would be sited in positions relating to prominent axial lines or design features of the building which helped create a sense of association between the edifice and its surroundings. Concerning the composition of the main elevations certain design elements were commonly employed, e.g. gables, pediments, rustication, window openings designed with arched or semi-circular heads, and columns and pilasters which would be placed at regular intervals along the main elevation(s) creating orderly bays between within which window openings were placed. The position of these bays frequently reflected the degree of regularity in the building's plan and the effect of the ordered bays consequently reinforcing the composition's symmetry.

The planning arrangements of civic buildings were noticed to take many forms although their overall manner was regularly dominated by symmetrical lines, like that of façade design. A common element observed in the planning process was that a main feature in the internal arrangement might be placed centrally on an axial line that was usually reflected in the treatment of the main elevations. Elements identified to be positioned along the central alignment of the principal elevation included the main entrance, vestibule spaces, main staircases, prominent, large-sized spaces and possibly a vertical element. The placing of important features or spaces within the internal arrangement was noticed too to often suggest its presence upon the design of the main elevations. This was typically indicated by the use of extra decoration, the positioning of design elements at each side of the main entrance or by the placing of features, such as a gable or portico, from which regular bays would be put along the main elevations where fenestration and details such as columns or pilasters would be found. Fenestration on the principal floor level, where important rooms would be found, usually the ground or first floor level and noticeable by the increased floor-ceiling height, was commonly different than for other floor levels.

To conclude this section of the paper two brief, generalised points concerning civic design practice shall be raised. Firstly, the emphasising of corner points was an additional weighty element of British civic design practice, frequently accentuated by a change in the roofline above with the roof being given, e.g. by a steeper gradient than for other parts of the scheme. Rusticated masonry as well was sometimes applied at the corners of a composition. Secondly, for some civic design schemes the local road pattern was utilised and the direct alignment of an oncoming roadway was used to meet with prominent sections of the main elevations. While roads were not always utilised in most schemes due to cramped sites used for public building they were an integral element of many of Edwardian Britain's proposed urban redevelopment schemes, like Stanley Adshead's Liverpool scheme (1910), Thomas Mawson's Bolton proposal (1911) and James Thomson's plan for Dundee (from 1910), to which this work now turns.

James Thomson and the Rejuvenation of Dundee

In 1910 James Thomson, then Dundee's City Architect, proposed plans for the redevelopment of the centre of Dundee, a scheme very much in contrast to the small-scale civic architectural work that was being practised in the settlement then even though in the immediate decades prior the place's civic status had grown – an increase in civic status being a plausible motive for increasing the volume and scale of local civic design practice (Morley, 2002). In 1889, for example, the settlement was awarded city status and in 1894 an additional civic peak was reached when the city was given the rank of 'County of a City', an honour only enjoyed by two other settlements in Scotland, Glasgow and Edinburgh (Whatley, 1992: 7). Yet regardless of such advances in Dundee's civic standing local public design remained on a comparatively lesser scale than in other large-sized British provincial settlements at the very same time. Nonetheless, with the appointment of James Thomson as City Architect in 1904 (until 1924) and City Engineer (1906-22) a new civic design energy was injected into the city, a dynamism expressed in the following years by architectural and planning values prevalent in contemporary British civic design in order to instil greater municipal order. By way of illustration, Thomson's designs for the Coldside Library (opened 1908), Blackness Library (1909), St Roque's Library (1910), and Barrack Street Museum (1911) made use of styles popular in Britain at that time, the symmetrically formed neo-Classical and Baroque styles – design forms thus perceived by Thomson as appropriate for the instating of civic stateliness in industrial Dundee. On the other hand Thomson after his professional advancement began to express a growing interest in large-scale urban redevelopment and design, a curiosity sparked by his street-works for the town council where he would redraw street lines and redesign road junctions to allow trams to better travel, and within just a few years this appreciation led to the evolution of his 50 year vision for Dundee, a remarkable project that employed design and large-scale planning as a vital means to improve both Dundee's civic dignity and central environment.

Figure 5. Thomson's interest in Dundee resulted in him taking countless photographs, like those of Union Street (top left) and (bottom left) High Street-Overgate. His photographs have provided opportunities to appraise how Dundee would have altered (see top and bottom right pictures) had his numerous proposals been implemented (Dundee City Archives, GB251 TC/MP37/8).



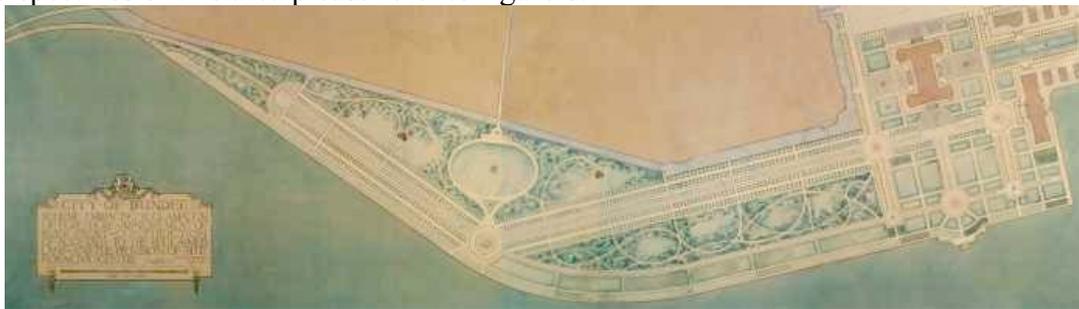
In 1910, when Thomson's initial city-wide proposals were composed - on the initiative of the Lord Provost Sir James Urquhart, it was evident from his work how he already possessed a City Beautiful-esque idealised view of what a modern, industrial settlement such as Dundee should be like. As part of his idea to redevelop the city Thomson recommended a plethora of features, such as a new covered market, Parisian styled boulevards terminated by statuary, broad road junctions (figure 5), symmetrically formed garden spaces and neo-Classical buildings arranged as a civic centre so as to establish what he clearly perceived as being the cornerstones of 'good' urban development (figures 7 and 8), that is order, beauty and convenience. His detailed perspectives for Dundee's redevelopment, along with a similar British scheme, Thomas Mawson's for Bolton (1911), for example, evidently demonstrate an abstract fondness in British civic design for the US City Beautiful style of urbanism, a style that in practice was only shown once in Britain, in the Cathay Park development in Cardiff. Significantly too, the large-scale stratagem put forward by Thomson exhibited a paradigm in British civic design due to his far sightedness. His 1910 redevelopment plan for Dundee, arguably his masterwork despite it never undertaken in the way it was originally intended, contained facets unique to British urban development pre-1914.

On a site to the west of the city centre, on land reclaimed from the dock lands, Thomson planned his most comprehensive improvement project for Dundee. The 1910 scheme was multi-faceted, consisting of erecting a Railway Station, a host of municipal edifices, and the laying out geometrically formed garden spaces and avenues lined with trees that acted as formal approaches to the proposed buildings of the civic centre. The *Town Planning Review* (1913: 177) described Thomson's scheme as being "interesting", "important" and providing Dundee with "the most magnificent river front in Great Britain" (1913: 177), and such was the scale and ostentation of the suggested project that it may be argued that the scheme verged upon civic design megalomania. Certainly no built scheme in Britain and few proposed prior to 1914 could compare with its grandiose pretension, disposition and scale. In December 1911 Thomson presented his plan to the Town Council and in 1914 the administration accepted the scheme in spite of the 1912 setback when the Harbour Trust decided to retain the Earl Grey Dock.

A fundamental element to the success of Thomson's Dundee scheme was the reclamation of land. Like the early-1900s Pier Head development at Liverpool, Thomson sought to open up part of the dock area which by the early-twentieth century was inadequate to the needs of modern industry in Dundee. So, as a result of reclaiming land, and thereby obtaining a vast tract of land for a relatively small economic cost when compared to clearing central brownfield sites - something of local worth given the Dundee's local governments' history of fiscal quandaries during the Victorian era - Dundee would be presented with "a splendid site for its new municipal building and public market, and a fine open space on the river front." (*Town Planning Review*, 1913: 177) *The Builder* (1915: 31) stated that the scheme "although appearing somewhat ambitious at first sight, is both practicable and economic in its adaptation of means to ends", added that it "is also so arranged that it can be carried out in sections, none of them of great size or cost, which can be put in hand at intervals of a long period of time, avoiding a heavy charge of rates." (1915: 31) Unfortunately though Thomson's scheme, in keeping with so many improvement schemes of the Victorian and Edwardian era, was abandoned (in 1914) and given the history of the Corporation in Dundee in the previous decades this retreat is not too surprising. In fairness wider circumstances were not sympathetic to the town council. The onset of World War One inevitably was to disrupt its civic enterprises, just as it did elsewhere in Britain.

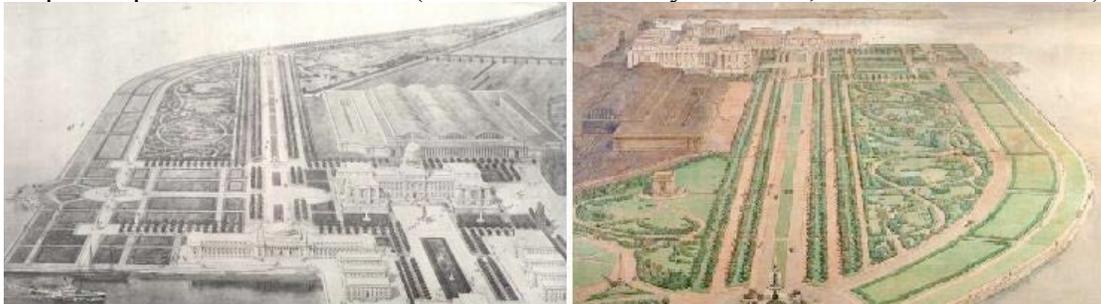
Nevertheless a brief description of James Thomson's original plan is necessary at this point and the point needs to be emphasised that had the scheme been laid down in the manner initially intended Dundee would have been given a monumental civic design scheme on a par with those undertaken in the largest (state capital) cities of contemporary America under City Beautiful-based activity. Instead when the idea of the scheme was reborn in 1918 following the end of the Great War it was greatly revised but the implementation of the amended scheme along with other projects which Thomson was involved in from 1918, particularly in the field of municipal housing, led to Dundee in the immediate post war era quickly assuming a reputation as being a progressive settlement with a local government of a broad minded nature. A short description of Thomson's original idea is now provided.

Figure 6. Part of Thomson's Dundee Improvement Plan (from *Town Planning Review*, 1913). For perspectives of this area please refer to figure 8.



The total spatial area of Thomson's initial scheme was almost 70 acres, a substantial tract of central urban land and the overall project consisted of many elements, including the removal of many insanitary properties close to the area of redevelopment (*The Builder*, 1915: 585) and the building of a new road bridge across the Tay. The reclaimed land from the Tay Estuary was to be laid out formally (figure 7) in a manner which Thomson described as a pleasure ground and wide esplanade (*The Builder*, 1915: 585). The primary architectural structures in the plan, the Rail Station and Municipal Building, were to be designed in a classical fashion by Thomson and in many respects formed a civic core.

Figure 7. Perspectives of what central Dundee's central would have appeared had Thomson's redevelopment plan been undertaken (source: Dundee City Archives, GM 251 TC/MP37/6).



Thomson's plan for Dundee was guided, as shown by figures 7 and 8, by the employment of symmetrical planning lines on a monumental scale and the use of vistas to create grand visual effects. Surrounded by water on three sides of the reclaimed site, the civic buildings were placed together by Thomson at the eastern end of the land close to Earl Grey Dock so as to form a

group. Although Thomson gave no detailed perspective sketches of his buildings, or detailed plans of the buildings either, he did produce a number of pictures showing the anticipated completed form of the civic district. The most prominent of the buildings was the large Municipal Office (see figure 8), designed in a highly symmetrical form with a plan of a rectangular shape marked at its centre by a huge dome that was reminiscent of Sir Christopher Wren's St Paul's Cathedral in London. Statues were to be placed in front of the building in prominent locations like in at the centre of the end sections and centre of the main elevations. In terms of detailing the Municipal Office was decorated by a large number of paired columns.

To the west of the central point of the Municipal Office Thomson placed the centre of the Rail Station's main elevation and to the east he placed a statue. Located nearby were additional civic buildings which were also composed and arranged in a symmetrical manner, thus forming an orderly group. To the south of the Municipal Office the central line of axis through the edifice was continued towards the waterfront and was terminated by another statue. Around this particular statue Thomson designed a garden area with a geometric plan with alignments also terminated by further statuary. A large glass rotunda was erected in this section of the reclaimed land as well and the large axis from the centre of the principal civic building, the Municipal Office, was continued across the reclaimed area for many hundreds of yards and was terminated by a huge fountain placed near to the banks of the Tay Estuary. A footpath from the fountain lead west towards a new bridge which spanned the Tay Estuary and statuary, as mentioned earlier in spite of being placed in positions relating to the main sections of the principal elevations, the internal arrangement of buildings and the position of main entrances, etc., also had a beauty, i.e. a functional use, being utilised in some instances as turning circles for trams.

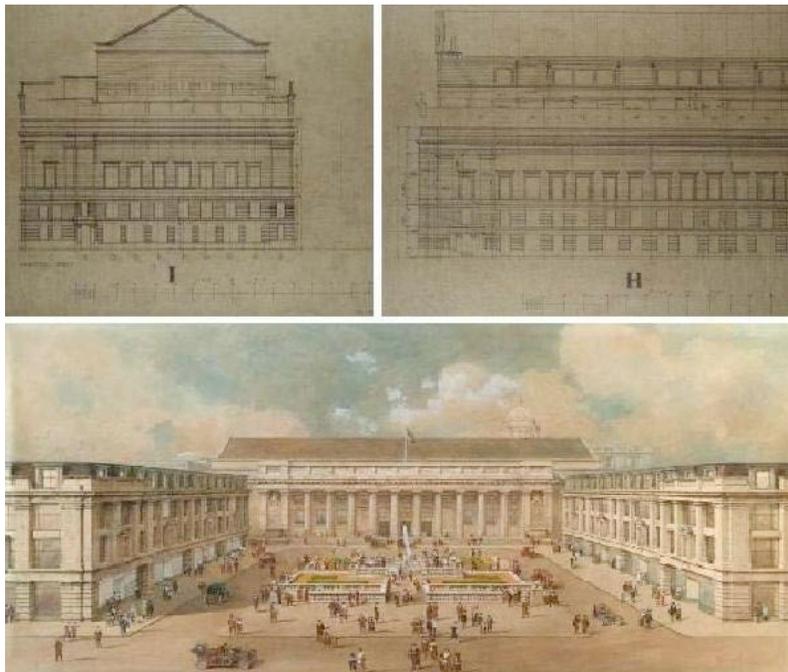
Figure 8. Left: View towards the new civic centre and (right) a perspective of the roof garden placed over the public market (source: Dundee City Archives, GB 251 TC/MP 37/8 and GB 251 TC/MP 37/18). Bottom: Perspectives of the Municipal Offices and surroundings.



As stressed earlier in this section with the onset of World War in August 1914 came the suspension of Thomson's scheme and when it was undertaken again, in 1918, the monumentality of the original plan was lessened to a considerable degree. Gone was the notion of using

Figure 9. Drawings from the City's Architect's Office of the elevations of Caird Hall in Dundee. Left: The elevation facing Crichton Street and (right) part of the southern elevation. (source: Dundee City Archives: GB.251.TC/MP.97). Bottom: A perspective of what the completed City Square district was intended to appear like. The two buildings that flank each side of the space were never completed.

reclaimed land and instead Thomson had to be content with planning a far more moderate civic project consisting of a public building, to be known as Caird Hall, and a public space, to be referred to as City Square. Although the history of Caird Hall effectively begins before 1914 due to local concern that the 18th century Town House (figure 1) did not have enough dignity for a settlement of Dundee's demographic and civic size and importance. In addition, the site of the Town House had become inconspicuous during the nineteenth century due to the plethora of buildings erected around it. In 1914 a local industrial (ute) magnate, James Caird, donated money (£100,000) to pay for a new City Hall and Concert Hall building, and played a determined role in the project, stipulating that the new edifice was only to be erected if the Town House was cleared so as to enhance the setting of his munificence (McKean and Walker, 1984: 14). The resultant Caird Hall (1914-22) by Thomson was thus erected with an open space, City Square, in front of it. The grand impression of this building (see figure 9) was further enhanced by it being set on a stone plinth which raised the building above the ground and by huge colonnade of stone Doric pillars which dominated the front elevation (added later following a donation of £75,000 by James Caird's sister, Emma Jayne Marryat.



It has already been emphasised that Thomson from the early-1900s onwards was a founder of modern city thinking in relation to urban development, design and planning. As has been noted earlier too Thomson was active in pushing forward the boundaries of the civic design cannon although his forward thinking abilities with regards to civic design were maybe too advanced for the Dundee council given its history. But with regards to housing Thomson had much practical municipal success. In 1907, he persuaded the local authority to establish a Housing and Town Planning Committee, a very progressive move that anticipated what was to be Britain's first town planning legislative piece, the Housing, Town Planning Etc. Act (1909), and notwithstanding his dedication to aspects of civic design he preserved an active interest in residential architecture/planning to such a level that Dundee became the first Scottish city to establish large-scale municipal housing schemes. In March 1917, notwithstanding the

uncompleted status of World War One, he presented a *Report to the Housing and Town Planning Committee of the Dundee Town Council on Preparation for Work after the Termination of the War and Proposed Housing Schemes* and without any kerfuffle once war ended he produced an additional commentary on a broad range of urban development/planning issues imperative to ensuring Dundee's sustained growth and civic success. On this occasion attention was given to traffic, hence dual carriageways were suggested, as was a new Tay Road Bridge planned on the site of the original rail bridge. With reference to municipal (garden city type) housing it was to be zoned and when undertaken in 1919 it included residences with experimental heating and electricity devices. At the peak of his career by this time Thomson was awarded the presidency of the Institute of Municipal and County Engineers (in 1920) yet adverse publicity surrounding his electrified 'Specimen House' – the high cost of which excluded it from subsidy under the 1919 Housing Act, and the fact that no one wanted to move into it – coupled with his increasing age led to the commencement of the closing stages of his professional work. Thomson finally retired from public duty in 1924 at the age of 72.

Conclusion

It has been revealed in the course of this paper that the practice of civic design in the Victorian period was extremely limited in Dundee and had it not been for James Thomson's activities, encouraged and often financed by philanthropists, in the Edwardian period then there would have been even less civic architectural and planning activity within the city, which is unsatisfactory given the demographic size and economic extent of the settlement by 1914. However this situation must be placed in context as firstly Dundee was not too dissimilar from other large provincial towns and cities in Britain during the late-Victorian and Edwardian period (Morley, 2002) who also tended to erect few public buildings, and secondly there was the issue of the corporation's poor financial footing during the mid-Victorian period which unquestionably still cast a shadow up to the final years of the nineteenth century. Hence few public building schemes were undertaken during that time. However, the local government from 1871 onwards was heavily involved in urban improvement schemes in part due to the emergence of dire living conditions within many of the districts of historic Dundee as a consequence of industrialisation and rapid urban growth. Obviously such improvement work touched upon notions of urban planning and questions of design which possibly established a new tradition upon which Thomson could put his master plan by 1910, a radical project for a settlement with a modest reputation for civic architecture.

On the subject of the proposed plan for Dundee by James Thomson it was an undeniably strong, arguably idealistic, piece of urban planning which revealed the influence of the American City Beautiful Movement in British urban planning circles in the Edwardian period. The scheme, for example, was of a scale and pretension not seen in Britain at that time in either schemes that were erected or proposed, and highlighted the contemporary possibilities of urban planning in Britain under ideal conditions. Had the scheme been undertaken then Dundee would have developed with an urban form and face on a par with the large American cities of Washington DC, San Francisco or Chicago (had Daniel Burnham's plan (1909) been adopted). Sadly, as highlighted previously, the scheme was not implemented in its original form and this was not only a loss to the civic design of the settlement but arguably to civic design in Britain.

To conclude, this paper has provided an overview of possibly the most comprehensive urban project put forward for a British industrial city pre-1914, a scheme largely overlooked in the formulation of British urban design and town planning history. Adopting Burnham's dictum to 'make no little plans', given the City Beautiful belief that small plans lack fascination and so would never be achieved, Thomson has been shown to have initiated a direction of redevelopment to reinvigorate Dundee's civic and environmental disposition. His course, based on the employment of large-scale neo-Classical architecture, broad and lengthy boulevards and walkways, symmetrically arranged public spaces filled with statuary, themselves sited in accord with prominent sections of the nearby building's principal elevations and planning form which would act as focal points, emphasised the importance of the vista which could be so clearly seen in US city plans. Although many aspects of Thomson's plan were prevalent in British civic designing before 1914 what was spectacular about his Dundee concept was that it not only incorporated a monumental scale, it involved land reclamation to reduce costs, and involved the unifying of spaces and buildings into harmonious accord, which like Mawson's Plan for Bolton was to establish a municipal heart sustaining the whole (1911: 255) - an ideal of civic design.

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**Lachlan Macquarie and the foundation of the city of Sydney: a global
apprenticeship in urban design**

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Introduction

The urban and architectural development of Sydney, Australia occurred at two critical moments in the first 30 years of settlement. The most influential governors who were responsible for shaping Sydney's future in a major way were Arthur Phillip (Governor 1788-1792) and Lachlan Macquarie (Governor 1810-1821). The five governors between Phillip and Macquarie contributed little to Sydney's urban identity. While much of the settlement of the city involved technical expertise, the focus of this paper is on those people who contributed to and supported *design* ideas in the flourishing city. Arthur Phillip with his vision of an elegant colonial city set the tone for the settlement, by securing an ongoing relationship between Sydney and its harsh but inspiring landscape. Governor Lachlan Macquarie [Fig 1] surrounded himself with people of similar aptitude and delivered Georgian and Gothic style to the young settlement.

Arthur Phillip commanded the first dispatch of convicts to the penal colony of New South Wales, Australia. A career in the British Navy took him to many ports around the world, exposed him to different cultures and political regimes and trained him as a sailor, navigator, military tactician, leader and administrator. His experience, and personal qualities of courage, preparedness, rigour and compassion assured he was an appropriate choice as first governor of New South Wales. Lachlan Macquarie continued this slim tradition of humane and erudite governors. He emerged from the discipline of a military career, and had, like Phillip, travelled extensively. He was therefore attuned to the aesthetic qualities of the different environments he encountered in his journeys from Seringapatam in India to St Petersburg in Russia.

Citing the Macquarie manuscripts in the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, this study documents the extensive life of travel engaged in by Lachlan Macquarie, interrogates how he encountered the city as a military man, and speculates about his lifelong apprenticeship in urban design which was ultimately to inform his work in Sydney.

A soldier's life

Lachlan Macquarie was born in Ulva, Scotland in 1761. He volunteered for the American Wars in August 1776 at the age of 14 and was stationed in Halifax, Nova Scotia until 1780. He was subsequently stationed variously in New York, Charleston and Jamaica until the end of the War of Independence. In 1788 he sailed to Bombay with the 77th Regiment. In 1791, the regiment trekked through mountainous jungle to rendezvous at Seringapatam with regiments from Madras for a drawn out and

frustrating campaign against the French backed Tippoo Sahib. 1793 saw him married to his first wife Jane Jarvis and living quietly at Calicut. In July 1795 and January 1796 respectively, the regiment took possession of Cochin and Colombo on behalf of the Prince of Orange. Macquarie returned from action against the Dutch at Point de Galle to find Jane gravely ill with consumption. She died in July 1796 in Macau where Macquarie had taken her to convalesce. Macquarie's bereavement was acute and only the thrill of battle distracted him. Tippoo Sahib was finally defeated at Seringapatam in May 1799 this time the 77th participating in the full glory of the assault. In 1800 Macquarie visited Fort William, Ganges, Kippengunge, Calcutta (the centre of British India) and Trincomalee. His final task on the Indian subcontinent was to negotiate the surrender to the British of the city of Serat.

The British Army in India was then called to supplement troops already fighting Napoleon in North Africa, with Macquarie being appointed Adjutant General and Chief of Staff of the 86th Regiment and dispatched to Egypt. They landed in Gulf of Suez at Cosseir, travelled to Mocha and Jeddah, marched to the oasis at Kenne on the Nile opposite the temple of Isis, and sailed to the island of Rhoda in the Nile, off Cairo. Macquarie visited Cairo in August 1801. The onset of illness saw Macquarie back in Bombay, from where he sailed for London in 1803. He stopped at Cape Town and St. Helena on his journey home. During 1803 and 1804 Macquarie made trips to Cheltenham and Bath via Gloucester and Tewkesbury Cathedrals, and Oxford and Cambridge Universities. In June 1804, he experienced another exemplary model of urban design, staying in Dumbreck's Hotel in the New Town in Edinburgh. There, Macquarie met Elizabeth Campbell and proposed to her on the eve of his return to India.

Back in India in 1805, as Lieutenant Colonel of the 73rd Regiment, Macquarie found himself in Guzerat serving at Baroach, Dohud, Baroda and Gaikwar, in more peaceful circumstances, and in 1807 he sailed from Bombay to Busrah on his way home to England. Since the Turks had attacked the Russians, closing the Aleppo Road, Macquarie travelled instead via the Caspian Sea. He had letters to deliver on behalf of the East India Company, necessitating short stopovers in Baghdad, Baku, Astrakan, Kolomna, Moscow and St. Petersburg. Having sailed through the Baltic Sea from Russia, Macquarie was able to view the great dockyard at Kronstad, the British Navy with the captured Danish fleet at Copenhagen, see the Swedish King and Queen meeting the public at Helsingborg, and walk in Hamlet's garden at Elsinore. Once back in England he married Elizabeth in Devonshire on 3 November 1807. In 1809 Macquarie sailed to Australia as 6th Governor of New South Wales, stopping en route once more at Rio de Janeiro and Cape Town.

Macquarie's diaries indicate the profound influence his travels had upon his thinking about cities. His enhanced understanding of urban design was critical to his future position as Governor of New South Wales where he would be in a unique position to understand, sponsor and support a small coterie of talented urbanists.

Sydney 1809-1821

The Macquaries, with their passion for landscape and architecture, arrived in Sydney in December 1809. Elizabeth Macquarie had some experience as a landscape designer, having planned a garden walk for her father's estate in Argyllshire and later a road through the government domain in Sydney. She has been credited by some

historians for bringing a Palladian ‘pattern book’ to New South Wales, and assisting in the commissioning of ‘excessive’ buildings such as Gothic castellated turnpikes at the entry points to the city, a Chinese pagoda built as a lighthouse at Newcastle, and a Grecian obelisk milestone [Fig 2] at Sydney’s heart.

The Macquaries were fortuitously joined by convict architect Francis Greenway [Fig 3] direct from the genteel drawing rooms of Bristol and the Second Fleet, and Irish aide-de-camp architect John Watts. This was a remarkable assemblage of talent and motivation with an extraordinary tapestry of precedent. From the urbane provincial centres of the British Isles they transported ideas more in keeping with polite society than the wretched underclass they encountered in New South Wales. However their determination prevailed, and Sydney’s footprint began to reflect a certain urban sophistication. Professionally executed works were principally those of Francis Greenway and John Watts. A disciple and contemporary of England’s famed architect John Nash (Kerr 1984: 38), Greenway had practiced in Bristol working on speculative housing projects until the time of his conviction in 1812 for forging a non-paying client’s signature on a contract. Transported in the notorious *General Hewitt*, he barely survived the journey (of the 1038 on board there were 759 casualties, due to the withholding of supplies from the prisoners to effect sale and profit at Port Jackson). The colony was fortunate to ultimately benefit from the talent and dedication of Greenway. His rigour and artistry, combined with Governor Macquarie’s executive power and vision, produced works that grace the city of Sydney today. These include the Hyde Park Barracks, St James’s Church, the Courthouse, the Macquarie Lighthouse at South Head (reconstructed in 1883), the Government House Stables (now the Conservatorium of Music), the Female Factory at Parramatta, and St Matthew’s Church and the Courthouse at Windsor. Although less educated and experienced than Greenway, Watts designed simple elegant buildings during his five-year stay in the colony. These include the Military Hospital Sydney, additions to Government House Parramatta, Parramatta Hospital, and the remodelled dual steeples of St John’s Parramatta.

Macquarie clarified and embellished the town’s nascent structural rigidity. Streets were repaired, straightened and widened to curb further civil disobedience. Control points were multiplied and decentralised with police watchhouses being set up in five sectors of the town. The town plan was adjusted for “the ornament and regularity of the town of Sydney ...more effectually securing the peace and tranquillity of the town”, (Macquarie, *Sydney Gazette* 6 October 1810, 1) [Fig 4]. His model had been John Craig’s Edinburgh New Town, which was constructed to house an image-conscious middle class, and separate them from the disheveled rabble of the old city.

In time, further public space was embroidered into the city. Hyde Park was dedicated to “the recreation and amusement of the inhabitants of the town, and as a field of exercise for the troops...” Buildings were demolished to create the triangular space named Macquarie Place, and the Tank Stream was protected from contamination. A market wharf was constructed at Cockle Bay, and the city markets proceeded on the current site of the Queen Victoria Building, although not in the grand style that Greenway had envisaged; Commissioner Bigge, sent by the Home Government to audit the colony, objected to such extravagance. A grandiose scheme for a Gothic cathedral precinct and town hall in the genre of the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge was also in train, but Bigge predictably also put an end to this.

By the time the Macquarie retinue departed the colony in 1822, the city boasted several urban design improvements:

- The urban structure had been made more legible and convenient with the widening and straightening of streets.
- New public spaces had been inserted into the urban fabric in Macquarie Place, the squares adjacent to the Town Hall and City Markets, and at the top of Macquarie Street where St James's Church and the Barracks bracketed the termination of a public street at Hyde Park. [Fig 5]
- The relationship of the Government Domain with the harbour (instigated by Arthur Phillip) was highlighted by the Gothic jewels of The Government House Stables on the knoll overlooking the cove, and Fort Macquarie at the water's edge. [Fig 6]
- The Macquarie Lighthouse at South Head provided a beacon of safe passage to mariners navigating the treacherous New South Wales coastline. [Fig 7]

The result was a city well attuned to its native landscape, with a clearly legible urban structure, ample public space, both hard and soft, embellished with some fine Georgian and Gothic edifices, all within 30 years of settlement; a spectacular achievement by any standards of city building.

The apprenticeship

Macquarie's biographer Ellis tells us that Lachlan Macquarie, who oversaw a critical period in the growth of Sydney, is known to have definitively read at least two books in his life: one was Boswell's *Journey to the Hebrides* and the other was that late eighteenth century favourite, Voltaire's *Candide* (Ellis 1947: 4). Superficially they are both about travel and adventure in foreign lands. Anyone who has read *Candide* and is interested in cities, cannot help but be astonished at the fabulous description of the mountain city of El Dorado:

In the meantime they were shown the city. The public buildings seemed almost to touch the clouds. The marketplaces were adorned with thousands of columns. Fountains of clear water, rose-water and liquors drawn from the sugar-cane played incessantly in the squares, which were paved with jewels that gave off an odour like that of cloves and cinnamon. (Voltaire: 1993: 51)

Macquarie travelled the globe as extensively as *Candide* and his accomplices, and also left many fabulous descriptions of the wonders of his journeys. He methodically described each city as he mentally absorbed it, and a pattern of urban exploration is established. Firstly he navigated the town's principal streets and squares, noting the city's setting and landscape features. Then he focussed on monuments and buildings of note. The layers of the city come alive to this traveller through its primary elements: structure (streets and squares) and monumental architecture. This is precisely the typological method of understanding the city espoused by Rossi (1982) and Krier (1985).

The Indian subcontinent, with its sumptuous gardens and palaces draws particularly eloquent commentary from Macquarie. He was transfixed by the extraordinary sight of Periapatam, after campaigning through intractable jungle and steep terrain in 1791.

The description attests to Macquarie's acute receptivity to visual beauty and his powers of observation:

I have had many fine views and prospects, but the *one* I was gratified with today from the top of this hill surpasses in beauty and variety everything of the kind I ever yet beheld. The Fort and Town of Periapatam; and the rich luxurious fertile plains of *Mysore*; clothed with the most beautiful verdure, with the fine large tanks, or large ponds of water and elegant gardens interspersed through these plains as far as the eye could reach, formed in my opinion, the most beautiful landscape, and the most ravishing and enchanting sights in the world...that I feasted my eyes with it a full hour...(A768: 260-61)

In 1792 he catalogued sights of Seringapatam:

I rode to see the Pettah, the Palace, Hyders Tomb and the garden (called the "Loll Bang") on the island of Seringapatam... and I was very highly gratified with the superb magnificence and grandeur of these places; particularly so indeed with the elegance of Tippoo's New Palace in the Loll-Bang which is only as yet about half finished. (A768: 363)

At Cape Town [Fig 8] he begins with the landscape and proceeds to the attributes of the town:

...The town with the bay and surrounding hills form a very agreeable and beautiful prospect (A768: 91), and

The town of Table Bay, or as it is most commonly titled, Cape Town, is a very neat regular built town; the streets are not paved, but are straight and cross each other at right angles; the houses are built of brick in general and some of wood, they are neat light and airy; the town itself is most beautifully and romantically situated - at the bottom of a very fine bay and at the foot of very high hills which overlook it and all the plains below...(A768: 97)

Macquarie's descriptions of cities become more complex and interesting the more he travelled. During a trip to Egypt in 1801 he visited Cairo. His comments indicate an ability to comprehensively see cities in plan, and as complex three-dimensional compositions:

We first rode through all the squares, principal streets, and public markets within the city. We afterwards proceeded to the ancient citadel on the mountain close to the town - and which it completely commands and entirely overlooks from its very elevated situation. From the citadel we had a very noble grand view of the whole of this immense extensive city, the River Nile for a great distance above and below the town, the seaport town of Bulac with its harbour full of shipping, the island of Rhoda with the encampment of the Indian army, the town and fortifications of Giza, and the distant view of the Pyramids and surrounding country, together with the grand immense aqueduct that formerly conveyed the water from the river into the city, formed altogether such an assemblage of grand and beautiful objects of nature and art as I had ever seen combined before. (A769: 674)

Macquarie saw Joseph's Well and the Great Hall in the ancient citadel. His description of the Sphinx and the Pyramids on May 20 1802 indicate a sharp appreciation of scale:

I rode out in my dooly this day after breakfast in company with Colonel Murray and Major Torrens, as far as the Pyramids and the Sphinx, these most wonderful and stupendous monuments of art, and was highly gratified with the grand height of them. They are situated about six miles to the westward of Giza and are seen at an immense distance (A770: 55)

At Pompey's Pillar on 5 September 1801 he was mesmerized. In the pre-photography era, one forgets the time and concentration required to commit a sight to long term memory in the absence of sketching ability:

This grand and elegant column is of the Corinthian order - and ninety feet in height - the shaft formed of a single block of most beautiful red granite, retaining the finest polish imaginable, is sixty-six feet in height and above eight feet in diameter. After staying for near an hour feasting our eyes with this elegant and most beautiful object, Colonel Abercromby and myself bent our course by a different road from that which we had come out. (A769: 714)

On a trip to Bath in 1803 [Fig 9] he showed a great interest in the structural and ornamental aspects of cities:

I walked out with her (Mrs. Carnac) and Mrs. Woodington in the evening through all the principal squares and streets in the city of Bath worth seeing - namely the Upper Crescent (Landsdown Crescent), Lower or Royal Crescent, Circus, North Parade, South Parade &&. (A770: 221)

In July the same year he was as impressed with Oxford, as he would be in 1804 with Cambridge, visiting at the time "the different churches and colleges of this ancient and celebrated university" (A770: 495). The two academic communities presented yet further models for urban design:

As soon as I had breakfasted at the inn, I went to see all the principal colleges and grand public buildings in this old and celebrated city of Oxford: Namely the Magdalen, the New, and Christ-Church colleges the grand library, theatre, walks &&. (A770: 222)

Travelling overland from India to England in 1807, Macquarie visited Russia. Due to time constraints he was only able to see a fraction of Moscow's charms. He did however comment:

It is certainly however a most elegant city, and one of the largest in the world. (A771: 188)

At St Petersburg, which was a contemporary exemplar of good urban design derived from French and Italian practice, [Fig 10] the stay was longer and the impressions more vivid:

I spent the rest of this day in riding through and viewing the different parts of this most magnificent elegant city which is certainly by far the finest and the most beautiful I have ever seen, and I believe is the finest and most regular built city in the whole world; at least it far exceeds every idea I had formed of its grandeur and magnificence; which are greatly heightened by the three beautiful branches of the Neva running through the city, with elegant bridges of boats across each branch, none of which is less than half a mile broad. (A771: 197)

Macquarie's urban design inclinations which were to be given full reign during his political career in New South Wales, were most obviously expressed with the announcement of his intention to found the village of Salen in Scotland. In July 1804, 5 years before his arrival in Sydney, on a trip back to Ulva, he had expressed this proprietorial impulse to improve his ancestral lands, and the lives of his relatives:

I am the more particularly anxious to have the whole of the farm of Callachilly at my own entire command, as it is my intention to drain and improve the great Moss of Salen, and to build a neat village there for crofters and a certain number of useful tradesmen, together with a new good inn, a smithy, and a shop for merchandise: The point of Salen being a most central and very eligible situation in every respect for erecting a village of this description. (A770: 366-7).

Returning to the Highlands in 1807 he founded Salen, subsidising the expense of building his relatives' homes. His prescriptions read like a modern day compilation of urban design guidelines:

Being very anxious that all the crofters should have good comfortable houses built on their own respective crofts-close to and facing the High Road; I beg you will inform them, that, on condition they build for themselves comfortable good houses, pointed with lime, and each having two glass windows, I shall willingly pay a reasonable portion of the expense thereof - I could also wish that all the crofters' new houses should be built of nearly the same size, and they should have all of them high stone gables (sic). (A796: 4 letter to McTavish 15 August 1808)

Conclusion

Lachlan Macquarie had traveled the globe in his military career absorbing information about the places he visited. He clearly had a passion for the cities and beautiful landscapes he had seen, and he wrote eloquently about them in his diaries. For his highland home at Salen, in Scotland he had even created a small settlement, governed by simple *aesthetic* rules,. Because of his global apprenticeship in urban appreciation Macquarie was able to recognize good urban design. As Governor of New South Wales between 1810 and 1821 he was fortuitously surrounded by an assemblage of talented individuals all of whom could make some contribution to the construction of the built environment. Macquarie used both his judgment and his executive power to harness these attributes and create the foundations of a great city. He was assisted by the fact that this small group of individuals worked coherently and constructively to this end. The Macquaries, Watts, and Greenway, in spite of their differing circumstances in New South Wales, had much in common. All came from urban

societies that emphasised the aesthetic and embodied an urban sensibility. Eighteenth century Dublin, Edinburgh and Bristol were all exemplars of the city as a work of art, and a cultural artifact. These were cities of elegant streets and squares, fine public buildings and impressive assemblages of Georgian homes. As Governor of New South Wales, Macquarie was well equipped to provide intelligent patronage to a talented group of professionals. During his governorship, the structural imprint of Sydney was clarified with the widening and straightening of the central grid of streets. He supported the insertion of public space into the city with the forming of new squares at Macquarie Place, the market and the town hall. Finally he commissioned architects Francis Greenway and John Watts to design many handsome public buildings to grace the city. The resulting city attests to a timely convergence of a patron and a group of urbanists at the outer reaches of the British Empire.

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**"The Civilizing Road:"ⁱ
American Influences on the Development of Highways and Motoring in China, 1900-
1949**

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It was not long after the first production automobiles rolled out of American shops that the newfangled machines found their way to the East. Ransom Eli Olds sold one of his electric cars to an intrepid buyer in India in 1891, becoming the first to export an American automobile overseas. As early as 1902 exports of American automobiles to China totaled \$6,645, with an additional \$1,175 going to British Hong Kong.ⁱⁱ Ten years later, Chinese consumers were buying nearly \$500,000 worth of motor vehicles annually from Germany, France, England and the United States. After a lull during the first World War, demand for imports jumped again, and in 1917 some \$942,000 worth of foreign automobiles were imported to China.ⁱⁱⁱ Industry analysts swooned over the potential goldmine in the China market. "This virgin field," offered the *New York Times* in 1910, "should absorb in years to come all the automobiles that America and other countries produce over and above their own actual needs."^{iv}

Western observers marveled, in a typically patronizing tone, at the popularity of motoring among China's merchant class. In a 1913 *New York Times* article entitled "Mandarins like Motor Cars Now," M. A. Greenfield reported that "On any pleasant day" in Shanghai, "you meet mandarins and merchants with their families, behind well-groomed chauffeurs, enjoying themselves exactly like prosperous Americans." An importer who specialized in American automobiles, Greenfield related that there were "few automobiles in the whole of China until about two years ago"; but "the advent of the republic has quickened progress along all lines, and, of course, the automobile is one of the most distinguishing marks of progress." By his estimate there were some 800 motor cars in Shanghai as of 1913.^v

The Yankees soon dominated this nascent market. Even the *British Chamber of Commerce Journal of Shanghai* had to concede that "One only has to walk the streets of this city to see the undeniable predominance of the American car." American cars were lighter and less expensive than British models, and also more powerful. Detroit was soon the choice of both the expatriate European community as well as affluent Chinese. The latter showed "a decided preference for American styles," the *Journal* sniffily noted; "They like the American car's clear-cut body as opposed to the more massive body of the British car." Even the wire spoke wheels of the Yankee autos were more popular than the solid, wooden "artillery type" wheel on the British cars. At China's first automobile show in 1921, Americans stole the show. Housed in sheds of bamboo and rush matting, the Shanghai exhibit covered some 260,000 square feet; half of the vehicles displayed were American.^{vi}

The pole position of Yankee automakers was also the result of aggressive marketing. Unlike the staid British salesmen, the Americans employed a range of creative marketing ploys, and even "stunt advertising" to spread word about their wares. One common ploy involved sending a convoy of automobiles off to places the machines had never before been seen. "As this always calls for journeys over almost impassable roads or where roads do not exist," wrote William Irvine, "it affords a fine advertisement of the ability of the cars," as well as "an effective appeal" to local Chinese who might understandably question the capacity of the automobiles "to perform when they are out of the range of prompt attention from the foreigners."^{vii} In 1932, the Reverend Hewlett Johnson, a missionary who traveled extensively in China, reported that in Sian (Xi'an)--the ancient terminus of the Silk Road and one the great cities of the ancient world--American automobile dealers were "straining every nerve to gain a footing."^{viii}

Henry Ford Goes to China

Ford himself took a keen and early interest in China, first as a potential market for farm tractors and later for passenger automobiles and trucks. Ford was also an amateur sinophile of sorts; he had an extensive collection of Chinese coins, and frequently expounded on the industrial potential of soy beans, one of China's principle crops.^{ix} The Chinese were equally fascinated by Ford. In 1924, Sun Yat-sen, founder of the Republic, wrote to Ford to commend him on his "remarkable work" building an automobile industry. "I think you can do similar work in China on a much vaster and more significant scale," he wrote, and would "have the opportunity to express and embody your mind and ideals in the enduring form of a new industrial system." Ford apparently never saw Sun's missive, which was handled by some flunky in public relations; all the company sent in response was a form letter to the effect that Mr. Ford had no plans to visit his country.^x But Ford was no stranger to China by now; he had been selling cars there for more than a decade, and was even training Chinese mechanics and service personnel in Michigan. In 1924 Ford hosted a visit by Chinese Trade Commissioner Chang Chien, Jr., who gave a speech in Mandarin to a large group of Chinese trainees in residence at Highland Park. Chang predicted an extraordinary future for motoring in China, claiming that more than 100 million automobiles, "or five times the present world total," would be required to provide the nation's 400 million people with the same ratio of cars as Iowa.^{xi}

Ford flourished in the China market. There were two dozen Ford dealers operating in the Republic by 1930, when the company's market share hit 43.6 percent.^{xii} But while Ford had dealers and even a service branch in Shanghai by 1928, the automobiles were still being assembled in Japan and "knocked down" for shipment to China--an arrangement that became increasingly problematic as the relationship between these two countries deteriorated.^{xiii} To amend this, Ford considered investing in an assembly plant in Shanghai in 1932, but the plans were scuttled as war with Japan became inevitable. Yet even with the Japanese invasion in 1937, Ford maintained the company's presence in Shanghai. Its service facility in the Shanghai suburbs kept operating in spite of sniper attacks on its employees and the bombing of nearby neighborhoods. Ford and other auto companies stayed put in China partly in the hope that the war clouds would soon blow over, but also because they had calculated on war driving up demand for their products. General Motors managers, for instance, described the Japanese occupation as a potential boon to business: In 1938, a regional director remarked that "From the automotive point of view, it is possible that complete domination of China by Japan would mean an upturn in business."^{xiv} Ford continued selling cars and trucks to Japan in spite of the invasion, and many of their vehicles were eventually used by the Japanese expeditionary forces in China.^{xv}

"Coolie Tracks and Mule Paths"

An automobile is only as good as the road it is operated on, and China's roads were sorely lacking in the early 20th century. In fact the Chinese had built an extensive system of highways centuries before. An office of road construction and maintenance was established in China as early as 1129 BC, during the Zhou dynasty. Evidence indicates that many of these Zhou-era roads were flanked with planted trees. Numerous highways were also constructed during period of the Warring States (475-221 BC). The sovereign Shih Huang Ti, credited with unifying China in 221 BC, built routes connecting Xi'an and Beijing, Guangzhou and Chengdu, which were partly shaded by pine trees planted at 30-foot intervals. Many of these early roads were later widened and improved for military use, and during the reigns of Kublai Khan and Ghengis Khan most of China's 2,000 miles of imperial highways were repaired and upgraded. But later Ming rulers evidently did not take road maintenance as seriously, and evidently "allowed the splendid old imperial highways to fall into ruin,"

wrote A. Viola Smith and Anselm Chuh in 1931, "until to-day a bit of causeway and a half-hidden stone pavement are all that remain." By 1911, the nation's road system had changed little in the past 500 years.^{xvi} In 1916 the *Times* reported that most Chinese roads, even courier routes, were mere "coolie tracks and mule paths . . . impassable to anything on wheels except a wheelbarrow." With the exception of the Treaty Ports, "no roads are to be found in any part of China," the article claimed; and only in Shanghai was motoring "indulged in to any extent."^{xvii}

Red Cross Roads

Given that the future of automobiles in China was dependent on good roads, it is hardly surprising that Americans would play a role in building a modern highway infrastructure. What is surprising is that it was missionary relief work that led to such an undertaking. As the summer of 1920 drew to a close, Chinese authorities began receiving reports of vast crop failure in north China. Relief efforts were hurriedly organized, and appeals made to foreign aid organizations. By chance, the annual meeting of the Association of Chinese and American Engineers (ACAE) was being held in Tientsin in early October that year. Determined to act, a group of ACAE engineers formed to "urge the adoption of a program of construction" of public works--mainly roads, bridges and dams--"to be carried on coincident with the issuing of food to the destitute." Crop failure and subsequent food shortages in rural China tended to be localized; there was often plentiful grain in nearby provinces, but a lack of transportation made it virtually impossible to move large quantities of food to needy areas. The ACAE engineers argued that good roads, speedily built by famine-idled laborers, would enable relief organizations and the government to expedite food shipments. The men succeeded in convincing the American Red Cross to undertake highway construction in Shandong province--one of the regions hardest hit by the famine. Within months, the Red Cross launched similar efforts in Shanxi, Henan and Hebei provinces.^{xviii}

John Earl Baker, American advisor to the Chinese Ministry of Communications, directed these Red Cross relief operations, and from October 1920 to August, 1921 he oversaw the expenditure of \$1.2 million on road construction in the four famine-struck provinces.^{xix} The most ambitious work took place in Shandong, where Baker's man in charge was a Michigan native named Oliver J. Todd. Todd studied civil engineering at the University of Michigan and later served as chief hydrographer on the Hetch Hetchy dam in the Sierra Nevada mountains. He served as a Captain in the US Army Engineering Corps in World War I, and made his first trip to China shortly after being discharged in 1919.^{xx} For an engineer who had masterminded state-of-the-art public works in the United States, the Shandong roads were more an organizational than an engineering challenge. But because the Red Cross was prohibited from expending funds on land acquisition or grave relocation--a major impediment to siting any new road in the Chinese countryside--many of the Shandong highways were forced to follow deeply rutted centuries-old roads. Where a new roadbed had to be constructed, the builders were aided by geography and geology. The great level plain of the Huang (Yellow) River delta was an engineer's delight; surveying instruments were hardly needed, and most alignments were simply "put in by eye." There were also "few bridges to build and no grades of any consequence," and the soil, "Yellow River loess with a lime content but practically no clay" was easily worked: "By tamping and rolling the damp earth as it was thrown up in 6-in. layers," Todd recounted, "new roads were made hard enough for immediate use so that autos could traverse them at 30 miles an hour."^{xxi}

The real challenge for Todd and Baker was the care and feeding of an army of field hands. As supervisor of Red Cross operations in Shandong province, Todd had as many as 35,000

laborers on his payroll at one time, and some 70,000 in all worked on the roads under his direction. The majority of the men were farmers idled by drought and desperately in need of sustenance. Families in the afflicted region would receive "grain and fuel" in exchange for the labor of one adult male, whose daily wages--"five catties of mixed grain and a little over a catty of coal"--were austere but often meant the difference between life and death for his family.^{xxiii} Only men under age 50 were employed. Widows and orphans and the elderly had to rely on other relief organizations or the generosity of neighbors. The workers chosen were organized into gangs of 30 men each, led by a "headman," who in turn answered to a salaried foreman responsible for ten gangs each. At first the foremen were selected from local communities, but Todd soon replaced them with more experienced men who had worked on railroads and surveys; not surprisingly the laborers chafed under these more demanding taskmasters.

As the once-starving men grew stronger and more fit, Todd replaced the daily wage system with one based on incentive, paying each five catties of grain for every *fang* (100 cubic feet) of tamped earth--a decision he credited with greatly increased construction speed. Quality control was assured by running an automobile at high speed over each completed section; if the vehicle "sank in so that it would no longer run on high gear, the road was condemned and the men were required to retamp it at their own expense." At the end of the workday the men were billeted in whatever accommodations could be rented along the route, including temples. Work went slowly in the winter months, largely due to the frozen earth; but with the spring thaw the pace of construction picked up. By July, 503 miles of modern road had been constructed--an extraordinary achievement given the weakened condition of the laborers at the outset and the primitive tools they were forced to work with. Todd estimated that the Shandong road project furnished food and fuel to some 500,000 men, women and children in all.^{xxiii}

Red Cross trunk lines were also built in Henan and Shanxi, where the roadbuilders had to cut through rock for most of the route across the mountains to the Yellow River. This road assured that neighboring Shaanxi province just to the west would not be cut off from food supplies as it had been in past famines.^{xxiv} All told, the Red Cross road builders constructed nearly 1,000 miles of "standard earth motor roads" in northern China in 1920-1921.^{xxv} As a relief operation the roadbuilding was a great success, credited with significantly reducing mortality. While 500,000 people died in the 1920 famine, the toll was far less than that extracted by a similar famine that struck northern China in 1876, when as many as 13 million perished.^{xxvi} The Red Cross roads were primitive by today's standards, but orders of magnitude better than what had been. "They were a great improvement over the old native country roads," Todd later wrote, "which often became pond holes in low places during the rainy season, and elsewhere were long stretches of deep sand . . . Except in extremely muddy weather Ford cars could travel on them at a rate of 30 miles an hour."^{xxvii}

"The Civilizing Road"

Todd went on to spend the next 18 years in China, working with missionary zeal on a scores of highway projects for the Chinese government, the China International Famine Relief Commission and other organizations. The scale of the work was breathtaking: on a single road project in 1928 Todd supervised an army of 200,000 men and women--more than were at work on all the roads in the United States combined at the time.^{xxviii} In all, Todd and his crews built more than 3,000 miles of motor roads in 14 provinces, from Mongolia and Tibet

to the Vietnamese border. Todd endured banditry, feuding warlords and the constant hazards of travel. He was shot at, and had assistants murdered or kidnapped in front of him.^{xxxix} But the roads Todd built had a profound impact on China's development; by overcoming age-old impediments to communications and transportation they made the likelihood of uniting the vast nation much more real. Todd hoped that this evolving highway system would help China literally pull itself together, overcoming civil strife and regional feuds that had bred warlordism for centuries and made ruling the nation so difficult. Using the old imperial roads it took a government official almost three weeks to travel from Xi'an to Lanzhou; once Todd completed the 500-mile Si-lan Road, travel time was reduced to a mere three days.

Todd also believed that good road transportation would help eliminate China's catastrophic addiction to opium. Poppy fields covered thousands of acres of fertile land in remote western China, land that had effectively been removed from contributing to the nation's food needs because opium cultivation was so profitable--as much as two to three times more profitable than growing wheat. This was mainly due to its light weight and transportability.^{xxx} Todd and others argued that good roads would help tilt the economic scales in favor of food crops, making them cheaper to get to market; the likelihood of famine would thereby be reduced and millions would be spared the evils of opium. It was a paternalistic vision, to be sure, but also one rooted in Todd's deep commitment to China and its people. Highways and motor vehicles were essential development tools, Todd believed, that could help China shed its image as the "sick man of Asia." As Jonathan Spence put it in *To Change China*, Todd had high hopes for his highways: "that one day trucks would roar down them, carrying grain and rice to stricken areas, while the private cars of officials and merchants would speed by with the promises of fairer administration and wider trade."^{xxxi}

It is also clear that, altruism aside, Todd understood that modern roads in China would pay dividends of another sort. They were a smart investment for the United States--not only in terms of stabilizing a potential trading partner, but by seeding a potential future market for American trucks, buses and cars. For a Michigan boy it is perhaps only natural that Todd warmed at the thought of a convoy of Detroit-made cars and trucks motoring along the roads he built on the other side of the world. After a torturous journey on horseback to Guiyang in 1927, the provincial capital of landlocked and roadless Guizhou province, Todd was delighted to be greeted several miles outside the city by an American automobile on a section of highway he engineered a year before. The eight-mile route, looping about the city, had been built by soldiers and "all able-bodied students over the age of fourteen" in town (the boys worked one week, the girls the next).^{xxxii} The motorway was the city's pride and joy. To christen it, an appropriately modern seven-passenger American sedan had literally been hauled in pieces across the mountains, carried from Canton "in boats and on bamboo litters or in parts on men's backs"--a 50-day journey. Another sixteen American automobiles were on order.^{xxxiii} To welcome Todd, the re-assembled automobile (which had arrived three days ahead of him) was paraded about by the provincial governor, while 10,000 local troops and a military band played "Swanee River" and the "The Red, White and Blue."^{xxxiv}

Todd also looked to Michigan in mentoring his Chinese assistant engineers. Most of the young men who work with him in the field had studied in the United States, and some had even worked on American highway projects. On a field trip to Canton in 1927, Todd related proudly how the macadamized Canton-Whampoa motorway, built in the early 1920s between the old city and the new port at Whampoa, had been designed by a Chinese graduate of Michigan State University who later apprenticed with the state's Highways Commission.^{xxxv} American automobile companies often sponsored such exchanges, well aware of the potential

future payoffs. Todd himself proposed a "Michigan in China" program to train young Chinese road builders, a "school in the field . . . mobile and highly practical."^{xxxvi} He practiced what he preached. In 1927, Todd turned over supervision of a 350-mile road from Guiyang to Changsha to a Chinese assistant who had trained at the Ford auto works in Detroit; the assistant in turn tutored some 80 cadet engineers--China's next generation of road builders.^{xxxvii} Two other Chinese colleagues, both graduates of the University of Wisconsin, set out that same year to construct a 500-mile motorway network from Nanning in Guangxi Province.^{xxxviii}

While it seems that Todd never formally represented American automobile interests, he was an enthusiastic--if unofficial--apostle of Detroit. On numerous occasions he demonstrated a keen personal interest in the success of the American car in China. As *The Christian Science Monitor* noted in 1934, building highways in China meant "that motorcars, including passenger cars, trucks and busses, would soon be along, and in every case this assumption has been proved right." And typically, the writer added, "the cars in question turned out to be sturdy American vehicles," which, unlike their British counterparts, were designed for operation on primitive roads or on no road at all.^{xxxix} Todd himself understood the great chain of enterprise that this would set into motion: "American autos are being brought in to be used on these roads. American mining machinery will follow as will a hundred other things American."^{xl}

The "Good Roads Movement"

The Red Cross roads were ambitiously maintained in subsequent years, even in the face of continuing civil unrest. Todd had left the Shandong roads in the hands of a trusted Chinese assistant--an American-educated engineer named E. L. Tang. Revisiting the Henan Red Cross roads in 1925, Todd found that had been vastly improved. "Where formerly only Ford motor cars could run," observed Todd, "we now find heavier automobiles, including the Dodge and Buick, as well as motor busses, operating over a good network highways, comprising many hundreds of miles." Albeit, the public at large was only an incidental beneficiary of such improvements, which were undertaken by warlords keen on increasing "the efficiency of their commands" and by wealthy families with interests in locales connected by the road. But however haphazard, a regional highway system had begun to form around the first strands laid down by the Red Cross. As Todd put it, "This network of roads has proved to be a nucleus on which more roads have been built, and it is to the credit of the people of North and Central China, acting through their officials and various organizations, that the good roads movement has continued popular up to the present time." Even as early as 1924 the initial Red Cross routes had expanded into a system encompassing some 3,000 miles of highway.^{xli}

The famine-relief roads had another unintended effect: they helped spawn a Chinese version of the "Good Roads" movement that had begun a generation or so earlier in the United States. Both the government and the private sector took up the banner of road improvement during the Republican era. The "Good Roads" movement was part of a larger trend toward modernization and urban renewal that came to life after the collapse of the Qing dynasty and the founding of the Chinese Republic in 1911. A young and idealistic generation of Chinese reformers sought to replace the seeming chaos and anarchy of the past with what Michael Tsing has called "a new political rationality"--one based largely on Western scientific knowledge and professional expertise.^{xlii} This vortex of modernization created a whole new spatial order in the Chinese city, one that included China's first modern department stores, new parks and recreation facilities, exhibition halls, electric trolleys, street lighting, water and

sewer lines and other public-health works to promote *weisheng* or "hygienic modernity."^{xliii} The new spatial order also transformed the cluttered, claustrophobic streets of the old Chinese city into bright, wide modern thoroughfares upon which motor vehicles could travel.

J. Morgan Clements, American Trade Commissioner in Shanghai, reported that a Good Roads Association of China had been launched in Shanghai in 1920 by "progressive Chinese" and sympathetic Western expatriates. One of their first projects was to organize a public exhibition on the movement and the economic value of modern highways for the Republic. By 1922 the group, led now by Shanghai physician C. T. Wang, formulated a development program that included "a triangle of roads" linking Shanghai to Suzhou and Hangzhou and eventually continuing on to Nanjing, capital of the Republic. So enthusiastic was the governor of Chekiang (Zhejiang) province about the proposed motorways that he offered soldiers to be employed on the project "at a nominal charge of \$1 Mexican per soldier."^{xliiv} Elsewhere, Clements reported, modern roads were being built by coalitions of local merchants, often in conjunction with plans to operate motor bus service over the route.^{xliv}

In Foochow (Fuzhou) construction of a road around the city had begun in April, 1915, along with the rebuilding of streets within the old walled city. The latter involved "replacing the uneven stone-paved streets with a local cement surfaces," along with extensive demolition of houses and shops to widen street rights-of-way. By 1918, 3,710 houses had been razed for this purpose. Several miles of modern motorways had also been built on the city's outskirts, along with 45 new bridges. In nearby Amoy (Xiamen), another treaty port, Clements reported that the city's streets were too narrow to accommodate an automobile, and indeed "none so far has been brought to the city." But Amoy was also home to many affluent Chinese merchants, who helped launch a movement to widen the streets for the purposes of pleasure motoring, "in spite of the expense incident to purchasing property along the streets in this densely built-up city."^{xlvi} Further inland at Chengdu, the warlord Yang Sen carried out an extraordinary modernization campaign in the 1920s, which involved extensive street-widening projects and road construction on the outskirts of the city, preparing ground for the first automobile in the city in 1926.^{xlvii}

In other cities, modern streets were built using the stones of ancient city walls, and new motorways often constructed in the space once occupied by the ramparts. Few acts of urban modernization in the Republic period were more symbolic of China's longing to sweep away its past and opening up to the world. The Good Roads Association of China made a clear stand on the issue, urging that "all the city walls . . . be demolished to construct loop highways."^{xlviii} In Canton the ancient city walls were torn down in 1919, replaced by a "broad macadam boulevard." Elsewhere, ancient canals were filled and new streets built above them--some as wide as 150 feet. "In making these improvements," Clements reported in 1922, "6 1/2 miles city walls, 15 city gates, and 5,000 houses" were torn down, and 13,000 feet of canals filled-- "the materials from the walls and houses having been used as filling and for road construction." As a result of this work, the Cantonese had "taken rapidly to the use of automobiles." In 1919 there were all of two motor vehicles in the ; by the summer of 1921 there were 150 cars and 25 motorcycles, nearly all of which were American.^{xlix} Further north, in Changchow (Changzhou) 52,000 linear feet of new street had been completed by the spring of 1921--the best of which were "surfaced with granite slabs 7 inches thick, taken from the city walls."^l

In Nanjing, American city planner E. P. Goodrich, one of the founders of the American Institute of Planners, was retained as an engineering advisor to the national government, and

was busy prepared a plan that would make the city "the most beautiful and the most scientifically planned capital in the world." This involved, in part, transforming the old city wall into an elevated highway.^{li} The Goodrich plan also involved the construction of a parkway on the outskirts of the city. The road was to be patterned on the recently-completed Bronx River Parkway, only featuring "Oriental landscape adaptations" instead of the usual picturesque amenities derived from the English landscape gardening tradition. According to Goodrich, this involved a "setting of pagodas and gate houses at intervals along the way, with the beautiful bamboo trees which the Chinese highly esteem."^{liii} As with the Bronx River Parkway, the Nanking road was meant to be the start of a metropolitan-wide system of parks and scenic thoroughfares on the order of the celebrated Westchester County Park System. Chinese planners requested copies of the Westchester park commission's annual reports, and later sent the city's chief engineer to tour the Westchester roads personally.^{liiii}

Collegiate Diaspora

Even those road improvement projects not directly related to American interests benefited from United States technological expertise once removed. American values were infused into the modernization process by scores of Chinese architects, planners and engineers who studied in the United States. During the Republican period, thousands of China's best and brightest students traveled to the United States for their educations. This tradition began, ironically, in connection to an immense sum--more than \$300 million--that the Qing court was forced to pay Britain and the United States in 1901 for having balked at quelling the Boxer Rebellion several years before. Part of the "Boxer Protocol" funds went to establish Tsinghua University in Beijing, which began as a preparatory school for students planning to study in the United States. The rest of the money was used to fund scholarships that enabled promising students to attend a range of American colleges and universities. In 1931 alone some 4,300 Chinese pupils were enrolled at U. S. institutions of higher learning.^{liv}

The scholarships had a profound impact on China's modernization drive. Boxer students studied municipal administration, city planning, architecture and highway engineering, and returned to China anxious to drag China out of its feudal past and into a new day of modernity and "municipal progress." Among the many evangelists of modernization returning to China was Otis S. O. Lee, whose masters thesis--"A Study of the High-Roads of China and Discussion of Methods for Improvement"--was completed at the University of California in 1911, entitled. Sun Yat-sen's son, Sun Ke, also attended California and later became keenly interested in urban planning; he published an influential article in 1919 on the uses of scientific knowledge in planning and managing cities.^{lv} It was another such returnee--Cheng Tien-tow--who advised Canton's Governor Cheng Chun-shun to "construct a Bund of commercial structures along the banks of the Zhujiang (Pearl) River" and to pull down the city's 800-year old walls for a motorway.^{lvi} A similar set of recommendations were set forth by Han Veng Woo in a thesis prepared at Iowa State College in 1930--"Design of Streets and the Use of City Walls in the Development of Highway Systems in the Municipalities of China."

The embrace of Western modernization, in the form of new ideas about highway engineering and municipal planning (as well as the automobile itself), was not without its critics. The anti-imperialist boycotts of the Republican period were aimed at resisting the influx of imported goods, which were accused of seducing the Chinese and eroding national identity. While American goods were boycotted in 1905 in reaction to racist United States immigration policies, most anti-imperialist activism focused on the British and Japanese. The United States was perhaps the least disliked of the three nations. Antipathy toward the

British, in particular, may well have helped give American automobile companies an added edge in the China market. Moreover, resisting the automobile was not easy--especially for some of the very class of elites who most vocally advocated the boycotts. One critic, writing in 1934, scolded intellectuals for "riding around in foreign cars" while preaching about buying Chinese. In fact, some of the very organizers of a major China national products exhibition actually affixed "Buy National Products" pennants to their imported cars!^{lviii} The great usefulness of the automobile and its role as a harbinger of modernization may well have deflected much of the anti-imperialist fervor of the period.^{lviii}

The General's Legacy

In spite of the growing road infrastructure, wholesale adoption of American automobiles in urban China faced another glaring obstacle. China simply drove on the "wrong" side of the road. To make it in the China market, American auto makers would have to produce a separate line of vehicles equipped for right-hand operation. For obvious reasons, the British had a major advantage here. But for the Americans this problem vanished on a single night in 1945, thanks to a largely forgotten American army general.

By 1943 the Allies were airlifting tons of men and materiel over the "Hump" to supply the Chinese Nationalist army in its struggle against the Japanese. Chennault's "Flying Tigers" had become the 14th Air Force, stationed in Kunming, and General "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell, commander of the China-Burma-India Theater, was pushing a new road from Ledo (Assam) in northern India to the old Burma Road--the back-door supply route to China built in the 1930s.^{lix} Stilwell had by this time begun to run afoul of both the Nationalists and the Washington high command. He clashed with Chennault over strategy, and was scornful of Chiang Kai-shek. Even less palatable to Washington (and the Nationalists) was Stilwell's admiration of the scrappy Chinese Communists, whom he sought to partner with in the fight against Japan. By October, 1944 President Roosevelt had relieved Stilwell of his duties.

His replacement was a West Point strategist named Albert C. Wedemeyer. Born in Omaha, Nebraska, Wedemeyer studied at the German *Kriegsakademie* in the 1930s, and later helped plan the Normandy invasion. His new assignment was to command the China Theater and serve as Chief of Staff to Chiang Kai-shek. In this capacity he was to "advise and assist" Chiang in planning operations against the Japanese. He soon planned an offensive code-named CARBONADO to drive the invaders south and liberate Hong Kong and the south China coast. CARBONADO required marshalling a huge force of men and equipment, including two divisions of American-trained Chinese troops airlifted from Burma. Thousands of vehicles had to be moved south toward Hong Kong, a 700-mile trek across. Wedemeyer's chief concern was simply keeping the great green column moving.^{lx}

In support of their China operations, the Americans had naturally hauled in thousands of American-made jeeps, trucks, and other vehicles. But because traffic in China moved to the left, the vehicles were in effect not properly equipped for safe operation on Chinese roads. The result was a large number of accidents, a situation that driver-education programs initiated by the Americans did little to ameliorate. This seemingly prosaic matter threatened the very success of the offensive. Wedemeyer had a remedy: "I decided that drastic measures must be enforced," Wedemeyer recalled, "to prevent our truck convoys moving supplies to the front for the CARBONADO offensive from meeting with accidents." If the vehicles themselves could not be changed, why not change the traffic? Wedemeyer proposed to Chiang that "all traffic in China be transferred to the right side of the road."^{lxi}

The Generalissimo approved, and Wedemeyer ordered a publicity campaign to apprise the population. "Posters were placed on telephone poles and shop windows, showing diagrammatically how traffic would move and giving instructions to pedestrians in order to minimize accidents. Articles were published in newspapers throughout the country." But the news did not go down well by all. Shortly after change-over was announced in the spring of 1945, Wedemeyer was informed that "articles were appearing in the vernacular press strongly criticizing the idea of breaking an old Chinese tradition and urging the Generalissimo to reconsider and uphold the old and the tried method of moving traffic." Wedemeyer was suspicious. He ordered one of his intelligence officers to investigate the matter, and the source was soon traced to none other than the British Embassy.^{lxii}

The British, it turned out, were convinced that Wedemeyer was acting on behalf of Detroit, surreptitiously preparing a vast new market for American automobiles. As far as they were concerned, Wedemeyer was about to "destroy their market in China for British cars." At a dinner party in Chongqing, Wedemeyer raised the matter with the British ambassador, Sir Horace Seymour. Seymour was evasive, and responded by asking the General whether he had ever driven a British car before, and whether doing so presented any undue difficulties. Wedemeyer responded that, indeed, he had experienced the pleasures of British motoring--in England. In China, things would be different. Though he personally had no trouble adjusting to the operation of American vehicles on British-style roads, his countrymen in the auto business might find it challenging for other reasons: "I added in carefully phrased words that the American motor industry would probably not be interested in changing its tooling to produce cars for left-hand driving."^{lxiii}

Regardless of British opposition, Wedemeyer's traffic law was to go into effect on the first of September, 1945, in time for the launch of CARBONADO. But the Japanese surrendered shortly before and the operation was called off. Chiang Kai-shek ordered that the lane-change be made regardless, though it was postponed for several months so that drivers and pedestrians could become familiar with the new way. Finally, on New Year's eve, 1945, Wedemeyer's mandate went into effect. "I had the thrilling experience of standing on the balcony of my tower apartment in the Cathay Hotel in Shanghai," he later wrote, "to watch the traffic at midnight change over to move along the right side of the road." Remarkably, there were few mishaps. By the next day, vehicles all over south China, from Army trucks to horse-carts, were legally required to move along the road as did the Chevys and Fords in Wedemeyer's hometown of Omaha.^{lxiv}

Whether he intended to or not, Wedemeyer rolled out a red carpet for American automobile manufacturers by ordering the great lane change of 1945--something the British left China utterly convinced he had done on purpose. And had the Nationalists prevailed in their fight with Mao's ragtag troops, it's likely that many a fortune would have been made putting China's millions on the road. But Wedemeyer's carpet would lay untrodden for many decades. The trade embargo imposed by the United States at the outbreak of the Korean War forced Beijing to seek its motor vehicles from the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries--and to begin manufacturing its own vehicles. Notwithstanding Mao's decision to keep the American traffic configuration, American cars quickly vanished from China's roads. By 1954, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported that "American cars are now rare in China, and imports for American cars are almost nil."^{lxv}

Conclusion

Whether they intended to or not, Ford, Todd, Wedemeyer and others helped plant the seeds of American motoring in China. When the People's Republic opened again to the West in the late 1970s, as Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms began to take root, the American automobile industry was quick on the scene. On January 6, 1979, only five days after president Jimmy Carter formally recognized China's Communist government, a delegation of executives from American Motors Corporation arrived in Beijing. Greeted by martial music and a large portrait of Mao Zedong, the businessmen soon sat down to negotiate a joint venture with the Beijing Automotive Works; their objective was to produce Jeeps for the Chinese market. The mission was a success, and the resulting deal made front-page news in the United States, hailed a "bellwether joint venture between the West and China."^{lxvi}

Overlooked in the excitement was the fact that it had been done before--that Detroit had decades ago made a significant and lasting imprint on motoring in China. This was, after all, a return to well-traveled roads. Today the Americans have plenty of competition from automobile manufacturers from Japan, Europe, Korea and, more recently, from a nascent but promising indigenous Chinese motor industry. But beneath all these wheels, buried perhaps below many layers of gravel and concrete, lay the strands of a Yankee contribution to what may one day be the most extensive and most heavily traveled highway system in history.

Endnotes

ⁱ The title is adapted from Hewlett Johnson, "The Civilizing Road," *The Times of London* (26 July, 1932), reprinted in O. J. Todd, *Two Decades in China* (Peking: The Association of Chinese and American Engineers, 1938), 263.

ⁱⁱ "Automobile Topics of Interest," *New York Times* (8 March, 1903).

ⁱⁱⁱ H. T. Montague Bell and H. G. W. Woodhead, *The China Year Book 1919-20* (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1920), 172-173. This amount is equivalent to about \$3.5 million in today's currency.

^{iv} "Auto Exports Show Marked Increase," *New York Times* (8 May, 1910).

^v "Mandarins Like Motor Cars Now," *New York Times* (26 January, 1913).

^{vi} Irvine, *Automotive Markets*, 32.

^{vii} Ibid.

^{viii} Hewlett Johnson, "The Civilizing Road," *The Times of London* (26 July, 1932), reprinted in Todd, *Two Decades*, 263.

^{ix} Mira Wilkins, interview with Roberge, 1 August, 1961, page 7. Typewritten MS, Acc 880, Box 1, The Henry Ford Museum, Benson Ford Research Center, Dearborn, Michigan.

^x Mira Wilkins and Frank Ernest Hill, *American Business Abroad: Ford on Six Continents* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1964), 149-150.

^{xi} "Chinese Ready for Autos Says Commission Head," *Ford News* 3:16 (22 March, 1924).

^{xii} Sales dropped precipitously the following year, as silver prices depreciated with the onset of the depression, nearly doubling the retail price of Ford automobiles in China. See "Results Obtained by Branches in South America and Orient During 1930," Typewritten memo, Acc. 880, Box 1, The Henry Ford Museum, Benson Ford Research Center, Dearborn, Michigan.

^{xiii} "Automotive Census of Shanghai," in Bureau of Roads, *Highways in China: Tables, Charts and Maps* (Nanking: National Economic Council, April, 1935).

^{xiv} Mira Wilkins, "The Impacts of American Multinational Enterprise on American-Chinese Economic Relations, 1786-1949," in Ernest R. May and John K. Fairbank, eds., *America's China Trade in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 275-277.

^{xv} Wilkins and Hill, *American Business Abroad*, 255.

^{xvi} Ibid.

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- ^{xvii} "China's Bad Roads," *New York Times* (27 February, 1916).
- ^{xviii} O. J. Todd, "Famine Relief and Road Building in Shantung," *Journal of the Association of Chinese and American Engineers* (November, 1921), in Todd, *Two Decades*, 203-215.
- ^{xix} Todd, "Modern Highways in China," *Journal of the Association of Chinese and American Engineers* (September, 1926); 218-222.
- ^{xx} George Gorman, "Men in the East: Major O. J. Todd," *Caravan* (March, 1937), in Todd, *Two Decades*, 2-3.
- ^{xxi} Todd, "Famine Relief and Road Building"; 204- 205; 211.
- ^{xxii} Derived from the *kati* in Malaya, the catty was a measure of weight used throughout colonial Asia. In China it was equivalent to the traditional *jin*, which was just over one British pound.
- ^{xxiii} Todd, "Famine Relief and Road Building"; 204- 215.
- ^{xxiv} Todd, "American Engineers in the China Field," *The Military Engineer* (January-February, 1924); 27-28.
- ^{xxv} Todd, "Modern Highways"; 219.
- ^{xxvi} Basil Ashton, et al., "Famine in China: 1958-61," *Population and Development Review* 10: 4 (December, 1984).
- ^{xxvii} Todd, "Famine Relief and Road Building"; 205.
- ^{xxviii} "China Now Fights Famine by Building New Roads," *New York Times* (21 October, 1928).
- ^{xxix} "China Wilds Given Roads," *Los Angeles Times* (6 July, 1935).
- ^{xxx} Johnson, "The Civilizing Road"; 263.
- ^{xxxi} Jonathan Spence, *To Change China: Western Advisors in China, 1620-1960* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), 210-212.
- ^{xxxii} Todd, "Motor Roads for South China," *The Oriental Engineer* (May, 1927); 223-228.
- ^{xxxiii} Todd, "The Good Roads Movement in Kweichow," *The China Weekly Review* (24 December, 1927); 229-231.
- ^{xxxiv} Todd, "Highways in a Land of Barriers," *Asia* (January, 1929). Also see "Kweichow's First Auto," *New York Herald Tribune* (12 February, 1928), and Jonathan Spence, *To Change China*, 211-212.
- ^{xxxv} Todd, "Motor Roads for South China"; 224.

^{xxxvi} Todd, "A Practical Education Movement," *The China Weekly Review* (26 January, 1929); 316-319.

^{xxxvii} Todd, "The Good Roads Movement"; 229-231.

^{xxxviii} Todd, "Extending Motor Roads in the South," *Journal of the Association of Chinese and American Engineers* (January, 1928); 235-238.

^{xxxix} "Labor Saving Devices Absent in Chinese Highway Building," *The Christian Science Monitor* (5 November, 1934), reprinted in Todd, *Two Decades*, 593.

^{xl} Spence, *To Change China*, 215-216.

^{xli} Todd, "Modern Highways in China"; 218-219.

^{xlii} Quoted in Michael Tsin, "Canton Remapped," in Esherick, ed., *Remaking the Chinese City*: 29.

^{xliii} Joseph W. Esherick, "Modernity and Nation in the Chinese City," in Joseph W. Esherick, ed., *Remaking the Chinese City: Modernity and National Identity, 1900-1950* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000). See also Ruth Rogalski, "Hygienic Modernity in Tianjin," in same volume.

^{xliv} Foreign silver was used extensively in China at this time.

^{xlv} Clements, *China: Automotive Conditions and the Good Roads Movement*, 9-11.

^{xlvi} *Ibid.*, 11-13.

^{xlvii} Karen Stapleton, *Civilizing Chengdu: Chinese Urban Reform, 1895-1937* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 224-225.

^{xlviii} Han-Veng Woo, "Design of streets and the use of city walls in the development of highway systems in the municipalities of China," unpublished Thesis (M.S.)--Iowa State College, 1930: 23.

^{xlix} Clements, *China*, 18-19.

^l *Ibid.*, 13-15.

^{li} Woo, "Design of Streets," 25.

^{lii} "China Plans Park System," *Daily Argus*, White Plains, New York, (6 August, 1929).

^{liii} "Nanking Layout of Parkways Similar to County System," *Daily Argus* (10 September, 1929). It is not known whether this work was actually carried out.

^{liv} Herbert Scurla, *Umfang und Richtung der zwischenstaatlichen Studentenwanderung* (Berlin, 1933), 125-6.

^{lv} *Dushi guihua lun*, "On Urban Planning." See Michael Tsin, "Canton Remapped," in Esherick, ed., *Remaking the Chinese City*, 23.

^{lvi} Jeff Cody, "Boulevards in the China Shop: Paris Meets California in Southern China, 1912-1932," unpublished paper presented at the John Reys Symposium at Cornell University, Ithaca, NY (15 September, 2001). Also see T. Kai, "Public Service Engineering in Canton," *Journal of the Association of Chinese and American Engineers* 3 (April-May 1922): 9-10.

^{lvii} Karl Gerth, "Cars in China," E-mail to author (21 September, 2004).

^{lviii} See Karl Gerth, *China Made: Consumer Culture and the Creation of the Nation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center and Harvard University Press, 2003), 330n.

^{lix} The Burma Road, built in 1937-1939, provided a back-door supply route to China after the coast fell to the Japanese. The road was closed when Burma was captured in April, 1942, forcing China's armies to rely solely on supplies airlifted over the Hump. The Ledo Road (later renamed after Stilwell) was built to bypass the Japanese blockade, connecting to the railhead at Ledo in the present-day Indian province of Arunachal Pradesh. This 478-mile motorway, constructed chiefly by African-American troops through extraordinarily difficult terrain, opened in January, 1945.

^{lx} *Wedemeyer Reports!*, 221, 328-332.

^{lxi} *Ibid.*, 354.

^{lxii} *Ibid.*, 354-355.

^{lxiii} *Ibid.*, 355.

^{lxiv} *Ibid.*, 355-356.

^{lxv} Quoted in Jim Mann, *Beijing Jeep: A Case Study of Western Business in China* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997), 31.

^{lxvi} *Ibid.*, 25, 35-39, 42-43.

FROM THE TRADITION TO THE MODERNIZATION OF THE CITY. THE ROLE OF THE COLEGIO DE INGENIEROS DE VENEZUELA AND THE PROFESSIONALS AMONG 1950 – 1958

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Introduction

In Venezuela the meaning of the transformations of the main cities among 1950- 1958 cannot be valued only from the physical point of view. Together with the remarkable changes in the inherited reticular urban structure of the XVIII and XIX centuries, a restructuring process and consolidation of the engineering and the architecture took place, aided by institutions like the *Colegio de Ingenieros de Venezuela* and the role of the professionals during these years.

The political context in which these transformations were inserted is of particular importance for its concretion. Marcos Pérez Jimenez's government (1950-1958) maintained as motto the "*Nuevo Ideal Nacional*" together with the slogan of making changes in the physical means. This *Ideal* was shown in the execution of public works and had as main interpreters the engineers and architects. It is during the *perejimenista* government that the country was the scenario of the development of more spans in communications and of the urbanization process consolidated as unit of organization of the Venezuelan society.

The "*Nuevo Ideal Nacional*" ambitious objectives could be materialized after the great oil dynamic that, allowed the demarcation of the agrarian and urban structures and it contributed to the economic growth, of the public and private investment, of the immigration, the industrialization, the construction and the occupation of the urban centers.

To carry out the changes in the urban structure, the proyectual activity was aided by legal and technical mechanisms formulated inside the instances of the State. To value the participation of the professionals in the application of the knowledge to produce these changes on the base of the planning, of the formulation of norms and rules for the normalization in the execution of public works is the objective of this report.

The changes were gestated in the main urban centers of the country. However, the process of urban transformation of Caracas, when beginning the years fifty, was of space meaning. In the capital of Venezuela the most important migratory process in the country converged, providing symbol of prosperity, the concentration of the public powers in Caracas, transformed it into the scenario to rehearse the newest proposals in communication roads and to harbor the most modern buildings.

We will find a distancing with the traditional urban forms, of location of buildings that limited the alliances with the modernization, by means of the creation of commissions, the writing of technical norms and ordinances that directed the urban interventions, the construction of buildings and communication roads with the use of new techniques and

technology. Although this was a process that affected the main urban Venezuelans center notably, in this report, the same ones will be exemplified with some of the changes in the urban structure of Caracas, which have been considered as the most representative in the modernization of the city in Venezuela.

Toward the modernization of the city

The urban characteristics of the main Venezuelan cities until the first years of the decade of the forty still showed inherited features of the XVIII and XIX centuries. Located constructions on an orthogonal layout that structured a low profile in the city, conformed by thin streets flanked by constructions that still maintained the windows and wooden bars with covered tile in slope. **Figure 1**

Due to the economic conditions and correlate of the modernization an intense constructive and urban activity was developed since 1946. The consolidation of a State structured nationally and the high revenues that were perceived by the exploitation of the oil, inside the frame of World War II, allowed a significant commercial exchange that articulated Venezuela with the world capitalist system. The modernization level was adjusted to the capacity of the State and of the growing private companies of materializing edilicias and urban proposals in the main capitals of the country.

The first changes were structured on the base of the construction of buildings of more than two floors of height answering to the vertiginous increase of ground prices; the gradual substitution of the residential use, which identified the urban centers, due to bureaucratic activities and third parties. That is to say, you began to predict the modern city to come.

The concretion of these changes took place on the base of the planning and of the formulation of legal instruments that directed the architectural and urban interventions of the city. Engineers and architects impatient for the modernization, found in the planning the way of solving the weaknesses that showed the execution of public works in the previous decades: the improvisation, the economic waste and some administrative incongruities in the grant of contracts.

The *Colegio de Ingenieros*, institution which had been founded in 1870, participated actively in the urban planning of the city, in its functions the direct inherency on the constructive activities was found. By the engineers and architects' initiative of The *Colegio de Ingenieros* the technical organisms that responded to the modernization process were created and they assisted part of the objectives proposed during Marco Pérez Jimenez's government: to build a (worthy, prosperous and strong) Venezuela and the (moral, material and their inhabitants' intellectual improvement. Martin. 1999)¹

The State should legitimate the protagonism that characterized it since the ending of the XIX century in the coordination and administration of the national public works. In the first years of the decade of 1950 the only entity able to approach the physical transformation of the city was consolidated, which resulted in a decisive participation in the modernization of the academic institutions and of the organisms that form it.

Among these organisms we have the *Comisión Nacional de Vialidad* (1945) and the *Comisión Nacional de Urbanismo* (1946). Both commissions were integrated by the most important architects and engineers of the country, mean while the *Colegio de Ingenieros*

institutionally contributed for its creation. It is for this reason that the professionals and the organizations of the State were met in the first years of the decade of the fifty to project the changes in the urban structure of the city, by means of the rehearsal of the first practices of planning at a national level. The *Comisión Nacional de Urbanismo*²; dependable in his first years of operation of the *Ministerio de Obras Públicas*, had among its functions to organize, to control and to normalize the character of the metropolitan processes. The administrative legal instruments and regulation of the urban public and private developments were discussed³

The urban projects of the regions and populations of the country were carried out based on specific technical analysis which included the conditions of feasibility. At the same time, the ideology of forming urban developments in an isolated way was substituted by the planning that considered an urban conglomerate and (the different regions of the country like integral element as a whole. Martin. 1994)⁴.

Since 1950 the favorable economic conditions in which Venezuela was, allowed a great constructive unfolding in the main capitals of the country. The situation was comfortable as for the supply of machineries, equipment and materials on the part of United States; this way the most important public works at national level was possible.

The rehearsal of modern urban devices applied by engineers and architects can be exemplified in the urban transformations of the capital of Venezuela, Caracas. In the plan of public works of Pérez Jiménez the radical transformation of the image of the main Venezuelan cities and the consolidation of Caracas as modern capital of an emergent oil country was found.

Caracas was transforming since 1946. The lands that were part of the agricultural production were being occupied gradually for residential neighborhoods. Their characteristics that conferred the title of the "city of the red roofs" were disappearing to assume those characteristic of the "great city"⁵: (the City of the Red Roofs is today in the route of a great exodus. This humanity brings its own architecture. Perhaps tomorrow, some writer could be counted among its descendants. Sat down by the window he or she will contemplate the serene night, the wandering stars. The breeze will spread in his or her surrounding the secrets of the past; and moved by the fondness of the sky, for the memories of the missing gardens, maybe could write a beautiful book. Núñez. 1988)⁶

Without any doubt, Caracas began to turn out to be in its urban and architectural structures. Its population increased vertiginously, and due to this, it extended, in 1952, from 542 to 4.256 hectares. The city grew up with urbanizations and there were necessary urban general plans to connect the city through a designed vial infrastructure. The technical analyses that were carried out on Caracas were supported by the hiring in the *Comisión Nacional de Urbanismo* of Maurice Rotival and Francis Violich as foreign professionals with experience in formulation of instruments and urban normative of the Latin American cities and the architects and engineers Leopoldo Martínez Olavaria, Carlos Guinand, Carlos Raúl Villanueva, Cipriano Domínguez, Brown Edgar Stolk, Gustavo Ferrero Tamayo, Armando Vegas, Luis Malaussena, among others, as Venezuelan professionals experts on the characteristics and necessities of the city.

The modernization of the urban stuff deserved the demolition of a good number of inherited constructions of the colony and the XIX century, among them the reduced roads of

communication of the business district of the city together with some important constructions that flanked them. In this way buildings were disappearing such as the *Teatro Municipal*, the *Escuela de Chavéz*, the *Edificio Junín*, *La Casa de Miranda*, among many others. The streets which during the colony, were identified with the names of the episodes of the life, passion and death of Jesus Christ, harbored wall constructions and rafa, covered with tile that during the last third of the XIX century, were transforming to reflect an in agreement image with the political function, so the constructions of the colony that were not demolished, were this way covering of Gothic, neo-Gothic ornaments, neoclassicist, renaissance and eclectic versions.

In the modernization process the technical, technological unfolding and legal instruments for the transformations of the vial structure was developed to the interior of the *Comisión Nacional de Vialidad*. Its active participation in the urban matters reached its peak in the years fifty: to assist in a technical way the primitive situation in which were the communication roads, was one of its objectives: (to elaborate a general plan that includes highways, railroads, waterways, marine and air roads, of national, state and municipal character, keeping in mind the technical and economic and financial aspects, and closely coordinated with the development plans and development of the production and with the points of social and military views. Memoria del Ministerio de Obras Públicas. 1946)⁷

The Venezuelan vial system gives a balance at the present time of the significant progresses as a result of the modernization. The intention of facilitating the flow of the capitals during these years resulted in the application of the most advanced techniques for its realization on the part of the engineers. Result of these big operations of infrastructure vial is the *Autopista Regional del Centro*, the *Autopista Valencia-Puerto Cabello*, and the *Autopista Caracas-La Guaira*. In each one of them big earth movements were intended, the use of technical equipment as mechanical shovels, the application of the mathematical calculation on the geographical knowledge of the diverse sectors to allow a less outing and the use of minimum slopes. An entire technical and technological operation in the road projects was carried out on the part of Venezuelan engineers together with the participation of specialized foreign engineers.

For the first time, in Caracas, there were rehearsed the construction of freeways and big avenues as elements of quick traffic with which were granted characteristic of "great city", in correspondence with the consolidation of the automobile as a device of emblematic communication of the modern life in the country. There the professionals demonstrated their technical knowledge, of design, technical knowledge of calculation on the *Autopista del Este* (1951-1956), built in the periphery of the city in order to connect the business district of the city peripherally with the East part; in *Avenida Bolívar* (1953) that would have as primordial objective to connect the city center with the emergent residential areas located toward the east of the city and, later on, in the avenues *Urdaneta*, *Fuerzas Armadas*, *Sucre*, *San Martín* and *Nueva Granada* (1953-1959). These new roads were characterized by bifurcations in the ends with streets in diagonals, parallel and perpendicular, different levels separating circulations and circulation channels and return vials, among other urban elements. **Figures 2 and 3**

At the time that the traditional urban stuff was transformed the formulation of legal instruments accorded with the changes were concentered. These instruments were studied and approved by the commissions constituted for it inside the *Colegio de Ingenieros*. In these years this institution participated openly in matters of the national life.⁸

With the endorsement of the *Colegio* and the modernization of the organizational structures of the State, as the *Comisiones de Vialidad y Urbanismo*, the engineers and architects tried the most modern urban devices: they reconsidered the retirements of the constructions related to the axes of roads in proportional increase to the widths of these; new heights were established for the constructions and population's densities for square meters. As design strategy a system of use, a general plan and a zone for the main cities of the country was proposed; in the mean time, technical studies were carried out and the application of modern technologies, design methods and calculation for the construction, were considered.

Among these instruments one can find the elaboration of *Proyectos de Ordenanzas y Plano de Zonificación* for Caracas in 1951 and 1954, together with the *Plan Regulador*; the writing in 1953 of the first technical norms and regulations for the use of the armed concrete; the technical analysis in 1957 of low quality steel used in the constructions in Venezuela. That is to say that during the years fifty a technical and legal answer was given for the organization and the building of new constructions in the city with the purpose of representing the level wanted by the "*Nuevo Ideal Nacional*".

The formulation of the *Plan Regulador* of Caracas in 1951, elaborated by the *Comisión Nacional de Urbanismo*, is one of the proposals of engineers and architects which, after being approved, allowed representing in good part, the level of the "*Nuevo Ideal Nacional*". It was an instrument that though did not consider the social and productive rationality of the "great city" as the urban structure, it pretended to plan the urban thing starting from the technical description of the city. Uses of the floor, prices and type of property, population's forecast, programs of public and private investments, space distribution of activities and functions were constituted on the base to plan the Venezuelan capital in twelve communities ideally with sectored work places in certain areas, green and recreation areas, articulated by freeways, avenues and streets.

The *Plan Regulador*, the legal and technical instruments, had their effects in the lack of organization with which Caracas began to be formed such as a "great city." Certain contradictions among the different legal instruments, impacted in the lack of organization of the city. However, from the architectural point of view the possibility to build constructions of more than five floors of height, combining residential, commercial uses and services in a same group, particularizing the location of the buildings related to the orthogonal ways of the urban plot, opened the action scope in the elaboration of projects for the architects.

There are countless examples that the history of the architecture counts with in Venezuela among 1950 -1958. Nevertheless, in Caracas two icons of the architecture exist with which one can represent the process of city modernization, in the same ones the ideas of planning, the application of legal and technical instruments converge, while the newest technologies were used for their construction, they are the *Centro Simón Bolívar* and the *Ciudad Universitaria* de Caracas.

The architectural proposal of the *Centro Simón Bolívar* (1949-1952) like one of the symbols of the new modernized city, on the axis of the great *Avenida Bolívar*, conceived according to the proposal of the *Comisión Nacional de Urbanismo*. Several downtown squares were demolished for their construction since 1949. In this architectural urban complex there were combined administrative, commercial and services activities, without bigger considerations on the traditional reticular plot. The proposal contained underground roads that allow the communication among the off streets, on which two symmetrical towers

of up to 30 floors of height rest, where the practice of the most modern projection and calculation methods were rehearsed by the architect Cipriano Domínguez and a team of specialized engineers. **Figure 4**

To give a new urban structure to Caracas, according to the modernization of the country became the panacea of engineers and architects. The construction of the *Ciudad Universitaria* (1944-1958) by Carlos Raúl Villanueva is a statement of it. An audacious urban proposal in which a group of dispersed buildings on a great surface is articulated by a vial system and curved roofed corridors and built wavy armed and pre compressed concrete. The operation proyectual not only contemplate the use of materials and modern technologies, but also diverse devices of environmental conditioning even the convocation of diverse national artists and foreigners in order to implant sculpture and painting works in the urban group.

Figure 5

Architects and engineers in the modernization

The role of the engineers can be valued as decisive in the passage from the tradition to the modernization of the city. An ideology change among engineers and architects is evident in the decade of the fifty; they were able to stay active in an outstanding way in the architectural means. They expressed a masterful domain in the linguistic signs of the architecture of the XX century, in the use of materials, in the application of technical norms and regulations.

In the first three decades of the XX century the architecture had as responsibility to rescue the national identity and the presumption of ordering the society. The appraisal of elements of the colonial architecture given that consideration of this as revival, by means of the recurrent use of patios, corridors, arches, tile roofs and bars on windows were one of the recurrent characteristics. At the same time continuity was given to the characteristic eclecticism of the XIX century, using the elements according to the architectural typology, the neoclassicist was used this way in the constructions that should represent the power of the public institutions, elements of the medieval architecture in the military constructions, the neomorisco in some popular housings of the *El Conde* and *San Agustín* in Caracas, among some others.

Since the decade of the fifty the architecture was distanced from the codes with which could stay the harmony and the order of the previous traditional times. The metropolitan experience of unity of objects and anonymous production of buildings are ignored by the architects who state the necessity to demonstrate their responsibility in the projects these years.

Such a situation in the professional exercise of the architecture does not seem to be adjusted to the transition process in which the Venezuelan cities are in the modernization required of a dynamic in the edilicia production characterized by the production in masses industrialized with agile construction processes that allowed building the biggest number of works in the less possible time. However, in the years fifty, the architects affirm the avoiding of this dynamic to produce modern unique pieces.

Indifference was shown this way by the architectural legacy and the urban inheritance of the XVIII and XIX centuries and to preserve the identity of the urban centers. The engineers and architects assumed the role of interpreters of the modernization and of the

applications of the Venezuelan State, with the production of architecture with its own characteristic in one of the most important moments for the history of architecture and the urban thing in Venezuela.

The same architectural production of the architects Cipriano Domínguez (1904-1995) and Carlos Raúl Villanueva (1900-1975) show the incidence of the modernization in the activity proyectual and it can be exemplified with the characterization of the work of the architects Cipriano Domínguez and Carlos Raúl Villanueva. Domínguez, Doctor in Physical Sciences and Mathematics of the *Universidad Central de Venezuela* since 1928, he carried out post-grade studies in the Ecole Speciale d'Architectue up to 1933. In his first works he shows an approach to the use of the neocolonial and of the prehispanic one, mentioned in the building for the Passengers Terminal of San Antonio's Airport (1944) in Táchira State, the country property house with corridors. Villanueva, architect of the Ecole des Beaux-Art since 1928 rehearsed in 1945 in the urbanization *El Silencio*, the disposition of constructions around generous patios, while the front of the buildings were adapted to the neocoloniales codes: potbellied columns, arcades in the piazzas, portals in the main accesses, among other elements. **Figure 6**

The work of both architects shows the adaptation that is made of the transition from the tradition to the modernization. Producing an architecture able to interpret the socio-political and economic Venezuelan development, by means of the instrumental articulation of the functional with the artistic, they moved to the production of a representative architecture of the knowledge, singular characteristic, which were distanced from the rationality, the massive production of objects and the non identity with the traditional thing innate of the big cities.

The condition that Caracas experienced in the years fifty accused of the architectural unity as an answer to the technique and the distancing between the architect and the user of its productions. However, the architects persisted in the idea of producing buildings like the old artisan, that is to say, to stamp to the work a condition of singularity particularizing the way of producing it. For the German sociologist of the modernity Georg Simmel (1858-1918) in one of the most important rehearsals that treat the topic of the "great city", the man "reacts with his head, instead of doing it with the heart"⁹, the intellectual architect who develops his professional activity in the conformation of "the great Venezuelan city" shows the continuing reacting with the heart as long as non assimilation of the traffic from the tradition to the modernization of the city.

Conclusions

The correlate between the modernization processes and the urban and architectural transformations is aided by the planning and the formulation of legal instruments as control mechanisms and normalization of the urban and architectural interventions of the Venezuelan cities. The years fifty were characterized by important changes in the social, economic, political and cultural structures, in this scenario of changes, the engineers and architects carried out their role as interpreters of the modernization in Venezuela. That is how starting from this role commissions were created where the most important urban projects and the architecture operations were gestated, impregnated in new techniques, materials and location ways, at the time that adjusted to the legal control mechanisms molded as alliances with the modernization.

Figure 1. Plane of Caracas, 1946

Figure 2. Plane of Caracas and its environs, 1954

The devaluation of the urban structures precedents to the XX century became evident in the use of modern urban devices as avenues and freeways that were articulated with the characteristics of a modern life. In addition, the architectural production became a vehicle which architects expressed new constructive forms, at the time that they demonstrated their capacity to produce pieces with heterogeneous architectural codes as long as their work was shown as exclusive product of each one of them, in a moment in which the accumulation and the industrialization did not maintain alliances with the "exclusivity."



Fig. 3. Process of construction of the *Universidad Católica de Venezuela* Simón Bolívar. Aerial Vista

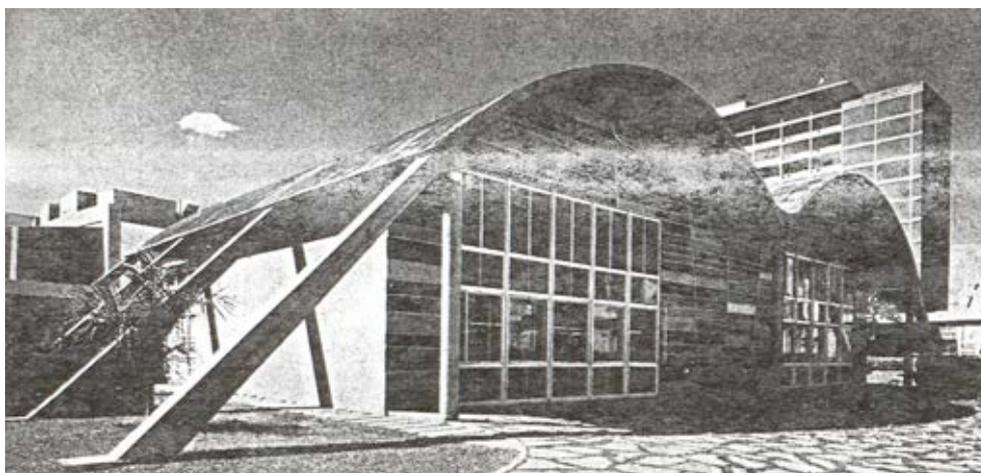
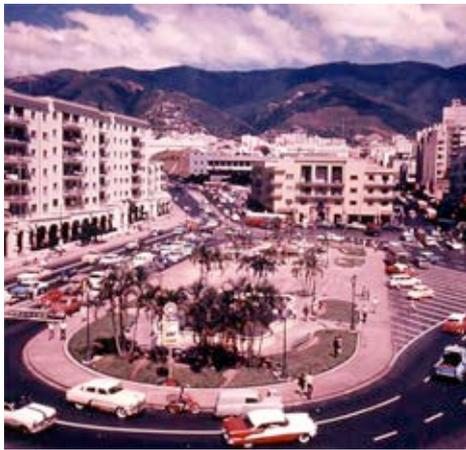


Figure 6. *Urbanización El Silencio*



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¹Martin Frechilla, Juan José. *Planes, planos y proyectos para Venezuela: 1908-1958*. UCV, CDCH, Caracas, 1994, p. 112.

²The activities and the projects carried out by the National Commission of Urbanism have been object of critics and questioned as for the impact of the transformation proposals on the cities. However, that it is not the matter of interest on this presentation, but the contribution of this Commission on the modernization of the the city.

³See: Martín, J. J. (1999), "El urbanismo como disciplina para la modernización: Caracas, 1870-1958", pp. 178-183 in: Juan J. Martín, Yolanda Texera (Eds.), *Modelos para desarmar. Instituciones y disciplinas para una historia de la ciencia y la tecnología en Venezuela*, UCV, CDCH, Caracas.

⁴JJ. Martin. P. 139

⁵The term "great city" corresponds to the identification that is made of the city in constant transformations product of the dynamics far from the passive life, the traditions, and the customs. The changes are shown in different scales in the Venezuelan cities and they can never be comparable with the processes experienced in the big Capital. However, when in this work the "great city" is mentioned it refers to the urban space affected by the new structures that do not accept bucolic behaviors neither the actors' interventions that participate in it.

⁶ Núñez, Enrique Bernardo. *La ciudad de los techos rojos*. Monte Ávila, Caracas, 1988, p. 279.

⁷ Memoria del Ministerio de Obras Públicas. 19 de Octubre 1945 a 1 de Octubre 1946. P. 13

⁸"an alive entity, creator of plans and ideals that are beneficial for the country, and we will only be able to achieve it stimulating its activities until reaching the most important mission that it is commended, like it is the creative continuity in benefit of the country, representing that which is capable the enthusiasm and the effort of an union willing to conquer ideals." Palabras del Dr. Paoli Chalbaud en la toma de posesión de la Junta Directiva. *Revista del Colegio de Ingenieros*. No. 230. May 1955, p. 3

⁹AA.VV. *La soledad del hombre*. Monte Ávila, Caracas, 1985, p. 103.

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**THE URBANIZATION SAN BLAS, SOCIOLOGY AND PREFABRICATION IN
VENEZUELA DURING THE DECADE OF THE 1960¹**

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The Urbanization San Blas (1962-1967) is conceived under denomination of *Programa Experimental de Vivienda*. Organized by architect Henrique Hernández, the *Programa* designates to the first stage of a pilot program who reaches between 3,600 and 4,000 houses in three years for Valencia, Carabobo State Capital, Venezuela.² San Blas constitutes the realization of a project and construction model meritorious of being examined by the architectural transformations that it locks up. There are elevated near 450 units (of the 563 considered), with houses in bands of 1 and 2 plants and buildings of 4 plants. Diverse systems of prefabricated components are used to develop a peripheral land of about 87,800 square meters near the road distributor of San Blas in that city.

The *Unidad de Diseño en Avance*, the specialized one and just created technical office of the renewed *Banco Obrero* (the most important and significant institution on massive housing in Venezuela, founded in 1928) of beginnings of years 60, developed a singular process of design for the city-planning configuration of San Blas. It defined the “flexible constructive systems” (technical prefabricated of construction) and received a studied program of 294 apartments, 85 houses of one plant and 184 houses of two plants, numbers that went away fitting in the own experience. On that base it made volumetric models on scale of the constructions and a study scale model through which it tried different alternatives. The office was registering them photographically and once obtained the most adapted design to the objectives of the program, it came to elaborate the definitive planes on a suitable scale to the handling of the work.

It must stand out as much then that the urbanization is the product both of a work of technical rationalization of the massive house, as of a sociological investigation on identity and familiar diversity. This communication will critically approach this relation first describing the product of its application, that is to say, displaying to the urbanization in as much so, and, later, debating on its socio-political meaning in the scene of one decade of increasing urban life of the country, that is to say, discussing on the relation between society of masses and architectonic and city-planning technique.

1. A conjugation between constructive systems and socioeconomic information

¹ This communication is based on the thesis of doctorate presented in the Facultad de Arquitectura y Urbanismo of the Universidad Central de Venezuela in 2005 on the part of the author.

² Valencia is one of the more important Venezuelan capitals. It initiates his economic height from the Forties. Such height counts on several impelling factors: a policy of municipal incentives from which several industrial zones are developed; the facility of communication with the most important markets of the country (Barquisimeto, for example); the neighborhoods with Puerto Cabello (the second port of the country), a petrochemical industry, a petroleum refinery, an enormous plant of electricity. It accompanies to these factors the growth of population and of commercial and bureaucratic activities in this capital.

The lot of San Blas, almost flat, is sectioned in six parts to organize the allocation of space to the six concurrent companies in the experiment. **(Figure 1)** A central street winds as axis of this lot in form of "L" dividing it in two, but uniting the sectors through six bifurcations that take to parking. Each part integrates single-family houses of one and two plants with multi-family house of four plants, to obtain a solution of intermediate density respect to the experiences previous of the *Banco Obrero*, that is to say, respect to the low density of the urbanizations of popular house of the decades of 1930 and 1940 and to the high density of the superblocs of the decade of 1950. It is a density that anticipates a well-known urban image in urbanizations for the middle-class of Caracas (for example the Urbanization Las Mercedes), where are combined villas and buildings of four plants to obtain an atmosphere of low density.

The first sector is constructed under the urgency that implied good part of the ordinary programs of the *Banco Obrero*, therefore does not have to surprise that it takes control of traditional techniques, that is to say, framed structure of concrete and closings of hollow clay blocks. It allows neutralizing the pressure that diverse critics exerted on *Diseño en Avance* about the relative slowness of their operations. In this first sector in addition green paths and areas for the circulation between the houses are used, a criterion that will be left because the same existence and the maintenance of such areas meant "a very great load for the Institute." (INAVI, 1988, p. 334) It was replaced by the criterion of increase de density and decreases the green areas.

In the second lot the first building erected in the country by means of a great panel designed between the company *Vivienda Venezolana* and *Diseño en Avance* is tried in Venezuela, the first structure of four floors prefabricated of concrete. Towards the gravity center of the lot constructors *Creamer y Denis* tries the system lift-slab erecting a prefabricated slab structure that rises by means of hydraulic cats, soon to use traditional elements of closing. To the front the company *Vivienda Venezolana* also tries a system of beams, columns and prefabricated slabs of two and four plants, the two variants of the defined one as System C, in the following buildings, whereas *Van-Dam* constructor develops the bended lamina system in houses of one and two floors. After the previous ones, the designers of San Blas, directed by the architect Alejandro Galbe, anticipate a space for the construction of a building of 7 floors, which was not gotten to erect, with base in the idea of the "house deep", that is to say, a minimum in front and extended towards its internal part.

Towards the South end a building is elevated whose structure was designed by Waclaw Zalewsky, a Polish engineer that works during the first years of *Diseño en Avance* making numerous proposals with base in a simultaneously "creative" and geometric conception and of the structural design.³ The building of the fifth sector counts on structural elements whose dimensions are same of the closings, avoiding the problems of joint between structure and partition wall, but whose form in "T", of the C-7 System, means a structural capacity superior to the one of the conventional columns and beams.

In the development of San Blas the personnel of *Diseño en Avance*, doing pursuit of works and the production of components, introduces changes, new dimensions and improvements during the construction, although maintaining the principle basic that it governs them. In the case of the concrete systems adopted, it was necessary to mount factories of production of components prefabricated in the site of the construction.

³ On the conception of the structural design of the Dr Zalewski, it sees: ZALEWSKI, Waclaw (1987), *Mecánica de las estructuras* (mimeo), Caracas. ZALEWSKI, W., *Cálculos versus diseño* (mimeo), s/p.

The four constructive systems that *Diseño en Avance* altogether with representatives of the producing companies develops for the experimental program of San Blas, are "flexible constructive systems". **(Figure 2)** Under this denomination it enunciates the possibility globally of including the constructive range of the popular house, being able to have the technical instruments by means of which to generalize the industrialization of the sector.

In that attempt of generalization the decomposition of the plot of relations of the sector plays a fundamental roll construction, whereas the successive logical resetting of the elements allows that architects and producers integrate themselves in "a teamwork where the cost goals, design and speed of production face of unitary form, instead of a series of isolated contributions". (Banco Obrero, 1964, s/p) *Diseño en Avance* supports the coordination of the diverse capacities and experiences of the members of such equipment, trying the correspondence between project and execution of the house, to the time that constructs the bases of the unification of the productive relations.

The will to dominate the massive construction of house through a plural but unified industrial development characterizes, then, the activity of *Diseño en Avance*. The *Programa Experimental de Vivienda* of 1963 reduces such plurality unified in the same systems, worked hard in obtaining the elementary and universal catalogue of the massive construction of house. Assigning letters to each one of the four constructive systems, A, B, C and D, the *Programa* contains different options (some already mentioned) that go from a construction based on walls of load and slabs prefabricated to another one of plates of concrete armed to cover extensive surfaces (the future lift-slab), passing through systems of columns and beams, ceilings and slabs as much in steel as in concrete. The different elements would be unified through the system of dimensional coordination, which is developed in parallelism to the accomplishment of the "opened constructive systems". Each system is put under aid between several concurrent companies, which are identified with a number that finally, when selecting itself one of them, it is added exactly corresponding and it serves as specific identification (A-3; B-7; etc.).

The System A is based "on the advantage of the walls like lifting elements." (Banco Obrero, 1963, p. 21) When being located peripherally in the house, they make possible certain inner flexibility, whereas the little constructive components of concrete, walls and prefabricated or constructed modular slabs in site, mobilized and mounted partitions, covers and complementary elements with the support of cranes, facilitate the use of the system for constructions of one, two (A-3 System, of the *Vacoven* company) and four plants (A-4 System, of the company *Vivienda Venezolana*). The principle of lifting walls finally will be extended for constructions between 9 and 15 floors (A-10 System, of *Técnica Constructora* Company) in the UD-7 of Caricuao developed between 1965 and 1975.

System B is developed from the conditioners that the structural steel offered by the metallurgical industry of the country raises, in order to the manufacture of easily manipulable light pieces. The supports are based on an angular or tubular element that is added when their loads require it, with beams welded and slabs elaborated from timbering of drained steel laminate and of concrete in site. Its most tried application received the name of System B-5, a modular system of steel used by the company *Talleres Metalúrgicos Van-Dam*, made in the enormous factory of La Victoria, near Valencia, with the consultant's office of Henrique Hernández and the architect Mariluz Bascones, who completed the system.

System C is based on the prefabrication and assembly of columns, beams, ceilings and slabs of concrete. Their variations are defined for houses of one, two plants and four plants (C-4 System, of the company *Vivienda Venezolana*) and for constructions of four plants with sup-

ports and beams in form of T (C-7 System, used by the company *Tuven C.A.* from the project of *Diseño en Avance* in which engineer Zalewsky worked).

Finally, System D is based on the use of a cover, under which several units of house are defined simultaneously, with the consequent diminution of costs that implies the elimination of individual ceilings for each house and the smaller amount of manual labour. In his development collaborates the architect Jorge Castillo but actually its contribution does not take shape and derives in the famous D-6 System (of the company *Creamer y Denis S.A.*), a mechanized technique called "lift-slab", which uses hydraulic cats that raise, through tubular steel columns which they serve as guide, great prefabricated plates. The system anticipated the drained one of the walls in concrete with foam through perforations left in the plates.

With the constructive experience of San Blas one begins in Venezuela, and Latin America, the use in great scale of systems industrialized in the massive production of houses on the part of the State. Several of these systems were used later of extensive way in the Urbanization the Isabelica, in Valencia, between 1965 and 1975.

The experimental program of *Diseño en Avance* generates an ample combinatorial synthesis of minimum spaces of the house and group of units in which a remarkable effort of evaluation of the use of the house constructed by the *Banco Obrero* in previous years converges, effort in which concurs the results and recommendations of the socioeconomic analysis of the institution *División de Programación*.

In the *Banco Obrero* of 1961 the institutional instruments of planning are reframed. Respect to the national economic objectives is acted thus to coordinate the work of the housing organism as much as the directed ones to elevate the social conditions of the Venezuelan population. Economic and social objectives constitutes a unit after whose profit one traditional informed expectation of elites is shown already, the one to make of the city and the architecture civilizing instruments. Consequently, the socioeconomic investigation is necessary within the *Banco Obrero*, in an operation that will be fundamental to try a management of the population in harmony with the readjustments that go ahead like capitalist development of the country.⁴

In fact, one of the dimensions of the approach of the *Banco Obrero* to the productive process of the massive house was defined as necessity to know the socioeconomic behaviour of the popular sectors that are going away to lodge in such house. That knowledge would sustain to the effective accomplishment of the more general policies of "social development" of the country. The popular housing planners would be helped by the disciplines of the economy and sociology, in a process in which the investigation is valorised like one of the most significant new features for those years.

Between 1961 and 1963, under the headquarters of the architect Alfredo Cilento, the *División de Programación* of the *Oficina de Programación y Presupuesto* (OPP) produces three im-

⁴ From principles of the decade of 1940 indications of the allocation of an educative paper to the architecture of the *Banco Obrero* can be, specifically with the Reurbanización of El Silencio in Caracas. In the *Plan Nacional de Vivienda* of 1951 it has like basic instrument the work of the *Departamento de Investigaciones Sociales, Económicas y Tecnológicas* of the institution. Throughout the years that follow the dowry of house annual quotas to the cities of greater growth of population supposed one of the most significant entrepreneurs of the *Banco Obrero* from an educative point of view: "the importance of this work of the State through the *Banco Obrero* does not constitute only the capacity to equip from room to the greater possible number of Venezuelan families by means of the construction of houses or the granting of credit, but also in the parallel work of economic-social investigation in the field of the house. The massive construction, the simplification of the distribution, the elimination of the accessory in the home in favour of the essential in their construction, the education of the family by means of the practical demonstration, helps in the same sense that the monetary investment to the approach every greater time of the family of modest means to the obtaining of a house". (*Integral* N° 7, 1957, s/p).

portant reports on the problem of dwelling of Valencia. First of them it is the denominated *Valencia, Informe Preliminar* of 1961, whose methodology has in the statistic the most important tool of information collection, to the time that the quantification of items and percentage in tables is the base for the comparative analysis. One is a methodology that is applied both in remaining works, the *Informe General de Valencia* of 1963 and the *Programa de Viviendas para Valencia* of this same year. In the three reports they appear, with diverse levels of detail and cover, the analyses of population, economic activity (emphasizes the unfolded one like industrial work) and of the city next to the house, with estimations of the tendencies and projections in each area for the future Valencia. They are made by the sociologist Jaime Cornivelli, the economists Francisco Urdaneta and Emperatriz Gómez and architects Leonardo Hernández and Henrique Hernández. With them the state housing policy arranges, although without taking into account to that population like interlocutor of its own performance, of the basic information to incorporate to the Valencian popular masses within her, as well as to take part in the destiny of the same ones.

The team of programmers confronts phenomena whose reality can be questioned and that, in any case, are boarded with a dose of morality. It is the case of the increasing urban crowds that "is reflected in the physical aspect of the new zones of houses in bad conditions" (Banco Obrero, OPP, 1963, p. 17), crowds that lives in farms "accompanied by small *conucos*", which reveals his rural origin. **(Figure 3)** Before the rationally incomprehensible thing of that phenomenon, the team of programmers proposes a reception and direction of the farmers, to standardize them by means of an "induction" to the industrial Valencia, supporting the rehabilitation of the deteriorated areas and avoiding "the problem of the formation of anarchical districts by invasions." (Banco Obrero. OPP, 1963, p. 35)⁵

The study of conditions and characteristics of the population, made by the team of programmers, has as aim to establish the bases for the design of houses that would lodge such population. (Banco Obrero, OPP, Programa..., 1963, pp. 33-47) **(Figure 4)** The definition by a side of the types of house was in apartments and houses with or without possibilities from expansion. On the other hand, the classification of the families according to the entrance threw four great groups of such. The relation of the obtained data allowed to arrange in a picture summarize the essential information to the aims of architectonic design.

With such information a new tool of understanding of the population took shape, which corresponded to the idea of the variety of the "opened constructive systems" (or flexible), basing the one that will be the search of a culturally "specific image", rather picturesque, in the urban set of San Blas.

2, Technique and identity: the political and propagandistic roll of San Blas

The conjugation (or synthesis) between rationalized techniques of construction and socioeconomic data of the examined population leads to that in the *Programa Experimental de Vivienda* of San Blas the result of the constructive investigation does not take until its last consequences.

⁵ The diverse qualifications of the areas of farms of Valencia are accompanied of the calculation of their relative urban magnitude, settling down that for 1961 it before exceeds the double of the area occupied by the city ten years. Nevertheless, the *División* selectively operates when defining the addressees of the house that it programs: the "workers" of the "industry", who would lodge, according to a presidential recommendation of those years in the "working city". For other groups he suggests plans of reorientation of immigrations and remodeling of existing districts. But the resulting numbers of the calculation, 4,000 new houses between 1963 and 1966, sufficiently do not leave paid field to the justification of the possible industrialization of the massive house in "the working" Valencia. (Banco Obrero. OPP, 1963, p. 34).

It is certain that in San Blas the validation of the technique takes place in the land of the rationalization of the constructive work in as much technically supported. Often at the moment of the assembly, the solution of the unions of the components, including from prestressed beams of mooring to metallic pieces leaned to the prefabricated elements simply to weld them. Other times it is valued in the stage of the assembly, since impressive cranes facilitate the elevation of the pieces and the mobility of the same ones in the area of a construction. But it is a deepening in the technique that arrives until certain magnitude.

Also is verifiable that the considerations of *Diseño en Avance* on the work supported in the technique and the machines are diverse. Some cases contemplate the construction of pieces as process of their piling up on work foot, or anticipate the facility of manipulation of the components on the part of the workers. Inclusively it is gotten to take into account early the simplicity from manufacture from the same pieces and the relation between the elements required for his manufacture and the complexity from the component to prefabricate. Also the inclusion of the traditional construction is considered if the case requires manual labour of the place where the program takes place.

But the value of the final object (from the simple or complex component to the house) does not provide in dominant form the amount of work inverted in its construction. The value of products is rather, for *Diseño en Avance*, the capacity to give answer to an aspect of the programming, the particular family (or according to the "economic group"). Therefore, the destiny of the process of constructive work is the assembly in "a variety of forms so that they allow to the adjustment of different plants and sections" (Banco Obrero, OPP, Programa..., 1963, s/p), more than the rationality and the economy of this technical process referred back briefly. **(Figure 5)**

The constructive system, when considering as beginning of an assembly process whose nature assures the "variety" in the adjustment plants and sections of the constructions of house, means to introduce a contradictory mandate, no longer respect to the relation between project and construction, but between system and production. Indeed, the complications that generates an aim that tends to be distinguished between the diversity (the house unit) and a principle that aspires to being generalized between each constructive unit (the constructive type), implies to overvalue an abstract modular coordination over an effective repetition of the common thing between several.

The *Programa Experimental de Vivienda* of 1963 and the set of later versions of the same one, particularly the one of 1964, are exhausted then in demonstrating the high capacity of space cover of the four systems. Next to the description of each one of such and to the respective schemes of assembly, are inserted in the *Programa* of *Diseño en Avance* numerous graphical (plants, combinatorial schemes of areas and grouping of houses, examples of use, combinations of densities and volumetric variety) like wanting to demonstrate that the technique is still matter of living, that their consequences logics and the eagerness to give a content to the constructive elements are subsume in the intentionality of the designer.

The adaptability of the systems to the familiar diversity, on the one hand, and to the enterprise heterogeneity, on the other hand, would be in the base of progressively extended industrialization under open systems. In that adaptability the creator, the creative subject survives, that being architect, and as saying "I propose", he is responsible for the force of his thought and its creativity to the "social diversity" that defies it and demands it. Mythical diversity, nevertheless, every time in the great city the multiplication on great scale of the specificities constitutes an unsuspected and extraordinary social homogeneity.

But in addition it can admit that the *Programa Experimental de Vivienda* of 1963 constitutes a technical instrument whose meaning is above of the task of defence of the creative architect (the artist) who underlies in all the operation that synthesizes the writing, since in him decants several processes and searches: among them, on the one hand, the crisis of identity of the later *Banco Obrero* to 1958; on the other hand, the "social mission" of the institution that was intuited from 1958; but also other flanks like the one of the diverse indications of specific studies to articulate the massive construction from house to the economic development planned and to make correspond characteristic of the inhabitants and space configurations; correlatively to this, the comparative calculations of the program of houses of the *División de Programación*; but also the notion of the "working city" that in 1962 president Rómulo Betancourt idealize constructed next to the "great industrial zone" of Valencia.

The *Programa Experimental de Vivienda* is an instrument that is constructed, then, from a diversity of forces, without a doubt, between which there are to count in the fundamental thing with that it is called on directly to the idea to recognize the "variety" of the urban crowd through few space combinations. Like it was anticipated, is a potentially conflicting crowd indeed in his diversity of interests, "cultures", of origins, etc., in addition politically manageable. To gather it, to understand it, to do it "one", like a harmonic totality, unit agreed through the architecture, constitute one of the fundamental meanings of the *Programa*. The interesting thing of this characteristic is that it reaffirms to the architecture like object, and not like subject, of the socioeconomic planning.

The *Programa*, therefore, stipulates a technique that includes in a system the variety of private construction companies and the "flexible constructive systems" that it impelled, as much as the project activity of the members of *Diseño en Avance*. But also it made system to the unconformity (if not exasperation) that represented, on the one hand, the "different" adjustments of the plant of the unit of house and the bands of groupings and, on the other hand, the "planimetric and volumetric alternatives" put under on approval to give form to the "high density with low height" urbanism of San Blas.

San Blas, the urbanization of the *Programa Experimental de Vivienda*, tries therefore an urban calm that already seems excluded from the Valencia in growth of first half of the Sixties. **(Figure 6)** It's there present the unit between art and industry and between art and daily life that they persecute, from William Morris, several architects of the called Modern Movement.

The atmosphere in certain bucolic degree is able, when finally the development of San Blas is finished towards 1967, by means of attempts to conform warm spaces of transition, that is to say, small seats for the neighbourhoods meeting, scattered paths and foliage-like strolls in the set, like relaxed ambient. Also through varied housing volumes and types, in short, diverse figurative resources that evoke the domestic thing and the harmonious thing of this dwelling. The architecture and the urban set artistically rose would contribute in the old ethical mission, architectonically assumed, of the social reform.

Also it is an atmosphere product of an arrangement of the set in form of windily route. Throughout that route are opened surprising perspectives and vegetal masses of different species, conforming a stimulating passage that fights to compensate, through those "emotional tracks", challenged monotony of the technique exhibited in the simple architectonic volumes and of the own existence of the nomad and uprooted metropolitan worker.

With the relation between constructive technique and organizational schemes of the space of the house and the urban set of the experimental program, Henrique Hernández and *Diseño en Avance*, maintaining active the work of operative analysis, although until an elementary degree, makes specific architecture like instrument of socioeconomic knowledge. This architec-

ture defines the base of an integration structure, in other words, of a fundamental tool of continuation of the management of the popular sectors by means of "a modern" architecture in its codes but not "international" like the one of the previous perezjimenista regime. Since one has treated previously, that governmental roll in as much so already was announced in the conclusions of the works of the *División de Programación*, attributing almost exclusively an educative paper to the disciplines of urbanism and the architecture. With the *Programa Experimental de Vivienda* such unifying and managing roll, that operates to neutralize the processes of socioeconomic disintegration generated by the growth of cities like Valencia, took control systematic technique towards 1963.

For that reason in the *Diseño en Avance* office the technological diversity is considered like line of work proposed by architects, but mainly like line required of publicity and acceptance through its capacity to conciliate itself in the design of the set. From this point of view, it would be necessary to observe the experience of San Blas from the considerations that historian of architecture Manfredo Tafuri does to the experimental set of the Weissenhofsiedlung of 1927 in Stuttgart, "a collage of single-family dwelling types [...] a propaganda display of the new architecture, without a doubt effective" (Tafuri-Dal Co, 1986, p. 161), although without the organic conception that had exhibited masterful Germans as Ernst May and Martin Wagner in their siedlungen of years 20. If it is taken into account, since it were made above, than the feasibility of the proposals of use of industrialized systems is not sufficiently favourable, it does not seem dangerous to raise the hypothesis that *Diseño en Avance* strives in developing the set of San Blas thinking about the public and demonstrative effect that would have the same one.

It could be admitted, then, that *Diseño en Avance* tries in the project of San Blas "the organic" instruments of artistic possession of the technique, treating to also hit on the public opinion and professional, often adverse to the technology by those years.

By the others, the possibilities of survival on the attempt of technological renovation of the massive construction of houses more and more were reduced, been account that the entrepreneurs did not accept it because it implied discharges investments. Some labour unions were against because it did not imply a sufficient use of manual labour, whereas in the high government the problem of unemployment and the objective to neutralize the confliction assured a "low profile" to industrialization the construction. Alfredo Cilento remembers that towards 1965 Leopoldo Martínez Olavarría, the great defender and propellant of the test of *Diseño en Avance*, recommended to study thoroughly and to try the first new schemes before trying to impose them generically, without a doubt, all a realistic suggestion before the pompous voices that the prefabrication generated.

The possibilities that formulate San Blas, then, become involved in a complex game of situations that go from the agreements that the definitive formulation of a national policy of 1965 house imposes until the internal problems to the own production of the massive house.

Conclusion

San Blas, the most remarkable test of architectonic vanguard in the matter of massive house in the Venezuela of century XX, constitutes in any case the scene of an intense confrontation between the subjects of the amount and the quality, the technique and the identity.

On the one hand, the experimental program of San Blas confronts the subject of the architecture understood like "object", like material totality that absorbs qualities architectonic that make unique piece. It confronts it when evaluating in terms of costs, productive efficiency and flexibility this object, inclusively typified. Then taking position facing the subject of the "amount", that is to say, operates on the productive processes and the relations of production,

on the "productive technique" by means of which to unfold the massive construction of house.

On the other hand, the experimental program represents a modernization of forms and codes of the popular construction, of a way related to the processes of adjustment of the modern architecture to particular national characteristics that come being developed from years 50 in diverse countries. That is to say, tries a conciliation between the practice of "an own" architecture and languages tie to the technique. The architectonic searches unfold by the route of the popular character, that is to say, of the image that can serve as communicative structure for inhabitants who must be educated and activities in the metropolitan Valencia. For that it's recurred to the free joint of the space, with the consequent kinships respect to the "poetic of the green" and the Anglo-Saxon design.

The Urbanization San Blas, the most important work of *Diseño en Avance*, can be designated like technical episode without devaluation, like negative thought in crisis, but also in fact like technical optimism that does not get to conjugate respect to the conditions that tries to improve.

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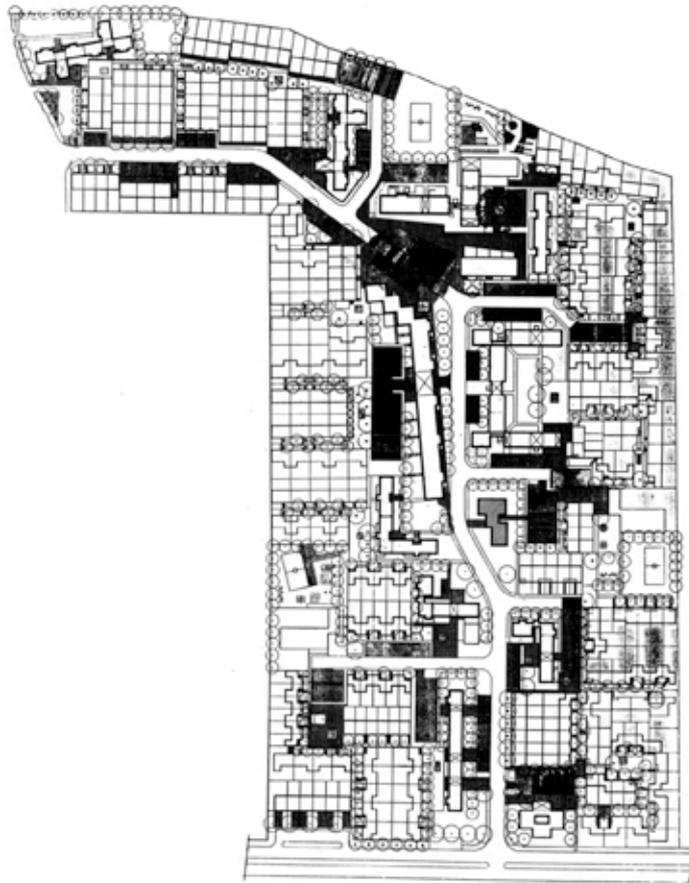
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Figures

**Figure 1. Urbanization San Blas.
General plan.**



**Figura 2. A-4, B-5, C-4, D-6:
“Flexible Constructive Systems”.**



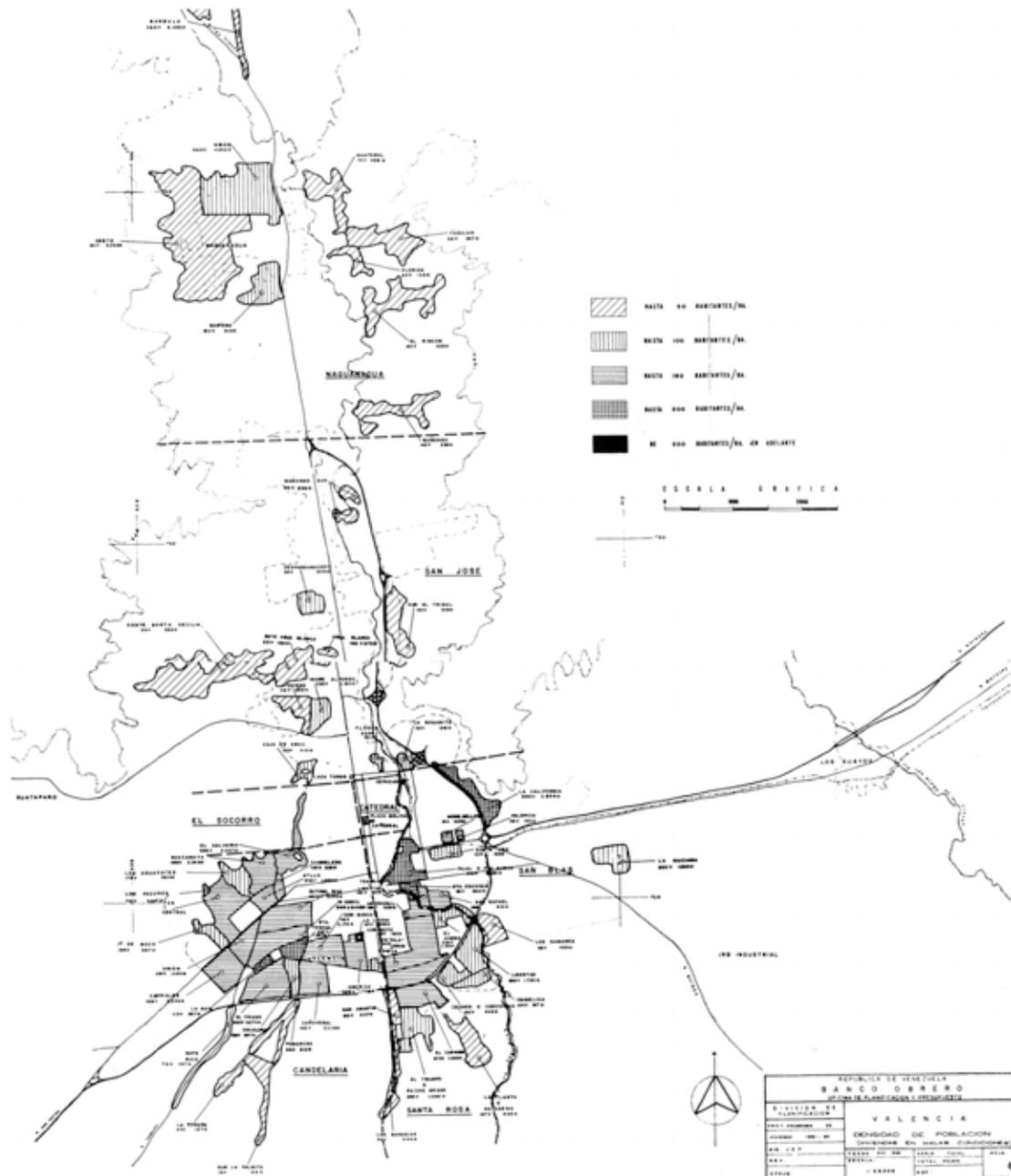


Figura 3. Population density, studies of Valencia, Banco Obrero, 1961.

TIPOS DE VIVIENDAS PARA CADA GRUPO ECONOMICO CUADRO 23

GRUPO ECONOMICO	AREA M ² VIV	TIPO DE VIVIENDAS																								SUB TOTAL	TOTAL		
		I APARTAMENTOS						II CASAS CON POSIBILIDAD DE EXPANSION						III CASAS SIN POSIBILIDAD DE EXPANSION						TOTAL									
		DE 1 PLANTA	DE 2 PLANTAS	DE 3 PLANTAS	DE 4 PLANTAS	DE 5 PLANTAS	DE 6 PLANTAS	DE 1 PLANTA	DE 2 PLANTAS	DE 3 PLANTAS	DE 4 PLANTAS	DE 5 PLANTAS	DE 6 PLANTAS	DE 1 PLANTA	DE 2 PLANTAS	DE 3 PLANTAS	DE 4 PLANTAS	DE 5 PLANTAS	DE 6 PLANTAS										
D	100	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	106	120	
C	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	173
	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	142
B	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	81
	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	122
A	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	108
	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	84
TOTAL	31	47	50	58	58	59	14	77	82	17	70	12	39	4	28	5	44	27	31	41	11	26	27	14	47	8	21	372	1000

LEGENDA:
 [Hatched] APARTAMENTOS EN BLOQUES DE 3 Y 4 PLANTAS
 [White] CASAS DE 2 PLANTAS
 [Diagonal] CASAS DE 1 PLANTA

NOTA: PARA EL GRUPO "A" EL AREA SE ESTIMO EN UN 10% BASADO EN LA MEDIDA DE LAS AREAS POR VIVIENDA DE LAS UNIDADES DE PISO PROPUESTAS POR LA O.C.B.A. Y LEAR (1967).

Figure 4. Housing types and socioeconomics groups, Informe General, Banco Obreiro, 1963



Figure 5. Combinatorial schemes of houses and blocks, Systems A and D.

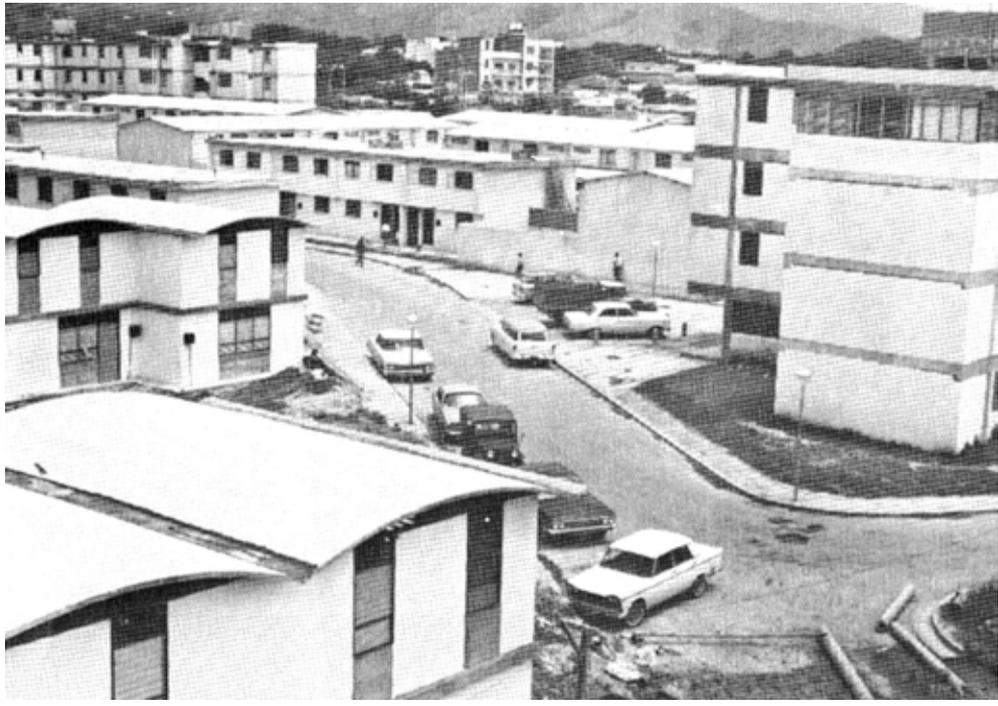


Figure 6. Urbanization San Blas, partial view of central road. 1967.

POWER OF PLACE: LESSONS FOR PLANNERS AND DESIGNERS

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Tourism is a significant activity in a number of cities and its importance is likely to grow in the future. A large number of cities which have become tourist destinations attract tourists with their rich, unique, and culturally diverse townscapes as well as their settings in a natural landscape. A unique urban landscape is the result of the weaving together of topography, architecture, the arrangement of streets, urban spaces, and vistas. Architecturally significant buildings, landmarks, and areas with a distinctive character or history create 'a sense of place' which makes a city memorable (Law 1993, 1996). Christian Norberg (1979) uses 'the genius loci', an ancient Roman term, to describe a 'sense of place.' This concept still remains important in the design and management of cities and regions.

Creating a sense of place is an important component of architecture and urban design and it plays a key role in developing urban tourism. Unless planners understand the various ingredients which come together to provide the essence of a place, they cannot modify it without risking the destruction of its valuable characteristics. Haywood (1992: 17) and Mehrhoff (1999: 61) suggest that tourism planners and city planners need to become familiar with the aesthetic aspect of cities in terms of sense of place, social setting, and visual identity. There is need to expand tourism research in the area of landscape assessment, aesthetics, attractiveness and quality of cities.

The relationship between tourism and the physical environment has been recognized by tourism planners worldwide. Many world renowned cities, such as Salzburg in Germany, Innsbruck in Austria, and Banff in Canada are widely acclaimed and popular among tourists for their physical setting and townscape quality. In the words of Tringano (1984:20), 'tourism and environment are inseparable.' Thus, environment, which attracts tourists, needs to be protected. This study of townscape character deals with the urban environment which consists of both the cultural and natural elements of the city. The cultural landscape which include landmarks, unique historic buildings, and public spaces form the backbone of the urban fabric. Lynch (1996) identified landmarks as important features of cities. They provide them with visual identity. They can be described as the urban signatures by which cities are remembered. The natural environment may include the topographic character, wooded areas or water bodies. Natural settings provide a backdrop for the city and play an important role in lending character to well known cities. Krippendorf (1997) clearly articulated that urban and natural landscape quality are the capital in tourism and so must be managed properly. Tourism planners need to realize that it is the quality

of the urban environment which attracts tourists. The lack of planning and management of the urban landscape will result not only in loss of visual aesthetics but also environmental degradation which may cause natural disaster and safety concerns.

In the past many researchers such as Kavallins and Pizam (1994), Canesday and Zeiger (1991), Lawson, et al.(1998), Jurowski, et al. (1997), Ryan, et al.(1998), Allen, et al.(1988) and others have conducted a number of studies in the areas of perception and attitudes of residents and tourists. These studies have examined issues of tourism, recreational development, and tourist destinations in terms of the social, economic and environmental impacts. Both Page (1995) and Law (1996) pinpoint that little has been done to examine urban tourism in terms of the visual image of urban tourist destinations.

Law (1993) and Gunn (1994) suggest that in order to create successful economic development and tourism strategies, the visual aspect of urban tourist destinations must be addressed. The study is important because in recent times, cities in North America have started to look alike thus losing their visual identity. Building facades are standardized and have become homogenous. This is evident in the downtowns of many small towns in Canada and the United States. They have recently experienced a decline in economic health and a degradation of physical conditions.

This is because they failed to adapt to a changing lifestyle. For example, downtowns in small towns upgrade their facilities after the arrival of malls in the surrounding areas but by then it is too late since people have already become used to a new style of shopping.

The cities are dominated by traffic even in smaller communities, and safe pedestrian environment is the thing of the past. This study attempts to fill in this gap in the existing literature by dealing with issues of the urban image; how the city is perceived by tourists and its residents. This research provides tourism planners and city planners with an insight into the way people perceive the built environment in which they live or visit. The results of this study provide important information for the improvement and management of townscape character based on residents' and tourists' perception of the city.

The study has three objectives. First, it examines the townscape character of the downtown of Niagara-on-the-Lake in terms of resident and tourist perception. Secondly, it compares and contrasts residents' perception of the downtown with that of the tourists'. The third objective looks at the forces which attract the tourist influx into the downtown. The results of the study explain why tourists are attracted to this particular town and discuss the factors which make it unique and successful as a tourist destination. Lessons learned from this small town can be applied to a number of towns of similar size across North America.

THE SITE DESCRIPTION

This study explores the city of Niagara-On-the-Lake focusing on its downtown. Niagara-on-the-Lake, a small town located in Ontario, Canada has a population of approximately 14,000. It is a popular tourist destination attracting about 3.5 million tourists all year round. The town has a number of unique buildings in the Georgian and Victorian architectural styles, a waterfront park, grape orchards, and wineries.



Niagara-on-the-Lake: unique building facades.

Tourists come to Niagara-on-the-Lake to experience its beautiful parks and re-created eighteenth and nineteenth century building facades, and historic sites. The town houses public and private art galleries, world renowned theaters, museums, and public parks and playgrounds. The town has been named “the prettiest town in Ontario” in 1995-1996 among towns of similar population.

METHODOLOGY

A questionnaire based survey was administered at the site during the summer of 2004. Forty tourists and forty residents were interviewed face-to-face in the downtown area of Niagara-on-the-Lake. Personal interviews were considered the most effective and reliable means of data gathering. Going to the homes of residents to conduct interviews was difficult and time consuming. The idea of a mail survey was discarded because people may have problem with understanding some of the terminology and may need clarification. In addition, the mail is also slow and unreliable.

Data collection from tourists was problematic. The attempt was made to conduct face to face interviews at some hotels, but hotel administration was not cooperative. They refused to allow surveys to be conducted on their premises. As a result interviews had to be conducted on the site in the downtown area.

The downtown area was selected because it is a major activity area in the town. The area consists of fine restaurants and shops, which sells specialty items of the region. A good mix of residents and tourists from all over the town are represented daily. The interviews were conducted over a period of two weeks from Monday to Friday, from the middle to the end of July. This is the peak tourist season and many families from the different parts of Canada and the United States can be found. The sample included those residents older than twenty years of age and who were residing in Niagara-on-the-Lake for at least five years. Also only one person per household was eligible to participate in the survey. The five year residential requirement was included to ensure respondents' familiarity with the town. The tourist population was defined as all those who were not native to the city of Niagara-on-the-Lake.

The questions were based on the information derived from informal meetings with residents and tourists as well as from personal observations of the city. The questionnaire was divided into three sections. The first section contained questions pertaining to demographic information such as age, place of residence, and profession, and was identical for both target groups. The second section of the questionnaire contained questions targeted to each group. Residents were asked about their length of residence in the town and about their satisfaction with it. Tourists were questioned about their reasons for visiting Niagara-on-the-Lake, their accommodation, their place of residence, and vacation period. They were also asked what makes a town attractive to visitors.

The majority of the questions were close-ended since many of them entailed a comparison between the two groups: residents and tourists. Although Pearce et al. (1996) suggest the use of open-ended questions in social impact tourism research, Tomljenovic and Faulkner (2000) have convincingly questioned this approach where the research objective is to compare and contrast two target groups. At the end of the questionnaire, an open-ended question was included to allow residents and tourists the opportunity to add any observation from their own personal experience of the city. The questionnaire was pilot tested for clarity with fifteen residents and fifteen tourists. The majority of the questions were found to be clear and responses showed that both groups had no difficulty in answering them.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Data from the survey was analyzed and age was classified into three categories: the first, between 20 and 30; the second, between 40 and 50, and the third over 50 years old. Data compilation shows that 20 % of the residents interviewed for the study and 26% of the tourists were between the ages of 20 and 30. In the 30-40 age group, 38% residents and 20 % tourists were surveyed, and lastly 42% residents and 54% tourists interviewed were over 50 years old (Table 1). This selected sample of residents and tourists represented a wide range of occupations which included military personnel, health care professionals, educators, businessmen, students, factory workers, and taxi drivers.

Table 1: Age Structure of Residents and Tourists:

Age Categories	Residents	Tourists
20-30	20%	26%
30-40	38%	20%
50+	42%	54%

Fifty percent of the residents who were questioned were born in Niagara-on-the-Lake and have lived there all their lives. When residents were asked whether they liked living in Niagara-on-the-Lake, eighty percent responded that they were satisfied with living in the town. They stated that they enjoyed living in the town which they described as beautiful, quiet, safe, and pollution free as opposed to the hustle and bustle of big Canadian cities. The remaining twenty percent of the residents said that Niagara-on-the-Lake was unexciting and would like to move to a bigger city in the future. When asked about the influx of tourists to Niagara-On-the-Lake, 54% of the residents had a strong positive attitude and felt that tourism should be further encouraged.

Twenty six percent were somewhat positive while the remaining 20% had a negative attitude and did not think tourism should be encouraged. In response to the question of tourism impact, eighty percent residents strongly agreed that tourism is making positive impact on the city of Niagara-on-the-Lake in terms of economics. Ten percent somewhat agreed and the remaining ten percent did not agree at all; they complained about traffic congestion and parking, especially in the downtown area.

Forty percent of the tourists were from the United States vacationing in Canada, fifty five percent from the surrounding communities of Ontario which included Toronto, St. Catherine, Hamilton, Burlington, Guelph, and Oakville. Five percent were from outside North America from the United Kingdom and the Caribbean. Sixty percent of the tourists visited Niagara-on-the-Lake on more than one occasion.

In order to examine what tourists look for when they were deciding to visit Niagara on-the-Lake, a number of choices were given and respondents were asked to select as many as they wanted (Table 2). Ninety percent tourists indicated that there was a sense of safety in this area. This was especially expressed by tourists from the United States. They said that it was safe to walk around not only during day but also at night time. The city has good maintenance and cleanliness; both of these are important components for security. For fifty eight percent of tourists surveyed, location and accessibility was an important factor. Location and accessibility can be defined as a measure of how easy it is to reach the place of destination. Niagara- on- the-Lake is well connected with Toronto, Ontario and Buffalo, New York. By car it can be reached within two to three hours from both these cities which are serviced by major national and international airports.

Fifty four percent tourists responded that they came to Niagara-on-the-Lake because of its affordability. This was expressed by American tourists who indicated that because of the exchange rate, the American dollar had more buying power. Sixty two percent responded that they came here for a number of tourist attractions located in the vicinity. For example, the world famous Niagara Falls is located in close proximity; it is only about a twenty minute drive away, along the Niagara Parkway. There are also many historical sites in the area. Eighty five percent of the tourists surveyed came here because of the uniqueness of this town and its surrounding area. Almost all the tourists commented that their reason for visiting was because it is a very charming town with beautiful historic buildings, parks and pretty flowers everywhere. Eighty percent of the respondents selected this town for its beautiful landscaping and scenery, for fifty two, percent upkeep and maintenance was an important factor in choosing this town. Many of the tourists who responded to upkeep and maintenance had visited this town before. Fifty percent said that they selected Niagara-on-the-Lake because of the fine restaurants in the area; these respondents had previously visited the town.

Table 2: Tourists’ Reasons for selecting Niagara-On-the-Lake as a Tourist Destination

Criteria	Percentages
Safety	90%
Location & Accessibility	58%
Affordability	54%
Tourist Attractions	62%

Uniqueness	85%
Landscaping/Scenery	80%
Upkeep/Maintenance	52%
Area Restaurants	50%

Eighty percent of the tourists surveyed said that they would definitely return to Niagara-on-the-Lake. The other twenty percent responded that they would like to visit some other new destination. Ninety percent of the tourists stayed in hotels while the remaining ten percent stayed with their relatives and friends living in the area. On the average, visitors spent between three to five days.

Table 3: What makes a tourist town more attractive?

Criteria	Residents (response %)	Tourists (response)
Safety	90%	100%
Pedestrian environment	80%	80%
Well Lighted Streets	90%	90%
Friendly environment	60%	75%
Uniqueness of the area	90%	95%
Opportunities for Activities	50%	80%
Social and Cultural diversity	55%	70%
Parking facilities	70%	100%
Festivals and attractions	80%	100%
Affordability	60%	80%

In order to examine what factors make a tourist town more attractive, residents and tourists were both given a number of choices and were asked to select as many as they wanted. Their responses are summarized in Table 3. For ninety percent of the surveyed residents and one hundred percent of the tourists, safety was a prime important factor. They were asked to explain what safety meant to them. They expressed it as a crime and drug free urban environment where they can walk freely during the day as well as night time. For eighty percent of residents and eighty percent of tourists a pedestrian environment was found to be important. They expressed that they did not believe that traffic should be totally discarded throughout the town – but the built up environment should be made safe. Well lit streets were found to be important for ninety percent of residents and ninety percent of tourists. Well lit streets and public spaces also cater to improving a sense of security. Although traffic is allowed on the main street of Niagara-on-the-Lake very attractive street walkways and crosswalks are also provided. Traffic moves very slowly through the downtown where tourists spend much of their time.



Niagara-on-the-Lake: well maintained landscape.

In response to the importance of the friendliness of people in making a town an attractive tourist destination, sixty percent residents and seventy percent tourists thought this was important. A number of comfortable sitting benches are provided on the main street where people can not only sit but can also look at unfolding drama of social life on the street. Ninety percent of residents and ninety five percent tourists responded positively to the importance of uniqueness of the town and its surrounding area. They stated that this was an important factor in making a town a major tourist destination. Tourists described Niagara-on-the Lake as a very unique and picturesque town in terms of its historic buildings and landscaping. Both residents and tourists agreed that Niagara-on-the- Lake has a sense of place. Nasar (1998, pp.62-73) has identified five sets of broad urban criteria which are preferred by people in general. They include: naturalness, upkeep, open spaces and defined spaces, historical significance/content, and order. As most of tourists spend much of their time on the main street in the downtown of Niagara-on- the Lake, this street is an important part of pedestrian movement circulation area for both residents and tourists. It provides a visually rich experience to its residents and tourists. The main street importance of movement system in the planning and designing of cities has been emphasized by Cullen (1961) and Bacon (1976).

The public space movement network of Niagara-on-the Lake creates a series of townscape effects, such as, changing view and vistas, the interplay of landmarks, and open spaces. In terms of Gordon Cullen when a pedestrian moves through this environment a visual drama which results from the weaving together of urban elements, such as buildings, open spaces, trees, advertisement signs, and streets, is unfolded .

Fifty percent of residents and eighty percent of residents thought that opportunities for activities are important. The town provides a number of activities in this area. They include attending the Shaw festival theater. This is the only theater in the world which specializes in plays written by Bernard Shaw and his contemporaries (1856-1950). Some of the other exciting activities mentioned by tourists include Whirlpool Jet Boat Tours which are held about half mile below Niagara Falls. Fort George is another well known historic site of the battle of 1812 where visitors

can experience soldiers' barracks. Beside these, tourists can also take a wine tasting tour of the wineries of the Niagara-on-the-Lake which are open seven days a week. Many visitors also visit the Niagara Historic Society & Museum, The Court House, Brock's Monument, Mackenzie Heritage Printery, the Newspaper Museum, and the floral clock which is maintained by Ontario Hydro. In response to the importance of the social and cultural diversity dimension, fifty five percent residents and seventy percent tourists responded positively. The town draws people from not only surrounding communities of Ontario, but also other parts of Canada, Europe as well as the United States of America. Many annual festivals and parades which are celebrated in the area also draw a large number of tourists.

The importance of ample parking was emphasized by seventy percent of residents and one hundred percent tourists. Many tourists complained about the shortage of parking. Sixty percent of residents and one hundred percent of the tourists thought festival celebrations and tourist attractions help in attracting visitors and it also helps the local economy. For sixty percent of residents and eighty percent of tourists affordability is an important factor. Both groups said that hotels, motels, and bed and breakfast places should provide a wide range of options to tourists.

CONCLUSION

The paper met its first objective by concluding that a sense of safety, a sense of place, and landscaping as the most important ingredients for the selection of Niagara –on –the-Lake as a popular tourist destination. The town has a visual identity which creates an everlasting memorable experience for tourists and a sense of civic pride for residents. Other factors included area restaurants and tourist attractions in and around the town. Location and easy accessibility were also very important for making Niagara–on-the-Lake a popular choice for tourists. It is well connected in terms of transportation to the major urban centers of Toronto and New York City.

The paper met its second objective by comparing the perception of residents and tourists in order to understand what makes a tourist town more attractive. The most important factors were found to be a sense of safety, a pedestrian friendly environment, well lit streets, and the uniqueness of the area. The first three factors are related to each other. For tourists, a sense of place or the character and uniqueness of the area was emphasized as an important factor in attracting visitors to a town. For tourists who drove their vehicles, parking was found to be critical. Many tourists came to Niagara –on-the-Lake for the festivals and the tourist attractions. For American tourists it was affordable because of the strong American dollar against the local Canadian currency.

The paper met its third objective by concluding that a sense of safety, a sense of place, and accessibility were found to be very important in developing a town as a major tourist destination. Niagara on the Lake has an excellent location. It is easily accessible to Canadian as well as American tourists. Many small towns throughout North America lack a sense of place. They have no visual identity; they all look same, if you have seen one you have seen all. They do not create any memorable image in the minds of visitors. Planners and designers can learn from this study that every small town has unique features which set it apart from all others. These unique features include the existing historic fabric, the natural environment, manmade features or community activities. Historic fabric reflects a community's past and its heritage; the natural

environment includes the topography and water features; and community activities include farmers' markets, sidewalk sales, festivals, and parades. These unique features should form the basis to build upon a sense of place. Decorative design or a quick fix lipstick approach can fade easily but revitalization based on unique features achieves long term results.

It is important to remember that “flashy new trends” in art and architecture generally appeal to a small segment of society and is transient. The image of a town should be based on a consensus of both residents and tourists who experience it either by living or visiting it. Research done in the past shows that aesthetics or the appearance of the physical environment is less qualitative and subjective than many people think (Nasar, 1998). If planners and designers want to create a successful tourist destination, they must address the issue of distinct visual identity. Towns should be planned safe for all age groups and attractive for pedestrians, cyclists, and cars. Planners must understand the relationship between people and the physical environment. There should be a holistic approach to the planning and designing of towns in which building fabric, street network, landscaping, and street furniture should be treated as equally important in designing, creating or strengthening a sense of place. A sense of place, a sense of safety, and ease of accessibility can create a successful tourist destination; they lead to the power of place

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URBAN OPEN-SPACE PLAN FOR A SUSTAINABLE CITY : APPLICATION TO THE TOKYO AREA

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1. INTRODUCTION

With the rapid growth of urban spaces, concerns over the ‘sustainability’ of a city-as applied to development, societies, and livelihoods-has become an increasingly essential objective for most countries over the past two decades. Most countries, including Japan, have recognized the importance of sustainability and have established numerous plans and regulations to ensure the sustainability of their cities. Of these plans, urban open space¹ plans have played an important role in achieving long-term sustainability in terms of the environment, aesthetics, recreation, and the economy, as urban open space, which provides opportunities for recreation, rejuvenation, and restoration, is a vital resource for all communities, especially for densely populated cities. In Tokyo, one of the most densely populated cities in the world, urban open space is now seen as a cornerstone of building a sustainable society.

Until recently, cities’ sustainability or regeneration strategies have mainly focused on the man-made built environment, as the concept of ‘sustainability of a city’ originated from the concept of ‘sustainable development,’ and little attention was paid to the natural components and open spaces of the urban structure. In addition to the fact that the concept of ‘sustainable development’ has reached a dead end², urban open spaces are strategically important for the sustainability of our increasingly urbanized society in cities such as Tokyo³. Numerous empirical studies have indicated that the presence of natural assets and components, i.e., open spaces such as green belts, trees, and water in an urban context, contributes to the sustainability of a city in many ways. Urban open spaces not only provide essential environmental functions such as air and water purification, noise reduction, and microclimate

¹ The use of the term ‘open space’ started from the enactment of the Open Spaces Act 1906, which provided a definition of ‘open space’ which referred to, “...land...enclosed or not, on which there are no buildings or of which not more than one twentieth part is covered with buildings, and the whole or remainder of which is laid out as garden or is used for purposes of recreation, or lies waste or unoccupied”. In general, open space indicates undeveloped land or common areas in a planned community reserved for parks, walking paths or other natural uses.

² Christopher S. Sneddon (2000), p.524

³ According to the World Urbanization Prospect, Tokyo has the highest population of any city in the world.

stabilization, but they also provide social and psychological functions that are crucially significant for the sustainability of modern high-density cities and the well-being of residents.

In the light of the above, the aim of the present paper is to verify the condition of urban open spaces in Tokyo, whether to satisfy basic criteria suggested through this study, in terms of creating a sustainable city. This aim is achieved by examining comprehensive conceptual frameworks and the present situation of open-space plans for Tokyo, focusing on central areas in Tokyo. In this manner, where urban open spaces should head for to achieve sustainability of a high-density city will be suggested, by regarding them as providers of social and psychological services that are essential to the quality of human life, which in turn is a key component of sustainability⁴.

2. SUSTAINABILITY

In this section, the concept and characteristics of sustainability are briefly stated. In addition, criteria for sustainability are categorized via a review of recent studies, as criteria for sustainability are needed to make the complexity of sustainability more understandable when evaluating the accomplishments of sustainability in a city. Sustainability is then considered with regard to urban open spaces, and criteria are reselected to evaluate the sustainability of urban open spaces in Tokyo in terms of the criteria identified previously.

2.1 Concept of sustainability

From late in the 20th century, city planning has turned its focus from economic development and industrial progress to environmental sustainability. Especially following the 1987 Brundtland Report and the 1992 Conference of Rio de Janeiro held by UNCED (United Nations Conference on Environment and Development), policies on the environment have considered visions of the future as well as present issues. In here, ‘sustainability’ is a systemic concept, relating to the continuity of economic, social and environmental aspects of human society, as well as the non-human environment. It is intended to be a means of configuring civilization and human activity so that society, its members and its economies are able to meet their needs and express their greatest potential in the present, while preserving biodiversity and natural ecosystems, and planning and acting for the ability to maintain these ideals in a very long term⁵.

The concept of sustainability originated from the idea of sustainable development, which some consider to be closely connected to ‘unceasing development’ and as such should be limited only to the field of development. Ongoing sustainable development is of course essential to complete a city in which to live, work, and play, but the location, composition,

⁴ Prescott-Allen (1991)

⁵ From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

density, and design of new development projects can have an immense and cumulative impact on a city in many negative ways in addition to positive impacts; consequently, some people prefer to use the term sustainability as an umbrella term. The term sustainability can also be defined as a focus on environmental protection in order to achieve well-being and the enjoyment of a high quality of life. Despite these differences in definition, the following common principles are embedded in the concept of achieving sustainability and sustainable development⁶: dealing cautiously with risk, uncertainty, and irreversibility; ensuring appropriate valuation, appreciation, and restoration of nature; integration of environmental, social, and economic goals in policies and activities; equal opportunity and community participation/sustainable community; conservation of biodiversity and ecological integrity; ensuring inter-generational equity; recognizing the global dimension to our lives; a commitment to best practice; no net loss of human capital or natural capital; the principle of continuous improvement; and the need for good governance.

2.2 Criteria for sustainability

To date, city developers and their consultants have endeavored to determine the adequate sustainability criteria to ensure that development projects are sustainable; however, following the establishment of the 1992 Local Agenda 21, there have been increasing problems associated with the opinion that the sustainability metric and established criteria do not consider sufficiently diverse opinions, do not consider fundamental functions, and are subdivided into too many indices⁷.

In addition, in response to consultations on Local Agenda 21 or government guidelines, cities have already been developing their own sustainability criteria to evaluate quality of life. For example, the Japanese Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport established principles for river water in March 2006 to preserve the natural environment and maintain human living conditions. However, there are some criteria that need to be assessed with considerable forethought when developing sustainability principles for individual cities, as the principles should be appropriate for the unique circumstances of each city and current ideas and situations. In the present study, criteria of sustainability are outlined in Table 1; these were derived from a number of previously published sets of sustainability criteria⁸ and reorganized into nine items.

Table 1 Sustainability criteria

9 Sustainability criteria	
<i>Community participation</i>	- Encourage local action and decision making - Involve your community in developing the proposal - Take into account under-represented groups
<i>Economy and work</i>	- Link local production with local consumption

⁶ Hargroves K. and M. Smith (2005)

⁷ For examples, 134 indices of DSR model by CDS, 218 indices of DSR model by Dutch government, and 60 indices of PSR model by OECD.

⁸ Richard E. Saunier (1999), for examples, the Wingspread Principles, British Columbia's Principles for Sustainability, the Habitat Agenda Principles, UNs' World Commission on Environment and Development Principles of Sustainability, etc.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase employment/vocational training opportunities - Improve environmental awareness of local business
<i>Transport</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Encourage walking or cycling - Encourage use of public transport - Discourage use of cars/lorries
<i>Pollution</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reduce/prevent pollution
<i>Energy</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Maximize energy efficiency - Generate energy from renewable sources or waste
<i>Waste and Resources</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reduce waste and/or maximize resource use - Encourage reuse and/or repair - Encourage recycling or use of recycled products
<i>Building and Land Use</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Provide local amenities - Improve access for disabled - Reuse/conservate buildings
<i>Wildlife and Open Spaces</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Encourage use of open spaces for community benefit - Encourage natural plant and animal life
<i>Integration</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Seek to combine the social, economic and environmental - Seek to integrate the efforts of partners involved

2.3 Urban open spaces for sustainability

As stated above, economic and ecological factors have always been paramount in defining sustainability, but recent trends have seen an emphasis on criteria related to human and cultural aspects such as quality of life and landscape aesthetics in terms of achieving sustainable city. As significant components of a sustainable city, factors related to urban open spaces-amount of open spaces per resident, number, distribution, accessibility, and system of open spaces-are often discussed because urban open space can act as a provider of social services that are essential to the quality of life, which in turn is eventually the key factor of sustainability⁹. Many previous studies have reported that urban open spaces satisfy the substantial and spiritual human need for nature, as well as the fact that people who encounter nature in the city experience positive feelings such as freedom, unity with nature, and happiness. For example, Renema et al. (1999) found that people visited urban open spaces to relax, experience nature, and escape from the stressful city life. Bishop et al. (2001) suggested that green spaces in a city played an important role in helping residents and visitors to escape temporarily from crowded streets and buildings. Klijn et al. (2000) also recognized that freedom and silence are central values in the way that urban residents appreciate nature. Namely, these studies identified open space as an important factor for sustainability through investigating its physical characteristics in common.

Accordingly, sustainability indicators for a city should include more parameters and indices related to urban open spaces as stated above, and should reflect residents' preferences and satisfaction concerning their city environment. This can be taken into account by managing urban open spaces in various ways, so as to fulfill the needs and expectations of all the residents. To this end, relevant topics on urban open space are considered in the next section.

⁹ Prescott-Allen (1991)

3. URBAN OPEN-SPACE PLAN

3.1 The meaning of urban open spaces: social and psychological perspectives

In his 1999 Urban Task Force Report, Lord Rogers said, “to achieve urban integration means thinking of urban open space not as an isolated unit - be it a street, park or square - but as a vital part of urban landscape with its own specific set of functions. Public space should be conceived of as an outdoor room within a neighborhood, somewhere to relax, and enjoy the urban experience, an venue for a range of different activities, from outdoor eating to street entertainment; from sport and play areas to a venue for civic or political functions; and most importantly of all a place for walking or sitting-out. Public spaces work best when they establish a direct relationship between the space and the people who live and work around it.” Namely, he emphasized aspects of the urban open-space network as *social* space. Given that humans are social animals that crave real contact with each other and with nature, urban open space will always be used as a place with significant meaning within which to meet with people and nature.

To access some form of nature, open space, is clearly a fundamental necessity and a critical part of life. Numerous studies and experiments have emphasized the *psychological* benefits of gaining access to nature in the city. Failure to provide such natural relief within the urban environment can lead to substantial health costs in the long term. In addition, urban open spaces have been depicted as places for both “meeting of strangers¹⁰,” and finding “privacy” in the busy and dense city, thus providing residents with *psychological* stability.

While much less attention is paid to open spaces than to the built environment in most cities (including Tokyo), an increasing number of studies indicate that the presence of open spaces in a city contributes to the quality of life in various ways, as mentioned above. In addition to many environmental and ecological functions, urban open space provides important social and psychological benefits to human societies as a place to meet strangers and escape crowds, thereby playing an important role in the existence of the city, especially in the case of high-density city. In other words, urban open spaces are socially and psychologically essential for the well-being of citizens and the sustainability of the entire city within which they live. Therefore, for encouraging these social and psychological functions of open spaces for community benefit, we should support the development conditions of open space to reach at a certain level.

3.2 Urban open-space plan for Tokyo

To understand the nature of open-space plans and regulations for Tokyo from a perspective of sustainability, we now briefly address the features, historical evolution, present situation, and vision of the open-space plan for Tokyo.

¹⁰ Ward Thompson (1998)

Above all, the most important feature of the open-space system in Tokyo is the emphasis on sustainable safety: protecting the city from natural disasters. Because there have been several large fires in the past following major earthquakes, Tokyo has developed its open-space plans to prevent the spread of fires and to provide amenities for its citizens.

In terms of the historical evolution of open-space planning in Tokyo, we recognize four stages: (1) the period from 1923 to the 1950s when the open-space system was introduced as a disaster-prevention measure and large parks were constructed and connected to major roads as part of the reconstruction plan following the Kanto Big Earthquake; (2) the period following World War II (1950s and 1960s) when planning for the open-space system occurred as a reconstruction project and a green belt was designated along the fringes of Tokyo to prevent urban sprawl; (3) the period 1995-2002 when planning of the open-space system functioned as a reconstruction project following the large Hanshin-Awaji earthquake and diverse reconstruction projects were implemented, including various community parks intended to mitigate damage during natural disasters, and the introduction of streams to the open-space plan; (4) the period of revitalizing the open-space system, creating the Safe Living Environment Zone, and reinforcing the metropolitan park system, including the area of the Imperial Palace, the waterfront area along Tokyo Bay, and riverside areas. In particular, revision of Japan's Urban Green Spaces Conservation Law in 1994, enabled municipalities to draw up master plans for parks and open spaces, although the amount of open space per resident in Tokyo is only 5.42 m², far less than that in other international cities.

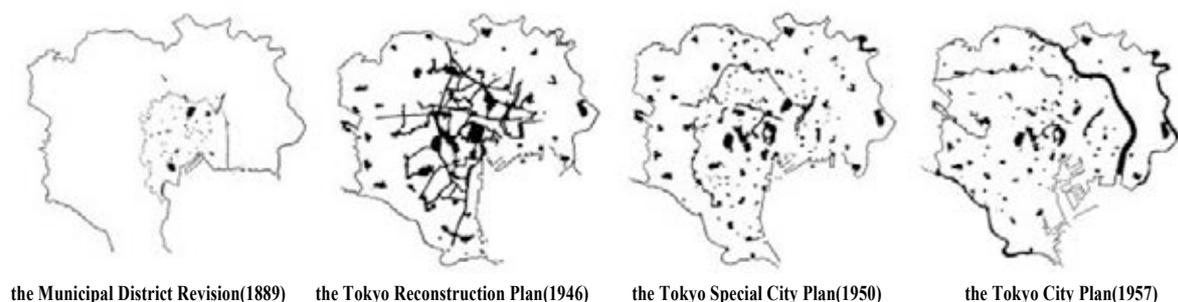


Figure 1 Transition of distribution of open spaces in Tokyo

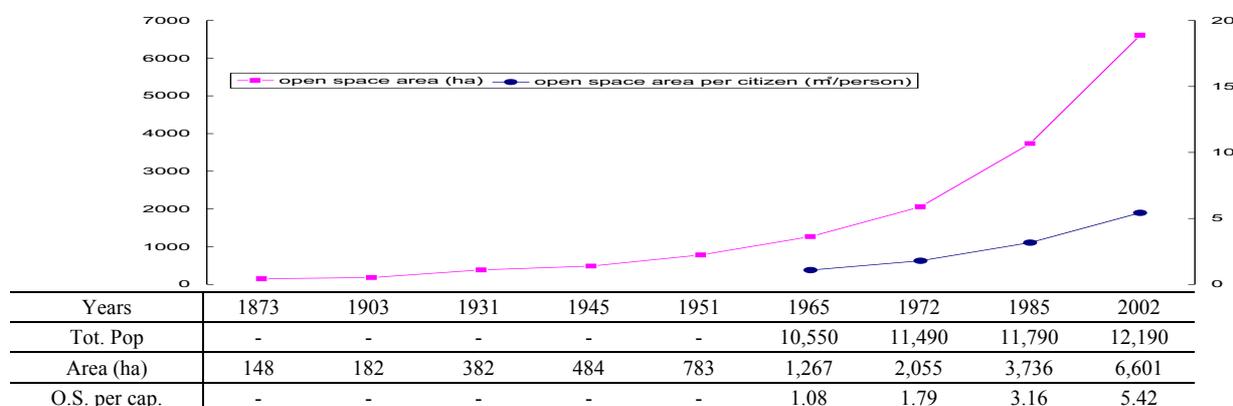


Figure 2 Increase of open spaces in Tokyo¹¹

¹¹ 日本の都市公園 (2005), p.191

In terms of the present status of the open-space system in Tokyo, a zoning system is currently being implemented, whereby green area¹² is maintained in the form of public facilities such as parks, green belts, forest, and agricultural areas. As of April 2000, the 23 wards of Tokyo contained 2,907 ha of parks and 2,886 ha of green areas, while the rest of Tokyo (Tama and Islands regions) contained 2,445 ha of parks and 2,209 ha of green areas. Therefore, the total area of public parks and green spaces in Tokyo is 10,473 ha, with nine public cemeteries covering an additional 429 ha. The urban planning system for regional green areas designates scenic beauty districts, green zone conservation districts (Urban Green Zone Conservation Law), productive green zone districts (Productive Green Zone Law), and national capital suburban green zone conservation districts (designated by the government).

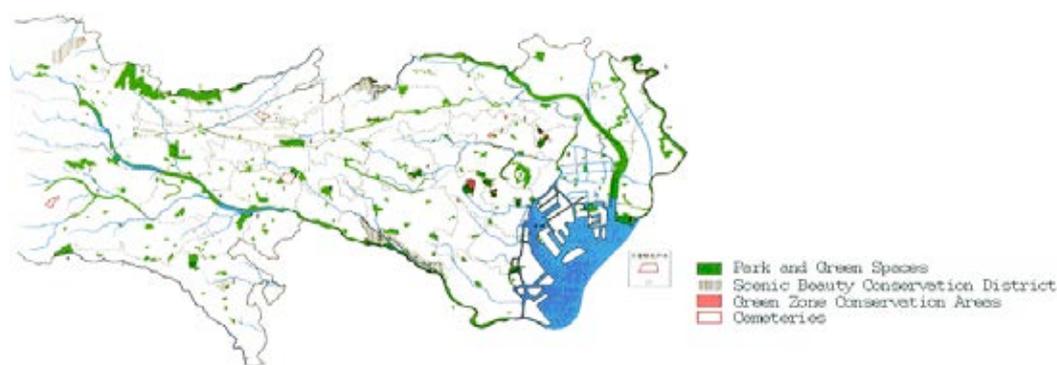


Figure 3 Distribution of open spaces in Tokyo

Table 2 Conditions of open spaces in Tokyo

Contents		Number			Area(ha)			Per(%)
		23 wards	the rests	Total	23 wards	the rests	Total	
Basic parks for community use	City block parks	2,832	2,171	5,003	493.96	339.14	833.10	17.2
	Neighborhood parks	99	148	247	176.51	264.19	440.70	9.1
	Community parks	19	16	35	100.60	86.26	186.86	3.8
Basic parks for city wide use	Comprehensive parks	38	21	59	541.78	228.07	769.85	15.9
	Sport parks	25	20	45	239.68	157.06	396.74	8.2
Specific parks	Landscape parks	33	14	47	235.50	79.24	314.74	6.5
	Zoos and botanic gardens	3	4	7	1.94	146.74	148.68	3.0
	Historic parks	14	4	18	111.02	7.09	118.11	2.4
	Cemeteries	4	4	8	54.23	258.90	313.13	6.4
Large scaled parks	Regional parks	2	5	7	104.31	263.00	367.31	7.5
	Recreation parks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
National parks		-	1	1	-	137.70	137.70	2.8
Buffer greenbelt		1	2	3	0.25	2.67	2.92	0.1
City greenbelt		293	327	620	296.21	444.86	741.07	15.3
Forests		2	3	5	0.21	1.11	1.32	0.1
Plazas		4	8	12	0.72	7.94	8.66	0.2
Greenways		47	28	75	38.90	33.58	72.48	1.5
Total		3,416	2,776	6,192	2,395.82	2,457.55	4,853.37	100.0

Mar. 31. 2001

¹² As city facilities, includes parks, green areas, open areas, and cemeteries.

There are three types of city parks in Tokyo in terms of the development process: (1) planned parks created as urban facilities with consideration of the scale and type of park; (2) memorial parks established to commemorate national events or preserve natural and cultural heritage; (3) and public spaces developed from vacant areas donated to the city by the Imperial Household, the repossession of leased land, landfill, and the utilization of riverbeds.



Figure 4 Hibiya park



Figure 5 Miyamoto park



Figure 6 Tsukitikawa park



Figure 7 Hamamachi park



Figure 8 Shiba park



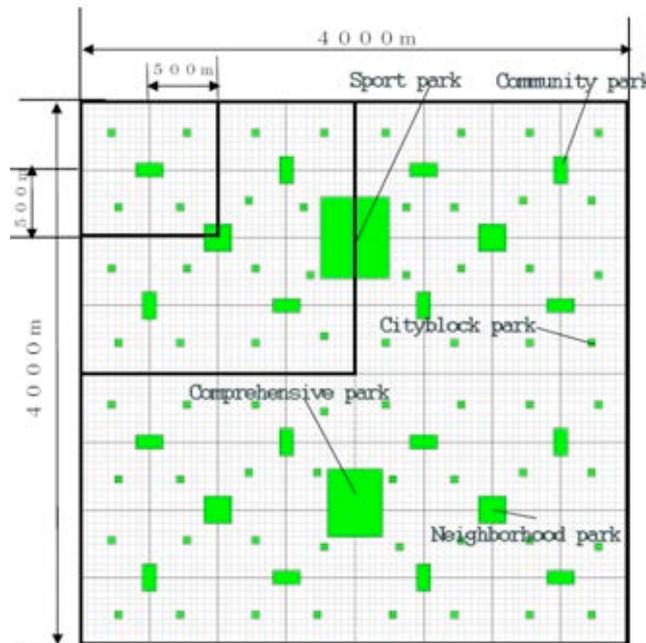
Figure 9 Waseda park

Finally, to enrich open spaces within the overall urban structure, the government of Tokyo announced "The Green Tokyo Plan" in December 2000. The target size for such open spaces is 12.9 m² per citizen in the ward area and 21.9 m² in the Tama area. The target percentage of open spaces plus regional green areas is generally 20% in the ward area and 48% in the Tama area. This plan also defines Tokyo in 2050 as the "dignified city Tokyo with a network of water and green" and states policies to be implemented by 2025 to achieve this vision of Tokyo from the following five viewpoints: an urban environment protected by greenery; a disaster-resistant city, supported by green; the lure of Tokyo created by green; a green habitat for living creatures; and Tokyo citizens are to perform the main role in generating green.

3.3 Plan for the distribution of urban open space

The distribution plan of Tokyo's open space reviewed with reference to relevant literature¹³ is as below. Factors to be considered are the number and location of open spaces and accessibility to these sites.

- City block park(2500 m²): one in every 500 X 500 m area
- Community park(2 ha): one in every 1000 X 1000 m area
- Neighborhood park(4 ha): one in every 2000 X 2000 m area
- Comprehensive park(20 ha), Sports park(30 ha): one in every administrative district
- One administrative district is assumed to be 4000 X 4000 m in size (16 km².)



City block park: 16 ha (0.25 ha X 64)
 Community park: 32 ha (2 ha X 16)
 Neighborhood park: 16 ha (4 ha X 4)
 Comprehensive park: 20 ha
 Sports park: 30 ha

Total: 114 ha (7.125 m²/resident)

Regional park: 1 m²/resident
 Specific park: 1 m²/resident
 Green belt: 3 m²/resident

Total: 5 m²/resident

Total Area = 1600 ha
 Open space Area = 194 ha
 Population = 160,000
 Density = 10,000 / km²

4. APPLICATION TO THE STUDY AREA

A study area was selected which was the most representative area of the densely populated Tokyo and therefore significant to maintain adequate open space plan within the framework of the sustainable city environment. The study area comprises Chiyoda ward, Chuo ward, Minato ward, and Shinjuku ward within central Tokyo. While collecting data on open spaces in the study area, the physical conditions of open spaces were examined, including site density, location, and accessibility. We consulted maps and photographs and assessed whether the open spaces satisfy sustainability conditions.

The total amount of open space in Tokyo's four central wards totals approximately 1,100 ha, and the amount and types of major open spaces is respectively 590 ha, and divided into six categories, including the Imperial Palace, Akasaka Palace, the grounds of the State Guesthouse, Aoyama Cemetery, etc. (Table 3).

¹³ 東京都市整備局 (Bureau of Urban Development, Tokyo Metropolitan Government)



Figure 10 Location of the study area

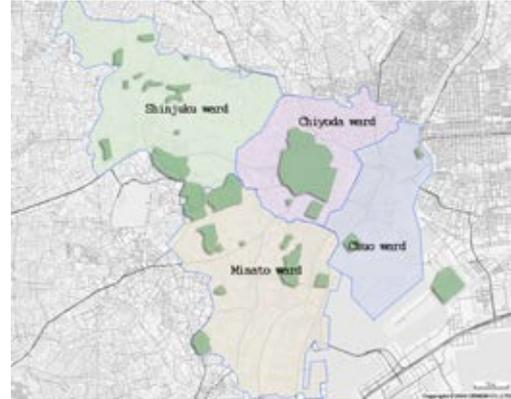


Figure 11 Open spaces in the study area

Table 3 Area of major open spaces in the study area

Open spaces		Area(ha)	Open spaces		Area(ha)	
City parks	Municipal parks	Hibiya Park	16.2	Other parks	Kokyo Higashi Garden	20.7
		Hamarikyu Garden	25.0		Kokyo Garden	95.6
		Shiba Park	12.3		Kitanomaru Park	19.3
		Kyu-Shibarikyu Garden	4.3		Chidorigafuchi Nat'l Cemetery Park	1.6
		Daiba Park	3.0		Kokkaimae Garden	5.5
		Aoyama Park	3.8		Nat'l Park for Nature Study	19.9
		Toyama Park	18.7		Shinjuku Garden	38.4
		Meiji Park	2.9		Meiji Jingu	27.3
		Sotobori Park	3.9		Cemeteries	Aoyama Cemetery
	Major ward parks	Chidorigafuchi Park	1.6	Green space	Imperial Palace	115.0
		Hamacho Park	4.5		Akasaka Detached Palace	50.9
		Arisugawanomiya Park	6.7		State Guesthouse	11.7
		Shinjuku Central Park	8.8	Others		37.4
		Otomeyama Park	1.5			
		Kansenen Park	1.4			
	Total					584.3

Table 4 Names of open spaces in the study area in each ward (in Japanese)

Chiyoda ward (61 places)	Chuo ward (85 places)
<p><23 city block parks>・北の丸公園・九段坂公園・千鳥ヶ淵公園・東郷元帥記念公園・清水谷公園・仲よし公園・外濠公園・宮本公園・芳林公園・練成公園・都立日比谷公園・和田倉噴水公園・三宅坂小公園・和泉公園・佐久間公園・秋葉原公園・内神田尾嶋公園・神田橋公園・常盤橋公園・淡路公園・錦華公園・西神田公園・神保町愛全公園 <25 city block parks for children>・心法寺児童遊園・五番町児童遊園・飯田橋児童遊園・富士見児童公園・堀留南児童遊園・堀留北児童遊園・三崎町児童遊園・錦三会児童遊園・神三児童遊園・組橋児童遊園・中坂児童遊園・いずみ児童遊園・左衛門橋北児童遊園・左衛門橋南児童遊園・美倉橋東児童遊園・美倉橋西児童遊園・美倉橋北児童遊園・和泉橋南東児童遊園・和泉橋南西児童遊園・佐久間橋児童遊園・柳森神社児童遊園・お玉が池児童遊園・岩本町二丁目児童遊園・地藏橋東児童遊園・鎌倉児童遊園・神田児童公園 <8 small plazas>・隼町広場・四ツ谷駅前広場・岩本町馬の水飲み広場・淡路広場・昌平橋西橋詰広場・昌平橋東橋詰広場・小川広場 <1 green way>・千鳥ヶ淵緑道 <4 other parks>・皇居東御苑・皇居外苑・国会前北庭・国会前南庭</p>	<p><41 city block parks>・築地川亀井橋公園・築地川祝橋公園・築地川銀座公園・築地川采女橋公園・築地川千代橋公園・はとば公園・あかつき公園・あかつき公園・湊公園・築地川公園・明石町河岸公園・常盤(橋)公園・地藏橋公園・十思公園・箱崎川第一公園・坂本町公園・久安橋公園・楓川宝橋公園・楓川弾正橋公園・千代田公園・浜町公園・あやめ第一公園・あやめ第二公園・中州公園・蛸殻町公園・箱崎川第二公園・箱崎公園・新川公園・桜川屋上公園・佃公園・石川島公園・新月島公園・晴海第一公園・晴海第二公園・春海橋公園・晴海第三公園・都立晴海ふ頭公園・黎明橋公園・楓川新富橋公園・京橋公園・水谷橋公園・数寄屋橋公園 <41 city block parks for children>・明石児童公園・湊第2児童遊園・湊第1児童遊園・南高橋南西児童遊園・地藏橋南東児童遊園・龍閑児童遊園・東日本橋児童遊園・久松児童公園・堀留児童公園・小網町児童遊園・茅場橋際北児童遊園・茅場橋際南児童遊園・霊岸橋児童遊園・新亀島橋北西児童遊園・新亀島橋南西児童遊園・西八丁堀児童遊園・左衛門橋南東児童遊園・両国橋際児童遊園・越前堀児童公園・高橋北東児童遊園・高橋南東児童遊園・鉄砲洲児童公園・佃児童遊園・佃三丁目児童遊園・月島二丁目児童遊園・月島駅前児童遊園・月島第一児童公園・月島三丁目児童遊園・月島一丁目児童遊園・わたし児童遊園・月島第二児童遊園・勝どき二丁目児童遊園・新島橋北西児童遊園・新島橋南西児童遊園・勝どき五丁目児童遊園・豊海児童公園・新金橋児童遊園・桜橋南西児童遊園・桜橋南東児童遊園・紺屋橋児童遊園 <1 green way>・月島川みどりの散歩道 <1 sports park>・豊海運動公園 <1 other park>・フィールドアスレチックコース園</p>

Minato ward (136 places)	Shinjuku ward (174 places)
<p><50 city block parks>・桜田公園・南桜公園・氷川公園・塩釜公園・汐留西公園・イタリア公園・都立芝公園・芝給水所公園・青葉公園・都立青山公園・青山公園・筈公園・さくら坂公園・高輪公園・東八ツ山公園・杜の公園・汐の公園・こうなん星の公園・港南公園・本芝公園・芝浦公園・都立台場公園・お台場レインボー公園・埠頭公園・都立お台場海浜公園・都立品川北ふ頭公園・新浜公園・浜崎公園・都立竹芝ふ頭公園・高浜公園・芝浦中央公園(運動場地区)・芝浦中央公園(本園地区)・三田台公園・亀塚公園・飯倉公園・網代公園・新広尾公園・一の橋公園・乃木公園・高橋是清翁記念公園・一ツ木公園・六本木西公園・都立青山公園・三河台公園・檜町公園・有栖川宮記念公園・狸穴公園・横川省三記念公園・本村公園・白金公園</p> <p><58 city block parks for children>・西久保巴町児童遊園・虎ノ門三丁目児童遊園・北青山一丁目児童遊園・北青山三丁目児童遊園・青山五丁目児童遊園・南青山三丁目児童遊園・南青山四丁目児童遊園・筈児童遊園・西麻布二丁目児童遊園・南青山六丁目児童遊園・白金児童遊園・高輪南町児童遊園・船路橋児童遊園・浜松町四丁目児童遊園・金杉橋児童遊園・芝大門二丁目児童遊園・芝新堀町児童遊園・芝園児童遊園・末広橋児童遊園・南浜町児童遊園・車町児童遊園・芝五丁目児童遊園・三田児童遊園・三田二丁目児童遊園・豊岡第二児童遊園・豊岡町児童遊園・三田松坂児童遊園・古川橋児童遊園・白台児童遊園・白金台四丁目児童遊園・四の橋通児童遊園・白金一丁目児童遊園・白金志田町児童遊園・高輪一丁目児童遊園・松ヶ丘児童遊園・高松児童遊園・二本榎児童遊園・泉岳寺前児童遊園・奥三光児童遊園・雷神山児童遊園・三光児童遊園・日島町児童遊園・絶江児童遊園・南麻布二丁目児童遊園・南麻布一丁目児童遊園・三田綱町児童遊園・松本町児童遊園・東麻布児童遊園・飯倉雁木坂児童遊園・中ノ橋児童遊園・三田小山町児童遊園・六本木三丁目児童遊園・六本木坂上児童遊園・一ツ木児童遊園・広尾児童遊園・宮村児童遊園・桑田記念児童遊園・南一児童遊園</p> <p><18 green ways>・赤坂榎町緑地・御成門緑地・南青山三丁目緑地・牛坂緑地・西麻布四丁目緑地・元麻布三丁目緑地・六本木六丁目緑地・高浜運河沿緑地・金杉濱町緑地・芝浦運河沿緑地・新芝運河沿緑地・新芝南運河沿緑地・魚らん坂下緑地・トリニティー芝浦緑地・芝浦四丁目緑地・芝浦西運河沿緑地・白金二丁目緑地・薬園坂緑地</p> <p><10 small plazas>・久国神社遊び場・氷川神社遊び場・高輪台遊び場・森の遊び場・港南3丁目2遊び場・白金台三丁目遊び場・瑞聖寺前遊び場・白高児童遊園補充仮設広場・承教寺前遊び場・永坂上遊び場</p>	<p><93 city block parks>・大久保公園・西大久保公園・小泉八雲記念公園・百二公園・大東橋公園・神田上水公園・中落合公園・清水川橋公園・まつ川公園・甘泉園公園・大日坂公園・東五軒公園・新小川公園・つくど公園・寺内公園・白銀公園・榎町公園・早稲田公園・荒井山公園・宮田橋公園・諏訪公園・諏訪の森公園・鶴巻南公園・漱石公園・矢来公園・若宮公園・中町公園・山伏公園・南榎公園・牛込弁天公園・原町公園・八幡公園・落合中央公園・小滝公園・北柏木公園・北新宿公園・きたしん公園・蜀江坂公園・角筈公園・西落合北公園・葛ヶ谷公園・西落合東公園・西落合公園・上落合西公園・上落合公園・大久保三角公園・都立戸山公園・都立戸山公園・大久保北公園・戸塚公園・藤兵衛公園・高田馬場公園・西戸山公園・西戸山公園・百人町ふれあい公園・戸山東公園・加賀公園・納戸町公園・仲之公園・住吉公園・抜弁天北公園・佐伯公園・下落合公園・下落合東公園・おとめ山公園・西坂第二公園・かば公園・四谷見附公園・若葉東公園・三栄公園・みなもと町公園・荒木公園・東大久保公園・新宿遊歩道公園・歌舞伎町公園・下落野鳥の森公園・中井東公園・落合公園・柏木公園・台町すみれ公園・新宿中央公園・新宿公園・花園東公園・花園西公園・花園公園・愛住公園・左門公園・須賀公園・若葉公園・もとまち公園・大京公園・西坂公園・都立明治公園</p> <p><58 city block parks for children>・つつじの里児童遊園・西早稲田児童遊園・やまぶき児童遊園・さくら児童遊園・あかぎ児童遊園・みずき児童遊園・みやた児童遊園・高田馬場第二児童遊園・しらかい児童遊園・早稲田南町児童遊園・あさひ児童遊園・しんかい児童遊園・すえひろ児童遊園・さつき児童遊園・なるこ児童遊園・よどばし児童遊園・はごろも児童遊園・十二社児童遊園・こぼと児童遊園・ひばり児童遊園・あかね児童遊園・つづみ児童遊園・みなか児童遊園・おおぎり児童遊園・西大久保児童遊園・高田馬場西児童遊園・みどり児童遊園・わかまつ児童遊園・水野原児童遊園・なんど児童遊園・若葉児童公園・市谷八幡児童遊園・榎箕児童遊園・津の守坂児童遊園・みずも児童遊園・かわだ児童遊園・余丁東児童遊園・東大久保児童遊園・やよい児童遊園・みつば児童遊園・中落合西児童遊園・みなみ児童遊園・よつや児童遊園・あらき児童遊園・西富久児童遊園・中富久児童遊園・余丁町児童遊園・富久町児童遊園・天神山児童遊園・けやき児童遊園・大木戸児童遊園・みょうが坂児童遊園・新左門児童遊園・信濃町児童遊園・出羽坂児童遊園・かすみ児童遊園・大番児童遊園・内藤児童遊園</p> <p><6 small plazas>・筑土八幡町遊び場・西落合遊歩道遊び場・聖母病院脇遊び場・須賀町遊び場・大京町遊び場・富久町遊び場</p> <p><16 pocket parks>・百人町三丁目ポケットパーク1・2・3・4・5・6・7・8・9・10・11・12・13・14・15・16</p> <p><1 other park>・せせらぎの里</p>

Table 5 Conditions of open spaces in the study area

City	General conditions			Open space conditions			Other features
	Area(km ²)	Population ¹⁴	Density (people/km ²)	Open space area(m ²)	Open space area ¹⁵ per citizen(m ²)	Open space rate(%)	
Chiyoda	11.64	855,000	73,453	2,211,600	2.50	19.1	-Mainly large-scale open spaces with few small-scale open spaces
Chou	10.06	648,000	64,413	905,400	1.40	9.1	-Green spaces are unevenly distributed throughout the ward. -There are insufficient open spaces with easy access..
Minato	20.34	838,000	41,199	4,474,800	5.34	22.3	-Target open-space rate by 2010: 30% -Green areas are unevenly distributed (concentrated at the specific region.)
Shinjuku	18.23	799,000	43,828	3,463,700	4.34	19.8	-Green areas are poorly distributed (concentrated at the specific region.)
Total	60.27	3,140,000	52,098	11,055,500	3.52	18.3	-The average open space area is 9,338 m ² . -The average grid of city blocks is 1,000 m ² .
Manhattan	61.39	3,389,200	55,207	15,715,840	4.70	25.6	-The average open space area is 339,690 m ² . -The average grid of city blocks is 11,700 m ² .

¹⁴ In the present paper, the term ‘population’ indicates the ‘daytime population’, not the resident population.

¹⁵ ‘Open space area per citizen’ means the area of open space for the daytime population who use open place practically.

For structural comparison, one of the high-density cities, Manhattan¹⁶ was selected because Tokyo's four central wards (Chiyoda, Chuo, Minato, and Shinjuku) occupied roughly the same land area as the island of Manhattan (approximately 6000 ha.) Also, both have daytime populations around 3 million, although the nighttime population of the four wards is around 500,000, about 1/3 that of Manhattan's. In terms of open space conditions, however, Manhattan's total open space area covers 1,571 ha which is almost time-and-a-half as much as the 1,105 ha of open space in Tokyo's four central wards. Also, the study area has lower open space area per citizen (3.52 m² to 4.70 m²), and lower open space rate (18.3% to 25.6%) than Manhattan.



Figure 122 Open spaces in Manhattan

In terms of the accessibility to open space of the four central wards, the average distance to the nearest subway station is approximately 340 m, which can be reached in 2-3 minutes, even though few of them have bus stations close by. Also, about the distribution of open spaces in the study area, the average distance to the nearest open space, that is, adjacent nature, parks and other facilities, is approximately 630 m, almost satisfying the distribution plan of Tokyo's open space.

In conclusion, open spaces in the four central wards of Tokyo have good accessibilities, because they are distributed within proper distance, and the access to them is supported by the mass transport system that can be easily used by citizen. However, the view to the open spaces from the outside is not secured sufficiently because of crowded buildings and narrow street system of Tokyo, and also, the amount and the rate of open space are numerically insufficient compared to those of Manhattan. To make a sustainable city in the social and psychological view points, the city should have enough open spaces qualitatively as well as quantitatively, which means people should be able to visit open spaces whenever and wherever they want. In the qualitative aspect regarding the accessibility and the distribution, we could recognize through the present study that the open space plan of four central wards in Tokyo was implemented with satisfying social and psychological sustainability, but in the quantitative aspect, still did not have sufficient amounts. Through creating and ensuring more open spaces with enhancing their accessibility, therefore, sustainability of Tokyo in the social and psychological perspectives will be completed.

¹⁶ The sample of open spaces in Manhattan was adopted other than the cases of Paris, or London, because the basic circumstances of the city such as area, population, and characteristics were similar to those of open spaces in Tokyo.

5. CONCLUSION

The availability of open space is an important contributor to sustainability of a city. This study examines a set of present conditions of open spaces in Tokyo, intended to secure improved urban open spaces within the framework of sustainability. A comprehensive check-up for availability of open spaces such as amount and accessibility was performed in this study in order to evaluate the equity of the distribution of and access to open space. As a result, we can learn that Tokyo has good accessibility to its open spaces within proper distance, but the amount of open spaces is still not enough. More open spaces are believed to help the high-density city Tokyo to articulate commonly shared values which, in turn, can serve as reference criteria to envision more sustainable city strategies. In all of this, urban open spaces will continue to serve a central function for a city's sustainability.

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The Microdistrict in China: Past and Present

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Introduction

This paper examines the diachronic changes that the microdistrict schema underwent in China's modernisation process. First used in the 1935 Moscow Plan, the 'microdistrict' (*mikrorayon* in Russian) schema constituted a series of basic principles of spatial organization, including the integration of housing and facilities, optimum service distances and the hierarchical spatial structure (Sawers, 1978; Bater, pp. 109–111). These basic principles of spatial organization were essentially similar to those of the neighbourhood unit, the schema of a planned neighbourhood first articulated by the American social reformer Clarence Perry in the 1920s.

Introduced from the Soviet Union to China in 1956, the microdistrict schema was employed as the basic unit for residential planning in the 1957 preliminary master plan and the rural planning proposals during the people's commune movement in 1958. Planners envisioned that all urban residential districts could be designed and constructed based on the microdistrict schema. Yet despite a few built examples, planners failed to expand the implementation of the schema to a larger scope under socialist planned economy. A characteristic urbanism which integrated production and residence was widely adopted in Maoist China.

Economic reforms since 1978 have created new opportunities for the implementation of the microdistrict planning principles. At the turn of millennium, the microdistrict schema gained new vitality as a national 'community building' (*shequ jianshe*) campaign was launched to establish the residential community as the new basic unit of urban governance.

This paper is divided into three sections. The first is a brief introduction of the neighbourhood unit and the superblock as competing residential paradigms in the early 1950s. The second section discusses the early experiments with the microdistrict since the mid 1950s. The final section seeks to understand the emergence of the microdistrict as a norm for residential planning and its new roles in the reform era. The study demonstrates that the microdistrict schema has been through intercultural appropriations, episodic transformations and successive discursive conversions within the specific historical context of Chinese modernity. The paper concludes that the microdistrict schema is far more than another instance of uniform technologies of homogenization. Instead, it has been variously localized into modernisation programs in new times and places.

The Neighbourhood Unit and the Superblock: A Prehistory

The neighbourhood has long been the basic spatial unit to organize cities and towns. In ancient China, a normative principle of urban planning which organized the city into separate wards had been established since Zhou times (c. the eleventh century BC to 256 BC) (Wheatley, 1971; Yang, 1993; Heng, 1999). The medieval European town consisted of autonomous quarters, each with its own centre and market (Mumford, 1961). The new scale of industrial production, however, severed intimate human associations of the pre-industrial era. Based on an impersonal

spatial system, the modern city supported a new way of life hostile to neighbourliness. By the late nineteenth century, the Western social elite had identified the rehumanization of the modern city as an urgent obligation (Boyer, 1983).

Starting his career in teaching service, Clarence Perry was attached to the Playground and Recreation Association of America in 1909 as its second field officer, whose main responsibility was to investigate the prospects for promoting an extended use of public schools for after-hours social and civic uses (Birtles, 1994, pp. 1–3). Perry gave an illustrated lecture on the ‘socially planned neighbourhood’ idea at a joint meeting of the National Community Centre Association and the American Sociological Society in Washington on 26 December 1923 (Dahir, 1947, p. 24). The concept found its most complete description in Perry’s treatise ‘The neighbourhood unit, a scheme of arrangement for the family-life community’ (Perry, 1929) and gained wide acceptance shortly thereafter.

The neighbourhood unit served to bring together a range of early twentieth-century visions and actions and turn them into tangible design principles. First, clear boundaries determined by wide, arterial streets to control the movement of through traffic past the neighbourhood; second, a primary school within easy walking distance; third, grouped local shops located at the periphery of the neighbourhood; and fourth, neighbourhood parks and playgrounds to comprise about 10 per cent of the whole area (Perry, 1929). The neighbourhood unit represents a design solution that brings together urban functions and social interactions. With schools, shops, parks and community facilities connected with but not bisected by main traffic arteries, residents can find convenience and safety. The provision of community facilities on a manageable scale creates an environment which strengthens neighbourliness and moral bonds.

The neighbourhood unit concept provided the basis for the development of British new towns after World War II, which in turn offered important lessons for other countries around the world (Dahir, 1947; Goss, 1961; Burke, 1971). With the wide international recognition it has received, the neighbourhood unit is arguably a ‘global urban form’ of the twentieth century. Its spread has been characterized by an internationalization of modern planning knowledge, large-scale residential developments, and the rise of welfare society.

One of the earliest residential developments in China, which was based on the neighbourhood unit concept, was developed by Japanese colonial planners in Changchun in 1934.¹ Planner Hideshima Kan classified urban neighbourhoods into different types according to life style, profession, city scale and the distance to urban centre (Li, 1997, p. 228). The neighbourhood unit schema was employed to plan modern ‘new Manchurian’ residential districts, serving the elite class – the Japanese. Each unit consisted of 6,000 residents and 1,500 households in an area of 1.7 square kilometres (*Ibid.*, p. 226). Public facilities were divided into two levels: the first consisted of schools, community centres, clinics, shops, parks, sports fields, police stations and so on, located on the periphery of the central square; the second consisted of kindergartens, sports fields and offices, placed at four different locations according to their optimum service radii. The Shuntian residential district (1934–1941) located near the palace area was the first project built according to these principles. By 1942, it had a population of 16,760 (mostly Japanese) and 3,504 households (Li, 1997, pp. 231–32). Following Japan’s occupation of Datong in 1937, in June 1938 the North Shanxi Autonomous Government began to consult Tokyo University professor Uchida Yoshikazu (also written as Yoshizo) about the expansion of the city as a mining, transport and political centre (Tucher, 1999, p. 153). Uchida and his team incorporated some of the most advanced standards and up-to-date planning concepts in their Datong plan, including the satellite city, the neighbourhood unit and the greenbelt (*Ibid.*, 153–

59). Yet despite the fact that the military occupation provided cheap land and financial investment, most projects in the Datong plan were never realized.

It is unclear how far the Japanese planning experiments influenced the spread of the neighbourhood unit concept in China. After the war, Chinese planners embraced the latest planning techniques to rebuild the nation. Among others, the neighbourhood unit was widely adopted by Chinese planners in the organization of several major cities such as Chongqing (Gordon, 1946; Dong, 1999, pp. 257–59) and Shanghai (Dong, 1999, pp. 209–212; MacPherson, 1998; Wang, 2004). Due to civil unrest and war, neither the Chongqing plan nor the Greater Shanghai Plan was realized. Yet through the proliferating discourses of the neighbourhood unit and other modern planning ideas, a new spatial conceptualization for society was gradually established: one in which planners claimed legitimacy in the name of the welfare of the population. Despite the fact that Republican urbanists consistently expressed frustration with social and economic constraints, their practices provided elements and techniques for later experimentation.

The founding of the People's Republic in 1949 marked a major turning point in urban development, yet there were far more continuities with what had gone before than what one would envisage (Ma and Hanten, 1981). In the field of residential planning, socialist experiments during the transition period (1949–1952) were heavily influenced by developments that had already taken place in the Republican era. As massive construction programme was launched to ease housing shortages, the neighbourhood unit schema was adopted to plan large-scale residential development (Kwok, 1981). The planning of Caoyang New Village in Shanghai is exemplary. Its chief designer, Wang Dingzhen, a graduate of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, learned the neighbourhood unit idea from a booklet published by the Shanghai Public Affairs Bureau in the mid-1940s.² In a 1947 *Construction Review* article, Wang proposed that housing scarcity (*fanghuang*) in post-war Shanghai could be solved by large-scale redevelopment projects (Wang, 1947). He suggested that the adoption of the neighbourhood unit schema could improve housing conditions and the welfare of urban residents. While Wang's proposal was never implemented in the Republican era, the socialist ways of distributing material, financial, and human resources provided an optimum environment for the realization of his ideas.

Built between 1951 and 1953, Caoyang New Village occupied a total area of 94.63 hectares and provided an integrated residential area (Wang, 1956a). While accommodating a larger population than a neighbourhood unit normally would allow, Wang admitted that the village plan followed the basic principles of the neighbourhood unit with some minor adjustments. The plan was divided into three hierarchical levels: neighbourhood, cluster, and village. Each cluster had its own nurseries, kindergartens, and elementary schools. Elementary schools and kindergartens were located within easy walking distance (less than ten minutes) but on independent sites. The village had community facilities such as co-op shops, post offices, cinema theatres, and cultural clubs at the centre, while commercial establishments at the periphery. Bounded by city thoroughfares, the village street system was laid out in a flexible pattern to accommodate the unevenness of the site. Shortly after the completion of Caoyang, four Hudong villages were constructed based on similar principles. Together they provided housing for 20,000 residents.

The neighbourhood unit idea was adopted in Beijing's master plans (Zhang, 2001, pp. 126–127), and several residential districts were built according to the schema. Yet the triumph of the neighbourhood unit was only provisional. Very soon, Soviet influence began to permeate every aspect of Chinese urban reconstruction. During the 1950s, more than 10,000 Russian advisors were invited to assist various modernization programmes in China, and their opinions often

outweighed local objections to key decisions (Spence, 1969, p. 282). In the sphere of residential design, Soviet advisors sought to transplant to China the superblock (*dajiefang*) schema. This consisted of a grouping of four- to six-storey blocks of flats arranged around a quadrangle with public facilities in the centre. The schema stressed symmetrical axes and aesthetically coordinated street façades, which was more directly influenced by the Beaux-Arts concern for formal grandeur than by Marxist theory. During the Stalin era, Soviet planners set their superblock schema against its Western counterpart – the neighbourhood unit – by arguing that unlike the latter, which was isolated in the suburb, the superblock remained ‘the organic component’ of the city and was a most economical approach to urban construction (Wang, 1956, p.2).

As links with the Euro-American world were cut off, theory and practice from the Soviet Union and Eastern European socialist countries was promoted in every way. A large volume of books and articles translated from Russian strongly influenced Chinese professionals. Half of the articles in the 1954 *Journal of Architecture* (*Jianzhu xuebao*), the nation’s most influential journal in the field, were about architecture and urban planning in Russia and Eastern Europe. As the superblock schema was established as the new ‘orthodoxy’, there was a major shift in the connotations of the neighbourhood unit, which was now considered bourgeois in nature and fell into disrepute. In his 1956 article on Caoyang New Village, Wang provoked self-criticism for not including the latest Soviet techniques in planning but adopting the wasteful bourgeois neighbourhood unit idea (*Ibid.*, p.2). During the early 1950s, quite a few residential districts and factory living quarters were designed according to the superblock schema. Famous examples of this included Baiwanzhuan Residential District in Beijing and the living quarter of the No. 1 Automobile Plant in Changchun (Li, 1956; *Huadong gongye jianzhu shejiyuan*, 1955).

Yet Chinese planners soon found that the superblock model was problematic in several aspects: the perimeter layout caused a large number of westward windows, street-facing units suffered from noise and pollution, and it was difficult to achieve cross-ventilation. In a 1956 article on residential planning, architect Wang Ye pointed out that it was unfair to make people live in westward-facing dwellings for no other reason than formalistic concern (Wang, 1956). Meanwhile, the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin died on 5 March 1953; references to him gradually disappeared in various realms (Åman, 1992). Internally, since 1955 the Chinese Communist Party had increasingly put economic emphasis on industrial development. As a result, economy and utility became new priorities in housing construction. The stern layout of the superblock was abandoned and more flexible plans were favoured (Lü, Rowe and Zhang, 2001, pp. 128–130).

Early Experiments with the Microdistrict

After the Chinese planners’ experimentation with the superblock was suspended, some basic principles of the neighbourhood unit concept reappeared, but in a new guise. First used in the 1935 Moscow Plan, the ‘microdistrict’ (*mikrorayon*) was defined as a self-contained residential district with an area of 75–125 acres and a population ranging between 5,000 and 15,000 (Sawers, 1978; Bater, pp. 109–111). Four to five microdistricts, each with a service radius of 300–400 metres, made a residential complex. Although the microdistrict schema articulated a more sophisticated hierarchy and allowed a larger scale, its basic principles of spatial organization (i.e., the integration of housing and facilities, optimum service distances and the hierarchical spatial structure) were essentially similar to those of the neighbourhood unit. During the Stalin era, the use of the microdistrict was supplanted by the superblock schema. After Stalin’s death, as the new Party leader Nikita Khrushchev was determined to set the Soviet

Union on a modified path, the microdistrict idea re-emerged and received wide acceptance almost immediately.

The microdistrict concept was introduced to China in a 1956 article translated from Russian (Tewei'ersikyi, 1956). It was soon employed as the basic unit for residential planning in the 1957 preliminary master plan proposal for Beijing (Sit, 1995, pp. 96–97). Yet the concept did not receive any systematic treatment until the following year. The first issue of the 1958 *Journal of Architecture* featured four articles related to the microdistrict. A detailed introduction of the concept was offered in the article titled 'Planning and construction of an urban residential district' by Luben Taneff (1958), a Bulgarian professor and architect. Taneff explained the rationale and application of the microdistrict as a socialist planning device. He argued that well-organized, self-contained microdistricts could strengthen local-level political participation. Examples from Sofia and other Bulgarian cities were cited to illustrate the microdistrict planning principles. The other three articles were case studies of residential planning in Shanghai and Beijing, in which the term 'microdistrict' received frequent usage without further explanation of the sudden shift in planning discourse (Xu and Fang, 1958; Fu, et al., 1958; Zhao, *et al.*, 1958). In the concluding section of the article on Hudong development in Shanghai by Xu Qingqiu and Fang Renqiu (1958, p. 9), a brief discussion of the neighbourhood unit and the Soviet microdistrict was provided. The authors divided the Soviet model into the superblock type and the neighbourhood group type. The authors acknowledged that the planning principles of the latter, the scheme adopted in their design, were similar to those of the neighbourhood unit. The discussion indicated that the adoption of the microdistrict did not involve essential changes in basic residential planning principles. The transition from the neighbourhood unit to the microdistrict, therefore, was largely a strategic manoeuvre to revive the old practices under a new name.

The microdistrict received frequent discursive usage in the rural planning practices during the people's commune movement launched in August 1958. Concurrent with sweeping institutional changes, designers boldly experimented with commune planning between 1958 and 1960 (chapter 5). Planners believed that peasants could be rehabilitated fundamentally by revolutionizing rural settlements. They proposed a complete reorganization of scattered, small villages into concentrated, large residential clusters (*jumin dian*) according to modern urban and regional planning principles (Pei, Liu and Shen, 1958; Wang and Cheng, 1959; Wu, 1959). The microdistrict planning principles were adapted to plan the commune as a combination of economic activities, civic administration and residence. Proper links between the agricultural field, the industrial area and the residential quarter were stressed, and efforts were made to integrate social facilities and parks. Based on commune planning experiences in northeast China, for example, Wang Shuke and Chen Jingqi (1959) proposed that population size should be between 4,000 and 10,000, based on factors such as population density, geography and production scale. Their article established a number of principles for site selection and development scale, and suggested four types of residential clusters: the central town (3,000–100,000 residents) complete with social, cultural and educational facilities; the satellite residential cluster (10,000–15,000 residents), accommodating major agricultural and industrial production; the specialized residential cluster (3,000–4,000 residents) for small production units such as pastures and orchards; and the work station (300–400 residents) for resting and storage. Wu Luoshan (1959) proposed the establishment of proper links between agricultural land, residential quarters, social services and green spaces. The influence of Ebenezer Howard's garden city idea was evident.

The distribution of residential clusters was based on the optimum distances between central residential clusters and satellite clusters. Similar to the microdistrict, the organization of community facilities within each residential cluster was based on the 'service radii' of the facilities and the number of residents they served (Liaoningsheng jiansheting, 1958). Nurseries, kindergartens, primary schools, social halls, canteens, sports fields and gardens were arranged within easy walking distance. Unlike the microdistrict, which was purely residential, however, the residential cluster was to be a multifunctional unit that integrated industry, agriculture, trade, education and military. The scale and content of commune planning was hence close to those of regional planning. The plan for Xiaozhan Commune in Tianjin is a case in point (Tianjin daxue jianzhuxi, 1958). The commune occupied an area of 2 million *mu* (134,000 hectares), encompassing a population of 60,000 and 19 villages. The commune plan reorganized the population into seven residential clusters. The central residential cluster, situated at the site of the existing town, was the commune's political, economic, cultural, and administrative centre. Regardless of the original locations of existing villages, six residential clusters were placed near the intersection of major highways, each accommodating several neighbourhoods. In the plan for the Southwest Settlement, for example, an 'L' shaped territory was divided into five neighbourhoods, each of which was about 5 acres and consisted of 1,000 residents belonging to two production teams. The per capita land-use standard was set at 40 square metres, slightly higher than that used in the city (35 square metres). One canteen was provided for every 500 residents, two nurseries and one kindergarten for each neighbourhood, and two neighbourhoods shared one primary school. Each residential cluster had a park, a community centre and an industrial district.

Modern neighbourhood planning principals were sometimes adapted to new functional requirements; a target range, for example, was incorporated into many design proposals as peasants were to be organized into commune militias (*Ibid.*). In keeping with the goal of collectivizing rural life, some designers adopted radical standards to weaken the family unit and free women from the drudgery of housework. Families were to be separated and housed in different buildings or apartment units. Except married couples, adults were assigned into dormitory rooms where three to four persons of the same sex shared the same space (Wang *et al.*, 1958). Aged people stayed in retirement homes, and young children boarded at kindergartens or residential schools. All were expected to eat at public canteens. In a housing proposal for Suicheng People's Commune, for example, kitchens and living rooms were abolished from the floor plans, while shared restrooms were provided on each floor (*Ibid.*).

Despite the energy and enthusiasm instilled in countless rural utopias and commune proposals, they remained castles in the air. It soon became apparent that the communes neither increased individual income nor raised the level of satisfaction obtained from working (Lethbridge, 1963, pp. 121–122). The egalitarianism adopted by the commune system resulted in slacking off at work. Meanwhile, in 1960, the Soviet Union not only withdrew its technicians and terminated its aid to China, but also imposed pressure for repayment of debts (Liu and Wu, 1986, p. 265). The combined effects of these factors and agricultural disasters resulted in a severe famine, which claimed millions of lives between 1959 and 1961 (Becker, 1996, pp. 266–274). The leadership, seriously demoralized, considered planning impractical. The state announced at the 1960 national planning meeting that urban planning practice should be suspended for three years (Tongji University *et al.*, 1981, pp. 24–25). Planning departments were dismantled, planners were forced to find jobs in other professions, and universities were forced to eliminate their Departments of Urban Planning (*Ibid.*).

Although the experimentation with rural planning was soon stifled, the microdistrict gradually became a well-established fixture through the discussion of commune plans. The notion was systematically explicated in 1962. Wang Shuoke (1962) summarized Shanghai's residential planning experiences in his article and proposed a three-tier system consisting of the basic living unit, the neighbourhood and the residential microdistrict. A later article by Wang Dingzeng and Xu Chunrong (1962) divided the residential system into four levels: the residential group (300–500 residents), the neighbourhood cluster (2,000–3,000 residents), the microdistrict (8,000–10,000 residents), and the residential district or satellite city (50,000–60,000 residents).

The microdistrict has since been established as a planning norm in China. A few design principles for residential districts were firmly established. First, housing and facilities should be integrated. Second, through traffic should be discouraged. Third, residential grouping should be determined by the 'service radii', the optimum distances between housing and services. Fourth, the levels of hierarchy and the optimum numbers of community facilities should be based on the number of residents they served. Planners envisioned that all urban residential districts could be designed and constructed based on the microdistrict schema. Some microdistricts were built in major cities between 1950s and 1970s (Min, 1993; *'Juzhuqu xiangxi guihua' keti yanjiu zu*, 1985). Yet when planners attempted to expand the implementation of the schema to a larger scope, they encountered tremendous difficulties. Piece-meal development model prevailed under Mao. A characteristic urbanism which integrated production and residence was widely adopted throughout China (Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, 1972).

Under planned economy, most construction funds were distributed through ministries while municipalities received only a small share. The ministries would in turn distribute construction funds to individual work units (the state-run factories or institutes). Despite the fact that only a few work units were planned following the company town model, most work units developed their own housing and services over time. This was because, on one hand, that the work unit was designed as an urban institution that integrated political, economic and social functions so it was encouraged to meet the various needs of its workers (Bray, 2005; Lu, 2006). On the other hand, there was a constant scarcity of urban facilities as the surging increase in labour force was not matched by a corresponding increase in social provision at the municipal level (Lu, 2006). Despite the fact that social provision by the work unit posed a severe liability (e.g., low return on investment and periodic maintenance expense), the political pressures from both employees below and administrators above strongly prompted the work unit to provide the necessary means of consumption (Lu, 2006).

Therefore, although the microdistrict schema was established as the dominant residential planning paradigm since the late 1950s, in effect piece-meal development of the compact variant of the company town model prevailed under Mao. While the site planning of a new work unit was conducted by professionals, the subsequent development was often planned by the work unit's own Department of Basic Construction (*jijian ke*). Beginning with essential production structures and dormitories for single workers, the work unit grew as the enterprise matured. In the early years, a few basic living facilities were built: apartment buildings, canteens, boiler rooms, public bathhouses and nurseries. Depending on the availability of construction funds and land, the work unit might gradually build more apartments and other supporting structures such as guesthouses and primary schools. Rather than being built in a detached area, housing and facilities often occupied space adjacent to workplace. In this way, the work unit gradually grew into a semiautonomous entity with work, habitation and service integrated in close spatial proximity. By 1989, work units owned 90 per cent of urban public housing, while only 10 per

cent was controlled by the municipal government (*Zhongguo chengshi jianshe nianjian*, 1989). As different work units provided different levels of services and mostly for the exclusive use of their own employees, the result was an uneven and fragmented welfare system.

The Microdistrict in the Reform Era

The shift from planned to market economy since 1978 has created new opportunities for the implementation of the microdistrict schema (Yeh and Wu, 1999). With a series of reforms targeting housing commodification, the task of residential development was gradually transferred from the government to private developers (Chen, 1993; Wang, 1995; Wu, 1996). Meanwhile, the central and local planning departments created an arsenal of codes in line with the inherited microdistrict schema to ensure an adequate provision of social facilities in commercial residential developments. Thanks to the unprecedented rate of construction and the planning department's increased power to regulate construction through planning codes, the design principles of the microdistrict schema were for the first time widely implemented. Most commercial residential tracts were planned in conjunction with nurseries, parks, stores and recreational facilities.

Driven by commercial interests and new consumption needs, a number of features were introduced by developers. First, the community clubhouse (*huiguan*), comprising various recreational and dining facilities, was gradually established as a normative component in new residential developments and well received by consumers. Second, many services are now undertaken by professional property management companies, which collect service fees from residents. Third, despite the fact that most urban housing in China (including all work-unit owned housing) is enclosed within walled compounds, new commercial housing developments are equipped with more elaborate round-the-clock security systems than older residential areas. The wide implementation of the microdistrict schema, therefore, does not lead to a more open and even urban service system. Instead, enclosed commercial residential tracts reproduced the exclusive feature of the Chinese work units and the 'gated communities' found in other parts of the world (Wu, 2005; Huang, 2005; Blakely and Snyder, 1999). Meanwhile, the term 'new urbanism' is sometimes invoked in marketing the microdistricts, but the original connotations of the term are largely lost in the Chinese context. The post-reform residential developments in major Chinese cities have been dominated by large-scale, high-rise and high-density projects due to the scarcity of urban land, rather than due to the concern for the workable neighbourhood. The microdistrict schema has been the decades-old socialist planning paradigm which is reinforced (rather than reinvented) through planning codes as the dominant model for these large-scale real estate developments. As such, China's urban residential landscape is unfolding according to its inherited blueprint rather than becoming Western.

As income disparity is increasingly widening, housing supply has diversified to meet the needs of different income groups. The microdistricts in the reform era can be broadly classified into three types. First, the residential districts with single-family detached houses, often located in suburban or far suburban areas. Their planning meets the requirements of the microdistrict schema, on one hand, and incorporates some physical features of Western suburban neighbourhoods. Such residential districts often feature high-quality design; both neighbourhood layouts and house floor plans are heavily influenced by Western design. As each house may cost millions, only the most affluent can afford it. Second, the microdistricts developed by private developers for the urban middle class. This is the most common type of residential districts, which may be located in urban or suburban areas, and can be further differentiated in terms of

unit prices and locations. Third, the subsidized microdistricts developed by the state or private developers for the lower middle class, usually located in suburban areas and connected with the city via public transit system. The size of apartment units is relatively small, and the design standards are considerably lower than the second type of the microdistricts.

The microdistrict bears certain similarity with the work unit in terms of overall organization. Like the work unit, it occupies a territory bounded by arterial roads with an internal circulation system designed to discourage through traffic. Within this territory, they both support a variety of community facilities and green areas for the exclusive use of their residents. Yet there are some essential differences between the two. The scale of the work unit is usually smaller than the microdistrict, so social bonds are easy to develop. A microdistrict, in contrast, is much larger than the work unit and often fails to foster neighbourliness. Despite the emphasis on social provision, the microdistrict performs the single function of residential accommodation, while the work unit is essentially a production unit with mixed economic, residential, administrative, welfare and political functions. Consequently, while the work unit is centred on the workplace with the main building on the commanding site, community facilities are given pivotal importance in the layout of the microdistrict. Unlike the work unit, residence in a microdistrict is based on consumption capacity and personal choice rather than work relationship. As its residents come from different backgrounds and do not have many opportunities to form neighbourly bonds, the microdistrict does not provoke the kind of dense network of human relationship fostered by the work unit.

Economic reforms led to the decline of the work unit system and the increased mobility of the population, which created new challenges for urban governance (Wu, 2002; Howell, 2004; Bray, 2005a, chapter 7). An official discourse on ‘community building’ arose in the mid-1990s in response to the changed urban conditions. Under the new initiative, the ‘community’ is conceptualized as a form of grassroots organization with a defined territory. As there are more and more urban residents who move from urban-block-type and work-unit-type to microdistrict-type communities, the microdistrict has emerged as the dominant basic unit of urban governance. Each microdistrict has a Residents’ Committee (*jumin weiyuanhui*), which operates as a mass organization under the Street Office (*jiedao banshichu*), the sub-district urban government. The main function of the Residents’ Committee is to organize a corps of volunteers to perform daily maintenance and security work for the community; each apartment building has a volunteer ‘building leader’, and each building in turn has ‘floor leaders’ or ‘section leaders’ (*Ibid.*). The volunteers help to collect maintenance fees, organize group leisure activities, disseminate official and community notifications and so on.³ Together these volunteers form a seamless network to link residents in individual microdistricts to the local government.

Concluding Remarks

This paper has traced the diachronic changes that the microdistrict schema in China. It shows that some seemingly long-established Chinese norms for residential planning are results of transnational appropriations and successive conversions. In particular, the paper shows that the development of Chinese residential planning was informed by events, sources and inspirations from various parts of the world. It reveals the history of modern planning as a narration of intertwined global and local experiences. The paper also shows that the interpretations and revisions of the schema are often conjunctural and cannot be deduced purely from theoretical principles. Various disruptions such as the commune movement and the reforms were continuously brought into the itinerary of the concept. The microdistrict schema, in the end, is far

more than another sign of globalized repetition; instead, it has been constantly tamed into different programmes of modernization in new times and places.

Notes

1. Although Japan imported many Western planning ideas at the time, there were few opportunities to apply them in Japanese cities due to the land ownership system and weak planning powers. Japanese colonies offered new laboratories for the realization of modern urban plans. See Hein, 2003; Tucher, 1999, chapter 3.
2. Interview with Wang Dingzeng by author, 30 October 2004.
3. Interview with a Beijing resident, 2 February 2005.

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1. The Impact of joining the European Union on the Built Environment in Lithuania
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The Impact of joining the European Union on the Built Environment in Lithuania

Lithuania is the largest of the three Baltic Countries which became a member of the European Union in May 2004. At 65,300sq kms, it is around twice the size of Belgium and consists mainly of fertile lowland areas interspersed with lakes. Its highest point is only 294m. Lithuania is serviced by air, sea and rail and road links. It's port city, Klaipeda, is a major centre of shipbuilding, ship repair and transportation.

From 1940 to 1991, Lithuania was part of the Soviet Union, having been forcibly annexed by Russia in 1940. Like the other soviet Baltic countries, Lithuania was an important source of industry and knowledge, producing a range of electrical goods and providing much needed quality produce to the rest of the soviet dominions. The 3 Baltic countries were considered to have the "high end" industries and products in the Soviet Union, although the quality of these products fell short of western expectations and quality control. The necessity to produce goods for the entire Soviet Union created an interesting dynamic in Lithuania. Factories and collective farms were massive entities, in size and scope well beyond what was required in a normal situation, even considering export potential. The Baltic countries, with a total population of around six million – of which Lithuania has 3 million – were required to produce goods which could be required to reach over 220 million people across the vast expanse of the Soviet Union. Needless to say, even with major installations and full production, goods produced in this way were never enough to sufficiently fill the needs of the union, with products chronically in short supply. What applied to industry also applied to agriculture. Most of Lithuania's farms were collectivised

under the soviet regime, with groups of farms bundled together and with the normal family holdings overtaken by large scale enterprises usually producing one type of product to be distributed amongst the soviet republics. Again in this model, while supply overall fell well short of demand across the whole system, it was far too much for one small country.

The same situation applied to the military. Lithuania is no stranger to occupation by foreign armies, with the penultimate most recent release from Russian rule (in this case, Tsarist Rule) occurring in 1918 with the fall of Imperial Russia, only to be occupied again by the Russians during WWII, ostensibly to protect Lithuania against the German invaders of the time.

Each of these invaders brought with them military manpower and infrastructure designed to maintain the status quo and to subjugate the local population.

In a visual sense each of these factors: industrialisation on a grand scale, collective farming and major military presence has left an imprint on the built environment, and on the challenge of urban renewal in a new Europe.

Other issues such as the rapid growth of the retail sector, desire for foreign companies to enter the market and establish offices, and the need to upgrade transport and communications to the standard expected of a European Union country, also have impacted on urban planning decisions and on the visual landscape of both towns and country.

It is these impacts which I am going to describe and explore in this presentation.

Rapid growth of the Retail Sector

Before independence in 1991, Lithuanian retail reflected its position as a soviet state. Small single purpose shops sold individual goods; butchers; dairy products and

bakeries. “New” suburbs (that is post-second world war and later) usually featured a multi-goods store selling canned or preserved products. Fruit and vegetables were mainly purchased at the markets. Variety was very limited, as stores were supplied on an allocation basis decided from the centre, meaning the whole cities supplies could be limited to a single line, for example, tinned fish in many soviet cities meant “Ryga Sprats”, a type of sardine. Each major city was also served by a sort of department store known as the “Universal Store”. These stores were an amalgam of non-food item stalls such as clothing, footwear, stationery, souvenirs. Again, variety was very limited and presentation basic. Service was all over the counter, with small areas of goods serviced by counter staff. Very few goods were available on open shelves, and often the goods displayed were not actually available for sale, or were, in the example of shoes, actually available only in one style, one colour and one size. Display of goods was not considered to have any purpose except to show what was for sale (or not, depending on supply) and service was at best perfunctory. Fitout of shops was at the most basic level. The one positive aspect of this situation was that heritage buildings utilised for retail purposes were left virtually unchanged.

Fast track to 2005. Retail sales are growing by around 12.5¹ percent, with strong sales of household appliances and building construction materials reflecting the frenzied housing boom in all cities across Lithuania. A series of supermarkets have made their mark. Two chains, Iki and Rimi, are Belgian and French, the third chain, Maxima, is Lithuanian. Euro stores such as Benetton are appearing on the streets of Vilnius. New hotels are appearing across the cities, with a particular preference for modernisation of historic buildings in the city centres to satisfy the demand for centrally based accommodation. So how this impacting on the

landscape? In Vilnius, the capital, the impacts are very obvious in two specific areas, on the banks of the River Neris, and in the historic centre.

On the banks of the Neris River, in an area that before 1945 comprised villages quite separate from Vilnius, a vast new urban area is taking shape. In the first phase, 120 hectares of land was developed, with more to follow according to demand. The Municipality of Vilnius describes it as the biggest urban development in the Baltics; certainly, the commercial and retail space that will be created by 2010 will transform a non-descript area and enhance Vilnius's amenities.

Following on from the expansion of the nearby Akropolis shopping centre, which is now the biggest in the Baltics, in 2004 the Europa Centre opened. The Europa is a state-of-the-art shopping and office development that includes the Baltic's tallest tower block. Sold by Lithuanian developer Hanner to Baltic Property Trust Secura for €37m, it is already the focal point of what will be an €800m urban redevelopment project².

Vilnius's main commercial thoroughfare, Gediminas Prospekt, has attracted substantial investment: there is a new Novotel Hotel and several new shopping centres. A historic building was purchased by the Irish-based Duke House Asset Managers in June 2004 for €13.2m; Gediminas 9 is to be turned into a shopping centre; a further €35.5m is due to be invested before completion in 2006. With an area of 18,000m², Gedimino 9 will be to Vilnius what Bloomingdale's is to New York. And is this all good? Well, not according to town planning experts. The area by the River Neris may have become a shopping and commercial mecca, now easily reached from the main shopping precinct by new pedestrian walkways across the river, but it is also a region of new skyscrapers where building height limits and sightlines appear to have been subsumed by commercial priorities. The only saving

grace, from a planning perspective, is that currently this development is restricted to a virtually greenfields area on the other side of the Neris River to the historic centre and the commercial area on Gediminas Prospekt. Most of this large scale development occurred between 2003 and 2004, when commercial space was expanded by 162,800m²: the office market added 52,800m² and the amount of retail space doubled³. More is to come, with many major investments underway, with projects encouraged by rapidly rising prices for residential, retail and commercial real estate and many new market reforms to encourage investment.

Foreign ownership has been strongly encouraged and supported by easy access to land, to capital and to planning approvals, in a way not conceivable in established economies, but all part of the great desire for “europeanisation” and change in this country.

I mentioned the Novotel Hotel development in Gediminas Prospekt. This exemplifies the sort of current debate between planning professionals and the city developers. Gediminas Prospekt is an aesthetic and balanced mainly 19th century collection of mixed commercial, retail and residential buildings. Building heights are at 3 - 4 stories. The new Novotel site is in the middle of the Prospekt. With its mansard roof and at 7 stories in height, it is not so different from the surrounding buildings, but it's black glass frontage and its central positioning has angered planners. The adaptive reuse of buildings (as planned for Gedimino 9) is preferred to the injection of a plain glass box which looms ever so slightly above its surrounding landscape.

A similar dilemma has occurred in the old town, where retail has had to survive in unaltered buildings of 300 and 400 years. Narrow doors, narrow windows and interiors divided by walls are the norm. Restaurants have adapted easily to the

constraints of these places, indeed, capitalised upon their quaintness, and even opened up the extensive and deep cellar spaces in many of these buildings. However, the story is different for retail, with a push to punch out walls and windows to create an inviting interior from the street, where the retail offering is visible. This change has been of particular concern to locals, who fear the very heritage elements which give the city its Unesco World Heritage Status are being compromised.

Historic buildings are not the only areas being rapidly developed. Whole streets and squares are being reconstructed in a whirlwind of activities – services are being relaid (or laid) as whole streets are pulled up and repaved and landscaped. Gediminas Prospekt is the most obvious area of such renovation.

Upgrade of transport and communication

This sort of street upgrading is part of the overall huge effort to bring Lithuania in to line with other European countries in terms of its transport links. Both the airport and the railway system are clear examples.

Vilnius Airport, although it has been overhauled since soviet times, is still unable to handle large capacity planes, and therefore attracts only feeder planes from hubs at Helsinki, Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Vienna and London. These planes handle loads of approximately 80 passengers. Companies such as the Meridien Villon which has recently opened an international conference centre in Vilnius for 1,800⁴ people, are concerned about airport through flow, as at present the airport cannot handle this number of people simultaneously. This means that the airport must expand. Planning for a new terminal in 2006 expects the airport's capacity to be lifted to 2 million passengers per month, whereas currently the airport can only handle a quarter of this amount.

Lithuania's national railway company Lietuvos Geležinkeliai has recently completed a project that installed a state-of-the-art computerised traffic control system for stations. The new system, which conforms to European standards, has enabled it to improve safety and increase speed of trains along its two international transport corridors, from Kaišadorys, in central Lithuania, and from the northern part of the country, connecting with St. Petersburg and with Warsaw in the south. The new system has also helped the company to cut management costs.

This project is one of a number of redevelopments of the railway network. The main railway stations in Kaunas and Vilnius have completed major refurbishment with new ticketing facilities, and much better access to platforms, as per the highest European standards. Simultaneously, track work and minor stations along the main routes have been overhauled and upgraded, with 169km of outmoded narrow gauge railway suspended except for the transport of agricultural products⁵.

Most of Lithuania's rail track is broad (Russian) gauge, necessitating a change of wheels at the Polish border on international through trains as the gauge changes there from standard to broad – a definitely outmoded practice in today's Europe. As part of the upgrading of the system, railway track from the Polish border to Kaunas in central Lithuania will be replaced with European standard gauge. However, elsewhere broad gauge will remain indefinitely.

There are more than 2000km of railway lines in Lithuania. In 1996, over 29.1 million tons⁶ of freight were carried. Most of this freight comes from Byelorussia, and the Russian Federation with goods transported to and from the ice-free port of Klaipeda. This huge enterprise means that the current rail track will remain as is, except for the passenger link mentioned. Considerable state investments has been allocated for the further development of railway freight transport.

Other infrastructure projects include ports and roads. Sea routes through Klaipeda State Seaport extend the road and rail lines of the east/west corridor to other European seaports. Klaipeda Seaport the only ice-free winter port on the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea, and is able to receive ships up to 200m in length and with a draught of 10.5m.

Every year about 7000 ships enter the port from over 45 countries, and the port handles up to 21 million tons of cargo.

From Klaipeda Seaport there are regular ferry and cargo services to Germany, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Russia, Poland, Great Britain and other countries. The infrastructure of the port is being modernised and expanded, including projects such as the construction of container and bulk-cargo terminals, reconstruction of the facilities for oil products and ferries, improvement of the port entrance infrastructure, dredging of the water territory of the port to a depth of 14m, and reconstruction of the quay walls and development of the port's railways.

As Klaipeda has always been a port of some significance in this region, these changes to the built environment – that ensure future and continuing port uses, have had a limited impact on the cityscape, and indeed have enhanced the landscape by upgrading and improving former soviet facilities. The extensive port area sits across a narrow body of water and faces the Curonian Spit, a narrow spit of land in the Baltic sea which has significant ecological significance, being mainly a national park.

While it is not the scope of this paper to dwell on roadworks, it can be mentioned that part of the upgrading of the road network includes the upgrading of the Via Baltica which connects Finland and the Baltic countries with the road networks of Central and Southern Europe. This is considered a major European Union priority, as it will bind the area's transport network's firmly into EU structures⁷.

The impact of Collective Farming

A major divergence between Western European and Soviet Agricultural policies was the introduction of collective farming. This involved the forcible takeover of numerous farms and villages and the replacement of those with large landholdings often producing a single agricultural product. These landholdings were supported by major production centres for these products. Thus, in theory, if the farm was a dairy cattle farm, it would contain on the farm a barn and milking area for all cows and often, facilities to process dairy products which could then be distributed. Work was carried out by work teams. The impact on the landscape of these farms was firstly, removal of traditional villages often with buildings of historic and heritage merit and small farm holdings, and replacement of these with massive barns or warehouse style structures. These structures were quickly and cheaply constructed of the most basic materials and both in their scale and appearance were out of proportion with the landscape. At the most they can be described as ugly blights. When Lithuania regained independence, there was a massive shift in land ownership, with land reverting to pre-collectivisation original owners. This has caused a major problem; both with the collective farm buildings and with land use. Having stripped use down to one use only, it has been difficult for the new small holdings to survive with a small plot of land. This has resulted in migration away from agricultural pursuits – an action of concern to the EU which strongly protects its primary producers. Today only 31.8% of the population lives in rural areas⁸. This migration has led to a second issue – the abandonment of the buildings used for collective farming. These ugly monoliths are scattered throughout the countryside, and no-one wants to claim them or reuse them. Basically they are not fit for re-use, being too big for small farming;

too poorly constructed to be used for another purpose; and the materials used to construct them also being unsuitable for reuse if the building were to be demolished. In the early period of independence, an attempt was made by some farmers to reuse the bricks used in some farm buildings to build houses. Regrettably, due to the poor quality of the bricks, the smell of the farm (in the case I refer to, the previous use had been a piggery) was so impregnated into the bricks that the new houses were uninhabitable.

The Military Impact

A similar situation has occurred with buildings built and utilised by the Russian military. Some of the buildings used by the soviets had been constructed in Tsarist times, during the previous Russian occupation. The buildings used as military barracks from this era are particularly worthy of note. Built of a typical deep rust coloured rough brick their proportions are classic and simple – rectangular, two story constructions with large arched windows running the length of each side. Regrettably, after independence these fine heritage buildings were looted for materials – whole windows, great wooden beams and heavy wooden doors were pillaged, leaving shells of buildings scattered throughout the country, particularly in areas which were designated critical for defence. The main problem here is that no-one has claimed ownership for these buildings and they are left as they are. Other military impacts on the landscape include sentry boxes and military airfields. During soviet occupation, there was concern that Lithuanians would endeavour to escape along the 90km stretch of Baltic coast. In order to prevent this happening, a number of measures were undertaken, including the construction of numerous sentry boxes in the low sandy pine forests next to the shore. These boxes, while not large were

constructed of massive reinforced concrete. The thickness of the concrete and the sensitivity of the landscape in which they are placed has created a significant headache for the local administrators, who would rather spend limited resources on beautification works in the main tourist area; and indeed, new paving, roadworks, tree planting and street furniture have been the priority in the main seaside resort of Palanga, site of the world's first amber museum and a mecca for Northern European tourists in the summer months.

In terms of heritage preservation, Lithuanians are concerned that they are unable to fund reconstruction and repair of the thousands of heritage buildings (in particular churches and religious buildings) dilapidated by soviet occupation, to bother with repairing the very objects which represent occupation and subjugation. The loser is the built environment, and it will be many years until this is resolved.

The military impact is also visible through the remarkable size of some airfields. Šiauliai, in the north western part of Lithuania, was considered to be of military importance, given it's easy proximity to the coast and to main centres. The road from the Baltic coast at Palanga to Šiauliai was utilised as a secondary airfield, so the road has been reinforced and widened, to allow aircraft to land here. This in itself has not caused significant impact, but the airfield is a conundrum. By far the biggest airfield in Lithuania, it has never been redeveloped for commercial / tourist use, and indeed it is not located close enough to the tourist hubs to be of real use in assisting with the capacity issues which Vilnius Airport is experiencing. At present it is being used by NATO as a base for their activities in Lithuania, and may indeed remain as such.

Soviet Tourism

The soviets were surprisingly enthusiastic about inter-soviet tourism, promoting summer holidays across the union as an essential part of the reward structure of communist life. These holiday places of rest were built in the best locations across the union. These were varied to suit different groups. At the most basic level, camps were built in forests and near the sea for children to experience nature. The structures for this group were mainly of rudimentary cabin style without facilities. Closer to beaches and rivers were built single room “cottages” for tradespeople and factory workers. Again these were similar in style, wooden and without facilities, usually at secondary resort areas. Thus in Lithuania, the most northerly resort, Šventoji, much more down at the heel than its posher neighbour, Palanga, is full of these one room cottages. While these within themselves do not form a visual blight, their positioning is causing a problem for local planning authorities. Following the downfall of the Soviet Union, these cottages were privatised and sold, and those who bought them want to stay there; however, many of them are built right up to the sand dunes on an estuary which authorities want to develop as a secondary port area. At the time of construction this area was not viewed as anything but a “rest area” but with the joining of the EU, the potential of such a site has much broader implications.

Further down the coast, a different problem occurs. In Palanga, recreation accommodation took a different form with individual apartment blocks designed for more important professional and communist party officials. These blocks are generally 5-6 storeys in height and feature wings of bedrooms, some with facilities, some not and usually sharing a kitchen so not of a standard to which European tourists would necessarily wish to rent. However, as a “prime recreational area”,

there are scores and scores of these buildings. In keeping with the simplicity of the accommodation, food was normally supplied in canteens or “family restaurants” and these can be found right along the coast in the resort towns. The more recently constructed ones are massive barn-sized buildings, some with a certain soviet style charm, but in terms of scale, not really usable for the modern tourist trade. Along with these, Palanga features a number of enormous concrete shells of half-finished apartment blocks, on which construction was abandoned towards the end of the regime. Such buildings can be found elsewhere in the country. The scale of Lithuania’s second city, Kaunas, is dwarfed by a massive concrete shell across the banks of the Neumunas River – it was to be a giant Intourist hotel and was abandoned three quarters through construction. The design and construction methods do not conform with European standards, and as it’s not owned by anybody, no-one has come forward with the money required to pull it down and reuse the land for a better purpose, so too the half finished apartment blocks remain in Palanga – reminders that political change can indeed have unexpected ramifications for the built environment.

Where to from here?

Planning academics Jonas Jakaitis and Narimantas Paliulis⁹ highlighted the critical requirement of standardising current planning instruments to create a national standard, complimentary to the planning systems of Europe and the Baltic sea area.

In Vilnius, Algis Vyšniūnas expresses the need to reach a landing on the issue of balance between heritage protection, ecology, environmental protection and necessary and desirable city development¹⁰. In a practical sense, the answer to this particular conundrum has resulted in major development and height study research

undertaken by the university, including production of a model of the whole inner city showing desirable and manageable height limitations, while embracing development. But, as his colleague Salvinija Kirvaitiene attests, a free-market environment involves a tension between the needs of the market and the wishes of the administrators approving new developments¹¹. Regrettably, in Lithuania, this tension in the last 5 years, has swung towards the desire of the market.

Until Lithuania authorities can define a national sustainable development strategy, Lithuania's urban environments will continue to bear the brunt of a built environment which has developed in a context of inconsistent economic policy and weak strategic planning¹², while rural environments, subject to diminishing populations and anomalies around ownership of abandoned soviet constructions, will remain stranded with a disused built environment reflecting a past political era. In time though, the link with Europe through the joining of the European Union, will produce benefits in urban planning, as EU euro subsidies and grants include stringent planning and sustainability guidelines, and it is hoped that these plans will set benchmarks for the development of national standardised planning guidelines in Lithuania.

¹ Lietuvos Zinios, 16 July 2004

² FDI – Foreign Direct Investment, February 7, 2005

³ Ibid

⁴ Information and culture department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Vilnius Lithuania, May-June 14-20, 2004

⁵ Farrail.com/pages/towen-eng/Lithuania – May 2005

⁶ Ministry of Transport of the Republic of Lithuania n.d

⁷ The Baltic Times 23.03.05

⁸ Europa.eu.int/rapid/press release 04.08.05

⁹ Jakaitis, J and Paliulis N, characteristics of Planning documents and formation of Monitoring system (s) for Urban Territory Development, Urbanistika Architektura, VGTU, XXVII (2), Vilnius, Lithuania, 2003

¹⁰ Vysniunas, A Territory conversion regarding landscape and townscape, Urbanistika ir architektura, VGTU XXVIII (2), Vilnius Lithuania, 2004

¹¹ Salvinija Kirvatiene, Leverage of the Environmental Image of City Centre in the context of Urban area, *Urbanistika ir Architektura*, XXVII (2), Vilnius, Lithuania, 2004

¹² Guoda Steponavičė, and Pranciškus Juškevičius, Preconditions for Sustainable Town Development, *Urbanistika ir Architektura*, XXIV (4), Vilnius, Lithuania, 2000

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Diffusionist Impacts, Opportunities and Constraints in Environmental Policy Making in Turkey

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ABSTRACT

General population explosion and growing industrialisation have resulted in the rapid urbanisation and this led to an ecological and economic imbalance in many developing countries. It's necessary to find ways to make fundamental trends in economic and population growth more sustainable and to reverse the pollution and resource degradation trends that are already apparent in developing countries. The world must quickly design strategies that will allow nations to move from their present, often destructive processes of growth and development to sustainable development paths. This will require policy changes in all countries with respect to their own development and to their impacts on other nations' development possibilities.

Economic growth and population densities especially in the big cities have had severe negative impacts on Turkey' environment such as water pollution, air pollution, inappropriate land use, destruction of forests etc. The main causes of these problems are ; growing urban population, fundamental market and policy failures that encourage inefficient resource use, institutional weakness in formulating, implementing , enforcing and monitoring of environmental policies, multiplicity of actors with overlapping, uncoordinated responsibilities. From the beginning of Republican Period, many laws which are related directly or indirectly to preserve natural and urban environment were enacted, many regulations were determined. Sensitivity of people to the environmental problems and establishments of new institutions have increased. Although, there is a relative increase in the domestic concern for the environmental problems, internationally renowned policy ideas played a major role in the Turkish environmental policy . Depending on this , sustainable development became the main point of the environmental policy. But, necessary legal and institutional reforms and changes for the sustainable development were not developed and the ministries related to environment preferred to continue their works as usual.

This paper will analyse; the environmental policy of Turkey, the role of diffusionist ideas , institutions and actors in the Turkish environmental policy , opportunities and constraints in policy making and proposed actions related to sustainable urban environmental development strategies.

KEY WORDS: Sustainable Development, Environmental Policy, Environmental Problems.

INTRODUCTION

During the last few decades, environmental problems have become important issues for both developing and industrialized countries. Environmental problems are growing and will continue to grow to the end of this century. (EPFT, 1988b:5) In particular, the 1960's and 1970's were marked by the concern about pollution. The publication of Silent Spring of Rachel Carson (Carson, 1962) had contributed to rise of environmental concerns about the use of pesticides, chemicals and fertilizers in agriculture and their impact on humans and environment. As Weale has pointed out, 1970's pollution control strategies involved institutional adjustments in the form of new organizations and institutional forms (Weale,1992:22) They were also marked by an awareness that environmental problems arise within the context of a complex interrelationship between the humankind , the global resource base and the social and physical environments. As a result, questions about the acceptability

of conventional growth objectives, strategies and policies were brought to the forefront of public debate. (Baker et. Al, 1997:2)

During the mid 1980's, it became apparent that the environmental policy strategies of the 1960's and 1970's were not adequate for the emerging, second generation of diffuse-source, transnational environmental problems. (Lundqvist, 2001:1) Throughout the 1980's and 1990's new policy ideas and policies were accepted as environmental policy strategies. Sustainable development and ecological modernization are two main discourses of this period. These policy ideas reacted against prevailing environmental policy paradigm.

Turkey is as a developing country, environmental issues have taken more public attention for the last few decades in there. There are serious problems as urban environmental degradation, atmospheric emissions, soil erosion and land degradation, water resource degradation, air and water pollution, deforestation and loss of natural habitat. The first of the several underlying causes of environmental issues in Turkey is the strain on the resource base imposed by Turkey's large and growing urban population consisting of 16.869.068 million in 1975 increased to 44.006.274 in 2000 and the ratio of population has increased from 40% to 59% in the same period. (DİE,1991; <http://nkg.die.gov.tr>) Rapid population explosion was concentrated in the big cities. In these cities, environmental issues are largely caused by the high concentration of domestic and industrial wastes.

It is a well-known fact that the legal arrangements required for dealing with these problems are correspondingly broad and divergent in scope. From the beginning of Republican Period, many laws which are related directly or indirectly to preserve natural and urban environment were enacted, many regulations were determined. Sensitivity of people to the environmental problems and establishments of new institutions have increased. Although, there is a relative increase in the domestic concern for the environmental problems, internationally renowned policy ideas played a major role in the Turkish environmental policy .

Environmental problems started to come to the attention of the public authorities during the early 1970's. After the Stockholm Conference, a new institution was established by Turkish bureaucracy to deal with environmental problems and environmental problems appeared in the Third Five Year Development Plans (1973-1977) under a separate section. The first Environmental Law of Turkey was issued in 1983 and it endorsed the Polluter Pays Principle and handled environmental issues.

Institutionalisation of environmental policy continued during the 1980's and 1990's. Sustainable development started to become influential towards the end of the 1990's and it was adopted as a central concept in the Sixth Five Year Development Plan (1991-1996).

By the 1990's, we can see a change in the approach of the Ministry of Environment to environmental issues. Like its predecessor in Stockholm, the Rio Conference had a significant impact on the attitudes of the actors in Turkey. Protection and improvement of the environment became a major objective for the Seventh Five Year Development Plan (1996-2000) and sustainable development and the discourse of ecological modernization started to be spelled in many areas, industrialization was seemed to be replaced with sustainable development. (SPO, 1995) National Environmental Action Plan (NEAP) was prepared by the State Planning Organisation with the financial support of World bank and adopted in 1998 as part of the national development plan.

Development of the capacity of environmental management, use of the economic tools in the integration of the environmental policy with economic and social policies are the some objectives of the Eight Five Year Development Plans. Parallels would be drawn with EU norms and international standards by considering country' realities. (DPT, 2006)

Historical developments in the field of environmental policy of Turkey, the role of international ideas , institutions and actors in the Turkish environmental policy , opportunities and constraints in policy making and proposed actions related to sustainable urban environmental development strategies will be summarised in the following sections..

Environmental Policies in Turkey

The first efforts for environmental protection in Turkey can be dated back to the 1920's. Some measures were taken for the prevention of deforestation, soil erosion and for the protection of public health. The Municipal Law and the Public Health Law of the 1930's contain some articles related to environmental issues. At the same time, the Forest Law of the 1930's , regulated the ownership, management and the other matters concerning forests. These acts regulated the areas of forestry, public health and hygiene for decades. (Algan, 2003;EPFT,1988b:25,29,33; Municipal Law No:1580, ; Forestry Law No:6831; Public Health Law No: 1593)

At the beginning of 1960's , Turkey transformed its development strategy into an Import Substitution Industrialisation strategy and strategy of central planning was introduced. The State Planning Organisation was established and five year development plans and annual programmes were established. Following the 1960's governments supported private industry by using incentive mechanisms and industrial establishments were protected from the protectionist tariffs and duties. Depending on these efforts, industrialisation and substantial urbanisation of the country has developed to some extent but Turkey ended up with several forms of pollution stemming from industrial production and pseudo-urbanisation.

Environmental problems started to come to the attention of the public authorities during the late 1960's and and early 1970's. Firstly, these problems were ignored or dealt with by individual branches of the bureaucracy. Environmental policy was developed by separate public organisations, especially local governments not national in scope. (NEAP,1997a:16) Earlier environmental problems have been accounted as technical and economical problems: however, these problems have been accounted as their societal dimensions as well as technical and economical dimensions for last few decades. The societal dimensions of environmental problems and environmental issues attracted more public attention and social scientific concern in the second half of the twentieth century especially after the 1970's . (Tuna) Environmental policies of Turkey after 1970's were focused on repair of damage such as rebuilding urban environments, restoration of natural and cultural habitats and rehabilitation of wild lands, reforestation, reclaiming of desert lands after the fact, the sources of environmental problems were not analysed by the authorities. (WCED 1987:39) It was believed that environmental protection and economic growth were incompatible.

Environmental planning has been part of Five Year Development Plans since the mid 1970's due to the impact of the Stockholm Conference in 1972. (Egeli,1996: 110; Okumuş,2002; DPT,1972) During the Third Five Year Development Plan Period (1973-1977) , in which the environmental issues were on the agenda of the world, it was emphasized that, the ecological balance was disturbed due to industrialization. But environmental policy in the plan was not

clear and definite enough. This hesitation has been originated from the doubts about the possibility of negative impacts of environmental protection efforts on industrial developments.(DPT,1972; Bektaş,1988) Prime Ministry Undersecretariat of Environment was established in 1978 .

In 1982, new Constitution was enacted and it accepted the protection of environment in the article of 56 . According to this article “ everyone possesses the right to live in a healthful and balanced environment. It’s the duty of the State and its citizens to develop the environment , to protect environmental health and to prevent environmental pollution. (The Constitution, 1982; EPFT,1988b) In continuation of the Constitution, The Environment Law (coded 2872) was passed in 1983. The purpose of this law defined as, to govern according to definite legal and technical principles and in conformity with the goals of economic and social development, the arrangements to be made and the measures to be taken in order to protect and improve the environment which is the common property of all citizens; to protect and make optimal use of land and natural resources in rural and urban areas; to develop and guarantee the standard of health, civilization and living of the present generation and of future generations by preserving the nation’s plant and animal life and its natural and historical wealth. (The Environment Law No:2872, 1983) As it was seen, law considers the environment as a whole not only to prevent and eliminate pollution but also to allow for the management of the natural and historical values and the land in such a way as to utilize and preserve such richness to concern for the future generations as well. The measures to be taken and the arrangements to be made should be compatible with the economic and development targets. (Tütünlü et all; Aksoylu,1994:28;EPFT,1988b:11) This law starts from the principle of the " the polluter pays" and handles the environmental issue on a very broad scope. (The Environment Law No: 2872,1983) Polluter pays principle was introduced but was taken to imply the cleaning up of pollution after it happens. Although some improvements were observed, this strategy did not produce much for the solution of environmental problems. The polluter pays principle and fines remained ineffective given the high levels of inflation. According to the basic principles that govern the application of the Environment Law and as stated in constitution of 1982 , citizens as well as the state bear responsibility for the protection of the environment. (Budak,2000:364) The principle in economic activities for determining the implementation of production methods to minimize and solve environmental problems is one of the basic principle of the Environment Law.

In 1983, the General Assembly of the United Nations set up the World Commission on Environment and Development which was formed by representatives from 21 countries in all regions of the world. In April 1987, the results were published in the form of a book entitled “Our Common Future” (WCED,1988; Court,1990; Pearce,Markandya and Barbier,1991; Backstrand et al., 1996) The Brundtland Report firmly established the concept of sustainable development as the basis for an integrative approach to economic policy in the coming decades.(Pearce,Markandya and Barbier,1991) Evolution of sustainable development as a world strategy has been a political process involving several global actors.

The idea of sustainable development in Turkey started to become influential towards the end of the 1980’s and Ministry of Environment was established by Government Decree No:443 in 1991 which empowers it to conduct activities to protect and improve the environment. These activities involve ensuring appropriate land use, protecting natural resources, plants and animal species and preventing pollution. Its duties include drafting laws, preparing rules and internal regulations, creating institutions such as village environment associations and commissions to manage waste, supervising and planning environmental designs, creating

environmental policies and strategies, coordinating environmental activities at international and national levels, applying measurements, monitoring, collecting data, managing finances and carrying out extension and training.(Ural,1993:477; NEAP,1997a:20; EU,2004) Decree on the Establishment and Duties of Ministry of Environment stated that “the Ministry of Environment is responsible for preparing, ratifying and implementation of environmental loans for the objective of rational use of natural resources in consistent with sustainable development objectives which require taking economic and ecological decision together.” With the establishment of the Environment Ministry in 1991, Turkey began to make significant progress addressing its most pressing environmental problems. The most dramatic improvements were significant reductions of air pollution in Istanbul and Ankara. However, progress has been slow on the remaining--and serious--environmental challenges facing Turkey.

Sustainable development was adopted as a central concept in the Sixth Five Year Development Plan (1991-1996) and The Environmental Impact Assessment Regulation was put into force on 7th of February, 1993. Protection and improvement of the environment is a major objective for the period 1996 to 2000 (Seventh Plan) . In this context, administrative and institutional problems as well as deficiencies of legal framework and environmental management are defined in a detailed manner. It's aimed that conservation of the environment will be handled as a whole in modern sense with coherent components of economic, commercial and political nature. The 1998 National Environmental Action Plan is a leading example of national environmental planning , given its high quality and comprehensive analysis, setting of orientations and objectives and action-oriented proposals. (OECD Report,www.oecd.org/dataoecd/8/30/2452088.pdf)

In 2003, the Ministry of Environment was merged with the Forestry Ministry. With its goal to join the EU, Turkey has made commendable progress in updating and modernizing its environmental legislation. However, environmental concerns are not fully integrated into public decision-making and enforcement can be weak. Turkey faces a backlog of environmental problems, requiring enormous outlays for infrastructure. The most pressing needs are for water treatment plants, wastewater treatment facilities, solid waste management, and conservation of biodiversity. The discovery of a number of chemical waste sites in 2006 has highlighted weakness in environmental law and oversight.

Diffusionist Impacts on the Environmental Policy of Turkey

External pressure plays a major role in the policy change in Turkey. For early developments in the field of environmental policy of Turkey, the first push came from abroad. The United Nations Conference on Human Environment having considered the need for a common Outlook in the preservation and enhancement of the human environment. Attention was drawn to the need to preserve natural habitats to produce a sustained improvement in living conditions for all and the need for international cooperation to achieve this. The emphasis was on solving environmental problems but without ignoring social, economic and developmental policy factors. (UNEP, 1972) Turkey sent a delegate to the Stockholm Conference and it influenced the Turkish bureaucracy in establishing a new environment institution, (Özdemir,1988) Although the first two Five-Year Development Plans (1963-1972) do not have specific sections on the environment, Third Five Year Development Plan which covers 1973-1977 contains seperate section for environmental problems. (DPT,1972) In this plan, the establishment of a central organisation to deal with environmental problems were suggested. (DPT,1972; EPFT,1987:38-39) The environmental problems of the developed and

developing countries were also considered separately and it stated that the real environmental problems of the country were soil erosion and environmental health stemming from inadequate use of natural resources and from insufficient levels of income and education. (EPFT,1987:38-39) The strong impact of the Stockholm Conference on the 3rd Five Year Development Plan is evident.

Turkey has some international connections and commitments and he cannot stay outside of these developments. Turkey adopted all the environmental legislation of OECD and recently that of the EU following the Custom's Union and copied their organizations, adding them on to existing systems without making necessary changes in its wider legal and institutional system. (Budak, 2000:358) For example; Air Pollution Regulation is based upon the German short and long term limits and the Environmental Impact Assessment regulation is a combination of US and EU regulations. (Orhan, 2002:131) This is very similar to other examples of environmental policy around the world. For instance, after their accession to European Community, Greece, Portugal and Spain downloaded the European Community's environmental legislation. (Weale et al, 2000) The role of EU is much more important than the other institutions. Because he holds the legislative and implementing powers into his hands. (Kepenek,B.) As the other contemporary states, Turkey signed almost every international convention on environmental protection and pollution control except some international conventions at the Rio Summit ,Turkish state did not signed them because they categorise Turkey as a developed country which requires Turkey to assist developing countries for environmental protection. (Orhan, 2002:163) Some commentators mentioned the influence of German legislation on Turkish environmental policy.

Similarly , the Ministry of Environment was established in 1991 as part of the process leading to the Rio Summit in 1992. (Ertuğ,1999; Somersan ,1993) The Rio Summit was formally called the "UN Conference on Environment and Development" held in Rio de Janeiro. The Conference led to agreements on a declaration on environment and economic development and sustainable development is the real key word. (Rio Summit, 1992) By the 1990's and especially following the Rio Conference, several changes in the approach of the Ministry of Environment to environmental issues have been observed. Like its predecessor in Stockholm, the Rio Conference had a significant impact on the attitudes of the key actors in Turkey. Sustainable development started to become influential towards the end of the 1990's and it was adopted as a central concept in the Sixth Five Year Development Plan (1991-1996). Protection and improvement of the environment became a major objective for the Seventh Five Year Development Plan (1996-2000) and sustainable development and the discourse of ecological modernization started to be spelled in many areas, industrialization was seemed to be replaced with sustainable development. (SPO, 1995) Environment and development have been accepted as inseparable parts of a whole and environmental protection has been considered of equal weight as development. Turkey would industrialise and develop without devastating its environment. (Cumhuriyet,1992)

Nowadays, Turkish environmental policy at cross –road. As part of its attempts towards full membership to the European Union. The October 2004 Report of Eu noted that despite some progress, the overall level of transposition of the environment acquis remained low. Moreover, weaknesses in implementation and enforcement were stil sources of major concern. Considerable investments needed to be secured. Turkey is under significant pressure to recognize the conditionalities of the Kyoto Protocol to reduce its CO₂ emissions and other gaseous pollutants over the next six years. ((EU,2004; Goulder and Pizer,2006;Adkins and Garbaccio, 1999)

The second set of pressure comes from international economy . An important issue in developing policies for the mitigation of greenhouse gas emissions is to determine a feasible set of policies to generate emission reductions and to make investments in energy-saving technologies Industries need to be green, environmentally friendly and efficient for export competitiveness. This factor led to a major change in the behaviour of the industry.

Finally we could talk about the pressures coming from international environmentalist organizations. The International Energy Agency (IEA) has criticized Turkey's efforts to reduce air pollution, saying that current measures do not go far enough. In its annual report on member countries, the IEA stated that Turkey needs to maintain and possibly increase investments in public transport, especially in urban areas, as well as improve the implementation of existing regulations on air quality.

In May 2001, Greenpeace activists climbed the chimney of a waste incinerator in the northwestern city of Izmit to protest pollution from the plant. In 1998, the plant was closed by the Turkish Energy Ministry due to potential health hazards. The plant was reopened, however, in 1999.

Constraints in Environmental Policy Making

From the beginning of Republican Period, many laws which are related to preservation of natural and urban environment were enacted, many regulations were determined. Sensitivity of people to the environmental problems and establishments of new institutions have increased. Although these laws which give more importance to environment, environmental deprivation still increases and it will increase in the near future.

The main reasons of this policy failure are different kinds. First, sensitivity to the environmental problems has started very slowly in recent years. Although many laws include some preventions and limitations related to environment, they are not sufficient. The Environment Law was a bad translation , there was a lack of coordination between institutions ; there was no transparency and democratic participation in the process of environmental protection. Environment Law foresees a conflict between environmental protection and social development and gave higher priority to the development (1,3b,c) The Turkish State had introduced an Environment Law, but it was the main polluter itself and that was why there are loopholes in the legislation.(Güneş Gazetesi,1987)

Secondly, the lack of strong environmental institutions capable of formulating , implementing, enforcing and monitoring of environmental policies. Weak institutional capacity is further weakened by jurisdictional complexity, insufficient information and lack of broader participation. There is limited co-ordination between sectoral ministries and different levels of government on environmental matters. The Ministry of Environment is in practice relatively new, with limited resources and limited competence, several functions are carried out by other government agencies. Institutional weakness is especially acute at the level of local governments and agencies who are responsible for monitoring and enforcement. Municipalities and local authorities have low status in the bureaucracy, have restrictive responsibilities to support environmental management, lack adequate staffs, skills and equipment, and also its contribution to integration of environmental concerns in other national policies is also restricted. (Aksoylu,1994; www.oecd.org/dataoecd/8/30/2452088.pdf)

The development, especially industrial development is regarded as more important than the environmental protection. On the one side, environmental protection is taken as a goal, on the other side developments which destroy the environment are defined as major objective. High rate of urbanization and population increase create demand for different facilities such as job opportunities, housing, social services and infrastructure which are necessary for men's survival. New job opportunities have to be provided, new investments related to economic activities and services have to be met. But insufficient solutions for basic needs resulted in crowding, pollution, concrete piles and so destruction of both urban and natural environments. Lack of analytical frameworks for understanding the problems, most of the governments are not fully aware of magnitude of the problems or the impacts of on the population. As a result, effective control of the environmental problems can not be realized.

A multiplicity of actors with overlapping, uncoordinated or poorly defined responsibilities aggravates institutional weakness and hampers the development and implementation of a broader environmental management strategy. There was insufficient dialogue between the actors and institutions in the field of the environment. There is limited co-ordination between sectoral ministries and different levels of government on governmental matters. The Ministry of Environment is in practice relatively new with limited resources and limited competence. Several administrative functions are carried out by other ministries or other organizations. Its contribution to integration of environmental concerns in other national policies and to supporting environmental management by municipalities or local authorities is also restricted. (www.oecd.org/dataoecd/8/30/2452088. pdf)

Regulation, guidelines and standards are often not well developed nor do they reflect the institutional capabilities and scientific knowledge available within the country. Lack of the capacity of governments to carry out and implement effective environmental planning and management is another reason. Pressure groups who want to maximize their benefit effect the government decisions. So, investments which can be used for rehabilitation and development of quality of life elements are directed to other investment areas which is more beneficial for the pressure groups.

There is a lack of adequate enforcement capability. In order to provide some effectiveness, fines and penalties for non-compliance with environmental regulations would need to be revised. The Ministry of Environment would also need to develop an inspection and enforcement branch and strengthen its territorial capability.

Political and economic stability is important for long term plans for environmental protection. Whereas, political and economical instability in Turkey forced both governments and investors to follow short term solutions for their economic problems which deterred them from pursuing long term approaches to environmental problem solving.

Although participation mechanism such as local environment committees, the EIA procedure and Councils for the Environment and Forestry exist, public participation is a relatively new process in many instances. Environmental NGO's will need to address a range of issues in order to establish themselves as stimulating and constructive partners for environmental progress.

CONCLUSIONS

External pressure plays a major role in the domestic environmental policy change in Turkey. Stockholm Conference, Rio Summit, international conventions and Commission Reports of EU have affected the definition and changing of the environmental policy in Turkey. Turkey tried to adopt these regulations and targets of declarations to his environmental policy.

As it's said before, one group of pressure comes from international organizations such as OECD, EU. Turkish State signed almost every international convention on environmental protection and pollution control except some international conventions at the Rio Summit. That's why, he necessitated to make some arrangements, changes and adoption from these conventions and also he made some arrangements according to the report and declaration of these organizations.

The second set of pressure and obligation come from the international economy and export conditions. According to the international rules and regulations, industries need to be green, efficient for export competitiveness and environmentally friendly. This factor also led to some changes in the environmental policy and behavior of the industry in Turkey.

Finally, international environmentalist organizations play a role in the definition and changes of the environmental policy of and prevention of pollution based applications in Turkey.

Till now, the development of Turkish environmental policy making has been slow. Successive governments have consistently resisted, delayed or willfully misinterpreted environmental legislations and taken positive steps only in response to international developments. Turkish State had make progress in transposing the environmental acquis of EU and improving administrative capacity. Further efforts were needed to improve the situation and particular attention should be given to the implementation and enforcement of environmental legislation. But during the diffusion and harmonization of the international ideas and legislation; local conditions and realities must be considered and interactions between importers and local actors must be incorporated. In other words, environmental policy can be shaped by domestic realities such as economic and social structures and political intends as much as the international conventions and legislation. We must keep in mind that, the success of the external pressure groups is upon the local support of the indigenous environmentalist actors and perception of economic interests in this process.

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Japanese Ordinary Town's Historicity and Townscape Management

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1. Introduction

The modern era has been greatly characterized by tremendous urbanization, with townscapes in this period being markedly changed. In Japan, only the conserved districts seem to have been able to keep their original townscape as it had been in the past, but the scenery of such districts, which are tightly controlled under a strict conservation system, have come to be disparately contrasting to places where everyday life occur, and thus have an artificial feeling about them.

The typical conservation tool for historical districts in Japan is one that is used to designate areas as the “Preservation District for Groups of Historic Buildings,” which was implemented in 1975 by amendment of the Cultural Properties Protection Act. This appeared not long after the new Town Planning Act, which was established in 1968, in order to make urban developments ordered under planning controls just before the rapid growth after the Second World War. Up until now (2006), sixty-six traditional districts have been preserved in accordance with this regulation system, under which typical traditional buildings are designated as elements to be preserved, and design guidelines are made for other buildings in each selected district. Such a strong system of preservation was needed to protect the traditional Japanese townscape of the pre-modern age or early modern era[#] from being lost to the surrounding rapid urbanization and change of lifestyle that was taking place, yet it was inevitable that such efforts also made the protected districts so distinct that they became common tourist attractions.

Meanwhile, there are many other cities and towns founded in the pre-modern age with a historic core or kernel that have been transformed by modern urbanization. In the kernel districts of such historical cities and towns, there is a feeling of historicity, although not as attractive as a conserved area due to the mixture of buildings of many different styles and age, and, also due to streets that were reformed to accommodate modern automobile traffic not matching the townscape of old which had been based on a scale for pedestrian traffic. While a strict conservation system such as the Preservation District for Groups of Historic Buildings is not applicable to the kernel districts of such ordinary towns, it is not adequate to simply disregard them in a town planning system because such districts truly have been a stage of history. Recognizing the value and need for preserving the fragmental historical elements and historicity of such kernel districts in town planning can be a preface to improving the quality of the town's environment as well.

Japan is just at the turning point in her history of urbanization with the national population beginning to decrease in 2005, and the ratio of urban population seeming to be at the ceiling. In such a period, new types of urban issues, such as degeneration of central commercial districts and fall of land prices in local cities,

[#] Edo Period (1603-1868), Meiji Restoration (1868), Meiji Era (1868-1912). In this article, “modern age” in respect to Japanese history refers to the period after the Meiji Restoration, or, post 1868.

occurred. When thinking about how to revitalize the central part of cities, the question of “What is the proper treatment for the historicity of such ordinary cities?” also arises.

The main purpose of this article is to make clear how the central parts of ordinary cities and towns have been reformed or conserved through the modern urban planning system based on two samples, and to outline and discuss necessary considerations in the treatment of such districts in city planning and management.

2. Urban core formed in pre-modern age

In the first step of this study, cities and towns with historic cores formed in pre-modern age in the Dewa Region, the ancient name for the present-day Yamagata Prefecture and its neighboring Akita Prefecture in the northern part of the main island of Honshu, were identified. It is interesting to note that in this region, only one district in the present-day Kakunodate Town, is designated as a Preservation District for Groups of Historic Buildings. This fact causes the observer to wonder about how other historical cities that did not receive designation for special conservation measures under this preservation system have fared or been reformed up to the present.

The process of identification of towns with historic cores is as follows: (1) Estimate the scale or size of the settlement in pre-modern age by evaluating its position in the urban system in those days based on data from two references published during the same era. (2) Compare how the historic area of the past has developed to the present in terms of population. "Azuma-kou Akindo Kagami" and "Kyobu-seihyo" are the titles of two references used in the first step of identification of towns with historic cores, and are considered reliable sources of data in order to estimate the scale of each urban settlement and the urban system in pre-modern age for this study.

		population by "Kyobuseihyo" (1879)				
		≥10,000	≥4000	≥2000	<2000	
number of merchant mentioned by "Azumakoh-Akindo-Kagami" (1855)	≧30	Yamagata(57)# 177.8 Noshiro(44) 23.1 Yonezawa(39)# 49.8 Sakata(38) 67.0 Akita(35)# 265.7	Tsuchisaki(49) 265.7			
	≧10	Yokote(27)# 15.7 Tsuruoka(19)# 60.8	Yachi(20) 5.7 Shinjo(15)# 20.4 Honjo(14)# 18.8 Komatsu(14) -	Arato(18) - Koide(14) 12.1 Kakunodate(12)# -	Ohishida(14) -	
	≧5		Yuzawa(9)# 12.1 Ohdate(8) 25.9 Higashine(8) 5.7 Tateoka(5) 7.3	Obanazawa(6) 5.3 Tendo(6)# 35.2 Miya(6) 12.1 Yamanobe(5) 7.1 Aterazawa(5)# -	Ayukai(8) - Ishiwaki(7) - Takahata(7) 5.6 Jinguji(6) -	
	≧1		Sagae(2) 18.8 Rokugou(1) -	Ohmagari(4) 18.0 Miyouchi(4) 7.4 Nagasaki(3) - Kamo(1) -	Kaneyama(2) -	
	(num)	Drawn as town map: (*)		Kaminoyama(*)#16.7 Ohyama(*) -		Touge(*) - Atsumi(*) - Yutagawa(*) -
		not mentined		Momosada-Araya 265.7	12 towns in Akita Pref. and 5 towns in Yamagata Pref.	

- (num): number in parentheses represents the number of merchants for each district listed in "Azumakoh-Akindo-Kagami"
- #: had functioned as castle town until the end of the Edo Period
- numeric (×1,000) without parentheses indicates the population of the present DID (Densely Inhabited District) in 2000 of which each historical district is a part.

Fig.1 Historical districts in "Dewa" region

"Azuma-kou Akindo Kagami," which was published in 1855, is a member list of a merchants' group and inns used by the membership. Although the number of listed merchants of a city does not directly show the size of the city in terms of population, it does serve as an indicator of size in terms of trade in the urban system of those days. The vertical axis in Figure 1 is divided into the category of number of merchants listed in the membership book.

"Kyobu-seihyo," which was published around 1879, does, on the other hand, contain actual statistical data surveyed by the General Staff Corps of Japan. In this survey, settlements with more than 100 people were surveyed and their population and main production are listed. However, the data may not be so accurate since the survey was not necessarily conducted systematically, and do not directly show the scale of the settlements in pre-modern age because the population of "Samurai," or governmental officers of the pre-modern system in Japan, had been rapidly decreasing after the Meiji Restoration in 1868. Therefore, using data from the publication, which was compiled a little over ten years after the Restoration, to extrapolate the pre-modern population may not be exact. Nevertheless, it is a sufficiently competent source for estimating the rank of a city in the urban system, especially in terms of economic activity. Figure 1's horizontal axis is divided into the category based on the population noted in "Kyobu-seihyo."

Upon examination, the two categories of data in Figure 1 are found to almost correspond. The upper left area of the chart contains castle towns and big port towns which were the center of their respective regional area in those days. The rest, which can be called sub-center cities, consist of little castle towns and local centers of trading functions.

The right column of each cell in Figure 1 also shows the population of the Densely Inhabited District (DID) in the year 2000 for each city or town. These DID population figures show that some comparatively large regional centers with a population of more than 10,000 at the beginning of the modern age continued to develop. Some of the sub-centers in pre-modern age, which had a population of several thousand in 1879, have grown, while some have not developed so much. The towns which did not form a DID as reflected in the chart means that the current developed area which includes the historic core does not have a population of more than 5,000 or a density of more than 40/ha, also suggesting that the current size is quite similar to the pre-modern one.

Of the cities and towns listed in Figure 1, only the Samurai's residential district of Kakunodate (which is underlined in the chart) has been designated for preservation under the Preservation District for Groups of Historic Buildings. Even if – and it is probably so that – the other listed cities and towns in the chart have not developed with traditional building artifacts grouped together spatially, they must at least have a historical core which has some historicity. One possible and common reason for historical cities not being able to keep a grouped area of traditional architectural artifacts is that quite many of them had suffered fire disasters – natural and man-made – such as caused by earthquake, accidents, or battles, as during the Meiji Era in the early days of the modern age. Another reason is that traditional buildings and townscapes gradually changed and disappeared in the process of modernization.

In the following sections, examination will be made of how these historical districts have been reformed in the modern age and how they have kept their historicity based on two example districts. One is a district in a regional center city and the other one is a small local town.

3. Changes in townscape of Yamagata City's historical district

Yamagata City greatly developed after the Meiji Restoration, as it was selected as a capital city of prefecture. The population of the city was 48,399 according to the first census taken in 1920 and 256,012 in 2005. Figure 2 is a map of the city in 1901 showing the densely built-up area, almost all of which is a castle town's residential area of citizens and temple area. In the modern age, the castle town was structurally reformed as follows:

1) two rings of moat were buried and the traditional social based zoning was abolished.

2) a railroad was constructed across the abandoned Samurai house area and the area around the station was developed.

3) crank roads and T-crossings, which were typical in traditional castle towns, were changed by extending a new road from the turning or cross point.

4) a new civic core including, especially, a new Prefectural Office and Assembly was made in the adjoining area just the north of the central commercial district by expanding a road.

The area inside the broken line was designated as a commercial zone with limits of 400, 500 or 600% as a floor area ratio (FAR) according to the Town Planning Act established in 1968. Such high FAR, in contrast to the 200% limit of the other areas, allowed for the construction of high rise buildings in this zone.

By the end of 2005, 49.3% of planned road network according to the act was constructed. This percentage seems insufficient or insignificant in view of the plan's completed target, but Figure 2 shows a near grid pattern of road network already emerging in the modern age; also, at only this half-completed stage of road system development, it is already difficult for pedestrians to find the traditional road network in this area.

Although road construction has changed the scenery of the streets, historical elements still are remaining dispersed throughout this area. Public and private conservation activities can be found and are listed as follows:

1) Remarkable historical elements and landmarks are preserved or restored. An example of the former case, historical preservation, is the Prefectural Office and Assembly building (renovation completed by 1995), and of the latter is the main gate

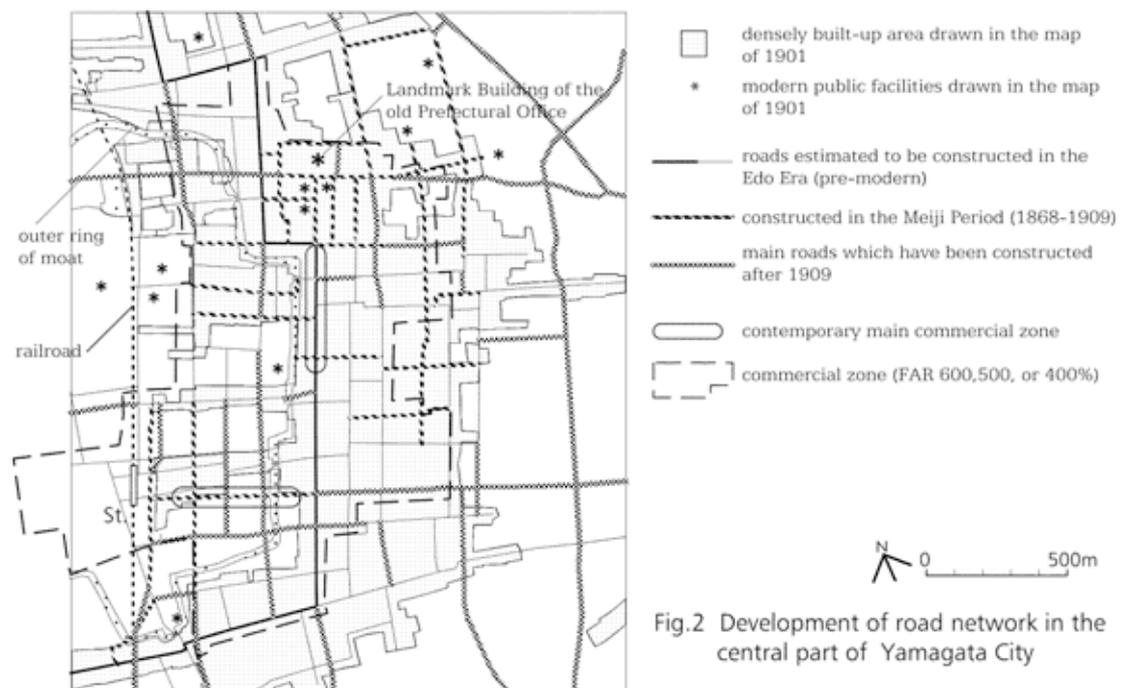


Fig.2 Development of road network in the central part of Yamagata City

of the castle (restoration completed by 1993).

2) Yamagata City established a municipal ordinance for townscape in 1996 and enacted the policy for improving the townscape including honorable recognition of efforts to protect and maintain historicity of its district. To date, under this ordinance, ten notable examples of conservation activities in this area have received distinctions of honor. This ordinance also has a system which can be used as a designation tool for selecting or determining artifacts to be preserved, although there is currently no example yet of an actual artifact that has been designated under this system.

3) The title of Registered Tangible Culture Properties, which is a newly made category of properties by amendment of the Cultural Properties Act in 1996, was conferred to ten buildings and structures (such as walls and gates) in this area.

4) Yamagata City improved the municipal facilities in the area in various stages in order to enhance its historical atmosphere; for example, some part of the protection work for the old stream in the castle town was made with large stones in a way similar to the traditional method of construction, and part of a narrow lane was paved with interlocking blocks instead of asphalt or concrete.

5) Negotiations and agreements about the nature or design of construction are made among the area residents along newly developed roads and back side of preserved landmarks. Notably, for example, a movement took place in 1999 against a plan for a high-rise building just behind the preserved Prefectural Office and Assembly.

6) Some private storehouses are renovated and being used as shop and residence.

Although the road network has been almost completely reformed, historical elements (i.e. landmarks, storehouses, streams, and area configuration of property lot boundaries and patterns) still remain until now. Several kinds of activities in the public and private sectors to promote the historicity of this district appear to be taking place. Upon closer inspection, many more historical elements which have not been made much of must surely be found.

4. Changes in townscape of Yachi District in Kahoku Town

(1) Development of infrastructures in Yachi District

As indicated by the number of merchants (20) listed in "Azukmakoh-Akindo-Kagami," Yachi greatly flourished in the Edo Period based on flower production which was used to make dye. Yachi seems to have developed through the early modern age, as the population, which was noted at 5,181 in the "Kyobu-seihyo," increased to 11,000 according to the census of 1920. But since Yachi is located outside of the new regional axis which was formed by a railroad network around 1902, this district now shows a population of 12,221 in 2005 as a part of present-day Kahoku Town which has a population of 21,268.

Figure 3 shows how the road network in Yachi District had developed by 1901(a), 1931(b), 1970(c), and 2005(d). At first, as shown in Figure 3a, access roads were newly constructed and a shortcut was made in the central area. By 1931, access from east was improved by further road development because a railroad station was made on the east side of the city in 1917 by constructing a branch line. The major development issues by 1970 centered on the widening of the main street which ran through the built-up area from north to south. But it is also a surprise to find that the pattern of almost all the pre-modern roads are still functioning and the configuration of built-up area in 1970 is not so changed compared to before. Thus, it may feel as if the pre-modern age were not so distant in this town. However, between 1970 and 2005, this district underwent remarkable changes. The built-up area was expanded by land adjustment projects and the network of new roads formed a grid pattern characteristic of modern developments. As a result of this new townscape of modern road configuration, the traditional road network fell to the background and can scarcely be

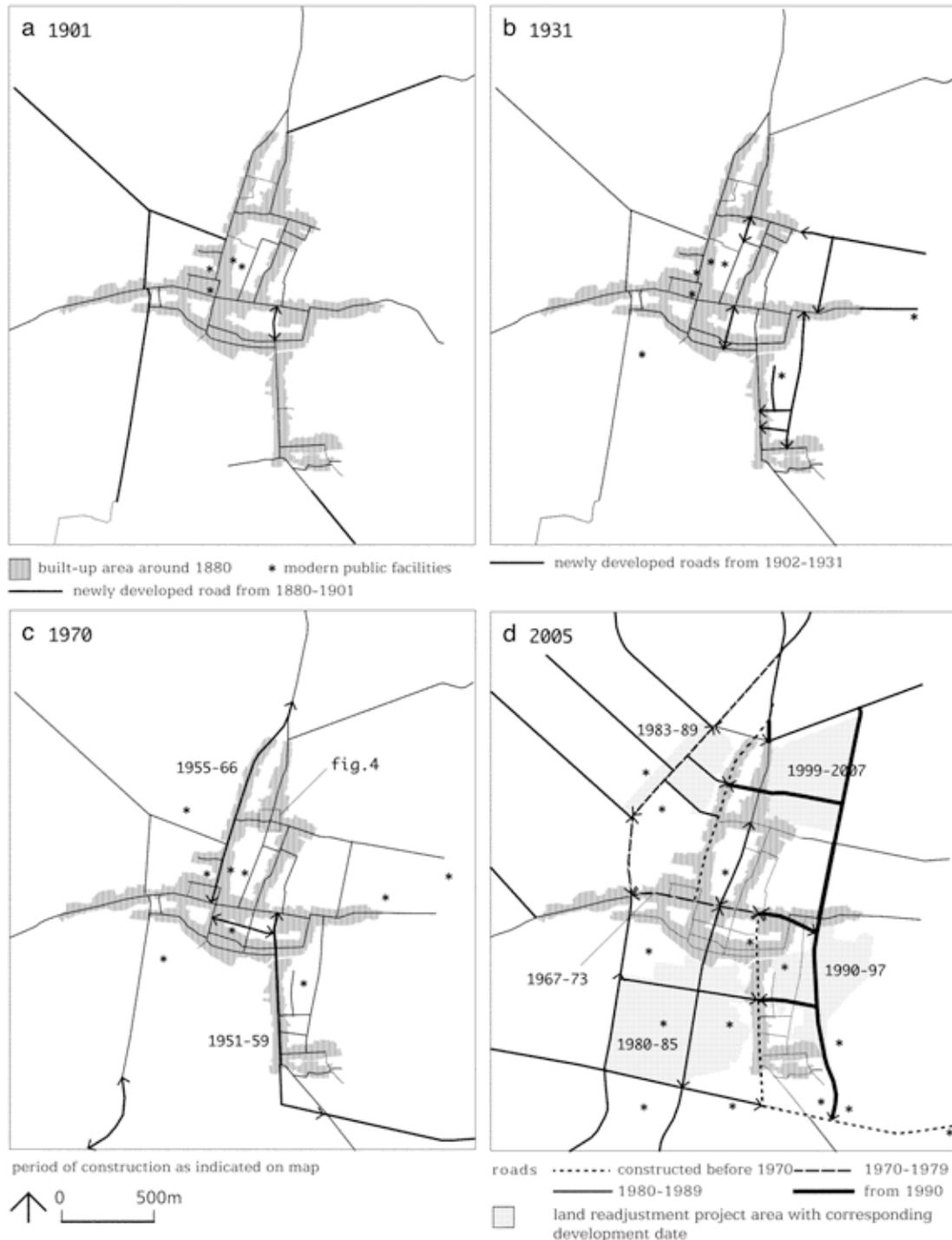


Fig.3 Development of road network in Yachi District in Kahoku Town

recognized by visitors.

(2) Comparison of townscape changes in Yachi District

Photo 1 shows the buildings along a main street running north to south, which was named "Kudoh-koji," taken in the end of Meiji Era (around 1911). Buildings which have hipped roofs with reed roofing line up along the street and make the traditional townscape.

Photo 2 shows the scenery of a main street running east to west (named "Mae-koji") in 1957. It has a feeling quite similar to Photo 1, but upon closer look, buildings of a different type can be found mixed among the more traditional ones. For example, the three-story house is remarkable and gable roofs on some of the main

houses on the front or street-side of their respective lots are also new. However, if we see these “new” elements in retrospect from the present, they may be also viewed as being very historical or “old.” Sign boards stand at the gate of each building, which show how commercial functions are developed in this area and may be taken to



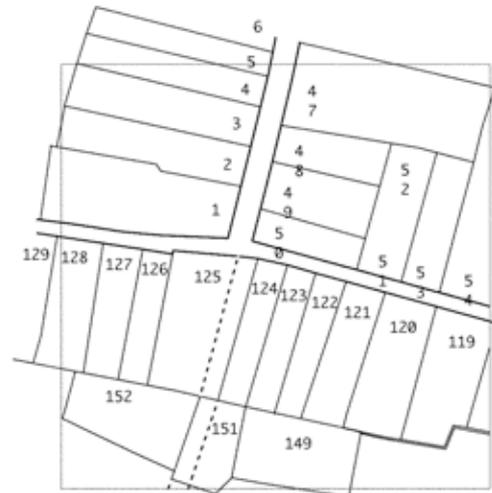
Photo 1. Scenery of "Kudoh-koji" around 1911



Photo 2. Scenery of "Mae-koji" taken in Sep. 1957



Photo 3. Contemporary scene of the same place as Photo 2



a. Site plan estimated by a cadastral map drawn around 1877



b. Buildings and their roof shape based on an aerial photograph taken in 1954
 ■ house with traditional reed roofing



c. Site map of same area at present with outline of buildings
 ↑ 0 50m

Fig.4 Change of building type in Yachi District

indicate the shop-owner's intent to make their shops appear modern.

Photo 3 shows the contemporary scenery of the same place, "Mae-koji," pictured in Photo 2. The arcade alongside the road was made in 1976. The street has been widened to accommodate automobile traffic. Many kinds of buildings of wooden and steel construction can be seen.

Figure 4 shows that such kinds of changes in townscape as previously described were caused by changes in roads and building type. Fig.4a is a cadastral map depicting the individual lots in an area of Yachi District in 1877. Figure 4b shows that the main houses on each lot were of the traditional building type with hipped roof and were the main element which characterized the townscape. Figure 4c shows the present condition of the same area. To make roads wider and to build new types of buildings – both have been proper cause for change of townscape. Figure 5 shows the location of the merchants listed in "Azumakoh-Akindo-Kagami."

The scenery of this Yachi District seems to have changed so completely in the past thirty-five years as all buildings with hipped roof of reed have disappeared. Only lot patterns, storehouses, temples and shrines, narrow lanes, and the like seem to be the remaining historical elements that compose the historicity of this district. Nevertheless, the scenery of the life and days of pre-modern age is not so far gone in this district. Not only do the local citizenry seem to have memory of events and places of only thirty-five years past, but this district also has a legacy of twenty merchants' houses which played an active role in the development of the district towards the end of the Edo Period.

5. Townscape management for improving urban quality

(1) Basis for discussion of necessary conditions in townscape management

In this paper, we have taken two settlements in different class rank as examples of ordinary towns with history dating from pre-modern age, and traced how they have changed in this modern period. Information from such investigation also illustrates how they have managed their historicity up to the present.

The central district of Yamagata City was formed as a castle town. Although the territory belonging to the castle lord was mid-sized, its great role in trade had made the city a regional main center by the end of the Edo Period. Road developments restructured and reformed the castle town after the Meiji Restoration, and high floor area ratio led to changes in the scenery with high-rise buildings being constructed during the period of rapid urban growth. On the other hand, public and private conservation activities, for example preserving landmark buildings, restoring traditional gates, remodeling private storehouses for innovative uses such as distinctive commercial space, have come to gradually increase later in the urbanizing movement.

Yachi District in Kahoku Town, which did not have a castle in the Edo Period, had developed as a trading center and flourished especially in the latter part of the era, but comparatively declined in the Meiji Period because its location had become out of way of main traffic routes of that time. After 1970, road and land development changed the town in a short period. Road construction influenced changes of building type in the modern age, which then resulted in the townscape changing from historical to confused. Yet, past remnants such as narrow lanes which had been main streets of the town in the pre-modern age, storehouses from the past era located on the back side of the lots of old houses, centuries-old shrines and temples, traditional festivals, and the like are existing indicators of the historical legacy of this town.

The described aspects of change are the same in these two examples, Yamagata City and Kahoku Town. Differences are only in the starting period of rapid change and in land use intensity which is reflected in each respective townscape. Despite these two subjects' rich historical heritage, applying the guidelines of

Preservation District for Groups of Historic Buildings to them would not yield any qualified areas as candidates for conservation efforts because traditional old buildings are located dispersively and not all of them are old enough to be considered for preservation as historic properties. One of the main reasons for the dispersed pattern of old buildings and non-uniformity in age or era of buildings is because both districts suffered great fires around the beginning of the modern age, e.g., Yamagata in 1896 and 1911, Yachi in 1866 and 1869.

(2) Management approach to improve urban quality based on historicity

The purpose of this study has been to find how to improve the urban quality, especially in terms of townscape, of such historical districts, which are common or ordinary in Japan. Our target is not the typical historical district which can be preserved under the provisions of the Preservation District for Groups of Historic Buildings, but rather such ordinary historical districts – as in the two examples of Yamagata City and Kahoku Town, and, which must be numerous – as we have seen in chapter two of this paper.

In order to understand that a strong preservation tool is not adequate for such districts, it is necessary to review the townscape ordinance in Yamagata City. As already noted, Yamagata City established a townscape ordinance in 1996 which contains provisional implements for use in townscape planning, for example, designation of buildings and structures to be preserved, designation of area that is to be controlled by design guidelines and building codes, agreement of building types, system for awarding honorable distinction or recognition, design control of high-rise buildings. The latter three tools have already been utilized, but the former two tools of designation, which have regulations that are less stringent than those of Preservation District for Groups of Historic Buildings, have not yet been used in these past ten years since their inception.

A new Townscape Act was established by the national government in 2004 based on the past experiences of local governments' townscape ordinance. One of the notable features of this act is to provide two kinds of area control tools to regulate buildings in terms of form and design. It is estimated to allow for relatively more freedom in the process of conserving historical districts than the Preservation District for Groups of Historic Buildings in that it can be customized by each local government, but since it contains a legal order, its legislative power is greater than that of local governments' ordinances. However, in view of Yamagata City's past ten years' experience, regulatory control tools, even such as this new Act, can only be used by a few cities or towns with clear targets that fit the regulation requirements. Difficulties in making a consensus among the residents or inhabitants who have a variety of hopes and differences in vision about the future of the district, who are at different points or standings in their life stage, and who hold few if any expectations for the area to become a tourist spot, have been gathered as reasons for why the effectiveness of a regulatory tool is limited in such ordinary districts that do not qualify for preservation efforts as viewed under regulatory guidelines. An approach different to that of regulatory guidelines and control needs to be devised.

In thinking about a new approach for such ordinary historical towns considerations should be based on their features in the post-urbanization period. From the previous chapters' discussion, the types of districts to be selected as targets and the characteristics or conditions of their historicity are listed as follows:

1. The historical elements are located dispersively but contribute to make the district's townscape or image historical.
2. The historical elements do not always have high academic, aesthetic, and/or historic value.

3. The historical elements are conserved by the individual inhabitants who have continued to use the element in their daily life or activities until now.

4. Each inhabitant has hopes to maximize the value of their real estate within reasonable time in terms of private enterprise and business opportunities, and to appreciate or secure the worth of their asset in terms of contribution to society, cultural and historical heritage.

The above-mentioned conditions require that our planning considerations adopt the following attitudes (listed respectively) in regard to such kind of ordinary historical district:

1'. The aim should not be to make a perfect, traditional landscape, but to keep and foster the historicity of the district and to improve the quality of environment.

2'. The evaluation of the elements should be based on how they contribute to the quality of the environment and/or benefit the inhabitants (human-environment transaction).

3'. To hold as a desired purpose, the support of each inhabitant's hope and efforts to use and revitalize the historical artifact while enhancing its historical and social value.

4'. To design an effective treatment plan which will maintain and revitalize the historicity of the artifact while responding to the needs that arise as new activities develop and evolve, and to enable the inhabitants to strengthen their role in contributing to the local community.

Such thinking leads us to a new planning approach or schema completely different from that of temporary preservation system and regulatory townscape control (Fig. 6). Based on this new schema, the planning approach to dealing with the historicity of ordinary historical towns should be changed from a regulatory one to one which can be referred to as "townscape management."

The meaning of "management" in "townscape management" is that the planning system will commit to the districts' townscape-related needs or requirements for the long term or indefinitely. Adequate and quick reactions or responses to changes in situation is important. Extensive interest and commitment to the economic, social, cultural, and environmental conditions of the district is desirable, and, as the planning system is based on each inhabitant's activities, methods and ways to assist in the implementation and actualization of these ongoing "living conservation activities" while improving the townscape will be required.

	Regulatory Control	Townscape Management
Features of the target areas or districts	Existence of historic townscape having high academic, aesthetic, and/or historic value	Ordinary town with confused townscape that contains some historical elements
Aim of planning	To keep the traditional townscape and historic value of the district through preservation of historic artifacts	To improve the quality of the town environment through conservation efforts with a view for developing future potential
Allowance for mix or non-uniformity of elements in the target area in terms of historical period or design	Denied or refused as much as possible	Given as a premise including accommodation for ongoing change in target environment
Policy of design control	Strongly controlled by guidelines based on principal idea of historical authenticity and uniformity	Individual ideas are considered or valued, with flexible policy guiding different activities
Assumptions about the target area community	Collective decision-making based on group consensus in regard to preserving the historic environment	Decision-making based on individual valuables or differences in conditions allowed

Fig.6 Two types of planning systems for conservation of historical districts

This townscape management approach, which is intended to support and promote the activities of each inhabitant, to further develop social networks through various channels in order to use and revitalize the historical artifacts, and to improve urban quality, also requires the innovation and creativity of the individual and community. To nurture creativity and advance the wishes of the owners for the future use and role in the community for their artifacts, interaction and stimulation within the community, incentive from and cooperation of the public sector, influence and examples of experienced communities, and participation of professionals, for example designers and architects, are desired.

Some of these ordinary historical towns are trying to revitalize their historical districts and enhance their historicity, including Yamagata City and Kahoku Town. Such planning movements are called “machi-zukuri (town fostering)” in Japan. If planning is based on the concept of “townscape management” as described in this paper, candidates for townscape planning will be more practical and readily obtainable, and possibilities will become more apparent and available.

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IDENTITARY POLYPHONY AND ITS ENUNCIATES AT THE METROPOLY OF THE SOUTHERN COMMON MARKET.

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Key Words: City. Identity. Polyphony. Cascavel. Southern-Common-Market

Previous Considerations

The region where today is the city of Cascavel, was historically the scenario of Jesuit action in the beginning of Brazil's colonization. There, in the XIX century, took place the extrativist process of yerba mate. In the XX century, Cascavel and its surrounding cities were culminant for the end of the Revolution (revolução tenentista), one of the biggest rebellions against the Republic. The migratory movement towards the city of Cascavel, in the 1930s, is a consequence of this political movement. The people who headed Cascavel were looking for the obscurantism of the region as a way of protecting themselves against political persecution. (DIAS, Caio et al, 2005). Due to the entrepreneurship of those who have migrated, allied to its natural resources, the city is so-called today "*The Southern Common Market Metropolis*". After this migratory outbreak there were others due to the opportunities generated by the city: in the end of the 1940s, pioneers established themselves there due to its rich forests; in the 1970s due to the richness generated by the "green gold" (soybean); in the 2000 decade due to the university teaching expansion. The 2000 decade migratory process brought up intellectual

elites that, after instituting the city as regional education center, planted the seed of academic research. (DIAS, Bruno, 2005).

The present text is the consequence of an investigative academic experience for both authors; and existential for Ms Dias, who settled down in the city of Cascavel as an urbanist architect in the 1974 migratory cycle to plan the city. The matter is the dialectic analysis of the historical process of the territorial space occupation. The research field is the comparison of the modern urbanism precepts with the urban identity and the Cascavel citizen. The research was carried out in 2006, the year which was approved the new Urban Plan law. The foundations of this research are, specially, the theoretical fundamentals of Stuart Hall and Mikhail Bakhtin, compared to the progressive urbanism concepts declared in the Charter of Athens. The investigative actions lead to some thinking about the urban identity, the urbanists actions in the city, and about the success (past, present and future) of such actions; they also reflect about the Cascavel citizen identity, who is the subject of this research. It has been verified the necessity of having some changes in the local urbanists attitude.

1. Urban character and morphology

The ones who immigrated to Cascavel were young entrepreneurs, attached to the material, looking for tangible wealth, which they would not have in their place of origin. Working and its financial results were their priorities. Their individual and material enrichment happened in a very fast and intense way. In the imaginary, the gain of things acquired by the money would give its detainer social recognition and “respectability”. Wealth generated wealth. The material enrichment stood out against the cultural, the community, the solidary, the one of common interest. (PIAIA, 2005).

The region became very attractive in the 1960s due to the wood extraction advent, which demanded, as the urban population increased, the transference of the road that

connected the state Capital to Foz do Iguaçu. During the road transference process an innovator project is created, the Brazil Avenue, the main street of the city. That is the initial mark for the future actions of urban planning, strongly identified as modernistic urbanism. The consequence is that the imaginary Cascavel citizen has something to do with its urban morphology, which prioritizes the vehicle, emphasizing the streets. They were large and paved but in many places did not have sidewalks, landscaping or even public illumination. In such an imaginary, the places of financial profit and work had priorities over the places of leisure, cultural or environmental preservation places. (PMC, 2005).

Searching for wealth they did not have in their places of origin, the residents looked for urban properties that, in the future, could be commercialized, becoming a currency. (PMC, 1978). Then the city grew larger, considering the economical interest and not the social one. The peripheral expansion, in the 1980s, brought up migrants even from the West region. (PMC, 1987). So, at the same time that Cascavel was recognized on a state and national perspective as an island of prosperity (in the economical crisis that Brazil went through in the 1980s), its peripheral area diverged from its central area. (PMC, 1992). In fact there were two cities that, in common, had only the name. It has been verified that, during the institution process of the city of Cascavel some antagonisms had been found: city center versus suburbs; individuality versus collectivity; middle-class versus working class; etc.

2. History of Cascavel urbanism

The Brazil Avenue creation, in the city center, which was projected in the beginning of the modern urbanism, is the initial mark for the future actions of Cascavel Urban Planning. In the 1960s, besides by the construction of Brasília, the Brazilian urban model was strongly identified with the precepts of the Charter of Athens, a solution which was presented as a salvation and able to solve the cities existent problems. With the advent of the modernist

urbanism, Plans of Use and Occupation of Land and Urbanistic Laws were initiated all over Brazil, which were, in general, elaborated by technicians and approved by politicians. They were many times legal actions that occurred through decrees and without any popular support. Such situation occurred by to the fact that Brazil, at that time, was under Military Dictatorship regime. During the dictatorship there were no democratic rights, and the decisions were made by military authorities, supported by technicality, the same happened in the Brazilian urbanism.

In Cascavel the first action of urban space organization happened in 1974, with the Construction Code, Zoning Law and Allotment Law elaboration, all three for the city. In these three laws and the ones that came after, we emphasize that the model was the one stated by the Charter of Athens. These laws were elaborated to discipline and control urban growth, which was now in expansion by the international recognition of soybean cultivation, or “green gold”, as it was known and called.

In 1978 the city elaborated its first Urban Plan. From this Plan originated new Zoning and Street System laws. In the process of political alternation, self characteristic which is unchanged in the city until today, the power established through the technical language combined with the political discourse, elaborates another urbanist work. This city administrative management finished in 1988, without having the technical document being transformed into a draft.

The next city administrative managements from 1989 to 1992, also contrary to the one before, have the responsibility of following the rules of the new Federal Constitution regarding the Urban Plans. Not having forgotten that at that moment Brazil was already a democratic country, as the Military Dictatorship regime had come to an end. It gets started a new work: the third. Although this new plan was concluded in 1992, it became a law only in 1996, due to political and administrative interference from the executive and legislative

powers of the city. Among the interferences, there is also the alternation of the city administrative management, which was politically opposite to the previous one.

Although there were all these technical works (or exactly for having many technical works without communitarian participation), the city grows randomly. Around 50% of the urban edifications are illegal, and do not follow the urbanistic laws: the real city is different from the planed one.

As the urban occupation was illegal the process of construction sites legalization by political acts, which did not have any technical argumentation, becomes common and frequent. As a result, the population in general (and stimulated by the lack of fiscalization), disobey the land appropriation laws. Such a situation generates serious social and environmental problems in the city urban area. We can then notice the dissonance between the real and the planned, between the beliefs of the technical group of urbanists and the community reaction to that. Thus, the urban discourse in Cascavel is not harmonious. As a result, the Law elaborated in 1992, which still did not represent the popular will, when it was approved in 1996, did not also represent the technical will of local urbanists.

In the third millennium, we could see a different Brazil, after its Military Dictatorship of the 1960s and democracy being instituted in the 1980s, we get to the populist govern of the XXI century. In this populist govern, concerning the basic urban concepts, the tenacity that privileged the automobile in detriment of the human being, the constructions in detriment of the people, the technical-political imposition in detriment of the democracy, the profit in detriment of the environment is criticized. The modern urbanism concepts are revised. Nevertheless, the population in general, and specially in Cascavel, is not interested in discussing, and when it is, usually ask for improvements such as: pavement, viaducts, etc. The Cascavel citizen imagetic is strongly connected to the automobile.

In 2001 is introduced a Federal Law named City Statute and once more, the new city Mayor belongs to a political party opposite to the previous one. There is a political promise of establishing the Cascavel Urban Planning and Research Institute – CUPRI, whose objective is to urbanistically plan the city. Such a promise is not kept. During the 2000 - 2004 representation, motivated by the statute and the dissatisfaction with the 1996 law, the city begins, for the fourth time in thirty years, other new studies and discussions about the Cascavel Urban Plan. During this process, as stated in the Statute, a new methodology of popular participation is adopted, which is made through Public Audiences. By the end of 2004 representation this technical-comunitary work is still unconcluded.

The 2005 urban scenario of Cascavel keeps the tradition of having a new Mayor belonging to a party opposite to the previous one. However, regarding the Cascavel Urban Plan discussion process, this time the new administration gives sequence to the technical studies started in the previous representation. By the end of 2005, after three years of technical and communitarian debates all over the city (rural and urban areas), the Cascavel Urban Plan is approved by law. It is verified, as we compare to the previous ones, that the main difference of such plan is the discussion: as in having wide-ranging themes or through democratization due to popular participation. The guidelines of the 2005 Urban Plan were defined with participation of the society of Cascavel. They were called and heard as the decisions were made, as stated in the City Statute.

3. Social identity and urbanism

Identity is not something you are born with, it is formed over the years and through an unconscious process (HALL, 1998). During the post-modern desterritorialization, as the elite could construct its own territory in the world-citizenship, the excluded ones grouped in fundamentalist identities (national, ethnical, religious), assuring their survival as a very well

organized group, instituting their individuality (HAESBAERT, apud LOPES, 2003). In the city debate and in its territorial-political matter as a symbolic game, with recurrent representations, the city founding discourse keeps its secrets, which are inherent since its origin and generates the city desire (OLIVEIRA apud LOPES, 2003). How would the people's identity connotation be perceived during a contemporaneous territorial disorder, which is called post-modernity and lives side by side with globalization, allied to the city founding discourse and its vocation?

Nowadays the conceptual Cascavel citizen, which can be considered a world citizen, is the one who belongs to the 1950 migration period, and which today is the city elite. This group is characterized by individual and non communitarian actions (PIAIA, 2005), and strong connection to the family here established. These characteristics make these citizens, when socially grouped or concerning urban or rural territorial interest, pursue the family wealth and well being in first place. Concerning the present Cascavel peripheral dwellers, which had established themselves in the 1980s, they have brought habits, culture and ideologies already disseminated throughout a net world sponsored by the *mass media*, mainly by television. Besides the *mass media* such people have got together looking for working place and conditions, churches and leisure activities. Leisure activities mainly selected for their economical conditions, consequently generating cultural groups. (BORGES, 2005).

It is verified that the founding discourse of Cascavel, its character, in the 1930s was to maintain distance from strangers due to political dissonances and retaliations. In the 1950s it was to give opportunities to pioneers, which were coming from the Southern States and wanted to be settlers in the West Region of Paraná (PIAIA, 2005). Although the discourse had two sides (1930 and 1950), they do not contradict: they complete each other. In both moments of the colonization the pioneers were determined people looking for a new life, new future and new spaces. This is the city character, its primary identity. In the discourse it is possible

to notice clear characteristics that still persist: political contestation, search for opportunities (if necessary, not following instituted patterns); the fight for individual recognition, for its values, for its space.

Thus, the city social-economic movement that occurs in the beginning of the new millennium is justified: the universities. They materialized the dream of the Cascavel citizen, the dream of improving oneself to get better jobs, better economical situation and better lives. (DIAS, Bruno, 2005). As in the 1950s, the search is for jobs, but this time for qualified jobs. It is another characteristic of the founding discourse, which confirms itself in the present time. However, if the city of Cascavel is a place of confront concerning the power of microphysics (FOUCAULT, 1979), how can we pactualate the common well being above the dispute of individuals, groups, classes, corporations? It is clear that the contextual matter of Cascavel goes through the association of territory and class identity, due to the modern identity matrix disruption. In this city, there is no doubt about the relevance of the social action concerning the space, configuring new urban spaces which were defaulted created and not contested by the instituted legal power.

In this scenario, the failure on the discourse of its urbanists is verified, who have tried, for over 30 years, to “organize” and “discipline” the city urban space. This failure is the confirmation of the modern identity annihilation, represented by the technocratic proposals of land occupation laws and rules.

If the present alternative is the hope of a social behavior change through academic thinking supported by the university class, what is the proposal for those excluded from this process of reeducation? If the identity matter is connected to the spatial segregation process, which occurred by the lack of alternatives for the ones who have established themselves in the peripheral areas, what is the dream, the hope and the real possibilities for this population? How could we put such dreams into action? The answer, in the modern urbanism discourse,

was of adequating them to the land use regulations. The present democratic process discourse is to strengthen the groups to stand up for their rights. The groups, after having their rights conquered (citizen education in the same process that the university offers to its students), will promote reflection, becoming citizens with post-modern identity and demanding responsibility for the pacts assumed.

Then, who is responsible for defining Cascavel social identity: its elites, the middle class, the peripherals, the excluded, the urbanist class, the established Citizens or the temporary citizens? Now the analysis becomes dialogic and polyphonic.

4. Urbanism, dialectic and polyphony

Bakhtin's dialectic, as a discourse theory, makes us question the abstract objectivist rationalism of the enunciations in the universe of denotations that impregnate social, political and economical life (HENRIQUES, 2004). For Bakhtin the interaction between speakers instituted in specific contexts in a continuous process, centered in dialogism, is the language social conception. In this concept, there are no limits for communication, as the enunciation is already constituted of ideological materiality, used by the individuals as a set of voices that elaborate knowledge. For Bakhtin the universe of denotations concretizes itself in the social historic plurality. In the semiotic ground, the visibility of the urbanistic conceptions in the form of work, leisure, cultural places or many others are rich. (BAKHTIN, 1999). The relation between individuals and urbanism is a two way conversation: as the abstract projection of the urbanist, of his comprehension of the world; or the comprehension of the effective materiality of the one who uses it, who inhabits it: the citizen. If the subject is an acting part of the social environment, he is also an interaction factor. The subject is not only a spreader of an existent discourse but also makes part of the discursive process, interfering, modifying or improving the social discourse. He is an active subject who is capable of using

the language to form his individual conscience and also capable of using his individuality to interfere in the social language process, constantly interacting with the society. This view of Bakhtin presupposes that urbanists, elites and periphery can fit in this subject profile.

Final reflections

The social identity of the city of Cascavel is characterized by political contestation to the instituted authority and as a social practice, by consecrating the material, by the iconoclasy of egoism. It is clear, in the identity of the citizen, the inexistence of a monolinguistics identity and the highlighted polyphony of the identitary segments. Under these circumstances, how can we create general contexts of affection and signification in the same urban environment? If the signs came true in the plurality, they would create the symbolic game of the city. This symbolic game works through the founding discourse of the city, its political dissonances, its individualism, its entrepreneurship and also for not following the urbanistic rules proposed by the modern urbanism. According to the concepts of Bakhtin, the identitary situation of Cascavel is natural, contrary to the view of the modern urbanism, which presupposes the “ideal pattern man”. There is no pattern man in Cascavel, therefore it is impossible to plan for such a man, since he does not exist in this urban reality. If the urbanistic signs are composed of essence and appearance, the relations between physical spaces and imaginary spaces must tend to satisfy, in the appearance, the imaginary essence desired by the majority.

About the real efficacy of the proposals pactuated in the present legal and technical document named 2006 Urban Plan, only the future will be able to judge, since the plan advanced from the modern urbanism technocrat process of the past to the democratic process of the present. The following questions remain: Was the democratic discourse perceived by the citizens, as co-responsible for creating it? Although the democratic process on the

elaboration of the Plan was followed, will the social actors, which agreed on it, carry out their roles on the implantation of it? Does the character, personality and local identity presuppose the accomplishment of what was accorded?

Considering the perceived characteristic of non agglutination within communitarian interests, how can we define the indentity of Cascavel? In 2006 a pact between the society and the public authorities was held, which became a contract: Cascavel Urban Plan Law. This is the legalization, in enunciates, of the identitary polyphony of the self intituled *Shouthern Commom Market Metropolis*. Therefore, the classes that accorded and elaborated the enunciates had to readapt themselves as subjects. For this pact to be effectivated there is the necessity of a permanent discussion between all social actors. If this management style is restored, the polyphony and dialectic will be present on the elaboration of its enunciates.

If the Cascavel citizen is ready to keep his part of the pact, it will depend on the shared management effectiveness, through successful actions that contemplate the majority, which will necessarily go through polyphony and dialectic. Concerning the questioning of until when will this social actor carry out the post-modern subject identity, the answer is that he will carry his role out until the moment he thinks he has to, since the post-modern identity presupposes the sum of several identities in the same individual, and all these identities search for fulfillment, which is material, in the specific case of Cascavel.

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The partnership paradigm; Governance between trust and legitimacy

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Introduction

Modern liberal democracies can be conceived as consisting of three coordinating domains: The state, the market and the civil society. A basic premise is that each of the domains fulfils a function that cannot be fulfilled by the other domains:

- The state is responsible for an orderly society;
- The market for its economic basis; and
- The civil society for social and community relationships.

In the classical image of governance boundaries between the public and private realms cannot be surpassed. Governance is equated exclusively with government, and has to be organized only in hierarchies. As a consequence responsibility for public issues is fully relegated to the public domain of the state. The strict separation of public and private responsibilities has also been a characteristic of natural resources management. The use of resources might be a private affair, but to safeguard sustainability the public domain of the state had to put restrictions on the use. As a consequence, private parties were only held responsible for preservation if the rules imposed by governments demanded accountability from them and placed the responsibility on them. Both at the national and international level this governance has engendered a policy on natural resources that is largely government-initiated, rule-oriented, legalistic, and rather formal. Recently, however, we observe a shift in this concept of governance. This shift puts less emphasis on the autonomy of the three domains and instead stresses their interdependencies. It is assumed that public choices have to be made in a multi-actor context, in which private actors from the market and civil society need to, and are able to take responsibility for public issues as well. This new image of governance recognizes their self-governing capacities. The shift towards a new form of governance particularly influenced sustainability issues and issues related to natural resources (Glasbergen and Driessen, 2002). It has been institutionalized in all kinds of collaborative arrangements, which I address as partnerships, between representatives of the state, the market and civil society. With partnerships the well established boundaries between the state, the market and civil society seem to destabilize. Hierarchy is replaced by more horizontal relationships. As a consequence societal governance has become more dynamic, more complex and more heterogeneous. Instead of a strong *state* to govern natural resources, we now need to face the opportunities of a strong *society*, which is at least partly based on private initiatives from the market and the civil society. Discussing the management of natural resources thus brings us at the heart of the debate on public and private responsibilities, their relationships, and even the possibilities to unite them into a forceful management strategy within the liberal democratic order.

In this paper I will first specify some characteristics of typical cases. These are the complex ones, covering both representatives of the North and the South. Next the new management strategy will be characterized as the partnership paradigm. To understand and evaluate this paradigm I will present two related analytical models. Both help us to go to the essence of the partnering process and its implications. The first one takes a behavioral approach. This approach looks inside-out at the activities of partners and partnerships. The second model takes an institutional approach. By looking outside-in this approach particularly takes the contextuality of partnerships into account. I will conclude with some comments on the new roles of governments and the evaluation of partnerships with the help of the models.

Some practices

Let us first look at some typical cases to get a feeling of the new forms of governance.

* The first case is a tree uniting Unilever, nongovernmental organizations, and local businesses and communities.

The Allanblackia tree is commonly found in several parts of Africa. It grows primarily in tropical rainforests, but can also be found on cultivated farmland. The oils obtained from the seeds are used by the local population, but until recently, the extracted seed-oil has never been used on a commercial basis. Some years ago Unilever, a big international producer of consumer goods, joined forces with some leading development and conservation organizations to form a partnership project in Ghana to extract, on a commercial scale, edible oil from the seeds of the indigenous tree. The partners will help in local capacity building, set up the logistics, and ensure that the proceeds from this business benefits local communities, thus contributing to the fight against poverty. The partnership will also help to achieve greater sustainability by protecting trees that now got an economic value.

* The second case regards shrimp uniting governments, environment and development NGOs, shrimp farmers and European importers.

As part of the broader WSSD partnership on market access, the Netherlands concluded a partnership with Indonesia and Malaysia at the Johannesburg Summit in 2002. The main ambition is to improve market access of farmed shrimps on the European market and therefore solve the food safety problems. An added ambition is to improve the ecological and social sustainability of shrimp farming. Even though this is primarily an agreement between governments, industry representatives and, until recently, environment and development NGOs are involved. In the Netherlands both the Ministries of Agriculture and Development Aid are involved. This partnership is dependent on government funding.

Both are very specific cases, rather local and time and place dependent, although there also is a North-South relationship involved. They are *symbols* of change in the management system, perhaps also indicating new opportunities, but they do not have the intention to change the broader system of management of resources in a more structural and fundamental way.

* If we move from the local to the global we can meet many counterparts of these cases. The Stewardship Councils, dealing with sustainable forestry and sustainable fishery, are perhaps best known. Both are initiated by WWF and are collaborations of industry representatives and NGOs, sustained by research institutes. Governments do not take part. The aim of the stewardship councils is to secure the long-term viability of the sectors by promoting a management that is environmentally appropriate, socially beneficial and economically viable. Therefore they link market incentives to consumer preferences by an eco-labeling programme.

Certification is the mechanism through which global resource use is coordinated. Both councils are inspired by actors who are disillusioned by the formal government regimes for sustainable forestry and fishery, though there also is an economic interest involved. These stewardship councils represent attempts to change the management system of trees and fish system-wide. They aim to show the opportunities of an alternative private management system. Next to an orientation on self-interests the partners involved intend to serve a public interest.

Common features

I will regularly come back to these cases throughout my presentation. For now I am particularly interested in their common characteristics:

- First, they all aim for the sustainable use of natural resources.
- Second, they address natural resources as commodities in a supply chain.
- Third, they represent new governance arrangements. All include private sector initiatives linking local producers to mostly western consumers.

In our cases protection and use are not separate entities anymore, which should be covered by different societal domains; respectively the state and the market. It is not only assumed that the market mechanism could be the medium through which protection could be realized, but also that market parties are able to take this responsibility. In other words, sustainable *use* has become a method for fair protection. Making natural resources productive, which is the driving force of private actors in the supply chain, might go together with protection by the same actors, even though protection is a public interest. We might expect such an approach advocated by the economic actors in the supply chain, because they have an economic interest to defend, however, environmental and development NGOs are fully involved as partners in these endeavors. Part of the societal organizations, which used to constantly press governments to develop stricter formal protection regimes and to enforce them better, have now also set their hopes on collaborative frameworks with their former opponents to promote sustainable resource management. Governments also take a new role; sometimes they initiate partnerships and are a full partner, and sometimes they only facilitate a partnership, for example as a network broker in case of a partnership between businesses and NGOs. In all cases they withdraw from their role as autonomous decision-maker.

Partnerships as forms of governance

The new governance arrangements, represented by the cases, are typical forms of partnerships. The concept of partnerships is rather flexible. It not only refers to new relationships between corporations and NGOs, but also to new forms of cooperation between these actors and governments. A useful definition is:

Collaborative arrangements in which actors from two or more spheres of society (State, Market and Civil Society) are involved in a non-hierarchical process through which these actors strive for a sustainability goal.

Partnerships are self-organizing and coordinating alliances. They are set up to solve societal problems. They do so, on the basis of a commitment that is formalized to some extent. And their problem-solving task is accomplished, either partially or exclusively, by private parties.

As forms of governance partnerships have specific characteristics. What makes them distinctive from other forms of governance is the combination of characteristics of the relationships between the agencies, their focus, and the function of their relationships:

- In partnerships agencies from different networks in society, both public and private, with a tendency to operate independently, meet each other, and talk about the developments they would like to see. They discuss the underlying concepts of that development and their relationships to it;
- Participation is voluntary and the partners aim to exclude hierarchy from their interactions as much as possible;
- In their interactions the partners aim to develop some common normative framework as a basis for further collaboration, they discuss pooling their resources, and activities they would have to do separately and they would have to do jointly to deliver a specific public service;
- In the interactions the public service that is the objective of the collaboration will be (re)defined in such a way that each of the participants can connect the public goal to its own private interests;
- In the course of the interactions the relationship becomes more and more functional, i.e. dedicated to a task that will be fulfilled in co-production, resulting in a regulatory structure for a joint management practice;
- This practice, often enshrined in a more or less binding package deal, sets forth development actions and timetables that will have to be followed, will be worked out among the constituencies of the participants, and brought up in other forums to enlarge the commitment to the service;
- Once concluded, participation is not an uncommitted activity any more. Each of the partners can be held responsible for the agreed upon contribution and together they take responsibility for the final results of the endeavor. The collaboration has some permanency. Regularly the partners meet again to adapt their agreement to new circumstances.

The partnerships paradigm

Partnership arrangements differ in the type of actors involved, their intensity, scale, intentions and activities:

- Partnerships unite around area-specific sustainability issues; within (inter)national product chains; in the service of specific natural resources; and through environmental reporting and other such functions that support sustainable management of resources.
- Some partnerships focus on global issues, for example on sustainable coffee or sustainable cotton, whereas other partnerships on the same issues work at the local level. Some take the form of institutionalized interactive platforms in which complete sectors are involved (e.g. the roundtables on palm oil and soy), while others take the form of a onetime collaboration between one company and one non-governmental organization.
- They also vary considerably in size (that is, in the number of partners) and in geographic scope. But they also differ in terms of their time frame and access to funding.

Together they represent a new management paradigm. Management paradigms filter our way of looking at reality. They interpret reality; highlight the essentials, with the objective to formulate specific guidelines for the deliberate governance of progressive societal change. The partnership paradigm is based on the following assumptions (Glasbergen, 2006):

- Each of the parties from the public sector, the market, and civil society has an interest in sustainable management of resources.
- A constructive dialogue among these interests can be convened in a setting that excludes hierarchy and authority.
- Dialogue can produce a shared normative belief that provides a value-based rationale for collaborative action.
- Collaborative action based on voluntarism, joint resource commitment, and shared responsibility of all actors for the whole project can serve private interests as well as public interests.
- Collective action can be commercial in nature; the market mechanism can promote more sustainable practices through the leverage and spin-off of private-sector investments.

The supposed strength of partnerships, particularly the tri-sector ones, is the combination of the moral authority of NGOs, the market principles of businesses, and the public authority of the state.

Incentives to create partnerships

Partnerships have been formed exponentially since the 1990s of last century. Collaboration across the state, market and civil society domain has become a policy goal at national and international levels. In particular it has become the main strategic approach of the UN policy on sustainable development. Underlying incentives are both normative and structural.

- A more general normative incentive is the concept of sustainable development itself. This concept is broadly defined and covers both the protection of the environment and the development of the economy. Both interests are accorded their own positive value. In this way, both the environmental movement and the private sector are engaged. By definition a relation is forged between them; they have become mutually dependent stakeholders with respect to one and the same issue (Glasbergen and Groenenberg, 2001).

- A general normative incentive, but more looming at the background, also is to be found in the changing consumer preferences. Consumers, backed-up by NGOs, have begun to ask for more environmentally friendly and socially responsible products. Together with some government pressure for Corporate Social Responsibility, this is gradually changing the market conditions. Some companies recognize this fair trade as a profitable niche market. In development and environmental NGOs these companies easily find a natural ally.

- In the more operational normative sphere the partnership paradigm fits very well in the striving for privatization, deregulation and decentralization. The reflex of creating law does not work as good anymore as it did in the past, and governments are looking for additional strategies to realize their objectives. The (re)appreciation of private initiatives also influences the internal structures of governments. The private sector has become a role-model for their organizational identity and influences the roles they take upon them. The entrepreneurial government is a popular slogan expressing this change in attitude.

- A more structural incentive is to be found in the globalization process, which not only made economic actors stronger as political players, but also led to a more professionalized international NGO community able to influence public policies worldwide. The large transnational corporations recognize that NGOs have acquired power and legitimacy as agents of social change and NGOs acknowledge that these corporations are both cause and solution of environmental problems. Even if they wished so they cannot avoid meeting each other. Even so governments can neither neglect businesses nor societal organizations anymore. They have become indispensable to any definition of public problems and their solutions.

Another explanation often given is government failure. Sure, formal regimes for the protection of natural resources are often poorly developed and more often poorly implemented. The promotion of partnerships at the Johannesburg Summit might be interpreted as a move to mask the inability to develop meaningful public regulations on many sustainability issues; a move of governments running away from obligations and making an attempt to shift the burden of public problem solving to others (Norris, 2005, p. 229).

However, most natural resources are important economic assets. Saving these resources is in the long-term interest of the private sector as well. Unsustainable fishery is digging its own grave. In the long run unsustainable industrial logging is suicidal too. Therefore we could address market failure as an incentive as well. Government failure seems to be only secondary to the more fundamental market failure that underlies most natural resource management.

The first model: The ladder of partnerships activity

To further understand partnerships analytically I constructed a ladder of partnership activity. Behavioural approaches to partnerships are rather popular. Most of them take a narrow view on the partnering process, focusing on how the actors directly involved develop their communality. They distinguish phases of collaboration (Gray, 1989). Here I take a broader view. The ladder is based on the premise that partnering is a process in which actors restructure and build up new social relationships to create a new management practice.

The ladder consists of five core steps, set in a time frame. Each step is represented by a core activity. The first step is an *exploratory* one. This step refers to the attitudinal preconditions to start a partnering process and the underlying mechanism of trust building. The second step refers to the *formation* of the partnership as a new arrangement. The central mechanism is specified as creating collaborative advantage. This step refers to businesslike characteristics of partnering. The third step, constituting a rule system, specifies the governance regimes partnerships develop. Here we look at the interim effects in terms of *outputs*. The fourth step refers to *implementation* of the rule-system. Gaining legitimacy in the relevant issue area of the partnership is the main mechanism. The last activity, changing the political order, may be a deliberate *outcome*, but also the unintended societal consequence of the partnering process.



This ladder is further encapsulated in three dimensions.

In the course of the partnering process a gradual shift will take place from interactions among the partners themselves to interactions of the partnership with its relevant external environment. These are indicated as internal and external interactions.

The second dimension of changing methodology refers to the shifting technology of the partnering process; the core methods applied to bring the partnership forward.

The dimension of actor versus structure indicates the objects that are influenced: from the intentions of actors in a process, and their collaborations, to the more permanent impacts in the issue area the partnership is active and on the characteristics of the governance system.

The ladder of activity of partnerships represents an idealized form of the full partnering process. In reality the logical steps do not follow on that neatly. Actually partnering is a continuous process with many feedback loops. However, the ladder helps us to better understand the heuristics of the partnership concept in terms of the critical issues and key challenges that arise in each of the phases. These will be discussed in the following.

The first level of activity: building trust

In the first phase potential partners need to define a common objective. Actors who are sometimes rivals outside the context of the partnership, and represent different interests, need to develop awareness that they might be allies on specific instances. As many partnerships arise from some form of conflict, partnering implies both cognitive and behavioral shifts from the participating actors. Preliminary dialogues and explorative talks need to lay the foundations for further collaboration. Part of this foundation relates to emotional issues. Most important at this phase is an attitudinal readiness to collaborate. The potential partners need to be open about their particular interests related to economy and environment, and their options available. This attitude, successively, will largely determine the options for interaction available (see also Gray, 1989).

If a conflict between the economy and the environment is assumed the effect will almost automatically be a form of adversarial interaction among the stakeholders involved. They will perceive each other as opponents and act accordingly:

- They will emphasize their differences, not what they might have in common;
 - They will only provide information that can reinforce their own position;
 - They will try to restrict any discussion to policy alternatives that serve their own interests.
- Adversarial interaction is competitive and takes place in an atmosphere of distrust. One side's gain is always seen as another side's loss.

Alternatively, assuming that in principle the environment can be reconciled with the economy, another form of interaction is to be expected; collaborative interaction. With this form of interaction the parties seek opportunities to achieve consensus on a policy problem:

- They will look for solutions that do justice to as many of the diverse interests as possible;
- They will examine the available information jointly or might seek it together;
- They will try to widen the range of policy alternatives rather than narrowing them down.

Collaborative interaction is constructive and takes place in an atmosphere of mutual trust.

The pivotal mechanism to make the shift from a form of adversarial interaction to a form of collaborative interaction is trust. Trust particularly encapsulates the emotional argument: the reduction of feelings of risk and vulnerability in the partnering process. To some extent, the reciprocal relations between the partners have to be predictable. Trust in partnerships builds on mutual respect for what a potential partner can offer to the partnership. The parties will not enter into a partnership if they do not have some positive pre-conceived ideas about overlap in agendas and the potentially valuable input of each of the other partners. Mostly, this initial trust will be based on reputations, past behavior, or pre-existing informal relations between the parties. However, it also requires some institutionalization of the relationships. Conditions to facilitate trust encompass creating a minimal structure and ground rules to provide security, equity and fairness. A first set of rules pertains to securing that the members' presence is legitimate and that they will be heard despite differences in status or power; they will be respected and treated with dignity. Another set of rules must secure that serious collaborative work can be done: rules dealing with agenda building, provision of valid information, confidentiality and a code of conduct (Schruijer and Vansina, 2004, p. 229).

Take the Stewardship Councils, for instance. Fundamental mistrust has been expressed because of the fear of domination of the perspective of the North; that it privileged Northern consumers and corporations over Southern producers and consumers. One critic of the Marine Stewardship Council was that it imposes its Northern view on what responsible fisheries are upon developing countries; ignoring the livelihood interests of the fisheries communities in the South. It could easily become another example of Northern eco-imperialism (Constance and Bonanno, 2000). The Forest Stewardship Council had to face more or less the same critics (Murphy and Bendell, 1999). Only by giving the Southern interests a place in the decision-making processes, and including social criteria in the certification schemes, this distrust could partly be taken away. The practices need to sustain the future trust in the Council's activities.

Trust is not created for once and ever. Trust building is a social process that needs to be maintained and supported by positive experiences throughout the whole partnering process.

The second level of activity: creating collaborative advantage

Next to the development of trust, the parties need to nurture their special interests. NGOs are bound by their identification with and loyalty to civic values. The market mechanism forces businesses to act in their own direct economic interest. In principle, governments cannot share the political mandate that the public has vested in them. Because the interests are fundamentally different, the elasticity of representatives of each of the domains is restricted. Each of the partners may have an incentive to participate, but also takes risks with particular commitments. Role-conflicts seem to be immanent of a partnering process.

* A government participating in a partnership acts as one of the interest groups. This might be interesting from the perspective of enlarging the responsibility for specific policies and gaining institutional capacity to implement the policies. However, because of their institutional position as democratically legitimized actors, governments have some specific decision-making responsibilities. Sharing responsibilities is not only constitutionally risky, but takes place in the wake that they will ultimately be held responsible for any failure by the public.

* For market parties participation is interesting as part of their reputation management strategy. But an economic actor is also restricted by its existence as part of a supply and demand chain. Altruism is per definition excluded from their core businesses. For example, saving nature can never be the goal of a company. Saving resources can be a goal only if this resource can be made economically profitable.

* Non governmental organizations can scale up their work and scope in partnerships. They can also secure a better funding base. So, next to an idealistic interest they may have an economic interest. They take the risk that they are used as a cheap marketing tool for a private interest; lose their organization identity and therefore their relationship with their constituencies.

Attitudinal readiness and trust are not enough. Partnerships should not be idealized. At the end of the day partnering is about doing business in another way. Of course, collaborating partners can challenge each others stereotypes and assumptions. Partners can explore how they can work together and find a common ground for action. But a partnership is a contractual arrangement as any other political and economic arrangement within which the partners distribute opportunities and risks. For each partner the opportunities should outweigh the risk. This is captured with the concept of collaborative advantage. Collaborative advantage encapsulates the synergy argument: to gain real advantage from collaboration, something has to be achieved that could not have been achieved by any one of the partners acting alone, but nevertheless is in its interest. This may be the acquisition of additional resources, but also skills, relationships, or consent (Brinkerhoff, 2002, p. 16). Collaborative advantage refers to making the mutual benefit of collaboration explicit. It postulates the possibility that each of the parties can connect its own interest with the common (i.e. public) objective of the partnership. In other words, potential partners will only collaborate structurally if each of them is convinced it stands to gain from the partnership.

Consider the Marine Stewardship Council again. The retailers and wholesalers are primarily interested in the fish stocks as a tradable resource. No fish no trade. The economic actors aim to secure a long-term supply. Product differentiation also plays a role, as well as the added value of the product, and credibility to the public. NGOs are primarily interested in conservation of the marine ecosystems. The agenda's of the partners are different, but they

also partly overlap. In the overlap they can each gain their advantages. However, these agreements are vulnerable. The MSC can only remain advantageous for multinationals like Unilever, one of the largest consumer product corporations very active on manufacturing frozen fish, if several of the larger fisheries can be certified. If not, it will recall its interest.

As trust, collaborative advantage needs to be maintained throughout the partnering process.

The third level of activity: constituting a rule system

The success of partnering in the first two phases of our model both depends on the ability of self-reflection of the partners, an important aspect of trust building, and their ability to develop a reciprocal relationship, which is related to collaborative advantage. The output of successful partnering so far will be a new social contract with which the partners formally invest in each other. This contract will specify their future relationships in terms of:

- Reciprocal commitments to a specific problem definition;
- Reciprocal commitments to a set of rules.

The definition of the problem refers to the social issue the partners are connected to. This issue will be partly exogenously defined; for instance, striving for a more sustainable forestry. However, the output of the foregoing phases will be a more specified definition. This specification is endogenous, i.e. the product of the interactions of the partners (Selsky and Parker, 2005, p. 866). As a social construct this definition will mirror the power relationships in the partnership. This explains why partnerships dedicated to the same issue represent quite different interpretations of sustainability. The set of rules specifies both internal and external obligations. Internal rules are not meant to have an external effect. Regarding these rules the social contract will not be fundamentally different from any standard contract in economic transactions. Only the sanctions of free riding may be different. Sanctions for failing to comply are often restricted to expulsion from the partnership. This seems to be a weak sanction. However, companies who reverse their decision to support a partnership contract may suffer more boycotts and societal scrutiny than if they had never committed at all (Cashore, 2002, p. 521). Governments and NGOs will also lose some of their credibility if they refrain from their obligations.

Some partnerships are not quite different from what we used to call a project. The Allanblackia tree and shrimp case are examples. They only have an internal rule system. Others, such as the Stewardship Councils, introduce an alternative rule-system for the governance of a whole issue area. These often take the form of a code of conduct, an eco-label, or a certification scheme. These schemes take on more of a traditional regime character; they will resemble government regulation. Here one of the fundamental weaknesses of partnerships as system innovators comes to the fore. This is their restricted repertoire of technologies of governance. As private entities their strongest outputs, the certification schemes, primarily address the supply of information, ultimately directed at the end of the supply chain. Some of the weaknesses of this technology can be clarified by looking at the Marine Stewardship Council again:

- In the end the success of marketing a sustainable product, such as fish, largely depends on the will and ability of the consumer to pay extra for a sustainable product. Up to now this is only a niche market.

- There are many small-scale fisheries all over the world. The diversity and amount of fishery communities, who are not organized around a stock, makes certification hardly possible. For example, certification of Thames herring was initially not possible because of big trawlers fishing the same stock, which resulted in overexploitation.
- Certification is dependent on the guarantee of sales. The retail will only be interested if the supply is constant and big enough. This is not possible yet. In the same way fishermen will only become interested in certification if sales are secured. In this way retail and fishermen hold each other captive in a vicious circle of constraints on sustainable change.

Nevertheless, the contractual nature of the relationships in this third phase changes the partnering process fundamentally. Voluntarism is replaced by dedicated commitment. Provisions in the contract, and the degree to which the parties live up to them, then define for a large part the continuity of trust and collaborative advantage. This stability can be turned into dynamism again, for instance when new partners join up or the initial circumstances change in the implementation phase that comes next.

The fourth level of activity: changing a market

An important outcome of this phase should be ensuring that the agreement generated in the foregoing phase is implemented. In this phase the internal oriented horizontal relationships enter the vertical, hierarchic structures of the larger-scale social systems that partnerships associate with. In the types of partnership I addressed in the beginning of this paper this implies entering a specific market to improve its sustainability or resilience. To analyse this phase a commodity chain perspective will be helpful. With this perspective sustainable resource management is conceptualized as a set of activities spanning both production and extraction of resources in developing countries and processing and transport, trade and consumption in developed countries. Although not all partnerships aim to mainstream their activities, some of the most interesting do. They create incentives for the transition of a conventional commodity chain to a more sustainable one. The difference between the two lies in the values attached. A conventional chain is solely focused on the value of economic profitability. A more sustainable one expands the concept of value to ecological and social issues in the chain. Partnerships that aim to change a commodity chain in a sustainable way need to become professional bureaucracies able to influence the governance structure of the chain, i.e. the authority and power relations that determine how financial, material and human resources are allocated and flow within the chain.

The central mechanism in this phase is legitimacy. Legitimacy refers to the process whereby the rule system of the partnership gains recognition and becomes accepted as a relevant alternative – or supplement – in the supply chain. To gain legitimacy a partnership needs to develop functional relationships with other market parties and the formal political regimes influencing that market. The successfulness depends among others on the extent to which they seize the most relevant sustainability aspects of the chain, the extent to which the most powerful actors in the chain are addressed, and how powerful the partnership is in moving these actors. To analyze the process of legitimization we need to broaden our research methodology. The strength of the partnership will find its counterpart in supply chain constraints and even often constraining government policies. Partnerships that aim to introduce new standards are not neutral tools. They should be considered political spheres of action; they are embroiled in the struggle of steering power on economic and political markets (Glasbergen, 2006).

Take the Allanblackia tree partnership. This project has to compete with other economic activities, such as cocoa farming and oil palm cultivation. The revenues from the tree should be attractive and competitive. If not, other forms of land use will shove the project away. This example illustrates the more or less permanent vulnerability of a time-restricted partnership.

Often, multiple partnerships are formed in a commodity chain. Take the Forest Stewardship Council. This partnership has to compete for legitimacy with many partnerships on the same issue which have set their own standards either for sustainable industrial logging, or sustainable conversion of land, control of illegal logging, or a combination of these. These partnerships exhibit a wide diversity of sustainability ambitions. Some of them concentrate on economic sustainability, others on social and/or environmental dimensions. While some focus on the characteristics of the product itself, others are concerned with production and process qualifications. Furthermore, there is quite a regional differentiation among partnerships. Some operate nationwide, while others span a continent. In all of these partnerships, governments, NGOs, or businesses are represented in different combinations.

Some partnerships are little more than a purely economic reaction to previously established partnerships that are pursuing more ambitious goals for sustainable change. Regarding the protection of forest biodiversity, these are mainly partnerships between governments and businesses. On the political market, we see that governments also take part in the struggle, seeking out and stimulating those partnerships that do the most to protect their own markets (Visseren-Hamakers and Glasbergen, 2006).

From an economic perspective, the competition between partnerships and their standards may be seen as a positive development. Competitive relations ensure that the most viable alternative will prevail. But things could turn out differently. The mainstream markets could force the sustainable niches out of the market or replace these niches with their own 'light' versions. The end result of these types of partnerships may be more product differentiation, an attractive niche market in the western world, and a shift of international trade patterns, with certified timber going to Europe and North America and non-certified timber going to Japan and China, but hardly any change in the market share of sustainable products.

Effective private action often needs an element of public recognition, but what we observe in this issue area, as in many others, is a sometimes corrupting role of governments.

The fifth level of activity: changing the political order

On a more abstract level studying the primary processes of partnerships, and their use as media of change, gives insights into the diversity, dynamics, and complexity of governance in modern societies. It may help us to understand and evaluate the shift in the pattern of governance in liberal-democratic societies.

From its inception the concept of sustainable development has been associated with reforms of the political structures of decision-making (Lafferty and Meadowcroft, 1996; Eckersley, 2004). By providing an alternative model of governance, the partnership paradigm introduces such a reform agenda. Therefore we need not only evaluate partnerships on their own merits, but also on their impact on the political order of our societies. Here we enter a phase of our model that has hardly been empirically explored yet. However, general reflections are abundant. Partnerships have been welcomed as an expression of a new form of governance and a reviving of democracy (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003), as well as an erosion of public authority, undermining democracy instead (Saurin, 2001). Some authors take a more

utilitarian approach; they assume that partnerships represent a still unexplored potential for governance and may contribute to an improved functioning of the public sector (Ronit and Schneider, 1999; Murphy and Bendell, 1997). These contradictory views reflect the prevailing uncertainty. They are more ideologically inspired than based on facts.

To assess the outcomes of partnerships we should ideally take the whole configuration of public, public-private, and private regulatory incentives in an issue area into account (Arts, 2000). A specific question would be how partnerships, through their interferences with the other regulatory schemes, improve the governability of these issue areas. Governability refers both to the content of the political choices and the structures of political decision-making.

Up to now, only incidentally such outcomes have been recognized. For instance, the most tangible outcome of the FSC has been that some developed countries adapted their procurement policies, facilitating the FSC label or one of the other labels. Some governments also based their forest law on the FSC premises. Less tangible, but perhaps even more important, is the influence of the FSC on the international discourse. The FSC definition of sustainable forestry is more or less recognized as a benchmark; this concept now plays a central role in any discourse on forest management (see also Pattberg, 2005).

There is no doubt that partnerships sustained the involvement of the business community and the community of NGOs in national and international political decision-making. However, looking the structure of policy-making the effects seem to be small. Indirectly the WSSD partnerships provide us some insights into the structural outcomes. These are the more than 300 partnerships officially recognized by the UN. The shrimp case is one of them. Analysis shows the following pattern:

- Only the largest and richest governments and international organizations have taken an active lead in promoting partnerships;
- The vast majority of the partnership funds come from governments;
- It is unclear how much of that money had already been directed toward sustainable development before the WSSD;
- Most of the NGO partners are large Northern based transnational organizations;
- The private sector hardly ever takes the lead and is only involved in a small part of the partnerships;
- Only a small portion of the partnerships involve all significant stakeholders;
- The partnerships tend to focus more on capacity-enhancing functions than on targeted and outcome-oriented management of natural resources (Hale and Mauzerall, 2004; Andonova and Levy, 2003/2004).

So far there are not enough indications that partnerships fundamentally change the world of politics. The WSSD partnerships are largely supply-driven (by what powerful actors have to offer) rather than demand-driven (by what is needed to fill key implementation gaps). They reflect ongoing implementation efforts more than new ideas for bridging core implementation gaps (Andonova and Levy, 2003/2004). However, this might be due to the specific category of partnerships and a time lag; the facts mirror the early stage the WSSD programme is in.

The second model: on the contextuality of partnering

The ladder of partnership activity discussed so far helps us to understand and evaluate partnerships in a specific way. Mainly we were inside-out looking. As a consequence, the

focus was on intentional aspects of the partnering process; the sense-making activities. Relevant questions were: how do the actors involved shape their relationships, develop a shared meaning of reality, translate this in a change strategy, and what are the effects outside the partnering initiative? In this model the institutional context was more or less handled as a decor. However, the intentional interactions of partnering do not take place in a void; they are always contextually situated. To further understand partnerships we need to add an institutional analysis to the behavioural analysis. This analysis focuses on how the activities are structurally embedded.

Taking an analytical perspective, partnerships operate at a level between the particular organization and society. This implies that they are part of an outside social causality structure that pre-structures for a large part the range of matters on which they can take actions and the way the social actors are able to interact.



The reference made earlier to the interests of the three domains referred to the context of a particular organization. Each partner embodies a different segment of the world, represents specific hopes, expectations, and claims based on its core logics. The core logics represent the specific organizational entity an actor is part of: the formal public sector, the economy or the community. Connected to them are specific expectations and requirements; they pre-structure the roles the actors are able to play. Next table presents an overview of some of the aspects:

Core logics of State, Market and Civil Society

	State	Market	Civil society
Central unit	Voters	Owners	Members
Goods produced	Public	Private	Common
Power form	Law	Money	Group
Primary goals	Societal order	Wealth creation	Community building
Temporal framework	Elections	Business cycles	Regeneration cycles

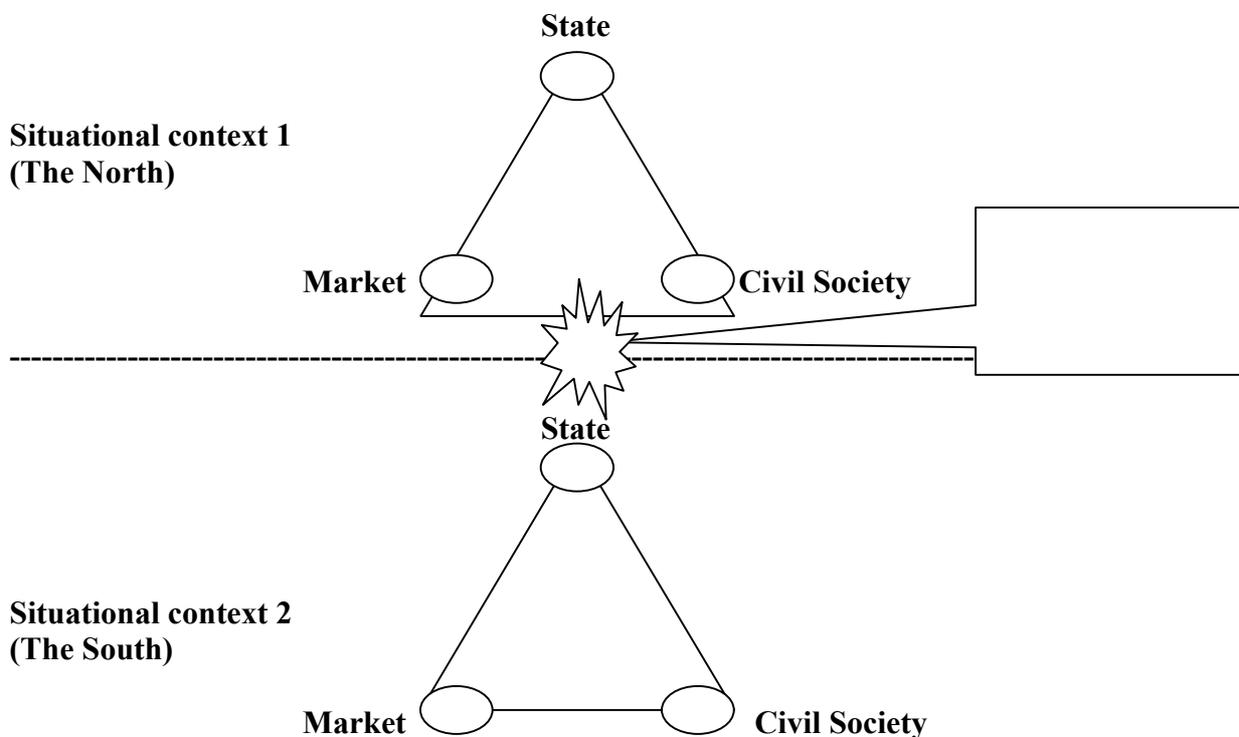
Based on: Waddell, 2005

However, these core logics do not exist independent from each other. They are embedded in situation-specific formal and informal rules, behavioural codes and norms that constitute the interdependent relationships of the actors. Another part of the causality structure relates to commitment of each of the partners to its specific role and place in these interdependencies; the rules of the game that together form the institutional societal context of the partnerships.

With this analysis we are looking outside-in. In the institutional analysis it is assumed that the transaction-specific activities of the partnering process are embedded in the structural positions and roles of the partners outside the partnership. These roles are connected by rules which specify what actions are required, prohibited or permitted. These structural properties of the relationships are more or less permanent and hardly changeable in a single partnership. In other words, the pattern of the outside relationships creates a more or less enabling or constraining environment for the partnership and, next to the intentional aspects of the activities of the partners, may explain part of its success and failure as a form of governance.

An institutional analysis; the shrimp case as an example

The basis of our second analytical model consists of the three domains constituting modern societies: the state, the market, and the civil society. These are placed in their societal context: for example a developed and a developing country. The partnership is indicated with a star.



This model particularly helps us to understand and evaluate the partnering process of regional and global partnerships. The analysis takes place at three levels: the level of the situational context 1 and 2, the relationships between the actors on each level, and the relationships of the actors over the two levels. However, to fully understand the functioning of the partnership we also need to analyse the basis of each of the actors involved; the relationships within each of the domains and how they constrain or enable the actions taken up or not in the partnership.

Let us take the shrimp case as an example of working with this model. This partnership originates from the Johannesburg Summit on Sustainable development in 2002. The objective is to improve market access of tropical shrimp while at the same time improving the sustainability of shrimp farming. This is a partnership that did not make much progress so far. Particularly the second objective related to ecological and social aspects of shrimp farming seems to recede into the background. The explanation is particularly institutional:

In the upper Northern triangle the problems of sustainability are mainly discussed. However, the problems should particularly be solved in the lower Southern triangle.

a) A first feature of the relationships is that the governments do not take a critical stance toward each other.

- The Southern state has hardly any intention to push its own shrimp farmers towards sustainable farming. Sustainability is not seen as an urgent problem. Even its own regulations are not or poorly implemented. Its main interest is to create a bigger market for the shrimps.
- The Northern state is hardly able and also not quite willing to press the Southern state to pay attention to the sustainability aspects. This does not fit into diplomatic relationships. They do not ask difficult questions nor do they formulate hard conditions for collaboration.
- Inside the Northern state the main responsibility for the partnerships is within the ministry of Agriculture. This ministry is focused on the issue of market access. Its main interest is the European food safety requirements. The ministry of Foreign Affairs, particularly its agency of Development Aid, addresses the sustainability issues, but is not the first responsible. The ministry of the Environment is not involved. So, sustainability issues are weakly represented.

b) A second feature of the relationships is the weak position of the nongovernmental organisations.

- The Southern NGOs were very sceptical about the partnership, since they are against large scale shrimp farming for the export market only. In the beginning of the partnership, the Northern NGOs were able to convince their Southern colleagues to participate in the partnership. However, the doubts of the Southern NGOs were confirmed; in their opinion, the sustainability issues were not adequately addressed by the partnership. The Southern NGOs increased pressure on their Northern colleagues to withdraw from the partnership.
- The Northern NGOs decided successively to withdraw. According to their view the sustainability aspects – such as questions of land use, destroyed mangroves, and pollution were neglected. They were not strong enough to change the process to the better on the Northern part and also their relationships with the Southern NGOs did not open up this opportunity.
- The Southern NGOs are in a very weak position. They hardly have any possibility to influence their own state, nor the farming entrepreneurs. However, a local branch of WWF is still participating in the process. Combined with the withdrawal of the other NGOs we observe a lack of countervailing power on the side of civil society.

c) A third feature of the relationships is the passive approach of the economic actors.

- The involved economic actors on both sites are unsure about their roles in this government inspired partnership and take a wait and see approach. Their main interest so far is food safety; the leading sector is the export sector that needs to produce according to requirements of the importer.
- Another partnership between two Dutch NGOs and the main importer may be more successful in addressing sustainability issues. Through this partnership, sustainability issues have been translated into certification criteria. The Dutch shrimp import sector has agreed to these standards. The criteria may be adopted by the European retail sector.

In this case we recognize both uncertain positions and roles of some of the participants and a lack of structural balance in the relationships. The interactive process within the partnership reflects the implications of the power relationships in the relevant context of the partnership.

Conclusions

I started this presentation with the debate on public and private responsibilities regarding the management of natural resources. The partnership paradigm introduces a change in governance: from governance based on a strong state towards governance based on a strong society.

With the partnership paradigm classical political power loses its previous central position; it gets dispersed among a variety of public and private actors. A new governance structure is formed with nodes, meeting points, power centers you might call them too, where specific functions related to private and public affairs are performed.

A main element of this new governance is the idea that sustainable use of resources should be realized through the market. As the unsustainable use of resources primarily originates from market failure, responsibilities taken up by private actors from the market and civil society, whether in collaboration with governments or not, should be welcomed.

The two models presented may help us to better understand partnering processes and evaluate the partnership paradigm as an explication of a new form of governance for sustainable development.

The behavioural approach helps to study partnering as sense-making interactive processes. Here the focus is on the development of managerial potentials through deliberate activities. Each activity could be analysed as a process itself. Most partnership studies do just that and only address the first two steps on the ladder. A full evaluation, however, would include the relationships between activities and analyse how and why partnerships proceed on the ladder. Looking at our cases from this perspective reveals that the results are still very uncertain. In fact governance through partnerships seems to be not quite different from government policies. Though they promote a sense of collective responsibility to sustainable resource management their power to bring about sustainable change is as piecemeal and incremental.

The institutional approach helps to study the conditions that provide the opportunities for collaborative social action. Partnerships are not autonomous entities, but embedded in wider societal structures. Here the focus is on the factors that constrain or enable the partnership. Looking at our cases from this perspective reveals that partnerships are virtually never completely autonomous with respect to government policy. Partnerships derive partly from the powerless role of governments. However, their success is also largely dependent on them.

- First, the success of many partnerships depends on specific government policies. For example, overcapacity in fishery and illegal fishery can hardly be dealt with by private initiatives on their own. The same holds for sustainable forestry, which is dependent on a strict land use planning and a formal policy against illegal logging. Up to now governments fail to develop these necessary back up policies. They are part of the problems that partnerships address.

- Second, governments also fail in their meta-governance role. Because governments take a very pragmatic approach to partnerships they have not been given a logical place in public governance yet. The result is much duplication of efforts, disjointed actions and incoherent partnership programmes. Governments take up a role in the hierarchy they are part of; for instance, the UN. At the same time they engage in occasional roles in the horizontal structures of partnerships. Via the backdoor they aim to realize what they cannot via the front door. This creates a situation in which responsibilities are diffusely spread over public and private actors.

The behavioural and institutional model present two sides of one coin. Through their activities partnerships may modify the structural conditions within which they started functioning. In

this way they change the conditions for further collaborations. Partnerships certainly improve the deliberative capabilities of societies. In this way they may contribute to the progressive dynamic of actor and structure that is necessary to develop a progressive sustainable change.

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The Garden City: Marketing Suburbia in New Zealand

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Interested in the diffusion of the town planning movement in the early 20th century, Christiane Crasman Collins (2006) traces the roles played by Raymond Unwin, John Nolen and Werner Hegemann as ‘couriers’ of Camillo Sitte’s urban design ideas to America. She argues that there were two modes of diffusion. The first involves the transfer of what she calls ‘specific imported blueprints’ that implies the imposition of a foreign typology in a host culture, examples of which abound. In the case of New Zealand, the ‘blueprint’ for colonial settlement was the orthogonal grid with perimeter green belt, conceived by the New Zealand Company and laid out by surveyors in locations selected for town building. The second method according to Collins (2006) was the ‘diffusion of ideas with an emphasis on concept and process, rather than structure’. She argues that this led to a ‘meandering typology’ that absorbed the various features of the target location, ‘transformed by encounters on routes, and then once more setting out in new directions’. The specific example cited is the English Garden City that, she argues, was soon divested of its cooperative and social principles in its application in foreign lands. The notion that colonised countries were more than passive recipients of foreign ideas is important in understanding how planning ideas were diffused across the world. With the conference theme of ‘cross national transfers’ in mind, this paper traces the roles played by three ‘couriers’ central to the transfer of the English Garden City Movement to New Zealand, namely William Davidge, Charles Reade and Samuel Hurst Seager.

The Garden City Idea

The notion of the Garden City has its roots in the work of Ebenezer Howard and the publication of his book *Tomorrow: a Peaceful Path to Real Reform* in 1898. Republished four years later in a slightly revised form as *Garden Cities of To-Morrow* Howard set out his solution to the appalling problems of the 19th century industrialising city in terms of both necessary social reforms and physical design. The *Garden City* sought to combine the best advantages of both the countryside and the city in a striking new urban form independent of existing cities. Howard also recognised that achieving his vision required land reform to be the ‘foundations on which all other reforms must be built’. He thus envisaged that the *Garden City* would not be open for private sale and speculation, but held in common ownership and leased to land users with increases in land values eventually funding social services. Despite the radical implications of these reforms and other aspects related to the establishment of the garden cities, Howard eschewed more radical methods of achieving his vision. He took pains to argue that this was to be achieved not by revolution, but by ‘peaceful’ means through ‘the force of example’. Setting such an example was the task of the Garden City Association established in 1899 led by Howard and, as Freestone (1989) points out, by an ‘earnest little group with radical overtones’ whose primary purpose was to promote ‘by educational and other means, the project suggested...in...*To-Morrow*. However as Freestone (1989) also asserts, the formation of the Association while successful in promoting the Garden City Movement, also initiated its de-radicalisation in the hands of more powerful stakeholders and interest groups.

Houses set in private gardens had historically been the preserve of the affluent, but in the 19th century detached houses in cities became affordable to the emerging middle class, with Bedford Park (1875-81) being an early and seminal example. Set among

an existing stand of trees with an unremarkable road layout, it is distinguished by most houses being detached, and according to Creese (1996:90) in which the 'lot was the badge of distinction' as a symbol for upward social mobility. Meeting this demand was the province of land speculators and developers whose purpose was profit, not social reform.

Responding to this demand became the hallmark of the architectural practice of Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker. In common with many other architects at that time, they made manifest the social and aesthetic theories long espoused by the English Arts and Crafts movement. However, it is their specific achievements in this context that bears noting. One aspect was their preoccupation with the 'art of designing small houses and cottages', a chapter title to their 1901 publication: *The Art of Building a Home*. Equally notable, are design principles devised for the layouts of residential areas, later to be published by Unwin (1909) in *Town Planning in Practice*. Building at a lower density was another imperative for Unwin, an argument set out in the essay, *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding*. Advantages are argued to arise from lower development costs and the opportunity this created for a detached house typology. Critical of high density speculative row housing, Unwin (1909:320) underscored his conviction that 'twelve houses to the acre...has proved to be the right number to give gardens of sufficient size'.

Unwin and Parker's design of the model factory town of New Earswick (1902) for the industrialist Joseph Rowntree, that provided an opportunity to put these ideas into practice at a large scale. The opportunity was repeated in 1903 when selected to design Letchworth, promoted by Ebenezer Howard's Garden City Association, and the design of Hampstead Garden Suburb in 1905. Houses set in private lots at relatively low density unpins the common approach. Illusions of the countryside are created by the encirclement of the development by a 'green' belt, and ensuring as far as possible, that all houses are able to view out over this public amenity. The picturesque is achieved by the use of curvilinear roads, generous street tree planting, and houses arranged to create visual townscape effects that mimic the informality of the traditional village. Economy is achieved by minimising street lengths by grouping houses around common greens with cul-de-sac access ways. As Freestone (1989) points out the development of Letchworth cemented the 'nexus between the garden city and town planning'. Moreover he also suggests that the garden city was 'inevitably deflected towards the most natural form of urban development – suburbia', of which Hampstead Garden Suburb is a seminal example. Reflected is divided opinion concerning urban development at the turn of the 19th century. On the one hand, a decentralised development strategy in the form of Howard's 'Garden City' was proposed as an alternative to the outward sprawl of existing cities. On the other hand, the reality of outward sprawl in the form of suburban growth was considered desirable, provided controls were put in place to ensure quality environmental outcomes.

The need to regulate urban growth had long been an issue in 19th century Britain, leading to various legal measures to empower local authorities to set development standards. Enforcing these measures proved difficult, and minimum standards (largely focussed on health) did not in any way guarantee that the resulting environment would be, from Unwin's viewpoint, 'orderly and aesthetically pleasing' (Unwin, 1906). Town planning was intended to compel local authorities to plan in advance,

over both developed and undeveloped land. In so doing, required standards would secure 'proper sanitary conditions, amenity and convenience in connection with the laying out and use of the land and any neighbouring land' (Baillie Scott, 1910). Propelled by the Member of Parliament, John Burns, the British '*Housing, Town Planning, etc. Act*' was passed in 1909.

The Garden City Association itself became a potent force behind the promotion of town planning, which by this time included Raymond Unwin, George Baillie Scott, William Davidge, and Charles Reade. The changing of the organisation's name in 1907 to the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association acknowledges this fact. Advocacy for town planning and the 'Garden Suburb' by the Association was achieved, although with opposition from those members unable to reconcile the perceived contradictions this created. Support for the 'garden suburb' was given impetus at the 1910 RIBA conference in London. William Davidge (1910) in summing up the views expressed by delegates thought it wise of Unwin to 'concentrate the attention of town planning in England mainly on the development of still unbuilt-on areas around existing towns', as opposed to Howard's proposals for a decentralised urban growth strategy.

Purdom (1913) expresses his concern that the 1909 Act sets up machinery for the extension of towns in the form of garden suburbs, 'the very thing which the Garden City declares to be fundamentally wrong'. With obvious frustration over this matter, Howard himself resorted to writing a letter to the London Times:

Will you allow me to protest against the use of the term "Garden City" as applied to the Tottenham Housing Scheme...It is a complete misnomer. True, the Act of 1909 speaks of the land laid out on the lines of a Garden City. But that is because neither the framers of the Bill, nor the Committee who passed, knew what the term "Garden City" implied. I was the first to use the term in my book *To-Morrow*, published in 1898...But the phrase "Garden City" quickly caught on, and soon became used for all sorts of housing ventures and building speculations...some of very little value. (cited Purdom, 1913)

Despite the protest, the fact was that in 1913, the only example of a 'Garden City' was Letchworth, but over forty residential developments existed in Britain that were described as 'garden suburbs' (Purdom, 1913:201).

Charles Reade and William Davidge

Promotion of the garden city in New Zealand appears to have first received direct exposure at the 1907 International Exhibition of Arts and Industries in Christchurch. Publications displayed included Howard's 1902 *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* and the Garden City and Town Planning Association's handbook *The Garden City Movement*. The exhibition catalogue explained the Association's aim to be 'the relief of overcrowded areas...by the establishment of garden cities on a predetermined plan, to secure healthful and adequate housing, in which the inhabitants shall become in a collective manner the owners of the sites', clearly reflecting Ebenezer Howard's 'garden city' vision (Cowan, 1910).

A more vigorous promotion came in 1911, when Charles Reade undertook a lecture tour of New Zealand. A New Zealander by birth then working as a journalist in Australia had published *The Revelation of Britain: a Book for Colonials*, revealing his perceived horror of the English city as a condition to be avoided in the colonies. His solution however, was not civic improvement strategies of the 'City Beautiful' Movement then being promoted in New Zealand, but a call for town planning regulations. The Reade lectures led to a heightened public debate about 'town planning' in New Zealand. Editorial comment in the *NZ Building Progress (NZBP, 1913:751)* contemplated 'What town planning is', and cites the clearance of slums and the establishment of Myers Park in Auckland as an example of the 'beginnings of town planning on systematic lines'. Whilst clear about this 'City Beautiful' intervention, the *NZ Building Progress* declares that the 'general idea (of town planning) is hazy in the direction of building new towns somewhere away from old towns, and making them up-to-date in every way' (*NZBP, 1913:751*).

Some of that haziness may have lifted in 1914 when Charles Reade returned to New Zealand with William Davidge under the auspices of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association to present a further series of lectures in the main towns. Lectures were given in Auckland (following Davidge's arrival in that city in July 1914), Hamilton, New Plymouth, Wanganui, Palmerston North, Napier, Christchurch, Oamaru, Dunedin and Invercargill (*Chch Press, Mar, 1914*). The titles of the lecture were *Town Planning in New Zealand, Economics and Aesthetics of Town Planning, and Garden City vs. New Zealand Slums*. In August of that year the *NZ Building Progress*, carried the following report on the visit:

'Those New Zealanders who are sufficiently wide awake to the advantages and benefits of Town Planning, have recently had a feast of lantern slides and information given to them by Messrs. Davidge and Reade who have just passed through this Dominion on a mission to spread the Town Planning movement from the Garden Cities & Town Planning Association of England. It is not to be expected that such a mission would attract enormous crowds, but those who went to hear the lectures with their minds open, cannot have failed to get a greater insight into this modern movement for the betterment of the people' (*New Zealand Building Progress, 1914:1183*).

The lectures were illustrated with lantern slides of Unwin's residential designs presented as examples of good town planning practice. This led the *NZ Building Progress (1915)* to clarify their understanding of town planning as being 'the principle of the one family house', and that this be 'firmly maintained'. An attempt was made by Arthur Myers to introduce a private town planning Bill in 1911, withdrawn after government promises to introduce its own legislation (Ferguson, 1994:76). With perceived tardiness in mind, Reade asserted in his lectures that town planning was a necessary step towards 'civilisation' and rebuked New Zealand for dragging its feet, pointing out that 'New Zealand is behind the Old Country as much as she is behind European Countries and even small places like Nova Scotia' (*Chch Press, July 15, 1914*). Reade was later appointed first Government Town Planning of South Australia, and in 1917 was responsible for the design of Mitcham Garden Suburb in Adelaide (Garnaut, 1998). However, the role of promoting the Garden City Movement and town planning in New Zealand had by this time passed to the Christchurch architect, Samuel Hurst Seager.

Samuel Hurst Seager

Samuel Hurst Seager emerged as a significant figure in these matters. He trained as an architect in London between 1882-84, immersed in the neo-vernacular of the Arts and Crafts movement. He returned to practice in Christchurch, and produced a convincing Arts and Crafts architecture using timber construction. He also designed a housing development, the '*Spur*', at Sumner in 1902, on the outskirts of Christchurch, modelled on London's Bedford Park (Lochhead, 1988). He was drawn into the campaigns of the beautification societies and to emerge as the principle champion for the Garden City Movement in New Zealand.

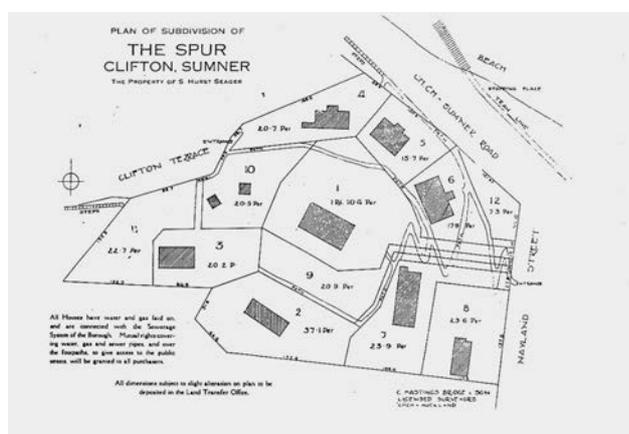


Fig 1 Layout of “The Spur”, Sumner, Christchurch, 1902, Samuel Hurst Seager.

Not only did Hurst Seager attend the 1914 Reade-Davidge lectures in Christchurch, but he also chaired the session and presided over the subsequent discussion. Hurst Seager also claimed some authority, from having visited ‘several garden cities’, naming the factory towns of Port Sunlight and Bournville (Hurst Seager, 1911). For the advocates of the ‘City Beautiful’ movement, he suggested, town planning offered a strategy for achieving civic improvement projects, hence the discussion raised about the beautification of the Christchurch Cathedral Square at Davidge’s lecture. He was also clearly familiar with Ebenezer Howard’s work, and very likely to have attended the 1907 International Exhibition of Arts and Industries in Christchurch where his work was exhibited. Following an overseas trip that included visits to Rome, he argued in the RIBA Journal (1913) for a further typology of self-contained ‘Garden Industrial Cities’. Following the 1914 Davidge-Reade lectures he went on to present his own lecture series in which an affinity with the neo-vernacular of Unwin’s ‘Garden Suburbs’ is also clearly discernable. This is revealed somewhat dramatically by the *NZ Building Progress* in a report on a series of lectures entitled ‘Practical Town Planning Hints’ that Hurst Seager delivered to the Christchurch College in 1916:

‘He then threw on the screen pictures of garden cities as they should be, and his view of places of this nature was exquisite. The roads followed the contour of the ground. There were corners set apart for beauty spots and vistas down

which one watched the traffic of the streets winding in and out among the avenues, gardens and greenery of every description. He illustrates... a garden city at Hampstead, London and contrasts the views of Christchurch streets and other places. He stated that the city should be limited, and that there should be garden suburbs connected by tramway or railway, set a distance away among parks and gardens'. (*NZBP*, 1916:715)

Despite the growing enthusiasm for town planning in New Zealand at this time, there was ongoing opposition from business and landowners, and a lack of interest from the government who were preoccupied with the First World War. But as the *NZ Building Progress* (*NZBP*, Dec 1915:261) reported the '...war has not dampened the ardour of Town Planning advocates; rather it has stimulated them to prepare for a time when...things will go ahead at a fast pace'. Hurst Seager's enthusiasm was certainly not dampened, and he arranged to be the government representative at the 2nd Australian Town Planning Conference held in Brisbane in 1918. He presented a paper, arguing for the construction of 'Garden Cities and Villages' to provide the Australasian nations with a means to settle soldiers returning from the War, illustrating his concept with a Howard-like diagram.

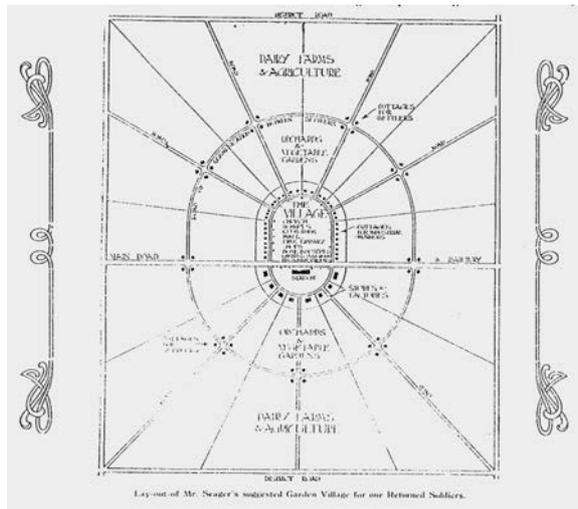


Fig 2 Lay out of Hurst Seager's Garden Village for Returned Soldiers, presented at the 1918 Brisbane Town Planning Conference (*NZ Building Progress*, September 1917:9)

He also published an extensive report on the proceedings, which included a reproduction of Raymond Unwin diagram from his 1912 article *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding*, to which Hurst Seager (1919: 20) adds the following caption:

'The Garden City Principle applied to Suburbs: Mr Raymond Unwin here illustrates the application of the garden-city principle of a belt of green encircling the whole community to the extension of new suburbs. The suburbs on the left are seen separated from the city by belts of land, which will remain open for all time'.



Fig 3 'Garden City Principles applied to Suburbs', Unwin diagram reproduced in the Proceedings of the 1919 Town Planning Conference, Wellington. (Proceedings, 1919)

Hurst Seager used both the experience of the Brisbane conference and his influence to persuade the New Zealand government to sponsor a Town Planning conference in Wellington in 1919. The underlying agenda was for the introduction of town planning legislation, and Hurst Seager repeated his recommendation for the New Zealand Government to build 'Garden Villages' defined as garden cities in miniature centred on an industry citing Bourneville and Port Sunlight as examples (Proceedings, 1919). On the question of town planning, the opening addressed by the Acting Prime Minister, Sir James Allen must have been a disappointment. With little more than passing reference to Town Planning and a reminder to the delegates that they should not 'forget art' in their deliberations, he went on to use the conference as a political platform to rally support for the building of overseas War Memorials. But other officials must have been more to the liking of Hurst Seager and his agenda. Russell (the Minister of Internal Affairs) commented:

'Great Britain has realised her mistake, and during recent years town planning associations and activities have been strongly in evidence. As a result various garden towns have been laid off, suburbs have been created for the purpose of improving conditions, and higher standard of living for the masses is being looked for' (Proceedings, 1919)

The idea that both the Garden City Movement and town planning were modern progressive ideas was also emphasised, noting government minister H.F. von Haast remarks that '...our New Zealand idea of laying out roads in new towns is absolutely out of date... Nowadays the gridiron type of plan is universally condemned and abandoned by the great authorities on town-planning. Look at any plan of the garden city and it will be seen that it is the diagonal and curving streets that gives them their charm.'

Some doubters dampened the enthusiasm. Salmond (Proceedings 1919: 127) raised a question about the extent to which conditions in New Zealand were similar to those in the Britain, and therefore the extent to which the British solutions were appropriate?

On the question of Hurst Seager's suggestion that the Garden Villages should be built for returning servicemen, Salmond retorted that 'it is a pity that soldiers who wished to be farmers apparently also desired to have the advantages of the city. Country life has its own attractions apart from those of the city...It was a mistake to encourage the soldier to expect to have the amenities of city life while working on his farm in the country'.

Despite the doubters, the conference concluded with a resolution proposed by Hurst Seager (and unanimously adopted), that: 'this...meeting is in favour of a special propaganda being started throughout the country with a view to impressing upon local authorities...the importance of applying the complete garden-city principles to the schemes of reconstruction which are to be undertaken after the war'. (Proceedings: 1919: 115)

A competition was organised as part of the Conference, inviting submission for the design of a 'Garden City', a 'Garden Suburb', and a set of photographs illustrating civic improvement. Surprisingly there were no entries to the 'Garden City' category, but a Silver and a Bronze medal was awarded respectively to H.G. Helmore and Miss A Sleigh, both of Christchurch, for their *Garden Suburb* designs.

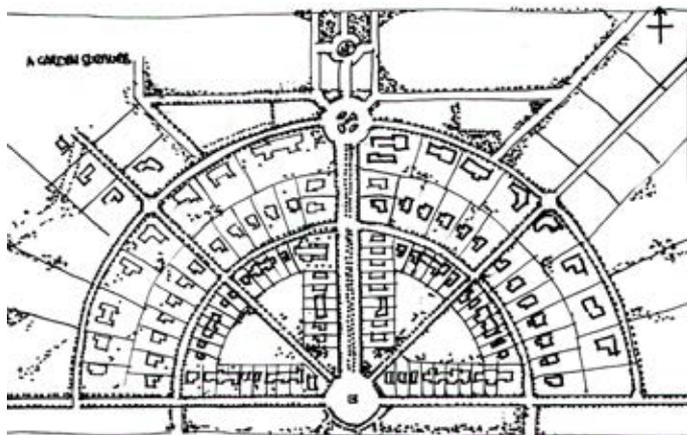


Fig 4 Garden Suburb competition entry by Alison Sleigh to the 1919 Town Planning Conference, Wellington (NZ Building Progress, 1919)

Immediately following the 1919 Wellington conference, Hurst Seager (*letter 6/6/1919*) wrote to Ebenezer Howard claiming that 'it is the result of your work...which has induced the Dominions to seriously consider garden city activity', and reports on his proposals for 'Garden Villages', and his desire to meet with Howard. In the same month he also wrote to Raymond Unwin (*letter 18/06/1919*), to whom he sent a copy of his Brisbane conference report, and expressed a desire to also meet with him. The NZ Building Progress (July 1919) reports that Hurst Seager did go to England 'with the object of getting to know the inner workings of garden cities and industrial cities in the Old Country', although no evidence for meetings with Howard and Unwin have been found.

An opportunity arose in 1920 for Hurst Seager to design a private residential

development in which he applied 'Garden Suburb' principles: Durie Hill Garden Suburb in Wanganui. With a site set on a hill it uniquely had an elevator to transport residents to the summit. The layout had a system of curvilinear roads organised around internal parks and garden allotments, but it lacked a 'park belt'. It was Hurst Seager's intention to control development to achieve aesthetic aims. But as Schrader (1993) comments, the developers sold sections without the restrictions and conditions to enforce Hurst Seager's intentions, and Durie Hill became little more than a subdivisional plan for quarter acre lots.

There is further correspondence in 1926 between Samuel Hurst Seager (newly elected at the time as the President of the New Zealand Institute of Architects and Charles Reade, by that time the Government Town Planner to the Federated Malay States in Kuala Lumpur. Reade commiserates with Hurst Seager about the fact that New Zealand had still not promulgated a town planning regulations noting surprise that New Zealand remains 'behind practically all modern countries in taking up and working out, to her advantage, the economic results obtained under town planning...' (letter dated 09/04/1926). There is further correspondence with Raymond Unwin over the town planning legislation, Hurst Seager having sent him a draft on which to comment.

The Legacy

In 1925 the New Zealand Government sponsored two competitions for the design of 'Garden Suburbs', one in Auckland at Orakei, the other in Wellington at Lower Hutt, and both entries submitted by Hammond were placed first. The Plans of both submissions, and to a greater extent in the Orakei submission, exhibited a planning arrangement that had 'garden suburb' features of the kind Unwin prescribed. But absent is any reference to a 'park belt'. The Orakei scheme combines axial main streets and curvilinear residential roads, something lacking in the less distinguished plan for Lower Hutt. More remarkable is that in the architect's own account of his winning schemes published in 1925, he makes no reference to Garden Cities or Suburbs, with comments restricted to technical descriptions. (Hammond, 1925a & b)

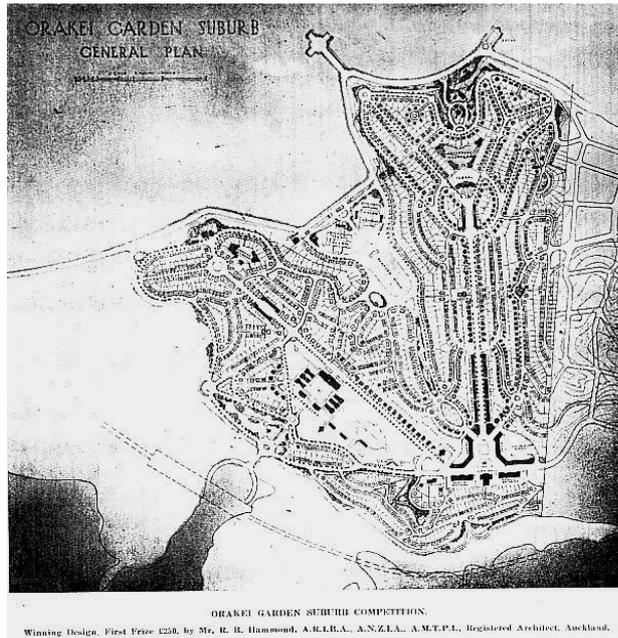


Fig 5 Orakei Garden Suburb, First Prize entry to the 1925 New Zealand Government competition by R B Hammond. (Hammond, 1925)

The New Zealand Government did not promulgate Town Planning Legislation until 1926, and Garden Cities were never built. But as Ferguson (1994:88) reports, cheap government housing loans and the release of Crown land on the outskirts cities in New Zealand, resulted in what she describes as a 'frenzy of speculative development' in the 1920's. She comments further:

The emphasis on subdivision and expansion meant that subdividers paid only lip service to the ideas of the garden city and town-planning movements. Suburban local authorities were keen to promote subdivision, and made few demands. Estates were usually subdivided on a grid pattern, any hint of a curved street lay-out or a (park) bringing boasts that the estate was organised on the most progressive town-planning lines. (Ferguson 1994:88)

Such a boasts can be witnessed in the sales brochure for the Tamaki Garden Suburb (designed by Evans who was place second for his entry to the 1925 Orakei Garden Suburb competition). Tamaki was essentially a sub divisional plan with roads laid out in concentric semi-circles pattern. There is no park belt, no curvilinear roads, and no unified built form. The Garden City and the Garden Suburb became reduced to a real estate marketing slogan.

In 1935, the election of the first Labour Government in New Zealand saw the introduction of a public housing programme, which utilised parts the Garden Suburb competition layouts of Orakei and Lower Hutt for first state housing projects in New Zealand. Whilst these partly followed the original Garden Suburb layouts, by this time new influences were being felt from America, in the work of Perry and Stein and the concept of the 'neighbourhood unit'.



Fig 6 Sales brochure for Tamaki Garden Suburb, Auckland, New Zealand (1932). The image reproducing the idealised countryside setting for the ‘garden suburb’ set below between the overtly contented women and the distant views of the Huaraki Gulf. The basket contains rose petals, and the axe is crossed by an electric light bulb, perhaps signifying modern advancement.

To claim that Howard’s Garden City alone has been seminal in 20th century urban formation is to overlook the significant distinction between the concepts of ‘town and country’ and ‘house and garden’. Overlooking this distinction, however, is precisely what the Garden City and Town Planning Association did when they appropriated the ‘Garden’ image to support the low density, suburban model advocated. Presented as a modern innovation in New Zealand, this suburban vision paralleled a pre-existing antipodean expectation for the quarter acre lot where, as suggested by Ferguson (1994:26), the pre-eminence and virtue of nature is emphasised, ‘tamed and enclosed behind garden walls’. Further bolstered by the ‘neighbourhood unit’ arrangement of suburban communities which facilitated the privatisation of transport in the form of the family car, these forces have combined to shape the sprawling suburban city form that continue to dominate cities in the New World.

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Issues of the *New Zealand Building Progress* have been used as a source of information with details given in the text. (The University of Auckland Library)

Correspondence between Samuel Hurst Seager and Raymond Unwin and Ebenezer Howard held in the National Archives, Wellington, New Zealand.

CASE STUDY

On

ENIORNMENT AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

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Abstract

According to Kevin Cleaver, Director Agriculture and Rural Development, World Bank, (reference & year) "About 60% of the extra food to meet the increasing demand will come from irrigated agriculture. At the same time, we face the challenges of increasing farmer incomes, reducing rural poverty and protecting the environment, all from an increasingly constrained water resources base."

*Watershed Organization Trust (WOTR), 'Paryavaran', Behind Market Yard, Ahmednagar-414001, Maharashtra, India.

Agricultural water management lies at the crossroads between four important areas of public policy: water resources; agriculture; rural development; and environment. Each area can make important contributions to the development and productivity of agricultural water management.

Farmers must have reliable access to water, cost-effective means of growing their crops, and markets to sell into. In other words, an integrated approach is essential. Keeping this in mind farmers, governments and a range of other stakeholders frame critical policy choices regarding the management of agricultural water. These choices try to strike a balance between water demand across a range of sectors, not just agriculture, and at the same time address issues relating to environmental risks and benefits.

India's is Semi-Arid Tropical (SAT) region characterized by seasonally concentrated rainfall, low agricultural productivity, degraded natural resources, and substantial human poverty. The green revolution that transformed agriculture elsewhere in India had little impact on rain fed agriculture in the SAT. In the 1980s and 1990s, agricultural scientists and planners aimed to promote rain fed agricultural development through watershed development. A watershed is an area from which all water drains to a common point, making it an attractive unit for technical efforts to manage water and soil resources for production and conservation.

This study is an effort to understand the effectiveness of Indo German Watershed Program undertaken in many parts of Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh.

This research on Indo German Watershed Project has been taken up to study the following hypothesis

- 1. Watershed projects perform better when there is full participation of project beneficiaries and careful attention to social organization.*
- 2. The second hypothesis is that a variety of factors determine the incentives for people to manage and protect natural resources and invest in increased agricultural productivity. These factors are very important in determining the outcomes that projects seek to achieve.*

The above framed hypothesis is tested through a case study on Village Mashvandi in Sangamner Taluka of Ahmednagar District

INTRODUCTION

Water sustains life having blessed with it as a natural resource we have to understand its true value. The alarming rate at which it is depleting is a cause for concern and action. One of the biggest challenges facing us today is availability of good quality of water. This has to be tackled effectively through good management.

Today the demand of water far outweighs its supply, more so for freshwater.” The world water cycle seems unlikely to be able to adapt to the demands that will be made in the coming decades” (UNEP, 1999)

Farmers must have reliable access to water, cost-effective means of growing their crops, and markets to sell into. In other words, an integrated approach is essential. Keeping this in mind farmers, governments and a range of other stakeholders frame critical policy choices regarding the management of agricultural water. These choices try to strike a balance between water demand across a range of sectors, not just agriculture, and at the same time address issues relating to environmental risks and benefits.

RESEARCH PROBLEM

The future of agriculture development and food security is critically dependent on the Development of rain fed agriculture. This is not only due to the fact that these regions account for more than half of the total cropped area but also due to the reason that the productivity levels of the irrigated and green revolution belts has saturated. As a result, returns to investment in agriculture are found to be substantially higher in the rain-fed regions when compared to irrigated regions (Fan and Hazell, 2000). Incidentally, majority of the poor lives in these regions. Therefore, development of these regions helps in solving the twin problems of poverty and agricultural production. Besides, it would help in reducing the regional inequalities as well.

While providing productive irrigation facilities to these regions is an effective solution it would be a time consuming (long run) and costly proposition given their geographical disadvantages. On the other hand, watershed development is proved to be the most suited technology for improving the conditions of these regions at least in the short and medium runs.

Watershed development helps in improving agriculture productivity of rain fed areas through *in situ* moisture conservation, vegetative cover, increased availability of water, etc. It can also lead to sustainable irrigated agriculture in moderate rainfall (above 750 mm) conditions¹. A watershed is an area from which all water drains to a common point, making it an attractive unit for technical efforts to manage water and soil resources for production and conservation.

AREA OF STUDY

In Maharashtra, a narrow coastal plain separates the Arabian Sea from the Western Ghat Mountains. On the eastern side of the mountains, the majority of the state is spanned by the large Deccan Plateau, which covers much of south-central India. Rainfall is very high in the coastal mountains, but the western part of the Deccan Plateau (in the rain shadow of the Ghats) is very dry. In western Maharashtra, the scarcity of water and favorable topography make water harvesting a high priority and the focus of major water shed projects.

The Watershed projects covered operate under the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Rural Development, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and in collaboration between NGOs and the Government.

The government projects are more technocratic in focus, whereas the NGO projects focused more on social organization, and the government-nongovernmental collaborative projects tried to draw on the strengths of both approaches.

In Maharashtra for collaborative programs between government and nongovernmental agencies the two main examples are the Adarsh Gaon Yojana (Ideal Village Scheme, or AGY), and the *Indo-German Watershed Development Programme (IGWDP)*. The IGWDP is an example of collaboration between government and non-governmental organizations. Initiated in 1993 with capacity building, the IGWDP develops micro watersheds in a comprehensive manner through the initiative taken by village groups. Its guiding philosophy is the need for collaboration among village level organizations. It accepts that although indigenous knowledge and practices are important, they need to be augmented by modern techniques and management practices.

WATERSHED ORGANISATION TRUST (WOTR) OF IGWDP

As mentioned above in Maharashtra, the problem is one of scarcity of water. Most of these water deficit villages are characterized by successive failure of harvest due to poor monsoons, dry wells and acute shortage of drinking water. This results in dislocation in livelihood sources especially of the poor suicides, this resulting immigration, distress sale of livestock's, indebtedness, lack of fodder hunger and destitution.

What is required is decentralized and community driven resource conservation and management. Watershed based natural resource conservation and management provides a ray of hope and way out of vicious cycle of drought and despair times when the rainfall is below average.

WOTR is a NGO established in 1993 to undertake developmental activities in resource-fragile-rain-fed areas, mainly to motivate village communities for water conservation. It has in the process created a huge pool; of socially and technically trained practitioners within Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh.

The main focus area of WOTR are Capacity Building of village groups and NGO's for participatory watershed development, self-help promotion, direct implementation of watershed projects, micro-credit activities, training and extension for organization and practitioners, development of concepts, pedagogies, training manuals, awareness generation tools and media aids, documentation and research.

Capacity Building of NGO's and CBO's for Watershed Development

Capacity Building of NGO's and village Self Help Groups (VSHG's) is realized through Participatory Operational Pedagogy (POP), which is a step-by-step interactive strategy for awareness generation

WOTR has introduced the concept and practice of community based house water budgeting, which involves the entire village community. The community assesses how much rainwater has actually been collected in their catchments during rainy season and plans its optimum use both for livestock and agriculture purposes so to get maximum output per drop of water harvested.

The methodology adopted for the planning of the watershed is called Participatory Net Planning (PNP), in which planning is done for each gat/survey number in consultation with the concerned farmer couple. WOTR assists NGO's and VSHG's by providing technical support in planning, project formulation, implementation, documentation, monitoring and evaluation of their watershed projects.

Direct Implementation of Watershed Projects

In order to constantly test concepts with ground realities, as well as to improve the competency of its own staff, WOTR directly implements several large-scale watershed projects. These are implemented in remote and backward tribal areas and cluster approach is adapted to more cumulative impacts.

Training and Extension

WOTR regularly organizes a large number of training and exposure programs for government and non-government organizations from various parts of country as abroad, who are

undertaking watershed development, natural resource management activities and promotion of development.

Women's Development Activities

Any intervention in natural resource regeneration and management in rural areas has to address the concerns of women, since the regenerated resources respond to immediate household needs such as water fuel and hence involvement of women requires special attention.

Formation of SHG's for savings and credit, which later move on to take up developmental and income generating activities is basic strategy followed. Till 2005 WOTR has organized, with the support of 55 NGO's 3,174 SHG's involving 42,882 members.

Micro-Credit activity

WOTR micro-credit initiative extends timely credit through self-help groups (SHG's) for value addition and livelihood diversification in regenerated environment.

Support to DPAP projects in Ahmednagar district as "Mother NGO"

With the objective of providing support to NGO's watershed communities and local institutions of Drought Prone Area Programme (DPAP) projects financed by the government of Maharashtra, WOTR as "Mother NGO" of Ahmednagar District. In this capacity, WOTR

conducts training programs for participants from the project Implementing Agencies (PIAs), Watershed Development Teams (WDT), Watershed committee (WC) and Watershed secretaries.

WOTR has introduced the concept and practice of community based house water budgeting, which involves the entire village community. The community assesses how much rain water has actually been collected in their catchments during rainy season and plans its optimum use both for livestock and agriculture purposes so to get maximum output per drop of water harvested.

WOTR is involved in 3 states (Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh), As of March 2006 it has network of collaborating partners of 147 NGO's/ agencies, Development work in 1053 villages, No. Supported 3,981 women SHG's, Total number of persons who have availed of trainings and exposure are 121,696 persons from 22 states of India and 18 countries, 49,026 women have availed of Micro finance, 4278 SHG's are involved in Micro-finance, amount of money disbursed in Micro-finance is Rs 138,238,936

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

One continuing challenge to all projects is in designing interventions and organizing communities so that benefits of watershed projects are distributed more evenly to all sections of community. The needs and interest of least influential community members require special attention. This is one challenge which is handled much better by the NGO working on watershed projects because the major difference between Government and NGO watershed programs are their scale of operations and their staffing structure. While government programs have huge

budgets and work in hundreds of villages, most NGOs work in only a handful of villages. They devote more staff time per village, and they often work on a variety of activities in addition to watershed management. NGO staff members include many non technical staff too trained in community organization. They believe that social organization contributes as much too successful watershed development as technical input.

HYPOTHESIS OF THE STUDY

1. Watershed projects perform better when there is full participation of project beneficiaries and careful attention to social organization.
2. The second hypothesis is that a variety of factors determine the incentives for people to manage and protect natural resources and invest in increased agricultural productivity. These factors are very important in determining the outcomes that projects seek to achieve.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This case study is an attempt to understand the potential of watershed development in addressing the issues of poverty alleviation. The important issues in this regard include:

- Assessing the linkages between watershed development and rural livelihoods & poverty,
- Type and nature of benefit flows accruing to various sections of the community, and

- Challenges in making the watershed programme pro-poor and sustaining it in the long run.

METHOD OF STUDY

In this research paper an effort to understand the effectiveness of Indo German Watershed Program through a case study on Village Mashvandi in Sangamner Taluka of Ahmednagar District.

The study is based on field visits and discussions with various sections of society and also other stakeholders in the programme such as NGOs, administrators, policy makers, etc. The main focus here is to understand the socio-economic transformation brought in the lives of villages with the implementation of the watersheds projects by Maldevi watershed development committee and Sangamner Bhag Sahakari Sakhar Karkhana with hand holding and capacity building support of Watershed Organization Trust (WOTR).

ANALYSIS OF THE CASE

This case study is organized in three parts.

1. Brief description of the case study region.
2. The linkages between watershed development, water and poverty.
3. Last section is conclusion.

Part 1

Case Study Region –Mhaswandi Village

Mhaswandi is in the Sangamner taluka of Ahmednagar district. Once a remote and isolated village of 253 households, located in the rain shadow belt of Maharashtra, was a picture of despair; depleted natural resources necessary for rural livelihood. Even drinking water was not assured. Villagers had to move to resource-endowed areas working seasonally. Some herded sheep, which further depleted the already fragile ecosystem. Agriculture production even in a year of reasonably good rain- was not good enough. Women had to work very hard to fetch water and fuel from long distances and for their other basic needs.

Mhaswandi was under the verge of desertification when it was taken up by WOTR under the IGWDP. The challenge was to win the confidence of the people and make them aware of the inter-relationship between environment and the health and quality of human life- social, economic and cultural. Awareness generation was achieved through constant interaction, audio-visual aids, exposure visits to area where people have conserved and mobilized resources for betterment of their own life. The next stage was to mobilize and capacitate the community to undertake watershed development. People agreed to contribute voluntary labour and follow the social fencing principles such as ban on free grazing and tree felling.

Part 2 of the case

Analyse the linkages between watershed development, water and poverty

Impact was to be understood under following heads

- 1. Geographical Changes***
- 2. Economic Impact***
- 3. Social Changes***

To understand the impact of watershed projects information was collected by interacting with various sections of village community directly or indirectly related and benefited by the project.

The section of community who were contacted for the information are

- 1. Capacity Building organization.***
- 2. Village Watershed Committee***
- 3. Self help Groups***

Capacity building Organization CBO at Mhaswandi

As mentioned earlier building up capacity of the CBO's is the core function of the WOTR.

In Mhaswandi NGO, Cooperative Sugar factory, agriculture departments played an important role in creating CBO. According to the members of the CBO the main reason for which they were brought together was to

- Improve agriculture productivity
- Improving the storage and usage of water

- To improve the quality of life.

Simple scientific and people-oriented technology was imparted to understand about soil conservation, arresting the rainwater runoff and harvesting water, as well as greening hills and waste lands. A series of technical treatments (contour trenches, gully plugs, farm bunds, check dams, etc) along with bio regeneration (plantation, grass seeding, etc.) were undertaken.

CBO's have their functional activities in the areas of public facilities, agriculture developments providing loans and sanitation.

Decision taken by CBO is in proper consultation with Gram Sabha and Gram Panchayat.

According to CBO members, watershed project has transformed the whole village from poverty stricken backward village to prosperous happy place to live in. Prior to implementation of watershed project the village had no scope for farmers to produce due to lack of water, which had caused a chain reaction of unemployment and migration of villagers to seek to more green pastures. But now after 12 years since the implementation of watershed project in 1994 agricultural productivity has improved, income level of people have increased scope of employment has improved, villagers have become more aware of health and sanitation.

Local Institution- Village Water Shed Committee

Village Watershed Committee (VWC) is the official project holder having representation from all primary stakeholders, VWC plans, implements and monitors all the activities and evolves systems and procedures for management and conflict resolution. Mhaswandi VWC is a registered body; it has 24 members with women representatives too who are nominated by Village Assembly (Gram Sabha). The president of the VWC is Subash Ithape.

VWC started in 1994 with the implementation of watershed project. These local institution are created by the WOTR and given continues training to be able to manage the watershed projects on their own. The functions include looking into loan requirement, requirements in term of seeds and fertilizers. Further on they have to take care of other social aspects too like settling disputes among people, creating healthier environment with proper sanitation, providing with clear cooking fuels, water supply system, toilet construction, etc.

This is a institution created with the representatives of people from all walks of life from the village, trained by WOTR who are not only looking into the progress of watershed projects but also take care of other aspects to improve the quality of life.

Interaction with the VWC members indicated that they are very positive in out look and are very involved in their work. They have played a major role in the transformation of the village since the implementation of the watershed project in 1994. They have seen the whole village working jointly towards the goal for making the village a better place to live in thus they

are now more committed to the work and plan to work harder to improve it further more in future.

Local Institution - Self help Group

Women development and empowerment is one of WOTR's priorities. Formation of SHG's for savings and credit, which later move on to take up developmental and income generating activities is the basic strategy followed. It targets women because women are the ones who mostly deal with small monies and who also save in small amounts. Women take up small-scale income generating activities as a side job, besides their routine household and farm work. By giving her an opportunity to improve her economic independence she also gains social status and thus is actively included in the functioning of the village activities.

Total of 2 women in each SHG was contacted to understand their view about watershed project and the benefits of SHG's.

The total women population in Mhaswandi is 541 in number; literacy level among women is very low. There are 23 SHG's in the village of this 8 are granted and rest are non granted. Members of each SHG range from 10-15 women per group. Two women from each SHG is member of the Village level Apex Bodies Sanyukt Mahila Samithi (SMS). SMS is linked to micro-finance Sampada. SAMPADA is a sister concern of WOTR and is dealing with the issues related with micro-finance, micro entrepreneur development, health and insurance. SAMPADA

's Micro credit was initiated in the year 1997-98, initially as pilot initiative of WOTR in response to the demands of capitalizing of the rural women's through SHG's.

Women who had attended the awareness camps got motivated to improve their life economically and thus enrolled themselves to SHG's. They basically liked the idea of being able to supplement their family income without having to disturb their daily chorus. Very small portion of money transaction of SHG is for personal consumption and insurance and major portion is for enterprise building.

Initially the money was majorly borrowed for consumption but later once they gained confidence in handling money transactions they started investing money in micro enterprise. Small loans are taken to start business like petty shops, poultry dairy, kitchen garden, bangle shops, small trading which includes selling of seeds, fertilizers etc, and presently work is in progress to train women in producing detergents. These women who although started in small way have become very confident in handling their business and most of them have paid back their loans on time, very few defaulters. SAMPADA's experience since its inception in 1998 shows that women always borrow small mainly because their capacity to pay back is small and they always plan business in a way that they are able to manage home and business. Thus most of them don't aspire to grow very big. Average loan to per SHG is 28,996 and average loan size per individual is 3,067. The defaulters among them are very few.

Most the women in Mhaswandi are busy productively either directly in watershed activity, or they have taken up activities for drudgery reduction and enhancement of quality of

lives, such as soak pits, kitchen gardens, using cleaner cooking fuels, water supply system, toilet construction etc or involved in income generating activities mentioned above.

The enhanced capacity of the villages and their determination to take charge of their own development has also had its effect on overall social structure of the village. The sarpanch of the village is a woman Chaya Ethape who is very actively involved in the taking right decisions for the development of the village.

Quantitative and Qualitative Impact of Watershed Project As perceived by Villagers

Impact on Land Productivity	Pre-Watershed (Prior to 1994)	Post – Watershed (2001)
Land holding	1145 hectare	1145 hectare
Land under Irrigation	-	205 ha
Waste Land	252.75 ha	31.5 ha
Average Depth of Water Table below ground level	7.5 m	2.5 m
Water Bodies	2	8
Number of Wells	33	77
Electric motor for pumps	5	75+
Tree covers	Very less	Upto 6 lacs
Crop	Production very low	Good
Socio-economic Impact		
Level of literacy	20-30%	60%

Land in women's name	nill	Slowly improving
Women entrepreneurship	Negligible	Almost 100 women are self employed
<i>Sanitation</i>		
Kitchen garden	nill	30
Individual latrines	nill	20
Soak pits	nill-	21
Smoke Less Chulla and LPG	Nill	SLC-87, LPG-160
Economic Impact		
Employment	3 months	12 months
Agriculture employment	3 months	9 months
Wage rate	Rs 20-30/day	Rs 40-50/day
<i>Assets owned</i>		
Televisions	1	41
Cycles	13	69
Motorcycle	1	17
Tractors	1	4
<i>Live stock</i>		
Crossbreed cows and buffalos	C-8, B-3	C-110, B-14
Goats and Sheep's	271	93
Fodder production	950 tones	1920 tones

Objectives of research -Impact of watershed project in Mhaswandi,

1. Assessing the linkages between watershed development and rural livelihoods & poverty,
2. Type and nature of benefit flows accruing to various sections of the community, and
3. Challenges in making the watershed program pro-poor and sustaining it in the long run.
4. Understand the factors, which lead a village to self-sustainability.

Summary of the impact of the watershed project as perceived by the villagers POSITIVELY answers the linkages between watershed and the rural livelihoods and poverty and the benefits flowing to various sections of community.

- Increasing water levels
- Better agriculture yields
- Work available within the village so no need to migrate
- Wage level has gone up.
- Living standards has gone up accordingly.
- Working together for watershed projects has increased unity among the people.
- Women of the village have become participant both socially and economically.
- Empowerment of women has made the coming generation see gender equality.
- Villagers look at the future very positively with lots of scope for improvement and development.
- Village is self-sustainable and the watershed work is also sustainable with positive impacts.

The third objective of the research of Challenges in making watershed program pro-poor and sustaining in long run is answered in Difficulties encountered in implementing the Watershed Project – views of villagers and organizers

- First difficulty in implementing the project was to change the mindset of the people. Mistrust towards the results projected. Several meeting and sincere involvement of the WOTR members in the implementation of the project slowly changed the attitude of people.
- There are several rules to be followed by the villagers in being accepted for the final implementation of the watershed project. Few of them were very difficult for them to follow. Grazing was banned to improve the soil erosion, but this was not acceptable by the villagers as income from the animals was the major source of income for them due to continuous failure of the crops. Secondly felling of trees was also banned to bring ecological balance but this was difficult for the villagers to understand as wood was the basic requirement for them. Gradually as more and more land got treated and more land became available for agriculture and the income level started rising the attitude of the villagers changed and became more cooperative.
- Letting women be part of local institution like VWC or Gram panchayat was not easy to happen. But as they became part of SHG and slowly started becoming economically independent automatically they started gaining respect in the social setup.

QUOTE SOME OF THE WORK DONE TO STRESS THE SUCCESSFUL FUNCTIONING OF IGWDP

AN EVALUATION OF DRYLAND WATERSHED DEVELOPMENT

PROJECTS IN INDIA

John Kerr, with Ganesh Pangare, Vasudha Lokur Pangare, and P.J. George.

International Food Policy Research Institute, N. W. Washington, D.C., 20006 U.S.A.,

October 2000

“This study has found that participatory watershed projects managed by NGOs have made a significant contribution to agricultural productivity and natural resource conservation in the study villages. More technocratic, top-down government projects, on the other hand, have fared less well. In fact, for many performance indicators the government projects did not perform any better than non project villages. The AGY and IGWDP, two collaborative projects between NGOs and government agencies have performed particularly well, and this appears to bode well for the Ministry of Rural Development’s efforts to expand participatory approaches to a large scale.”

Approaches to Watershed Development in

Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh

“The IGWDP, another example of collaboration between government and nongovernmental organizations, seeks to replicate the success of small NGO programs at a larger scale (Farrington and Lobo 1997; WOTR 2000; NABARD 1995). Initiated in 1993, the IGWDP develops micro watersheds in a comprehensive manner through the initiative taken by village groups. Its guiding philosophy is the need for collaboration among village level organizations, NGOs skilled in social organization, and government organizations skilled in technical work. Further, it accepts that although indigenous knowledge and practices are important, they need to

be augmented by modern techniques and management practices. The IGWDP has developed elaborate procedures to cut through bureaucratic turf wars and red tape, ensuring that funds move quickly (Farrington and Lobo 1997). As of June 2002, the IGWDP had undertaken development programs in 146 villages, covering about 137,000 hectares and involving 78 NGOs (WOTR 2002). As with the AGY, the emphasis on developing the village's social capital is as strong as that on developing its natural and physical capital, and the villagers must submit to similarly strict social conditions. The work begins with 12 to 18 months of social organization work. This is almost 12 to 18 months longer than the social organization phase of a typical government watershed program at the time of the survey, but it is shorter than that of many NGOs, which conduct work on several other areas of village development before Venturing into watershed development. One important early project activity under the IGWDP is to plant trees and grasses in the catchments area. This is done prior to building water harvesting structures in order to force the inhabitants of the village to show that they can enforce social fencing .self-policing without the use of fences. To protect natural vegetation. Only after people demonstrate the ability to discipline themselves does the project invest larger amounts of funds in new watershed structures. The NGO helps organize and develop a Village Watershed Committee, which is essentially a village-based NGO. The idea is that the committee will eventually outgrow the need for support from the original NGO.”

CONCLUSION

Fresh water is a scare resource. Even though three fourth of the surface of our planet is water, the available fresh water is only 2.5% of the total; the rest is salt water. Of this 70% is in form of ice or snow. According to WHO estimates, only .00075 % of all water available for

human consumption. Population increase with corresponding increase in demand from different sectors affecting the availability of the resource. Estimates show that the per capita availability of renewable fresh water in India fell from 5,227 cubic meters in 1955 to 1869 cubic meters in 2001.

We need to have a nation wide decentralized and community driven resource conservation and management. Watershed based natural resource conservation and management provides a ray of hope and a way out of this vicious cycle of drought and despair in times when rainfall is below average. Watershed development is necessary for strengthening the ecological resource base and improving the carrying capacity of the fragile environments. (WOTR Annual report 2003-2004).

The research was based on the following HYPOTHESIS

3. Watershed projects perform better when there is full participation of project beneficiaries and careful attention to social organization.
4. The second hypothesis is that a variety of factors determine the incentives for people to manage and protect natural resources and invest in increased agricultural productivity. These factors are very important in determining the outcomes that projects seek to achieve.

Mhaswandi village is a very good example which justifies the above framed hypothesis and also helps us to understand to what extent watershed based project can make a difference to the lives of the village both economically and socially. The centre point to the success of the project depended on being able to get the villagers totally and completely involved in its implementation of the project. The lesson learned here is that success depends more on social transformation as

much as it depends on geographical transformation. Another important lesson learnt is that this change does not happen overnight, it takes lot of sincere and dedicated of working hours put in by the members of the WOTR and the beneficiaries to see it happen. Since 2001 the implementing agency as well as WOTR is not having any direct and day to day interaction, except as and when required support from WOTR, the village is still moving ahead to make a positive and sustainable impact.

Successful implementation of the watershed program depends on following points

- Abundance of patience and dedication is required on the part of the organization which is implementing the watershed program.
- Trust in the NGO staff is fundamental and improper expectation should be rectified at the beginning of the program.
- Quality and visible success of the watershed work is very essential for beneficiaries to develop trust and faith in the project.
- Culture of people and tradition of the people should not be taken for granted. It needs to be handled very carefully. It has to remember all through that change can never come overnight, it is always gradual.

Availability of fresh water is a national problem which is growing worse as the day is passing. We see some ray of hope of being able to handle the fresh water problem in our country if programs of this kind could be implemented village by village all through India. NGO's are doing there bit sincerely but if this program has to be taken nation wide if the kind

of effects show by the WOTR project has to be replicated in other villages too than the major role has to be played by the government because it is the biggest power in terms of physical, human and capital resource.

While implementing the project one also has to keep in mind that man has to live with nature and abide by its rules. Development plans implemented by taking nature into consideration is always sustainable in long-term. It is important to appreciate and understand such projects with work with nature and learn from it. Methods should be devised to gather support for efforts made in this line and make efforts for its benefits to reach wider section of people.

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The Internationalization of the City Beautiful¹

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Introduction

While the international dimension of the British garden city movement has been well documented (Ward 1992), the global reach of American-style city beautiful ideas in the rise of modern urban planning has been relatively understated. Yet from the late nineteenth century into the 1920s, moves toward the aesthetic re-planning of cities variously based around grand manner planning, more informal but contrived landscape beauty, and their admixture, were an equally global phenomenon, if not more connected into the mainstream processes of city development. The reasons for this imbalance lie in the undoubted distinctiveness and nationalism of the American experience and its iconographic narrative (The World's Columbian Exposition, Washington DC, The Chicago Plan etc), but have been reinforced by an ethnocentric American literature focused comprehensively on domestic concerns (e.g. Silva 2005).

Critical interest in the export of American planning, architecture and urban design ideas has picked up on the wider dissemination of city beautiful ideas through competitions, consultancy and neo-colonial expansionism. But with few exceptions (Stelter 2000), what is missing is a broader appreciation of the worldwide move toward aesthetic issues at the turn of the twentieth century characterized by a diversity of approaches, exchanges, contestations and cultural expressions. The conception of the city as a work of art was not new (Olsen 1986). The rise of interest in interrelating beauty and planning as a global movement had different strands, including civic art (major buildings and public spaces), civic design (master planning), and civic improvement (upgrading of towns) (Pregill and Volkman 1999). These different responses took shape via a global diffusion and adaptation of ideas facilitated by study tours, conferences, international consultancies, books and journals.

Bypassing American narratives, this paper provides a brief overview through vignettes of multinational and contemporaneous moves toward making cities beautiful to convey a pervasive global aspect to the early planning idea of the city as a work of art. It is most concerned with the origins and early years of the movement and draws upon research on the Australian experience (Freestone 2007) where notions of the city beautiful, as in other nations outside the United States, were ultimately shaped by a distinctive cultural mix of imported and indigenous ideas.

The city beautiful agenda

In 1910 the distinguished British architect Sir Aston Webb assembled what were widely agreed contemporary ideals in a word picture of the ideal city:

The centre is on an eminence facing south. Round it are grouped the municipal buildings ... the centre is laid out in terraces and flower gardens with fountains ... the buildings have statues of famous citizens forming part of their architectural decoration. Trees are planted around From an archway in the centre of the south side of the square a great avenue some 200 feet wide starts ... The great avenue forms also a park-like promenade for the citizens and binds the whole city together as a unit ... Outside this avenue lie the professional and commercial centres. The streets running east and west ... are the shop streets with tramways ... Further south is a belt of park land with a drive round the city in which are theatres and refreshment rooms ... the residential streets running north and south, so that the houses may get all the sun, for in 'the city beautiful' the inhabitants believe 'where the sun does not enter the doctor does'. The residential portion is small in proportion, for with increased locomotion facilities, more people live away; and for the same reason no huge barracks of dwellings for the working classes are required ... Two railway stations off the centre Mall, with large places in front, stop important vistas ... Churches and other places of worship are all given important positions, ending vistas or marking the junction of important roads... In the residential quarter there is a total absence of front walls and railings, but instead grass margins to footways, and hedges mark the boundaries ... No advertisements are allowed except on special places appointed for them, and even shop names and signs have to be submitted to the commission, as do all lamp posts, letter boxes, and other designs (Webb 1910).

This captures many of the strands which ebbed and flowed in aesthetic city planning projects around the world: the balance of formality and informality, an eclectic agenda stretching from grand central city gestures to parklike residential streets, and an overall commitment to the desirable nexus between spatial order and social cohesion. There was more at stake than aesthetics and city beautiful aspirations everywhere aligned variously with wider themes of efficiency, technocracy, morality, loyalty, and autocracy.

The relevance, impact and expression of these ideas, stirred by an intermingling of responses to local conditions in the light of global trends, was varied as seemingly common aesthetic aspirations were refracted through a diversity of planning cultures. In political terms, city beautiful-like aims were pursued through different models. Stelter (2000) identifies three types of leadership: 'the baroque cult of power' with authority (and patronage) exercised top-down; the 'professional and bureaucratic' mostly associated with architecturally inspired planning; and 'populist initiative' forged through civic and commercial coalitions (the dominant American model).

It could be argued that from a shared mission to makeover the unplanned urban environment, each nation, as for planning generally, ‘drew according to its own needs and possibilities’ (Sutcliffe 1981). Sutcliffe (1981) has written that ‘although aesthetics greatly strengthened the appeal of planning, it nearly swamped it in the process’. Yet while the city beautiful was a touchstone of early town planning, especially in the United States, the lustre faded. The city beautiful lacked the comprehensiveness to which city planning aspired. It tended to ignore social welfare concerns and left issues like affordable housing for others to solve. Supplanted by more pragmatic paradigms through the professionalisation of the planning movement, the city beautiful seems to have endured as a city planning issue into the 1930s in the subsidiary realm of ‘civic art’.

Exporting the American city beautiful

Just as the garden city had its major impact in the 1910s and was adopted and adapted in various guises around the world, the city beautiful usually as a combination of home-grown and foreign inspiration also called forth a diversity of interpretations. In some instances, to draw upon Ward’s (2002) paradigm of global diffusion, the ideas were ‘exported’ as much as ‘imported’. The American city beautiful was exported vigorously via various channels.

The turn-of-the-century presidency of Theodore Roosevelt cast the United States ‘as a civiliser of the world’ (Yetter 1981). Opportunities arose for architects and planners to export their expertise via city and institutional plans, engineering works, and architectural commissions. City beautiful influences inevitably surfaced through their American heyday. In the thick of things was Daniel Burnham, lured on an imperial mission to the Philippines in 1904–05 to prepare plans for the redevelopment of Manila and the hill town of Baguio, which he conceived as a Washington in miniature (Hines 1979). Elsewhere in Asia, Chiang Kai-shek’s vision for Shanghai as a premier world city drew upon Washington and New Delhi with its cruciform axes, memorials and crescents of public buildings. The master plan was the work of Chao Chein, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania (Balfour and Shiling 2002). Working more unobtrusively were other Americans such as Henry Murphy, a member of the Municipal Society of New York, who prepared city beautiful-style plans for Guangzhou and Nanjing in 1927–28, along with college campus plans merging Chinese and western influences for Beijing, Shanghai, Suzhou, Fuzhou and Nanjing (Cody 2000).

However, such direct impositions were resisted in continental Europe. Steeped in their own traditions, European cities shared little enthusiasm for re-importing the ersatz inspirations of the New World. The French were completely unimpressed, although the pillaging of beaux arts principles had not gone unnoticed (Cohen 1995). The United States ‘had little to offer Europe’ (Sutcliffe 1981). Nevertheless, the projects of Burnham and others may have been a timely reminder for Europeans as to ‘the qualities of their own towns’ (Hall 1997). The American emphasis on parks, park systems and parkways in ordering the city, the production of handsome planning reports, and community-driven civic improvement campaigns were being noticed.

Continental Europe and diffusion of the Haussmann aesthetic

Nineteenth century continental European cities were a key source for the American city beautiful movement. A considerable theoretical body of work on city design had already been evolved by urbanists such as Charles Bulfinch, author of *Aesthetics of Cities* (1898). There were spirited debates on urban form and structure, the most iconic between the Viennese contemporaries Camillo Sitte and Otto Wagner. As a ‘conservator-protagonist of an artisan-made environment’, Sitte seemed unable to satisfactorily reconcile the modern and the artistic. He saw modern city planning as too geometric, formulaic, materialistic and bureaucratic. By contrast, Otto Wagner looked to the future rather than the past, valuing rationality, functionality, and uniformity. Sitte saw the Ringstrasse in Vienna as ‘a cold sea of traffic-dominated space’. Wagner like many others saw it as a step toward the planned modernisation initiated in Paris by Haussmann (Schorske 1981).

The de-medievalisation of Paris had commenced before Georges-Eugène Haussmann was appointed Prefect of the Seine in 1853 to oversee arguably the greatest urban renewal project in history. But his name is inseparable from the memorable assemblage of wide streets, star points and monumental vistas that defined planning in the grand manner. Paris was transformed into an almost permanent construction zone, with implementation of Haussmann’s work continuing into the 1920s. Haussmann was a classicist in architectural taste, but the significance of his large-scale interventions lies more in the all-of-a-piece aesthetic uniformity imposed through regulation. Using secret and unorthodox financing methods, which created a massive long-term debt for the city, Haussmann’s work also confirmed the embourgeoisement of the central city with the working class displaced to the suburbs; tourists became more visible than the poor (Jordan 1995).

The Haussmann approach was copied in other French cities, such as Marseilles, Lyon and Lille, as well as being exported abroad. Haussmann was consulted by Mayor Jules Anspach of Brussels about that city’s plans to cover over a waterway through the city centre with a boulevard flanked by apartment blocks. Through a variety of cultural and colonial linkages, cities such as Rio de Janeiro, Hanoi, and Thessaloniki looked to France for planning inspiration. Without leaving Paris, Joseph Antoine Bouvard reconceived Istanbul through an arbitrarily artistic plan based around a disconnected series of set-piece monuments (Celik 1984). Into the 1920s grand manner plans could mingle various influences – evident in JCN Forestier’s projects for Buenos Aires (1924) and Havana (1926), which drew upon both Haussmann and the American city beautiful (Almandoz 2002).

The authoritarian landscape

Authority everywhere was receptive to bombast with planned capital city landscapes disarmingly sharing the rationality and modernity of more democratic conceptions, albeit in overdrive. The recurring design vocabulary of authoritarian planning was an assemblage of ceremonial axes, lavish neo-classical buildings, and nationalistic artwork, breaking with historical continuities to showcase political prestige and power in new, monumental settings. Massed structures and grand spaces had an obvious appeal to authoritarian regimes seeking to transcend the fragmentation and backwardness of the old order.

Largely designed by British architect Edwin Lutyens, New Delhi was to be the showpiece of the British Empire on the sub-continent. Its formal classical plan of fanning radial boulevards and polygonal geometry suggested ‘uncanny similarities with L’Enfant’s plan for Washington’ (Hall 2002). The centrepiece of Albert Speer’s New Berlin for the Third Reich was a five-mile-long, 400 feet wide north-south boulevard, with an associated Great Hall and triumphal arch (Helmer 1985). Mussolini’s new Roman empire was headquartered at the Esposizione Universale di Roma (EUR), an efficient and clinical town centre of muted classical inspiration. A ‘pall of repugnant ideological implications’ may well have helped to suppress civic art enthusiasm for a generation as designers became more circumspect about such projects (Collins 1988).

Great Britain

The history of planning in Great Britain is dominated by public health reforms, the garden city movement, the passage of town planning legislation, and countryside preservation. Aesthetics were allied but more muted, and more obviously associated with the architectural profession. Civic art and design were almost invisible in Patrick Abercrombie’s *Town and Country Planning* (1933) except as historical preamble, but they gathered more visibility from the 1930s as notions of urban townscape became more compelling, in part as critique to the spread of endless garden suburbs.

The vision of a city beautiful as a planning goal was promulgated by early leaders in the field, as captured in the words of Sir Aston Webb above. He did his personal best to dress-up central London in grand fashion in his work at Buckingham Palace, Admiralty Arch, and The Mall. His vision of the ideal city was shared by many of his peers, nowhere more so than in Liverpool, which emerged as an extraordinary locus of activity.

Britain’s first degree in planning was established within the Department of Civic Design at the University of Liverpool in 1909. The *Town Planning Review* under the founding editorship of Liverpool University lecturer Patrick Abercrombie became a vital organ on all aspects of planning and design. These initiatives were underwritten with a generous endowment by the local businessman William Lever, whose own Port Sunlight model village bore the impress of a city beautiful-style classicization at a time when suburban planning was dominated by a more informal aesthetic (Ward 1994). Liverpool staged a ‘City Beautiful’ conference in 1907, formed a pioneering City Guild to work for city improvement in 1910, and the city engineer, John A Brodie, who was involved in the planning of New Delhi, worked towards a city-wide system of ring boulevards. Liverpool’s status as an Atlantic port perhaps served as a conduit for the introduction of progressive American ideas.

A key figure at Liverpool was architecture professor Charles Reilly. With an urbane and cosmopolitan view of city life drawn from the inspirations of Paris, the beaux arts, and the Worlds Columbian Exposition, he conceived the emerging discipline of planning as an aesthetic activity working in partnership with concerns of traffic and sewerage ‘which have till now completely held the field’ (Crouch 2002). His colleague Stanley Adshead, the first Lever Professor of Civic Design, shared these views. Adshead contributed a series of articles on ‘The Decoration and Furnishing of the City’ to the *Town Planning*

Review in 1912–14. His discussion of even the humblest ‘utilitarian furnishings’ such as telephone boxes, newspaper kiosks and public lavatories lamented how such items were ‘thrown about’ with no connection to a city plan.

The distinguished landscape architect Thomas Mawson also lectured part-time at the University of Liverpool. His background was as a nurseryman and garden designer and he equated planning with civic art. Mawson was offered prestigious commissions, including Lord Lever’s ‘Beautiful Bolton’ campaign, and was active in ‘stirring up an interest in civic betterment’ through many public addresses. He was active abroad, particularly in Canada, where he produced a number of overly ambitious civic centre and campus plans. Mawson admired the American city beautiful; he personally found Burnham an individual ‘with all the simplicity and modesty of those truly great’ and regarded his Chicago plan as ‘stupendous’. He felt CM Robinson had authored ‘the most delightful works on modern civic art in the English language’ (Mawson 1927).

The maintenance of high aesthetic standards of development could be delivered by different mechanisms. The president of the local government board, John Burns, in introducing the *Housing, Town Planning Etc Act 1909* into the British Parliament saw its gains in ‘the home healthy, the house beautiful, the town pleasant, the city dignified, and the suburb salubrious’, although in practice it became enmeshed in administrative regulation. Voluntary organisations such as the Birmingham Civic Society worked locally for more beautiful towns in the manner of American improvement associations. Following the example of the Commission of Fine Arts for Washington, DC (1910), royal fine arts commissions were instituted for England (1924) and Scotland (1927) to report on matters of public amenity and ‘artistic expression’ referred to them, such as the design of monuments and modification of public buildings. Early members of the English body included Aston Webb, Edwin Lutyens, and Thomas Mawson (Youngson 1990).

City beautiful ideas were also expressed in various development projects. The two most notable were the Kingsway in London and Cathays Park in Cardiff. The Kingsway project, carried out by London County Council in 1905–20, was the most significant civic improvement undertaken in London since the construction of Regent Street in the early 19th century. It involved a new thoroughfare, three-quarters of a mile long and 100 feet wide, a subway for trams and underground railway line, and sites for new commercial buildings in a slum clearance involving the displacement and re-housing of thousands of people at a net cost of £2 million. The aesthetics of the project drew inspiration from imperial London as well as the stripped neo-classical commercial architecture of the late city beautiful. In spirit there was also a debt to Haussmann’s work, ‘to such an extent that it became the kind of location an impoverished film crew might choose to make a *Maigret* film without going to Paris’ (Schubert and Sutcliffe 1996).

Cathays Park was a grouping of major public buildings on a prominent 58-acre site acquired by Cardiff City Council in the late 1890s. It was a grand gesture expressing how the city saw itself – as the Chicago of Britain. The complex was initiated with a new City Hall and Law Courts by Lanchester, Stewart and Rickards, in the Edwardian Baroque style. Adshead (1910) criticised what he saw as ill-informed departures from the original

site plan, but Mawson's judgment was more favourable: 'Unquestionably the finest example of forethought, enterprise and grasp of the underlying principles which make for civic art which this country can at present show' (Mawson 1911). Other civic centre complexes would follow, including Southampton and Nottingham (both from 1929), but the real enthusiasm awaited the end of World War II.

Despite these ventures, compared to continental Europeans and the Americans, the British generally seemed more interested in municipal housing schemes than civic splendour. Australian planner John Sulman observed this in the early 1920s. He characterised the British planning movement as 'rather humanitarian than artistic ... the artistic self-expression of the town or city taking a secondary place', noting only some attempts to give new town halls 'a proper setting' (Sulman 1921). A British engineer explained this lukewarmness as a national trait: 'We are proud to consider ourselves a practical people, and, unfortunately, ideas of beauty are not bound up with this. Anglo-Saxons are too prone to consider art as a luxury' (Hayler 1913). Weaver (1925) put it more eloquently: 'The English character does not happily consort with visions of the Grand Manner. We are so desperately afraid of being pompous that our schemes generally issue in a small banality. Much, however, is due to a difference in general attitude towards the fine arts, and to a desperate unwillingness to spend money freely and gracefully on any object which is not utilitarian'. Great Britain's dominions and former colonies responded in different ways to this reservedness.

Canada

One country destined to be influenced by American city beautiful developments was its northern neighbour. Similar stimuli intermingled – the Worlds Columbian Exposition, the repulsion at urban ugliness, and most certainly the inspiration of Paris. Interest was fostered by top-down political interest, professional encounters, and popular involvements.

Political patronage drove the replanning of Ottawa, which was ordained rather than conceived as a capital city, and a city beautiful ethos with beaux arts themes characterised its early 20th century development. The Frederick Todd plan of 1903 with an emphasis on boulevards, parkways, open spaces, and natural beauty sought to align the industrial and aesthetic development of the city. Edward Bennett's plan for Ottawa and adjoining Hull (1915) recommended a major government centre near the parliamentary buildings. A proposed national war memorial drew a memorable and revealing quotation from the 1930s prime minister, McKenzie King: 'I at once saw that I had my Champs Élysées, Arc de Triomphe and Place de la Concorde all at a single stroke' (quoted in Gordon 1992). Jacques Greber's regional plan of 1950 also had its monumental qualities. David Gordon argues that these early plans are often too easily dismissed; the background studies for Bennett's plan were 'the basis for plans which transformed the Canadian capital forty years later' (Gordon 1998).

The aesthetic principles that preoccupied professional architects were coherence (harmony and uniformity), visual variety (vistas and variation in street patterns), and civic grandeur (civic centres and campus plans) (Van Nus 1975). These were expressed

in tangible form in developments such as Maissonneuve, a new suburban town from 1912 in Montreal, University Avenue in Toronto created by a 1929 city plan, and Mawson's campus planning projects for Dalhousie, Saskatchewan, Calgary, and British Columbia (1912-13).

The activities of amateur beautification groups, horticultural societies and improvement associations in street tree planting, public grounds beautification, vacant-lot gardening, and clean-up campaigns constituted a more grassroots strand to the Canadian city beautiful. Their efforts were spurred not only by the desire to beautify but 'the persuasive reforming zeal of the period', and carried on when official programs failed (von Baeyer 1986).

Stelter's summation is that the city beautiful in Canada helped foster beauty as a desirable urban characteristic, promoted citizen action, introduced the idea of unified city planning, and produced some solid results on the ground. Its mission was undermined by naiveté in the ways of urban politics, the disruptive and draining impact of World War I, a lack of financial realism, and the pull of competing urban visions (Stelter 1993). Aesthetic reforms also tended to ignore other pressing demands such as housing shortages and the need for better subdivision regulations. The trend of planning in Canada from the 1910s shows the same shift toward a more utilitarian, pragmatic emphasis as elsewhere. Planners sought a new conception of beauty integrated within the city plan. The dominant mainstream voice of Thomas Adams argued in 1920 that 'orderly development' through planning and zoning 'will produce beauty without seeking beauty as an end in itself' (van Nus 1975).

New Zealand

New Zealand as another British dominion had its quota of city beautiful rhetoric, civic centre proposals and war memorial projects (Miller 2000). The architect JF Munnings addressed the First New Zealand Town Planning Conference on 'The City Beautiful', adopting an eclectic definition from 'the smallest article of use' to 'the greatest and noblest conceptions of man' and exhorting his peers to expend 'every effort' to make the country's existing towns 'more beautiful in every respect' (Munnings 1919).

The most distinctive element was a national network of town-based beautifying, conservation and scenic protection societies. These emerged in the late 19th century, became loosely connected with the emerging town planning movement, and subsequently evolved toward gardening and horticultural societies (Miller 2006). The Christchurch Beautifying Association campaigned against public advertisements and for tree planting, promoted private and public gardening, and urged the beautification of public squares. From 1924 it issued a journal called *City Beautiful*, comprising a mix of articles on practical gardening and beautifying issues with the odd contribution on town planning and architecture. The core aim was 'to make life a brighter and sweeter thing for the citizens of Christchurch' through advocacy in which 'no matter will be too small'. Although Australia boasted a national set of town planning associations in each capital city and some regional centres, none had such an aesthetic-scenic mission as the bodies on the other side of the Tasman Sea.

Australia

In Australia, the goal of the city beautiful was articulated through various channels, with professional and bureaucratic discourse staking out the main turf (Freestone 2007). Top-down endorsement facilitated initiation and at least partial implementation of some projects, but lacked the sustained patronage that was so often the clue to success abroad. A host of local organisations periodically pursued urban beautification: chambers of commerce, Rotary clubs, local councils, and sundry town planning, progress and improvement associations. While individuals interconnected through professional, political and social networks, there was no organised populist, political movement. Most capital cities had their own artistic aspirations towards city-defining features from the standard list of parks, public squares, and civic centres.

The city beautiful was not an overnight sensation and can be thought of as the culmination of several developments going back to the early colonial period. These included inspirational and utopian visions for better planned cities, increasing professional concern over the general aesthetic condition of cities, the beautification possibilities raised by special events, the interest of entrepreneurs, and local beautification efforts. It is a different mix to the American bellwethers of parks, municipal art, and civic improvement (Peterson 2003).

The city beautiful idea helped urban reformers make the vital breakthrough to regarding the whole city rather than any individual structure as the fundamental unit of design. A lightning rod for civic design and related questions of town improvement was the federal capital project. The idea of a new city arose out of the constitutional debates of the 1890s. This project was vital in focusing professional attention on issues of integrated design. The Congress of Engineers, Architects, and Surveyors held in Melbourne in 1901 to consider the planning of the projected federal capital, was a landmark event.

International inspiration for an artistically-inclined planning of the modern city filtered into Australia from Europe and America from the 1890s. Many architects had ties to England and imported a British sensibility. The American connotations of the city beautiful were diluted by their absorption into an architecturally inspired planning heavily informed by British ties. British hegemony meant that Australian designers were less under the spell of the strict *École des Beaux Arts* tradition that had such a stranglehold on American civic architecture and planning.

Ways of making cities more beautiful through planning were promoted through several channels. Six are readily identified. The first and most fundamental was community education. The main instruments of communication were public lectures, newspapers and popular periodicals. A second promotional strategy was for professionals to offer active support to communities forming themselves into improvement leagues to pursue local causes such as beautification and tree planting. A third pathway was through augmentation of council powers, although it was conceded that artistic salvation through regulation would only work when allied to community education and professional edification. Fourth, the ultimate planning document at local or state level was a general development plan inclusive of aesthetic content. Fifth, short of securing statutory

backing, building and, in particular, architectural journals became enthusiastic about constituting advisory bodies to help government adjudicate on the aesthetic merits of new development. Finally, government was looked to for leadership. Perth identity JS Battye contended that the typical Australian attitude of ‘expecting the Government or some other authority to do everything for him is not conducive to even the elementary stages of developing the City Beautiful’ (Battye 1934).

For inspiration, Australia could look to many countries. The glamour cities of continental Europe could not help but provide a benchmark for the city as a work of art. The United States boasted brash projects and at the same time an underlying strength in community engagement. Pulling in a different direction, Great Britain was more restrained but sporadically produced inspirational statements of imperialistic design. Other British dominions picked and mixed, with Canada in a comparable position to Australia in its openness to both new world and old world influences. Many other countries were doing similar things to reinforce a global phenomenon, but geographic and cultural distances made them less influential in Australia. The international federal capital design competition of 1911–12 which produced Canberra did provide a lens on what the rest of the world was thinking, but at the end of the day the planning agenda had still to be written locally.

Ultimately, the city beautiful as the touchstone of city planning was never more than a fleeting episode, confined primarily to the years immediately post-Federation when the idea of a new federal city was at its most beguiling and an organised planning movement had yet to crystallise. Thereafter, as in Canada, it survived as part of a more comprehensive philosophy of planning and was embodied as an aesthetic element in specific development projects.

Conclusion

The idea of a beautiful city as a central goal – or at least a significant by-product – of the emergent profession of modern city planning was an international mission in the early 20th century. An utter surrender to urban artistry proved beyond all but the most authoritarian regimes. The high costs, real and perceived, of this style of urban development, was one constraint, just as the silences on certain urban problems were another. Others had to do with competing political objectives, hostile systems of governance, and obstacles to implementation. Advocates tried to stress both the broader social and immediate tangible benefits that would accompany aesthetic reforms. But after the initial flowering of city beautiful rhetoric, the relationship between beauty and practicality was more rigorously scrutinised, with a prioritisation of utilitarian aims widely evident by the 1920s. Nevertheless, the impact on the urban environment was profound and the city beautiful idea is connected with landmark public buildings, civic spaces and park systems as well as numerous small-scale beautification impacts in many cities around the world.

NOTE

1. This paper is drawn from my forthcoming book, *Designing Australian Cities* (UNSW Press, 2007).

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The Urban and Global Origins of Color Lines in Colonial Madras and New York

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By 1700 British authorities at both Madras, India and New York City had made, by fits and starts, about thirty years of progress in their efforts to consolidate control over people officially denoted by the color *black*. Yet the residential color lines they drew in these two urban spaces contrasted sharply. In Madras, known today as Chennai, stout stone walls divided the residences of Europeans from those of Asians. Similar arrangements existed in other Asian colonial cities, but Madras was the first place in world history to officially designate its separate sections by color: “White Town” and “Black Town.”¹ In New York, by contrast, a small separate section of town outside the city wall sometimes called the “negro lands” was dismantled, along with the wall itself. In a pattern New Yorkers could scarcely recognize today, but which was common among slave-importing cities of the Atlantic world, authorities increasingly forced black slaves to live inside the households of whites, and especially those of the wealthiest ones.²

This tale of two cities on opposite sides of the globe tells us much about the world history of urban space. Both Madras and New York owed much of their existence to the planet-spanning economic, cultural, intellectual, political, and demographic connections of European mercantile empires. However, the cities’ contrasting structures represent the work of something much more specific: a pattern of segmentation and diversification within transnational and inter-colonial exchanges of ideas about how to defend cities and control their restive populations.

The two colonial settlements also tell us much about the role of cities in the world history of color and race. A vast consensus has grown among scholars in most disciplines that color and race categories are invented and continually reinvented within the context of social and political contestation, and that they have no all-embracing meaning outside those contexts. But, like many “origin” narratives, the search for the origins of “race” or “racism” (as well as the debate over whether it existed before the origins of slavery) remains infected by universalistic concepts. In his widely admired synthesis *Racism: A Short History*, for example, George Fredrickson defines “racism” as arising “when differences that might be considered ethnocultural are regarded as innate, indelible, and unchangeable,” and when such thinking “either directly sustains or proposes to establish a *racial order*, a permanent group hierarchy.” As he searches for the origins of this racism, a teleological narrative emerges. The “rigidity of true racial divisions” only emerged in the late eighteenth or nineteenth century, but it was heralded in the late medieval and early modern periods by numerous “prototypical forms” of racism, “protoracism,” or “functional equivalents” of racism. Notwithstanding the implications of his own hedging and several other historians’ qualms, it is common practice throughout historical literature to see “race” as existing in

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any early modern encounter between Europeans and others, or in any use of color categories, or any institutions that establish European power over non-Europeans.³

One problem with ahistorical concepts, of course, is anachronism. The word *racism* was not coined until the 1920s, and though *race* did exist in English and other languages by the early sixteenth century, its relatively rare early-modern usage generally has little in common with that of most contemporary historians. More importantly, though, it is easy to forget the sheer multiplicity of early modern concepts of human difference when the predominant question we ask of them is whether they are really “race” in disguise. In Madras and New York, for example, authorities *never* used the word *race* in official documents before the late eighteenth century, and much preferred such words as *nation*, *people*, and later *color* and *complexion* as macro-categories of difference. These concepts, not *race*, served as the general term for such subcategories *Christian*, *white*, *black*, and numerous other linguistic or cultural designations. In both places, all of these categories had rich histories of their own that long predated their eventual incorporation into intellectual projects explicitly concerned with *race*. All of these categories were also variably (and often ambiguously) linked to other intellectual projects that also had their own histories before *race*, such as efforts to elaborate the permanence and the heritability of group characteristics, and efforts to establish general schemes of dividing humanity.

It is important to recognize these separate histories because the builders of early modern institutions, such as the authorities at Madras and Manhattan, saw important strategic advantages in stressing nuances of meaning associated with the varied concepts of human difference at their disposal as they consolidated their contrasting colonial regimes. In both cities, authorities made similar conceptual moves of this sort at the same historical moment. >From the founding of Madras in 1639 and 1640, authorities used the word *black* as one of several terms for local Asians, and from the beginnings of Dutch settlement in the 1620s, colonists in Manhattan used *black* or *negro* for Africans. In both places, however, Europeans preferred to call themselves “Christians” and very rarely used the term *white* until much later. One of the hallmarks of the consolidation of their control after the turn of the eighteenth century was the rapid proliferation of *white* over *Christian* in official discourse.

This play with words was essential to the local establishment of two critical institutions of Western expansion. In Manhattan, the story is most familiar: authorities transformed a “society with slaves” into a more formalized urban “slave society.” In Madras, the local representatives of the British East India Company (EIC) invented the urban residential color line. That story is less familiar, and it is often dismissed in accounts of twentieth-century segregation,⁴ but it involved strategies of urban division later deemed critical to modern-era dual colonial cities across Asia and Africa, to South African townships, and ultimately to American ghettos. >From the seventeenth century on authorities at Madras experimented with residential separation laws (with inevitable exceptions for live-in servants), restrictions on property sales to “whites” only, wholesale property confiscation and demolition, urban *cordon sanitaires*, state-sanctioned dual housing markets, dual fiscal systems, and even a form of government-sponsored “white” suburbanization.

The politics of urban space thus deserves more scrutiny as a site for the elaboration of intellectual and institutional projects of color--and ultimately race--in the early modern period. As the stark differences and striking similarities between the two cities suggest, projects of city-building and concept formation operated on multiple geographical scopes at the same time--global, imperial, hemispheric, national, and local. The development of color lines worldwide and the contingencies of local urban politics were thus to an important degree mutually constitutive.

The tale of an Asian city divided by walls into separate residential zones and an American city which forced Africans to live on the properties and in the houses of Europeans reflects a

divergence in the international trade in ideas about the geopolitics and social control of colonies. That divergence roughly parallels the hemispheric division between the Atlantic world, with its economic lifeblood based on the slave trade and the plantation system, and the Indian Ocean world, with its focus on the trade in non-human luxuries, above all spices.⁵ But the cities' contrasting residential policies were based less in divergent economic systems than in the differing demographic and political situations associated with the conquest and exploitation of riches in the two hemispheres.

In the colonial cities of the Indian Ocean, such as Madras, a relatively small European population moved into the midst of vast and generally increasing indigenous populations, a large portion of whom lived in some of the world's largest large cities. The majority of these populations was at least nominally free and it benefitted from the protection of some of the world's richest and most powerful governments. In the Americas, by contrast, in places like New York, relatively large numbers of European immigrants and African slaves moved in amongst a generally decreasing indigenous population which was much less urbanized. It was represented by governments that, even after the fall of the Mexican and Incan empires, could be formidable by world standards, but that possessed less of the wealth or the layered subcontinental reach of Asian empires such as that of the Mughals.

In both worlds, European colonial cities were extremely "tense societies," difficult to control internally, and beset by constant external threats from local governments and the navies of European rival mercantile companies. But, in the Indian Ocean, where Europeans occupied a much weaker geopolitical position and depended much less on slaves, colonial authorities deemed the residential separation of non-Europeans essential to the defense of their cities and the defeat of local resistance. By contrast, urban authorities in slave-importing societies like New York would have recoiled from any scheme of separation, since large black neighborhoods could only provide further cover for the slave uprisings that regularly threatened to turn urban society upside down--along with the entire international economic system cities like New York were designed to serve.⁶

For a century and a half before the founding of Madras and New Amsterdam, ideas about the best way to defend and control colonial cities traveled between imperial metropolises and colonies and across boundaries of national influence within each of these hemispheres of the colonial world. In the east, the Portuguese built a long chain of urban forts and *feitoreas* as they made their way along the Atlantic coast of Africa and into the Indian Ocean. These were often soon surrounded by permanent cities that contained large majorities of local and mixed inhabitants. Historians have argued that this system was probably designed on the model of the Venetian mercantile *fondacchi* in the Eastern Mediterranean and the enclaves set aside for foreign merchants in cities across the Islamic world. At Goa and elsewhere in India, the Portuguese experimented with legislation setting aside separate quarters for Hindus and Muslims, some of which already existed in the cities they took over. When the Spanish founded Manila, they brought across the Pacific their experiences with founding cities in the Americas to Asia. In New Spain, the conquistadors and their successors had contended with bigger and more urbanized Amerindian populations than other colonists would encounter elsewhere in the New World. They separated Indians into barrios or *reducciones* outside mainland Mexican and Central American cities; in Lima it was a fenced quarter within the walls called El Cerrado. At Manila, authorities similarly set aside a heavily fortified "Intramuros" for Spaniards, and they banished the local Filipino, Chinese, and Japanese populations to several separate neighborhoods outside the walls.⁷

In the early seventeenth century, the Dutch achieved a reputation for building the stoutest forts on the Indian Ocean coasts. As Remco Raben has shown, their systems of urban segregation were also the most sophisticated, sometimes involving intricate population registration systems and pass laws. In Batavia, the system was also inspired by Javanese urban traditions: each of the many

“nations” of what we now call Indonesia who lived outside the walls of the city were allotted a separate *kampung* (village). This Malay word later spawned a critical keyword in modern-era urban segregationist politics, *compound*.⁸ During the late middle ages the Dutch and other northern Europeans had established divided mercantile towns in the Baltic Sea, and the English had developed similar towns in Wales in Ireland. But when the founders of Madras first made the case to the reluctant East Indian Company for funds to build Fort St. George, they explicitly referred to the practice of “the Portugalls, Dutch, and Danes to frame unto themselves into more safe habitations.” The example of the Dutch was apparently important in winning the argument, for the General Court explicitly justified the expenditure in recognition of the Dutch East India Company’s enormous success.⁹

In Madras, local considerations dictated a scheme of wall-building that divided Europeans from Asians more sharply than elsewhere. This occurred against the backdrop of EIC efforts to establish increasing sovereignty over a tiny stretch of port-less beachfront on South India’s Coromandel Coast. The idea was to mimic the Portuguese and Dutch practice of acquiring prized local cotton cloth that was much desired by merchants farther to the east, who would trade spices for it at relative bargains. Far from being an almighty colonial overlord, the rag-tag band of EIC agents who acquired Madras in 1639 did so under an arrangement that made the Company an only somewhat privileged vassal to a petty local official of the crumbling Vijayanagara Empire, the Naik Damarla Venkatappa. Local sovereignty over the region shifted continually and unpredictably over the next seventy five years, and company authorities had to fend off several besieging armies as well as spies who mingled among the many Indians and other Asians who settled near the new commercial outpost. As the town grew around Fort St. George, Europeans appear to have built their houses closest to its walls. By the mid-1650s, a new wall had been built which formed a much larger trapezoidal perimeter around the whole European settlement, enclosing what was then called “Christian Town.”¹⁰ Meanwhile, it also became clear that the rapidly growing Indian city beyond those walls posed its own security threat because it provided easy cover for enemy armies. For five decades, authorities at Madras tried to cajole the city’s wealthiest Asians to finance a wall around Black Town as well. In 1687 the Company’s powerful Court Director Josiah Child even insisted that the “black merchants” of Madras as well as the resident Armenians and Portuguese be encouraged to participate in local government as aldermen, and in exchange pay a wall tax—imitating the example of the Dutch authorities at Batavia in Java. In 1706, after seven years of periodic sieges from a particularly mercurial local sovereign, the Nawab Da’ud Khan of the Carnatic and Gingee, Governor Thomas Pitt (grand-uncle of the “Great Commoner”) used British arms to confine the “heads of the castes” of the Black Town in a local pagoda until they came up with the money. A stone wall finally went up around the Black Town in the next few years (see map #1).¹¹

Though the cultural preferences of both English and Indians to live apart may have made the splitting of Madras easier, this was not a case of “voluntary” or “*de facto*” segregation.¹² The walls themselves were, of course, the work of the Company itself, and in addition the English felt it necessary either to pass or propose laws or issue proclamations in 1680, 1688, 1690, 1698, 1706, 1743, 1745, and 1751 to regulate the residence of various groups, sometimes requesting that English residents agree to restrict resale their houses to other Englishmen.¹³ The Company designed the architecture of the fort, walls, gates, and houses of the European section to communicate commanding superiority over Indians and other Asians. Parapets and cannons festooned the roofs of all the houses in that quarter, radiating might. By the eighteenth century, most buildings in White Town were plastered with *chunam*, a substance made from the crushed shells of a local mollusk, which gave a marble-like appearance to exteriors and made them shine *whiter*--literally--than those in Black Town. Proclamations from the EIC Agent and later Governor were traditionally issued by means of a loud procession accompanied by cannon shots from Christian or White Town that passed

from the fort through the massive Choultry Gate into the Black Town. Those ordinances were later posted on the huge wooden doors of that same Choultry Gate. Because of all these measures, a dual housing market, and what South African historian Paul Maylam calls “fiscal segregation,” developed in Madras by the eighteenth century if not before. Property values were deemed much higher on average in White Town—even taking into account Indian merchants’ palatial dwellings and temples in Black Town--and tax rates for European property were set lower than those levied in Black Town to avoid excessive burdens on Englishmen. As elsewhere, the White Town walls were semi-permeable, regularly transgressed by Indian servants, sex partners, and mercantile collaborators. But they served as a primary instrument in institutionalizing what became a color hierarchy--as well as a grand stage for the theatrics of an emerging colonial authority.¹⁴

In the 1740s, as wars with France and Spain took on multicontinental dimensions, the process of fortified separation by color intensified dramatically at Madras. When the French seized the city in 1746, they completely leveled the historic Black Town, wall and all, and resettled the Indian inhabitants four hundred yards from the gates of White Town. When the British regained Madras two years later, they forbade any building in the intermediate zone, which became a military *cordon sanitaire* forcing besieging armies into the open (later it became the city’s Esplanade). Then they filled in the languid Elambore (or Cooum) River to the west of the White Town, allowing for a doubling of the White Town’s area and making room for a bristling, state-of-the-art, Vauban-style, fortification system (see map #2). Later in the eighteenth century, the Company subsidized the growth of White Town beyond the walls. Its methods, which evoke those of 20th-century South Africa and the U.S., included grants of land for suburban “garden estates,” and the construction of wider roads to accommodate increased horse carriages carrying commuters into the city’s historic business center.¹⁵

In the Western hemisphere, meanwhile, the traffic in ideas about the defense and control of cities also had a transnational and inter-colonial scope. The principles that went into the spatial policies of New Amsterdam and New York date back to the cities of Spanish America. Though those cities were initially built around schemes of division between Spaniards and Indians, other dynamics came into play when large numbers of slaves were imported there (Spanish-Indian separation also waned in the eighteenth century as black-white separation intensified in places like Madras). In Mexico City and in port cities throughout Spanish America, sixteenth-century slave codes forbade the arming of blacks, imposed curfews, banned gatherings of more than a few slaves, forced slaves to live with their masters, and forbade mestizos and mulattos from living outside the Spanish sections of town.¹⁶ Similar laws regarding the control of slaves’ movements and residence were passed in the cities of the French and British Caribbean and at slave cities throughout the Atlantic from Rio to New Orleans and Cape Town to Charles Town. Debates over New York’s slave laws around the turn of the eighteenth century contain numerous references to Spanish and French examples, and the historian Graham Russell Hodges speculates that the arrival of many Barbadian planters in New York during the 1690s may have contributed to the hardening of the regime.¹⁷

Large-scale residential color separation of Africans was very limited in slave-importing colonial cities of the Atlantic. The Dutch East India Company’s Slave Lodge in Cape Town was probably the most important exception (the Dutch West India Company apparently maintained a smaller version of such a compound on Manhattan for a few years). Other exceptions prove the rule that urban slavery and large-scale color separation did not readily mix. The Spanish established the separate free-black city of Mose on the outskirts of Saint Augustine, Florida, explicitly to entice slaves to run away from the British plantations of South Carolina and thus weaken a colonial rival. When the first black enclaves did develop, such as Charleston’s Neck, Savannah’s Bluffs, the yards of Kingston, and Rio’s first informal hillside settlements, they all came into being in defiance of slavery not because of it. In slave societies urban residential separation was a means for blacks,

whether free or enslaved, to achieve a modicum of independent life and resist repression.¹⁸

In New Amsterdam, Governor Peter Stuyvesant built a city wall in 1658 (destined to give its name to the Wall Street financial district) to protect the city's landside approach against Indians and expansion-minded colonists from New England. The wall was never more than a wooden and earthen stockade: military engineers at Madras would have scoffed at it. Worse than that, the town's roaming hogs regularly scuffed up the sod that held the earthwork together, and residents stole the wooden palisades for firewood when it got cold. Then, worst of all, the English simply bypassed the wall when they seized New Amsterdam by sea in 1664. Nonetheless, British officials, like the Dutch, were content to leave the defense of the city to a string of palisaded settlements stretching up the Hudson River to Albany and Schenectady, closer to the heartland of the Iroquois Confederacy.

If New York's wall did separate urban "Christians" from largely rural Indians, it was never intended to separate blacks and whites. Unlike at Madras, British authorities demolished the wall in 1699 as their efforts to formalize slavery intensified.¹⁹ No formal slave code had existed in New Amsterdam, and a substantial group of "Atlantic creoles" who served as bonds-people to the Dutch West India Company were able to petition for a status of "half-free" in recompense for their service to colony during a disastrous series of Indian wars in the 1640s. Half-freedom gave them access to landownership, and a number settled in what were called the "new negro lots" or the "negro lands" near the convergence of Broadway and Bowery Street well north of Peter Stuyvesant's town wall (see map #3). When the British took New York they agreed to honor this arrangement, but they also pushed for expansion north of Wall Street, which is why they eventually took down the wall. Land prices and taxes increased as the city edged northward, eventually forcing many of the city's impoverished free and half-free blacks to leave Manhattan. Thus ended the faint pattern of residential separation that had developed in the city.²⁰

In 1665 and again in 1706, fearful of the growing slave population and its more frequent acts of ungovernability, British city authorities passed slave codes which forbade slave ownership of property and made manumissions ever more difficult, thus also undercutting the expansion of property ownership among free blacks. Finally the "Negro Act" of 1712, passed in the wake of a particularly determined slave uprising, forbade manumitted slaves from owning property, making it impossible for any free black residential community, separate or otherwise, to grow in New York. The same series of laws forced slaves to live in their owner's house and carry notes from their master when they ventured outside. As the large-scale, Company-dominated slaveholding that had characterized the Dutch period disappeared, slaves were increasingly dispersed in smaller numbers throughout the white residences of the city, usually forced to live in garrets or closets, and more rarely in alleyway shacks out back. Because the wealthiest New Yorkers owned the largest numbers of slaves, the greatest concentrations of blacks lived separated from each other on the property of the wealthiest white neighborhoods.

Such laws not only forced blacks to live with whites, they also separated blacks from each other, creating big obstacles to intimate relationships, including marriage.²¹ Colonial authorities also tried mightily but less successfully to interpose agents of European colonial authority into black workplaces, schools, informal markets, gathering places, ceremonies, burglary rings, and insurgent conspiracies. They forbade more than four, then more than three slaves from meeting together, outlawed Sunday revelries and the sale of liquor to slaves, and set ever more stringent curfews which ultimately even made it illegal for a slave to walk about after dark without a lantern. As Ira Berlin has argued, these laws, passed, and re-passed from the 1680s through the Revolution, only document the wide extent to which they were flouted. Slaves continued to mount insurgencies, often allied with radicalized poorer whites, most notably in 1721 and 1732. The biggest conspiracy of all was that of 1741, in the midst of looming pan-imperial warfare, which resulted in another series of crackdowns on slaves' movements.²² Authorities did agree to establish an African Burial Ground, but that only

proves the rule about the structure of slave cities: black people were only segregated when they were dead.

Early modern discussions about the defense and control of colonial cities contain a rich language of human difference. The crucial change in this language at both places was the abandonment of religious categories in favor of the secular color categories, first *black*, and, considerably later, *white*.

Madras pioneered the use of color categories in the politics of dividing urban space, but that invention was by no means inevitable there, or for that matter anywhere else in the many divided cities of the Indian Ocean. Europeans in Asia only sporadically used *black* to describe Asians in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, mostly as an adaptation of the vocabulary of the *casta* system, though the Dutch used “black” occasionally for freed slaves (*mardijkers*) and the Javanese and other East Indians they particularly feared and despised.

Black Town did not enter the official vocabulary of Madras until 1676. In the early years officials occasionally used *black* to describe Asians, but they most often used linguistic or religious categories such as *Malabar Town* (the word for Madras’s majority Tamil population) or *Gentue Town* (a word which either referred to the city’s large minority Telugu population or Hindus in general) to designate the Asian section of town. These were approximate translations of some of the terms Indians themselves used, which also included many linguistic, religious, and caste designations. Indians preferred to call Madras, or at least the Indian section, Chennaipattnam, in honor of the Naik’s father (the root of today’s Chennai), and they appear to have avoided “Black Town.”

Indeed, the English seem to have used “black” as a derogatory term. International commerce in color designations may have been at work here: the negative associations could well have derived from the Atlantic slave trade.²³ But local factors are more clearly at play. Those who did use the term *Black Town* took the hardest line on control of Indians and the wall tax. The Court of Directors itself fluctuated in its tactics, at one moment issuing thundering directives to its Agents and Governors to tax Indian merchants for a “Black Town” wall by force, and at another advising “gentleness and perswasion” to entice the “Gentues and Moores” to take seats as aldermen and pay the tax voluntarily.²⁴ The Company’s local agents, by contrast, had more at stake in being consistently respectful, since they engaged heavily in illegal trade to supplement their low salaries, and were thus dependent on good personal relationships with the *dubashes*, as they called Indian financiers and merchants. The EIC’s local agents were also much more in direct danger of rebellion, and some admired Indian culture as well. Their tendency was to use *Gentue Town* and *Malabar Town* and even some version of Chennaipattnam, though *black* grew in frequency. By the first decade of the eighteenth century *Gentue* and *Malabar* disappeared from local usage, after Pitt finally forced the “black merchants” to pay for the Black Town wall.²⁵

White took an even more circuitous route to establish itself than *black* in the East. The Portuguese and Spaniards had used *white* occasionally to describe themselves in Asian contexts, but they much preferred using their respective national designations or the term “Christian.” The Dutch appear to have almost entirely dispensed with “white” in the population registration systems of Java, preferring “European.” At Madras, during the seventeenth century the European section of the city was initially called “Christian Town.” “Whyte Town” only entered the official written discourse in an isolated incident in 1693, and then not again until 1711, on a map published under the orders of Governor Pitt. Authorities were nevertheless very comfortable contrasting *Black Town* with *Christian Town* from the 1670s until about 1720, after which “White Town” took over as the most widely used designation.²⁶

In New York and elsewhere in the Americas negro and *black* were in wide currency from the

beginning of the African slave trade, but *white* rose from a relatively obscure term to great official prominence at almost exactly the same time as it did in Madras. Historians Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington catalogued hundreds of citations to censuses and musters undertaken in continental North American colonies. Of the subset of these documents which distinguished Europeans from Africans only one, a document from Rhode Island, used the category “white” before 1700 (in the West Indies there may have been more). Terms like *English*, *Christians*, *freemen*, and *taxables* abound, and one Massachusetts muster used the elliptical category “souls besides the blacks.” By contrast, after about 1700, and especially after 1710, *white* appears in these documents with what, in the slow pace of cultural historical change, must be called sudden profusion.²⁷ In New York, the censuses of the city and colony mirror this dramatic transformation. In 1712, the principal categories authorities used to count the population were still listed as “Christians and “Slaves.” In 1714, in nearby Dutchess County, the distinction was between “male persons” and “slaves.” By 1723, though, the census of the colony first used “white” and “black,” categories which were repeated in 1737, 1746, and 1749. A similar transformation occurs in the language used in statutes, ordinances, reports, and official correspondence.²⁸

Why would colonial authorities abandon *Christian*, a term which for centuries had marked them as instruments of God’s will, and instead identify themselves by the color *white*? Overarching explanations about the favorable meanings of whiteness in Western culture probably do not help here, since it would be hard to argue that a sudden jump in those attributes explains how *white* so swiftly became a powerful term of group pride and solidarity. Nor does it seem likely that rise of *white* was an early signal of a secular spirit in Western civilization, given the religious enthusiasm and factionalism that persisted in Madras, New York, and across the western world throughout the Enlightenment and well beyond. Travelers who visited New York and Madras from Europe did use *white* with somewhat more regularity at an earlier time than local authorities, suggesting that the new verbal fashion may have emanated from the metropole or perhaps somewhere else in the imperial world. However, travelers’ usage seems to have reflected their greater interest in a kind of early ethnological observation. When they use *white* it is as a description of the color of people’s skins, not an effort to galvanize a group identity.²⁹

Again, hemispheric and local developments might just as easily explain the change. In New York, Leslie Harris has speculated that as European indentured servants grew more likely to outlive their terms of service, they could put greater pressure on slave-holders to reserve certain areas of labor to them, and forcing slave-holders to negotiate across class boundaries for political support. Thelma Wills Foote also adds that authorities at New York needed to find unifying forces to unite a restive polyglot population which had come to the settlement from all across Northern Europe. Divisions of class and nation had fueled Jacob Leisler’s rebellion against British authorities in 1689-92. Since more slaves had converted to Christianity by the first decades of 1700s, whiteness could well have offered more than Christianity as the ideological basis for such an alliance between Europeans. Such arguments mirror those of historians focusing on other American slave colonies, especially Virginia, and they at least offer a plausible beginning for what W.E.B. Du Bois later identified as the “psychological wage” that whiteness could afford to even the poorest Euroamericans.³⁰ Another related explanation is that authorities embraced *white* precisely because they were under pressure from the Crown to convert slaves to Christianity, and because many slave-holders were reluctant to do so, fearing that conversion would entitle Africans to emancipation. Indeed, the prominent propagandist for slave conversion Morgan Godwyn inveighed against the tendency in which “*Negro* and *Christian*, *Englishmen* and *Heathen*, are by idle corrupt Custom and Partiality made *Opposites*; thereby as it were implying, that the one could not be *Christians*, nor the other *Infidels*.” Adopting *white* as the designation for free people instead of *Christian* would have clarified matters, diffusing dissent between the Crown and slaveholders as well as cementing

political support among Europeans of different classes and nations in defense of slavery.³¹

Such a politics of prideful whiteness in Atlantic slave-importing colonial cities may indeed have been imported into Madras by people who were familiar with slavery in the Americas. But the use of “White Town” seems to have served other purposes in Madras--not to create a new political alliance between whites, but to dismantle one between the Company and the city’s important populations of Portuguese and Armenians. Both of these groups had been allowed to live at Madras since the city’s origins, the Portuguese to shore up the small British army, and the Armenians because of their connections to Indian courts and longstanding trade contacts with the Middle East. Among other things, the designation “Christian Town” functioned to welcome both these two groups--indeed, authorities even circulated a plan for a while to double the size of Christian Town to allow more Armenians to settle there.³²

By the early eighteenth century the Company was showing increasing impatience with its Christian allies, however. The Portuguese had long been subject to suspicion because their Inquisition-minded priests lurked in the nearby settlement of S● Thomé, and because they often deserted the defenses of Madras or spied for rivals. The Armenians increasingly fell behind on their taxes, traded with the French, Dutch, and Danes, ignored the authority of Madras courts in adjudicating their disputes, and were often suspected of treachery during wartime.³³ Though both groups were manifestly Christian, the British held them to be of indeterminate color--sometimes they were pigeonholed as white, sometimes as “musteez” (*mestiço*, from the Portuguese *casta* system), and sometimes they took places in a long list of Indian castes. In this linguistic context, the name *White Town* seems to have fit a general strategy among British authorities to cool their welcome of the Portuguese and Armenians, and keep disloyal members of both ambiguously colored communities on notice.³⁴

Indeed, the new designation was increasingly invoked in the context of growing calls to kick the Company’s Christian allies out of the more privileged section of town. A long period of prosperity and relative political peace began in Madras during the 1720s, attracting more resident English merchants and soldiers, and putting competitive pressures on the finite space in the White Town. Competition over real estate, especially with Armenians, exacerbated tensions.³⁵ In 1749, when the East India Company regained Madras after the devastating French occupation, local Company officials fulfilled the veiled threat contained in the designation *White Town*. Some Armenians and Portuguese some had sided with the French and enriched themselves off of the occupation. In response the British passed new ordinances which for the first time explicitly forbade Armenians and Portuguese from settling in White Town without exception. Houses were confiscated, a pitiful sum was paid in compensation, and both groups were sent to live in the new Black Town four hundred yards distant from the fort. Forced separation, by the most exclusive possible interpretation of contemporary color categories, was complete.³⁶

Historians have long wanted to attribute these developments to “race” or “racial formation,” especially those who argue for the racial origins of slavery. At least at Madras and Manhattan, though, it would be more accurate to say that early-modern institutions of Western expansion and dominance were increasingly “colored.” Though the concept of *race* was available to colonial authorities in both cities, they never once felt the need to use it. Instead, in Manhattan they were able to rely largely on a dichotomy of two “nations,” one “Christian” and one “Negro,” to establish the slave trade in an American city. In Asia, by contrast, *black* was not necessary for the initial establishment of split cities, but it fulfilled more specific needs as time went on in some local places, including Madras. “White” eventually became useful too in both places, to formalize slavery in New York and elsewhere in the Atlantic world, and to consolidate color separation at Madras--but “race” still played no political role whatsoever in these developments. Even as late as 1744, when the New

Yorker Daniel Horsmanden chronicled the repression of allegedly one of the largest slave conspiracies in the Americas, he used *color* and *complexion* instead of *nation*—but never *race*--as a general container for *white* and *black*.³⁷

Instead of asking when *race* definitively appeared during this period, we would do better to ask how it was that color categories could accomplish so much on their own. One part of the answer, I have argued, must be found in institutional and political matters: local contingencies in the politics of defending and controlling cities. It may well be that it was solely by chance, indeed, that whiteness emerged across world-spanning empires at the same time, in service of very different local political strategies, such as those Madras and New York.

Another part of the answer may lie in other intellectual projects which were loosely linked to blackness and whiteness, such as ideas about the heritability of human characteristics. Of the North Atlantic world, Winthrop Jordan has written of that “until well into the eighteenth century there was no debate as to whether the Negro’s non-physical characteristics were inborn and unalterable; such a question was never posed with anything like sufficient clarity for men to debate it.”³⁸ To the extent that debased characteristics were indeed attributed to “blacks” during the early modern period, it is true that Europeans at Madras and New York never clarified just how much these characteristics were linked inalterably to skin color or, more specifically, whether those characteristics were inherited along with it.

Discussions of heritability, however, clearly did matter in the politics of city building in both places. Neither *white* nor *black* was solely a term of color: both described a characteristic of human bodies which could have been plausibly interpreted as heritable. The more general terms *nation* and *jente*, the Spanish word for “people,” also both derive from Latin words for “birth” (something that is not true of *race*, incidentally, even though in its early modern usage it usually referred to the descendants of a single individual). But heritability had a history that was at least semi-autonomous from color and from other concepts of difference, and it did not always drive the strategic choice to elevate any of those concepts to political prominence. In Madras, Company officials for a time felt that the city’s future actually depended on encouraging marriage and sex across the emerging lines of religion and color. Because few European women could be persuaded to migrate to Asia, Company officials including Josiah Child thought intermarriage would be the only way to guarantee a loyal population in Madras--again, to ensure the defense of the city. As Child noted, the Dutch had long debated the merits intermarriage at places like Batavia, and it was very common there. Dissenters in this debate existed as well, like the Company Agent who in 1666 urged more imports of British women so that “your Towne might be populous of our owne and not a mixt Nac●.” However, to the extent that we can even read such things into the sources, heritability seems to have been largely insignificant to the adoption of both *black* and *white* in Madras politics. Even though considerably more British women migrated to South Asia after 1720, the embrace of whiteness does not seem to be linked to a sudden jump in the desire to restrict sex to the boundaries of the color group. Indeed, the policy of encouraging interracial marriages was not officially abandoned until the late eighteenth century, and only when concerns explicitly voiced in terms of “race” were brought up against it.³⁹

In New York, the story was different. The biggest irony of this tale of these two cities may be that European officials encouraged cross-color sex in divided Madras while they abhorred it deeply in Manhattan where blacks and whites were forced to live in the same houses. In New Amsterdam, just as at Madras, the Dutch set the tone for this policy when they outlawed non-conjugal sex between Christians and Negroes as early as 1638. British authorities’ subsequent efforts to control slaves’ movements were heavily directed at their interactions with poorer whites in taverns where sex was presumed to be rife across the color line. Under the British, concern about heritability clearly increased by several notches in the early eighteenth century as the city took on a status of a slave society and adopted whiteness as its political cement. As Thelma Willis Foote has observed, the

city's legal code of 1706 clarified the color terms for slaves during this period, equating slavery with the small galaxy of categories "Negro, Indian, Mullato, and Mestee Bastard Child or Children" as way of establishing that slave status would follow "ye state of the Mother." The heritability of whiteness might also have been a factor in replacing *Christian* with *white* as the dominant category for non-slaves during the same period. This was not, however, as Foote describes it, "a point at which the discursive construction of *race* began to take on its modern biologized form under a racist state apparatus." It was a process of sharpening notions of heritability latent in color categories—themselves still seen as separate "nations" or "colors"—with the aim of formalizing a slave society.⁴⁰

In at least two colonial cities, categories of nation and color, responding to global, hemispheric, imperial and local dynamics, did much of the political work of creating the signal institutions that would much later vie for history's "highest stages" of white racial supremacy—slavery and segregation. In the process, by the 1710s and certainly by 1720, whiteness gained cultural, political institutional and economic grounding as a rallying force for a cross-class and cross-national alliances; as a source of "psychological wages" for the white poor; and as a source of unequal privileges for wealth holding, not only in slaves, as in New York, but, in both places, in urban real estate too. Thus the core attributes of "whiteness," which David Roediger and others have analyzed in much later periods, came into being in the early eighteenth century—long after blackness, but substantially earlier than both race and racism.⁴¹

By way of Epilogue: As we know well, when ethnologists and others raised *race* to prominence in the late eighteenth century, the concept became essential to the elaboration of theories of the heritability and permanence of human characteristics of all kinds. It was also connected to general schemes to categorize all human beings, to assign them "natural habitats" on separate continents and regions of the world, and to elaborate theories of inherent conflict between human groups—all projects for which colonial authorities at Madras and New York had found little use. Cities continued to play fundamental roles in conceptual innovation on a global scale, as creators and creations of racial formation, as sites of ideological contestation over race, and as symbols useful in its propagation. The varied exigencies of urban defense and control would retain a powerful role in race-making into the twentieth century and beyond. Whereas *color* for the most part surfaced as an effective tool to accomplish those tasks politically, *race* provided a profusion of new rationales for slavery and segregation. It called forth the mission to control the inevitable conflicts of different species of mankind commingled in the same continental and urban habitats; the need to control urban social problems, such as crime, vice, and disease, which were deemed racial in origin; and ultimately the need to beat back the threat that "blacks" posed to white property values.⁴²

Race gave some new lease on life to urban slavery, and then outlived it. Madras's role as the birthplace of the residential color line meanwhile faded from memory. But the color concepts and techniques of urban division that were used there fit well with the new agendas of racial thought, and handily filled the void left by emancipation in urban politics across the modern colonial world. The hundreds of dual colonial cities that sprang up across Africa and Asia, apartheid's bristling urban *laagers*, and America's segregated metropolises would all emerge, via Madras's heavy influence on Calcutta and other cities of the British Raj, as the not-so-distant historical progeny of "Black Town" and "White Town."⁴³ By the late twentieth century, as people in cities across western Europe, Canada, Australia, and even South Africa wondered if "Harlem" or the "South Bronx" had suddenly appeared in their midst, New York City would ironically become the symbol, even avatar, of a segregationist system it could not have imagined as a slave society—a system which was actually originally a European creation in South Asia.

NOTES

1. Most of the official sources of colonial Madras for the period have been published. Government of Madras, *Records of Fort St. George. Diary and Consultation Books* (Madras: Government Press, 1910-53), 82 vols., hereinafter listed as “PC” or “Public Consultations”; *Despatches from England* (Madras: Government Press, 1911-71), 61 volumes covering 1670-1758, hereinafter listed as “DfE”; *Despatches to England (1670-1758)* 61 vols. (Madras: Government Press, 1916-32), hereinafter listed as “DtE”; *Letters to Fort St. George, 1681-1765* 45 vols. (Madras: Government Press, 1916-1945); *Letters from Fort. St. George* 38 Vols., (Madras, Government Press, 1914-46). Selections from these and other primary sources are collected in: J. Talboys Wheeler, *Annals of the Madras Presidency, Being a History of the Presidency From the First Foundation to the Governorship of Thomas Pitt, Grandfather of the Earl of Chatham Compiled from Official Records* (1861; Delhi: B. R. Publishing, 1982); William Foster, *The Founding of Fort St. George, Madras* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1902); and Henry Davison Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras, 1640-1800 Traced From the East India Company's Records Preserved at Fort St. George and the India Office and From Other Sources* (1913; New York: AMS Press 1968), 3 vols.

2. Published sources for colonial New Amsterdam/New York are collected in Berthold Fernow, ed., *Records of New Amsterdam from 1653 to 1674 Anno Domini*, 7 vols. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishers, 1976); Charles T. Gehring, ed., *Council Minutes 1655-56* (New Netherland Documents Series Volume VI) (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995); Gehring, ed. *Correspondence, 1647-1653* (New Netherland Document Series, vol. XI) (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000); John Romeyn Brodhead, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York Procured in Holland, England and France*, ed. E.B. O’Callahan, 15 vols. (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1855); E.B. O’Callahan, *The Documentary History of the State of New-York*, 4 vols. (Albany: Weed and Parsons, 1849); Peter R. Christoph and Florence A. Christoph, *The Andros Papers, 1674-1676* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1989); E.B. O’Callahan, *Journal of the Legislative Council of the Colony of New York, 1691-1743* (Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1861); City of New York, *The Colonial Laws of New York*, 5 vols. (Albany: Lyon, 1894); Herbert L. Osgood, Frederic W. Jackson, Robert H. Kelby, and Hiram Smith, eds., *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1675-1776* 8 vols., (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1905).

3. George Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), pp. 5-6, 11, 23, 39-40, 41, 75. David Theo Goldberg, in *Racist Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp.62-63, and Audrey Smedley, *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993), pp. 36-40 both trace the history of the word *race* to the sixteenth century, and both treat it as a synonym of nation and people, but neither mention that race was used much less often and in much more circumscribed usage. Some of the historians who have voiced qualms about using *race* for this earlier period include Barbara Fields, in “Slavery, Race and Ideology in the United States of America” *New Left Review* 181 (1990): 95-118; Bruce Dain, *A Hideous Monster of the Mind: American Race Theory in the Early Republic* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002); and Ivan Hannaford, *Race: The History of Idea in the West* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, and Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

4. See John W. Cell, *The Highest Stage of White Supremacy: The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 2-3, 55.

5. This distinction is “rough” for two main reasons: As noted later in the text, Spanish American cities were built on divisions between Indians and Spaniards; and slave-exporting cities on the African Atlantic coast resembled dual Indian Ocean cities in many respects, though with addition in some places of large “segregated” barracoons.

6. The phrase “tense societies” is taken from Remco Raben, “Batavia and Colombo: The Ethnic and Spatial Order of Two Colonial Cities, 1600-1800” (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Leiden, 1996), p. 162.

7. C.R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire 1415-1825* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), pp. 5, 9-11; M. N. Pearson, *The Portuguese in India, The New Cambridge History of India, Volume I, Part 1* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 30; C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800* (1965; London: Hutchinson, 1977), p. 187; Robert R. Reed, *Colonial Manila: The Context of Hispanic Urbanism and Process of Morphogenesis* (Berkeley: University of California Pr., 1978), pp. 38-63. On the segregation of urban Indians in Spanish America see Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1964), pp. 147, 370-81; R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Mexico City, 1660-1720* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), pp. 16-21. On Lima, see Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, “Resistencia e integración en la Lima colonial: el caso la reducción de indios de El Cercado de Lima (1564-1567),” *Revista Andina* 35 (2002): 111-28. I am indebted to Jeremy Mumford for discussions on El Cercado.

8. Remco Raben, “Batavia and Colombo,” pp. 162-247.

9. Love, vol. I, pp. 39-40, and 217.

10. Love, vol. I, pp. 204-7

11. Child’s instructions can be found in *PC*, January 4, 1686, and in *DfE* vol. 8, June 9, 1686 #16, #27, #29. The wall tax debate can be followed in *PC*, vol. 19 January 14, 1692; vol. 28 May 10, 1699; vol. 29 December 4, 1700; vol. 31 August 3, 1702; vol. 36 July 6, 1706. Love, vol. I, pp. 497-98. On Pitt’s resolution of the matter see *PC* Vol. 34 October 25, 1705; *PC* vol. 35 July 6, July 25, and September 12, 1706.

12. Indians and other resident Asians played important roles in both the founding and dividing of Madras, and not only by threatening the city with armies. Indeed, the subcontinent’s traditional openness to outsiders, which contrasted so markedly with China and Japan, made the Company’s initial deal with the Naik conceivable in the first place. Yet Indians had long-standing, if possibly waning practices of caste segregation; they may have also preferred to live far from what were seen as sacrilegious practices of the British. Patrick Roche, “Caste and the Merchant Government in Madras, 1639-1749” in *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 12 (1975): 392-93.

13. *PC* vol. 2, September 1680, pp. 115-16; *PC* vol. 14, 27 February 1688; *PC* vol. 16, July 21, 1690; *PC* vol. 26, 25 February 1698; Love, vol. II., pp. 25, 308, 395-96, 425-26, 573.

14. Wheeler, Vol. III, pp. 1-10 and 21.

15. Love, vol. II, p. 347-48, 448-52, 520-38, and map facing p. 554. Susan M. Nield, "Madras: The Growth of a Colonial City on India, 1780-1840," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1977), pp. 309-36.

16. Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination*, pp. 18, 20.

17. Graham Russell Hodges, *Root and Branch: African Americans in New York and East Jersey, 1613-1863* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), p. 36.

18. On the Company Slave Lodge at Cape Town see Robert Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1994), pp 172-205, but also see p. 143 for regulations that kept smaller cohorts slaves not owned by Company in their masters' homes. On the apparently short-lived "Quartier de Swarten de Comp Slaves" on Manhattan see Russell-Hodges, *Root and Branch*, p. 12. Another exception that proves the rule is Panamá, which was rebuilt as a dual city after being sacked by Henry Morgan in 1671. The light-skinned elite there had less to fear from slaves from a large free population of color with a long history of rebellion and alliance with the British. See Alfredo Castellero Calvo, *La Ciudad Imaginada: El Casco Viejo de Panamá* (Panamá: Ministerio de la Presidencia, República de Panamá, 1999). I am indebted to Professor Aims McGuinness for help in summarizing Castellero Calvo's argument. For other examples of urban slave laws relegating slave residence to masters' households see A.C. De C. M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441-1555* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 96-99, 120-25; Cope, *Limits of Racial Domination*, pp. 15-21; Colin Palem, *Slaves of the White God: Blacks in Mexico, 1570-1650* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 55-64; Mary C. Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 59-66; Christine Hunefeldt, *Paying the Price of Freedom: Family and Labor Among Lima's Slaves, 1800-1854* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 106-110; Frederick P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1974)*, pp. 147-86; Adelaida Sourdis de De la Vega, *Cartagena de Indias Durante la Primera República 1810-1815* (Bogotá: Banco de la Republica, 1988), p. 16; Mariano Negrón Portillo and Raúl Mayo Santana, *Urban Slavery in San Juan* (trans. Marianne Negrón, Recinto de Río Pedras: Centro de Investigaciones Sociales, Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1999), pp. 52-58; Jay Kinsbruner, "Caste and Capitalism in the Caribbean: Residential Patterns and House Ownership Among the Free People of Color in San Juan, Puerto Rico, 1823-46," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 70 (1990): 433-61; B.W. Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), pp. 94-97, 255-57; Robert J. Ross, "Cape Town (1750-1850): Synthesis in the Dialectic of Continents," in *Colonial Cities* (Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Nijhoff, 1985), ed. Ross and Gerard J. Telkamp, pp. 105-17; Claudia Goldin, *Urban Slavery in the American South: A Quantitative History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 25, 54-55, 133-38; Richard C. Wade, *Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 55-79; Bernard E. Bowers, Jr., *Black Charlestonians: A Social History, 1822-1885* (Fayetteville, Ark.: University of Arkansas Press, 1994), pp. 22-24; John W. Blassingame, *Black New Orleans, 1860-80* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), pp. 3-19; Joseph Logsdon and Caryn Cossé Bell, "The Americanization of Black New Orleans," in Arnold R. Hirsch and Logsdon, eds., *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization* (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), pp. 207-208; 214-15; Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720-1840* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988),

pp. 9-16; Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, pp. 58-59, 61-63, 162, 204, 249-50, 287, 318-321, 339.

19. Fernow, ed., *Records of New Amsterdam*, vol. I pp. 72, 78, 97-98, 177; Vol. II, pp. 51-52, 209; Vol V., p. 104; vol. VI, pp. 382, 385, 392.

20. Russell-Hodges, *Root and Branch*, pp. 34-36; Leslie Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery: African American in New York City-1863* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp. 23-24.

21. Russell-Hodges, *Root and Branch*, pp. 67-68; Harris, *Shadow of Slavery*, pp. 31-36.

22. Russell-Hodges, *Root and Branch*, pp. 48-50, 59-69; Harris, *Shadow of Slavery*, pp. 33, 39-45; T.J. Davis, *Rumor of Revolt: The "Great Negro Plot" in Colonial New York* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1985); Jill Leporte, *New York Burning: Liberty, Slavery, and Conspiracy in Eighteenth Century Manhattan* (New York: Knopf, 2005).

23. No one at Madras ever used "negro" to describe Indians, however. Africans in Asia were called by the Arabic-derived epithet "kaffirs" or "coffrees," suggesting that influences from the Atlantic on Asian color designations were at best limited.

24. Quote from Df E Jan 22, 1692.

25. PC, vol. 35 July 25, 1706.

26. In the 1520s, Afonso da Albuquerque, for example ordered his lieutenants to marry "white and beautiful [*alvas e de bom parecer*]" widows of Indians who had died defending Goa. In the Philippines, Spaniards often thought that the "white" or "light" skin color of the Chinese made them especially worthy. Maximilianus Transylvanus, *De Moluccis Insulis* in Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, eds., *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898* (Cleveland: A.H. Clark Co., 1903), vol. I, p. 309; Captain Juan de la Yula, "Relation of the Western Islands Called Filipinas," in Blair and Robertson, vol. 3, p. 205. I should note that Blair and Robertson regularly mistranslate the Spanish words *nación* and *gente* (people) as "race." On Madras, see PC, vol. 20, February 6, 1693. Thomas Salmon's *Modern History, or the Present State of All Nations* contains some references to Madras from his voyages there in 1699-1701, and he uses "White Town." These memoirs were not published until 1739, though, so he could have modified his wording to reflect later usage. See excerpts in Love, vol II, p. 73. Alexander Hamilton also uses "White Town" in his *A New Account of the East Indies*, published in 1727, but referring to visits in 1707, 1711, and 1719 (ed. William Foster; London: Argonaut press, 1930), vol. I, pp. 192-209. On dating Thomas Pitt's map, see Love, vol. II, pp. 88-90. For other references to "White Town," see PC, vol. 48 October 21, 1717; vol. 58, September 23, and October 14, 1728; vol. 58 January 8, 1733; vol. 71 June 26 and 30, 1741; vol. 73 August 22 1743, vol. 73, October 17, 1743; vol. 75 June 4, 1745; vol. 81 January 19, 1749; and Love, vol. II, pp. 395-96, 425, 451, 520, 525, 573, 604, 609, 622; vol. III, pp. 52, 80-81, 167. Also see "Madras in 1733," map insert in Love, vol. II, facing p. 624.

27. Evarts B. Greene and Virginia Harrington, *American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932). The Rhode Island document is on p. 62; the phrase "souls besides blacks" is on p. 14., see See also Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *A Century of Population Growth: From the First Census of the United States to the Twelfth, 1790-1900*.

28. The New York colonial censuses are collected in Brodhead, *Documents Relative to Colonial New York*, vol. V., p. 340 (census of 1712); p. 702 “Census of the Province of New-York Anno 1723”; p. 929 “Abstract of the Accounts of the number of Inhabitants in the Several Cities and Counties in the Province of New York 2 Nov 1731; vol. VI, p. 133 “A List of the Number of Inhabitants Both Whites and Blacks of Each Species Within the Province of New-York Above and Under the Age of Ten Years Taken in the Year 1737”; p. 392 “Census of the Province of New-York, 1746”; p. 550 “Census of the Province of New-York 1749.” For Dutchess County see O’Callahan, *Documentary History of New-York*, pp. 368-69 “A List of the Inhabitants and Slaves in the County of Dutchess, 1714. Similar categories can be found in the “List of Inhabitants in the County of New Orange, 1702,” on pp. 366-67. In the *Journal of the Legislative Council of the Colony of New York, 1691-1743*, *The Colonial Laws of New York*, and *The Minutes of the Common Council of the City Of New York*, I found no reference to the word *white* before 1696. “Christians” is used occasionally, but the most oft-used word for Europeans is “freemen” or “masters.”

29. In his *Journal* (1679-80) Jasper Danckaerts, for example, uses the phrase “negroes, mulattoes, and whites” when he describes those who lived in the “negro lots” of New York (p. 65); and Morgan Godwyn uses “white” frequently in his *Negro’s and Indians Advocate* (1680): see pp. 4, 24, 39, 84. In Madras, turn of the eighteenth century travel writers such as Thomas Salmon and Alexander Hamilton may have been among the first to use “White Town,” but because both of their books were not printed until 1739 and 1727 respectively it is hard to know whether it reflects usage at the time of their visit.

30. Harris, *Shadow of Slavery*, pp. 16-17, 34; and Thelma Wills Foote, *Black and White in Manhattan: The History of Racial Formation in Colonial New York City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 91-158.

31. Quote, with original emphases, from Morgan Godwyn, *The Negro’s and Indians Advocate* (London: 1680), p. 36. On the Crown’s pressure to convert slaves in New York, see Brodhead, *Documents Relative to Colonial New York*, vol. III, p. 374, 547, 690, 823; and vol. IV 138, 290, and 510-11.

32. *English Town*, which was used by some contemporaries, could have evoked another more secular, nationalist or royalist passion, but its exclusivity would have undercut the alliance with the Portuguese and Armenians. It does not appear in official documents. Wheeler, *Annals*, pp. 184-85. That *European Town* was not adopted, despite the widespread use of *European* in Dutch population registration systems at Batavia, further suggests that *Chritian Town* may have served to welcome Armenians.

33. On complaints about the Armenians, see PC vol. 22 Nov. 28th, 1695 (taxes); PC vol. 25 May 31, 1697 (interlopers); PC vol. 32, 7 May 1703; DfE April 16, 1697, #5 and #8; DfE 12 Feb, 1713, p. 94; Love, vol I pp. 231-2, 308, 425, 573; Wheeler, vol. I p. 240, vol. II, pp. 247-48.

34. In one document authorities at Madras justified the presence of the Catholic Portuguese as a way to increase “the terror and awe that many white men in the towne strikes to our neighbors.” In another, the darker skins of the Portuguese, the result of centuries of cross-color sex, prompted the Governor to request uniforms for the soldiers, “the proportion of English being so small in respect to the Portugues and Mestizos, unless we gave the same to all it would rather shew our weakness then

our strength.” (Love, vol. I, pp. 183, 376.) On efforts to categorize the Portuguese, see Love, vol. I, pp. 183, 376, 387-88, 441, 481, 529; vol. II, p. 128; PC vol. 17, February 7, 1690, and July 21, 1690, vol. 20, 23 October 1693, vol. 21 April 19, 1694. On the Armenians, see DfE April 11, 1688; PC, vol. 17, March 6, 1690, April 26 1690; Wheeler, *Annals*, vol. I, pp. 184-85, 204; vol. II, pp. 273-76, 247-48; PC, vol. 22, November 28, 1695; DfE, April 16, 1697, #5, #8; PC vol. 35 July 6, 1706; DfE Jan 16, 1706; PC vol. 41 June 15, 1710, vol. 45, 29 July 1714; Love, vol. II, pp. 231-32, 308, 395-96, 425-26, 573.

35. DfE 12 Feb, 1713, p. 94; Love, vol. II, p. 308; Wheeler, vol. I p. 240, vol. II, pp. 247-48.

36. Love, vol. II, pp. 231-32, 308, 395-96, 425-26, 573.

37. It is of course impossible to prove the complete absence of anything in such vast Babels as were any colonial city, and my reading of the historic record for neither Madras or New York is by any means completely exhaustive. Since I am relying on written sources, I cannot of course speak at all about the conventions of spoken language. The availability of multi-volumed and indexed collections of documents from both places have made me reasonably certain that I have not missed references in at least the documents they contain. The only use of the word *race* in either city from before 1740 is in some propositions made to New York authorities by what were called the “praying Indians of the three tribes or races of the Maquass [Mohawks]” in a 1691 document. Brodhead, vol. III, p. 770. I am certain, however, of my contention that *nations*, *peoples*, and *complexion* are infinitely more common. I have already given several prominent examples from Madras of the use of these terms, and a few others follow in the text. For New York, a few highlights include these observations: there is no use of the term *race* other than the one I have just mentioned in *any* of the collections of documents mentioned in footnote 2, which include not only all the laws of the colony, all of the minutes and ordinances of the Common Council, much of the communication between the colony and the metropole as well as with other colonies in North America, most reports of investigations, and most extant personal letters. In those collections, the use of *nation* for Indians and for separate groups of Indians was ubiquitous and virtually universal, perhaps because of the tradition of using the phrase the “five nations” and later the “six nations” of the Iroquois as well as the “remote nations” from further West and North. *People* comes up occasionally and “tribe” more rarely, and only then to describe subgroups of nations, as in the example quoted above, where *race* is given as a synonym for *tribe*. This general terminology for Indian peoples is much more commonly used in the documents than in any similar discussions of blacks, but the idea of Indian “nations” appears to be the basis for the use of the word “nation” to describe small bands of slaves alleged to be involved in conspiracies. Daniel Horsmanden’s *The New-York Conspiracy, or a History of the Negro Plot With the Journal of the Proceedings Against the Conspirators at New-York in the years 1741-2. Together With Several Interesting Tables, Containing the Names of the White and Black Persons Arrested on Account of the Conspiracy—The Times of Their Trials—Their Sentences—Their Executions by Burning and Hanging—Names of Those Transported, and Those Discharged With a Variety of Other Useful and Highly Interesting Matter* (1810; repr. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969) is by far the most extended treatment of any incident involving people defined by color in the history of either city. In his summary, he uses the word “complexion” exclusively (pp. 354, 363, 371, 369). He also uses the phrase “the white people” throughout the text, never once giving evidence that the “white race” had been “invented” yet. In travel writing from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries pertaining to New York I found two isolated uses of the word “race,” one in Jasper Danckaerts’s *Journal* (1679-1680) ed. Burleigh James and J. Franklin Jameson (New York: Scribner’s, 1913), p.

77 when referring to the descendants of a specific ancestor; and one in David Humphreys, *An Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (1728; New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1969), p. 311 referring to the Iroquois. There is also one mention of race in the English version in Johan De Laet's "New World," which is a mistranslation of the Dutch *natië* (Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherland*, p. 45).

38. Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968), p. 26.

39. Child's efforts to spur intermarriage can be found in PdfE vol. 8 April 8, 1687 and vol. 9 Jan 28, 1688. The quote from the opponent of these policies is in Love, vol. I, p. 247. On similar debates at Batavia, see Boxer, *Dutch Seaborne Empire*, pp. 219-230.

40. Russell-Hodges, *Root and Branch*, pp. 12, 48, 93-94; Foote, *Black and White Manhattan*, p. 127-28.

41. David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso, 1991); *Toward the Abolition of Whiteness* (London: Verso, 1994); and *Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White, The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs* (New York: Basic Books, 2005). Also: George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Benefit From Identity Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998).

42. I develop this argument in Carl H. Nightingale, "The Transnational Contexts of Early Twentieth-Century American Urban Segregation," forthcoming in *Journal of Social History*, March 2006.

43. This argument is also elaborated in Nightingale, "Transnational Contexts of Urban Segregation." Calcutta was founded from Madras and the influence of the Black Town/White Town system on the newer city was immense. It can be followed in the original sources in C.R. Wilson, ed. *Old Fort William in Bengal: A Selection of Official Documents Dealing With its History* (London: John Murray, 1906), vol. I, pp. 28-38, 74-78, 90-93, 158-67, 173-78, 214-222; vol. II, pp. 4-20, 112-18, 129-32. The influence of Madras on Bombay can be traced in Dulcinea Correa Rodrigues, *Bombay Fort in the Eighteenth Century* (Bombay Himalaya Publishing House, 1994), pp. 58-59, 72-115; and S.M. Edwardes, *The Rise of Bombay: A Retrospect* (Bombay: Times of India Press, 1902), pp. 104-109, 138, 146, 152-53, 170-78, 206, 229-238.

**FROM MASTER PLAN TO VISION PLAN: THE CHANGING ROLE OF PLANS
AND PLAN MAKING IN CITY DEVELOPMENT
(a referral study of Mumbai)**

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Abstract

Master plans are the traditional instruments used by urban local governments in India as forward planning tools by anticipating urban development and making provisions for the same in terms of (a) the allocation of land for various uses, (b) the regulation of its development and (c) the provision of civic infrastructure. However, they failed to meet the expectations of the citizens as well as the decision makers for several reasons: their design and approach were far too simplistic in anticipating the citizens' needs and aspirations; their very long tenure has been a major hindrance to anticipate socio-economic changes over time horizon; further, the restrictive approach taken to their implementation without adequate flexibility to meet the changing needs of hour has been acting against the spirit of urban planning. Essentially, it is because of these inadequacies in the plan design, plan making and plan implementation that there is a need felt now on steering an alternative course for achieving the city development goals. Vision plans, in this context, have emerged as alternative instruments useful to achieve the city development goals over a medium to long term; and they are increasingly becoming popular in the cities across the USA as well as elsewhere. This paper describes the evolution of master plan in the Indian context and analyses its inadequacies first (as found in literature); subsequently, it explains the positive features of emerging alternative approaches like the strategic vision plans. In particular, it illustrates the specific case of the Vision Plan for Mumbai, jointly prepared through a partnership of private non-profit initiative and for-profit organisation, as to how its design is different and as how it takes in to account of / built upon some of the principles of master planning approach. It therefore lays down, finally, how the urban planning has to change the course, akin to the economic planning focus change from that in central planning [of pre-modern era] to decentralized planning [of post-modern era].

KEY WORDS: Master Plans, City Development, Vision Plans and Planning focus

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1. Introduction

Planning has occupied much of the importance in India's past. Economic Planning had been central to its economy in the post-independence era until the 1990s¹. While economic planning has been changing the course towards changing over the decade and a half, such changes in physical planning have not come forth. The physical planning, here, essentially refers to the urban planning, or urban development planning, with which we are concerned in this paper. India's strong historical past in the form of civilization and associated systems has been well researched by historians e.g., Thapar (1990), of which town planning was a characteristic of the civilizations more than 2000 years ago. However, much of this planning was a concerted effort of specific kingdoms prevalent at various points of time in history rather than an outcome of documented and institutionalized procedures, rendering it difficult to compare the ancient planning systems with the modern planning systems. The modern town planning came to vogue in a civilized society based on institutionalized systems. Like several other countries, much of the current town planning system in India owe's its origins to the British town planning system, although the features and functioning of it are very different from the British system. The British Town Planning System is rather democratic, participatory, decentralized and uses legal and economic principles in the design of its practice (Cullingworth and Nadin 2001)

The Indian Town Planning System evolved much through a variety of town planning initiatives during the colonial rule. British rulers have from time to time estimated the need for evolving the cities in the past to serve the economic needs of their mother land, and in the process have laid down some principles for organization of human settlements, laying down infrastructure, legislation for legal validity of the planning proposals. Although admirable for the society that was yet developing, the system was purportedly designed to serve the economic interests of the British first and the social interests of citizens later. The Colonial Planning had several other undesirable features associated with it. It systematically catered to the interests of colonizers rather than the servicing population, it had the draconian features that characterized the colonial rule in India, and finances for plan implementation largely came from exchequer filled by the taxes from peasants and labor. It provided a picture of Victorian grandiose of the 'rulers' within the city and contrasting poor neighbourhoods resided by the 'ruled' – reflecting the divide of Victorian and Indian cities (Mehrotra and Dwivedi 1995). However, it certainly laid down the foundations for catering to the future needs of an increasingly urbanizing society in the post-independence era.

India continued with a town planning system whose legislation was framed by the British by adapting it to the requirements of the Indian cities and this was primarily done through the town and country planning acts of various States. These acts have mandated the development of Master Plans for the development of cities conceivable in the next 20 or 25 years. The Master plans, or development plans, featured the land use plan – present and proposed – and development control restrictions. In many states, this involves estimation of future population, socio-economic conditions and their infrastructural needs

¹ A detailed discussion of the economic planning and its changes can be found in Ray (2002)

and preparation of plans for ensuring that the necessary facilities are in place when the development takes place. The plans were supposed to make proposals/schemes for the provision of various facilities and ensure that the basic amenities/services are in place; in that process, they were also to guide the urban development. This approach certainly assumes the State, or government, as the major producer of all goods and services – public and private, which was the thinking prevailing for a quite long time in the history. We will discuss in this paper this basic approach that was drawn from the colonial system has yielded the results in practice, if not so what are the new ways or methods that could replace or strengthen it. Here, though we make reference to the town planning in India, in general, our primary intention is also to make some specific observations from the experiences in Mumbai of its development planning in the post-independence era. We will first take an overview of Mumbai's historical development past and the evolution of its planning system over time before critically examining the master plan approach and practice in Mumbai. Subsequently, the need for an alternative approach of Vision Plan is discussed together with the elements Vision Plan of Mumbai and its methodology.

2. Evolution of Mumbai City and Its Planning System

2.1 Mumbai's Evolution

Mumbai, earlier known as Bombay, was once a congregation of seven tiny islands mostly lived in by fishermen and farmers (Mehrotra and Dwivedi 1995) conquered by the King of Thane in the year 1400 but soon passed in the hands of another ruler. It grew at snails pace until Vasco-da-gama, the Portuguese traveller set his foot in 1453 in a bid to discover New Land. The Portuguese rulers slowly explored India and came to acquire a foothold in Mumbai by 1600 (Chandrashekhar 2005). The British had started settling in Calcutta and Surat by that time. In 1661, Mumbai was given to Prince Charles of Britain as a marriage gift in his marriage with Princess Catherine of Portugal. But, it was the East India Company which first noticed the hidden potentials Mumbai in the form of a natural harbour and it obtained a lease of Mumbai in 1668. Mumbai soon became their gateway to prosperity with the trade becoming more efficient. It also developed a naval base. A port was established and a fort was constructed in Mumbai. Trade incentive and security attracted people from the mainland. By 1720, the population of Mumbai rose to 16,000 (Chandrashekhar 2005).

2.2 Rise of Mumbai as Economic Powerhouse

By the beginning of 19th Century, the English became a major political power. This gave boost to trade an influx of population and so do the formation of a new town and extension of the city. Noting that Mumbai's climate was suited for textile mills, the first cotton mill was established in 1854, which marked the beginning of an industrial era in the history of Mumbai. With the operationalisation of Mumbai port in 1860, and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the trade activity was revolutionised as it reduced the distance of Mumbai from England by almost half (Chandrasekhar 2005). British rule give full freedom for uninterrupted trade between Mumbai and the mainland. This resulted into rapid growth of commerce and industrialisation. By the end of the 19th Century, many civic services were provided - water supply, drainage system, reclamation of tidal flats, health services, cemeteries, educational institutions, street lights, markets etc.

2.3 Evolution of Municipal Institutions

The Bombay Municipal Corporation (BMC) Act was enacted in 1888 giving rise to Local Self Government. This was the first attempt to regulate the functioning of the City in a planned manner. The notorious plague of 1896 led to a quarter of the population deserting Mumbai; as the city faced commercial extinction in order to improve hygienic conditions BMC was compelled to provide proper drainage, clean water and planned reclamation (Chandrasekhar 2005). Towards this Mumbai City Improvement Trust was established in 1898. This was the first attempt to deal with the evils of unplanned development of the City. From the beginning of the 20th Century, the City has been a destination of migration and coped with development pressures.

2.4 Early attempts of Planning in Mumbai

The Bombay Town Planning Act was enacted in 1915. Under the obligatory provisions of this Act, various Town Planning schemes were framed by the BMC in the suburbs. In particular, the Bombay Development Department (BDD), established in 1920, undertook massive housing schemes in the City, now known as BDD Chawls, and also undertook Backbay reclamation (Chandrasekhar 2005). After independence, there was heavy influx to the city but the infrastructural facilities of the past considerably helped the growth of industries, business and trade. The first major effort of urban planning was the Modak Meyor Master Plan of 1948, which laid down overall growth of Mumbai as the overall objective. As the city became too congested, the limits of the city were first extended in 1950 to cover the area of near suburbs. Later on in 1957 it was extended to farther suburbs to the north. The Mumbai Town Planning Act of 1954 replaced the earlier Act of 1915. The New Act made it obligatory for local authorities to prepare the Development Plans for the areas administered by them within the stipulated period in addition to the preparation of the Town Planning Schemes. This act was later replaced by a modified Act named Maharashtra Regional & Town Planning Act, 1966, which covered the enactment's keeping in view the regional aspects of its development and growth. This paved way to the First Development Plan of 1964.

Its very interesting to note that the history of Mumbai city is replete with early colonial plans that were able to address the growth needs of the city very well, except during the time period of plague epidemic, but at the same time they were primarily catering to the needs of trade and commerce and economic growth of colonial super power. It will be interesting to note, later, that in the post-independence era the development planning of Mumbai – both policy and practice – focused much on regulation and the quality of life for improving the welfare of existing population without much attention to the economic changes, population growth and inevitable immigration. The lack of concern for these basic issues and the failure on implementation are the major shortcomings of the development planning in the post-independence era, which we will discuss later.

3. Master Planning in India and Its Experience

Master planning aims at improving the urban environment as the efficiency of urban settlements largely depends upon how well they are planned, how economically they are

developed and how efficiently they are managed. Planning inputs largely govern the efficiency level of human settlements. In one sense, master planning is basically an exercise of resource planning, generation, development and management (Tiwari 2002). The master plan, which was perceived to be a process rather than a conclusive statement, provides guidelines for the physical development of the city and guides people in locating their investments in the city. In short, Master Plan is a design for the physical, social, and economic development of the city, and also to improve the quality of life as well. The functions of the Master Plan / Development plan are as follows (Tiwari 2002):

- To guide development of a city in an orderly manner so as to improve the quality of life of the people
- Organize and coordinate the complex relationships between urban land uses
- Chart a course for growth and change, be responsive to change and maintain its validity over time and space, and be subject to continual review
- Direct the physical development of the city in relation to its social and economic characteristics based on comprehensive surveys and studies on the present status and the future growth prospects; and
- Provide a resource mobilization plan for the proposed development works.

The concepts and methods of the traditional Master Planning in India owe their origin to the British town planning laws. The Master Plans have primarily confined to the aspects of land use and development control. Yet, there is a widely held view that the Master planning methods adopted over the last few decades in India have not produced a satisfactory physical environment (Tiwari 2002) and have not been effective in the outputs as well as outcomes (Meshram 2006). The planning process in the past has been unduly long and largely confined to the detailing of land use aspects. Functionally, master plans paid inadequate attention to the provision of trunk infrastructure, environmental conservation and financing issues, the last one rendering them to be unrealistic proposals without budgets (Meshram 2006). Moreover, master planning approach lacked a holistic view of urban development and did not deal with interconnecting issues. For example, in most cities, master plans have not been translated into socio-economic development plans and investment programmes and, often, the physical planning exercises were restricted to core urban areas without much integration with the peripheral areas and rural hinterlands (Tiwari 2002). Attempts to adopt an integrated development plan approach, based on national, state and regional strategies and recognition of the spatial and functional linkages between settlements of different orders have not been made much (Meshram 2006). Also, planning and plan implementation processes have not paid adequate attention to the integration of land use and transport planning. The fact that transport is a key determinant of land use and “leads” development is sometimes ignored (Meshram 2006). Therefore, it appears that the shortcomings of Master Plan approach are in design, conceptual issues and procedures rather than in applied context as implied in Box 1.

Box 1: Shortcomings of Master Plan Approach

- * Large Master Plans are too static in nature and they take very long time to prepare and are too infrequently updated (though frequent case-by-case relaxations in plan with a view to serve vested interests)
- * Master plans rarely provide guidelines on the plan techniques of implementation
- * Master plans rarely evaluate the costs of development they propose or the methods of financing them
- * Master plans are often based on unrealistic appraisal of economic potential of the planning areas and, in some cases, on the needs
- * Master plans seldom provide a compelling ratio of detailed land use and elaborate land use regulation or control
- * Community or elected representatives or NGOs are not involved in the planning process meaningfully.

Source: UN-ESCAP (1984)

Besides the above principles on which Master Plans fared poor, the major criticisms of Master Plan approach adopted in the country are summarized as follows (Tiwari 2002):

- ❖ *Plan Preparation Techniques:* The Master plan details out the urbanized and urbanisable areas under its jurisdiction and suggests land use up to the neighborhood level. This minute detailing has resulted in lack of flexibility and has hindered individual self-expression.
- ❖ *Plan perspective:* The plan projects and 'end state' scenario for 20-25 years is not detailed enough for short and medium-terms actions.
- ❖ *Static Plan:* The plan is mostly static and not amendable to quick mid-course corrections.
- ❖ *Delays:* Inordinate delays in Master Plan preparation and approval and, in addition, difficulty in obtaining possession of land sought to be acquired for the purpose is one of the main hindrance to speedy and successful implementation of the Master Plan.
- ❖ *Growth of the City:* The efficacy of the master Plan is adversely affected by the divergence between the precept growth and practical reality.
- ❖ *Ineffective Public Participation:* The mechanism for public participation is ineffective in the process of development planning, in both its preparation and implementation. It is more top-down than a bottom-up approach.
- ❖ *Weak information Base:* Master Plan preparation is undertaken with a very weak information base especially on socio-economic parameters, housing and environment.
- ❖ *Impractical Physical standards:* The plans prescribe impractical densities and layout high standards in an effort to improve the quality of life in a city. These are generally higher than what the city population, particularly the poor, can afford.

- ❖ *Lack of Financing Plan:* Estimates of financial outlay do not match the development works envisaged in the Master Plan. The strategies for raising resources required for plan implementation are never an integral part of the plan.
- ❖ *Spatial Planning vis-à-vis Development Planning:* Urban planning in India has been over-shadowed by its spatial content instead of realization of social and economic objectives. Town planning exercises tended to concentrate on physical order and environmental quality of city, and were isolated from the mainstream development planning, decision-making and implementation strategies.
- ❖ *Land Policy and Management:* The absence of machinery for systematic and continuous collection of data on the movement of land and tenement prices undermines the implementation of the master Plan.
- ❖ *Private Sector Participation:* Through a significant portion of the development is due to the initiative of the private sector, this factor is not recognized in the Plan.
- ❖ *Regulatory mechanism:* The regulatory mechanisms in the Master Plan are to enable better management of the city. But, too restrictive controls are costly enough to provide incentives for breach rather than compliance.
- ❖ *Plan Implementation:* The root-cause of the urban maladies has been the divorcing of the plan preparation from plan implementation.
- ❖ *Ineffective plan Monitoring:* An institutional and information system does not, generally, exist for plan monitoring. Since the budgetary system does not explicitly take into account the requirement of plan implementation, problem of resources are not periodically highlighted.

Besides these common shortcomings cited, some specific shortcomings have also been cited by the critiques in the context of the India cities e.g., Ravindra (1997) in the case of Bangalore, Meshram (2006) in the case of Delhi and Mumbai. Yet, from time to time, especially at the time of disasters, accusations are made that the comprehensive master plan has not been prepared for the city e.g., Dossall (2005).

4. Review of Mumbai's Planning Experience and the need for Vision Plan

Mumbai's historical past and its planning system evolution until the independence has provided us an overview of how it developed from a cluster of marshy islands to the *urbs prima* of India in the 19th century. The physical development blue prints laid down by colonial traders supported the city growth well in the coming years. The post-independence era of planning in Mumbai is a stark contrast with the growth reinforcing planning approach of colonial planning approach².

4.1 First development plan of Mumbai

The first development plan of Mumbai was initially planned for the period of 1964 to 1977 but extended to the period of 1964-1981. It primarily concentrated on (i) providing various amenities in line with a land use plan, (ii) shifting the development to the near suburbs; (iii) restricting the operations of industries, trade and population concentration

² The discussion foregoing is based on the reference to the material on MCGM website

on the island city. This plan met with some inevitable failures – failure to comply with time lines, failure to expand/ improve the existing infrastructure, failure to develop amenities proposed in the plan. These are attributed to the slow pace of planning without a realistic assessment of ground situation and there was no budget or strategy to acquire land for the development of amenities. The plan made no attempts to foster industrial or economic growth but aimed to ‘decongest’ the city in all respects – population density, trade and commerce activity, industrialization and housing. The wholesale markets, port activity, manufacturing industries and bulk material handling were shifted to suburbs. Yet, the city continued to grow – both in terms of economic activity and population – as industries, particularly textiles, were increasingly becoming concentrated and reaping agglomeration benefits. During this period, the proposal for building a satellite city for Mumbai – New Mumbai on the mainland – took shape and it was ultimately realized after almost a decade long city building and has been well described by Shaw (2004). The process of this itself is complex and did not yield success until the land value has risen more than a decade later in the early 1990s.

4.2 Second development plan of Mumbai

The Second development plan was a revised development plan prepared for the period of 1981-2001 initially and it was sanctioned in parts between 1991 and 1993, the last being in 1993. But it is reported to have been extended to the period of 1991 - 2013 now, once again exposing the inordinate delays in the making of plan proposals and getting the approvals. The plan proposals appear to be far realistic when compared to ground situation.

First, the plan made provisions for residential land use and housing for a population of 9.87 million by 2001, whereas the population level in 1991 itself was 9.9 million in 1991 and it reached 11.9 million by 2001, leaving a backlog population of 2 million to be accommodated. Even with this low level of growth (1.85 per cent per annum), the population by the end of plan period (2013) can be expected to be around 14 million and the backlog will rise to 4 million.

Second, the plan continued to place emphasis on ‘decongestion’ policy and proposed to develop industrial and office hubs in the suburbs, wherein the infrastructure is woefully inadequate as enough provisions were not made for laying down infrastructure for future growth in the earlier plan. However, it came out with some innovative methods of dealing with the land acquisition and amenity development faced in the previous plan. The use of ‘Accommodation Reservations’ and ‘Transfer of Development Rights’ have been effectively deployed to ensure a quick release of land and amenity development. Yet, the plan has not been able to achieve the targets of amenities provision even by these methods (Nallathiga, forthcoming).

Third, the plan came out with much restrictive development control regulations than those in the past that placed uniformly low development densities across the city. The costs of such regulation came to the fore in the form of very high property prices reducing the housing options for the middle class even, leaving aside poor and low income sections (Phatak 2003, Nallathiga 2003) and even led to the structural and behavioural changes (Nallathiga 2004). This led to a deep conflict between economic interests and planning interests as witnessed in the episode of textile mill land redevelopment / sale recently.

4.3 Planning in a new economic era

The Master plans or development plans of Mumbai serve as good examples of the shortcomings the planning can have in spite of the innovative approaches like TDR and accommodation reservations. In the post-liberalised era after the 1990s, the economic forces began to grippen the Indian cities together with the population pressures (due to changing demographic pattern) and many of them have not been able to cope-up with these pressures to provide the basic services for living, working and organizing business. The resulting effect is on the economic growth prospects of the city *per se* and the marginalization of work force (Sivaramakrishnan 2002). There appears some perceptible threat to the ‘sustenance’ of the economy growth and the quality of life of citizens, if no corrective measures were taken on account of either general neglect of these issues or the lack of will for concerted action on part of all stakeholders. In a globalised world, the competitiveness of a city in attracting the investments is critically dependent upon the factors relating to the growth prospects, access to capital and knowledge, and availability of good infrastructure facilities (Rondinelli *et al* 1998). Whereas the first factor is more related to the city’s capacity to adapt to the changing economic structure and the second factor has more links with its institutional base, the third factor is a critical element that is highly dependent upon the creation of good infrastructure through deployment of public resources, planning and management. As economic growth and competitiveness of a city assumed importance in the post-liberalised India, urban planning has to take different course and alternative approaches that complement and reform the traditional methods need to find place after economic liberalization. A city which fares poor in terms of both the provision of essential services and a good quality of life will certainly not be in a position to attract investments and businesses will not favour locating in such cities.

It becomes imperative, therefore, for the cities to perform well on both the above parameters in order to remain competitive in attracting investments (Harris 2002). This is more so in the era of globalization wherein domestic economies thrive by producing and selling goods and services in a competitive global market. What this means is that the cities not only have to compete with national peers but also with international peers in the regional blocks as well as the globe in the production of goods and services for which all factors need to contribute in an efficient manner (Scott 2001). It is in this context that the city development vision and a strategy for implementing it become important, as emphasized in this paper. The importance of having such development vision and strategy in making the city competitive and liveable has also been demonstrated by the undertaking of such plans by several cities. Johannesburg, for example, has prepared a development vision plan ‘iGoli’ to transform the city in terms of service delivery and economic growth through a city development strategy identifying various initiatives in the short, medium and long run (Joburg 2002). Vision planning has become a practice among several UK cities. The Salford city also prepared a vision plan to kick-start regeneration of the city through a variety of interventions (Salford City Council 2006).

5. Mumbai’s Vision Plan

5.1 Mumbai’s Development Vision

Mumbai's historical past when it was the *urbs prima* soon disappeared when the manufacturing industry, particularly textile mills, began to move away for various reasons. With a declining manufacturing and yet emerging service sector, the hitherto position of the economic hub of the country itself came under clouds of low economic growth and declining quality of life – costly housing, poor amenities, long commute etc. At the same time in an era of globalization, it needs to compete with other cities in attracting investments from across the globe on one hand and service the global markets with competitive products of its firms. Therefore, the city needed interventions that would improve its position not only within the country but also across the world, and to steer into this direction a vision plan was prepared with the aim of transforming the city into a world class city offering globally competitive environment conducive for investment inflow from across the globe. The interventions would not only cater to the businesses but improve the quality of living of all citizens across the board. This was initiated by Bombay First, the city policy research and advocacy non-profit organization, and executed by the McKinsey, the globally renowned consulting firm. The vision statement of the plan reads as in Box 1.

Box 1 Mumbai's Vision Statement for 2013

Mumbai's aspiration is to become a world-class city in the next 10-15 years. In order to achieve this, it needs to be distinctive on the dimension of economic growth and above average on quality of life. It will therefore need to step up economic growth to 8-10 per cent by becoming one Asia's leading service hubs, with a fast-growing manufacturing base in the hinterland. On the quality of life dimension, it needs to move from average to above average on mass transport, from poor to above average on private transport, housing, safety & environment, financing and governance. It also needs to improve to above average in water/sanitation and education to world class in health care.

5.2 Vision Setting Methodology

The vision plan for the development of Mumbai was not done on an *ad hoc* method, but it followed a methodology that combined using the analytical, consultative and deliberative processes in setting the vision and the underlying aspirations so that they can be targeted to be achieved over a ten-year time horizon. The methodology therefore followed an analysis through benchmarking studies of the peer cities (or, emulate-worthy cities) and the learning from successful city transformations for laying down the aspirations of city development. A consensus on these aspirations was achieved through wider consultations with major stakeholders – key government institutions and agencies, business groups/chambers of commerce, and non-profit/non-government organizations.

For the purpose of benchmarking, about ten cities were considered, of which three were Indian cities, and the parameters of benchmarking included:

- Mass transport
- Private transport
- Housing
- Environment and Safety
- Water and sanitation
- Healthcare
- Education

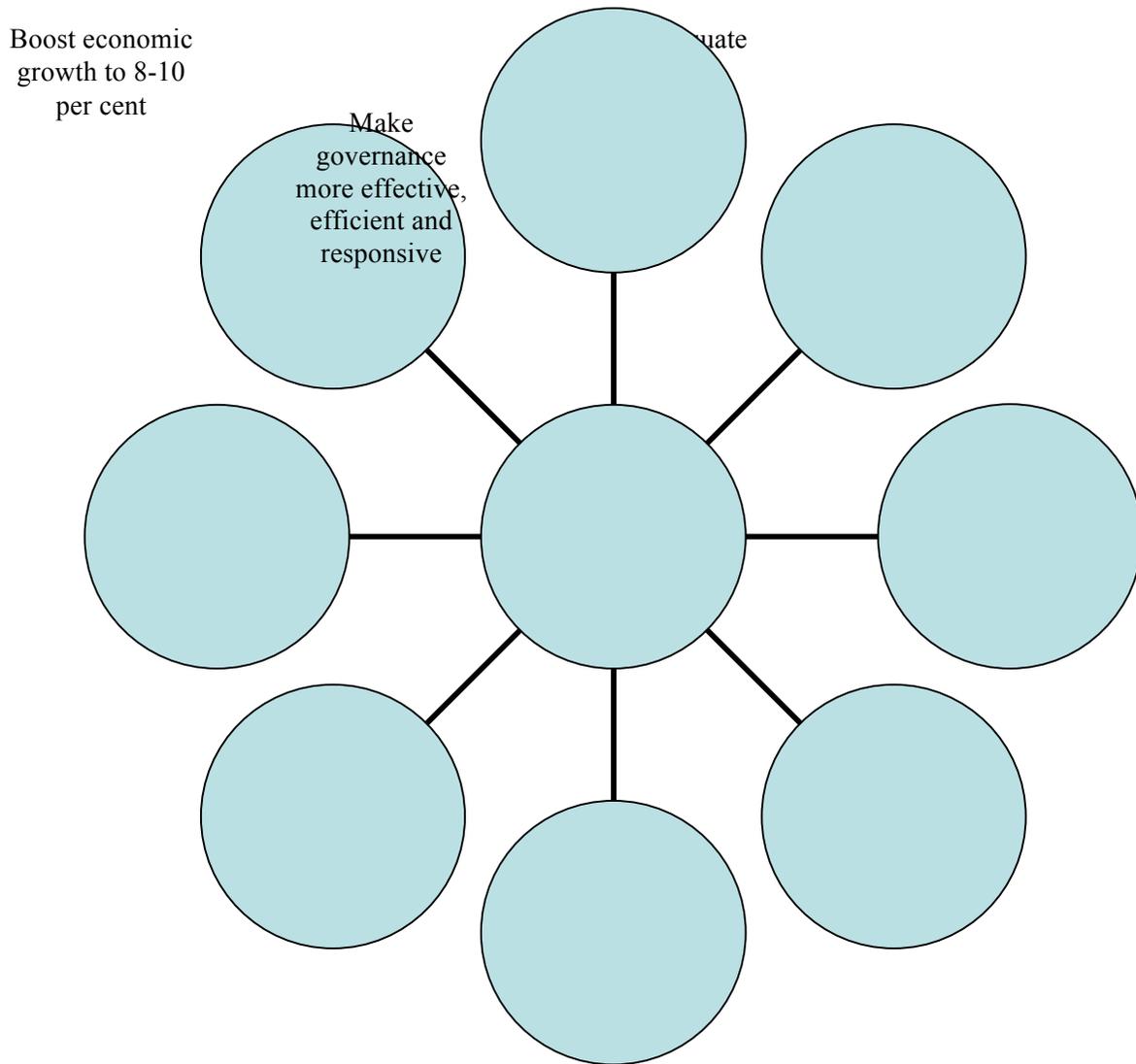
Enable • Dramatically increase housing availability and affordability
 implementation through committed public-private transformations
 Governance Resource-generation
 Improve and expand mass and private transport infrastructure
 Upgrade other physical infrastructure

For ensuring that the aspirations based on the benchmarks would lead to right kind of transformation, it was felt that case analyses of few such successful transformations was required, for which two international cases i.e., Cleveland and Shanghai, and two Indian cases i.e., Hyderabad and Bangalore, and three recent examples – Surat, Nagpur and Thane were chosen. The learning from these cases has helped in building consensus on city development strategy in the consultative workshops with the stakeholders. The city development vision was therefore structured through combining city development needs with the aspirations laid down through bench mark studies.

Generate momentum through quick wins

5.3 Structure of the Vision Plan

The vision statement above summarized the intents and aspiration of the city’s development in the future. The broad structure of the vision plan is shown in figure 1, which features the strategic actions needed for achieving the vision goals.



The above strategic actions lay down directions for city development to primarily deal with economic development, physical infrastructure, social infrastructure, development financing, governance improvement, quick wins or immediate interventions and implementation mechanism. The strategies actions and specific initiatives for achieving the vision are outlined in table 3. Besides this structure, a blueprint outlining the interventions, institutions, financing and implementation structure for achieving Mumbai development vision has also been prepared which can be found in Bombay First-McKinsey (2003) and it is also described in Nallathiga (2006).

Table 3: Structure of Vision Plan

<i>Strategic Direction</i>	<i>Key initiatives</i>
<i>Boost economic growth to 8-10 per cent</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Target four high end services – financial services, healthcare, IT/ITES and entertainment & media • Create jobs in three low end sectors – construction, hotels/tourism/recreation and modern retail • Convert hinterland into a manufacturing and logistics hub • Lower tax rates to make Mumbai a consumption centre
<i>Improve and expand mass and private transport infrastructure</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inner ring rail network for the city • Inner ring free-way for the city • Mumbai Trans Harbour Rail and Road Link • Tactical initiatives to optimize the current rail and road network
<i>Dramatically increase housing availability and affordability</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase land availability by 50-70 percent • Create 800,000 low income houses to rehabilitate existing slum dwellers by redesigning the Slum Rehabilitation Authority • Build 300,000 additional low-income housing units by creating ‘Special Housing Zones’ through targeted incentives • Create islands of excellence through integrated development • Redevelop the city block-by-block
<i>Upgrade other infrastructure</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create a safer law and order environment • Reduce air pollution • Increase availability and reduce contamination of water • Create more viable options for the disposal of solid waste • Upgrade access to and quality of education

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve healthcare services
<i>Raise adequate financing</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase in user charges and collection efficiency • Improvement in the MCGM's own efficiency • Better utilization of Government land assets in and around Mumbai
<i>Make governance more effective, efficient and responsive</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create the right structure • Make the concerned agencies accountable by instituting target setting, MoUs and monitoring processes • Streamlining the key processes such as building approvals and using IT all levels of government interaction
<i>Generate momentum through quick wins</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Beautify and decongest five north-south and five east-west corridors • Institute a report card system for all wards in MCGM • Improve airport ambience and emigration/immigration clearance • Build an additional 300 public toilets through public-private partnerships • Promote NGO and corporate sponsorship to restore and maintain the 325 public open/green spaces • Levy property tax on market value alongwith a self-assessment option
<i>Enable implementation through committed public-private resources led by the Chief Minister</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create a single coordination body • Make key agencies accountable for results • Encourage active corporate and NGO participation

Source: Bombay First – McKinsey (2003)

The vision plan presented a set of actions that need to be undertaken in order to realize the aspirations spelt out in the city development vision. However, inevitably, the implementation of these actions lies in the hands of the state government, local government and other government agencies. The process would not have gone a step further without establishing an appropriate implementation mechanism. Also, legitimacy to the vision plan was possible only through official promulgation. A Task Force was therefore set up to carefully study the recommendations and suggest actions in the broad themes. The Task Force in association with the thematic sub-committees had finalized a vision plan with the suggestions more or less in line with the earlier vision plan. The various constituents of government – state, local and agencies – gave undertakings and their own set of action broadly in line with the vision plan. These deliberations and collaborations were facilitated by a host of non-profit organizations led by the Bombay

First. The final vision plan for Mumbai has been put forth by the Government as GoM (2005) spelling out proposals based on the earlier report and task force findings.

6. Summary and Implications

Master plans or Development plans have been the origins of change in the urban environment – both physical and socio-economic – in India for the past several decades. They were taken as given from the past colonial system prevalent before the independence without enshrining the good features. The result of this traditional planning approach in the form of master plans is turning out to be frustrating because of the unrealistic plans, long time taken for their preparation and approval, ill adequately or inadequately thought or planned proposals etc. These features of plans and plan making together with implementation hurdles are forcing the exploration of alternative methods. Moreover, urban planning in the past was primarily influenced by central planning principles of the post-independence era and assumed the characteristics of monopolist. In the liberalized era and globalised world, the planning processes have to serve the economic and social objectives of the society through creation of a growth enabling physical environment. This changing context itself calls for identifying alternative approaches and strengthening existing planning mechanisms and institutions. The latter has been discussed to some extent in the decentralization of development planning to local level under the constitutional (74th Amendment) Act, together with the responsibility of resource and financial management, but the former requires new approaches that complement the traditional planning, one of them is the vision planning or perspective development planning, which is discussed in the paper. Mumbai is one of the vibrant and historical city in India with the past glory of *urbs prima* of India. However, as development planning did not pay much attention to growth supporting environment and the master plans have several shortcomings as found in other Indian cities it began to lose on providing better environment – physical and socio-economic. The vision plan is an attempt to provide a development perspective by identifying the strategic interventions and the benchmarks so that it can move on to the growth path and provide a better economic and physical environment. It serves as an example worth emulation to other Indian cities that are aiming to improve their urban environment. Mumbai's experiment is considered as bold and highly ambitious (Cities Alliance 2006), but it is a model that is worth looking at while other cities can evolve different models to provide a perspective of the city's development in the next ten year time horizon.

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The globalisation of the Baltimore model of waterfront development: A case study of developer as agent of transnational diffusion

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In 2004 Baltimore recorded, at 41.8 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants, the worst murder rate of any American city¹. Moreover, this was merely the most shocking headline from the Maryland city's unenviable portfolio of indicators of economic distress, social deprivation and community breakdown². Between the censuses of 1950 and 2000 the city's population fell from just under 950,000 to just over 650,000. More to the point, and unlike many other American cities, this trend of decline has actually accelerated in recent years. Thus the city recorded an 11.5 per cent loss in the 1990s, the worst rate amongst the largest American cities, and not far short of twice its own rate of decline in the previous decade. These same trends were reproduced in other characteristics – low educational attainment, family breakdown, housing abandonment, drug abuse and much else. In 1999, nearly a quarter of its population (22.9 per cent) fell below the poverty line. Behind all this (though certainly not the sole causal factor) lay a huge and continuing loss of jobs. This was overwhelmingly from the manufacturing and related industrial sectors which recorded a decline of 41.7 per cent between 1990 and 2002³. The performances of many types of services were similar with finance recording a 36.3 per cent job decline and retailing a fall of 47.3 per cent over the same period. There has been only very modest employment growth in other services to offset this grim picture.

At this point the reader may quite reasonably wonder how Baltimore could ever possibly have been considered a 'model' that other cities might have wished to emulate. The answer lies in that part of the city that visitors, who still come in their millions, tend to see, namely the Inner Harbor and adjoining blocks. A quarter of a century ago, the extraordinary transformation that was then underway in this area seemed to offer a panacea for the problems of all declining industrial, especially port, cities. It seemed also to offer a vision of an urban economy that could replace the old jobs with a service economy that was based increasingly on leisure and tourism. Manufacturing production and ancillary services were to be replaced by cultural consumption. The grimy workaday cities of the industrial era would be replaced by cities that could be, in the words of Baltimore's greatest promoter, the developer James Rouse, 'fun'. Moreover it seemed to be a way of harnessing private capital to public policy, so that the model could be realised without excessive reliance on public spending. It therefore represented an urban expression of a major theme of global political economy during the last decades of the twentieth century.

For a time, at least, the Baltimore model proved very compelling and was widely received in a very uncritical manner. First other American cities and then many in other countries sought to copy or at least capture

something of what their leaders thought they saw in the Maryland city. They were aided by the active promotional efforts of those who were central to the Baltimore experience. This paper documents the formation of the model and examines its nature. It also sketches its impact on thinking about the transformation of the redundant physical and economic spaces of port and industrial cities throughout the world. In a more specific sense, it also shows how those associated with the invention of the model played a direct role in spreading this model. We also note how far the Baltimore model has become synthesised into the reservoir of global planning ideas and practice. Finally we return to the issues with which the paper began, considering the extent to which the model was disconnected from the real city whose name it took.

How did the Baltimore model appear?

The story of Baltimore's impact on international thinking about the future city began as early as 1954. At that time there was growing concern within the city's business community about the decline in its property tax base as middle income population and the downtown retail activities their spending underpinned began to leave for the suburbs⁴. The following year this concern led to the formation of a key body for mobilising opinion, the Greater Baltimore Committee (GBC). One of the GBC's most urgent concerns was to renew the downtown area to reflect the changing realities of the wider region. In 1958 it produced its own largely private-financed plan to renew a section of downtown. The result was the Charles Center, an acclaimed mixed-use development. By 1964, the GBC was sufficiently emboldened to launch another plan to renew the moribund Inner Harbor which lay nearby. A partial clean up of the deteriorated piers and sheds had begun in 1950, followed by some landfill and road provision, but the long term use remained undetermined. Again produced by the Wallace company, the 1964 plan extended the Charles Center, also proposing new public administration buildings, educational and cultural facilities and housing, together with several visitor attractions.

Compared to the Charles Center, the Inner Harbor plan required much more public investment, especially from federal but also from city sources⁵. Yet the urban political regime within which this public spending occurred continued to be based on public-private partnership. This was enshrined in 1965 when the management of the transformation of the Inner Harbor's transformation was assigned to the same private non-profit corporation that had overseen the Charles Center project whose remit was now extended⁶. The Charles Center-Inner Harbor Management Inc brought together city government, Baltimore's business leadership and the developers of the individual projects. It thus harnessed private expertise and networks even though the developers were in many cases the city or other public agencies.

But this is to anticipate later events. The original 1964 plan did not meet with the widespread approval that had greeted the earlier effort for the Charles Center⁷. The greater call on public funds cast it into the very

centre of political debate at a time of growing tension in the city culminating in the race riots of 1968. There was also greater than anticipated resistance to the relocation of public administration offices. Problems were experienced securing federal funding for the middle income housing that was intended to combat the flight to the suburbs. The outcome was that much greater emphasis than originally planned was placed on visitor attractions. This pragmatic and, at times, somewhat contested shift towards a more (but not totally) touristic and cultural form of urbanism was to be crucial in establishing Baltimore's reputation.

Little happened until the election of Mayor Donald Schaefer in 1971. The first tangible sign of the Inner Harbor's changing character was the appearance the following year of the historic warship *USS Constellation* as an attraction. Public access to the waterfront was also created and the city began aggressively promoting an active programme of largely free entertainment. This generation of activity paid dividends by encouraging funders that investments to tap this potential leisure market would be worthwhile. From the mid-1970s, major developments began to appear in quick succession⁸. The Maryland Science Center opened in 1976, the World Trade Center office tower in the following year and the Marina in 1978, all broadly as envisaged in the 1964 plan. Then followed a series of developments which had not been in the plan – the Convention Center in 1979, the Harborplace festival marketplace in 1980 and a new Hyatt hotel and the National Aquarium in 1981. Further development continued in the eastern part of the Inner Harbor from the mid-1980s with a concert hall, museums and other cultural facilities. But by then Baltimore Inner Harbor's reputation as an national and international model of urban regeneration was already established. In 1983 alone the city was visited by an estimated 4,000 representatives from 87 cities around the world, eager to learn how its apparent renaissance had occurred⁹

The appeal of the Baltimore model

What was it then which drew these official visitors? In some respects, and in common with all urban models, Baltimore's appeal rested in part on a series of illusions. Thus several of its admired features were, variously, not new, not particularly unique to Baltimore or not even what they appeared to be. In public-private partnership, for example, Baltimore was merely following the lead given by Pittsburgh's business and civic leaders in 1943¹⁰. Even more paradoxically, these aspects had actually been greatly modified by the time Baltimore became an object of international admiration. In 1979 the GBC's capacity for decisive action was weakened when its membership was widened to all business interests¹¹.

Even before this time, the financial nature of the partnership was not what it seemed. The harnessing of private expertise, information networks and good will was real enough. But the amount of private *capital* that was actually being risked in the developments was less than appeared (another feature that was not peculiar to Baltimore)¹². In part, this tendency to underplay the public sector role was because of the

obscure nature of many public subsidies and tax breaks. It was compounded by the huge attention which settled on a few very high profile private developments that were to play a key part in defining the Baltimore model. These features helped to foster some dangerous illusions for the leaders of many other American cities as public funds were curtailed in the 1980s.

The most significant private development in Baltimore was the Inner Harbor's major single draw, the Harborplace festival marketplace. It was developed by the well known and widely respected Baltimore developer, James Rouse. Paradoxically, most of his activities as a developer were devoted to promoting the movement of people and retailing from cities to air-conditioned suburban shopping malls (of which he was a pioneer) and to suburban residential communities, especially his celebrated private new town of Columbia, Maryland¹³. Towards the end of his main working life, however, he became interested in downtown revitalisation. He was to be central to the creation of the Baltimore model

In 1972, Rouse teamed up with a Boston architect, Ben Thompson, over the latter's plans to revive the historic but derelict Faneuil Hall-Quincy Market area of Boston. The area lay between the downtown offices and a waterfront that was itself being revived (with a newly opened Aquarium that was itself to be the model for Baltimore's). Thompson's plan involved maintaining the historic fabric and returning it to something closer to the idea of a market rather than following the usual shopping mall template. Shops and market stalls were to be small, individual and distinctive, with neither department or chain stores. With some difficulty Rouse won the city's approval and with even greater difficulty he secured financial backing. Actually it was not entirely without precedent because San Francisco's Ghirardelli Square which had some similar features had opened in 1964. But this had been in a much less prominent location and, at the time, had attracted little interest. This contrasted with the much-trumpeted opening and rapid success of the first section of the revived Quincy Market in 1976, with phases two and three in successive years. It triggered a huge interest in the concept which Rouse had by then dubbed the festival marketplace.

One of the first cities to take note was Baltimore, yet again borrowing the innovations of other cities¹⁴. The head of the Charles Center-Inner Harbor Management Inc was an old acquaintance of Rouse, Martin Millspaugh. He invited the developer to consider a similar development there, again reusing an old building. Though Rouse rejected the building, he pursued the idea on a better located site that took over what had been scheduled as a public open space where the Inner Harbor area met downtown. The loss of the open space was very unpopular and it was only after a closely fought city referendum that Rouse was allowed to proceed. In the first full year of operation Harborplace attracted an astonishing 18 million visitors, with sales per square foot many times greater than in suburban malls. It also exceeded even the tremendous success of its slightly older sister in Boston.

More than any other development, it was Harborplace which sealed Baltimore's reputation as a model. Yet the model was always more than Harborplace. It would be more accurate to say that the rapid completion of several key and individually successful visitor attractions in close proximity both to each other, to what was now an attractive waterfront and to downtown was mainly responsible for Baltimore's reputation. And the really astonishing fact was that all this had occurred within such an unpromising city. Boston's historic role in the formation of the United States meant that it was already an established tourist destination. Baltimore had no such prior bridgehead for economic transformation. Scarcely anyone had previously chosen to go there for any but the most utilitarian of reasons. Therefore its sudden emergence as a leisure and tourist destination in the early 1980s seemed to offer a way in which all industrial port cities could negotiate their way from the grim realities of dock closures and deindustrialisation to the sunlit uplands of a successful post-industrial future.

Like all models, objective reality was also strengthened by a large dose of conscious promotional effort. Rouse's prominence and gift for promoting his developments focused first the nation's and then the world's attention on Baltimore. Flush with this huge commercial success and popular acclaim, Rouse himself was featured on the cover of the prestigious *Time* magazine in 1981¹⁵. Above his own image and representations of his latest successes was his own slogan: 'cities are fun!' In immediately accessible language, Rouse had captured the essential feature of what is, more cerebrally, here called cultural urbanism. An increasingly leisured society with more time and wealth at its disposal now expected cities to offer more leisure and cultural diversion. And the consumption that they generated could be captured to create a new economic base for deindustrialising cities. The resultant new attractions also recycled the redundant spaces of the industrial era.

In a broader sense Rouse realised that many Americans yearned for a romanticised notion of a vibrant traditional city. In reality this was a place that had never been, a scene of happy animation where people might safely gather in large numbers. It was a scene untroubled by all the competing and troubling realities of the industrial past or the post-industrial present. Here was a carefully managed enclave from which all the many problems of urban decay, crime, social and racial tension had been banished. Here too was cultural entertainment and sanitised fragments of traditional urbanism – the market hall, the handcrafted products and local traders of cities before large scale capitalism. It was no accident that Rouse was a great admirer of Walt Disney and that the two men shared a similar vision of what an ideal American community should be¹⁶.

The 'Rousification' of the United States¹⁷

As Harborplace opened, Rouse, the Baltimore model's greatest promoter, actually retired from the company which bore his name and later severed

all ties. Yet both he and the company continued to be central to efforts to spread the model Cities wanting to 'do a Baltimore' naturally sought out the Rouse company that claimed such a central role in developing and promoting the concept. The Rouse company was already working on a waterfront development with a festival marketplace at the South Street Seaport in New York¹⁸. During the early 1980s it took on several other projects, essentially varieties of the festival marketplaces concept, in Miami (Bayside), Atlanta (Underground Atlanta), New Orleans (Riverwalk) and Portland, Oregon (Pioneer Place)¹⁹. It also undertook a further mixed-use development, albeit of more conventional type, at the Baltimore Inner Harbor.

Rouse himself, meanwhile, pursued philanthropic activity through his new Enterprise Foundation in 1981²⁰. To provide an income stream for these this, however, he also established the Enterprise Development Company (EDC) to undertake for profit development activities. Fronting the company alongside Rouse was Martin Millspaugh, along with a few other key figures from Rouse's earlier projects. Millspaugh's presence underlined the EDC's direct association with the Baltimore model in general rather than just Rouse's particular contribution to it. Even so, the reproduction of festival marketplaces formed EDC's major development activity in the early years. However, it also built up a significant business in giving more general advice in broader development aspects of the wider areas in which these marketplaces were set. (It was later renamed Enterprise Real Estate Services.)

There were some initial tensions between the Rouse company and its founder's new creation²¹. Gradually, however, the two worked out a division of labour. In its early years, therefore, the EDC came to concentrate its efforts on creating festival marketplaces in several smaller American cities. The first was Waterside in Norfolk, Virginia, the first phase of which opened in 1983²². Others followed in succeeding years at Portside in Toledo, Ohio; 6th Street Marketplace in Richmond, Virginia; Water Street in Flint, Michigan and McCamley Place in Battle Creek, Michigan²³. To say the least, however, none of these examples repeated the runaway successes of Boston or Baltimore. The Norfolk example managed eventually to achieve some sustained prosperity but the others, after initial interest, proved disastrous and were soon closed.

One of the key reasons was that the cities concerned were simply too small to provide sustained business for these ill-fated developments. This limited the local market, particularly since these cities' economies were also very weak. Flint, for example, had been shattered by closures in the automobile industry and had 24 per cent unemployment at the time Water Street opened. In addition, a major lesson of Baltimore was being ignored because all these places lacked the clustering of potent leisure and cultural attractors that might have drawn visitors from farther afield. Here Baltimore had a major advantage because the development of *its* critical mass of cultural urbanism had occurred during a period when direct federal funding for city or state projects or to underwrite private projects had been relatively easy to obtain. Ronald Reagan's presidency

from 1980 had seen a sharp curtailment of funding from Washington, placing what proved to be an excessive reliance on private funds. Even some of the Rouse Company's ostensibly less risky projects began to experience difficulties, especially as property boom turned to slump in the later 1980s.

Globalising the model

One consequence was to push EDC increasingly to seek opportunities in big cities outside the United States, especially where public funds were still available properly to prime the pump for development. One of the first and closest of these involvements came at the Darling Harbour in Sydney. In 1983 Thomas Hayson, an Australian developer who owned some property in the area, had learnt about Baltimore initially from a newspaper article²⁴ followed by a visit to the city where he made contact with Millspaugh and Rouse. Hayson was struck by the remarkable similarities between Darling Harbour and Baltimore. At the time the New South Wales government was actively contemplating a major redevelopment of the redundant docks in time to celebrate the bicentennial of European settlement in Australia in 1988. Private developer interest was initially tepid and Hayson found himself virtually alone in making an early commitment to help implement the plans of the new public authority which was created in 1984 to expedite the project²⁵. He brought Millspaugh and subsequently Rouse himself to Sydney, retained EDC on a long term basis and introduced them to the major decision makers²⁶.

EDC's chief planner, Mort Hoppenfeld, played a key role and was retained for a time by the new Darling Harbour Authority authority to develop the master plan for the new area. This also helped to ensure that the similarity of settings with Baltimore was also reproduced in the provisions of the plan. Other important hands were also involved but this does not alter the fact that Baltimore was, in a very direct sense, the model. The essential elements were indeed very familiar, with a cluster of key attractions: Aquarium, Convention and Exhibition Centre, Maritime Museum, IMAX cinema (added later), attractive public open space and festival marketplace, Harbourside, developed by Hayson with an EDC stake. There were also a few individual touches and the development was executed to a very high standard, not least in the public spaces. Yet Inner Harbor's main creators were purveying a tested formula that could rapidly be applied within the tight deadline of a 1988 opening date. Despite criticisms. They provided a powerful external legitimacy for what was, at the time, a controversial project, though one which has proved a major addition to Sydney's leisure and tourist resources.

EDC was also involved in other projects with Hayson, who actually took a stake in the Rouse offshoot. They collaborated in advising Hayson at Manly Quay, also on Sydney Harbour²⁷. EDC also became involved in Merlin, a company which Hayson established with UK investors, and undertook work on projects in three British cities, Birmingham, Glasgow

and Manchester²⁸. Only the last of these proposed developments, of the Great Northern Warehouse area, actually proceeded²⁹. The others fell victim to the property recession in the 1990s. However the links with Rouse and Baltimore can still be glimpsed in the others, especially so in the canalside development at Brindley Place in Birmingham, even though it was completed by other hands. This is the most completely Baltimore-like clustering of attractions of any British city³⁰. Another later, more direct, UK connection was forged in Belfast from 1991 when EDC became part of a consortium for a mixed development with several Baltimore elements on a prominent waterfront site at Lanyon Place.

Though the English-speaking world was the most obvious territory within which Rouse's brand of the Baltimore model could spread, it was certainly not linguistically corralled. Another early and significant international involvement of the EDC was advising on the redevelopment of Port Vell in Barcelona in the mid-1990s³¹. In the mid-1980s, it was retained to prepare a master plan and strategy for this area, involving the creation of a Baltimore-style 'fun city' on the Moll d'Espanya and a Cruise Ship terminal. The development was completed in 1992 by the port authority, with familiar Baltimore elements such as an aquarium, IMAX cinema, maritime museum and festival-style shopping mall with food court and night clubs.

The dynamics of the connections with Baltimore cannot be established as precisely as they can for Sydney. Yet we can note that Barcelona's mayor during this period, Pasqual Maragall, architect of the city's recent rise, was actually in the Maryland city, at the Johns Hopkins University, just when 'Baltimore-mania' was moving to its height in the early 1980s³². Indeed, it was actually from there he was called back to his native city to participate in its newly democratized politics. Despite the growing misgivings of his friend at Johns Hopkins, David Harvey, it would be surprising if he had not brought back a sense of what Baltimore and Rouse had to offer³³.

Another important location on the 'Rouse trail' was Osaka, Japan's second city³⁴. In 1988 the city and port authority together formed a development corporation to redevelop the old port. EDC supplied comprehensive development advice and assistance, representing an unprecedented level of co-operation at that time between an American development company and a Japanese public authority. The result was the Tempoan Harbor Village which opened in 1991 offering the familiar mix of Aquarium, IMAX cinema, art museum, festival marketplace and other attractions.

EDC also undertook many other international commissions that showed some degree of continuities with Baltimore. Typically (though not invariably) these were waterfront mixed-use and predominantly leisure/retailing developments, or contained some of these elements. Apart from places already mentioned, the EDC website records its work in Melbourne, Izmir, Cairo, Shanghai, Freeport and Port Columbus (Bahamas), Kobe, Sakai (Japan), Rotterdam, Malaga, Rio de Janeiro, Warsaw, Puerto La Cruz and Porlamar (Venezuela), Zagreb, Kuwait City,

Cancun (Mexico), Guanica (Puerto Rico) and Bridgetown (Barbados). Nor does this list appear to be comprehensive³⁵. For example, there is also evidence of other significant involvements, notably in Singapore and Cape Town³⁶. There were also many American commissions and in several cases a financial stake in developments. These tend to show showing increasing diversification from the 'pure' Baltimore model. However an unusually late festival marketplace was at Aloha Tower in Honolulu (opened 1994), one of the few American examples to be built after the failures of the late 1980s³⁷. It formed part of a much larger mixed-use waterfront development.

Not all of these commissions, especially the international ones, directly resulted in developments. One reason was that EDC was often giving advice about evolving broad development concepts rather than undertaking a detailed design and management exercise. This was the case, for example, for EDC's advice about the Kop van Zuid in Rotterdam. In other cases, developments fell victim to the uncertainties or fluctuations of the property market (such as the proposed Mall of Egypt in Cairo). But the important point is that everywhere EDC was playing an important role in spreading a common discourse about the future of cities. In effect, it was tilting the global planning and development agenda towards the particular brand of post-industrial urbanism that was associated with Baltimore.

Other agents of diffusion

It is important also to stress that the diffusion of the model did not rely entirely on EDC. Some of the professionals who had been associated with Rouse and Millspaugh played an independent part in spreading elements of the model. Thus Benjamin Thompson Associates, architects of Rouse's most successful marketplaces, designed variants of the concept in Guatemala City and Buenos Aires for different clients during the 1990s³⁸. They also prepared the master plan for the Custom House Dock in Dublin. There was also a good deal of straightforward borrowing, variously adaptive or uncritical, of ideas from Baltimore by other cities and their planners and developers³⁹. Thus knowledge of the city (and also Boston) was particularly influential on activities of many of the British urban development corporations during the 1980s and 1990s. This was particularly so for London, Merseyside, Cardiff and other cities which were undertaking dock regeneration schemes⁴⁰. Collaborative research projects between Universities and other links increased UK awareness of key American developments and helped to reinforce many similarities in urban policy between the two countries during the Reagan-Thatcher era⁴¹.

In turn cities which had been influenced by Baltimore contributed to spreading the model, or at least their own variants of it, further afield. For example, the city of Barcelona devoted much amount of effort to promoting internationally itself as an urban planning and design model⁴². There was, of course, much in its planning that went beyond Baltimore,

especially the new beach waterfronts created during the 1990s. Yet the most Baltimore-like part of Barcelona, Port Vell, became a partial model for the Puerto Madero in Buenos Aires⁴³. Under a formal co-operation agreement between the two cities, architects from the Catalonian capital undertook much of the early planning of this area during the late 1980s. Another example of this tendency has been the international consultancy activities of the eponymous development company for the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront in Cape Town⁴⁴. Set up in 1988, its own planning and development was much influenced by the Baltimore experience. During the 1990s it began to undertake commissions in a variety of places including Libreville (Gabon), St Louis (Mauritius); Lagos, the Black Sea reort of Gelendzhik, (Russia) as well as Portsmouth (UK) and, coincidentally, about aspects of the development of Port Vell in Barcelona.

Reflections on the Baltimore model

This last example shows how increasingly interwoven the various strands of influence that originate in Baltimore have now become. The model, in other words has become increasingly globalised, spread by many hands to all parts of the world. Though such places are located within specific places with a distinctiveness that comes from their physical setting and the character of their buildings (especially so if they predate the renewal process), their essential character has become less and less local⁴⁵. Their success tends to depend more on tourists than on local populations. The outlets the festival marketplaces once provided for local traders have often now become more standardised and predictable (though this depends on rental levels and management policies). And the wider economic impacts of the 'cities are fun' model have been disappointing.

No city exemplifies this more than Baltimore itself, where the workforce of the Inner Harbor and Charles Center is a microcosm of the dual labour market of the wider metropolitan area. On the one hand it provides high paid employment for a largely suburban-dwelling middle class population. On the other the much lower paid jobs of cleaning, security and retailing tend to be taken more by city dwellers. And, as we have seen, a wide section of Baltimore's population is unable to take even these. The acuteness of the city's current problems, in many respects the worst of any American city, raises the questions as to whether the Baltimore model may even have been a contributory element. There are certainly other powerful factors, notably a fiscal base that is unusually narrow for an American city, exacerbating the effects of city-suburb polarisation⁴⁶. Nor can drug abuse or the particular problems of gun crime, especially amongst young black males, be attributed solely to economic causes. But there is perhaps a sense in which the perceived early successes of the Inner Harbor have allowed wider opinion to see it as a city 'on the mend'.

The wider truth is also that, over two decades on, the model of cultural urbanism and leisure consumption which the Maryland city once represented has moved on, detached from the place itself. Many other

cities, including those discussed in this book, have now mined the seam of urban opportunity that Baltimore discovered almost by accident. Inevitably most of them have tried to improve on the original and have added their own refinements. The newer attractions have become more spectacular than their predecessors with architecture ever more iconic. Inevitably, these newer attempts appear to offer more to would be emulators. And, perhaps more pertinently, many of them have been backed by greater public spending and more helpful metropolitan policies than has benighted Baltimore. Yet the city's long term impact cannot be gainsaid. This, the first realisation of James Rouse's dictum that 'cities are fun' in a troubled city of the industrial era has now become absorbed into the global repertoire of urban policies. But making sure that cities really are fun for all their inhabitants remains a distant goal.

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HIGHWAYS FOR THE PEDESTRIANS
Social capital with the urban remodeling processes

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Infrastructural Works seen as an opportunity to create “city”

Infrastructural works in towns and cities provoke radical changes in many areas of a town, areas which don't usually have the chance to enjoy their advantages due to the fact that those structures are designed at a bigger scale. Such a scale is thought for other bigger areas but, more often than it should be desired, the problems they produce remain there for years and years before they are rectified.

The matter in question is to think and also to propose, in a creative way, how to get to produce city -new urban capital- together with the remodelling processes that are associated with the execution of big infrastructures which don't usually have anything to do with the production of specific urban quality.

Infrastructural works in towns should observe five outstanding aspects:

- The production of urban capital, seeing it as the improvement and the increase of the relationships established among social, cultural, economical and environmental capitals.
- The production –or rehabilitation- of a more friendly and more civic town for the citizens who use those public spaces.
- The creation of urban quality in an aesthetic sense.
- The creation of measures that make the urban space more environmentally sustainable.
- Citizens should be transferred the decisions about the urban space they inhabit: City participation for the construction of the community.

1.2. A specific case: the construction of an underground line in the former road to Cádiz in the city of Málaga.

Line 2 of the new Málaga underground system runs along an important and historical road connecting the city centre and the western suburbs called Carretera de Cádiz (the old road to Cádiz). During the last 40 years a population of about 180.000 people (the equivalent to the whole population of the city of Huelva) has crowded round the four-kilometre-long old road to Cádiz.

Due to an obvious lack of ideas or any kind urban planning, due to the speculation, together with the quick spread of buildings, most of the area consists nowadays of a crowded and densely built suburb where the absence of open spaces (the few existing ones are taken by vehicles), and bad urban quality are the most impressive characteristics.

Amazingly, such a terrible density (which is the most serious problem) can also be the best advantage for the area. People here are used to a very crowded environment which could turn out to be an excellent social and urban capital provided we are able to take advantage of the opportunities that future events can offer.

In this sense, a street now used just by city heavy traffic, in a period of two years, can be transformed into an open space for the use of citizens, a space that might solve the lack of places where any kind of event could take place and, at the same time, a space which could solve the absence of urban equipment and, obviously, also solve the capacity to move around, the traffic problems or the number of places to park private cars (one of the most important questions for neighbours for whom this plan was thought) .

While works to build the underground are in process, that is for two years, the whole length of Carretera de Cádiz will be closed to traffic. So, new ways to connect the district and the city centre will have to be created. But once works are over, it won't be necessary to use private cars as they were used before.

An opportunity is given to the urban area of Carretera de Cádiz and it is important to get the most of it.

2. OUR PROPOSAL.

2.1. New spaces for the community. Relationships capital for the 21st Century.

Nowadays urban processes are associated to a strong neoliberalism and this fact involves that urban spaces gradually and almost unconsciously become private. This process no longer depends from a political ideology but from purely market-based criteria.

The proposal to reduce or to completely eliminate private transportation along the four-kilometre-long Carretera de Cádiz comes together with a system of new open spaces, a series of different squares, and green areas to make a change in the long straight way with the intention to diversify and include different types of spaces. Everywhere it is possible, these new spaces will bring new identities to the area.

If the use of public transportation is stimulated on the basis of common sense, comfort, and time and money saving, and, if a good extension of public land now used by our private cars (either parked or running) is left free, we will have the chance to plan a new urban and social scenery, which will be very different from the present one.

The fact of being a densely populated part of the town, together with the fact we are going to have new available public land can give us the advantage of offering the community a new open urban space, with a pedagogical value for the citizens, where a remarkable increase of social capital will take place, making easier the movement of ideas (and, why not, also the clash of opinions), the celebration of great numbers all sorts of events (from celebrations to demonstrations) etc. In short, the acquisition of a powerful tool for urban and social construction.

How to use the new spaces could be synthesized in a number of proposals which can be valid for the whole area:

- Bicycle lane to connect the new parks and forests on the outskirts of the town with the city centre. It would be quite easy to build the lanes since there is the space and they would be comfortable to use because the area is quite flat.
- Sports and recreation grounds: basket, table tennis, volleyball, French bowls ...
- Children games, benches, fountains, toilets ...

2.2. Reorganizing traffic.

The new circumstances offered by the underground line makes us to re-plan the role played by private cars. It is not reasonable to think in an area where cars will be used exactly in the same way as they are now. Just the opposite. In a modern Málaga we can only have in mind the priority of a good public transportation system, a quality one, comfortable, flexible and fast.

In those areas where this public system doesn't exist, cars will keep their present leading role.

At the same time, the peculiar characteristics of the construction of the underground line makes us think again about how to move around the whole area without using the most important central street, that's to say, the former road to Cádiz, which will be closed to traffic for a long period of time while works are in process.

Both questions bring us to a future and logical scenery:

If people are going to have two or more new streets which connect the city centre to the western districts (and they are not the present Carretera de Cádiz), in future, once works are over, it won't be reasonable to use this same street exactly as it is used now because it would double the possibilities for private traffic. If we are trying not to encourage private traffic we can make possible for Carretera de Cádiz to become a pedestrian area generating, in this way, new spaces for the community.

Our idea is based on the following: in the former Carretera de Cádiz we would plan a lane for vehicles going to the city centre. This road will reduce gradually its capacity and will disappear completely when it gets to Héroe de Sostoa Street. That is to say: it will start with seven lanes which will be reduced to four in a first section. In a second part, six lanes will become two and, finally, in the last sector, it will start with three lanes which will finally disappear in the city centre.

The alternative roads which are going to connect the western districts to the centre of the town, will solve the traffic problem while works are in process. Once works are over, their capacity would be more than enough for cars in the first section (we must also wear in mind the probable increase of population in the western districts), the situation would remain the same in the second one, although their capacity would be a little less in the last section. This reduction can be solved if we eliminate the parking lane in Ayala Street and use it for traffic.

2.3. Car parks.

The main problem for people living in the western districts of the town is where to park their vehicles. This problem is usually solved using non permitted lots, although everyone turns a blind eye, mainly at night.

Works to build the underground will necessarily mean a reduction in parking spaces, about 1000 of them will be lost.

This problem goes together with another one of no minor importance: a parked car is always occupying free spaces which can be used as public areas for the community

Projects of development works in this area include the building of a number of underground parking lots along the Carretera de Cádiz. The existing spaces, together with those in project, could reach places for up to 4000 cars.

This implies to relieve the lack of parking spaces and a great amount of surface to project new squares, wider pavements, parks and gardens, promenades, sports grounds and games for children.

2.4. A sustainable project.

Taking cars off a district as big as this one is related to the idea of sustainable development.

Parallel to this idea, the proposals to create new green spaces, new plantations of autochthon trees which could help to better the urban microclimate, will complete our proposal basic idea as a sensitive environmental one.

Even so, in future, the idea is to get a more ambitious project.

Once it is necessary to build a huge “tube” for the underground line, the new drainage systems, together with water piping, electricity and telecommunication wires can be included in this structure built for the underground.

It could also be planned modern systems for rubbish collecting, as well as cisterns for rain water (water which can be recycled in plants located in the industrial states situated at one end of Carretera de Cádiz).

In the same way, and since the underground line runs very deeply, this fact can be taken into account to generate geothermal energy. This is a source of permanent temperature that can be used to air-condition underground stations, underground car parks or even certain places on the surface.

At the same time –and on a tight budget- it would be interesting to build a series of cisterns to receive grey waters along the area we are considering. These cisterns would be connected to buildings and, once water is recycled, it could be used for domestic cleaning (toilets). This represents a considerable saving in the consumption of water.

In the open areas of the newly remodelled Carretera de Cádiz, (the urbanized highway) we can build pergolas of photovoltaic cells which can produce the necessary electricity for the area.

And Málaga relies on this sort of industry with first level technology.

Being this a sustainable project, its social aspect is obviously essential.

Even if the neighbours in these districts we are talking about show an important level of satisfaction, and most of the population is quite young, there are sectors which begin to evidence certain problems that wouldn't be difficult to solve: old and poor quality buildings, social conflicts, immigration, people who were born here now leave to other districts, poor distribution of urban spaces, certain sectors that suffer severe urban degradation, architectural obstacles, lack of connection among the different districts, poor identities ...

The revaluation of a public space must work as an incentive to accelerate the storage of social capitals which link the population to their districts and build a sort of identity on which to remake an identity, sceneries where they can show and share ideas; that is, spaces where they can show their filias and phobias.

Even more: cities which manage to get a solid social infrastructure become a reference point.

3. SUMMARY

The production of the urban capital (understanding it as the improvement and the increase of a series of relationships established among social, cultural, economic and environmental capitals) through infrastructural works can be achieved thanks to the following strategies:

3.1. Production –or rehabilitation- from a functional point of view , of a more friendly and civic town.

Gradual reduction of traffic lanes from the outskirts to the city centre in different sections: from seven to four lanes in the first part, from six to two in the second one, and from three to none (a pure pedestrian one) in the last sector. The alternatives provided for vehicles during the works make unnecessary for traffic to return to the Carretera de Cádiz. If so, it would double the number of lanes and would lead to a higher demand for private traffic, something which is incompatible with the idea of encouraging public transport. That's why the idea of pedestrianising becomes an opportunity to build new public spaces in a very big district where cars had swallowed every other chance.

The new proposal and the lack of slopes in the western part of the town, makes cycling easier. Bike lanes would be situated in the street with the biggest capacity. It would only be necessary, in every other street, to elaborate projects for re-planning the usage of public spaces which are not well planned now.

Seven hundred parking lots are going to disappear due to the works to build the underground line. The plans to remodel the area don't include these spaces but will offer four thousand new underground lots. At least half this number will be situated next to the underground stations to make easier the access from other farther districts and their use by handicapped persons.

At the end of the underground line, next to the motorway and the beginning of Carretera de Cádiz, where a big parking area is in project, there will also be a halt for city and inter-city buses and trams. The station in the middle of the line will be situated on the point where the most important street crosses it and will also have a halt for trams and city buses.

3.2. Creating urban quality.

Once the new space becomes a pedestrian area along the whole street, it would be a four-kilometre-long system of squares and different sorts of promenades with trees to give the area an environmental, visual and aesthetic richness which doesn't exist now here.

The new pedestrian area can be connected to other already existing spaces or those which are in project. New pedestrian, internal relations to generate a system of green squares along the whole Carretera de Cádiz.

The new Málaga Theatres Promenade projected in the port could be connected to the railway stations and all the new leisure and commercial area around it.

We also propose a series of parks associated to the remodelling and pedestrianization works, that would basically build a park along the Guadalhorce river and would enlarge other existing parks to the north of the town. We would try to connect all the existing green spaces (and those in project) using the old Carretera de Cádiz as an axis, a green axis.

3.3. New measures to make our urban space more sustainable from the environmental point of view.

Works to build the underground is a unique opportunity to develop a series of urban projects, important infrastructures for the future such as:

- collecting rain water and taking it to cisterns in order to use it for watering,
 - photo-voltaic pergolas to generate electricity for lighting,
 - the incorporation to the new structure built for the underground of a general main sewer, as well as water pipes, electricity, telecommunications, or garbage collection etc.
- All companies, both public or private, would use this space, consequently, reparation works on the surface would be avoided in the future.

Parallel and simultaneously, the excavation works could be an opportunity to build a system for the production of geothermal energy and a web of cisterns connected to buildings and housing states for collecting grey waters.

3.4. Transferring the citizens decisions about the urban space they live in. Community participation and the construction of a collectivity.

The general idea would be that public spaces and all the other proposals for remodelling processes on the surface were designed and built according to the neighbours' requires,

trying to develop a project with the citizens active participation, their ideas, proposals and wishes.

The most important point is understanding the whole operation as a addition of several parts and not the other way round. Then, the resulting spaces are the sum of a series of singularities avoiding a global and general imposition where neighbours' opinions are not taken into account. That's to say, authorities must leave public spaces and must facilitate the creation of autonomous identities no so attached to central political interests.

That's why our proposal is a decentralizing idea which allows social contacts in associations and other groups organised in the districts. From here new identities can be reorganised and it can be possible to increase the feeling of being a community which doesn't exist nowadays.

Title: The Renewal and Transformation of Characteristic Essential Factor in City Moat Historic Sector of China

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Abstract:

Historic sector are ancient buildings or history civilization sites and environment around them, which give rise to great influence to the activity of mankind and full of high historic civilization value and artistic value. The city wall and the moat are companion in Chinese history. The capital and the common cities also have the moat of their own. At present, there are moat systems that still preserved completely in many Chinese cities. However, the periphery environment and inherent function of them have occurred many changes. City moat and the sector around it have become historic sector that passing bears the history civilization, they embody the trace of city history, and they are the source in landscape creation of modern waterfront areas. And, they are important sectors of city images, embodying the city characteristic, transmitting historic information. It is a realistic subject that how to make the relation of city and moat suit the requirement of modern city life. To make the renewal and transformation correctly, we should take the city moat as a superior historic space resource of region.

By analyzing the history and reality of city moat, this thesis expounds the origin and the function development of it. Having research of many examples, this thesis sum up the relation between the city and moat and put forward difficulties that moat faces in nowadays. At last, this article put forward the way and method of renewal and transformation.

Key words: city moat historic sector function
renewal and transformation

1 Introduction

In the China history, city appeared accompany with river. People made river by digging earth, meanwhile they constructed city wall by the earth, which made the earthwork balance.

1.1 Function of city moat in history

(1) Defense. For example, there're two city moats and city walls (inner and outer) in the old Suzhou City. The firm defense system are formed by them and eight city gate on water. **(Figure 1)**

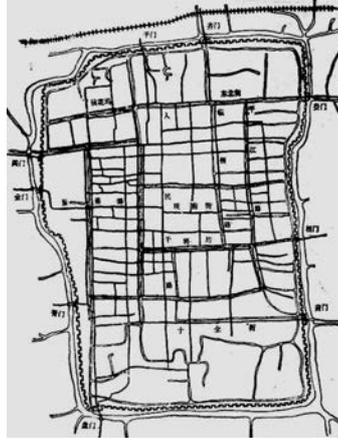


Figure 1: Old Suzhou city moat and river

(2) Providing water for living and producing. City moat connect the river system both inside and outside the city, which make water cycling. Furthermore, it makes planting and breeding possible.

(3) Storing up, draining off water and floodwaters. City moat, together with the existing river system, can control flood effectively.

(4) Transportation. Many city moats can have cavitations.

(5) Flourishing industry and commerce. The famous drawing “Qingming waterfront” in Song Dynasty made an impressive description about this. **(Figure 2)**

(6) Eliminating fire disaster. City moat can isolate burning things, and it can also provide enough water to eliminating fire disaster.

(7) Leisure. Since city moat have good environment, people like to have rest by the waterfront.

(8) Maintaining ecological environment. City moat can keep stable of city water system, and it can also improve the quality of city air and make the city micro-weather better.

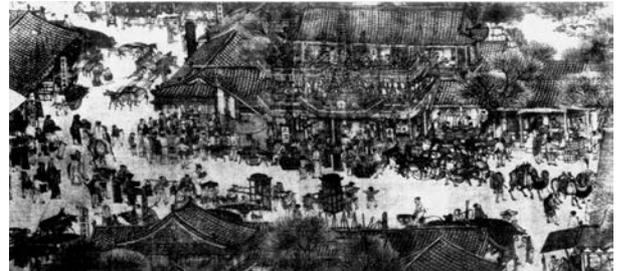


Figure2:Qingming waterfront

1.2 Development of function of city moat

The prosperous and declining of city moat have much to do with the development of its function. Since the coming out of hot weapons, the function of defense had declined. However, there're still functions of irrigating, transportation and eliminating fire disaster. In modern times, the city moat has changed from city edge to important history sector inside city. Furthermore,



Figure 3 Past looks of Shaoxing city moat



Figure 4 New looks of Shaoxing city moat₂

it provides good place for modern tourism and residence. (Figure 3、 Figure 4)

1.3 The problems that city moat face in today



Figure 5 pollution of Rugao city moat

(1) Worsen of ecological environment. Since city moat always belong to old down town, there are lots of buildings, factories, store yards and small restaurants. All of these make the water dirty. (Figure 5)

(2) Decline of space. Sometimes city moat become confinement of the city expanding, so in some cities people cover up the river.



Figure 6 Industry building around city moat

(3) Destruction of the landscape. Since the decline of shipping, relating facilities such as wharf and storehouse become discarded. The origin graceful scenery is full of shabby buildings. (Figure 6)

(4) Reducing the ability of eliminating disasters. In some cities, the ground level is low. Moreover, pollution aggravate earth silting up on riverbed, which make the riverbed get higher and higher, and water level surface become higher too. It make tough situation in preventing floodwater.

(5) Losing of landscape characteristic. Recently, extensively urban development make city moat waterfront full of lots of high buildings, which make the losing of origin characteristic.

2 Explanations and Definition

2.1 Definition of city moat historic sector

At first, city moat historic sector means a district around city moat, and it should has relatively complete landscape. Second, city moat historic sector should form the main structure of city space, and it should have some real historic information. It should be composed with material culture and spirit culture. At last, it should have not only the historic information, but also new information about nowadays city development, and it should embody the spirit of the city and humanity value.

2.2 Content of renewal and transformation of city moat historic sector

Compared with other historic sector, the most important characteristic of city moat historic sector is the function change of it. The most important function of it in history is defense, but this function totally disappeared now. The problems that city moat facing today are partly came out with the change of function. However, if city moat can adapt to the needs of modern city, the changes of function also give chance to the regeneration of city moat.

There're three principles in renewal and transformation of common historic sector: Firstly, protection of real history legacy; secondly, protection of style and feature in the whole area; thirdly, reuse of the original

functions.

The protection of city moat historic sector also need protection of real history legacy and protection of style and feature in the whole area. However, the function of defense couldn't be reuse, and there's no need to do this. On the contrary, city moat historic sector is always in the downtown, it could be high quality city space with the function of leisure, tourism, commerce and high grade residence. It should be important for the planners of how to use the special value of city moat and how to fit the need of modern city life.

Thus, the content of renewal and transformation of city moat historic sector should be the following: Making good use of good space resources on the base of function regeneration; protecting and collecting the precious historic information by protecting and reconstructing civilian arteries; on the base of constructing good waterfront environment, the municipal government could promote the development of city tourism as well as real estate. By this way, urban planning could arouse the vigor of city economics, it also could promote benign development of city in many aspects.

Renewal and transformation are necessary action with setting steps about transformation of the old part of the city which couldn't adapt the modern city life. The objective of the action is to form modern function of these districts. Renewal and transformation are positive protection to city moat historic sector.

3 Planning Methods

3.1 Optimization of function

(1) Defining the scope of land-use

Planners should approximately define the scope of land-use by vision line analysis. This is the first step of investigation and research. Secondly, planners should make conception scheme of the whole area, which can make further step in defining the scope of land-use, and it can also make the plan by stage and the plan by district. At last, planners should define the scope of detail planning in the near future due to economic situation of the city and the possibility of reality. On the base of that, the whole work could be gone through.

(2) Defining the function

The new function of city moat historic sector should be defined on the base of master planning of the city. The following aspects should be considered conscientiously for the function definition: At first, investigation of natural environment characteristic should be starting point of this step. Secondly, planners should collect and make proper evaluation of humanity environment characteristics which form the historic sector. The humanity environment characteristics should be composed of society, culture, economic and history of the city where the river is. On the base of these, planners should define all kinds of functions and the relationship between those functions. At last, planners should define the relationship between those functions and the whole city functions, and they should put these requirements into the construction and urban planning management.

(3) Adjusting the functions

At first, planning should move factories and storehouses which are not fit the image of the defined functions. However, there're some historic buildings and facilities, as well as some functions that still necessary for living. All of these should be strengthened. For example, the functions of residence, preventing floods and maintaining ecological environment. Furthermore, planning could create new functions and landscapes by regeneration of city moat historic sector and flourishing of the district, such as commerce, tourism, culture and service. Strengthen of function of service could satisfy peoples' need of leisure and tourism.

3.2 Space planning

(1) Protection of the plane form of city moat

Plane Form of city moat is important for the historic sector, because most Chinese cities are developed from the origin form which is mostly decided by the plane Form of city wall as well as the city moat. For example, in "Beijing Master Planning", it is emphasized that the plane form of old Beijing city should be preserved. Since the city moat in Beijing is the main part of the old Beijing city plane form, it is necessary of

opening the board over the city moat and reforming the landscape of the capital which surrounding with city moat. So the characteristic of plane Form in old Beijing city and the symbol of water culture could be preserved permanently. (Figure 7)

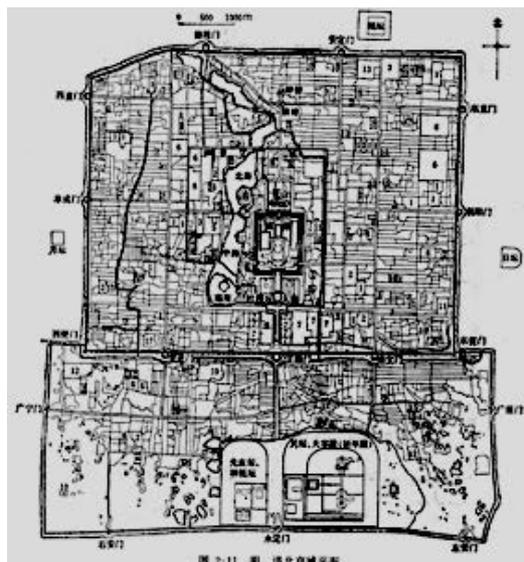


Figure 7: Plane form of old Beijing city

(2) Reconstruction of traditional space node

In city moat historic sector, the public space nodes are always at intersection of matrix formed by roads and river. There're many kinds of these nodes: market, end of a bridge, city wall, teahouse, stage, memorial archway and wharf, etc. Furthermore, the small public space that formed by old wells or old trees are important public space. All of these nodes are traditional symbols of waterfront, and they are strong direction for the special place. Planners should combine the need of modern life to the renewal and transformation, and planners should make reconstruction and restoration of these nodes so as to strengthen the traditional characteristics of waterfront of city moat.

(3) Organization of landscape alignment

In the action of protection of tradition of city culture and history, as well as the action of preserving the plane form of city, planners should try to form unique environmental landscape and city image which means the "water and city together" on media of open space formed by rivers. The protection of nature landscape and humanity landscape should change from the traditional ways of isolated landscape to the landscape of whole area. When people enjoy the landscape, they are enjoying in alignment of time and space. Landscape alignment is the "time-space alignment" formed by transit route.

3.3 Continuation of city culture

(1) Using of historic symbol

Symbol and metaphor are used in urban design to express the city memory. The historic characteristic could be expressed by historic symbol and language which are behind the image. Planners should understand profoundly the content and modes of city moat. Then they could purify model and symbol from it. Using these symbol and model in urban design could preserve the traditional characteristics of city moat. For example, the urban design in Luxun culture square in Shaoxing city use the symbol of traditional architecture in this city, which come from the origin of bridge, porch, water wharf and old ship. This kind of design is full of traditional culture and spirit of the city. (Figure 8)



Figure 8: the water wharf of Suzhou city

(2) Expressing of place spirit

The feeling of place spirit is a complex mentality course, which need space getting culture meaning from social culture, historic incident, human activity and special region conditions. Then the place spirit should be embodied in physical space. Through place spirit, people could find aesthetics, history, city culture, city spirit and ideology. Renewal and transformation should be full of passion, and it should inspire personal emotion and rich association of the tourist. By this way, there are resonance between tourist and landscape, which form the place spirit. For example, Hefei people constructed a park beside Bao River as souvenir for a famous official in history of Hefei. The name of this official is Baozheng, he is an honest and upright official. In this park, there're buildings full of characteristic of Anhui Province traditional architecture.

(3) Organization of society matrix

Society matrix could embody the characteristic of human society action. The objective of preservation of society matrix is to preserve the traditional mode of society association, as well as to supply the association place for residence. In recent years, large amount of deconstruction in city moat historic sector has seriously divided the origin society matrix and organization, which breaking traditional residential culture. Furthermore, new culture and matrix could not be formed in such a short time, which coming out with low mentality and decline of community. In renewal and transformation, planners should pay much attention to the investigation and analysis of the content, form and characteristic of origin area. Urban planning should pay enough respect to these conditions and make it possible to conserve the origin society matrix and residence structure. For example, around Taizhou east city moat, the residential and commercial architecture inherit traditional life style of historic city moat architecture. These are also good for the conservation of traditional space relationship between river and city. **(Figure 9)**



Figure 9: Residence architecture around Taizhou city moat

4 Conclusions

Renewal and transformation of city moat historic sector would be a systematic plan, which is different from other waterfront because of its special geographical location and historic context. There're two important aspects in the renewal and transformation: renewal of function and reservation of traditional characteristic. By creating high quality city waterfront environment, renewal and transformation could inspire the development of city and region, and eventually realize the comprehensive objective of society, economic and environment. To realize this objective, the efforts come from official, developer, planner and residence would be necessary.

(thanks for the help of Zhang Chunhua)

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12TH INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY CONFERENCE – 2006,
NEW DELHI, INDIA

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COMMUNICATION N° 43.

E.U. R.¹ Roma 1936 - 2006.

The community of memories rediscover?

By Patrice Ballester

EUR is a very congenial neighbourhood for those whose profession is representing images.
Frederico Fellini

*Marvellous and miserable city, you have allowed me to experience that unknown life until I
discovered what, in everyone, was the world.*
Pier Paolo Pasolini

*“Rome, the town of Europe which deploys in space an uninterrupted history spread out over more than 2000 years. Rome, the open city of 1945, Rome, the avoided city of harmonious colours and soft lights for the Jubilee and thousand-year-old IIIe. Rome, the standard ideal of the continuous structure and the accumulation of the styles. Here the flonor of space is made flonor of history. He discovers the astonishing mutual tolerance of the styles registered as for always in the stone: each one was born against its predecessors, at the price of destruction almost without trace; and the wear of time blunted the aggressive point and the effect of rupture meant by the arrival of each applicant to the exclusive beauty. It is an alleviated memory which the urban spectacle secret with the spirit of the visitor: the capitol drawn by Michel-Ange is supremely leaned with Tabularium of the former Romans, and the powerful cupola of the Pantheon neighbour with the slim Bell-tower of the church of the Greeks of Rome. Accumulation in space, recapitulation in time. Success when as today the city is returned to its inhabitants, to it’s become again pedestrians the flonors of their own city.”*² Such are the remarks of the philosopher Paul Ricoeur concerning the town of Rome, but these remarks can coincide perfectly with the object of our study and the search of identity of a territory which then leads us to reflect on what could represent a district of Rome to the eyes of the world, Europe and Italians but also as a matrix of a painful but salutary rediscovery of an architecture and a precursory urban installation and model with many regards: E42/ EUR.

In 1936, Mussolini decides to build a new great district, a new city - Third Rome - in the south of the eternal capital, Roma, in direction of the Mediterranean Sea. The dictator projects to celebrate the twentieth birthday of *“walk on Rome”* with a named World Fair *“Olympiads of Civilization”*. He asks at the famous architect of the regime Marcello Piacentini to plan/design and to build the new district who takes the name of *“Esposizione Universale di Roma 1942”* so, E.42. The realization of this district is intended to become the heart of a modern-rationalist agglomeration and spearhead of the fascist urban policy. Work starts in 1938 but because of the Second World War, the exhibition did not take place. The new district is equipped by Mussolini with a great administrative and juridical autonomy which it preserved well after 1945. The paradox lies in the fact that it was completed after the war and was arranged/developed on several occasions in 70 years of existence. Currently, it forms a harmony at the same time administrative (great Italian ministries), residential (private housing), cultural (the presence of many museums), commercial (fair of Rome and new centre of Congress for 2007 – registered office of many companies) and sports equipment (sports complex built for the Olympic Games of 1960). The objective of this communication is to answer the following question: (principal question) 70 years after creation and planning by a fascist system of a modern district, how did the community of memories (Romans) find itself within the context of a reinterpretation of the functions of the district through on a long time? How the Italians reconciled themselves with this district, its plan, its architecture and its functions? Which were the stages of this re appropriation of the district by the policies, architects and town planners? We will be based for that on archivistic research in Rome with the headquarter of the E.U.R., a bibliography reasoned and new on the subject, of the questionnaires addressed to the current persons in charge for the district. The cover of the study will be to take into account three dimensions of the preliminary project and to compare the evolution of the actions of the Italian Republic with the heritage of the fascist system. (1) The initial urban network respected? – (2) The functions of the district perennialized? (3) Which types of evolutions concerning the representations of this district? The whole between (a) 1936 - 1954, (b) 1954 - 1960, (c) 1960- 1990, (d) 1990 - 2006. The result of this communication will show that in spite of the bad representation of this district, the Romans took again possession of this new zone, reinterpreted this one and rediscovered the positive aspects of this planning and the architecture. The ephemeral becoming durable and even

interpretable by the new Italian political community, the contemporary economists, architects and town planners. For this seventieth birthday of his creation, one will quote the remarks of Rossana Bossaglia, commissioner of an exhibition rehabilitating the architecture of the E.U.R in 2004. *"Until little, one could not say that fascist architecture was beautiful, under penalty of being shown to find beautiful Fascism as a whole"*. Today, the experts agree to underline the coherent action of a government in this planning action coming to a continuity between ancient Rome and fascist urban sprawling, more an interesting mixture of classicism and rationalist modernity (premise of the International Style) and also to put the question of the continuity of the city's planning in extension of urban network in direction of the sea.

1. "EUR Urbanistica", a planning style for heritage?

1.1 The inscription of Euro in the Roman metropolis.

In fact this exhibition is to be integrated in an ambitious plan of urban reform with a metropolitan dimension concerning the town of Rome and its suburbs. From the very start of work, one speaks in the Italian press and the newspapers about architectures specialized, of *"construction of a new district of Rome"* or integration in a *"Urbanistica Piano"*. It is indeed an administrative, sporting and cultural complex thought on this genesis as a structure becoming durable after an ephemeral exhibition. The occasion of an international exhibition is taken and one projects the construction of equipment and buildings permanent in what one will then call *"third Rome"* especially by the members of the regime, the creation ex nihilo of a true city. We should not either forget the symbolic character system and the will by Mussolini to leave a heritage, a trace after the exhibition testifying in time and space to the record of the fascistic capacity through an environment architectural rationalist, organisational, arbitrary and monumental. One of the most important points concerning the realization of this World Fair is that the town planners of the time took note which this event would be for them the means of partly solving the problems of the control of the urban growth of the metropolis of Rome. It is necessary via E.42 to control the urban development of the thousand-year-old city towards the sea. The creation of the new district and the network of infrastructures are projected then with an aim of urban network to shorten/link the fabric Romans with the peripheral surfaces which developed in a spontaneous way to see anarchistic for some. The objective is well to restore the historical and ideological bond of the city with the installation with its peripheries (and that along the Tiber river) and the ancient harbour city of Ostie. It is included/understood whereas the choice of the surface of exhibition is of primary importance is which a many debates in the reviews of town planning and architecture and column of the Italian press were intense. But on September 15, 1936 following a visit of Benito Mussolini, the dictator announced the final choice of the zone of the Three fountains for the realization of the zone of exhibition.



Figure 1: The Government action, visits in 1940 (?) of Benito Mussolini at the E.42. Présentation at the Agency of the model of the Exhibition. Italian Central Archives – photographic file.

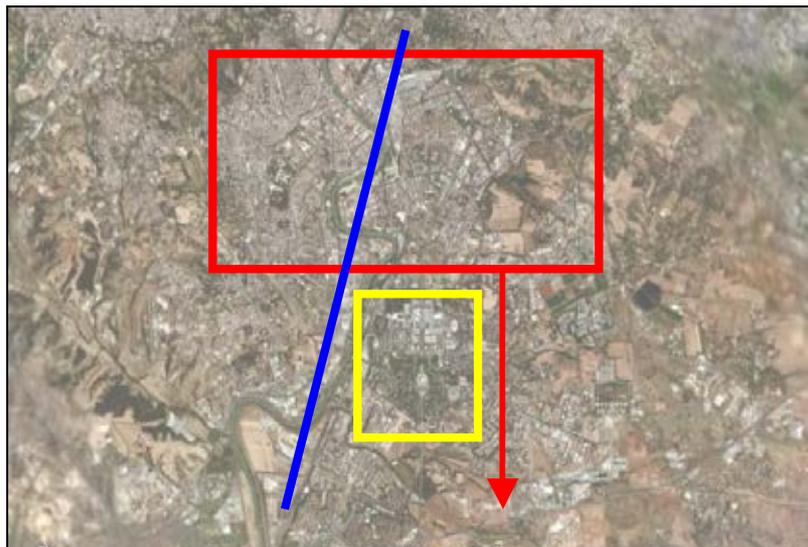




Figure 2: The inscription in 2005 of the EUR zone in the metropolitan plan (1), the south of Rome (2) and the scale of the district (3). During the conference a more complete analysis. Google Earth.

1.2 An impeded plan but ever forgotten: “*Third Rome*”.

It is in 1936 that east creates the organization of management of what will be called later the World Fair of Rome of 1942, E.42. The administration of management of the World Fair E.42 was instituted with like objective first directing and bringing to its conclusion the realization of an administrative complex of a park of exhibition, the whole for the year 1942. Nevertheless, the Second World War and Italian engagement at the side of the troops of the Axis led the Italian authorities to cancel the World Fair in spite of largely advanced work of a great part of the buildings. One decided as of the first times of the project to appoint the Senator Vittorio Cini, police chief general of the World Fair and President of the administrative organization. The organization of this World Fair implied all the intelligentsia of the fascistic regime. This team intervened and proposed ex nihilo solutions for the construction of a model district. The objective is that one remembers this World Fair as well as the great Parisian, London or American exhibitions. The objective was to manage to link technological and functional choices emanating from an architectural language which clearly made reference to town planning and classical architecture Roman while perennializing the ephemeral infrastructure by a countable management of finances and the will to make last the urban developments once the finished World Fair. Concerning the itself project we can be pressed on a patrimonial document concerning the presentation of the project; it is the report of presentation of work of studies for a World Fair in Rome³. Thanks to this document we know the intention and initial waitings that the whole of the professionals want to lean with this project:

- A large axis “*Rome Sea*” connecting in direction south the great central place of the exposure to the pine forest of Fusano Manor house, towards north by joining the surface of the exhibition and the S.Giovanni place. Moreover the connection with the city was ensured by four large arteries, the avenue Ostiense, a new layout corresponding to the current boulevard G.Marconi and a new connection in the west with the Magliana way which envisaged in more construction of a bridge on the Tevere river but which was never carried out.

- The zoning of the surface of exhibition was already well established with direct broad outline which remained constants for the later plans. A great central place, a central axis, an artificial lake in central position, a place towards the south, a monumental building of quadrangular form dominating all the zone of exposure and offering a panoramic sight on the valley of Trevere.
- A monumental scenography pointing out the Roman classicism in architecture. The idea of force, order, arbitrary and authoritarian. An arbitrary recombining of passed of the town of Rome by the choice of an ancient set of themes of architectural intervention.
- A great event pretexts with the unlimited budget but nevertheless depend on the international events.
- The will expresses to have an architecture allowing a simple and clear identification: Italia/Fascism/Rome/E.42.

January 5, 1937 the project was officially entrusted at a Commission on the Regulating Plan made up of the largest architects of the mode, Payent, Piacentini, Piccinato, Rossi and Vietti. It is Piacentini which strong of the preceding experiment of the University Town of Rome which was shown ready to propose median solutions and supplementing the first preliminary draft. It had according to these friends of the very clear ideas about the urban organization and of the architectural language to employ for the exhibition. It wanted an adequacy between the mode, architecture, the place and its functions. He becomes the general coordinator, the chief, of the group of architect *“the largest buildings of the World Fair which then will become durable will constitute all together immense Forum. I imagined in fact a displacement in a Roman Forum, between places, columns, landscapes, arch and to see at the bottom on the left Coliseum and the bottom on the right Campidoglio. A traditional but modern vision analogical, very modern”*⁴ One sees well by this quotation that already all the elements of an urban scenography are created and in a coherent way compared to the ideas of the regime (monumental surface, recognizable architecture, Force and Modernism). The Place of the Forum is the central scenographic element. With the junction of the cardo and decumanus to the Roman, thanks to her structure and topography it makes it possible to the visitor to create a sequence of panorama and visions monumental reinforcing the layout and fascinating of account this zone undulating. The axis Rome Sea, *“the penetrating one”*, of north in the south is the complementary element of the place; it divides the district into two parts of equal surfaces. Along this central axis which takes not Via Imperial today Via C. Colombo, the Place of entry (the Door symbolic system of the Exhibition), the Imperial Place (today place G Marconi) is prolonged by a landscape prospect with the Central Park which in its turn dominates the artificial Lake. That the large imperial artery divides in addition. For via Imperial, one proposed at the end of the district and at the end of the way the creation of an Arc of the Empire which one finds in the poster official of the exhibition E 42 of 1939 but today another prospect is proposed at the end of this monumental boulevard, it acts of the its cylindrical form and Sport hall dominating the hill with a fall spectacular of water in the lake proposed and carried out by Vico in 1939 general consultant of the parks and gardens. In December 1937, Piacentini was named Director of the service of the architecture of the regulating organization of EUR. It acquires a total autonomy which enabled him to bring a series of modifications to the urban drawing of the district. The influence of the English cities gardens and the too sinuous roads to its taste were reorganized. Another outline this time final of the plan was carried out in March 1938. It is a question of accentuating the monumental impression of the complex. The road network was redrawn in a system of axis taking the Roman tradition like example with Cardo and Decumanus, a rigorous grid is drawn in the two parts of the district principal of the zone of exhibition, the landscape sights and prospects are accentuated and the side openings are reduced to their minimum. The buildings, of ticketing, restaurant, the Imperial door, are re-adjusted. The same applies to the principal transverse

roads (Via Europe and Civilization of work) which connects the two parts of the district creating a visual prospect for fluidity and passage on the left and on the right of the Palace of the Receptions and Congresses (A.Libera) and Palace of Italian Civilization with in more one sight on the church of SS. Pietro and Paolo. The artificial lake is also redrawn, of irregular forms in the preceding studies; it takes a rigorously geometrical form with the Italian shape of three basins intersected with two bridges connecting the two parts of the district. Normally, with the two extremes of the longitudinal axis of the lake two architectural elements owed closed the prospects for the two with dimensions ones, the theatre into full surface with G Michelucci and the building for the exposure of the Agriculture of P.Marconi, G Samonà, G Viola. However, none of both were finished and in their place during the following decade one respectively arranged the new seat of the Bank of Rome and the building of the ENI. As for the place of entry, one it thought of the Roman, one decided to create a kind of anteroom with large columns making of the exhibition a closed zone. The place was closed in the pressure of the two columns. Finally as for any exhibition one decided to create a park of entertainment in the south-western zone of the lake.

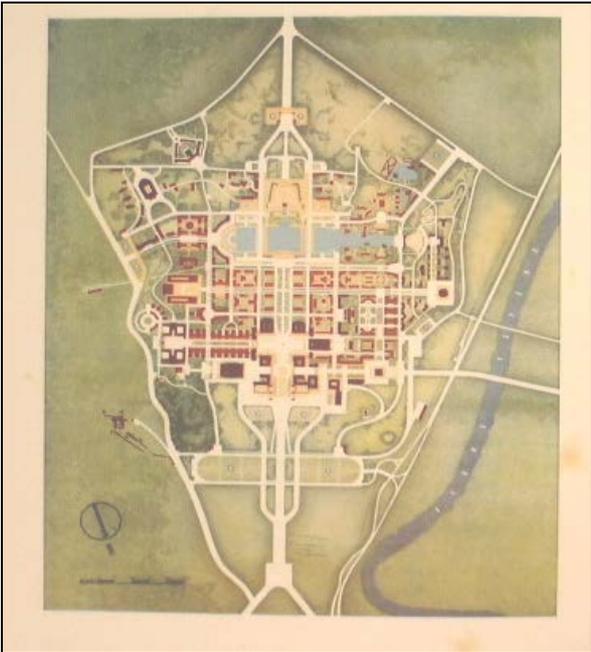


Figure 3: In 1944, the south of the Roman agglomeration offered vast agricultural fields in waste lands for some and then allowed the realization of great installations like a World Fair. Here one guesses only one part of work of the exhibition (1) the final plan of 1938 with installations of Piacentini. Italian Central Archives, EUR.

1.2 Change in the continuity and the example of the new Palace of the congresses.

Between 1940 and 1942, work continued with increasing difficulties until 1942 or the building sites were stopped officially. Buildings more emblematic (from only the trace that they left in the Italian archives) and which could not be carried out are the Imperial Arc, the Palace of water and the light, the Palates of the Craft industry, the Delegation of the Government of Rome and the houses intended for the Exhibition of the Dwelling. March 4 1943 closed the urban first planning sequence and the history of the E. 42. The Agency of organization was incorporated by the new Government and Vittorio Cini as all these collaborators took retreat. Cini was named Honorary General Commissar of Euro and Minister of Transport. But the year 1944 was one year terrible and E.42 was practically abandoned. Natural degradations and the process of complete abandonment of the zone began. Some infrastructures hardly started could not be saved because of the bad weather, not roof, flights night like the Large Theatre projected Imperial place of L Moretti. On these foundations the following decade the Palace of Italy will be built, the theatre in lime pit air of Michelucci and the Palace of Agriculture. In 1951, the extraordinary police chief then in load of EUR Virgilio Testa asked the government to resume not yet finished work and/or works. He is at the base of the rebirth of the district. He starts with a new team to study the possibilities of construction of building of new buildings for the zones of the Exhibition not yet built. One then notices a continuity in the change, a very large part of the buildings projected for the World Fair was supplemented and transformed to allow the installation of important administrative complexes, Ministers, Agencies Governmental, was various museums and sporting complexes. The Northern zone was devoted to the construction of buildings for the directional activities while the peripheral zones and the southern part were allocated functions of residential dwellings, services town and green zones already intended for this use within Piacentini. The project of Tested is quite simply to create a modern district including the whole of the organizations of direction of country as well as the establishments of companies to tertiary predominance while preserving monumental scenography, the green surfaces of the Plan of Piacentini as well as a residential zone⁵. In 1960, the Olympic Games marked durably also the aspect of the district, like the Olympic Cycle-racing track, the swimming pool of the Pinks, the Sport hall or Piacentini proposed its solutions with the assistance of Nervi. A modern functional dimension of center decisional is then ratified by the Christian Democracy and the whole of controlling Italian which have followed one another for fifty years.

CHRONOLOGY

Regulative Agency

The great planning decisions

Great questions.

<p>- <u>1939</u>: Creation of the Agency Autonomy E.42.</p> <p>- <u>1951</u> : Agency EUR</p> <p>- <u>2000</u> : New agency of direction EUR S.p.A.</p>	<p><u>1954</u>: Preparation for the JO and planning acts, also the metropolitan arrive.</p> <p><u>1960</u> : JO of Rome.</p> <p><u>1962</u> : Il Piano Regolatore Generale. New functionality for pour EUR.</p> <p><u>1969 – 1976</u> : Construction of new minister</p> <p><u>2006/2007</u> : New Palace of congresses of the architect Fukas in the administrative zone.</p>	<p><u>1945 – 1950</u> : What does EUR ?</p> <p><u>1970</u> : An city of museums?</p> <p><u>1998</u>: EUR Duemila: EUR <i>City d'Italia</i>. This cultural promotion?</p>
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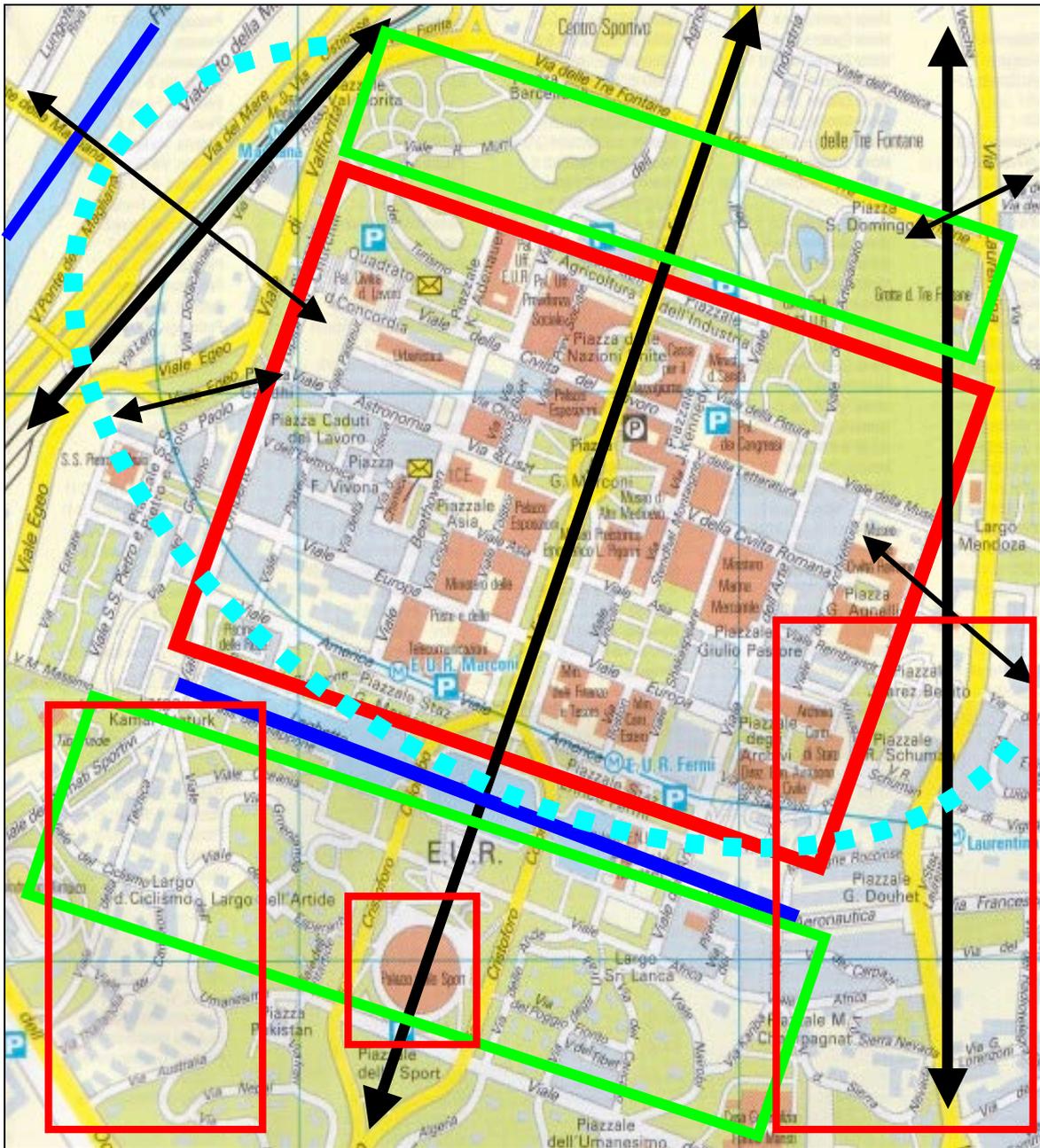


Figure 4: During the conference, I would comment on this chart and attempt at schematization of Euro in 2006. Heritage continued, functionality, palimpsest.



Figure 4: Old the and new one Like of the Congresses on the site of EUR. Comments at the time of the conference.

2. The style Euro, an architectural rediscovery?

2.1 Birth of the "style E 42".

A kind of style "*Piacentini*" = a system of place, monumental door, scenographic sight, pastiche of Roman art is then set up as soon as the architect takes the control of work and the choices of the adopted projects. It is itself which decided surfaces to put at the contest and consolidated its vision of the district with the monumental complexes the surfaces of access, the borders external interior of the district. *"A through the mechanism of section of the projects winner, with the contest, it created for itself moreover a precis of architectural style which under the aegis of Piacentini and the control of the Office of the Technicians of the agency, in fact, they becomes a kind of collective language in which, separate like exception the Palace of the Congresses, it is difficult to recognize the individuality of the projects of authors. Actually, there was a regulating faculty of the Regulator Agency which made it possible to add convenient variables to the projects retained what heavily conditioned the choices of the projects of the participants, that is to say the practice of the prices ex-aequo concerning different culturally strong projects between them, that made so that so-called "the style E 42. Characterizing each realization of the Agency took an identity in a certain direction unreal and anonymity even if perfectly localisable. "*⁶ Between 1938 and 1941 the zone of exhibition was a zone of building site where the primordial infrastructures were realised. The layout of the Imperial voice, the emblematic construction of the Palaces and the monumental buildings were largely advanced, the Palate of the offices of the Agency of construction of E.42 was the completed first but also the Palaces of Civilization, of the Restaurant, the imperial Place and its buildings, of both Esedre, the INA, of INPS, the Palace of the Congresses, the Church of Saint Pietro and Paolo, the Basin of the Lake and the theatre with the lime pit air. Inevitably, the history of the district is marked by its genesis by a will of standardization and arbitrary realization of a modernistic fascistic ideal city. It is noted that on official Internet site of EUR, one can read with the part history and urban project that this one *"represents in its complex the synthesis, still today perfectly readable between the urban operation of last and a future fact of specific interventions but by respecting the original structure, and that it cannot miss intriguing at the time of a visit of the city by having an open and cultivated vision of its most recent history..."*⁷

2.2 The rediscovery of the style E 42 by the Romans.

This rediscovery was done in several times:

- In a first the lives of the district and civil servant who live there and work have made it possible to maintain a link between the city and the district.
- In the second, the district accommodates since the Fifties the Fair of Italy and various less important fairs like that of Agriculture.
- In the third time, the cinema played a part in the fact that more and more the realizers take as decoration EUR and its scenographic value to turn of the scenes and to recall to the Romans their memory or sometimes dark history: *"Sometimes, thanks to certain adults, I went to discovered from another city: Rome always, but elsewhere in Rome. One day, my maternal uncle, the photographer Elio Luxardo, took us along by car, my cousin and me. It had taken the direction of the sea, and, from the improvisist, it took a small road which I did not know. At a certain time, one stopped, and one continued with foot. We arrived in the district of EUR, built in the south of the city by the fascists for the World Fair of Rome, which was to be held in 1942. To this end, since 1939, Mussolini had made build, in the direction of Ostie, an ultramodern district on more than 400 hectares. In my childhood, post-war period, the district*

*was almost given up, it did not have there even more road to reach it. At the beginning of the Fifties, EUR was regarded as a heritage of Fascism, and this district was cursed. There were large marble buildings, a church, a museum, an obelisk... It was an immense and deserted place. In this phantom city, the birds fluttered in the buildings, the grass had pushed back a little everywhere. This vision, this day, was one of the architectural emotions most important of my life, it was impressive. For this new film, I thus chose with attention the places of turning, of spaces either very known in the center of Rome, or ignored: large buildings with It Quadraro, prospects with Centocelle, working cities with Tor Vergata. The police officers of film, to carry out their survey, move in various points of the city. Certain people whom they meet live in the center of Rome, others in the suburbs, others still in the residential districts..."*⁸

- Lastly, an ambitious project of rediscovery of the style E. 42 is undertaken by the tourist route which is borrowed by the visitors of the district by means of an extremely complete layer of presentation making it possible to connect the history of this district to the inhabitants of the city: *"Exploring EUR"*⁹ allows the Romans and tourists *"to Re-examines the entire spectrum of architectural Roman and national culture [...] At any misses the conflict between modernity and tradition had been has movement feature of the architectural ideology of the Italian fascist already since the early 1920 S "*¹⁰

- The historians of art, architecture and architecture also spoke in the debates around EUR, various publications very few at the beginning then much more important as from the Seventies brought has to requalify the image of the district. It is especially that the occasion of the fiftieth birthday which the publications pointed out the role and the importance of the EUR choice by the fascists and especially that the idea to build such a district in direction of the south, sea gone up before the fascistic era Mussolinien. It is at the time of the fiftieth birthday of the creation of EUR that one finds a will of the policies and institutional Roman to point out the importance of third Rome for Italy. It should be noted that there were works reporting the importance and the rediscovery of Euro but as from the fiftieth anniversary¹¹. But four works refer concerning Euro now and brings more than one comment since. They are the works of Italo Insolate, Di Majo, Mariani, De Vico Fallani¹². In *Casabella*, G Ciucci titrates besides: *una storia will ancora incompleta* speaking about last the publication on EUR¹³. At the time of the conference or in the event of publication of the acts, I would present film extracts or the tourist route.

2.3 The inscription of an authoritarian rationalist modernistic style in the city, the memories and the European culture?

Do the Italians have and the Romans they had shame of their urban past with EUR?

Initially, yes, because to speak about architecture during the fascistic period and to find qualities with this one were to put itself except play of the media class politico. On the other hand, it is true that the historians, geographers and architects took this way for a long time. On the other hand a last event can sweep the whole of the fears, fears and unvoiced comments on this district. It is into 2004 that it is held in the Palace of the Congresses of Libera the IGC. The European Intergovernmental Conference proceeded in the decorum of the EUR district for precisely discussing the European Constitution. *"Until little, one could not say that fascistic architecture was beautiful, under penalty of being shown to find beautiful Fascism as a whole"* explains Rossana Bossaglia¹⁴. One finds the same order of idea with the remarks of Giorgio Muratore *"Until the Sixties and ten, it was only one dark page in the history of Italian architecture. From now on, after more than fifty years, we can have retreat. An architecture of quality - even resulting one historically contestable period - can be interesting all the same"*¹⁵

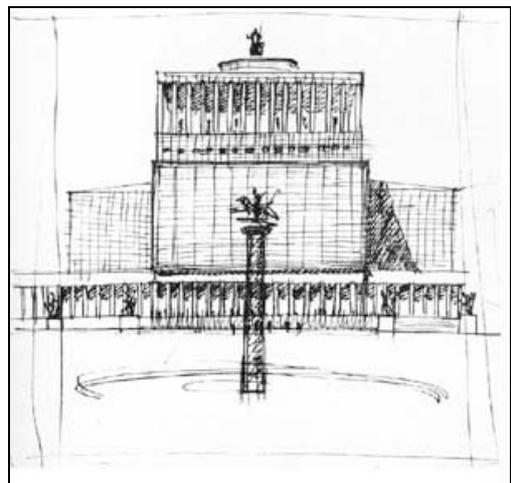
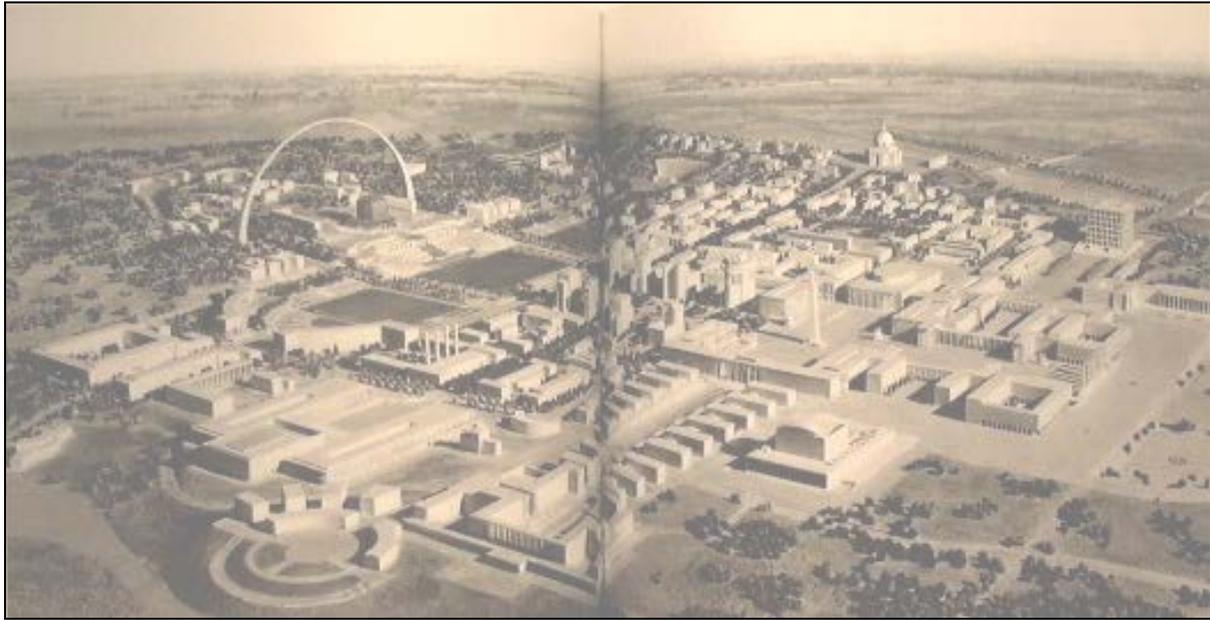


Figure 5: The E.42 style, in these various dimensions, analyzes at the time of the conference. Italian Central Archive Memoir of study on EUR 1939.

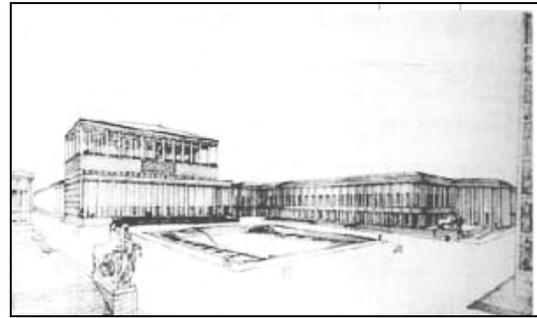
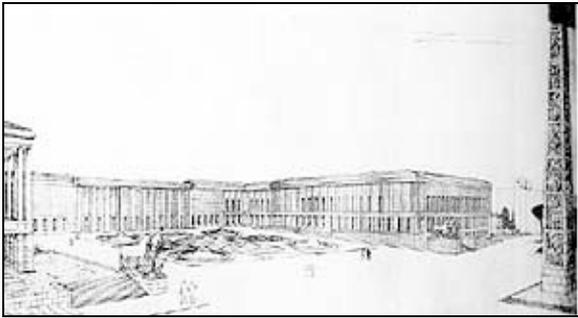


Figure 6: Continuation, the style E. 42, Central Place, obelisk and colonnade. Analyze at the time of the conference.

3. E42/EUR a heritage for Rome, Italy and the world?

3.1 The great paradox: the World Fair ever carried out but most important with the plan of the territorial and functional stakes.

It is the largest of the paradoxes possible and conceivable if one is considered the history and the geography of the World Fairs in the world. The Exposure which was not carried out until the end - E.42 - left the most trace in the memories and the urban screen of a large European metropolis!

3.2 Euro a model for the mega events of end the XX 2nd century?

We will be posed like question: which place this atypical exposure and was it took used as model for other achievements of great projects?

3.3 E 42/EUR Recall memories.

In the case of a publication, I would present this third part, for the moment, I propose an explanatory diagram allowing to show via the succession of various temporalities the community of the memories found within the framework of the identification and urban reinterpretation of a district to living to imagine to discover.

EUR is the example of Italian Rationalism or functionalism combining classical architecture and modern. Nevertheless, EUR is also a perfect example of transfer of identity and of return on its past of people by the intermediary of an authoritative town planning to become a participative and regulating town planning tried.

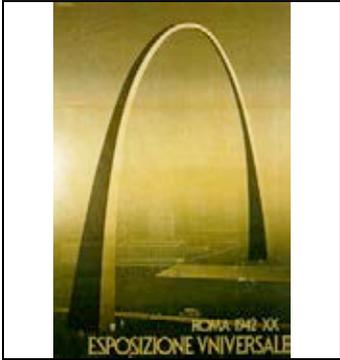
Two temporalities which class or which meet?

Recall Memories of EUR.



1936/1939/1942

The Government action



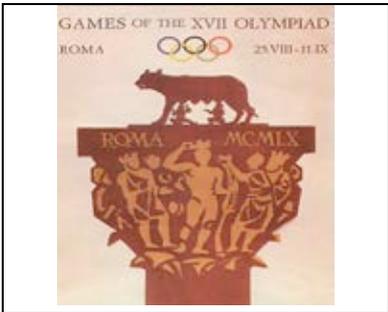
1942/1950 ?

Uncertainty ?



1952/1954/1960

Des mega events JO
Museum and a man Testa.



Change of toponimy and
Functionality



1970/1990

A new Image
A new logo
A reconciliation
Prestigious architecture



2000/2010



The bottom section contains three posters:

- Left: A yellow poster for the MAV (Museo Nazionale dell'Abbinativo) in Rome, featuring a stylized building facade.
- Middle: A poster with a grid of arches and a silhouette of a person walking, with the text 'Futuri urbani: continuità e discontinuità' and 'Urban futures: continuities and discontinuities'.
- Right: A poster with a colorful architectural drawing of a building, with the text 'Futuri urbani: continuità e discontinuità' and 'Urban futures: continuities and discontinuities'.

¹ **E.U.R or E.42** : World Fair of Rome initially allowed in 1942 in Italy or "*Esposizione Universale di Roma 1942*", new district, new city, extension of urban network of the Rome capital in direction of the sea within the context of the organization of a World Fair and a durable territorial installation. One gives him also the name of "*third Rome*". E.42 26december 1936, *date of creation of the Agency*.

² Ricœur P (2000), "La mémoire apaisée" in *Diagonal*, No.141, pp11-17

³ Studio preliminare per l'espansione edilizia di Roma al mare e per la scelta delle aree da destinare all'esposizione mondiale del 1941 xx E.F" di A.Libera, C.Longo, G.Pediconi e M.Paniconi del 14 dicembre 1936

⁴ <http://www.romaeur.it/index2.html> section Urbanistica i architettura.

⁵ Testa V., *L'EUR centro direzionale*, Roma, 1963.

Testa V. "*L'EUR centro direzionale e quartiere moderno nella periferia di Roma*", Roma, 1970

Testa V. "*La realizzazione dell'EUR*" in AA.VV. Roma, 1971.

⁶ <http://www.romaeur.it/index2.html> section Urbanistica i architettura.

⁷ <http://www.romaeur.it/index2.html> section Urbanistica i architettura.

⁸ Argento D. « Il Cartaio » in *La stampa*, 22/06/2003 p 27.

⁹ http://www.romaturismo.it/v2/richiestamateriali/pdf/eur_en.pdf#search=%22Exploring%20EUR%22

¹⁰ EUR S.p A. (2000), *Exploring EUR, Roma*, p I-V

¹¹ Iannoni Sebastianini C. (1970), *Eur. Storia, vita, propetiva*, Roma. And also more than 20 books of architecture and articles of architectural magazine in Italy and Europe like the book of B. Zevi and this Storia dell'architettura moderna. Or the guide of modern architecture of De Guttry.

¹² All this book figure in the bibliography at the end of the communication.

¹³ Ciucci G.(1987), una storia ancora incompleta, in *Casabella*, No 539, october 1987, pp.34-39

¹⁴ Historienne de l'Art enseignant à l'université de Rome, proposant une relecture de l'EUR à travers les inspirations picturales des architectes de l'E.42. Elle fut la conservatrice de la « *Mostra Metafisica* » montrant que le style métaphysique du début du XX ème siècle influença nombre d'architectes italiens notamment à travers les œuvres de Giorgio De Chirico et son influence sur le Palais de la civilisation Italienne.

¹⁵ Professeur d'histoire de l'art et de l'architecture contemporaine à la faculté d'architecture de Valle Giulia à Rome. Il travaille notamment sur la redécouverte des qualités intrinsèques de l'architecture moderne italienne empreinte depuis trop de la tâche du fascisme.

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“Postwar Planning and the Disposal of Wartime Manufacturing Plant in Chicago”

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INTRODUCTION

In his August 1942 preface to the Industrial and Commercial Background for Planning Chicago, T. McCrosky, the executive director of the Chicago Plan Commission (CPC), predicted that the locational pattern of wartime manufacturing plants may “set the pace for a more ordered and more rational utilization of land throughout the city” (CPC 1942: preface). To his mind, the construction of large manufacturing plant on the city fringe would sort the geographic space into two zones. The first, consisting of the older central districts, would be home to “modern loft buildings suitable for light manufacturing” while the second would be the outlying districts where large heavy industries would be

located on “sites measured in hundreds of acres” (CPC 1942: preface). Despite the increasing scale of suburban manufacturing, nothing was said by McCrosky about how the city’s industrial base functioned within the broader metropolitan structure. Nor did McCrosky discuss the fact that the CPC, the leading vehicle for planning in the region, was almost entirely organized and run by private business interests.

McCrosky’s inability to link postwar manufacturing growth with metropolitan planning is reflected in the literature on postwar Chicago planning. Authors have looked at, among other things, urban renewal (Rossi and Dentler 1961), race and housing (Hirsch 1983; Seligman 2005), and private-public partnerships (Rosen 1980). What is clear from this work is that planning in postwar Chicago was driven by the need to coordinate suburban population and economic growth with new state social policies. As in St. Louis, Detroit and elsewhere, the search for solution to the problems of city growth and decline was framed within a metropolitan context (Heathcott and Murphy 2005; Sugrue 1996). However, despite the rhetoric, and in comparison to the emphasis on social reproduction issues, industry did not merit a central place in metropolitan planning and development. While the state, at various levels, fretted about the dismal showing of manufacturing and the movement of all sorts of employment out of the city to the suburbs, the economy, for the most part, was left to its own devices. Other than as a collection of relatively autonomous entities, the firms that composed the economy were not an integral part of the planning of Chicago. Until well in the 1960s, they were not part of a comprehensive plan that linked industrial growth and decline to neighborhood change, housing or social service delivery.

The absence of industrial planning in the immediate postwar period had enormous repercussions for the city and the suburbs. While issues of social reproduction were elevated to center stage, questions of industrial reproduction were relegated to the wings. Accordingly, the impacts of two critical elements of industrial change on metropolitan development were excluded from postwar planning. The first element is the long and consistent deindustrialization of the central city’s industrial base. As this paper shows, the rusting of Chicago’s manufacturing has its roots back into the 1920s. While the most obvious and glaring impacts of industrial decline were evident from the 1960s, the city suffered from a long history of decline. The second element is the disposal of state-owned wartime investment in manufacturing plant and equipment. As this paper shows, the impact of this investment on postwar metropolitan Chicago was considerable. Huge amounts of state-funded and owned manufacturing investment flowed to specific parts of the metropolitan area between 1940 and 1945. The disposal of this funding to private interests after 1945 shaped the economic parameters of the metropolis. Parameters that were controlled by private interests and did not fall within the sphere of state planning. The inability of the local state to take responsibility for dealing with deindustrialization and wartime manufacturing investments in the postwar period partly lay in the search for solutions to problems of social production. It also lay, as this paper shows, in the control over postwar planning exercised by private interests.

INTIMACY: THE FEDERAL STATE AND INDUSTRY

To understand how local industrial planning remained business dominated in the postwar period, it is necessary to understand how the federal state-business relationship was reconfigured during the war. Not only did postwar city planners operate in a world shaped by a rapidly changing economy, the continued dominance of the private market, and the demand for housing and transportation, they had to contend with the development of a new federal state-industry relationship. At the same time that the federal government created an elaborate social reproduction system to cope with racial and class divisions, and fought economic decline with urban renewal, it formulated a new and intimate relationship with manufacturing. This had two key features that shaped postwar planning at a

metropolitan scale. The first involved the construction of a state-business alliance that centered on strong and flexible government-firm interactions around manufacturing facilities, military research, and the supply of military products. The federal state did not intervene in industry, other than to extend prewar regulations on anti-monopoly, taxation and so forth. The second was that the focus of the federal government on the building of a state-business consensus centered on military production left little room for local government to rework the state-business relationship at the local level.

The new state-business intimacy was established during the war as the state and manufacturing capital fought over control over investment and production. Emerging out of this contestation was an intimacy that revolved around several elements. At the base of the intimacy was the massive wartime manufacturing expenditures made by the state in facilities (factory plant and production equipment) and supply contracts. More than \$23 billion went into plant and machinery and \$196 billion into supply contracts over the war period. As one government report noted, “war-created facilities represent the greatest increment to manufacturing capital recorded in modern industrial history” (CPA 1946a: 39-40). By August 1945 the state owned a substantial share of the national manufacturing assets.

This expenditure required the construction of a new state apparatus by which the massive amount of resources could be allocated to desired ends - the manufacture of war goods and the creation of profits for the firms making the war products. As a result of the new agencies, policies and regulations constructed by the state to oversee the allocation of investment, new relations and functional links were forged between the civilian state, the military and business. The intimacy, built as it was on a specific set of state-business links, reinforced and extended corporate concentration of manufacturing assets. For example, the largest 100 companies accounted for 67% of the \$196 billion of wartime prime contracts in the United States. In Chicago, 11 firms won 84% of the supply contracts flowing into the metropolitan area. Large corporations operated a similar share of the state investments in plant and equipment (CPA: 1946a; Smaller War Plants Corporation 1946).

There were three pivotal moments in the assembly of this intimacy. The first, the gearing up for production, involved the creation of agencies to deliver and allocate state investment, and the determination of how business was to be imbricated in the state apparatus. A complex of state agencies underwrote manufacturing expansion and fixed state-business relations. Existing agencies were restructured and expanded, while new ones were fashioned to allocate and dispose of capital. The second consisted of keeping the system going. It was necessary, once the various agencies had been established and the allocation of resources had been made, to ensure that appropriate and sufficient war goods flowed out of the factories. The state had to guarantee that business remained committed to delivering the goods. The third pivotal moment was related to the gearing down of production and the disposal of state-owned manufacturing facilities. Critical questions exercised all elements of the political and business worlds: how was the state to dispose of \$23 billion of plant and machinery? How was conversion from wartime to peacetime production to occur? And what was going to happen to the intimate state-business relations that had developed during the war?

The combination of the complex character of wartime relations, the imperatives of disposal of \$23 billion of wartime assets, and the political economy of the immediate postwar period ensured that the intimacy continued after the war. Postwar intimacy, however, differed from that the wartime period. It took on new forms which centered on the militarization of state-business relations. It involved the federal government taking on new functions that were linked to the state’s ability to facilitate this

militarization. This took the form of a new apparatus, one which contained a set of agencies and institutions, some of which continued those established during the war and others that were new to and functional for the postwar world.

MANUFACTURING AND CHICAGO PLANNING

While the federal state forged a new and more active relationship with industry the local state sought different ways to plan the metropolitan industrial economy. They faced an extremely difficult situation. On the one hand, Chicago planners, like those in every other metropolis, encountered racial and class divisions, industrial change, and number of independent suburban areas, and the increasingly fragmented metropolis. On the other, the tools at the disposal of planners to deal with these problems were limited. Ironically, given that Burnham and Bennett's 1909 Plan of Chicago was the country's first comprehensive plan, postwar planners were unable to forge a thorough industrial design for the metropolis in the immediate postwar period. Rather than an extensive set of tools, agencies and regulations, the metropolitan-scale scope of planning was broken down into separate tasks coordinated by functional zoning regulations. Rather than deal comprehensively with the major issues of the day, planners were forced by the fragmented character of the metropolitan structure to deal in an ad hoc matter with most concerns.

The little coordination that took place and the few planned elements that existed were focused on social reproduction and were federally driven and funded. As with most other places, the major elements of Chicago's postwar planning was urban renewal (underpinned by the Housing Acts of 1949 and 1954), infrastructure developments (especially transportation, water and open space), and downtown redevelopment (private-public mixed land-use projects) (Abbott 2004). For the most part, private firms continued to maintain control over local manufacturing. Outside of zoning, industry was 'unplanned.' While the federal government maintained support for military production through supply contracts and an elaborate business-state infrastructure, the local state was both unwilling and unable to intervene in any viable way in Chicago's industrial planning.

A major reason for this, other than the federal focus on social reproduction issues, was the fact that planning remained in the hands of private business associations. City planning had been in the hands of various business groups from the early twentieth century. Business run organizations such as the CPC and the Chicago Association of Commerce directly shaped planning. The industrial strategy of these industrial and commercial interests was to promote city and metropolitan growth by using government resources to advertize the city's strength as an industrial, transportation and market center, while ensuring that any overall planning was either absent or done through the associations themselves. The result before the war was that the changing geography of industry was not linked to social reproduction issues or to particular neighborhoods that were experiencing change (either through economic decline or economic growth). This prewar apparatus of privately controlled planning continued to be unviable in the face of massive postwar economic growth, large-scale territorial expansion, and increasing metropolitan fragmentation. However, the ability of local government to take control of planning, at least formally, had to wait until the restructuring of the CPC and the establishment of the Department of City Planning in 1956.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF MANUFACTURING, 1919-1963

The postwar metropolitan geography of industry continued trends that had been in place for at least a generation. A defining feature of the city's economic base was its relative decline after World War One

and its absolute decline after 1945 (Table 1). In 1919 the city's 404,000 production workers accounted for more than three-quarters of the metropolitan total. While this number was maintained during the boom years of the 1920s, the share steadily declined over the following years. Regardless of the depths of the Depression or the heights of the postwar boom, the city continued to lose a share of the total metropolitan manufacturing employment. By 1963 the city had a little over half of the total. Just as importantly, the city experienced serious absolute manufacturing loss. Manufacturing employment in the city steadily declined after 1947. By 1963 the number of city employees was 55,000 lower than it was in 1929 and more or less the same as it was at the end of the Depression. In contrast, suburban manufacturing growth continued after 1939. While not as large as the city by 1963, the suburbs were the dynamic part of the metropolitan economy in the postwar period.

Moreover, massive investment in the city's manufacturing base did not provide a substantive foundation for sustained growth in the postwar period; the immediate postwar period was the last hurrah of manufacturing employment as the mainstay of the city economy. From a high of 532,000 in 1947, manufacturing employment slid to only 350,000 workers 16 years later; the index of employment fell from 132 to 87 (Table 2). In contrast, the suburban districts experienced substantial growth after the end of the war. This was due in part to the long legacy of suburban manufacturing. From the early days of Chicago's development, firms of all types and sizes have sought out the advantages of the suburban greenfields (Lewis 2002a; Lewis 2002b; Pudup 2004). Postwar suburban expansion was also due to the particular configuration of the metropolitan district's political economy. A combination of wartime investments, the absence of industrial planning, and the development of business-state coalitions shaped the contours of growth in the postwar period.

The origins of the full-scale mobilization of state capital and intervention in the manufacturing economy can be dated from May 16 1940 when President Roosevelt outlined the necessity for military mobilization and asked Congress to approve funds for war production. Slow at first, the American war machine eventually produced on a scale never experienced before. Between 1940 and 1945, about \$23 billion was invested in manufacturing facilities - plant, machinery and equipment (Table 3). The state through its various agencies, most notably the Defense Production Corporation, invested more than \$17 billion (74%), while private investment amounted to less than \$6 billion (26%). The state, in a complete reversal of the American capitalist, market-based system, intervened in production in a way that it had never done before. Over the course of the war, this state funding transformed a fledgling industry (aircraft) into the largest industry in the world, developed ordnance-based industries (explosives and guns), and rejuvenated two old industries (ships and iron and steel). While much of this investment flowed to the older industrial districts in New England, the Mid-Atlantic and the Midwest, a significant share went to the West, especially California, and the South, especially Texas (CPA 1945, 1946a; Hooks and Bloomquist 1992; Lewis 2006; Schulman 1991).

There were two critical differences between private and public spending. The first was that a vast amount of federal money went to the construction and equipping of large factories. While more than half of the new plants cost more than \$25 million to build, the average size of federal funding in structures was ten times that of privately funded ones. Second, a large share of federal expenditures could not be converted to peacetime uses. Privately-funded wartime structures were built with an eye on peace time markets. This was not true for government built ones. The most obvious case of this was the huge ordnance plants, which, even though they made a wide assortment of war products, were of little use in the postwar period. Scattered throughout the nation, many remained closed for many years even though

the federal government continued to maintain a larger than ever share of war industry.

Chicago was a major recipient of wartime manufacturing investment. More than 1,400 different projects totaling more than \$1.4 billion were funded, making Chicago the largest beneficiary of wartime capital. Of this, \$861 million went to equipment while \$480 million went to plant. The vast majority of the investment went into a few large firms (Table 4). In some case, capital went to equipping both new and existing firms with among other things, new machinery, blast furnaces, and refining equipment. In other cases, it went to build new aircraft engine plants or aluminum refineries on greenfield sites that would be operated by large national corporations or to make extensive additions to existing plants. While some of these were easily converted to peacetime functions, many others, such as the large, single-purpose ordnance plants were not.

This manufacturing investment had a distinctive metropolitan geography in Chicago (Table 5). The suburbs were the home to the largest firms (median size of \$371,000) and the greatest investment (more than three-quarters of a billion dollars). With more than half of the investment, the suburbs clearly outpaced the city center, which had little investment despite a large number of projects. With more than a third of manufacturing investment, the city fringe was also an important recipient. As Table 4 shows all of the largest 20 investments went to city fringe or suburban locations. This pattern of placing large amounts of capital on the metropolitan fringe follows in a long tradition that goes back to the nineteenth century when large steel mills, machinery makers, meat packing plants and electric appliance factories sought out greenfield sites just inside or across the city line.

Despite the enormous scale of wartime manufacturing investment there were few new firms built during the war. The majority of firms were content to make additions rather than move to a new location. Of the top 20 expenditures, only eight went to new plant. In all cases, the new plant was leased to firms that did not already have a presence in the metropolitan area. New plant was a way for the state to entice new firms to a particular location. Indeed, a basic tug of war developed which shaped the industrial geography of the metropolitan area. On the one hand, existing firms took the path of least resistance: realigning and making additions to existing plant. Most firms made small investments in machinery for making new lines or new buildings attached to existing ones. The median spending per project in Chicago was \$79,000. The small scale of investment was reinforced by government restrictions on building and access to materials, and the reluctance of firms to become involved in over-extending facilities as this would be problematic once the war was over.

On the other hand, the exigencies of war (along with firms' reluctance to over-invest) forced the state to directly intervene in the building of plant and the provision of machinery. While the state allowed firms to make small additions, it took over the construction of large plant, which it then leased out to private firms. Much of this investment went to new firms, separate from existing firms. In contrast to the private situation, state investment per project was much larger; \$4.5 million in the US and \$5.2 million in Chicago. This was much more likely to be in greenfield areas outside the built-up metropolitan area. Some plant was scrambled with the facilities of existing firm and some were built on land adjoining the firms that operated it during the war, many were entirely new. The most obvious Chicago examples were aircraft related firms (Douglas Aircraft, Aluminum Co, Buick Motors and Dodge Bros) and ordnance plants (Sanderson & Porter and Du Pont II). The result of this complex set of state investments was twofold. On the one hand, the investment patterns of private firms reinforced the geographic distribution of prewar plant. That is, it favored the central city and some of the older suburbs. On the

other, state built new, large investments in greenfield sites away from the existing manufacturing districts.

POSTWAR MANUFACTURING AND PLANNING IN CHICAGO

By the end of the war metropolitan Chicago was characterized by a dual geographic picture. Inside the central-city and, to a lesser extent, city fringe, firms had undertaken small expansion. These were surrounded by a suburban ring containing a significant number of large projects, some of which were entirely new while others were large-scale additions to existing plant. It is typically understood that the development of large industry complexes on, and the flow of, a large share of investment to the urban fringe had important implications for postwar development. One study of the aerospace complex that developed on Long Island, for example, notes that “wartime initiatives created much of the framework for the subsequent postwar suburbanization” (Silverman 1989:157). This point has also been made for Chicago. The most lasting legacy of wartime manufacturing investment according to one writer “was the continued outward thrust of its physical development” (Duis 1995: 210). In Duis’s opinion, wartime “plant construction at the fringe helped trigger an outlying housing boom that preceded the 1949 Federal Housing Act [and] . . . helped hasten the industrial dispersal that in postwar years would seriously undermine the economic role of traditional city neighborhoods” (Duis 1995: 210, 211). In particular, new plants, especially those with the choicest suburban location, became the site for intense competition when the state disposed of them at the end of the war.

The more than \$1.4 billion that the federal state pumped into the Chicago’s manufacturing facilities during the war had to be disposed of. Obviously, how this proceeded would have a tremendous impact on the postwar expansion and planning. Would they be taken over? What would be the effects of disposal on housing, neighborhoods and transit? How were they to be linked to industry elsewhere in the metropolis? How were the three levels of government to work together to plan this? In few, if any, of the disposal cases that I have examined, did the local state participate in disposal. Almost without exception, federal agencies negotiated with individual firms. The decision to sell or lease government plant to private firms were made on the basis of three major considerations. The state wanted (a) to receive what it considered ‘fair value’; (b) to restrict the development of monopolies; and (c) to dispose of surplus property quickly (Cook 1948; White 1980). Local government did not interact within this matrix of decision making. Nor did local or state governments, with very few exceptions, take over federal property. Again, the field was left to private firms. The local state obviously did not see any reason to buy plant and land for municipal purposes.

Many of the state-owned properties were very hard to dispose of and the federal government had a difficult time finding occupants for them. In some cases, the plants were so large that very few firms could take them over, while in others, they were single purpose and were very difficult to convert to peacetime functions. Between the beginnings of demobilization at the end of 1944 and the Korean mobilization the federal government disposed of a substantial share of the Chicago plants. Some went to manufacturing purposes, while others went into state hands, most notably the Douglas Aircraft plant at Park Ridge which was turned into the O’Hara Airport. In some cases, however, the plant remained idle for years. Regardless, the disposal of plant was difficult, onerous, ad hoc and unplanned. There was little interaction between the three levels of government. Billions of dollars of plant and equipment was sold by the state to private interests. All of it took place outside of any attempt to think through the consequences of the plant for changing economic conditions of the city or the larger issues of planning the metropolitan area.

Despite wartime investment and postwar disposal of manufacturing plant, the central city experienced a long, drawn out process of deindustrialization. Urban renewal was as much to do with how the city was perceived as it was about the city's material conditions. Wartime investment had a twofold effect on the city. First, it acted as a magnet for future investment. By locking capital to place, it resuscitated central-city manufacturing after the devastation of the Great Depression and laid the basis for postwar growth. But not only did wartime investment lock production into existing sites, it also helped undermine postwar expansion. On the one hand, it compelled firms to remain central because of the extent of recent fixed capital formation. On the other, the fixed capital put into place during the war was haphazardly made, worn out from extensive wartime use, and geared to production of wartime not peacetime lines. Together, this worked to ensure that the conditions for planning development of the industrial facilities built by the state during World War two would arrest economic decline in the central city.

CONCLUSION

So how did wartime investment in Chicago's manufacturing facilities shape Chicago in the immediate postwar period (1945-1960)? How did it shape the postwar geography? There can be little doubt that state investments "hastened the process of suburbanization" (Duis and LaFrance 1992: 119). It is true to the extent that wartime manufacturing investments were concentrated in non-central locations. However, there are two caveats to this. First, industry had been suburbanizing for the entire twentieth century. Wartime-pushed suburbanization was not new. Second, a great deal of wartime investment occurred within the city, but on the outer fringes. Decentralization was taking place in the city as well. What wartime state-owned manufacturing did do was to both reinforce and to realign patterns of capital location.

What were the effects of wartime investment on planning? It appears very little. Even if there was the will, the local state planning apparatus was severely handicapped in at least two major ways. The first was that planning was in the hands of business and had been for several generations. Indeed, Chicago had had no relatively autonomous, state-funded planning department before the war and one would only be established in 1956. Even this did not mean the end of the CPC's role in city planning. The Commission continues to exist and acts as an advisory capacity to the planning department and has been instrumental in formulating the city's plans and planning policies. But there can be little doubt that many of the business people involved in the CPC or the Chicago Association of Commerce or the other organizations involved in planning Chicago had some vision outside of the boundaries of their own firms. However, the very structure of the system ensured that firms remained subject to their own independent logic, one that was at odds with a world planned by non-business people. As McCrosky would undoubtedly have argued, "a more ordered and more rational" organization of space required firms to maintain control over their internal decisions without any outside impediment.

Second, the intimate relations established between the federal state and business did not establish the appropriate terrain for planning at the local level. The new intimacy revolved around direct state and firm relations, with particular emphasis on the production of war materials and war-related research. Disposing of war surplus plant and equipment was essential to the formation of this postwar intimacy. However, the need to coordinate this disposal with housing, transportation and other forms of development was never undertaken. Planning industrial Chicago was to be left to individual firms and the vagaries of the market.

Table 1: Chicago Production Workers ('000), 1919-1963

Year	Production Workers ('000)			City as % of Metro
	City	Suburb	Metro	
1919	404	116	520	77.7
1929	405	146	551	73.5
1939	347	137	484	71.7
1947	532	224	756	70.3
1954	469	250	719	65.2
1963	350	308	658	53.2

Source: various censuses

Table 2: Index of Manufacturing Employment Growth, 1919-1963

Year	City	Employment 1919 = 100	City and suburb difference in the index
		Suburb	
1919	100	100	0
1929	100	126	-26
1939	86	118	-32
1947	132	193	-61
1954	116	216	-100
1963	87	266	-179

Source: various censuses

Table 3: Manufacturing Wartime Investment:
Leading Sectors in \$ Billions, 1940-1945

Industry	Total	Public	Private	% Private
Aircraft	3.9	3.5	.4	10.8
Explosives	2.9	2.8	.1	3.5
Guns	2.8	2.4	.4	12.7
Ships	2.6	2.4	.2	8.6
Iron and steel	2.3	1.3	1.0	42.2
Total	23.1	17.2	5.9	25.6

Source: Civilian Production Administration (1946) War-Time Manufacturing

Plant Expansion: Privately Financed, 1940-1945 (Washington: Civilian Production Administration), 5.

Table 4: Chicago's 20 Largest Wartime Financed (plant and machinery) Manufacturing Plants, 1940-1945

Operating \$ Company Factory	Type of Location Building	(\$'000)	(\$'000)
		Total Cost	Federal For
Dodge Bros fringe	Chicago – 181,857	78,912	NEW
Buick Motors Park	Suburb - Melrose 125,543	20,243	NEW
Republic Steel fringe	Chicago – 93,606	38,767	addition
Du Pont (Kanakanee Ordnance) Joliet	Suburb – 66,071	36,155	NEW
Carnegie Illinois Steel	Suburb - Gary 62,858	12,339	addition
Sanderson (Elwood Ordnance)	Suburb Joliet 53,791	37,780	NEW
Inland Steel	Suburb - East Chicago 49,422	35,111	addition
Douglas Aircraft	Suburb - Park Ridge 48,658	39,088	NEW
Aluminum Co	Suburb - La Grange 45,665	19,935	NEW
American Steel Foundries	Suburb - East Chicago 27,658	11,105	addition
Standard Oil	Suburb - Whiting 27,586	0	addition
Studebaker	Chicago - fringe 25,318	7,451	NEW
Amertop Corp (Continental Can)	Suburb – Forest Park 21,247	11,978	NEW
Carnegie Illinois Steel	Chicago - fringe 17,399	0	addition
International Harvest	Chicago - fringe 17,000	943	addition
GM (Electromotive)	Suburb - La Grange 15,088	0	addition
Wyman-Gordon	Chicago - fringe 13,779	3,585	addition
Foote Bros Gear	Chicago - fringe 13,604	3,405	addition
Texas Co	Suburb - Lockport 12,673	0	addition
Revere Copper & Brass	Chicago - fringe addition	12,548	3,465

Source: Compiled by the author from Civilian Production Administration (1946) War Industrial Facilities

Authorized, July 1940 - August 1945 (Washington: Civilian Production Administration) and various

industrial directories.

Table 5: Wartime Investment on Chicago Factory Space, 1940-1945

Area	No. of Firms	Total Investment (\$'000)	Share of Investment (%)	Median Investment (\$'000)
City center	198	93,013	6.8	143
City fringe	169	483,917	35.6	175
Suburbs	179	783,076	57.6	371
Metro	546	1,360,006	100.0	202

Source: Compiled by the author from Civilian Production Administration (1946) War Industrial Facilities Authorized, July 1940 - August 1945 (Washington: Civilian Production Administration) and various industrial directories.

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Title: Outdoor Advertising as a form of Urban Expression in the commercial context

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Introduction

One's first impression of a city is generally visual. Paul Lester (www.maclester.edu) claims, "We remember about 10% of what we hear, 30% of what we read, and about 80% of what we see." This leads one to conclude that we are a visually dominated society. Relph (1987, 3) states that landscapes are visual contexts, that buildings always belong in a certain context and are related to the spaces around them in terms of planned layouts and streets, technological developments and social circumstances. It is imperative that no element of the landscape be treated in isolation in order to avoid misreading of the landscape.

Of the many elements of the urban landscape, outdoor advertising is arguably the most prominent feature. Cullen (1961, 151) notes that outdoor publicity is the most characteristic, and potentially the most valuable contribution of the twentieth century to the urban scenery and yet it is almost entirely ignored by the town planner. At night it has created a new landscape, previously unseen in history.

Outdoor advertising in the form of billboards, banners and gantries is primarily employed as a mode of visual communication. From the oldest form of publicity discernible in the form of stencilled Egyptian inscriptions of 3200 B.C to modern-day LED displays, outdoor advertising exists in the metropolitan environment as a distinct feature along pavements, on building fronts and especially along highways to materialize as an innate part of the landscape. The manifestation of outdoor advertising in the urban setting can be seen on transport vehicles, street furniture and as an increasing development, as facades of buildings. It is indisputable that outdoor advertising be acknowledged as an important channel of urban expression.

A sign is an indicator or a symbol- a means of representation. For the purpose of this paper, a sign/signage is defined as any printed or written text, pictorial representation or other object which is a structure or part thereof, or is attached to, painted on, or in any other manner represented on a building, fence, wall, post or any other structure or surface (Batty, 1977). Through their functional purpose of identification, information, direction, and promotion it can be asserted that signs facilitate modern lifestyle.

The connotative aspect of advertising signs, often underrated by architects and urban designers, is vital in understanding the impact of outdoor advertising in the urban space. Since the visual impression of a place is decisive in its acquiescence, advertising signs have the potential to manipulate and influence one's perception. Walker & Chaplin (1997, 23) claim, "We depend on the media to form cultural opinions of the world". This indicates that outdoor advertising, as a pervasive branch of the media can be used to influence the visual culture of a society.

Signs represent a physical manifestation of an idea, held in the mind of the sign maker and hence reveal the beliefs and values of the society that they are designed for (Mahar-Keplinger, 2002). To reaffirm this thought, Marshal McLuhan believes: "Historians and archaeologists will one day discover that the ads of our time are the richest and the most faithful reflections that any society ever made of its entire range of activities" (www.brainyquotes.com).

Through the ability to negotiate its impact on visual culture, outdoor advertising can be employed to extend the boundaries of people's acceptance in the society. This is a salient point in refuting the role of outdoor advertising as a form of urban expression. Where the

signage is placed and what the products sell is noteworthy as this influences the way in which people relate to, and accept the ideas portrayed in the advertisements. Outdoor signage, as a means of communication affects the visualization of the landscape and its consequent use (Jackle & Sculle, 2004) such as Times Square in New York City that is perceived as an entertainment zone, largely due to the atmosphere created by signs. In this case, advertising not only becomes a part of the nature of the city but characterizes it.

Although outdoor advertising is a dominant element of the prevailing urban landscape, the views towards advertising differ greatly. The stance taken for and against advertising is based on social, aesthetic, economic and safety grounds.

Architects like Venturi exhort the application of graphic communication as a tool of architecture. Venturi (2004, 23) asserts, "The genius of the American roadside commercial landscape will be eventually acknowledged and come to represent a significant and precious dimension within the art and architecture of our time". Nancy Fletcher, the president of the Outdoor Advertising Association of America (OAAA) declares that the future of outdoor advertising is bright. The OAAA website (www.oaaa.org) reiterates that outdoor advertising is a feature of some of the highest value real estate in the world.

Opposed to this view, the Society Created to Reduce Urban Blight (SCRUB), an American organisation, contends that an uncontrolled environment full of billboards sends the message that a city does not care (www.urbanblight.org). Ian Borden (Cronin, 2004, 2) regards billboards as urban scourge: "not really buildings, not really here, they are simply a temporary covering, a mask across the face of the city at its most leprous" (www.comps.lancs.ac.uk). In a similar vein, Blake (1979, 27) alleges, "When people talk of the ugliness engulfing America, they first think of Billboards.

In response to the ambiguity surrounding the opinion of outdoor advertising in urban society, Devon Ostrom (www.eye.net) postulates an answer wherein he states that "Balance comes from applying the taxes collected to artistic works and green spaces that waken the mind rather than stupefy it, that challenge our emotions rather than pandering to them, that stand out and contribute to the community rather than whisper to our hidden individual dreams and conceits."

Colomina (1994) declares that systems of representation serve as masks for a city and modern architecture becomes 'modern' not only with the use of glass, steel and reinforced concrete but also by engaging with the media. Since architecture is fashioned in an environmental context and the media operates as the instigator of this environment, it is imperative for architecture to connect with the media.

Nobel (2005) maintains that when people think of the future, they think of the architecture that lodges it. However in recent times, Nobel argues that architecture has a formidable rival in the form of advertising to represent the face of the future. This is due to the escalation of advertising seen in the urban environment.

Pallasmaa (2001, 52) recognizes the might of architecture when she professes: "A building moves us when it succeeds in reverberating with something concealed in our humanity, and when it echoes images and sentiments stored in our subconscious". Since an explicit way to evoke an image in our minds, is by the apparent staging of another image in our field of vision, signs and symbols are a cinch when trying to induce an emotion or an idea in people.

Advertising signage can therefore be availed of, as a means to visually lend meaning to a structure. Advertising signage can be used as an allegory for a place.

Sutnar (1956, 257) claims, “We live by symbols...yet, the visual symbol which becomes a symbol is actually nothing but itself- a simple object to the eye- until it acquires an accretion of information and associative values.” Advertising signs, more often than not, have a story to tell through their design and composition. In places like Times Square and Las Vegas, advertising signage are used as metaphors of a ‘good time’ as they are most literal, with little scope of misinterpretation. Signs carry with them the power to induce an effect on the viewer and transport one into an illusory reality that is crafted by the visual connotations that signs imply.

These issues are explored in the paper using case studies where outdoor advertising plays an important role in the urban visual scene. Auckland, Bangalore and Panaji have been selected for their diverse urban contexts, different architectural styles, varied cultural outlooks and the author having resided in each of the three cities. The central commercial core of each these cities is applied as the context for the study and three specific streets from this core are adopted for analysis.

Auckland

Apart from being New Zealand’s biggest city, Auckland is also the commercial capital. As a result of its warm temperate climate, its high standard of living, plentiful opportunities for education and employment, and brilliant scope for leisure, Auckland ranks 5th behind Zurich and Geneva in a survey of the world's top 55 cities (www.wikipedia.org). Although the British culture dictates the ethos of New Zealand, Auckland possesses a cosmopolitan flavour to it, evident through the presence of various ethnic groups in the city.

‘Wining and Dining’ is an important part of Auckland culture and the Auckland Central Business District (CBD) incites this way of life by brandishing the major shopping and entertainment zones in the area. The loop of Queens Street, Karangahape Road and Ponsonby Road delineates the core of the Auckland CBD.

The CBD streets include sidewalks that are shaded with canopies. These canopies are characterized by a continuous flow of advertising signs that coerce the eye to travel as one walks along the pavements (*ref. fig 1.1*). Two distinct scales of signage –for pedestrians and vehicles-are noticeable while traveling along the streets. Different types of signs in the form of overhung signs, wall mounted signs, placards and banners occur within the limits of a single wall surface which sometimes leads to a loss in coherence of the message of the signs.

The advertising signs in Auckland are restricted mainly to the ground and the mezzanine level establishing a tangible pattern. This is the single most characteristic attribute of advertising signs in Auckland-the archetype of under-canopy signs illustrating the sidewalks at the ground level. Signage in Auckland is responsive to the architecture with which it is associated in being attached to the architectural elements like columns and railings. Consideration to size and scale to accommodate them in the sign design and placement is also evident.

The type and the number of signage reflect the target audience and the commercial activity in the area. Advertising signs connote the status of the people/activity that they represent/cater for in terms of their treatment. A marked disparity is apparent in the style of signs on Queens

Street, K-Road and Ponsonby Road. While Queens Street is essentially a shopping street, K-Road is an entertainment zone and Ponsonby is famed for its cultured taste in luxury living. The brands of products available on each street embody this difference. This development suggests that advertising signs can be used to lend an identity to a place or an area.

The similar treatment of signs runs as a common thread binding the character of the three streets. Conversely, all the three vastly commercial and busy roads of Auckland CBD project a generic overall appearance in their adoption of canopy signs, response to architecture, and restriction to ground level. This leads to a loss in individual identity as at first glance, the three roads appear analogous to each other. It can thus plausibly be assumed that advertising signs can be utilized to differentiate one street from the other as and when needed.

Queen Street is the major commercial thoroughfare of Auckland's CBD. The advertising signs along Queens Street are largely aimed at pedestrians as can be observed by the meticulous explanations that the retail outlets and the restaurants offer. The display windows are smattered with pamphlets and overhung signs are placed at a respectable scale, easily perceived by the human eye. Reiterating the multinational culture of Auckland, ethnic restaurants sport signs that connote authenticity through their font, color and content (*ref. fig 1.2*). If zoomed into the bearing of these signs, the advertising displays transport the viewer to the streets of the respective locations.

Karangahape Road (or K-Road as it is referred to) is one of Auckland's most famous nightlife areas. At night its restaurants, bars and nightclubs consolidate to fashion a sizable part of Auckland's social scene. However beside lending to the color of the area and keeping alive the atmosphere of gaiety, the advertising signage does not mirror the atypical eccentricities of the street (*ref. fig. 1.3*). Signs on K-Road are treated in almost the same manner as that on Queens Street, and to a lesser extent, Ponsonby Road.

The advertising signage on Ponsonby Road is more subdued as compared to the other two streets (*ref. fig. 1.4*). The advertising signs along Ponsonby Road have an unassuming demeanor, not too loud or garish, and they attempt to engage with the architectural structure upon which they rest by utilizing the architectural features in a sensible manner.

Bangalore

Previously a British army base, Bangalore is referred to as the 'Silicon Valley of India'. Globalisation has been at the forefront of transforming Bangalore's spatial structure. Mathur (2003) notes, with the impact of globalisation, the residential areas in cities are being transformed into commercial spaces. Old means of retail trading are being replaced by shopping malls and commercial spaces are continuously being added to accommodate the multinational and financial institutions. Riding high on the wave of globalisation, the lifestyle of Bangalore reflects the convergence of the East meets West phenomenon.

While it is true that globalisation has triggered the growth of the middle class in Bangalore, a significant number of people still live below the poverty line (Vagale, 2004). Class and caste compete to divide the city and affluent class is concentrated mainly in the center while the underprivileged keep being pushed to the more remote areas. As a result of this, although the cultural outlook of Bangalore borders on the modern, the suburbs maintain a predominantly conservative attitude.

The streets of Bangalore serve as important public spaces. Streets like M.G. Road, Brigade Road and Commercial Street are prime examples of streets that have evolved into mini entertainment districts. Besides the innumerable multi-cuisine restaurants and the bulk of theatres in the area, shopping is the dominant activity that supports and influences the use and the character of these streets (Vagale, 2004). This is an extremely significant argument in relevance to understanding the nature of these streets and hence the context in which they are based.

It is the advertising signs that mirror the commercial character of Bangalore's streets. Signs lend to the color and the festive nature of these entertainment zones and grasp most of the attention as one walks down the streets. It is not an uncommon occurrence to stumble upon huge hoardings at important junctions and especially on rooftops. Advertising signage is a predominant element of these shopping streets with countless signs vying for buyers' attention from all directions.

Even when the shutters of various retail outlets are rolled down, painted signs on the metal surfaces serve as constant reminders of products and services available for the expediency and the indulgence of the consumer. At certain places where the concentration of shopping is intense, every conceivable building surface is obscured with advertising signs and these surfaces get intermingled under the torrent of signs. In these cases, it is the advertising signs that pull together the architecture of the street.

An ostensible articulation of outdoor advertising is observed on Bangalore's streets during election times wherein advertisements serve as constant cues and connote solidarity and reassurance through their presence. Larger than life cutouts of politicians and film industry actors denote the semi-divine status that these personalities are bestowed (*ref. fig. 1.5*). The state of Karnataka requires that all advertising signs should mandatory have the name of the commercial establishment in Kannada (the local language) along with a sign in English. The people of Bangalore take obvious pride in their culture and this fervor sometimes takes a fanatic pitch. Signage that does not include the vernacular script along with the Roman script is targeted thus indicating an extremist attitude.

Capitalizing on this theory, albeit in a moderate fashion, sources from the native context can be extracted to launch an identity for a place. The globalization of Bangalore city entails that the signage be designed to cater to the western taste and meet foreign standards thus reaffirming the presence of two kinds of Bangalore, an actuality observed through the contemporary handling of advertising signs in shopping malls in comparison to the domesticated treatment of local retail outlets.

An extremely popular road for shopping, eating out and entertainment, advertising signs along Brigade Road resonate the importance and spirit of the area through their large sizes, bold colors and frequent numbers (*ref. fig. 1.6*). It is the advertising signs that hold one's interest as one walks down the street as each sign is bigger/smaller and brighter/darker than the other thus creating a sense of unexpectedness and suspense along the journey.

A common feature along M.G. Road is the frequent occurrence of large hoardings on building rooftops. The junction of Brigade and M.G Road witnesses a multitude of advertising signs at this tactical point irrespective of the architecture style supporting the signs or safety hazards concerning moving traffic (*ref. fig. 1.7*).

Amongst all the streets of Bangalore, Commercial Street is marked as one of the most sought after shopping streets, especially in terms of fashion accessories, shoes and clothes. The most striking feature of Commercial Street is that, arguably, it is the only street where signs are aligned towards traffic unlike the rest of the streets where most of the signs are fascia mounted (*ref. fig. 1.8*). This is remarkable in regards to the outward appearance of the street.

The configuration of the advertising signs alters the experience of the place leading to the conclusion that signage can be employed to transfigure a space. Although the street is very definitely a part of the Bangalore commercial core, the orientation of the advertising signs simulates an impression of being based elsewhere in an alternative context. If not for the vernacular script evident on the advertising signs, the manner in which the signs are treated is reminiscent of streets in Hong Kong and South-East Asia.

Due to the countless advertising signs that are mounted on building surfaces screaming for attention, the building surfaces disappear under the barrage of these signs and merge to form a seemingly combined exterior. At certain instances it becomes impossible to tell where one building starts and the other ends. This development hints at the higher preference that the use of signs is given as compared to the puritan architectural quality of the façade upon which they appear. This can be attributed to the commercial stance that the advertisers take thereby connoting the essence of signs in commercial contexts. The general impression that one gathers while walking down the street is that advertising signs are more vital than the architecture upon which they rest.

Panaji

Goa, located on the west coast of India, is the second smallest Indian state in terms of size. Referred to as the “pearl of the orient” for its predominantly tropical nature, a pristine coastline and the presence of world heritage monuments, Goa is a popular national and international tourist destination. The colonization of Goa by the Portuguese yielded a blend of social and cultural conditions thus lending to the creation of a distinct cultural heritage which is revealed in its landscape, markedly different from the rest of the country. The goan bearing is more inclined towards the continental and the state projects a healthy secular outlook with all communities living together in harmony. This tolerant nature of the community indicates that the media can be capitalized upon to explore innovative forms of expression in the landscape. Not only will this assist in concocting a unique identity but will also pique the tourist curiosity.

Panaji with its fair share of exotic locales and a pleasant mélange of modern and old architecture alludes to a Mediterranean feel, thereby persevering the individuality that Goa is famed for. Being the capital city, Panaji is laced with a heavily commercial undertone. The first impression that one acquires of signage in Panaji is the haphazard manner in which it is displayed (*ref. fig. 1.9*). Advertising signs do not follow a pattern or adhere to a design outline. Signage can be seen plastered all over building surfaces blocking architectural features and display windows. Most of the signs in Panaji are wall mounted and no consistency is detected in terms of size even in the case of signs that are a part of the same building. This lack of uniformity liquidates the perception of the message of advertising signs and adversely unsettles the architecture and the appearance of the entire streetscape.

The distinguished blend of modern and old houses gives rise to a precarious situation in terms of treatment of signage. While the modern structures display some semblance of order when it

comes to the placement of signs, the older structures converted from residential to commercial use, utilize architectural surfaces to make up for the lack of display area. In order to catch up with the modern buildings and their use of flamboyant signage, the older structures sport advertising signage that is irrelevant to the architectural style of the structure on which they are placed and therefore result in an atrocious clash. The sizes of the signage strive to be large to match the surrounding signage and to be understood more loudly than the other. A large sign is used to reflect the exuberance and the enthusiasm of a business, which in turn reaffirms the size of the sign.

Being one of the oldest streets in the heritage quarter of Fontainhas, Dr.Cunha Gonzalves Road is lined with appealing houses belonging to the Portuguese period. With the growth of the economy and the increase in tourism, a fair amount of houses essentially residential in nature have been put to recent commercial use. The architecture along this street has remained but the nature of the signage has amended with the changing land use. Nevertheless, in most cases advertising signs are treated more as a convenience rather than a necessity. The worn down condition and the apathetic treatment of signs is a proof of this statement. The lack of seriousness in the treatment of signage also suggests that the area is not vastly commercial in nature as the signs are not forceful but rather weak in their disposition.

However, certain structures that have been converted from residential to commercial use grapple with the deficiency of available display area by exploiting walls as display mediums through elaborate explanations of available goods and services (*ref. fig. 1.10*). Due to the palpable disrespect to the architectural style of the Indo-Portuguese homes, the gaudy and out-of-scale signage can be termed as an eyesore along a street lined with colonial structures. Ironically, the loud advertising signage stands out against the subdued heritage background, drawing one's eyes to its huge size and flashy colour. In this manner the signage paradoxically works as a possible focal point or a landmark along the street.

Along a road that now witnesses a healthy mix of modern and old buildings, the older structures are subject to utmost insensitivity without any relation to the supporting architectural style to make up for the lack of display area. Overall, modern buildings along M.G. Road appear to have some semblance of sign design and layout in terms of a moderately regulated and uniform appearance. The juxtaposition of the old against the new reveals the muddled treatment of signage in the area (*ref. fig. 1.11*).

Signs are mounted on top of awnings, blocking architectural features. As one walks along these structures, the stacking of signs fashions a skin wall in front of the existing structure. What results is a rather messy and shoddy disposition for the older structures whereas the modern structures stand tall with their forthright and bold displays. Advertising signs transpire to be the only means of drawing attention to dilapidated structures.

Honoured as one of the most intensely commercial roads in Panaji, 18th June Road is especially known for the shopping outlets along its stretch which are announced by colourful and bold signs that strive for maximum attention of the people and reflect the modern outlook and attitude of this street. The façades of a majority of modern buildings do not make a strong statement and have a regular approach in this highly commercial zone. The signs therefore have to make up for the generation of interest in commercial activity. The signage on this road is fairly well organized and roughly sticks to the architectural outline of the modern structures, but there are no standards regarding the size and the number of these signs (*ref. fig. 1.12*).



Fig. 1.1- Underpass on Queens Street
Fig. 1.2- Respectful buildings



Fig. 1.2- Connotative signs for ethnic restaurants



Fig. 1.5- Larger than life cut-outs of celebrities



Fig. 1.6- Colorful buildings on Collyer Quay Road lend color to the street.



1.7-Hoardings at the junction of
 gade Road and M.G. Road



1.9- Hapha
 nage
 Fig
 adh

10- Elab
 Fig. S8- Proj
 Commercial
 streetscape



Preliminary Analysis

Despite the differences between cities studied, a generalised analysis that describes key features of signage has been developed in terms of sign types, scale/target audience, relation to architecture, location, and context, set out in the tabulation below.

CITY	AUCKLAND	BANGALORE	PANAJI
TYPE OF SIGN	Overhung canopy signs/awning signs	Fascia and projecting wall sign	Fascia/awning signs
SCALE OF SIGNAGE/TARGET AUDIENCE	Two distinct scales- pedestrian and automobile	Fairly distinct scale- mainly automobile	No clear distinction between pedestrian and automobile
RELATION TO ARCHITECTURE	Architectural style and elements responded to and considered in most cases	Architecture used as backdrop to mount signs in most cases. Response seen in case of malls	No apparent effort in relating to the architecture especially in the case of older buildings
LOCATION	Restricted mainly to ground and mezzanine level	No restriction	No restriction
CONTEXT	Commercial and entertainment district (CBD)	Commercial and shopping streets	Commercial

Table 1.1- Comparative analysis

Advertising signs in Bangalore and Panaji are less restrained as compared to Auckland and are hence more expressive. Advertising signs in India appear more eager to catch the eye and are splashed all over the building wall surfaces unlike in Auckland which has a clear-cut restriction to mainly the ground level. Although the advertising displays in India do not have a distinct pattern, it is the inimitable nature of advertising signs that helps to distinguish one place from another. No two places comprise of the same treatment of signs, which breaks the monotony of repetition. Due to the recurrent nature of canopy signs in Auckland, each street appears characteristically similar to the other.

In India the architecture serves as a skeleton to mount advertising signs thus indicating that in a commercial context outdoor advertising is more important than the architecture that the commercial street holds. It is noticeable that the advertising signs in Auckland strive to maintain a link with the architecture that they are attached to through the responsive incorporation of columns, railings etc. for the location of signs. In this way the signage in Auckland surfaces as a design element plying alongside the respective architecture.

Bangalore and Auckland both having been former British colonies, similar traits in architectural style exist but the advertising signage is offbeat in regard to its treatment. While local cultural factors are obviously involved, issues of pride and responsibility are raised. These phenomena can be inferred to be an indication of the consciousness of a society to respect its heritage and preserve its urban culture. Latkar (2004) remarks that considering its urban expanse, India is plagued with concerns of population, inadequate infrastructure and red tapism that accord an almost-indifferent approach to the theme of signage.

Nevertheless, the Indian approach materializes to retain a ‘bazaar’ mentality of touch, feel and see. While the display windows in Auckland often work as personal billboards, retail outlets in India are apparently keener to exhibit their products in an attempt to put their best foot forward. Signage is engaged as a means to beckon and suggest the calibre of the shop and the eminence of the area.

The potential of signs to generate an alternate dimension provoked by the presence of an image in the environment, described as 'hypersurface', can be utilized to glorify the space that advertising signs are located in. In a retail context, advertising signs define the commercialization of the area.

With their constant insistence, signages dispense an ambience of gaiety and substance to a commercial locality and add a personal touch to the public space by reaching out to every consumer. The need for advertising signs however does not justify the visual chaos that the excess in numbers of the signs breeds. In a busy commercial setting, architecture emerges to serve a purely basic function of shelter and a more convenient one as mounting backdrop or base structure.

Conclusion

It can be deduced that advertising signage is a dominant element of a streetscape in a commercial context. Signage can be designed depending upon the architecture on which it rests e.g. in Auckland the presence of a canopy allows for the incorporation of under canopy signs thereby reducing the visual clutter on the building surfaces.

It is also important to identify the target audience for which signs are displayed thereby creating different scales of signage easily identifiable by the viewers. The size and the scale can thus be regulated depending upon the target audience. The purpose of the advertising sign is also an important criterion in determining the size. In this case, the context should be kept in mind such as institutions like malls and cinemas require a larger area as compared to medical stores and pharmacies.

The architectural structure upon which the sign rests is most vital in the design of signs. Advertising signs should always respect the architectural contours of a structure on which they are placed rather than deflect from it. Signage should maintain a proportion with the wall surface e.g. a façade-signage ratio could be worked out to be referred to, while designing signage. Signs should not block architectural elements.

In a context where the advertising is the architecture, signage should be devised to mould the architectural skeleton and make a positive contribution to the space generated by the presence of a sign on the building by keeping in mind the color, illumination and the context in which it is placed.

Modern buildings should be designed with signage in mind and the advertising signs on heritage buildings should be designed in a manner so as to add to the character of the architecture and not detract from it through out-of-scale sizes and garish colors. Signage for heritage buildings should be confined within the architectural elements like awnings or limited to under canopies, if available. Local materials can be utilized to relate to the architectural style and maintain the integrity of the heritage buildings and reinforce the connection with the context

Location of a sign is important as it determines the type of sign that can be used, its application and vice versa. Location can also be determined depending upon the target audience. Instead of imposing a restriction later on, it is prudent to decide a location in the planning stage. In this way the overall impression of the structure appears planned. It is the context, which should be kept in mind to decide the ultimate design for advertising signs.

Rooting of the sign to its context in terms of material, color and content can help to devise an identity for a place and enhance its character.

Advertising signs are an important means of communicating to people and since architecture entails the conveying of messages to its users, signs can be employed as elements of architecture. It is observed that when signs utilize the architectural features while respecting their scale and the proportion, the overall effect is more pleasing to the eye. Architecture can work with the advertising to craft a harmonious amalgamation between the two mediums to create public spaces that venerate both the mediums and arrest the senses.

Since the architecture of a city ought to be its truest expression, in a seemingly competitive commercial world, it is becoming increasingly important to embrace signage as an ingredient of substance to enhance the commercial architecture of a city and contribute towards creating an identity for a place. It is imperative that the architects work with planners, graphic designers, and urban designers to create spaces that truly reflect the integrity of our times.

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**PLANNING TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE :
EVOLUTION AND GROWTH OF ORISSAN TEMPLES**

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Spiritualism is a life sustaining force to many like water and fire since time immemorial. Though at the time of religious frenzies it divides people, as critiques allege, yet it also works as a binding force and contributes richly to the domains of art, architecture and sculpture which mark the progress and development of human civilization from time to time. The high potentials of the people manifest itself in creative works and activities, as found reflected mostly in the religious institutions and monuments of the ancient and medieval times across the surface of the earth. On the eastern sea-board of India, the Oriyas, people of Orissa, took to temple constructions on such a massive scale and that too, in such a distinct style of their own that it created a brand name for that type of temple architecture called, Kalingan Order or style of temple architecture. It is even now considered quite unique and special in the entire Indian sub-continent.

In fact, the pall of obscurity over the exact name to be given to the Order of temples in Orissa is lifted by the Amriteswar Temple Inscription,¹ which categorically refers to Orissan group of temples as belonging to the Kalingan Order or style of temple architecture quite separate from Nagar, Dravida and Besar styles originating in other parts of India like north, south and west respectively. Therefore, very safely it can be told that they are ‘one of the most compact and homogeneous architectural groups in India’².

As revealed from *Ekma Purana*, a Sanskrit religious text, and other corroborative records, the king Sasanka of Gauda, inflicted a terrific blow to the land of Buddhism, that ancient Orissa was, and conquered major parts of it in the early part of the 7th century A.D. He caused the building of the first ever Saiva temple in the very heart of Tribhubaneswar, roughly identified with the present capital of Orissa, Bhubaneswar. This very act led to a sea-change in the outlook of the people who till then largely followed Buddhism. The *Pasupata* sect with Lakulisa, the teacher-organiser of Saivism, rose so much in popular esteem and perceptions having such an impact that he got deified in no time. It very successfully, as it appears, fought for supremacy with Buddhism and got a strong foothold in the mainland of Orissa. In fact, in almost all the early Saiva temples

here, one finds invariably a Lakulisa image at the centre of the threshold or lintel in the *Jagamohana* or entrance, leading to the interior part of the temple precinct, in a sitting and meditative posture like that of Lord Buddha. The early temples like Bharateswara, Lakshmaneswar, Satrugneswara, Parasurameswara, Swarnajaleswara and a host of others were built during the period of rule (553-736 A.D) of the Sailodbhavas, who first of all accepted the suzerainty of king Sasanka of Gauda but later on declared their own independence. With the patronage given to Saivism by the Sailodbhava kings, the socio-cultural scene here also began changing and Saivism got wide acceptability and popularity in ancient Orissa³.

The next generation kings belonging to a new dynastic order called, Bhauma-Karas belonged mostly to Buddhism but the irony was that many of their queens had definite leanings towards Saktism and Saivism. Therefore, the temple building activity continued with great elan during the period, 736-949 A.D. With two Sakti shrines of a new type called *Khakhara*, planning temple architecture entered a new phase, first by introducing certain new modifications in the earlier style of temples and secondly, by creating a new form of *mastaka* in the architectural plans; the two important temples being that of Vaital and Varahi. Apart from these two, the constructions of so many Saiva temples called Sisireswara, Markandeyaswara, Taleswara, Uttareswara, Siddheswara, Bhringeswara, Kanakeswara, Manikeswara et al located at different parts of present Orissa, help the historians in determining not only their political importance but also socio-cultural grip over the popular mindset which accepted the worship of mother Goddess along with Saivism as nothing before.

The Somavamsi rule which came up in the first half of the 10th century A.D. (949-1118 A.D) virtually brought about a new impetus to the temple planning activity with emphasis on more decorative motifs and achieving greater elevations or heights. Largely following Saivism the Somavamsis caused the construction of the temple of Mukteswara, held as the gem of Orissan temple architecture for its pristine beauty, charm and style. The genius was also marked in the building of Raja-Rani temple, 59' in height. The popular demand for raising the heights of the temples with additions of more decorative motifs and artistic designs led to the building of temples like Jaleswara, Brahmeswara and ultimately Lingaraj; the latter's height attaining a record 180'. A stupendous piece of architectural marvel, the temple of Lord Lingaraj jots into the skyline of Bhubaneswar and astounds everybody from a distance for its glamour, style and sheer elevation. It truly represented the Kalingan Order or style reaching the final stage and form so far as planning temple architecture was concerned in those times.⁴ The popularity of this shrine grew in leaps and bounds over the time and the result was, the inscriptions galore inside the temple compound. One such, tells of Jayadeva, the great poet, who composed the *Gita Govinda* in the 12th century.

Vaishnavism took the center stage due to its catching popularity quickly in the later years when Ramanuja of the south visited Puri and the ruling Gangas (1118-1435 AD) had to bow down under pressure of public opinion, as it appears. Because, not only Bhubaneswar but also Puri now became the field of temple building experiment with emphasis on more elevation and the gigantic temple of Lord Jagannath came up in a big way. It was followed by yet another at Konark, a nearby place, where a more grand structure for the worship of the Sun God was built on the sea-shore itself. The temple at Puri went upto a height of 214'8" whereas the one at Konark got elevated upto 220', a rare feat considered quite

unique and impossible in those times in India.⁵ Besides, the Ganga rule is also credited with the construction of temples for Laxmi, Megheswara, Sobhaneswara, Madhava, Chateswara, Budhanath, Daksha-Prajapati, Chandeswara, Gopinath, Parvati, Sari, Chitra-karini, Ananta Vasudeva et al spread over a huge and extensive part of present Orissa. The moot question - how these architectural experiments became possible in the absence of modern techniques and tools?

The Suryavamsi rule (1435-1497 A.D) coming in quick succession could not however achieve such big targets in planning temple architecture. Though it is credited with building some monuments in the form of temples like Papanasini, Varuneswar, Kapileswar, Sundara Madhava, Varaha, Sakhi-Gopal, Dhabaleswara et al located at different parts of Orissa, yet a general decline had set in so far as the style, elevation and architecture of the temples were concerned. It was due to many factors which included a series of bloody aggressions beginning from 1568 and successive alien rules. As a result, the political, social and cultural scene in Orissa took a dip thereafter. The palmy days became over but, no doubt, the temples continue to remind us till to-day about the glorious past of the land and her people.

Now the technique and the methodology employed in the construction of the temples based on the baroque style need only to be analysed.

As stated, a temple in Orissa is considered quite unique for 'its plan and elevation'⁶. In a typical Orissan temple precinct, one finds, as per local terminology, a *Rekha* or a curvilinear spire type structure alongside a *Pidha* or a pyrammical roof type structure. The *Khakhara* or a semi-cylindrical roof type structure is very special and rare and may be taken as an exception in Orissan temple patterns. They can be seen at a few places only alongside a *Pidha* structure.

A *Rekha* temple, which is a curvilinear spire type structure, is almost conceived as a human body with its specific peculiarities. It is marked for its vertical ascent from the ground or a platform and happens to be the main sanctum sanctorium in which the chief God or Goddess, as the case may be, presides. It has three main portions. A *bada*, which is a perpendicular wall, the *gandi*, the curvilinear spire, and the *mastaka*, the top portion or the head of the temple.

The *bada* is invariably sub-divided into three portions - *pabhaga*, where the temple touches the ground or the *pista* which is a high or low platform depending on the elevation of the temple; *jangha* or the shin portion situated above *pabhaga* manifested in the form of vertical walls, and *baranda*, the upper set of the mouldings in the *bada*. The *gandi* which is the main body of the temple having vertical projections called *pagas* or *rathakas*, rises from where the *bada* ends and moves upward in curvilinear form until it reaches the *bisama*, by far, the most critical point where the *Rekha* structure takes a gradual convex curve to reach the top portion or the head, called *mastaka*. It begins with *beki* or the neck portion representing a cylindrical form followed by the *amalaka* or *amla*, which is like a disc having several projections, then *khapuri* or the skull, atop which the *kalasa* or the auspicious pitcher rests. The weapon called *ayudha*, as per the deity's costmary preference is set up only above it. The banner or the flag called *dhwaja*, attached to a mast and tied to this weapon stand, continues to wave through the air and cloud all the time throughout the day and night, drawing crowds of devotees to their popular destination from far and wide.

A *Pidha* temple took the shape of a pyrammdical structure in course of time although as a flat roof model it marked its beginning in temples like Parasurameswara. Named as *Jagamohana* first, it served the purpose of congregation of worshippers only, where they would wait or meditate. In the later period more such *Pidha* structures about two to three, were built and pressed into service for quite different purpose like solding music and dance sessions in *Nata-mandira*, a *Pidha* temple, and offering of *bhoga* or cooked food in *Bhogamandapa*, a *Pidha* temple. The temple compounds of Lord Lingaraj, Lord Jagannath and the Sun temple at Konark, all have a number of *Pidha* temples with one big *Rekha* temple in a row which give a gigantic look to the onlookers. With horizontal platforms or *pidhas* and characterized by pyrammdical roofs of receeding steps, the *Pidha* temples became more popular over the time due to their multifarious usage and utility.

A *Khakhara* temple⁷, having a semi-cylindrical roof, happens to be a rare specimen in Orissan temple architecture. An oblong shape and rectangular pattern give it a different look altogether. It's roof appear as a *boita kakharu* (a large pumpkin) or a *boita* (an upturned boat) from a distance.

What strikes the most to an onlooker or a visitor is the planning and construction of the temples of various sizes and shapes - small, big and gigantic in nature. A *Rekha* temple or a *Khakhara* temple added with one / two / three *Pidha* temples, as the case may be, just bewilders the imagination of the modern tourists. How much effort, planning, design and persepiration must have gone into their building are just beyond comprehension !

In the construction of Orissan temples and their enclosures in the form of huge walls generally three kinds of stones are found to be used-laterite, khondolite and chlorite. When the laterite stones are used to prepare the bedrock of the temple and it's high compound walls; the khondolite stones for the super structures and elevations that give the temple a massive look. The chlorite stones are mostly used in the making of door jambs and icons of the deities. The basic idea behind it is to ensure a fine polish, workmanship and more longevity.

Certain temples of the medieval times made of large size bricks (13"x10") are also seen in some parts including the Prachi valley of Orissa⁸.

It is interesting to note that in ancient and medieval periods when large pieces of stones were being transported by means of rafts in the water-bodies like the rivers and canals, small pieces were carried in land routes by means of bullock carts. Some really heavy pieces of stones were dragged by manual labour from considerably long distances to the construction sites. Again the manner, in which they were lifted up to still greater heights when the construction work proceeded, is just mind boggling. One theory suggests that the temple was being filled up with sand or earth at each step of it's progress and elevation and the blocks of stones were easily dragged over it to the desired level. Yet, another theory tells that on one side of the temple under construction an inclined plane or slope, made of wood or bamboo, was created in order to allow the movement of heavy stones to the upper limits. However, it remains an unsolved puzzle, as to how it became possible to work on temples of gigantic nature like Lord Lingaraj and others in the absence of modern know-hows, tools and techniques !

The baroque style is manifestly clear in the numerous temples for which Orissa still feels proud of. The grand ornamentation, style, elegance and fine needlework on the stones employed for the purpose of building temple structures – *Rekha*, *Pidha* or *Khakhara* are just bewitching and breath-taking. A *Rekha* temple jutting into the skyline because of its vertical ascent and seen with a *Pidha* temple having a horizontal emphasis are invariably linked within and in unison, present a superb appearance. The artisans, therefore, often describe the unique combination of *Rekha* and *Pidha* temples as the groom and the bride respectively.

By far, the most outstanding feature of the *Rekha* temple is its *paga* or *ratha* or *rathakas* which are vertical projections on the body of the main temple. Called *tri-ratha*, *pancha-ratha*, *sapta-ratha* or *nava-ratha* as per the number of these projections the temple gets a beautiful appearance and a colossus look. Also these projections produce an ‘effective play of light and shade’¹⁰.

The *Anga-sikharas*, marked for its specialty, are temples in miniature forms not exactly forming a part of the main body of the *Rekha* temple yet attached and integrated to it on the outer surface of the wall only for decorative purposes. They go up and up with the rising growth of the temple upto the starting point of the convex curve or *bisama*.

The so many decorative motifs and relief works found in plenty outside the temple walls are in sharp contrast to the serene atmosphere prevailing inside. They are in the form of stone images or icons of (1) Gaja-Lakshmi (2) Astagraha or Nabagraha (3) Dikpalas (4) Dwarapalas with Ganga and Jamuna (5) Ghantakarna (6) Kirtimukha (7) Alasakanyas or indolent maidens (8) animal figures like Bidala, Kesari, Gaja, Marjara (9) avian and aquatic creatures (10) reptiles depicting Nagas and Nagis (11) various designs of flowers, creepers, plants and different geometrical signs--all considered auspicious architectural marvels.

The images of *Parsvadevatas* or the divinities in the principal niches in the three outer walls are specimens of a very high artistic genius in the domain of iconography. The manner in which these figures are chiselled out of the stones mostly of chlorite / khondolite varieties are simply astounding especially in their depiction of the sharp features, particularly portions like the nose, earlobes and eyelids of the icons.

The conjoint erotic figures in stones sometimes depicted on the outer walls of the temple stimulate the curiosity of the onlookers, no doubt, but at once he or she is reminded of the worldly passions and hence, tries to keep away from them.

The highly ornate *chaitya* windows are ornamental motifs generally seen in the apsidal *chaitya* halls. Other than this, the latticed and balustraded windows invariably add to the beauty and charm of the *Pidha* structure.

The corbelling method adopted in the *Rekha* temples containing the *garva-griha* or sanctum sanctorium makes an interesting study. In order to give more stability as well as longevity to the ever rising *Rekha* temple which often have long elevations, the artisans have resorted to the practice of tying the opposite walls by way of fixing *mudas* or ceilings at regular intersections. Not seen from outside the first *muda* above the cella is called *garva-muda* and then, another at a still greater height called *ratna-muda* and so on and so forth in still bigger temples of Lord Lingaraj and Lord Jagannath.

By far, the most astonishing yet a contributing factor to the grandiose beauty of the temple is the fact that in the building of the temple no mortar has been used. The sandstones, just hewn out and very finely dressed, are fitted in a manner that they are 'held together mainly by a system of counterpoise, the weight of one stone acting against the pressure of another, much of the stability being a matter of balance and equilibrium'¹¹. The joints, therefore, are hardly seen or marked from outside giving a clean look to the temple as a whole. In some cases iron clamps and dowels have been used to keep the stones intact and to remove all shreds of doubt and fear of displacement in future. In a few places like the temple at Konark belonging to the 13th century A.D. iron beams are found used as supports. Though wrought irons mostly, they certainly certify the superb workmanship and the skill of the smelters and smiths of that period.

In respect of the sculptural designs, a certain thing that is noticeable is that the outlines are marked first of all with a sharp edged tool and only afterwards the artistic designs are engraved *in situ*. This trend is conspicuously marked in at least two temples of yore, Mohini and Raja-Rani.

The plastering, lime washing and painting of the temples of the ancient and medieval periods also attract a good amount of attention¹². The temple of Mukteswara at Bhubaneswar can be cited as an example where brick red paint was applied by way of mixing clay with red ochre. The temple of Lord Jagannath at Puri has been deplastered recently revealing many of the fine monuments and sculptures beneath it.

The point to be noted here is the fact that the Kalingan Order of temples found in Orissa to-day are not of a fixed type or pattern since the size, shape and style all went on changing for the better under successive generation of ruling dynasties due to their creditable patronage and support throughout the course of history. With new ideas coming up every now and then, the bulk of the artisans went on revising their course of action and adopted the path of more development and perfection. The basic formula, characteristic and plan remaining the same i.e., square inside and projections outside, an honest attempt was made to register more heights for the temples which led to a proportionate increase in the dimension of the sanctum sanctorium and the desired elevation. With continuous additions of projections, mouldings and elaborative features caused to the top of the *Rekha* temple, the entire gamut of temple architecture was recast and redesigned from time to time. The decorative motifs also underwent a change for better refinement and ornamentation.

The *Pidha* temples from a flat roof model, as found in the early temples like Parsurameswar, also increased in size under the impact by way of adopting the pyrammical roof pattern with several tiers in successive stages with many of the finer elements of the *Rekha* structure getting absorbed into it's building and preparation.

Thus, from 6th to the 16th century the Orissan temples were built in large numbers and because of their plan, technique and baroque style of architecture they are highly commendable¹³. All said and done, a remarkable continuity one finds in the temple patterns of Orissa down the times to the present day. In the modern times too, so many new temples have come up in a big way not only in parts of Orissa but also in other areas of India as well, constructed by the Oriyas who go out in search of new pastures or settlements. In Delhi, Chennai, Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Chandigarh and many other cities in the country, thus one finds so

many nice temples belonging to the Kalingan Order. The ISKCON movement also adds up to the number of temples on a world wide basis following largely the Cult of Lord Jagannath which has its roots deeply embedded in Orissa. Therefore, it is not at all surprising now to find temples of this style and Order in countries like the U.S., U.K., Canada, Australia, New Zealand et al. It is amazing to note that following the tradition set by the Car festival of Puri¹⁴ such festivities are also being organized at these places annually on regular basis drawing a large amount of cheerful crowds. Of course, the temples of the recent times are built mostly using modern techniques including bricks and mortars unlike the past, yet the same style more or less continues to thrive with great elan and impunity. The Jagannath Cult and philosophy originating in Orissa is getting more popularity and acceptability day by day, hence, the days are not far off when the land of Orissa and her people would get their due recognition in the world as master-builders of a great and unique civilization contributing largely to the fields of art, architecture and culture.

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Identity & Modernity in Brazil: Brasilia's super quadra.

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Introduction

During the 1920's, professionals of different fields in Brazil, such as writers, artists and architects, searched for new forms of expression in their work. They sought to respond to an understanding of Brazilian reality. Through their affinity with modernity, their work expressed new visions of Brazil. Among the themes considered are those related to rural life and changing habits; emigration, industrialization and urban life; miscegenation; and other aspects related to the characteristics of a new society under rapid change brought about by social, economic and cultural development.

An affinity for the new in the sense of "modernity" was considered. These ideas were the basis of a cultural project in which art; architecture and urbanism were instruments of change. In this sense, these professionals contributed to the development of a Brazilian identity along with national aspirations for progress in harmony with modern societies.

Under these circumstances, it could be said that the reception of the modernity was possible due to the rise of a cultural project which began in the 20's and 30's and became a political instrument of social and economic aspirations for national development in Brazil. Such historical context explains the link between the State and modernity. It is made clear in the representation of institutional buildings. This was the case of The Ministry of Education and Health Building (1936), and The Brazilian Pavilion at the New York Fair in 1939. The integration among art, architecture and landscape in these urban-scaled projects, seeks the cultural apprehension of modern spaces by a sense of belonging in the creation of a truly Brazilian atmosphere. This can be noted in the work of landscape architect Burle Marx (1904-94), in the mural paintings of Portinari (1903-62), and in the work of Lucio Costa, architect and urban planner of Brasilia city-capital (1958).

Lucio Costa and Modern Urbanism

Costa's consistent approaches towards architectural and urban planning development through history, his theoretical and historical delineations, provide ample proof of his capacity to situate architecture and urbanism in the cultural debate. The debate was understood within a process of cross-cultural creation for the construction of a national identity, within a new conception of nation and citizenship. Within these themes, this paper highlights the importance of modern ideals in the construction of modernity. These ideals were reflected until the 50s in Brazil, as will be understood by the analysis of the urban plan conception proposed for Brazil's capital city in 1958, through an interview done with by Lúcio Costa (1902-98).

An interview with Lúcio Costa

How was the idea of the superquadra born?

The idea of the *quadra* was due to an initial difficulty I encountered when I began elaborating the project of Brasilia. Given its singularity, it is a city that perhaps cannot set an example for other cities. As a capital and in any country, it is a unique case.

The fundamental parts that characterizes it, are the administrative and bureaucratic parts of the government they symbolize. Government buildings, ministries, the court of justice, and presidential buildings required a broad, generous scale capable of conveying a sense of adequate atmosphere and dignity to any Brazilian residing there or visiting the city.

Yet, how to reconcile such broad and generous scale with the scale of daily life, with a residential scale that is far more intimate?

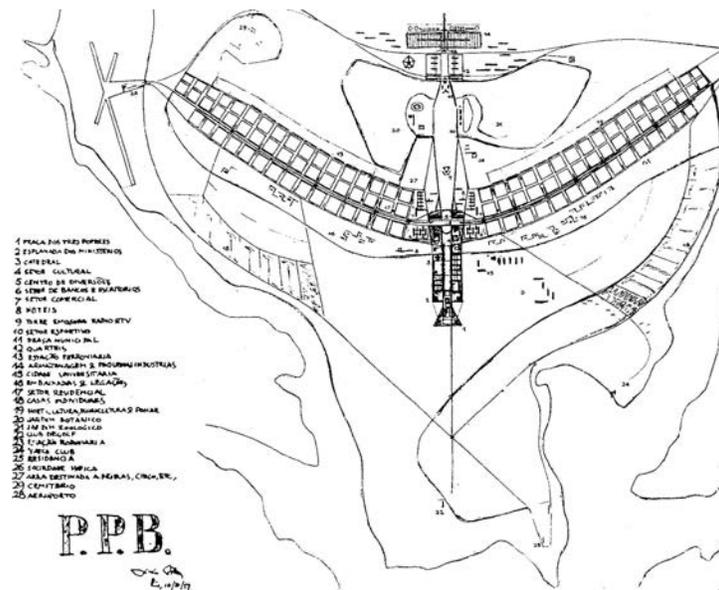


Fig 1: Pilot Plan Brasília.
Costa(1991)

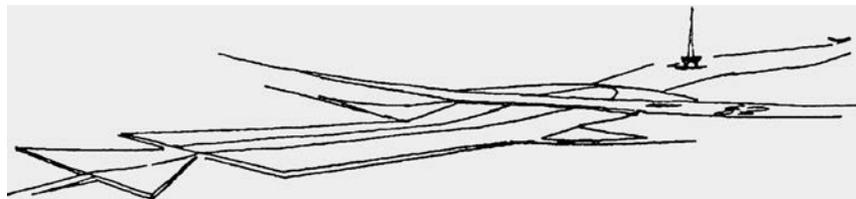


Fig.2: Monumental Axis. Costa (1991), p.304.

Hence the idea of the *quadra*, or *superquadra* as it has come to be called due to its larger size. City blocks are usually a hundred by a hundred meters; in Brasilia, they are approximately three hundred by three hundred meters.

Quadrads are defined in space, not by rampart-like walls that enclose the space completely, but by continuous rows of trees, which in time came to demarcate –once their canopies merged together– a real wall of foliage that unlike a medieval masonry fortification, is a wall that sways in the wind, that breathes, and which you can see through.

Regular rows of trees, two aisles along the entire periphery of the *quadra*, a kind of tree lined trail pleasant for pedestrians, all have the advantage of being both a frame and a promenade. This gave fortunate results and I left a 20m wide band around each *quadra* in order to expand its domain even further. All the *quadras* are square in plan with sides that are 240m long, there is the additional 20m wide stretch of vegetation on all sides.

Having fulfilled their framing function and having thereby delimited particular areas, these rather large squares could naturally enter in a dialogue with the monumental scale of the administrative areas, and the city would therefore not run the risk of being dividing in two.

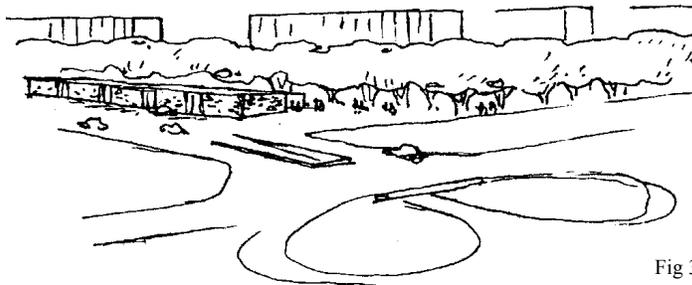


Fig 3: Super quadra - perspective.
Costa(1995) , p.309

In due course, different criteria were adopted for different areas of the city, the characteristics of which had to be well-defined within an organic and structured whole. This allowed for the establishment of urban characteristics throughout the city; there is the administrative area, that is to say the monumental area that interconnects the two wings, each 6 km long, the so called residential axes stretching out on either side. *Quadras* were designed to always house apartment buildings, whoever needed to live in detached houses had the option of venturing further out in the lake's peninsulas.

Now, inside the *quadra* there is always that problem. Having always sought to respect those who are more reserved, who dislike mixing with others while nonetheless keeping in mind individuals who are more extroverted, I think the *quadra* caters to the needs of both. Besides, I had the fortunate idea of adopting early a height limit of six floors for all buildings, which is the height of building prior to the advent of elevators. When there were no elevators, cities had that height of five floors plus an attic. The staircase ruled and, as a result, an idea of the traditional city stayed, more human, more contained within height regulations.

Given that we had by then already adapted to new construction technologies, buildings could feature open spans and no longer needed to rest on the ground but on grids of columns held

together by the building above. This caused major changes because you could now allow people to walk through the view as well as enter the building not from the front or back, but from beneath. General access flows freely through and despite buildings.

In your entry's brief for the Brasilia competition, you established general principles for residential buildings, which you refer to as "slabs." Was it to suggest a generalized adoption of this typology?

To avoid having in the *quadras* several small, stand-alone buildings with only one entrance, it seemed opportune to have groups of three or four, with the possibility of having a long continuous building with multiple entrances. It seemed to me that by grouping them I would guaranty free space between buildings. *Quadras* would then have a certain numbers of these building that I called "slabs."

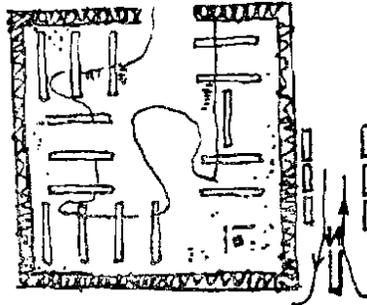


Fig 4: Super quadra
Costa (1991), p.24.

Why the average of eleven of these buildings per quadra?

It happened somewhat by chance and then turned into a sacred number. That was not a pretense of mine.

What did you have in mind in terms of open spaces?

I had wished that they be even more free and unobstructed, in the English manner, more like those parks that have their grounds covered with lawn without really having to define circulation, just a few scattered lines of desire. Lawns are meant to be used and rather than having a sign that says "Don't step on the grass," I wish for the opposite one: "Please step on the grass," so that lawns can be enjoyed like green carpets, on which people can lay down, set up their chairs, stretch out, hang out, exercise, and play at leisure. Too much wear and tear caused by heavy circulation is of no importance, lawns can always be revived. Soon, however, a tendency to urbanize began, trails were paved over and too many areas were unnecessarily covered with asphalt.

Children as well take advantage of these open areas shaded by tree canopies. They play, run... Carefree, yes... (pause). Without it being a walled-off place, gated with a guard at the entrance, where you'd have to present an ID. The given amount of space provides the place with a degree of nobility. Children remain naturally under control due to a definition of space marked by existing buildings and the perimeter of trees as well as by the presence of many doormen who are all too familiar with resident families. And all this without any other form of a rigorous policing, so that a sensation of total freedom can indeed be achieved.

To what extent did Guinle Park influence the project of the superquadra?

It is where it all began. The idea for Guinle Park does appear in the *quadra*. Those slab-like buildings, six floors high, raised on pilotis.

Is there any relation between your residential slab and Corbusier's unité d'habitation, like the one in Marseilles?

The proposal for Marseilles, and three others I think, including one in Germany. His was a comprehensive conception, it was very communitarian in scale and called for rather large buildings containing numerous units, in an attempt to achieve a sort of autonomy.

The *unité d'habitation* in Marseilles had a commercial street internal to the building. Given the large size of the building with its large number of apartments, there was an attempt to provide a so-called *rue-corridor* for retail purposes. This way, in winter's bad weather, you would not need to go outside in rain and snow. The idea was that you would have shops, bakery, and all amenities inside the very building.

Aside from this commercial street, buildings also had parapet-walls that were rather high on the roof, which could then be used as a recreational area for children, a school, a kindergarten. Other than that, there was plenty of open area, his idea was always to create spaces that were rather free.

And what was yours?

I reduced the slab to the scale of the individual, closer to the ground and more in agreement with our tradition, so to speak; and this was implemented in the *quadras*, thus limiting building height to six floors.

Each set of four *quadras* was to make up a sort of neighborhood area that included shopping and other community services such as a movie theater and a church. These neighborhood areas were to be arranged in succession along the 6km long residential axis like a set of links, a chain, or a necklace that people would drive past, and yet these units were relatively independent. Everything coming together in one place.

Between one *quadra* and the next there is the *interquadra*, an intermediary strip 300m x 80m separating one *quadra* from the next. These *interquadras* are precisely destined for sports facilities, clubs, and recreational areas. Those that are located next to access roads could accommodate a movie theater, a church, or some other such thing for collective use, whereas those located further in accommodated more recreational programs.

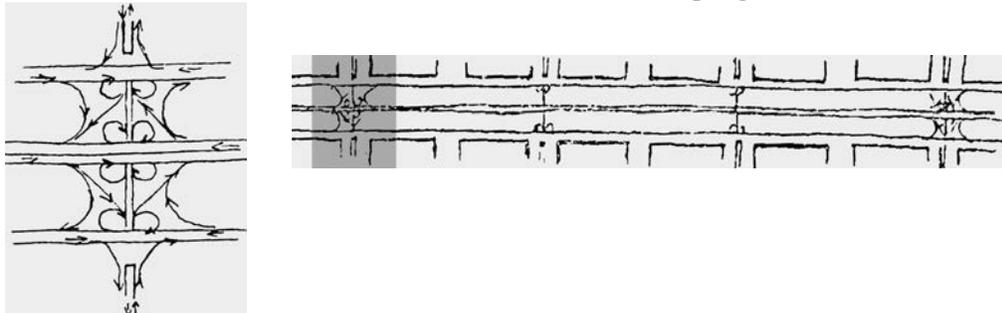


Fig. 6: Residential Axis.
Costa (1991), p. 21

Fig. 5: Access to neighbourhood unit.
Costa (1991), p. 21

Was your intention to have different types of residential slabs, for the different kinds of occupants?

I always suggested that each neighborhood area, made up by four *quadras*, should have apartments of two or three different categories to allow, as in an ideal city, coexistence in schools, or a normal coexistence of populations that belong to different economic strata.

The city's implementation scheme provided such services: schools, health centers, and social service centers, that served about three neighborhood units, they would have these centers much in the same way any other city district would.

The plan was to have an elementary school in every *quadra*, and a high-school for every four, as well as a church and a community center. Self-sufficient. Establishing a sense community. These services were very well planned, but then were set aside by city administrators who did not really take advantage of this.

And how do you now feel while visiting Brasilia?

I am very happy, notwithstanding all the criticism and despite certain things having been quite distorted. The project was one thing and became another, but I think many features that characterize the city have survived. It is a serene city, different from all other Brazilian cities; it has a distinctive personality.

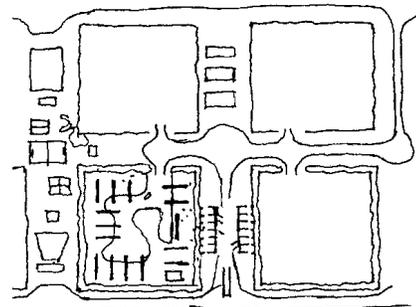
It is, in any case, a bureaucratic city, that has this characteristic of not being like a normal city. Keep in mind that the attempt to transform a city –that was to be inhabitable in three years, as the country's capital, as an administrative city, as this and as that– into a spontaneous city is absurd! Brasilia will never have the characteristics of a spontaneous city that so many people call for.

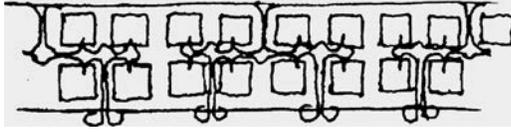
In a normal city, urbanism's objective is to create conditions that allow a city to sprout like a plant unlike Brasilia, which is a product of reason imposed by an act of will that occurred with the expressed objective of transferring the country's capital.

The intention was to create a city that had a pleasant way of life, yet that remained truly administrative with its own characteristics, well defined, meaningful.

Thank you very much for the interview.

Not at all, always at your disposal.





A Post-Occupancy Evaluation (POE) of the Super quadra

The aim of this study is to provide evidence of inhabitants' transformations in Brasília's super quadra. The results speak in support of making possible the implementation of future guidelines for the super quadras, optimizing the application of directives to satisfy inhabitants' needs. In order to elucidate the causes of mutations arising from the inhabitant's interaction with their physical environment, a specific POE method was developed. The procedure considered field work: observations (the identification of physical evidences), surveys and interviews.

On the super quadra scale, the study takes into consideration the relation between indoor and open spaces, such as the use of common areas in the residential slabs, changes in surrounding areas of these buildings, and the modifications in the apartments.

On the neighbourhood scale, the study focuses on the inhabitants' satisfaction with the efficiency of the residential facilities planned, including public services and recreational areas. Among the conspicuous activities questioned were the daily tasks, such as going to the local commerce store, access of children to the elementary school, and social interaction.

The sample considers the neighbourhood units planned in the southern part of the Pilot Plan area, among the super quadras SQS-108, SQS-107, SQS-106, SQS-208, SQS-206 and SQS-304. The residential slabs were designed by Oscar Niemeyer (b.1907) (Fig.9). From a total of 66 slabs of the same design pattern, 10 slabs were selected in accordance with their site location. The total population sample is approximately 1500 dwellers with an average population of 150 inhabitants per slab and 4 dwellers per unit in a 3 bedroom (Fig. 10).

Mail questionnaires were applied to a total of 175 house-holds in order to incorporate the dwellers' opinion into three blocks of questions regarding the apartment unit, the slab, and the super quadra. Also, open questions were considered, enabling a better understanding of living conditions and the reasons for interventions.

Interventions

The urban structure in Brasília was initially structured around public soil. This has created a particular relationship between public and private, generally limiting private areas to indoor spaces. This spatial characteristic is also notable in the inhabitants' enclosure of public spaces within the super quadra, such as the creation of barriers with shrub fences on the ground floor of the *pilotis* areas (Fig. 11). It has consequently limited public access to the *pilotis* by restricting movement.

Fig.9: Residencial slab.
Oscar Niemeyer, architect.

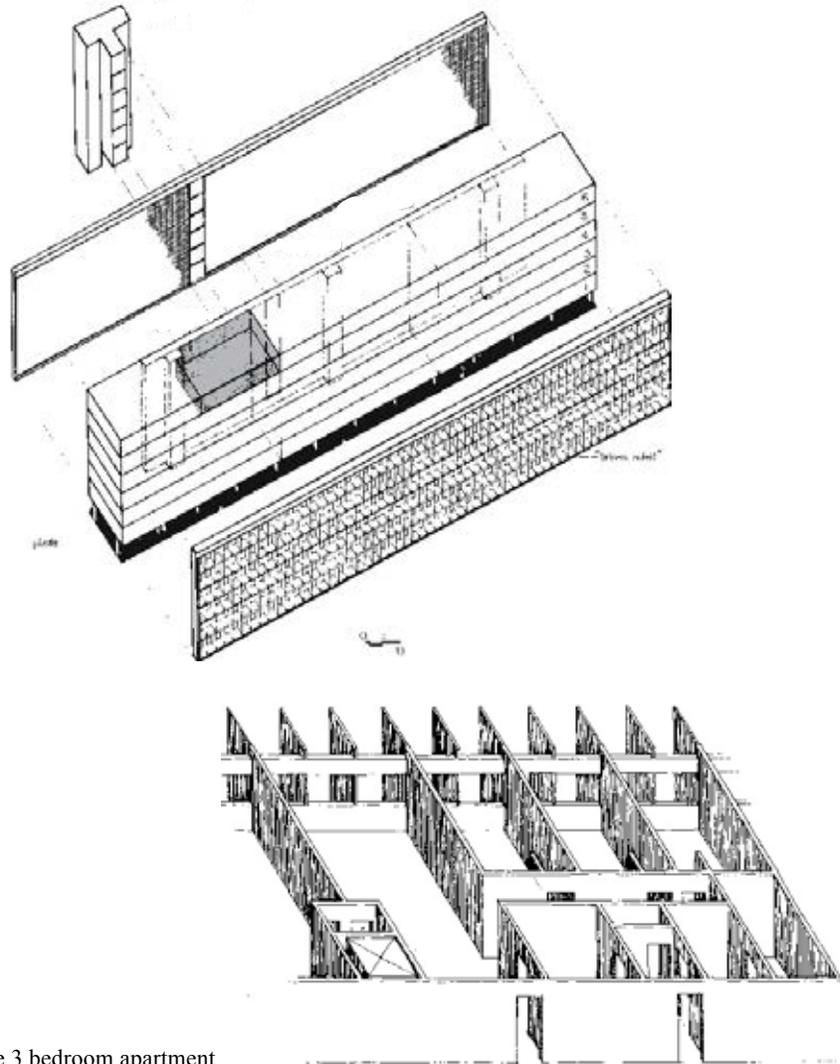


Fig. 10: Type 3 bedroom apartment.

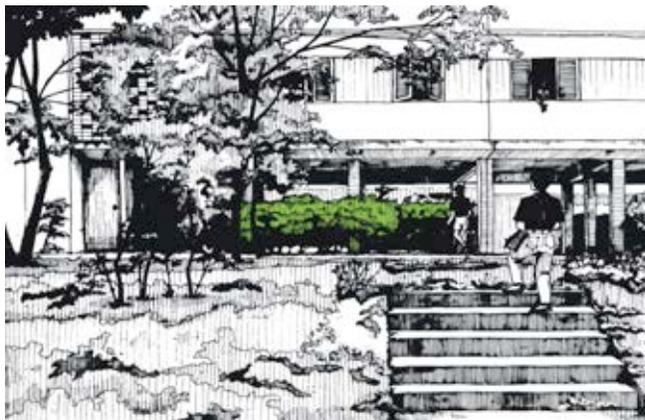


Fig.11: Shrub fences on the ground floor of the *pilotis* area - SQS406.

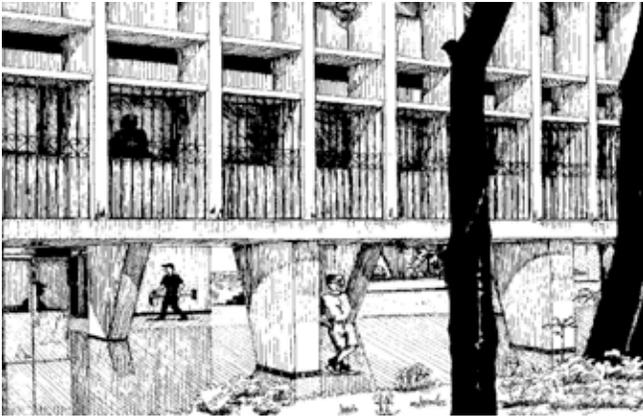


Fig. 12: Pilotis area - SQS 206.

Inhabitants also enclose public areas to create recreational spaces and parking lots in areas between residential buildings. The substitution of finishing materials and the construction of additional rooms for social and administrative purposes in the *pilotis* areas has also assisted the creation of distinctions among slabs (Fig. 12).

Some improvements are also seen in the residential units, where 82% of service areas have been remodelled. Nowadays, the use of daily services is exceptional for middle-class inhabitants. This has caused changes such as the substitution of the maid's room with a bigger laundry. Also, the original laundry room has given place for a new bathroom, giving the option of the creation of a wardrobe.

From the results obtained in the interviews and reinforced by observations, it was noticed that some physical characteristics of the super block influenced the spontaneous appropriation of the inhabitants, such as children's use of green places near the slabs to play soccer (Fig.13), and teenagers' meeting places at focal points under shaded areas. Sometimes these places were adapted by dwellers, being better equipped than the planned spaces originally proposed for those activities.



Fig. 13: Teenagers' meeting places near the slabs - SQS 206.

The sectorized **local commerce** of each super quadra was intended for daily supplies. Nevertheless, on an urban scale, the oversizing of the local shops had allowed further

commercial expansion. This contributed to commercial specialization, and favoured the creation of inter-urban poles of attraction. As a result, choice of where to buy the same type of goods is available in certain commercial areas, in addition to the daily shops originally planned by Lúcio Costa. Among five local businesses studied, it was noted that 80% of the original shops were modified in some way. Most of the transformations among the local shops are the expansion of the commercial areas into the public back courtyard (Fig. 14) of the neighbourhood and expanding marketing appeal of the facades located towards automobile traffic (Fig. 15). These entrances were originally intended to be used for stock



delivery only.

Fig. 14: Local commerce - CLS 309/308.



Fig. 15: Expansion of the commercial areas into the public back courtyard - SQS 206.

Conclusions

Brasília was originally planned for an administrative city of 500,000 inhabitants. Forty-five years after its inauguration the city presents significant mutations. Due to its planned condition, changes in the residential areas are more specific, and could be clearly identified by comparative studies between the original plan and its actual configuration in the first neighbourhood units built in the late 50s and the early 60s.

The neighbourhood unit was intended at first thought to be similar to the residential facilities that exist in most Brazilian city districts. The urban interdependency among the residential areas was clearly defined in the urban guidelines, but Lúcio Costa's proposal was not considered entirely. The alternation of activities along the residential axis, such as public health services, cinema and churches, aimed at the self-sufficiency of the residential facilities, had changed along time.

Because of the lack of public funds, public services such as primary schools are not present in some super quadras. This is also true in relation to public health services, such as health centre within the residential axis. The situation has worsened since the 80s and its explanation lies in the lack of continuity of public policies at the district level and federal level.

One of the observed outcomes of this research is the peculiar identity of the super quadra dweller. This urban identity seems to be rooted two aspects: the urban skill needed to go about daily activities; a defined pattern slab design in the first super quadras built.

Due to design guidelines and architectural restrictions, the same residential slab pattern from the late 1950s was used predominately in the super quadras. This situation can be better understood if we take into account the demand for the mass production of housing in the earlier years at a time when the capital had to be constructed within a single presidential term.

Although the construction of different slab patterns has been introduced in large areas in the northern residential area of the city, these variations are restricted to dimensions and building envelope.

As a consequence of the residential uniformity, the monumental characterization of the political-administrative areas in the Monumental Axis has been emphasized. This has contributed to a collective urban identity on an urban scale, being peculiar to Brasília. This statement is valid for the middle-class inhabitant who mainly lives in the Pilot Plan area.

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An approach towards defining and categorization of slums

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An approach towards defining and categorization of slums

Abstract :

The author examines the current scenario of the slum dwellers in the world and the impact of previous policies & interventions on the welfare of residents of these slum settlements, who are typically the urban poor. Author reviews the slum definitions as adopted by various nations and cities and concludes that a wide differences exist towards an approach for defining slums. With reference to India, the author analyzes the current policies like VAMBAY, NSDP towards slums and raises an issue towards its approach, effectiveness and sustainability. Author also raises an issue towards the definition of the slums adopted in various Indian states. In spite of being almost the same definition of slum in different states, the condition of the slums varies drastically from state to state infact from city to city. The situation is so severe that as per the conditions and the parameters of defining the slums, the slum of a small city can be considered a non slum in a mega/ big city. The authors appeals to the decision makers that why in real condition different parameters are adopted for notifying the slums in different cities in India. Paper is in favor of the concrete mechanism of defining the slum so that real scenario may be assessed in India and accordingly the effective policies may be framed. With a difference in concept of defining slums, it is heartrending that two renowned organizations like UN-HABITAT and Census of India reveals different estimation (with a huge difference) of slums in the country.

The paper is in favor of the universal definition and the categorization of the slums into different categories. With such a mass of population (as of now as per UN- HABITAT, 1 in every 3 urban people lives in slums) living in slums, it is vital to categorize slums into various categories. This categorization will assist the decision makers in drafting effective and workable solutions towards different categories of slums. For this author presents the mechanism of categorization of slums into various categories. To support the case, the scenario of slums in India is detailed out.

Keywords : slum, slum dwellers, policies, categorization, definition.

1. Introduction :

As the arrival of the new millennium turns a new page of history, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the world is returning to some of its fundamental, unresolved questions: the issues of equity, sustainability, poverty and social justice, among others. Relatively poor knowledge of local and global forces shaping development and producing/reproducing urban poverty, the complexity of the accompanying phenomena and the uncertainty of urban decision-making processes, call for a better understanding of inter- and intra-city differentials in poverty and inequality. This basically means a need for better understanding of slum incidence.

First, the word “slum” appeared in the London Cant at the beginning of the 19th century, designating initially “a room of low repute” or “low, unfrequented parts of the town”. The word then underwent a series of changes. The term “slum” has many connotations. It often refers to settlements illegally occupying land and lacking in basic services. Slums are given various names in different contexts (such as Juggies, Shanties, Favelas, Bidonvilles, Barrios, Kampung, Tugurios, Bastis and Asentamientos Umanos), yet they share the same poor quality of living conditions. In general, the slums do not have basic municipal services water, sanitation, waste collection, storm drainage, street lighting, paved footpaths, roads for emergency access, schools and clinics within easy reach, safe areas for children to play, places for the community to meet and socialize. The few major worsening effect of slums are that while the average age of city populations is increasing, the average age of slum dwellers is decreasing. Visible disparities between slums and better-off neighborhoods increase the social tensions in poorer areas. Unplanned growth of settlements makes conventional service provision complicated and costly. Urban poor are found to be most vulnerable to the communicable disease.

2. Current Scenario of the Slums in the World :

As per UN- HABITAT, more than 920 million people, or slightly less than a third of the world’s total urban

population, lived in slums in 2001 which constitutes approx. 32% of the global urban population or in other words every third person of the urban population is a slum dweller. In absolute num. the number of slum dwellers are maximum in Asia and by percentage to the urban population, Sub Sahara Africa has the highest percentage of slum population to the urban population living in slums.

Table 1. Population of Urban Slum Areas 2001

Major Area	Total Pop. in millions		Total Urban Pop (in millions)		Urban Pop. as % of total Pop.		Slum Population as % of total urban pop.	Urban Slum Pop (millions)
	1990	2001	1990	2001	1990	2001	1990	2001
World	5255	6134	2286	2923	43.5	47.7	31.6	924
Developed regions	1148	1194	846	902	73.7	75.5	6.0	54
Developing regions	4106	4940	1439	2022	35.0	40.9	43.0	870
Least Developed Countries	515	685	107	179	20.8	26.2	78.2	140

Source : Slums of the World -UN- HABITAT Working Paper

It has been reported that 43 per cent of the urban population of all Developing Regions combined lived in slums, in comparison to 6 per cent in Developed Regions and 78.2 per cent in the Least Developed Countries (refer to Table 1). In general terms, within the Developing Regions, the African Continent had the largest proportion of the urban population resident in slums in 2001 (60.9 per cent). Asia and Pacific Region had the second largest proportion of the urban population living in these precarious settlements (42.1 per cent) while Latin America and the Caribbean slum dwellers population was the third largest with 31.9 per cent. With respect to absolute numbers of urban slum dwellers aggregated at continental level, Asia and the Pacific Region dominate the global picture, having a total of 554 million informal settlers in 2001 (excluding China), which accounted for 63.3 per cent of the total slum population in the Developing Regions.

2.1 Asia and Slums :

Currently, it is estimated that one out of two urban slum dwellers in the world are from Asia. In Asia, Eastern and South-central Asia dominate the global picture with respect to absolute number of slums in the region, having about 82.2 percent of the total slum population in Asia in 2001 (34.96 and 47.33

percent, respectively). South-eastern Asia had 10.24 per cent and Western Asia had 7.4 per cent (refer Table 2). South-central Asia appears to be the poorest sub-region in the continent, having the greatest incidence of slums in the region 47.3 per cent with only 32 percent of the total Asian's urban population and the highest level of prevalence of infant mortality rates and other social indicators. This could be because South-central Asia is composed of three of the most highly populated LDCs (Least Developed Countries) in the world: Afghanistan (22.4 m.), Bangladesh (14 m.), and Nepal (23.5 m.), that along with Bhutan (2 million inhabitants).

3. Past Approaches, Policies and its Impacts :

Some of the policy approaches that were used in the past are explained briefly below :

Negligence : This approach predominated in most developing countries until 1970s. It is based on two basic assumptions that slums are illegal and slums are unavoidable but temporary phenomenon (mostly linked with accelerated rural-urban migration) that can be overcome by economic development in both

Table 2. Slum distribution in Asian sub-regions.

	Total Population (000)	Urban Population (000)	Urban Population as % of the total Pop.	Slum Population as % of the Urban Population	Slum Population (000)	Distribution of Slum Population by sub-regions
Total Asia	3593372	1313463	36.5	42.2	554290	100
Eastern Asia	1364438	533182	39.1	36.4	193824	34.96
South Central Asia	1506725	452484	30	58	262354	47.33
South Eastern Asia	529764	202854	38.3	28	56781	10.24
Western Asia	192445	124943	64.9	33.1	41331	7.46

Source : UN-HABITAT Working Paper – Slum of the World, 2003

urban and rural areas. The model worked well in the developed nation and assisted in elimination of slums but all this happened due to the high and steady economic growth of the country or region. This policy approach didn't worked well in the other developing nations.

Eviction : During 1970s and 1980s, when it became clear to the public authorities that economic

development was not going to integrate the slum populations, governments opted for a repressive option with a combination of various forms of harassment and pressure on slum communities, leading to selective or mass eviction of slum dwellers justifying it by the implementation of urban renewal projects. This approach did not solve the problems of slums, instead shifted them to the periphery of the cities – to the rural urban fringes – where access to land was easier and planning control non-existent. The continuing spatial growth of cities brought about an endless cycle of new evictions and creation of new slums.

Self-help and in situ upgrading : Self-help and upgrading policies tend to focus on three main areas of concern i.e. provision of basic urban services, secure tenure and the implementation of innovative practices regarding access to land. Slum upgrading initiatives carried out during the earlier period of 1970 to 1990 were merely no more successful or sustainable than sites and services. Certainly, slum upgrading appeared to be considerably cheaper than other alternatives. However, cheap solutions can have poor outcomes. Like other aid projects that focus on purely construction, the projects existed in isolation from both government and communities. Governments did not follow through with services, communities did not maintain the facilities and governance structures disappeared once the International experts were gone.

Enabling Policies : This emphasizes on to the need for the involvement of slum dwellers. Enabling policies are based on the principles of subsidiarity and they recognize that, to be efficient, decisions concerning the investment of resources in domestic economic, social and physical development have to be taken at the lowest effective level. The politics of devolution, decentralization and deregulation that is associated with such approaches is complex. It has been observed that communities' structures are very complex and rarely united. Still there are many examples of effective and successful enabling strategies but the process is not so easy.

Resettlement : It embraces a wide range of strategies, though all are based on perceptions of

enhancing the use of the land and property upon which slums are located or housed. At best, relocation is undertaken with the agreement and cooperation of the slum household involved. At worst, resettlement is little better than forced eviction with no attempt at consultation or consideration of the social and economic consequences of moving people to distant, often to peripheral, sites with no access to urban infrastructure, services or transport.

4. Definition of Slums across the major cities in the World :

The definition of slums varies to a large extent across the different cities and country around the world. The terminology and the parameters that are used in the definition also varies immensely. In general the parameters and the issues covered by the different cities in their slum definition are construction materials, temporary nature, construction legality, land legality, health and hygiene, basic services, infrastructure, crowding, poverty, low income, environment, compactness and crime & violence.

As per the study done by UN-HABITAT, it has been found that out of the 29 cities surveyed in detail, the importance was given to the term like construction material, land legality and basic services and has been included in their definition by 12, 11 and 10 cities respectively (refer Table 3). The interesting fact is that the term poverty only appears in the definitions applied in Ibadan, and Manila, although in other three cities – Ibadan, Jakarta and Lusaka, the term low income is a part of the definition. The cities like Bangkok and Ahmedabad has used the term Crime & Violence and Compactness in their slum definition. Another important fact that was found that inspite of being the existence of slum like situation in the 8 cities like Abidjan, Barcelona, Beirut, Mexico, Moscow, Naples, Newark and Sydney, these cities does not have any formal definition of slums.

Here are few official definition from the selected cities across the world :

Ahmedabad, India : According to the 49th round of NSSO (January-June,1993), a compact area with a collection of poorly built tenements, mostly of temporary nature, crowded together usually with

inadequate sanitary and drinking water facilities in unhygienic conditions. Considered “undeclared slum”, if at least 20 households live in that area. Certain areas declared as slums by respective local bodies or development authorities are “declared slums”.

Bangkok, Thailand : As per National Housing Authority: “a dirty, damply, swampy or unhealthy area with overcrowded buildings and dwellers which can be harmful for health or lives or can be source of unlawful or immoral actions. The minimum number of housing units per rai (1,600 sq. metres) is 30”. As per Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (since 1991): “an overcrowded, unordered and dilapidated community with unample environment which can be harmful for health and lives. The minimum number of housing units per rai is 15”.

Cairo, Egypt : The term “aashwa” is the only one used officially to indicate deteriorated or under-served urban areas. It actually means “random”, implying that these areas are unplanned and illegally constructed.

Chengdu, China : Slums are shanties in low-lying areas.

Durban, South Africa : The provincial Department of Housing defines slums as both “erstwhile formal settlements that have degenerated to such an extent that there exists a need to rehabilitate them to acceptable levels” as well as being “loosely used to refer to an informal settlement” (Department of Housing, KwaZulu-Natal, 2002).

Manila, Philippines : The Housing and Urban Development Coordinating Council (HUDCC) defines slums as buildings or areas that are deteriorated, hazardous, unsanitary or lacking in standard conveniences. These were also defined as the squalid, crowded or unsanitary conditions under which people live, irrespective of the physical state of the building or area.

Rio de Janeiro, Brazil : Subnormal settlements (aglomerado subnormal) according to de Statistical Bureau (IBGE) are groups of 50 or more housing units located in a dense and disorderly manner, on land that belongs to third people, lacking infrastructure and services.

Table 3. Definition of Slums across the major cities in World

Cities	Country	No. Definition	Cons. Material	Temporary Nature	Const. Legality	Land Legality	Health & Hygiene	Basic Services	Infrastructure	Crowding	Poverty	Low Income	Environment	Competitiveness	Criminal & Violence
Abidjan	Cote Divoire	●													
Ahmedabad	India		●	●			●	●		●				●	
Bangkok	Thailand						●			●			●		
Barcelona	Spain	●													●
Beirut	Lebanon	●													
Bogata	Colombia				●	●									
Cairo	Egypt		●		●	●		●					●		
Chengdu	China												●		
Colombo	Sri Lanka		●	●	●	●	●	●							
Durban	South Africa		●	●				●							
Havana	Cuba		●				●	●	●						
Ibadan	Nigeria		●						●		●	●			
Jakarta	Indonesia					●						●			
Karachi	Pakistan					●									
Kolkata	India		●	●				●		●					
Los Angeles	US		●			●				●					
Lusaka	Zambia					●		●	●			●			
Manila	Philippines		●				●			●	●				
Mexico	Mexico	●													
Moscow	Russian Fed.	●													
Nairobi	Kenya							●	●						
Naples	Italy	●													
Newark	US	●													
Phnom Penh	Cambodia					●							●		
Quito	Ecuador				●	●									
Rabat Sale	Morocco		●			●									
Rio de Janeiro	Brazil		●		●	●		●	●	●					
Sao Paulo	Brazil		●				●	●	●	●					
Sydney	Australia	●													
TOTAL		8	12	4	5	11	6	10	6	7	2	3	4	1	1
Issues % Importance			57%	19%	24%	52%	29%	48%	29%	33%	10%	14%	19%	5%	5%

Source : The Challenges of Slums - UN-HABITAT 2003

Sau Paulo, Brazil : “Favelas” are agglomerations of dwelling with reduced dimensions, built with inadequate materials (old wood, tin, cans and even cardboard) distributed irregularly in lots almost

always lacking urban and social services and equipment, forming a complex social, economic, sanitary, educational and urban order”.

Most of the definition as stated above are not complete in nature and lacks some important features and terminology in their definitions. On further analysis, one can notice the ambiguity among the different definitions. For example in the case of Chengdu, China : Slums are shanties in low-lying areas. Here, it would be a difficult task to the officer concerned to notify the slums as there is no specific viable definition or parameters and mechanism to define the slums. Though the definition in the case of Ahmedabad do contains parameters like poorly built tenements, temporary nature, crowding inadequate sanitary and drinking water, unhygienic conditions but still it is not complete as these terminologies are not further defined in detail. The perception of these used terminologies will vary from person to person concerned. There are quite good chances that the same sanitary and drinking water conditions in slums may be adequate to one officer and may be inadequate to the another official. Mostly the terms used by the different cities are qualitative in nature and needs to be further defined in detail to have uniformity of definition or certain quantitative terms may be included to have a clear understanding of the terms used. The emphasis of this paper is to have tangible definition with certain quantitative parameters to the terminology used in the definition. Such definition will present the real situation of the slums in the cities and in the different countries around the world.

5. Slums in India :

5.1 Definition of slums in India :

First time the slum was defined in India in 1956. As per the ‘The Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act 1956, slums have been defined as mainly those residential areas where dwellings are in any respect unfit for human habitation by reasons of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangements and designs of such buildings, narrowness or faulty arrangement of streets, lack of ventilation, light or

sanitation facilities or any combination of these factors which are detrimental to safety, health and morals. For determining whether a building is unfit for habitation, the parameters like repair, stability, freedom from damp, natural light and air, water supply, drainage, sanitary conveniences, facilities for storage, cooking and disposal of waste water will be looked into it. If one or more of the said parameters is not reasonably suitable for the occupation than it will be considered as a slum.

The different states/UT in India has also adopted the definition from Slum Act 1956 with slight modifications if required. Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, states of India defines slum as “any area is or may be a source of danger to the public health, safety or convenience of its neighborhood by reason of the area being low lying, insanitary, squalid or otherwise, they may, by notification declare such area to a slum area”. Mysore slum Act, 1958 takes into consideration both definition i.e. Slum Act 1956 and Andhra Pradesh Slum Act while declaring slum areas.

The Census of India has also defined the slums and it covers the definition of the Slum Act 1956. As per Census of India, 2001, the slum areas broadly constitute of :-

- (i) All specified areas in a town or city notified as ‘Slum’ by State/Local Government and UT Administration under any Act including a ‘Slum Act’.
- (ii) All areas recognized as ‘Slum’ by State/Local Government and UT Administration, Housing and Slum Boards, which may have not been formally notified as slum under any act;
- (iii) A compact area of at least 300 population or about 60-70 households of poorly built congested tenements, in unhygienic environment usually with inadequate infrastructure and lacking in proper sanitary and drinking water facilities.

The definition of the slums as defined above cannot be considered as a complete definition as one can identify many loose ends while notifying the slums. Though the census definition is further elaborated

but still cant be considered as a complete definition. The definition seems to be very vague in nature as hardly any quantitative measures has been used while defining the terms. The unhygienic or inhabitable area will vary and will depend on the perception and psychological status of the concerned officers while notifying the slums. Because of an existence of such weak definition, political and other influences plays a major role while notifying the slums in the cities thus diverting the efforts from needy poors. It is heartrending that while having a discussion with officials of few cities who are responsible for the notification of the slums are unaware about the Slum Act definition. During a discussion one officer quoted a strange definition of the slums “those areas where more than 50% of the population belongs to scheduled caste are considered slums”. With such knowledge and definition it is impossible to have a clear scenario of the slum population in the country. There is an urgent need to have a effective and workable definition of slums in the country like India where a mass of population lives in Slums.

5.2 UN-HABITAT definition of Slums :

UN-HABITAT has come with a tangible definition and the terms used are defined quantitatively also. As a result of the EGM (Expert Group Meeting) UN-HABITAT a slum household is defined as a group of individuals living under the same roof lacking one or more of the conditions below:

Access to improved water: A household is considered to have access to improved drinking water if it has sufficient amount of water (20 litres/person/day) for family use, at an affordable price (less than 10% of the total household income), available to household members without being subject to extreme effort (less than one hour a day for the minimum sufficient quantity), especially to women and children.

Access to improved sanitation: A household is considered to have access to improved sanitation, if an excreta disposal system, either in the form of a private toilet or a public toilet shared with a reasonable number of people, is available to household members.

Sufficient-living area, not overcrowded : A dwelling unit is considered to provide a sufficient living area

for the household members if there are fewer than three people per habitable room (minimum of four square meter).

Structural quality/durability of dwellings : A house is considered as “durable” if it is built on a non-hazardous location and has a structure permanent and adequate enough to protect its inhabitants from the extremes of climatic conditions such as rain, heat, cold, and humidity.

Security of tenure : Secure Tenure is the right of all individuals and groups to effective protection by the State against arbitrary unlawful evictions.

5.3 Highlights of Slums in India

As per Census of India, 2001, the 640 cities/towns in 26 States/Union territories have reported slum population. Andhra Pradesh has the largest number of towns (77) reporting slums followed by Uttar Pradesh (69), Tamil Nadu (63) and Maharashtra (61). As per Census 2001, 42.6 million population live in slums. This constitutes 15 per cent of the total urban population of the country and 22.6 per cent of the urban population of the states/union territories reporting slums. The maximum number of slum population resides in Maharashtra 11.2 million (26%) followed by Andhra Pradesh 5.2 (12%), Uttar Pradesh 4.4 (10%) and West Bengal 4.1 million (10%) (refer Figure 1). It has been reported that approx. 42% (17.7 million) of the total slum population in India is living in the million plus cities (Refer Table 4). Greater Mumbai Municipal Corporation with 6.5 million slum dwellers has the highest slum population among all the cities followed by Delhi Municipal Corporation (1.9 million), Kolkata (1.5 million) and Chennai (0.8 million). In Mumbai, more than 50% of the population lives in slums and it dominates the city. (refer Figure 2).

It is distressing to know that approx. 6 million children in the age group 0-6 live in slums. Maharashtra alone accounts for 1.6 million children in slums. In the city like Mumbai 50% of the total children of the city lives in slums. Large majority of the slum dwellers has been reported from the backward classes.

Approx. 7.4 million (17.4 per cent) of the total slum population belongs to the Scheduled Castes and 1 million (2.4 per cent) to the Scheduled Tribes. With a low literacy levels, these slum dwellers are forced to do a low profile jobs at very minimal wages.

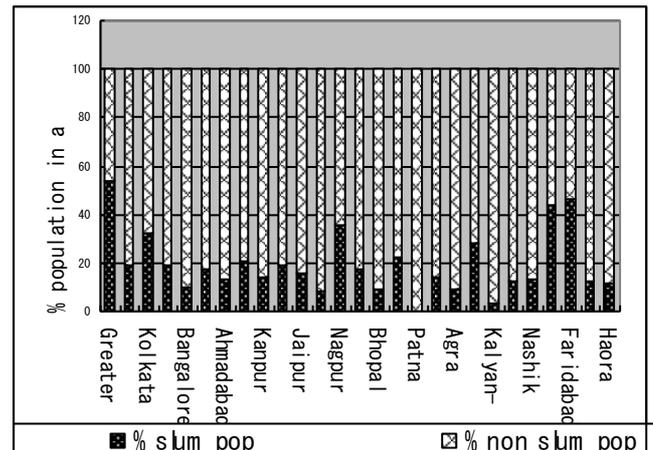
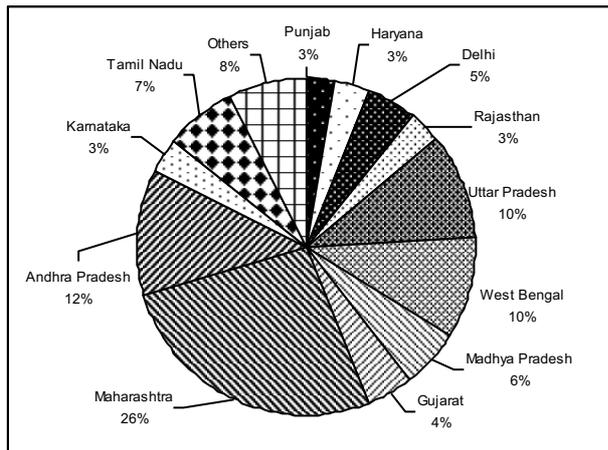
Table 4. City Population Size and Slum Population

City Pop. Size	Slum Pop.	Slum Pop. Share %	Slum Pop/city in millions
4 M+	11.0 M	26%	2.20
2-4 M	3.76 M	8.80%	0.47
1-2 M	2.88 M	6.80%	0.21
.5 – 1 M	5.81 M	13.70%	0.14
.1- .5 M	13.9 M	32.70%	0.04
.05 - .1 M	5.1 M	12.00%	0.02
TOTAL	42.6 M	100%	0.07

Distribution of slum pop. in different states

Fig. 2 Slum & Non-Slum Pop. in Million Plus Cities

Source : Slum Population, Census of India, 2001



5.4 Policies towards slums in India :

The brief analysis of the major policies deals with the slum dwellers in India are as follows :

The National Slum Development Program (NSDP) was launched in 1996. Annually, the program provides about Rs. 300 crores in assistance. The objective of NSDP is to provide adequate and satisfactory water supply, sanitation, education facilities, health care, housing and environmental improvement through the creation of sustainable support systems. The focus is on community infrastructure, provision of shelter, empowerment of urban poor women, training, skill upgradation and advocacy. The program has both loan and subsidy components. For the larger States, loans constitute

70% and subsidies 30% of total allocated funds. For the smaller States, the loan component is only 10% and the subsidy 90%. Up to 10% of the funds can be used for housing construction/upgradation. The Planning Commission allocates funds annually, in proportion to the share of the national slum population in each State or Union Territories (UT).

The one of major drawback of NSDP is that it doesn't targets the illegal slums or say non-notified slums in the cities. The non-notified slums settlement as per National Sample Survey Organization (NSS) 58th Round Report, 2002 are 25,000 as compared to notified slums which are approx. 27, 000 settlements. This means in actual, NSDP programme is targeting only 50% of the slum settlements. Under this programme uptill 2004 approx. Rs. 2475 corers has been released for the development of slums. Considering 42.6 million of slum population (in actual it may be more as these figures are from 640 cities in India) than it comes to an investment of approx. Rs. 580 per slum dweller for development purpose. This amount has been disbursed in 8 years meaning Rs. 72 per slum dweller per year has been invested for development purpose. The actual amount per slum dweller will be much lesser as it includes administrative and others expenditures also. With Govt limited financial resources, such a low level of investment won't be able to tackle the problems of 42 million slum dwellers. Actually whatever efforts are made by the government to reduce the slum population or to the development of the slums by their limited resources is nullified by the rapid growth of slum population in the country. As a programme is highly subsidies, it raises a question on its sustainability and its replicability. It is therefore required to look for some other sustainable approach that may benefit all. A financial contribution approach i.e. contributions from beneficiaries, local governments and the private sector needs to be mobilized.

Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VAMBAY), initiated in 2001, was designed to address housing deficits for the urban poor. It provides about Rs. 300 crores of annual assistance to designated state agencies who then determine beneficiaries and monitor the implementation. The state government must

provide the beneficiaries with a title and/or land as a pre-condition for the loan or subsidy. Its goal is to achieve 'Cities without Slums' by providing or upgrading shelter for people living below the poverty line in urban slums including members of Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) who do not possess adequate shelter. The scheme also addresses the lack of toilet facilities. Govt. of India (GOI) mandates State governments to use twenty percent of the total allocation under VAMBAY for the National Sanitation Project. The rest of the scheme funding provides matching subsidies and Housing & Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) loans to title holding beneficiaries to build or upgrade a house. Funds from VAMBAY can only be used in notified slums. In addition, GOI does not release the funds to the state government until they receive the States' 50% matching fund.

Though this programme is based on the matching funds but still it is highly subsidized as 50% is granted as a subsidy to the beneficiaries plus a land is also provided by the state govt. With a limited financial resources and such a high subsidy, it is impossible to target 42 million slum population in the country. This scheme also targets notified slums only, thus neglecting a majority of slum dwellers living in non-notified slums. As per NSS 58th Report 2002, out of the total houses, approx. 4 million houses in slums (notified and non notified slums) are either semi pucca or kutcha in the nations and they needs an immediate improvement. From 2001 till 2006 in 5 years approx. 0.44 million dwelling units were targeted under VAMBAY scheme i.e. approx. 0.1 million targets per year. With this target rate and assuming that their wont be any rise in the slum population, which is unlikely to happen, it will take another more than 35 yrs to improve the condition of the dwelling units.

The other policies that deals indirectly to slum dwellers are The Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana (SJSRY), Night Shelter For Urban Shelterless, Low Cost Sanitation (LCS) and Liberation of Scavengers

6. Categorization of Slums :

Considering the fact of having such a varied definition of slums across the different part of world with an

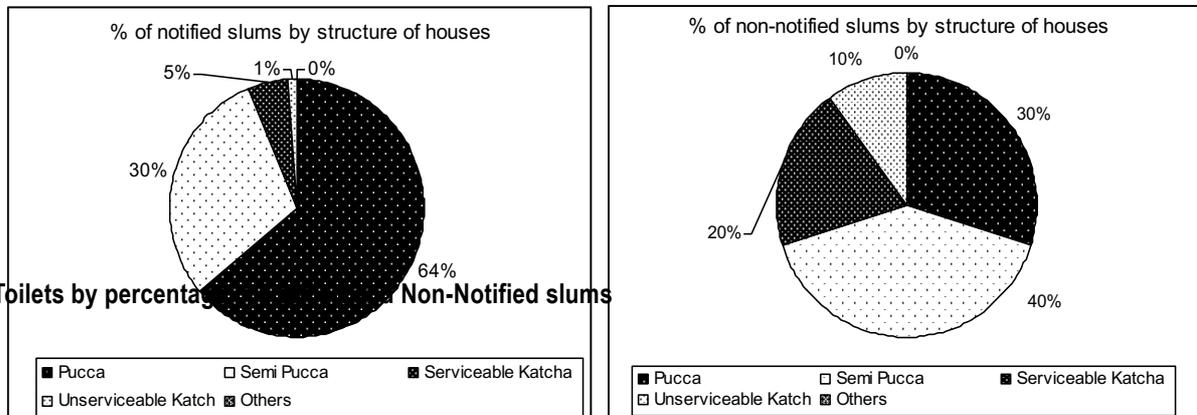
immense difference in the socio economic profile, construction material, houses, basic services, poverty level, infrastructure availability, land legality, environment etc. among the slum settlements, Is it really possible to draft the single policy that may be useful and effective to all kind of slums? Till date the cities and countries are trying to learn the lessons from the best practices related to slums from the other cities and countries. Some of the cities have also adopted these lessons and tried in their respective cities but most of them were unsuccessful and failed in delivering the desired result. Why is it so? Is it the best practice was not really good? As mentioned above each city and slum settlement has a different characteristics, profile, features, policies etc., the best practice that might have worked well in that particular context may not work so well in other cities and nations.

It is not that the slums only exist in developing or least developed nations but slums do exist in developed nations too (refer Table 1). It is quite true that the policy that has worked very well in the developed nations (due to stabilized and high economy) may not work well in the least developed nations. As per UN-HABITAT, approx. 1 billion i.e. one-third of the total world urban population lives in slums and there are more than 16 nations with a slum population more than 10 millions. The countries like China and India are having a slum population of more than 150 millions and in the nations like Ethiopia, Chad, Mozambique, Madagascar, Nepal etc., it has been reported that more than 90% of the total urban population lives in slums or in other words the slum population dominates the country. It is quite natural and a known fact that in these countries, all the slums settlements won't have same characteristics, amenities and socio economic profile. They will definitely differ in some respect or the other. The cities and nations will have different typology of slum settlements like old and new slums, legal & illegal slums, overcrowded and uncrowded slums, big and small slums, slums with better facilities and worst facilities etc.

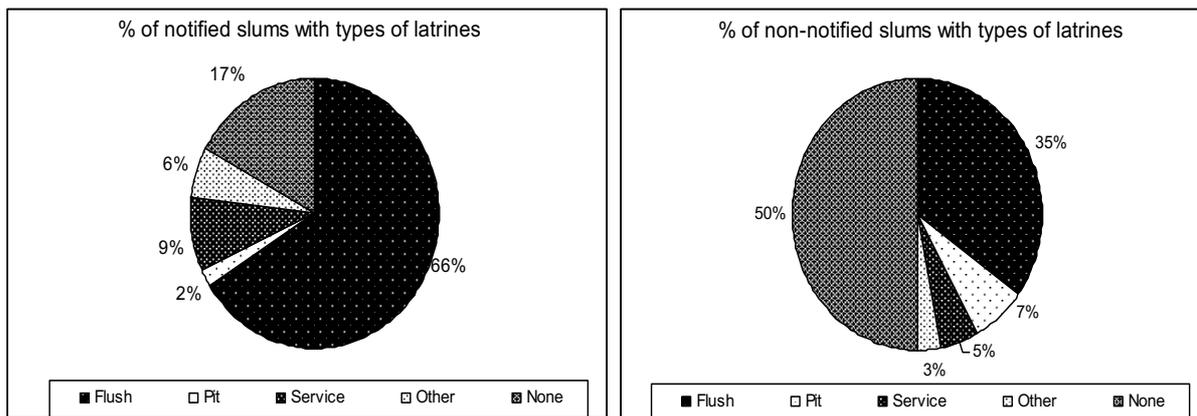
Considering the case of India, NSS 58th Report 2002, stated the slums as per the status of notification of slums (notified or non notified slums), land owner (railways, defence, airport, highway, local authority, others), types of houses (Pucca, Semi Pucca, Kutcha etc) (ref Fig 5), Source of drinking water (tap, well, tubewell, others), Electricity (household, street, no light etc), roads (motorable, non motorable, pucca, kutcha etc), water logging in monsoon, latrines types (flush, service, pit, none etc.) (ref Fig 6),

ig. 3 Type of Structures by percentage in Notified and Non Notified slums

Drainage (open, covered, pucca, kutcha etc), Garbage collection agency and school & hospital location from slum settlements.



ig. 4. Type of Toilets by percentage in Notified and Non-Notified slums



The NSS 58th Report, 2002 provides a general overview of the slums and at the same time has also classified the slums into different typologies. The slums can be categorized or typologies can be created based on notification, house types, water facility, toilet availability, electricity connection, road types, drainage conditions, location of the social facilities etc. A combination of

certain parameters may be used to categorize the slums into various categories.

Under these prevailing conditions where there is such a variety and typology of slums settlements exist in the cities/countries, it becomes vital to categorize such mass of slums into different categories. Such categorization will assist the decision makers in drafting the various policies and approaches towards the different categories of slums settlements. Once a mechanism can be established than the slums can

Photo A (Jhansi slum)

Photo B (Delhi slum)

be compared within nation and with different nations. Currently there is not a true comparison of slums between the various nations or cities as there is no categories of slums exist and all type of slums are just falling under one category called SLUMS. (Referred by different names in different countries & cities).

In case of India, the photos A and B will establish the relevance and necessity for the categorization of



the slum into different categories. Photo A is of the one of the good slum in Jhansi (UP), a small city, as notified by District Urban Development Agency (DUDA), Jhansi and the Photo B is of the slums in the capital of India, Delhi. Are both these slums are same ? Do they need same policies? Do they need the same type of subsidies and grants? Of course not. The slums with the worst living conditions need to be identified first and maximum subsidy and efforts needs to be diverted for the development of these slums. Under various program like VAMBAY, NSDP etc, thousands of slums are benefited, and after development, will it be right to consider them again a slum and provide subsidies and grants for forever?

The need is to categorize the slums into various categories and then accordingly specific policies may be drafted for the better and the worst slums.

Assuming in general that after categorization (say all settlements in the world divided into 4 categories, Slum- I is the best and Slum –IV being the worst one) the major percentage of slums of the developed nation will fall into the category say Slum –I (in the best condition with better facilities and amenities as compared to other slums settlements worldwide) and in least developed nation they may fall in the category say Slum –IV (in the worst condition with worst facilities and amenities as compared to other slums settlements worldwide). Such comparison will be true in nature and will assist the decision makers in drafting effective and workable policies. The categorization can be done using different methodology and principles but in this paper author presents certain general categories in which these slum settlements can be classified. These are as follows:

Religion/ Caste System: Classification using the caste system as it has been observed in the countries like India & Pakistan that the people of similar caste are living together.

Place of Migration: There are slums settlements comprising of people of certain region or location. Slum settlements can also be classified based on rural or urban migrating people.

Location of Slums: The location of slums can be good criteria for categorizing purpose. The location can be in reference to CBD or it may be as per the hazardous location like settlement along the flood plains, garbage dump etc.

Tenure status of the land: As tenure status has always been given the prime importance, the settlements can be classified as per the ownership of the land – legal, illegal, private or public.

Population/Area/Density of the slums: As slum settlement differs in population, area or density, they may be classified using such parameters.

Age of the slum settlement: It has been reported that some slum settlements are more than 50 yrs old and some are recently emerged. Thereby the age of a slum settlement can assist in categorizing

slums into various categories.

Socio Economic Condition of the slum: Various types of slums will vary in socio-economic conditions and may also be used in classification of slums.

Infrastructure facilities in the slums: The level of services and basic amenities like water, toilets etc that lacks in the slums will be a good indicator for the classification of slums.

Further research needs to be required to develop a workable methodology to categorize these settlements into categories. A combination of parameters as mentioned above will assist in categorizing slums into various categories.

7. Conclusion :

With such a huge mass of population reported living in slums across the different parts of world, it is an urgent need to reconsider our approach towards these slum settlements. The past policies and approaches were not able to provide a complete solution to this gigantic problem. To start with, it is required to have a tangible definition of slums and if possible a universal definition of a slum worldwide will resolve certain issues & confusion. This process will be able to present the true situation of slums settlements and then only a comparison can be made within different nation and cities. To add to it if these slum settlements can be categorized into different categories just like as cities are categorized in various classes or like urban/rural areas are classified, then a priority for improvement can be set up by the respective local bodies and governments. This categorization of slum settlements with an input of effective policies may be able to control the mushrooming of slum settlements and can reduce the slum population in the world.

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Historically generated local identity: the impact of modern planning strategies on the historic core and old places in cities

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Abstract

The most important aspects of specific identities of cities are generated through the course of their history and are based on the inherited cultural values. These values are not merely transmitted through buildings and physical elements remained from the past and often considered as museum objects. Cultural heritage, once a concept referring exclusively to the monumental remains of cultures, has gradually been extended to include a series of intangible modes of heritage reflecting the continuity in human social life. Cities, which in their entirety encompass the important parts of the material cultural heritage, bear in the spatial structures underlying their physical constructs the intangible modes of cultural heritage which are most involved in our everyday life. The urban spatial system, depending on how it becomes configured, forms patterns of movement, encounter, and co-presence, which reflect and affect the fundamental cultural aspects of our urban life. Urban spatial configurations are generated and evolved throughout the history of cities. They bear the trace of the past but they reflect living culture rather than an ossified image of the past. This paper investigates the evolvement of urban spatial systems in the Swedish city of Gothenburg and a series of Iranian cities which originally belonged to two distinct cultural types of cities. The paper discusses the impact of different urban design and planning strategies on the historic cores and old places in these cities. Space Syntax theory and methodology is applied for analysing the spatial structure of the cities in different historical periods. The analytic process in Space Syntax aims to explore the complexities of the organic

relation between urban societies to their spatial existence. This process can be described as a move from the observable feature of the built form of cities to the abstract spatial structure underlying the physical forms, and a return to the observable world through representing and modelling the spatial patterns and describing their properties by quantifiable measures and displaying correlations between these measures and observable functions. In the studies presented in this paper the existing functional situation of historic urban areas (including old bazaars in the case of Iranian cities) are explained in terms of syntactic (configurational) properties of the urban spatial structure in these areas and their structural position, as local sub-systems, in the context of the global urban system. In one case of the studied Iranian cities the modern urban development, improperly, changed the configurational position of the bazaar complex in the city causing its complete functional decline, although the bazaar was not touched directly by spatial interventions carried out, and despite that its physical construct was maintained in fairly good order. The whole study shows that places with historical background in cities in different part of the world, where they are actively used are not really old places. Although they have old buildings and we may call them names beginning with the prefix 'old'. They are, in actual fact, new places in new configurations. The main concern should not be directed only towards the preservation of the physical order of their buildings. From the point of view of content, what is and can be preserved of old places is not the exact form of their old functions and meanings, but it is their life in general, which in the context of new spatial and social configurations will bear new meaning and create new identities for cities. The results of the studies open way for developing the conceptualization of urban spatial configuration as intangible cultural heritage. These results provide measures for assessing urban design projects which attempt to counteract the process of decline and to enhance the liveliness of historic areas in cities.

The historic cores of Iranian cities

In Iranian cities the historic cores, in spite of their usually central position, are not capable to accommodate the contemporary requirements of life in a modern city centre, since they were generated by quite different social, economic and material circumstances to those which prevail today (Karimi & Hanson, 1999). A comparison with a city, whose historic core does function as a modern city centre, helps clarifying the situation of the historic cores of Iranian cities. Figure 1 shows the configurational properties of the urban system of the Swedish city of Gothenburg and the city of Yazd in Iran.

The historic core in Gothenburg is the syntactic core of the existing city. It constitutes a highly intelligible substructure in the context of the whole city. These spatial properties are, if not the only but an essential, prerequisite for a local urban area to work as an active city centre. A large variety of known urban functions are concentrated in the city centre but its attractiveness goes beyond the definite functions. Hillier, pointing at the extraordinary spatial culture of the city of London, writes: "space constructs an expressive rather than instrumental sociality. More practically, the distinctive 'spatial culture' of the City is a prime component of the famous quality of life which draws both individuals and organisations to the city" (Hillier, 2001). This wide and rich function of space is also fulfilled in the city centre of Gothenburg, a city much smaller than London of course.

The plan layout proposed by the Dutchmen in the first city council of Gothenburg 1621 provided, besides defence possibilities, a distributed network of public spaces. This urban network facilitated a distributed pattern of social contacts in an urban society based on civil principles, which are still confirmed.

In the city of Yazd, figure 1, the historic zone is not the syntactic core of the existing urban spatial system. Neither does it constitute any intelligible local structure in the context of the whole city. This reflects the history of the Iranian city, the transformation of a city with quarters highly segregated from each other forming a deep spatial structure that put high control over movements and encounters into a clearly new type of city with a spatial configuration in which the traditional spatial control over social contacts is abandoned.

The problem of decline of the historic cores

The problem of the historic cores of Iranian cities is not their inadequacy in functioning as a city centre. The main concern is their overall impoverishment. A study about the city of Yazd discusses that the structural changes caused by the construction of new streets through the old city of Yazd increased the spatial segregation in the traditional fabric of the city, which led to the decline of the historic core of the city (Abbaszadehgan, 2002). According to this study ruined buildings are mostly located in the syntactically deepest part of the historic core of the city. Though this has been the case in some Iranian cities, in Yazd closer investigation does not confirm this matter. Figure 2 shows the distribution of the abandoned real states in the city of Yazd. The marked patches are the areas with lowest value of integration within and around the historic core of the city. Abandoned properties are not at all concentrated in the deepest regions of the historic core of the city. They are scattered all over the old parts of the city. In figure 2 besides a large cluster of abandoned properties in the central part of the city there are 8 smaller clusters, which in fact display the locations of the previous villages that later merged into the city. Neither these clusters are located in the highly segregated areas. Some of the old villages have obtained much higher integration than their neighbouring areas but have a relatively large cluster of abandoned properties.

In the city of Yazd, the decline of old urban areas has not happened during the first phase of development of the city and the first wave of building new streets. It is the result of later expansion of the city that got a much higher speed after the land reform initiated in 1962. The growth of abandoned properties in the old parts of the city of Yazd can be related to the favourable condition for expansion of the city, social tendencies and the interest of developers.

The decline of historic cores is not common to all Iranian cities. In figure 3 the two maps display a residential area in the historic part of the Iranian city of Rasht with a traditional texture. The first map belongs to the late 1950s and the other shows the present state of the district. It is clearly visible that during a period of four decades a process of rebuilding and building new houses has been going on in this residential area. The building density has not only increased along the edge of the new streets, it has also become denser in the depth of the residential area. Obviously this is not a sign of the decline of this area.

The decline in the historic core of Iranian cities includes mostly the residential zones. The relation between a spatial factor, like configurational segregation, and the decline of these zones is a subtle issue since a relative segregation is not basically a disadvantage for residential areas in cities. In the city of Rasht, subdivision of private properties and the intensification of land use in the traditional residential areas that was a process opposite to the process of decline, naturally, made the local spatial structure of these areas even deeper. Here the relative increase of depth in neighbourhoods with traditional texture was caused by an internal local process rather than by global imposition of the (as is customarily said) incompatible modern street system. To separate spatial determinants from non-spatial factors involved in the decline of the historic cores in Iranian cities does not seem to be a simple task.

The traditional bazaar, the modern avenue

Functional situation of the old bazaars in the historic cores of Iranian cities, in comparison with the condition of the residential sectors, reflects the effects of spatial factors much clearer. Retail activities and shops are the most movement related urban functions and elements. Regarding the generally proved correlation between movement and spatial configurations in cities, application of space syntax analysis makes it possible to investigate the spatial effects of the changes in the global urban structure of Iranian cities over the old bazaars. Yet more precision in distinguishing the spatial effects can be obtained by studying the changes in the social and economic status of old bazaars after the emergence of new urban forms. We need to know if, after a period of global changes in Iranian cities, there was any cultural discrimination between the bazaar and the avenue, as a new urban phenomenon, in sharing the activities that once was mostly a part of the monopoly of the bazaar.

The bazaar of traditional Iranian city was a concentrated complex of craftsmen, retailers, and wholesalers. It was the commercial centre of the city. But the bazaar was not only a locale for shopping and business activities. As an institution, the bazaar dominated all economic activities in the city and its surrounding region and, because of this, had a high social status. This was in concordance with the spatial position of the bazaar, which constituted the structural core of urban spatial system in the traditional Iranian city.

After the constitutional revolution (1906 – 1911) the bazaar began to lose its dominating status in the cities. In the later waves of economic developments at national level, a major part of economic functions moved from the bazaar. The most important wholesale merchants became involved in the emerging large-scale industries and modern shipping and trucking that bypassed the bazaar both spatially and organisationally. But this did not lead to the demise of the central bazaar. Retail activities kept it alive. However even at this level a spatial alternative to the bazaar (the modern avenue) had emerged, shopkeepers and retailer-producers did not abandon the bazaar for the avenues.

Four decades after the building of the first avenues in the city of Yazd in early 1930s, of the approximately 3,500 commercial establishments, a quarter were still concentrated in the central old bazaar of the city, a half were located on the new avenues and the remaining quarter consisted of shops clustered in the small local bazaars of traditional neighbourhoods and scattered shops (Bonine, 1981). Bonine's survey, concerning locational changes of shops in

Yazd between 1951 and 1971, shows that there was no concerted movement to the avenues. In 1971, on the avenues 12% of new shopkeepers were those who had moved from the bazaar while in the bazaar 10% of new shopkeepers had come from the avenues. These moves were much lesser than relocation of shops within the bazaar or on the avenues. Most importantly, there is no specific public attitude favouring either the avenues or the bazaars against the other. In this situation the impact of the spatial factor on the function of the bazaar can be measured with more precision.

The changed configurational position of the bazaar

In the first waves of modern urban construction in Iran the bazaar was not the main concern. But it was not completely neglected. In the initial phases of urban development with abandonment of traditional pattern, the bazaar still maintained the major parts of its functions as the economic and commercial centre of the city. Accessibility to the bazaar was important and the new streets would not hinder but facilitate this accessibility. The original relation of the bazaar of all major Iranian cities with the first new streets was the foundation on which the bazaar became knitted to the emerging urban structure in the later phases of development. In the new urban system the bazaar has a structural position, different to the position of a traditional bazaar in a traditional Iranian city. In this concern, talking of “configurational displacement of the bazaar” is not relevant. The urban context in which the bazaar may be supposed to have been displaced does not exist. Neither is the existing bazaar the same urban element as the bazaar of a traditional city.

The traditional bazaar accommodated a large series of activities related to trade, production, and storage. Many of the activities of the traditional bazaar have disappeared and the placement of those that continue does not follow the original spatial logic. The growing goldsmith shops in the bazaar of Yazd, for example, expanded into the adjacent cloth bazaar and the wealthiest jewellery retailers moved to the shops closer to the avenue.

The spatial analyses of the bazaars in this study do not concern the original structure of the bazaar and its transformation. Retail is now the predominant activity in the old bazaars of Iranian cities. There are new groupings of commercial units in different bazaars. This study, without dealing with the detail distribution of different kinds of shops in the bazaars, investigates the general spatial characteristics that can be associated with the success of the bazaars as places with high concentration of retail activities.

In the studied cities the spatial relation between the new streets and the old bazaars is different. In some cases the new avenues are built right through the bazaar complexes. In others, one or two streets intersect the major branch of the bazaar on its end/ends or in its middle, and a perpendicular street crosses the minor branches of the bazaar or the old thoroughfares connected to the main trunk of the bazaar. There are also cases where the new streets are drawn close to the bazaar and are connected to it through secondary routs without destroying any part of the bazaar. The existing bazaars function in close relation to the new streets and with different grade of dependency on them. The functioning old bazaar and the new streets constitute an integrated spatial system. The analysis of the present situation of the spatial structure of nine Iranian cities shows that in eight of these cities, although the bazaar complex is not the syntactic core of the city it constitutes an intelligible substructure in connection with the most integrated lines in the

city. Only the bazaar of the minor city of Nain lacks this property. In this city the bazaar is completely inactive while its physical construction is in good condition.

Figure 4 shows the typical scattergram of global integration against local integration for the nine cities. The selected groups of lines in the scattergrams are the bazaars. The value of intelligibility (r -squared) for the bazaars in the eight cities that are functioning well are between 0.9101 (for the bazaar of the city of Semnan) and 0.5710 (for the bazaar of the city of Rasht). This value for the bazaar of Nain, which is excluded from the group of functioning bazaars, is 0.4844. This value is close to the r -squared for the bazaar of Rasht (the most growing and active bazaar in the studied cases). Seemingly this sounds strange. But the functioning bazaars, including the bazaar of Rasht, do constitute a homogeneous group, from which the bazaar of Nain is excluded. In the scattergrams in figure 4 all of the selected clusters of dots representing the functioning bazaars are concentrated around regression lines close to the right edge of the scattergram of the whole city. This indicates the easy accessibility of these bazaars in the global urban systems of the cities. The bazaar of Nain lacks this property.

Concerning the very factor of intelligibility there is a vast difference between the local structure of the bazaar in Rasht and in Nain, though the absolute values of r -squared in both cases are very close to each other. The global urban structure varies in the eight cities with functioning bazaars, concerning the value of mean global integration and global intelligibility. For comparing the local spatial systems of the functioning bazaars in the context of a differentiated global spatial configuration there is a consistent measure. The degree of distinction and intelligibility of a local structure in a global spatial system is logically related to the difference between r -squared value of the local system and the intelligibility of the global system. In the eight cities with functioning bazaars the average of the difference between the r -squared values of local and global systems is 0.49. The difference values in all of the eight cities are close to this average. This difference in the city of Rasht, with the global intelligibility of 0.1657 and an r -squared of 0.5710 for the local spatial system of the bazaar, is 0.41, which is higher than the minimum difference value of 0.37 that belongs to the city of Hamedan. In Nain the difference between r -squared values for the global system and the bazaar is 0.08 and because of this, the city is completely excluded from the group of the cities with functioning bazaars. In Nain the global urban system is highly intelligible (r -squared = 0.4066). In this spatial system, the old bazaar losing, its spatial distinction and becoming an anonymous space, declined to a degree that it was not capable to function even as a minor local bazaar. The bazaars in the group of the eight cities are still functioning at the scale of the whole city because of their local distinction and easy global accessibility.

The global spatial impact and the local self-organising processes

The process of urbanisation of the Iranian society got an accelerating pace after the initiation of the land reforms of 1960s. In a short period of time the population of Iranian cities doubled and tripled. The changes in Iranian cities during the last four decades did not only concern the expansion of cities. The cities have also evolved structurally. The bazaars were not always passively affected by global changes. There are cases where the bazaar, as a local spatial system has, constructively interacted with the global spatial structures of the cities in the process of their spatial evolution. The configurational changes of the bazaar and the whole urban system in the four Iranian cities of Nain, Yazd, Hamedan and Rasht during the last four decades have been

studied. The general information about the functional changes of the bazaar in these cities correlates with the spatial changes.

Figure 5 shows the spatial structure of the city of Nain and its bazaar in three phases from the late 1950s up to now. The global integration map of the old city is also presented to show the situation of the bazaar in the city. The bazaar had a simple structure, consisting of a slightly winding line connecting the southern gate of the city to the Congregational Mosque in the heart of the city (figure 6). Until late 1950s the development of the city did not have a destructive effect on the bazaar of the city, though the integration core of the city moved from the centre of the old city to a place outside its old southern gate. The segment of the bazaar near to this place was located 8 syntactic steps away from the most integrated line in the city (the new long east-west street). However, it obtained an integration value of 0.7817 that was very close to the highest integration value that was 0.8095 (a difference of just 0.03). The main process of functional destruction of the bazaar began with the building of a street that cut through the traditional fabric of the city and was parallel with the old bazaar (figure 7). This process has been completed now, of course without any direct construction intervention in the bazaar. The integration value of the line constituting the segment of the bazaar I mentioned above has increased to 0.8946 while the long east-west street, remaining the most integrated line, has obtained a value of 1.5331. The difference between the integration values of the two lines has increased from 0.03 to 0.64.

The process of destruction of the bazaar of Nain is also manifested in the scattergrams in figure 5. The selected cluster of dots, representing the simple old bazaar moves from the right edge of the scattergram in the old city towards the left edge. The difference between r-squared for the selected lines (the lines of the bazaar) and the global intelligibility decreases from 0.45 in the old city to 0.08 in the existing city. Until late 1950s this difference was still high ($0.6757 - 0.3615 = 0.3142$). The bazaar constituted a rather intelligible local structure fairly close to the integration core in the city. It is during the last four decades that the local structure of the bazaar in Nain fades away in the global spatial configuration of the city. The changes in the structural position of the old bazaar of Nain were accompanied with its complete functional decline. This happened to the bazaar, although it was not touched directly by spatial interventions carried out, and despite that it was maintained in fairly good order. Figure 8 depicts the bazaar of Nain on a working day. Today only 11 of 154 shops in the bazaar are still active.

In the city of Yazd the first major avenue was constructed in the early 1930s through an area in the vicinity of the bazaar of the city. This avenue, from the date it was constructed, has always been the most integrated line in the city. The latter avenue was built right through the bazaar and became, and still is, an integrated part of the bazaar, figure 9. The analysis of the urban structure of the city of Yazd in the late 1950s shows that the bazaar in connection with the two major avenues forms a local structure with an r-squared of 0.5913 (0.37 higher than the r-squared for the whole city). In the present state the bazaar has become a more distinct and intelligible local system in the context of the global spatial structure of the city. The value of r-squared for the complex of the bazaar within the whole city is now 0.7497, with a difference of 0.47 to the value of intelligibility for the whole city.

A spatial characteristic of the bazaar of Yazd is its extreme and continuous dependence on the street that was built through it in the 1930s (this, we will see, is in complete contrast to the bazaar of the city of Rasht). The separate integration map of the bazaar complex shows that this avenue is the most integrated line in the complex (figure 9). Without this avenue the spatial system of the bazaar collapses. This explains the bazaar's wealthy goldsmiths' interest in moving their business to a shop closer to this avenue (Bonine 1981).

In the city of Hamedan, the construction of new streets had the most drastic impact on the traditional fabric of the old city. One of the six new radial streets cuts diagonally through the bazaar of the city, figure 10. Nevertheless, this construction, in similarity to the cases in other Iranian cities, did not have a destructive effect on the function of the bazaar in the new urban environment. Like the bazaar of Yazd, in the separate integration map of the bazaar complex of Hamedan, one of the new streets is the most integrated line. But in Hamedan the bazaar complex has a more distributed spatial configuration and the complex remains an integrated spatial system even after omitting the streets from the system.

The minor changes in the configurational position of the bazaar of Hamedan, from the late 1950s up to now, are caused by the pattern of the urban development of the city. The absolute value of r -squared for the bazaar complex in the context of the whole city decreased slightly from 0.6676 to 0.6034 (figure 10). But this does not mean that the bazaar complex of Hamedan, as a substructure in the whole urban system, has become less intelligible. Contrarily, it has become somewhat more intelligible. The difference between r -squared value for the selected lines of the local system of the bazaar and the intelligibility in the global system has increased from 0.31 to 0.37. The global integration in the city of Hamedan, in the course of four decades of urban development, has just increased slightly. Unlike the two cities of Rasht and Yazd, in Hamedan the intelligibility of the global urban system has decreased (from a rather high value of 0.3501 in late the 1950s to 0.2288 in the present state). In the scattergrams in figure 10 the cluster of selected dots representing the bazaar complex of Hamedan has become more compact but has moved away slightly from the right edge of the scattergram. This means a slight decrease in the accessibility of the bazaar complex in the city of Hamedan. This decrease in accessibility includes also the radial streets. The integration values of all the four radial streets involved in the bazaar complex have decreased under the impact of the ring road projects accomplished in recent years (see also van Nes, 2001). In the integration map of the present state of Hamedan the most integrated lines are located in the peripheral areas of the city.

In the city of Rasht the initial construction intervention in the traditional texture of the city and the later urban developments were carried out through more parsimonious plans. This provided possibilities for the bazaar of the city to interact with the global system and evolve with more independence. The first modern square with the city hall and other public buildings was built near the old bazaar of the city (figure 11). The new streets that converged in this square left the internal structure of the bazaar intact while providing new access to the bazaar complex in addition to the direct access from the surrounding areas with traditional texture.

The axial analyses based on the plan layout of the city of Rasht from the late 1950s, figure 12, shows that the city of Rasht, in comparison with Yazd and Hamedan, had a spatial structure with rather low mean global integration (0.6646) and global intelligibility (0.1635). However, the

whole quarter of the old bazaar in Rasht constituted an intelligible substructure within the global urban system with an r-squared of 0.5147, which was 0.35 higher than the r-squared of the global system. In the separate integration map of the bazaar quarter of Rasht in this period the most integrated lines in the centre of the system represent the traditional thoroughfares of the bazaar. The new streets, with their peripheral locations, have an auxiliary function facilitating movement and accessibility at the scale of the local spatial system of the bazaar. Because of this, the local system of the bazaar, even without the new streets, remains an integrated system with the same pattern of concentration and distribution of integration.

The bazaar of Rasht in the late 1950s, many decades after the building of the new streets, while being well integrated in the global structure of the city, functioned as a local spatial system with a high degree of independence. This characteristic property paved the way for the spatial evolvement of the bazaar in association with the expansion and intensification of its functions in the accelerating process of urban development during the last four decades.

The global integration map representing the present state of the global spatial structure of the city of Rasht, figure 13, shows that, unlike the case of the city of Hamedan, the most integrated lines remain in the central areas of the city. The mean global integration has increased to 0.7856. The integration value of the two most integrating streets, which constitute the northern and western boundaries of the bazaar quarter in Rasht, have increased from 1.1061 and 1.1735 to 1.2516 and 1.3076 respectively. In the local global scattergram, figure 13, the selected dots representing the bazaar quarter, in comparison to the situation in the late 1950s, form a denser cluster closer to the right edge of the whole scatter. The intelligibility in the global spatial structure of the city has increased slightly to 0.1657, but the r-squared for the substructure of the bazaar quarter has increased with a higher pace to 0.5710 so that its difference to the r-squared for the whole city has also increased from 0.35 to 0.41, which means more distinction of the bazaar as a subsystem in the city. The analyses of the spatial configuration of the present bazaar quarter, separated from the whole city, will show how the positive changes in the properties of the bazaar as a urban substructure has been generated through self-organising local processes.

The separate integration map of the bazaar quarter in its present state (figure 13) displays that the concentration and distribution of integration has acquired a yet more logical pattern, emphasising the importance of the original thoroughfares in the traditional bazaar. The internal spatial structure of the bazaar has become much more integrated and intelligible (mean I_n = 1.3991, r-squared = 0.7781). This means that movement and accessibility within the bazaar have become much easier while the accessibility to the bazaar from all parts of the city has also improved. The integration map of the bazaar quarter without the two major streets (figure 13) confirms that the improved configurational properties of the bazaar of Rasht have been the result of local processes in interplay with global spatial enhancements.

The retail activity is the most longstanding function of bazaars with potential for growth. It has been capable to replace the declined and abandoned functions of the traditional bazaars in Iranian cities. In the city of Rasht the proliferation of the retail activity entailed a spatial adaptation of the bazaar. What has actually happened in the evolvement of the bazaar in Rasht is not complicated. Shops are highly dependent on pedestrian movement. In the bazaar of Rasht, in a distributed process of reconstruction, the generic law of natural movement has been intuitively

followed. Everywhere it was possible, the existing lines with high movement densities have been linked to channel as much as possible of the movement through a property, which would be rebuilt to provide new shops. It was not difficult to understand that dead-end lines do not attract much movement. The emergence of new rings both increased the internal integration of the bazaar and made it more integrated into the global system of the city.

Conclusion and opening

The bazaar, the core of the historic core in Iranian cities, has had the capacity to become integrated in a spatial system different from the system in which it was originally integrated. This depends on the flexibility and adaptability of the internal spatial system of the bazaar, which was historically organised to facilitate movement and accessibility. Functionally, the bazaar has proved to be a dynamic organism, which continues to change in complexion to adjust to changing economic condition but only when the global spatial prerequisites are provided. The studied cases show that the best result can be obtained when global planned interventions, while providing easy access to the bazaar as an already integrated body, leave space for local processes of evolution and growth of the bazaar. The entire historic cores of Iranian cities, confronting the problem of decline, do not possess the spatial adaptability of the old bazaars. But they may benefit from the integration of the bazaars in the existing urban system. The growth of the bazaar of the city of Rasht has upgraded it to an attractive meeting place in the city (figure 15). This has been an expansion of the sphere of influence of the bazaar of Rasht, which seems to have enhanced the improvement of its surrounding areas containing residential zones with traditional urban texture. There has not been any remarkable decline in these zones during the last decades. Finding the exact relation between the improvement of the bazaars in Iranian cities and the situation of their surrounding historic zones entails further research. But so far, the existing knowledge suggests that analysis of the condition of bazaars can be the point of departure in dealing with the question of decline of the historic cores in Iranian cities. Old Iranian bazaars or other places with historical background in any city around the world, where they are actively used, are not really *old places*. Although they have old buildings and we may call them names beginning with the prefix 'old'. They are, in actual fact, *new places* in new configurations. From the point of view of content, what is and can be preserved of old bazaars, old places, is not just the exact form of their old physical construct, but it is their *life* in general, which depends mainly on the properties of their spatial configurations and their structural position in the context of evolving cities. To preserve old places as living cultural heritage we need to consider urban spatial configuration as cultural heritage.

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Analysis of the Sociological Reasons of China's Amending the Rules on Urban Residential Area Planning and Designing

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ABSTRACT:

The Ministry of Construction of the People's Republic of China is the supreme authority administrating construction activities. The quantitative standards set out in the Urban Residential Area Planning and Designing Rules (hereinafter the Rules) issued by China's Ministry of Construction are statutory rules which developers must strictly observe in developing and constructing residential areas. In 2002, China's Ministry of Construction amended the Rules has been applied since 1993.

By comparing the differences between the former Rules and that of the newly amended one, the paper found that the new Rules contains the following amendments based on the former Rules: (1) The new Rules lowered the standard of average number of people per household while increased the standard of number of households in a residential area; (2) The new Rules added the requirement to include residence for the senior in the residential area and stipulate a series of detailed standards in accordance with the requirement; (3) The residential area consists of houses, public facilities, green areas and roads, which are four different kinds of land use. The new Rules adjusted the percentages of the four kinds of land use, lowering the percentage of land use for public facilities and adjusting the composition of the public facilities as well as the scale of each facility, in which, the types of commercial public facilities were reduced; the percentage of land use for commercial and educational facilities was reduced; the percentage of land use for medical and related public service facilities was increased; and (4) The new Rules increased the percentage of land use for roads and parking facilities.

The research found the adjustments in the new Rules have the following sociological reasons: (1) The structure of Chinese families tends to be smaller- core family becomes mainstream while the percentage of empty nest families is increasing. (2) Population ageing is getting fast in China. The minorities such as senior citizens have been paid close attention to by society. (3) Expenditure structure of Chinese people has upgraded. The expenditure has shifted from for basic daily life needs to for development and enjoyment needs. (4) In order to promote the development of automobile industry, Chinese government has formulated and carried out the policies encouraging individuals buying cars, which has seen effects. The number of cars owned by Chinese households has increased rapidly. Certainly, there are some other reasons.

The development and changes of China's residential areas are profoundly influenced by various macro-economic policies made by Chinese government and traditional Chinese culture. Therefore, city planning and designing rules, e.g., the Rules, should not be fixed and unchanged. The regulative, authoritative and instructive roles of the Rules will be played fully only when it is adjusted timely to fit China's social and economic development trend and meet the requirements of other government policies.

KEY WORDS:

the Rules, Sociology, family structure, population age structure, expenditure structure

I. Comparison of the amended contents of the new Rules and the old Rules

The Ministry of Construction of the People's Republic of China is the supreme authority administrating construction activities. The quantitative standards set out in the Urban Residential Area Planning and Designing Rules issued by China's Ministry of Construction are statutory rules which developers must strictly observe in developing and constructing residential areas. The first edition of the Urban Residential Area Planning and Designing Rules (hereinafter the old Rules) was officially published and carried out on July 16, 1993. Nine years later in 2002, the Ministry of Construction amended some of the articles of the old Rules, producing the new Rules (hereinafter the new Rules). See the amendments in Table 1.

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2. Thematic Sessions

Global and Traditional Contemporary Local Planning Styles
Society, Culture and Politics

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A Dense Facade in Barcelona - The 1960s

An urban planning project –a complex project where more subjects are involved, with the basic aim of configuring open spaces and the relation of spaces between buildings and people in a specific territory– can be considered an accomplishment when it has the capacity to change the spatial and functional image of a place, while contemplating at the same time the relevance of its historical, cultural and social content, not only at the local level.

As a matter of fact, the history of urban planning uses, as a category of judgment, the relation not only between the “local” characteristics of projects, but also between the “international” traits of the large-scale urban transformation projects. This relationship should always be judged with respect to the historic moment in which the planning is drawn up and with respect to the long-term transformation of the city.

The change in the waterfront façade is the center of attention not only of a few urban planners but also of the city government and the port authorities during which process that, at the same time, drew up proposals related to their competencies. The aim of these projects was to control the waterfront figuratively, and they anticipate in this specific manner the large-scale recuperation projects of the ports of Baltimore and Boston, and above all else will definitively change the image of Barcelona's coast, which at the end of the 1980s is transformed into a leisure and residential zone.

During this time, in the western world, there is evidence of the development of large-scale urban planning theories, which attempt to recover urban complexity against the division of the city into homogeneous zones. In Barcelona some proposals are made which place it completely within the contemporary European architectural discourse, in spite of the country's strict economic, political and cultural self-sufficiency during the Franquist regime¹ up until the end of the 1950s, when Spain, with “developmentalism”, begins to open up to the exterior.

The Maritime Front in the 1960s

¹ There are many studies which demonstrate on the one hand the possibility of an autonomous discourse of the Arts, due to the minimal contact with the exterior, and on the other hand explain the lack of relationship with European cultural environments, citing as examples the experiences of the GATCPAC, Picasso, Dali, etc.

Barcelona, a Mediterranean and coastal city, loses the possibility of its contact with the sea from the end of the 19th century until the mid-20th century, as a consequence of the presence of the port, the industrialization of the entire coastal front, from the openings of sewage and storm drain openings to the sea and the spontaneous housing encampments on the beaches. In spite of the fact that the importance of the maritime front² is reclaimed during the 20th century, it's only until the 1960s that two projects are drawn up which, had they been fulfilled, would have "colonized" the entire coast along Barcelona with "residential buildings"³ and drawn the façade of the city towards the sea.

The two projects in question, patronized by the private sector within the legal boundaries of the Regional Plan of 1953, are the Special Organization Plan of the Southwest Zone of Montjuic (1964-1969), carried out by the architect Antoni Bonet (1913-1989), with the participation of Oriol Bohigas (1925-) and Josep Martorell (1925-); and the Ribera Plan (1964-1972) by Antoni Bonet. In the second project Bonet draws up a plan specifically for the port (1965-1966) with the engineer Gonzales Isla—who carries out the plan as director of the port—with the objective of reconverting the zone into a residential neighborhood.

These two projects, together with the General Port Plan⁴ (1964-1966), the Interconnecting Railway Plan (1966), the Barcelona Metro Plan (1966), and the proposal by the MOP (*Ministerio de Obras Públicas* or Ministry of Public Works) of a coastal throughway, give rise to a reflection about the circumstances that caused such an interest for the maritime front in the mid 1960s.

The "Special Organization Plan of the Southwest Zone of Montjuic" and the "Ribera Plan", interconnected with the future throughway projected by the MOP, proposed the construction of two neighborhoods characterized by a high density of residential buildings which would have solved the problems of congestion in Barcelona's historic center. These projects would have contrasted with Barcelona's processes of development in a centrifugal direction, especially toward the mountains, through a strategy of equilibrium that would have given more emphasis on the coastal façade.

While the first of these projects consisted of a group of residential buildings for 18,000 persons, called "Miramar" and located along Montjuic's southern slope, the second project would have occupied a wide strip of 500 meters by 6 kilometers between the Ciutadella Park and the Besos River, where 180.000 people could have lived.

The port project, which was never officially presented, included in the port itself residential buildings, commercial sites, as well as six skyscrapers in memory of the three represented in the Macià Plan (1934) by GATCPAC, with the collaboration of Le Corbusier.

These projects not only foresaw a large population density but also the integration of activities such as commerce, infrastructures for education and sports, as well as open public spaces and recreational spaces which would have been carried out in the same cross-section.

The purpose of this paper is not so much an investigation of the causes of the renewed interest for the Barcelona's seaside border, or the reason for Bonet's protagonism in these projects, but to highlight the relationship between these projects of the 1960s and contemporary projects on the same scale in the western world, and, in particular, with that architectural culture which made a schematic reading of the experiences of the 1920s and 1930s and which understood, above all else, typological

² It is important to remember the sequence of the projects for the seaside walkway: the Universal Exposition (1888), José Amargós (1894), Ricardo Alsina Amils (1899), Leon Jaussely (1907), José Ortega (1918).

³ During these years Antoni Bonet Castellana was projecting the Llobregat Plan (1966) and the Star Buildings (1963) in the Zona Franca.

⁴ The Railway Connection Plan foresees the elimination of the coastal Barcelona-Mataró line.

schematics as a simple formal level, proposing the recuperation of the complexity of the urban dynamic.⁵

The figure of Antoni Bonet, however, and specifically these projects for the coastal front reveal how a project is a work of synthesis not only of the author's professional experience but also of the socio-cultural and political movements, as well as the collective image of Barcelona's coastal border as a potential urban space, a plan which had been developing throughout a long period of time.

Criticism of the Coastal Reformation

The critique of architectural history tends to resolve the evaluation of these three projects as a simple product of a speculative will, on behalf of private investors, on property that was increasing in value because of a series of infrastructure improvements that the city was planning.

A critical analysis of the Ribera Plan was published in a 1974 book, *Barcelona, Capitalist Remodeling or Urban Development in the Eastern Ribera*⁶, caused by the criticism made by neighborhood groups and various professional groups, and the spread of a "Ribera Counterplan". These books note that "the Ribera Plan is the first important case which marks the introduction in Spanish urban planning of a process whose social and technical resonance in an advanced capitalist country has been employed extensively (in the intensive polemic of American 'Urban renewal' of the 1960s or the French 'Renovation urbaine')", a process defined as a large-scale private/sector urban remodeling.

The large scale, the population density, the functional and typological integration, an intermediate scale of the project and the emphasis of the project as a strategy which compromises the entire structure of the city⁷, appear to be some of the characteristics for which these plans may be considered "urban plans" and as urban, complex and interdependent pieces in their content, surpassing in this manner the mono-functional nature of zoning.

It's worth remembering that, coincidentally, the year these plans were being drawn up was described by Reyner Banham⁸ (1922-1988) as "1964, the mega-year", because Fumiko Maki (1928) utilized for the first time the term megastructure as *a large structure in which all or a part of the functions of a city could be carried out*. The definition ignores the mechanical aspects and the relationship between the structure and its components –modules– which characterize part of what has been defined as the megastructural experience, where the structure is characterized as being a rigid network in which the module can assume different compositions with respect to specific needs, without compromising the overall structure.

The Structure and the Components: Megastructuralism

The Ribera Plan, in its purest version of 1965⁹, is drawn as a 500×500 meter module (the equivalent of 4 Cerdà blocks). These are repeated seven times without any deformation of preexistent areas or structures, as would be the case of the presence of the Eastern Cemetery or the consolidated urban structure of Poble Nou.

⁵ Tafuri, M.; Dal Co, F. (1978) *History of Contemporary Architecture*, Electa Milano.

⁶ de Solà Morales, M.; Busquets J.; Domingo, M.; Font, A.; Gómez Ordóñez, J.L. (1974), *Barcelona, Capitalist Remodeling or Urban Development in the Eastern Ribera*, G. Gili, Barcelona.

⁷ de Solà Morales, Manel (1990), "Another Modern Tradition", *Lotus International*, No. 64.

⁸ Banham, Reyner (1976), *Megastructures, Urban Future of the Recent Past*, G. Gili, Barcelona, 2000, pp. 60-61.

⁹ The development of the Ribera Plan is a long process between 1964 and 1969, when it is finally presented to the city government. During this period the project is deformed or adjusted according to the criticisms received.

These *superblocks*, which constitute the module of the urban plan, are developed over a structure which constitutes an artificial ground installed six meters above the natural terrain, so that the structures acquire a favorable position facing the Mediterranean Sea, obtaining in this manner the independence of the pedestrian and automobiles movements. However, part of this artificial terrain is omitted, in the center of the *superblock*, to create a central park for each module, proposing in this manner the connection of public and private spaces.

Three different types of residential, skyscrapers, blocks and cross-shaped buildings are placed on top of this large platform, including commercial spaces and recreational services for the neighborhood, while in the two underground levels there is space for parking and storage. In this way, because of its surface area and density, each sector becomes an autonomous element where all of man's basic activities can be accomplished.

The utilization of a rigid structure, a grid or diagram in the current architectural language, as "Laying down a grid should be mapping of the possible, not restrain order" (Cecil Balmond), has been the architectural response to different aspects of the society of the 1960s.

If on one hand the large density and the modular repetition recalls Fordist production, the possibility of varying the modules within the grid introduces the flexible post-Fordist production system.

There are multiple examples in the 1960s. This is the case of some of the proposals by George Candilis (1913-1995), and in particular the 1963 proposal for the organization of Frankfurt's central region, as well as the Frei University of Berlin, or Kenzo Tange's 1961 Plan for Tokyo Bay, or Alison and Peter Smithson's 1957 Berlin Hauptstadt Project.

It's worth noting that the long-term administrative process of the Barcelona coastal project, from 1965 to 1972, caused by a large amount of signed objections, caused a series of variations which, in this sense the most notable are the variations of the module with respect to the preexistent urban structures. There is a specific, local attention incorporated into the project, to the previous territory which the network attempted to recover only based on the strictest human and not citizens' necessities, which is reflected by the specific identity spaces, which have been constructed throughout time. The signs, symbols of the territory, remain as places for civic demands.

The Recuperation of the Complexity of the Urban/Neighborhood Unit Dynamic

In the memoirs of the Ribera Plan there is an explanation about how the plan attempted to construct a space where man would have the maximum possibility of development and individual liberty within an organized collective, through his active participation. As a means of accomplishing this result a direct relation with the housing is proposed, with the extensions of the habitat, the recuperation of the urban floor for man, who *can have access to all the possibilities within the basic citizens' functions*.

The structure of the Ribera Plan refers to the megastructuralist experience, while its principles and above all else the perspectives of the project for Montjuic refer to the objectives for urban planning suggested by Kevin Lynch¹⁰ (1918-1984) in his studies about the "urban form". This author argues that among the aims of urban planning one must contemplate the recuperation of the city in its complex form as a place for familiarization, through a metropolis which is dense spatially and with paths which are socially planned, with the goal of the intellectual and moral development of people. As a result public meeting spaces which facilitate collective neighborhood participation and strengthen the sense of community have an important role in his proposal.

The Relationship with the Landscape: "Geomorphological Options"

¹⁰ Lynch, Kevin (1960), *The Image of the City*, Marsilio Editori, 1986.

The proposals for Barcelona's maritime front would have constructed neighborhoods which would attempt to clarify the urban scale with the landscape. On one hand they are separated from the city thanks to its own zero level, different from that which is destined for construction within Barcelona, and on the other hand they reflect the presence of the natural environment in contrast with metropolitan dynamics.

The Special Organization Plan of the Southwest Zone of Montjuic in fact foresees the transformation of the cliff which faces the sea into a residential zone which will be transformed into a large citizens' balcony over the Mediterranean and will cause an overflow of life for the large Montjuic Park, in contact with the historic and cultural center of the city, avoiding the formation of peripheral neighborhoods and providing homes for the people who lived in barracks along Montjuic's slopes.

The architects of the "Miramar" ("Seaside View") Project explain how their composition is consciously on a landscape scale, and that *it is not valid to accuse the project of giving the mountain a new "unnatural profile or silhouette" as if the unnatural were an unquestionable defect of any landscape. The only prestigious Barcelonan profiles are those that are unnatural, that is, those created with an intervention of urban and architectonic elements: Montjuic, in its southeast slope, with the castle, the National Palace, and the Tibidabo with the set of constructions at its peak.*

It isn't necessary, either, to add that the majority of historic cities (Rome, Florence, Vienna, etc.) owe their characteristic profile to historical and artificial landmarks which have specifically marked a brilliant moment in their architectonic evolution.¹¹

They foresee three towers at the summit of the mountain, with the purpose of contrasting the horizontal mass of the Castle, and on the southern slope the location of staggered residential structures with gardens which constitute the landscape transition between the inferior mass and the castle's profile.

A strong density is proposed, an artificiality in contrast with the mass of the mountain. This is a large-scale project which relates with and dialogues with the landscape, with the local geography, and which aspires to create a human-scale environment which could fit into the "geomorphological options" thought out by Sybil Moholy Nagy¹².

In 1968, the author, in her book about the evolution of the city, describes in the last chapter the options for the near future of architecture and among these the geomorphological option is highlighted as an alternative to the growth of the suburbs. In this section she mentions the resort city of Gozo (1967, Malta Archipelago), of Julio Lafuente (1921-), an enormous construction located over the rocks which face the sea, similar to Bonet's proposal, and the urbanization of Telegraph Hill (1966) in San Francisco, by Burger & Coplan. This plan is situated directly in front of the city's bay and the architects project a section that joins the system of infrastructures, the residential area, the services and the parking spaces.

These last projects, which are related in their context with a landscape scale, attempt to obtain a global and powerful image and "their form" is not only the consequence of a typological rationale, but also creates a dialogue with a sufficiently characteristic location, whose final form depends on itself to a great extent.

¹¹ Bonet, Antonio; Bohigas, Oriol; Martorell, José M. (1969), *Commentary to the Report by the Regional Parks and Gardens Service*.

¹² Moholy Nagy, Sibyl (1968), *Urbanism and Society*, Editorial Blume, Barcelona, 1970, pp. 283-284.

The similarities may always be slightly risky, but in this case they may give an idea of the project as a synthesis of the complexity of socio-cultural aspects among which we may enumerate the relationship between the local and the international.

The Recuperation of the Waterfront as the Theme of the Project

Bonet wished to have the figurative control from the sea in the Montjuic Project as well as in the Ribera Project.

In the sketches and scale models for the port project, which have never been officially incorporated into the Ribera Project, there are six skyscrapers that would overpass the seaside façade. The theme of skyscrapers, symbol of both the civic –the renaissance tower– and the economic power of the city, is repeated in the official proposal. Bonet projects three gigantic 84 meter tall towers in the form of a Y right in front of the Ciutadella Park, which are then repeated twice for each *superblock*, along toward the Besos River, creating a serial and almost minimalist profile for Barcelona.

It is important to note that Bonet's projects have been precursors of European and United States waterfront projects. The first port reforms, due to the impossibility of transforming them into actual port-containers, took place in the U.S., in the cities of Baltimore and Boston at the end of the 1950s, but only in terms of ceding the port spaces to the public with recreational locations (green and commercial) and not so much so as the control of the seaside façade. This theme is developed after the 1980s in the projects for the Docklands in London, Kop Van Zuid in Rotterdam and for Barcelona's *Moll de la Fusta* and *Villa Olímpica*.

The control of Barcelona's maritime façade, if realized according to the proposals made in the 1960s, would have created a dense image overall, with quantity as a value, and a serial image on the eastern side, related to massive production, which are key terms in Fordist production. However, the administrative mechanisms, together with the negotiation *between public and private interests*, the semi-privatization of collective spaces, the figurative control of the entire superblock as a theme park and the figurative control of the presentation (postcard) image of the city as the primary promotion of the project, already announce the city's current development model.

Currently, Barcelona, as many other cities of the western world, is a city in which the local and international references disappear in a context which is ever more heterogeneous and mixed, where this sort of judgment may become a question about the value of the continuity of a reality which appears to be constructed on macroeconomic parameters, difficultly comprehensible to the people who live and understand themselves in the city.



Fig. 1 – Photomontage by the author – Special Organization Plan of the Southwest Zone of Montjuic, 1964-69 and Ribera Plan, 1964-72



Fig. 2 – Sketch of the façade by the author, Special Organization Plan of the Southwest Zone of Montjuic, 1964-69 and Ribera Plan, 1964-72

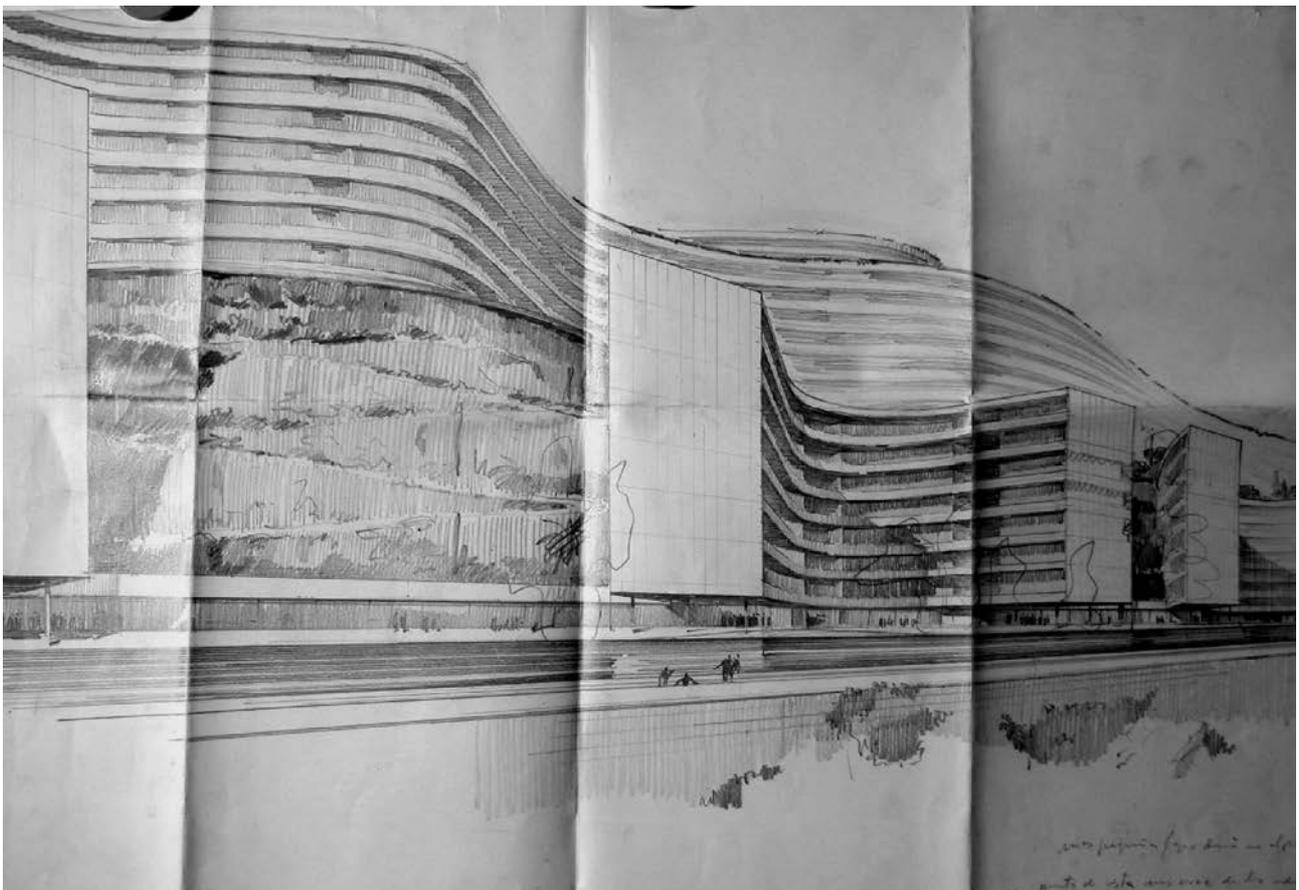


Fig. 3 – Antoni Bonet, Oriol Bohigas, Josep Martorell, studio sketch, Special Organization Plan of the Southwest Zone of Montjuic, 1964-69

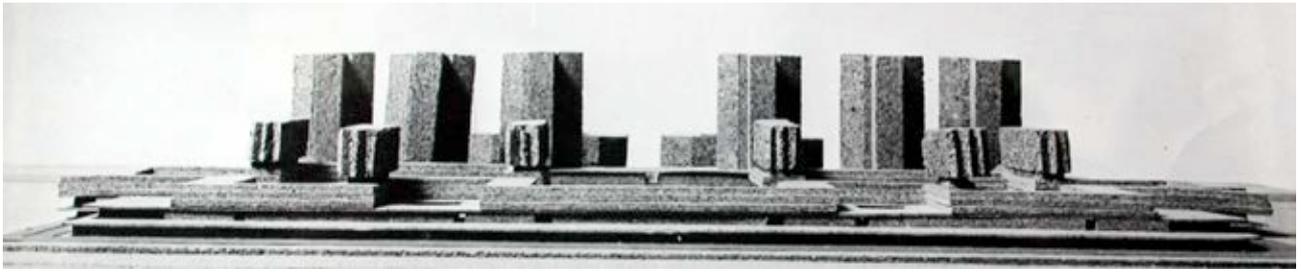


Fig. 4 – Antoni Bonet, scale model, Ribera Plan, 1964-72

The Formal and the Picturesque – Appropriate Ways of Describing and Improving the Urban Network? Indian and European Examples

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Since Abbé Marc-Antoine Laugier's „Essai sur l'architecture“ (Essay on Architecture) of 1755, cities have been classified under the auspice of picturesque ‚variety‘. When he demanded a city to be given the impression of a forest, he meant that it should surprise and entertain the eye the way a painter does by choosing a perspective and a focus, by grouping the objects, and by cutting out the motif. This reveals that the term „picturesque“ derived from the notion of „scenery“ in the British landscape garden and designated the spatial experience of its depth. Within the same logic, the opposite concept of a „formal“ layout was connected to the preceding baroque garden which in contrast seemed to have emerged right from the drawing-board and therefore remained merely ornamental and purely two-dimensional.

From then on, the concept of the ‚picturesque‘ features these two sides, spatiality and naturalness. Both arguments served as weapons when formal conceptions of the city have been contested. This narrow polarization rules our vocabulary: plastic versus twodimensional, natural versus artificial. It was Camillo Sitte (1843-1903) who the most fervently and influentially advocated pictorial urban principles, notably by his book „Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen“ (City Planning According to Artistic Principles) of 1889. With all of his work, Sitte opposed to the rationalistic, pragmatic, and presumably utilitarian approach to planning which Reinhard Baumeister (1833-1917) just had cemented in his own writings, notably „Stadterweiterungen in technischer, baupolizeilicher und wirtschaftlicher Beziehung“ (City Extensions with Regard to Technics, Building Regulation, and Economy) of 1876. Sitte had Baumeister in his mind when he uttered with fear that „a large portion of the picturesque beauties we have mentioned will probably be irretrievably lost to use in contemporary planning.“ (p. 110) As an antidote he recommended an approach which was based on the perception of urban space from human perspective at eye level; he illustrated and thus connected it with the irregularity of medieval plans. These schemes immediately became icons in theory and models in practice and shaped our image of picturesque city spaces. Yet the situation proves to be paradox. For what transported the quest for a spatial perspective were two-dimensional ground plans, and again was the discussion reduced down from the third to the second dimension; ‚the picturesque‘ became identified with irregular lay-outs, and correspondingly ‚the formal‘ with regular ones.

The question arises, if this juxtaposition stands the facts and the evidence, and if it can be an apt instrument for describing, analyzing, and eventually improving cities. In order to trace the way for an appropriate statement a few interfaces between ‚the formal‘ and ‚the picturesque‘ shall be paralleled in the following.

We naturally could choose from a wide range of possible examples, and it might seem to be a distant even absurd constellation when I select as the main poles one example as Karlsruhe in Germany and one as Jaipur in India. What might predestine these very cities for a juxtaposition? Both being ‚ideal cities‘ dating back to the same time shortly after 1700, they have been laid out on ingenious regular plans which makes Jaipur the big exception in India of that time whereas it was not as rare in German states. Both cities owe their creation to a ruler's decision to shift his residential seat away from an existing older one. Other parallels shall result from the comparison.

To start with Karlsruhe which among both examples is the older one, though by twelve years only, it was founded in 1715 by Margrave Carl Wilhelm von Baden-Durlach (1679-1738). Baden is the country which he reigned, and Durlach the city where his major castle stood until he moved away into the new city which he named after his forename Carl, while „Ruhe“ means „rest“, „repose“ or „quietude“. There, his own castle was to form the centre, and no other city this can be said about more rightfully than in this case. It literally occupies the crossing point of 16 alleys which in both directions radiate from there into the forest and the landscape and outline the first settlement which filled the quadrant south to the castle.

By nature, new cities need decades or even centuries to develop, and so was it for Karlsruhe. In a first phase, rather small houses grew facing the castle. A new impulse came with his grandson Margrave Carl Friedrich (1782-1811) who ascended the throne in 1746 at the age of eighteen and immediately started lending his residential seat more attraction and durability. For example, he had his mainly wooden castle finally erected in stone, and allowed all citizens to do the same with their own houses. He sought the company of artists and diplomats, and soon Karlsruhe was called „court of the muses“. As Baden stepwise allied - and identified - itself

with its powerful neighbour France, this vicinity brought about a climate much more liberal and enlightened than in other German states. Between 1801 and 1815 the number of inhabitants doubled to 15.000. And from around the same time on, plans have been forged to enlarge the city area and to transform it into a true capital city (fig. 1).

Karl Friedrich found his architect in Karlsruhe-born Friedrich Weinbrenner (1766-1826); he developed a modern building administration, independent from the court, founded an architectural school which turned into the first German Technical University, and he immediately started drawing plans for the extension. On these, for example the „Generalbauplan“ (general construction plan, fig. 2) of 1797 for the new city centre of Karlsruhe around the Market Square, the street fronts along the main street axis looked homogenous, downright uniform. One house seemed to copy the other. But then, a second version was drawn seven years later, in 1804, and on it, you find the uniformity completely dissolved into a heterogenous composition. And it was Weinbrenner himself who was responsible for it.

In the meantime, he had designed a kind of maison particulier for a general named von Beck, with a court d'honneur breaking through the alignment and lending the street a third dimension, and for himself a house right in front of the Ettlinger Gate which lead out of the city towards the smaller city of Ettlingen. Weinbrenner's own house stretched along the main axis, but with a set-back, and this way, together with its vis-à-vis, gave way for an urban square. It formed an unusual entry into the city, monumental and urban, yet at the same time green and formally easy.

The dimensions increased towards the market square with main church and town hall; even here Weinbrenner brought the demanding functions into a balanced composition using innovative typologies. His own renderings visualize that he extended the public space into the interiors. The never realized boutiques would have dramatized the crescendo in scale even more.

How picturesque the city Karlsruhe actually was, can be judged by numerous views, among them the lithograph of 1828 by painter Ludwig Kuntz (1810-1876, fig. 3). He does not give an impression of the urban layout but of an idyllic scenery with houses and monuments lying embedded in a landscape garden. In fact, nature entered the city in the form of the surrounding forest and of real gardens.

It added to this idyllic impression that no walls were hindering the view. The opposite was the case in Jaipur the former capital of Dhundar, one of the Rajput states which make up Rajasthan. The rectangle which the walls form here is not a perfect one; yet the regularity is obvious and reveals that this city has been founded at once. The borders of approximately 200 miles length and 140 miles width are straight except where the topography is cutting in; and the interior divides into square plots. We even observe a differentiation of streets which enclose square wards.

The literature offers at least three precise dates – the 18th, 27th or 29th november of 1727 - when Sawai Jai Singh (1686/99-1743) laid the foundations for his new residence which he named Jaipur after himself - ‚Jai's city' (fig. 4). He stemmed from the Kachchwaha dynasty which ruled Dhundar and since the end of the eleventh century sat in Amber Fort on the hills five miles to the north. He received the honorary title „Sawai“ by Grand Moghul Aurangzeb (1618-1707). Yet he excelled not only as a soldier but also as a scientist, preferably in astronomy. In Delhi, he had already built a monumental open-air observatory in 1724, the Jantar Mantar. Here in Jaipur, it gained new dimensions and occupied the heart of the city (fig. 5). Its construction started parallel to the layout of the streets and ended in 1734. In the same year, a map with the accomplished quarters could be drawn. When in 1743 Jai Singh died, the city was not complete. Yet, one may say that it was built around the observatory and that the rational regularity reflects the same scientific spirit which made Jai Singh place the observatory so prominently among his subjects. A notion of enlightenment played a role just as it did in Karlsruhe.

It has often been claimed that Jaipur was laid out according to a set of rules, preserved over centuries in some sixteen Sanskrit and more local manuscripts, all of them concerning the construction of houses and cities. These rules are known as Vastu Shilpa Shastra – „the science of earthly forces in building“ – and among other aspects deal with the geometrical distribution of plots. This simple fact was translated into mandala-like forms, and hardly any author could resist the temptation to project them on Jaipur. In fact, the intrinsic grid of streets running rather precisely along the cardinal directions – east to west or north to south – follows one pattern which is usually called „prastara“ (bed of leaves or flowers). Yet the congruencies with the Jaipur plan remain very vague – even if you understand the mandalas not as a model and image but as a concept like some authors do. It does not explain the city as it grew because it had to be filled with life and forms, and we find that the original typologies which were invented to do that contradicted the rationality of the plan, or complemented it, by their richness and variety in all three dimensions, and it was this spatiality which lend the old city of Jaipur its picturesque quality.

The main axes through the city - here the Chand Pol Bazar from east to west - are often accompanied by colonnades which serve as elevated terraces or platforms. But the typologies do not always obey the logic of the plan, as we might expect it. And so, the badi chaupar for example, the crossing of the main arteria, continues these simple colonnades while right next to it, we see a highly complicated structure which serves as the entrance

to the Jam'a Masjid. Stairs are breaking through the upper platform, and a series of gates guide the eye into the depth of the plot.

Similar constructions are also to be found at profane buildings, here two mansions of mid-18th century in a street leading north to south (Khazane Walon Ka Rasta, fig. 6).

Doubtlessly, the most prominent one of the special typologies consists in the famous Hawa Mahal – Palace of the Winds (fig. 7). It stands at the main street but aside from the main crossing Badi Chaupar, and rises over the ground so dramatically that it evoked descriptions like „a vision of daring and dainty loveliness, of storeys of rosy masonry and delicate overhanging balconies and latticed windows. Soaring with tier after tier of fanciful architecture in a pyramidal form, a very mountain of airy and audacious beauty, through the thousand pierced screens and gilded arches of which the Indian air blows cool over the flat roofs of the very highest houses. Aladdin's magician could have called into existence no more marvellous abode.“ These sentences stem from Edwin Arnold (1832-1904), the translator of the Bhagavad Gita, and were proudly quoted in the official chronicle „A History of Jaipur“ by Jadunath Sarkar in 1939/40 (p. 210). In the Hawa Mahal, the scientific rationality of the Jaipur grid was turned into the highest and most romantic expression of picturesque architecture.

Judged by its two-dimensional plan, Jaipur fulfills what Camillo Sitte observed and criticized in Mannheim, baroque ideal city like Karlsruhe and in its immediate vicinity, namely: „there exists not a single exception to the arid rule that all streets intersect perpendicularly and that each one runs straight in both directions“ (p. 93). Yet nobody would deny that the appearance of the city of Jaipur is highly picturesque and pictorial. What on the plan looks like a rigid geometry, had opened up hitherto rarely known openness and range of variations.

It was already Sitte's intention to „eliminate“ – as he says - „the innate conflict between the picturesque and the practical“ (p. 111). This was the opinion, too, of followers of his, like Raymond Unwin who spread it in „Town Planning in Practice“ of 1909, particularly in the chapter „Of Formal and Informal Beauty“ (p.115-139) where he warned of imitating nature and promoted „to seek for some third course“ (p. 125). And he more than once pointed at the example Karlsruhe (fig. 8) because there, like in Jaipur, adequate typologies contributed to a spatial diversification - which moreover made these cities favourite objects of numerous pictorial representations and allowed picturesque planning within the formal frame. One can just as rightfully state that these very typologies could only evolve from these straight streets, evidently processing their linearity, balancing their intrinsic geometry and unfolding it into the three dimensions.

Regular examples like Jaipur or Karlsruhe provide the most convincing milestones for Unwin's „third course“ and prove the more plausibly that it reaches too short to judge the spatial and picturesque dimension of cities from two-dimensional plans. Another extreme and more recent evidence surrounds us here, namely Edwin Lutyens' (1869-1944) planning for New Delhi, beginning in 1911, particularly the political centre around the Rajmarg. What on the plan looks like the product of sheer geometry turns out to be a grand public space of hitherto unknown complex qualities. Monuments like India Gate and even Rashtrapati Bhavan lie embedded in a picturesque garden scenery. The dimensions are vast, the nearly endless greens are only sketchily bordered, and still the space can strongly be perceived as one because it bases upon a coherent formal structure. New Delhi gives another hint how the terminological conflict between ‚the formal‘ and ‚the picturesque‘ can be overcome and eventually converted it into a catalogue of other qualities and categories, such as relief, plasticity, depth, transparency, and perspective.

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New Delhi; Resistance And The Tensions Of Empire In A Colonial Landscape

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The planned landscape of New Delhi has been hailed as a supreme manifestation of British imperial aesthetics and science (Shoosmith, 1931, King, 1976, Stamp, 1981, Irving, 1981, Metcalf, 1986, Volwahren, 2002). It has also, however, been criticised as an emblem of colonial autocratic rule and as an unexceptional reproduction of western architecture in the east (Tillotson 1989). Yet few studies have explored New Delhi as a lived landscape in order to see how its inhabitants contested the city as a material and symbolic form. The Indian National Congress party was active in the city, as were more violent and extreme anti-colonialists such as members of the Congress Socialist Party and the Hindustan Republican Socialist Army. However, there was a less extreme form of resistance that occurred throughout the city, whereby New Delhi's occupants adapted to, yet contested, the structured landscape of the city. These processes will be explored through looking at petitions, institutional campaigns, and lifestyles that contested Delhi's urban governmentalities (Legg, in press 2007).

Petitions

In New Delhi one's ability to speak to the government was dictated by one's rank. Because each government employee had the right to apply for accommodation, it also gave each employee the right to address this right. The superior and subordinate members of the staff, through both formal and informal channels, used petitioning to challenge the hierarchy of accommodation in New Delhi. These channels were also taken up by non-governmental employees, although their ability to exploit these avenues of complaint were limited. Petitions were used to question the structure of the city, but also to question its *derived* contradictions, those everyday problems of existence that should have been catered for. These separate petitions, though not formally linked, can be seen to form a counter-discourse that is unified by its opposition to the accommodation scheme of the Government.

For instance, a petition was submitted to the Government in 1916, signed with fingerprints and written in Urdu, but translated in English¹ The petitioners had been ejected from their original inhabitation in June 1913 when it was acquired for the capital construction. They had since been living in a private garden, which they had been assured would not be acquired. When this took place in March 1916 they petitioned for compensation. The petition was unsuccessful, with notes on file suggesting that the people could simply move their houses and that, although they'd had bad luck, technically it was their own fault.

Similarly, in March 1927 the land and houses surrounding a small mosque in the New Delhi area was acquired.² The residents petitioned for compensation and for permission to take their housing materials with them when they were evicted, as the cost of such materials had been greatly inflated due to the capital construction. While compensation was paid, the material was not granted them as, the Superintendent of Monuments claimed, it was "objectionable to show charity at the expense of government..."; the materials would have to be bought back at auction. Both of these cases targeted small-scale failings of the government's aim to provide evictees with

the resources to relocate, but failed due to the legal and technical machinery at the Government's disposal.

While these people could speak, they were not speaking from positions of strength. Those people employed by the Government, rather than relocated by it, had stronger claims to be heard in their petitions. On January 2nd 1918 the clerks of the Military Department submitted a petition for house rent allowance.³ The clerks had not been given housing near the Secretariat, which at that time was located in its temporary building to the north of Old Delhi, but were living in the few completed quarters in New Delhi. They complained that tonga expenses were too high, yet the seven-mile trek made it impossible for them to start work at eight AM. The Raisina quarters were also said to be solitary and prone to theft and harassment, although this criticism would continue for decades (see chapter three, section one). As such, in February 1918, the Home Department acquiesced and granted compensation.

Clerks could also adopt more aggressive stances. In February 1925 a number of clerks were accused of subletting their quarters.⁴ Mr Ghulam Hussain replied that he had not sublet to anyone but that he had exchanged quarter with a friend "for mutual convenience", and that the maximum rent was still being paid. He even suggested that no rules against subletting existed in Delhi, and that "doubling up" was positively encouraged. Yet, while De Montmorency had tried to claim in 1912 that the city was a structure designed upon the lines of greatest convenience, the actual emphasis in the city was on people knowing their place. An unnamed official wrote on the file: "We can't have this sort of thing. It makes trouble for everybody. The rules must be observed."

Yet those in more senior subject positions had different channels for petitioning open to them. For instance, the Education Commissioner with the Government of India wrote directly to the Chief Commissioner in May 1927 claiming that his superintendent was forced to live a great distance from Raisina, and that he would appreciate a nearer house being arranged.⁵ As New Delhi was more fully occupied from 1927 onwards, complaints from senior figures about the failure to provide housing started to flood in. Unlike the clerks, these protests did not have to take the form of petitions in order to be processed by the Government. Reports were logged from two members of the Army Department who had to pay to send their families back to Bengal as no quarter was available to house them in.⁶ Other complaints record men having to share apartments, or to leave their families in Simla rather than bring them down to the winter capital.

While these derived contradictions between the Government's claims and reality would continue to be picked up throughout the colonial period, petitions were also used to target more fundamental, *intrinsic* contradictions. These did not address the way in which the city was realised, but the hierarchies it sought to impose. The case of a memorial submitted in 1915 highlights the willingness of low ranking government employees to criticise the intrinsic *ethos* of the city. But it also highlights that the Government had provided the opportunity for the clerks to take up this position. On September 2nd 1915 RP Russel explained that he had given clerks the opportunity to see the designs of the quarters that were going to be built for them.⁷ Russel proposed to form a committee of clerks to feed back their ideas to the PWD, yet before he had the chance, a memorial had been submitted to the Viceroy himself. As the Home Department, who conveyed the memorial, commented of its own clerks:

"... they have already submitted a memorial in which they have taken exception to the principle of differentiation in respect of the capital

cost of the quarters intended for Anglo-Indian and Indian clerks and to the classification adopted in the case of quarters for the latter.”⁸

It was this objection to the principles of differentiation, and classification, that marks out the intrinsic contradiction being targeted here. The memorial begged forgiveness for troubling His Excellency in a time of war, but insisted that the matter effected the memorialist vitally, and the status of clerks generally. The initial proposals had made a distinction between the capital cost of quarters for Indians and Anglo-Indian (white) clerks.⁹ For instance, the top grade married quarters for Anglo-Indians would cost Rs9200 to build, but only Rs4072 for Indians, which the memorialist showed was lower than for the cheapest Anglo-Indian quarter. The Indian estimates had been based on houses in the temporary capital, although it was claimed that these themselves were insufficient. But in summing up, the memorialist moved back from derived to intrinsic contradictions:

- “2. There being no difference in status, pay and allowances, between Indian and Anglo-Indian clerks of the Secretariat, it would, it is submitted, be invidious to draw a distinction in respect of quarters...
3. The proposal amounts in effect to building better quarters for Anglo-Indian clerks at the expense of Indian clerks...
5. This unequal treatment is felt as a mark of inferiority of the Indians as a class.
6. The argument, which is sometimes used, that Indian clerks generally live more economically as regards house accommodation than Anglo-Indians, fails to recognise the fact that such economy is in most cases a matter of compulsion.”¹⁰

The memorial drew out a clear use of racial categorisation, showed that it was insulting, and then showed that the essentialising stereotype that it inherently deployed, of the humble Indian, was an imposition, not a cultural condition. The Home Department stated on 6th September that it planned to cooperate with Russel in organising representative committees for the clerks. On 11th October the PWD confirmed that a committee had been established for each different housing class, and that they would be consulted as designs were produced.¹¹ They were given the chance to comment in February 1917 and some of their recommendations were taken on board.¹² These generally involved adding more rooms, but the clerks also insisted upon housing being provided in the “European style”, as discussed in section 2.1. This reinstalled a division of housing for people of Indian origin. Yet in this case, the division was instigated from below and was a matter of choice, not racial designation.

As in the case of the derived contradictions, the petitioners seemed to become more vociferous in their criticisms over time. In 1937 the Chief Commissioner complained that servants quarters in New Delhi were being rented out, forcing servants to live in garages, and making a profit for the home dwellers at the Government’s expense.¹³ The Government complained to Mr Lachman Das Bhandari of this, who replied on 12th September 1937 that this activity was not forbidden in the lease. The plot was still being used for residential purposes and, as such, Bhandari stated that: “... it is my own lookout as to who should live in different rooms or parts of the house.” He went on to ridicule the Government for suggesting they could dictate what one could or could not do in the private spaces of one’s home: “I daresay such a law is unheard of and does not exist anywhere in the world... To restrict this

discretion is to interfere with personal liberty.” He also pointed out that people had actually been building extra tenancies in their plots in the more elite areas of the city, yet there seemed to be a different law for those people. However, a city engineer pointed out on 25th November that the lease dictated that each building had to serve the function allotted it in the plan, and that paying tenants could not be designated guests. Whilst falling down, again, on the legal technicality of the lease, Bhandari had picked up on a key contradiction of the British “liberal” Empire and had reclaimed one of the key organising concepts of the imperial landscape. Namely, that it claimed to respect the liberty of the individual yet intervened into the lives of its subjects to an extent that would not have been tolerated in the west.

Sites of institutional authority

Institutional sites of authority describe the places at which discourses are produced and consumed. The counter discourses above issued from the site of the home, while the success of the petition depended upon the subject position of the dweller. Yet there were also representative bodies that took up both the derived and intrinsic contradictions of the Government to greater effect than an individual, irrespective of their subject position, could do. The two institutional sites that will be studied here were not marginal, occupying the space of the exiled or subaltern. Rather, they were central, occupying spaces created by the Government to fulfil its image as a liberal machine. The Legislative Assembly had not featured in the original plan for the city, as the right to wide scale democratic representation was only granted to the Indian people after the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1917. The building was placed to the northeast of the North Secretariat, proving as problematic to the symmetry of the city as it had done to the authoritarian aspirations of the government. The second site was more central still. It did not have a permanent physical space but, rather, occupied the Secretariats themselves. The Imperial Secretariat Association (ISA) represented the views and grievances of all those who worked for the central Government of India, having 657 members in 1931. The ISA was a relatively conservative body, but in the liberal tradition it was a constant complainant against the Government, and did occasionally slip into more radical language. The Association had been producing a bulletin for private circulation ever since occupying the New Delhi Secretariat in 1927. In 1929 an editorial complained that the Government only ever offered compensation to those who did not need it, or could not claim it. It was concluded that such a situation could not be remedied under the present system: “And so, it will have to be relegated to the category of dreams which we trust will come true when we have Dominion Status.”¹⁴

Because the Government of India centrally administered New Delhi, its day-to-day affairs could be directly raised in the Legislative Assembly. As such, the records of the Assembly capture a host of seemingly banal questions regarding the *derived* contradictions of a government unable to deliver on its housing of 66% of the working population, or to keep the residences in a fit state of habitation. The earliest criticisms regarded *amenities*. Complaints targeted: the lack of street lighting in the centre of New Delhi (1921),¹⁵ which the Government stated it could not afford; leaking apartments (1923),¹⁶ which the Government claimed were still habitable; unsafe housing (1927), to which the Government did not respond;¹⁷ and parts of the city that were unsanitary (1928).¹⁸ The latter was with regard to a dumping ground that existed next to some E class clerk’s quarters that had caused an excess of flies, although the Government insisted it had recently removed the dump and landscaped the area. Mr Lalchand Navalrai asked in 1934, “in the interests of the smaller people”,

whether they would be graced with the flush latrines being installed in the officers' bungalows, but no plans had been formulated.¹⁹

In 1929 the ISA started to add to these calls, providing lists of the complaints its members had raised. When migrant workers returned to the capital from Simla, flats were often dirty, furniture was missing, broken, or inadequate, while the buildings themselves were in need of maintenance.²⁰ A series of recommended changes were submitted to the Government, having much in common with those of the 1917 committees, although little action was taken.

Following on from these deficiencies in amenities, a second strand of critique addressed *compensation*. The context for such requests was the popular knowledge regarding the cost of New Delhi. In 1921 the Government was forced to admit in the Legislative Assembly that the incomplete city had already cost Rs490lakh (between £3-4 million).²¹ As such, demands were made that bus conveyance be provided for clerks living far from work (1925), while the ISA insisted that conveyance allowance be continued into 1927 for those "who have to live in Old Delhi owing to the paucity of quarters in New Delhi."²² The Government's admission to the Legislative Assembly that it had cut the conveyance charge in 1929 because "the city is within comparatively easy reach of the New Secretariat" was met with incredulity and a question to the Industry and Labour Member as to whether he could talk the distance and attend his office in time?²³ There was no reply.

At times the criticisms of the ISA and Legislative Assembly moved beyond the derived contradictions of a bureaucracy that could not fulfil its pledge to house its workers in suitable accommodation. At the *intrinsic* level the discursive formation of the landscape itself was attacked. On 22nd February 1921 Khan Sahib M Ikramullah Khan asked the question quoted below as the first of five points criticising the *distribution* and *allocation* of governmental quarters:

"Is it a fact that racial distinction has been observed in the construction and allotment of quarters in Raisina for the Secretariat assistants and clerks? If so, will Government be pleased to take early steps to remove such distinctions?"²⁴

Yet the racial distinction he alluded to was that between Indian and European style quarters, a distinction that had been enforced by Indian clerks themselves. The issue of race, however, was obviously one that was stimulated by a city so obviously divided upon racial lines, even if one could choose to live in the European style. Given the clear topography not just of race but also of class in the city, the question of allocation was obviously a vexed one. In September 1925 a question was asked in the Assembly regarding the "criterion or canon" by which quarters were allotted to members of the Assembly itself.²⁵ The utilitarian response was that "... the principle that directs is that of securing the greatest convenience of the greatest number", falling back on the 1913 premise of convenience when the city was proving convenient only for a very privileged minority. Further questions addressed the calculation of rent (1927), to which the government explained the system of 6% of capital outlay but not more than 10% of rent principle.²⁶ In 1931 a question was posed regarding the allotment of clerks quarters, to which the government refused to spend the labour collecting the information for such a "small benefit".²⁷ A further question pushed for more information regarding the actual system of allocation, claiming that clerks suspected that allocation was not made in strict accordance with the waiting

list, “which is said to exist but which no assistant or clerk who is affected has ever seen.”²⁸ The Government insisted that the relevant Departments kept waiting lists. These questions pushed at the mechanism by which the regular administration of the uneven resources in the city was orchestrated. However, the Government’s response to the immediate over-crowding of the late 1920s threatened to bring to light the most intrinsic contradictions of the city itself.

It has been shown that by the mid-1920s the Government had realised that there was going to be a housing shortage, but that it did not respond by building substantially more houses. While it claimed to have enforced a lower under-building rate for the, mostly Indian, clerks, the archival records actually reveal a *redistribution* of housing stock from the lower ranks to the, mostly British, officer class. The Chief Commissioner hinted at such a policy on 17th November 1926 when he suggested: “Now that the bungalows are being re-arranged in Old and New Delhi it may be possible to induce Government to add a few more residences owned by Government to the few that exist at present for the use of officers.”²⁹

The Chief Commissioner did not give details of his plans, but three years later it became apparent that a similar scheme had been put into operation. On 24th January 1929 the ISA wrote to the Secretary of the Department of Industries and Labour, PWD, to address issues of housing shortage, classification and allotment.³⁰ The Association stressed that only 62% of unorthodox and 50% of orthodox clerks had been accommodated, and that this shortage had been accentuated by a new housing classification scheme. This reclassification of quarters according to pay had raised the emoluments necessary to gain access to an A class clerks quarter, thus excluding many senior assistants from the top grade quarters. The ISA denounced this as a “... harsh principle and an undesirable practice. This process, if continued, will gradually tend to relegate the Secretariat establishment to lower and lower class of quarters by the simple device of changing the classification.” The letter also stressed that because of the changing mode of living of its members many more clerks preferred unorthodox dwelling and very few found D quarters adequate or suitable. With the immanent arrival of the Army Department in the capital, a worsened situation was expected and the restitution of the previous classificatory system was requested.

This did not happen, however, and the reason for the stockpiling of quarters in the top bracket became clear over the following few years. The ISA had obviously grown tired of its requests and warnings going unheeded since 1927 and wrote in frustration to the Secretary of the Home Department on 17th December 1930 that: “... the object of the formation of the Association is entirely frustrated if the specific requests made by them are ignored as in the present interest...”³¹ They included a letter that had been sent to the Superintending Engineer of the Central PWD. What the letter reveals is that housing had been stockpiled in clerk category A such that it could be converted into officer class E houses. This was the class that was identified in 1914 as being susceptible to the “ruinous” private market, although the clerks had to face the same market but with much lesser pay. The letter stressed that this system would augment the grievances of its members, dislodging men who earned Rs501-600 from A to B class quarters, where shortage was already greatest. The protest was not just at the derived contradiction of people not being accommodated in comfort, it was at the intrinsic contradiction of a government who enforced its own rules in an uneven manner:

“The members of my Association feel very strongly in this matter of such inequitable treatment and lowering of the standard of living. In this connection, I am to emphasize the fact that the principle underlying the Fundamental Rules that Government should provide accommodation appropriate to the status of the officers concerned would be infringed by the present proposal as two men drawing the same emolument would be allotted different classes of accommodation.”

The ISA levelled its suspicions at members of the Army Department, who at the time only qualified for B or C class clerks quarters, not officer’s housing. The rules governing housing allocation dictated that if an assistant could not get accommodation in their emolument class they would be offered the first class above, then the first below, then the second above, etc.³² The surplus of houses in officer class E, and the deficit of clerks quarters, would allow the Army Department to barter its workers into the recently converted houses, not quarters. The Association stressed that this would lose the Government money, as rent was fixed at 10% of salary, and these men would be earning salaries equivalent to clerks class B or C. In sum, the ISA felt that:

“If more quarters are needed, then build them, do not reclassify... Instead of progressive building, the process so far has been one of reclassifying and raising the pay-limits thus lowering the standards of living contrary to admitted principles.”³³

The Government, however, did not seem abashed by this penetrative analysis. On the contrary, it continued to seek out ways to alter the classifications so that fewer people could compete for the elite housing of the officers. In 1933 the rules for allotment of officer’s residences were amended to redefine emoluments.³⁴ These would no longer include benefits, allowances or pensions, so that people would technically earn less. This served to reduce demand for the more elite houses and repressed the claims of the increasingly Indianised lower ranks. In 1939 the ISA was still petitioning the Government to alleviate the hardship caused by its system of housing allocation.³⁵ By this point, however, the material environment of the capital had become so disorganised that a wholesale re-visioning of the capital was underway.

Lived space

While this section has examined the identities and subject positions that were created by, and mobilised in, the new capital, it has privileged speech over sheer existence. This is a double conditioning from Foucault’s *Archaeology*, which addressed forms of thoughts and modes of speech rather than ways of life, society or culture. But it is also conditioned by the colonial archive, which recorded petitions, statements and queries, and assessments of the material environment, more than it did the actions and everyday lives of its people. Yet this was a sphere in which people crafted their non-verbal enunciative modality, and traces of it are occasionally left in the archive. Simply through refusing to live in a certain way people could craft their identities and resist the hierarchies embodied in the city.

For instance, many people attempted to retain their lien on class D clerks quarters in the early 1920s because they were cheaper than C class and still reasonably comfortable.³⁶ This refuted the principle that emoluments should be represented in housing, and that people would want to move up the hierarchy.

Similarly, Rouse's report of 1929, when housing allowance was still in existence, showed that people would make applications they knew would be denied simply to get the extra cash.³⁷ It was also argued that people would apply for unorthodox clerks quarters simply because there were more of them available.³⁸

People could also resist the hierarchies of imperial space by crafting very personal places within them. A report from 1937 showed that during religious festivals or weddings, electric installations in government quarters had been hacked into to provide temporary street lighting.³⁹ This was claimed to be against the provisions of the PWD code, as well as hazardous for the health and safety of the occupants. A more common, and permanent, problem was the keeping of cows and buffaloes in government quarters. Lieutenant-Governor Sir Henry Gidney raised this issue in the Legislative Assembly in 1932, claiming that the cows were unsanitary, led to a profusion of flies, and threatened New Delhi with an epidemic.⁴⁰ This was claimed to happen across all ranks of government servant. The issue was discussed again in 1937, when it was admitted that the milk supply in the capital was too low, but that clerks quarters below grade B were too small for the keeping of cattle.⁴¹ It had been suggested that to intervene would be classed as religious interference, which was brushed aside as irrelevant. A petition with 24 sheets of signatures was even submitted to the Viceroy, defending the right of people to bring their traditional lifestyle into the heart of the capital. The practice, however, clashed with western notions of hygiene so it was continually campaigned against. By the late 1930s, however, this was the least of the Government's worries as it desperately tried to salvage an image of the ordered capital that had been designed two decades before. The result was a series of schemes that sought to save the original image of the city, rather than substantially revise it to meet the changed material circumstances that it faced. This paper does not have space to catalogue these schemes, but has hopefully presented some new ways of approaching the planned spaces of New Delhi, exposing them as spaces that required constant adaptation and that were met with differing forms of resistance and contestation at the scale of the everyday.

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Reference codes:-

- DA = Delhi State Archives
 - /DC = Deputy Commissioner Files
- IORL = India Office Records and Library, London
- NA = National Archives, Delhi
- NMML = Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ DA/DC/1916/17

² DA/DC/1918/29

³ IORL/P/10347(1918, first half)

⁴ NA/Home(Public)/1925/105

⁵ DA/CC/Home/1927/38B

⁶ DA/CC/Home/1927/145B

⁷ Cambridge University Library/Hardinge Papers/Vol.112/n.432 RP Russel, Secretary of the PWD, to Hardinge, September 2nd 1915

⁸ NA/Home(Public)/1915 October/65 deposit

⁹ Although after 1911 this term officially referred to people of mixed Indian and European decent (Blunt, 2005), it is here being used to refer to white clerks.

¹⁰ Cambridge University Library/Hardinge Papers/Vol.112/n.432 RP Russel, Secretary of the PWD, to Hardinge, September 2nd 1915

¹¹ NA/PWD (Civil Works)/1915 October/65B

¹² NA/PWD/Civil works-Buildings A/1917 June/1-4

¹³ DA/CC/Local Self Government (Public Works Department)/1938/1423

¹⁴ DA/CC/Home/1929/45B

¹⁵ NMML/Legislative Assembly/1921/21st March/1446

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- ¹⁶ NMML/Legislative Assembly/1923/22nd March/3861
- ¹⁷ NMML/Legislative Assembly/1927/14th September/4294
- ¹⁸ DA/CC/Local Self Government (Public Health)/1928/1373
- ¹⁹ NMML/Legislative Assembly/1934/17th July/107
- ²⁰ DA/CC/Home/1929/45B
- ²¹ NMML/Legislative Assembly/1921/19th September/415
- ²² NA/Home (Public)/1927/91/36
- ²³ NA/Home (Public)/1929/1/26
- ²⁴ NMML/Legislative Assembly/1921/22nd February/305-306
- ²⁵ NMML/Legislative Assembly/1925/7th September/796-797
- ²⁶ NMML/Legislative Assembly/1927/7th February/520
- ²⁷ NMML/Legislative Assembly/1931/924
- ²⁸ NMML/Legislative Assembly/1931/9th March/1727-1728
- ²⁹ DA/CC/Home/1927/38B
- ³⁰ DA/CC/Home/1929/45B
- ³¹ NA/Home (Public)/1931/8/1/31
- ³² DA/CC/Home/1927/145B
- ³³ NA/Home (Public)/1931/8/1/31
- ³⁴ NA/Home (Public)/1933/8/8
- ³⁵ NA/Home (Public)/1939/31/23/39
- ³⁶ NMML/Legislative Assembly/1924/22nd September/3891
- ³⁷ DA/CC/Home/1929/45B
- ³⁸ NMML/Legislative Assembly/1936/19th February/1124
- ³⁹ DA/DC/1926/15
- ⁴⁰ NMML/Legislative Assembly/1932/17th February/882-883
- ⁴¹ NA/Education, Health and Lands (Health)/1937/24-24/37-H

Wolfgang Sonne

THE REFORMED URBAN BLOCK IN THE METROPOLIS OF THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY – AN INTERNATIONAL MODEL WITH A LOCAL FLAVOUR

When it comes to modern housing, the usual gospel is the myth of the dissolution of the dense urban fabric of the 19th Century city and the invention of new forms of green settlements and estates. In the background of this myth lurk the ubiquitous avantgardist models of anti-urban revolution: Ebenezer Howard's "Garden City" (1898) which aimed to create a new town-country-entity to rival with the existing cities, Bruno Taut's "Dissolution of the City" (1920) which envisaged the establishment of new settlements in the countryside and the destruction of the old cities, Le Corbusier's urban ideologies which culminated in the openly aggressive statement "The corridor street must be killed" (1925), declaring war on traditional urban spaces, Frank Lloyd Wright's "Broadacre City" (1935) which created the model for ubiquitous sprawl and Hans Scharoun's "Town-Landscape" for Berlin (1946) which aimed to generate a natural living environment instead of cities.¹

All these general city models envisaged the dissolution of urban dwelling typologies which had a direct connection to the street and thus architecturally defined public spaces. This myth of the ongoing dispersion of urban dwellings in modern architecture and urban design was deliberately propagated by leading avantgardists in the 1920s. In the journal *Das Neue Berlin* (1929), Walter Gropius published a series of plans designed to underline the supposed inevitable and scientifically sustained evolution "vom Block zur Zeile" ("from the block to the bar"). Ernst May added an additional intermediary step to this diagrammatic sequence and republished it in the journal *Das Neue Frankfurt* (1930). Somewhere between the densely built-up blocks of the 19th Century city and the rigidly north-south-oriented bars of the late 1920s, the reformed urban block – a perimeter block which introduced light, air and greenery into the block with a large courtyard while still defining the public street space with continuous facades – was interpreted as only an intermediary step which must be overcome in the name of modernity.²

This article deals with examples of modern housing which attempted to reform the metropolis, not to overcome it; to define public spaces by following street lines, not to destroy it by setting autonomous patterns; to address the public sphere using urban facades, not to ignore it with a lack of meaningful design; to contribute to the vivid atmosphere of the city by including various uses, not to destroy it by functional zoning.

1. Berlin

All major European and North American cities practiced housing reform in the early 20th Century, all used various kinds of reformed urban blocks. Berlin with its continuous fabric of six-storey *Mietskasernen* (tenements) on James Hobrecht's extension plan from 1862 was not only the location of the densest urban development in Europe, it was also a centre of housing

¹ This paper is based on a research project on reformed urban blocks, supported by the RIBA Research Trust Award no. RRT03008 in 2003-05.

² Philippe Panerai, Jean Castex, Jean-Charles Depaule, *Formes urbaines. De l'îlot à la barre*, Paris: Dunod 1977; recently translated into english: Philippe Panerai, Jean Castex, Jean-Charles Depaule, Ivor Samuels, *Urban Forms. The Death and Life of the Urban Block*, Oxford: Architectural Press 2004.

reform – already 40 years before the city became ultimately denounced as "the largest tenement city in the world".³ Housing reform by no means implied a general rejection of the metropolis with its block dwellings while favouring suburban settlements. On the contrary, Berlin architect Theodor Goecke, a leading figure of tenement reform and later editor of the first journal on urban design "Der Städtebau", emphatically underlined the importance of urban life not only for wealthy people but also for the working class. In an article on "Berlin's working class tenement. A technological and social study" from 1890, he rejected the idea that workers preferred living in the suburbs: "No, the worker prefers to be surrounded by the hustle and bustle of the city. He enjoys the excitement of the streets, he takes full advantage of the size of the community in satisfying his needs and it is here that he finds his pleasures. For this reason many leave their work places in the countryside every year. Therefore, nothing would be a greater mistake than building lots of workers houses far from the city."⁴ This urban ideal was reflected in the early housing reform projects by Alfred Messel as in his model for a reformed urban block with a large green courtyard on the Weisbach'sche estate (1890),⁵ in his two buildings in Sickingenstraße (1893-94),⁶ in his half-block *Wohnhof* in Proskauerstraße (1897-98) and finally in his entire perimeter block in Kochhannstraße and Weisbachstraße (1899-1905).⁷

The question of block reform was not restricted to workers' housing, it was a question which affected all social classes and was treated as a cultural question oscillating between the ideals of rural or urban life. Hans Schmidkunz fundamentally tackled this question of "Urban and rural dwelling" and the often resulting compromise of suburban arrangements in a seminal article in *Der Städtebau* in 1908. While admitting the advantages of a real urban and a proper rural setting, he questioned the qualities of the suburban reality: "Some might say: that's OK in the centre of the town, that's OK far out in the countryside, but somewhere in-between, no way! Indeed we experience these intermediary cases extremely often. [...] It is therefore generally the case that, on the one hand, one has to renounce the advantages of intimate metropolitan life, on the other one does not yet achieve the advantages of the country while already the disadvantages of long distances come into play."⁸ The ordinary suburb did not combine the advantages of town and country as once Ebenezer Howard had hoped for, but the disadvantages of both.

³ Werner Hegemann, *Das steinerne Berlin. Geschichte der größten Mietkasernenstadt der Welt* (Berlin, 1930).

⁴ "Nein, der Arbeiter will eben im Getriebe der Stadt bleiben; er fühlt sich wohl im Straßengewühl; er benutzt die Vortheile eines großen Gemeinwesens beim Einkauf seiner Bedürfnisse; hier findet er seine Vergnügungen. Deswegen verlassen alljährlich Viele die Arbeit auf dem Lande. Nichts wäre daher verkehrter, als im großen Stile Arbeiterhäuser fern von der Stadt erbauen zu wollen." Theodor Goecke, "Das Berliner Arbeiter-Miethshaus. Eine bautechnisch-soziale Studie," *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 24 (1890), 501-502, 508-510, 522-523, quote 501. Cf. Nicholas Bullock and James Read, *The Movement for Housing Reform in Germany and France 1840-1914* (Cambridge, 1985), 83.

⁵ *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 25 (1891), 181-182.

⁶ Julius Posener, *Berlin auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Architektur. Das Zeitalter Wilhelms II.* (Munich, 1979), 344-346.

⁷ Nicholas Bullock and James Read, *The Movement for Housing Reform in Germany and France 1840-1914* (Cambridge, 1985), 125-137; Juan Rodriguez-Lores and Gerhard Fehl (eds.), *Die Kleinwohnungsfrage. Zu den Ursprüngen des sozialen Wohnungsbaus in Europa* (Hamburg, 1988), 112-122.

⁸ "Mancher wird sagen: mitten in der Stadt – gut! Weit draußen auf dem Land – auch gut! Aber in der Mitte dazwischen – nicht gut! Tatsächlich haben wir es mit diesen Zwischenfällen ganz besonders häufig zu tun. [...] Dadurch aber geschieht es meistens, daß man einerseits auf die Vorteile des intimsten Großstadtlebens verzichten und seine Nachteile dahinnehmen muß, andererseits noch lange nicht die Vorteile der Ländlichkeit erreicht und doch schon die Nachteile der weiten Entfernung spürt." Hans Schmidkunz, "Städtisches und ländliches Wohnen," *Der Städtebau* 5 (1908), 147-150, quote 148.

A variety of typologies have been developed for middle-class housing blocks. Riehmers Hofgarten in Berlin-Kreuzberg by the master builder Wilhelm Ferdinand August Riehmer (1881-99) showed internal greened streets. A sequence of greened courtyards was used for the Versöhnungs-Privatstrasse in Berlin-Wedding by E. Schwartzkopff (1903-04).⁹ Albert Gessner's apartment houses in Mommsenstraße and Bleibtreustraße (1903-07) or in Bismarckstraße and Grolmannstraße (1906-07) in Berlin-Charlottenburg displayed green courtyards.¹⁰ Paul Mebes' buildings at Horstweg in Berlin-Charlottenburg (1907-09) showed open courts towards the street like enlarged *courts d'honneur*. Mebes designed a central street crossing the block for his famous buildings in Fritschweg in Berlin-Steglitz (1907-08). and Paul Wolf created a central square for the Ceciliengärten in Berlin-Friedenau (1912), only built by Heinrich Lassen in 1924-28.¹¹ The Greater Berlin competition (1908-10) turned out to act as a melting pot and a laboratory for influential housing models: Hermann Jansen designed uniform urban blocks to create entire neighbourhoods, Bruno Möhring and Rudolf Eberstadt conceived a large metropolitan perimeter block containing an internal village.¹²

Even after the First World War, when there was strong support for rural estates with allotment gardens for a self-supporting economy, metropolitan life and the reformed urban block remained lasting ideals. Architect Heinrich de Fries, the new editor of the journal *Der Städtebau*, vigorously argued in 1920 against the "pathetic sermons by the apostles of green estates".¹³ Fries himself had proposed a vision for future urban dwelling in his book *Dwelling Cities of the Future* in 1919.¹⁴ A similar model had already been proposed by Bruno Möhring as a "balcony building" in *Der Städtebau* in 1917.¹⁵ And even during the 1920s, famous for its suburban *Siedlungen*, perimeter blocks have been erected: Erwin Anton Gutkind's Sonnenhof in Berlin-Lichtenberg (1925-27) and his block in Berlin-Reinickendorf (1927-29) combined the well established typology with the avantgardist design of the *Neues Bauen*.¹⁶

2. Vienna

In Vienna, an early example of reformed social housing is given by the *Jubiläumshäuser*. In 1896, the Emperor Franz Joseph I. Jubilee Foundation, a philanthropic institution, asked for proposals to erect affordable sanitary dwellings. The winning architects Theodor Bach and Leopold Simony proposed a cluster of five perimeter blocks of which two were finally

⁹ Helmut Geisert, "Models for the Reform of Urban Housing," Paul Kahlfeldt, Josef Paul Kleihues and Thorsten Scheer (eds.), *City of Architecture. Architecture of the City Stadt. Berlin 1900-2000* (Berlin, 2000), 40-51, 48; Karen Schmeink, "Der poröse Baublock. Raumbildendes Element im Berliner Städtebau um 1900", PhD ETH Zurich (2005).

¹⁰ Albert Gessner, *Das deutsche Miethaus. Ein Beitrag zur Städtkultur der Gegenwart* (Munich, 1909); Julius Posener, *Berlin auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Architektur. Das Zeitalter Wilhelms II.* (Munich, 1979), 321-327.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 302.

¹² *Wettbewerb Gross-Berlin 1910. Die preisgekrönten Entwürfe mit Erläuterungsberichten* (Berlin, 1911); Wolfgang Sonne, "Ideas for a Metropolis. The Competition for Greater Berlin 1910," Paul Kahlfeldt, Josef Paul Kleihues and Thorsten Scheer (eds.), *City of Architecture. Architecture of the City Stadt. Berlin 1900-2000* (Berlin, 2000), 66-77; Wolfgang Sonne, *Representing the State. Capital City Planning in the Early Twentieth Century* (Munich, 2003), 101-140.

¹³ "pathetischen Reden der Siedlungsapostel", Heinrich de Fries, "Städtebau-Gedanken," *Der Städtebau* 17 (1920), 50-54, quote 52.

¹⁴ Heinrich de Fries, *Wohnstädte der Zukunft* (Berlin, 1919).

¹⁵ Bruno Möhring, "Das Laubenhaus. Ein Vorschlag zur Verbesserung großstädtischer Kleinwohnungen," *Der Städtebau* 14 (1917), 132-137, pl. 73-75.

¹⁶ Rudolf Hierl, *Erwin Gutkind 1886-1968. Architektur als Stadtraumkunst* (Basel, Berlin and Boston, 1992); Piergiacomo Bucciarelli, *Erwin Anton Gutkind 1886-1968. Un outsider nell'architettura berlinese negli anni venti* (Berlin, 1998). Cf. Leo Adler (ed.), *Neuzeitliche Miethäuser und Siedlungen* (Berlin, 1931).

constructed by 1901, namely Lobmeyrhof and Stiftungshof.¹⁷ Both Camillo Sitte and Otto Wagner promoted an urban approach to housing. While Sitte proposed large green garden courts, partially even public,¹⁸ Wagner propagated the metropolitan tenement as the only appropriate dwelling typology for modern life, aiming at a new kind of uniformity.¹⁹

Both these aspects were combined in one of the most comprehensive and coherent urban social housing programmes of the 1920s, the municipal building programme of the Social Democratic Party in Vienna (1923-34). The *Gemeindebauten*, mostly realised in the *Hof* typology, attempted to combine a dense urban situation with the advantages of green spaces and social institutions.²⁰ The general philosophy of these blocks was to follow the existing city plan from 1894, to fit into the urban fabric, to respect the public streets, to mix dwellings with a variety of facilities, to express metropolitan life, but also to form an alternative model, to introduce new public green spaces, to subvert the capitalist city by socialist neighbourhoods – not by destruction but by improvement. From the first *Hof*, the Metzleinstalerhof by Robert Kalesa (1919-21) and Hubert Gessner (1922-23), to the last Hof, the Engelsplatz-Hof by Rudolf Perco (1929-33), the *Gemeindebauten* followed different types as *Lückenverbauung* (infill building), *Randverbauung* (perimeter block), *Grosswohnanlage* (large building complex) and *Wohnviertel* (residential quarter)²¹ – according to Werner Hegemann all "typically urban in character [...]. Note, however, the pleasing variety of detail in each group, and the ingenious way in which the plans of the blocks are related to existing streets and open spaces."²²

3. Amsterdam

In Amsterdam, housing policy followed a deliberately urban approach up to the 1930s. New neighbourhoods, especially social housing after the famous *Woningwet* (Housing Law) was passed in 1901, were mostly conceived as continuous extensions of an overall coherent urban fabric. A model for a reformed perimeter block had been already designed in 1895-96 by Hendrik Petrus Berlage for a 270-metre long tenement block with luxury flats at the Museumterreinen in Amsterdam. This block contained not only two green interior courtyards and a central public passageway, but also a public square with a café-restaurant and shops, arranged as a semi-closed space according to Camillo Sitte's ideas.²³

In particular, the typology of a superblock consisting of higher metropolitan buildings at its edges and lower rural buildings in the centre was used extensively in Amsterdam as in Johan

¹⁷ Akos Moravanszky, *Competing Visions. Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture 1867-1918*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press 1998, p. 411. Wolfgang Hösl and Gottfried Pirhofer, *Wohnen in Wien 1848-1938. Studien zur Konstitution des Massenwohnens*, Wien: Deuticke 1988, pp. 83-84.

¹⁸ Camillo Sitte, "Großstadt-Grün" (1900), in: Camillo Sitte, *Der Städte-Bau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen*, ed. by Christiane Crasemann Collins and Klaus Semsroth, Wien: Böhlau 2003, p. 247.

¹⁹ Otto Wagner, "The Development of a Great City", in: *Architectural Record*, vol 31, 1912, pp. 485-500.

²⁰ Manfredo Tafuri (ed.), *Vienna rossa. La politica residenziale nella Vienna socialista*, Milan: Electa 1980; Hans Hautmann, Rudolf Hautmann, *Die Gemeindebauten des Roten Wien 1919-1934*, Vienna: Schönbrunn-Verlag 1980; Helmut Weihsmann, *Das Rote Wien. Sozialdemokratische Architektur und Kommunalpolitik 1919-1934*, Vienna: Promedia 1985; Gert Kähler, *Wohnung und Stadt. Hamburg, Frankfurt, Wien. Modelle sozialen Wohnens in den zwanziger Jahren*, Braunschweig: Vieweg 1985; Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna 1919-1934*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press 1999.

²¹ *Verwaltungsbericht 1923-24*, p. 1224; quoted after: Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna 1919-1934*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press 1999, p. 252.

²² Werner Hegemann, *City Planning. Housing, vol. 3, A Graphic Review of Civic Art 1922-1937*, New York: Architectural Book Publishing Company 1938, p. 93.

²³ Sergio Polano (ed.), *Hendrik Petrus Berlage. Complete Works*, Milan: Electa 1988, pp. 140-141.

Melchior van der Mey's layout of the Zaanhof (1913-20). This large block was surrounded with metropolitan five-storey buildings by Tjeerd Kuipers and A. U. Ingwersen for Patrimonium, while the inner part with three-storey gabled houses by H. J. M. Walenkamp for Het Westen, arranged around an informal public green, evoked the image of a village or historic small town.²⁴ This was the most direct realisation of Möhring and Eberstadt's proposal from the Greater Berlin competition in 1910, but also picked up on local historic models such as the Begijnenhof in Amsterdam. This hybrid urban form was transformed into urban standard in the south of Amsterdam, the most coherent piece of Amsterdam's extensions in the 20th Century, built according to Berlage's plan from 1914-17.²⁵ Berlage's famous bird's-eye views had already highlighted the fact that the urban fabric should consist of rectangular blocks with large open courtyards, and indeed hundreds of blocks were constructed in accordance with this ideal in the 1920s. The realisation included both metropolitan boulevards and quiet neighbourhood squares.²⁶

4. Copenhagen

In Scandinavia, blocks which often used the architectural language of Nordic Classicism also followed the ideal of the reformed metropolis. In Copenhagen R. Moller and E. Schiodte's Aladdinblock (1900-01) had created an early example for an entire perimeter block.²⁷ But the most striking example of the entire type is the Hornbaekhus by Kay Fisker (1922-23).²⁸ Here, the qualities of the reformed metropolitan housing block are distilled to an almost diagrammatic clarity: the building follows precisely the form of the block and thus emphasises the role of the urban street pattern. Its façade stretching over more than 200 metres radically develops the idea of uniform apartments in a democratic society through the strict repetition of a single element - the window with its remarkably simplified frame. Nevertheless, this conceptually endless façade is carefully terminated with monumental rusticated pilasters at the corners of the building, again fixing the building exactly within its urban context. However, behind this explicitly urban façade, a large green court provides the inhabitants with all the necessities of a pleasant place to live, namely light, air, silence, trees and meadows, offering a beautiful and safe place for recreation and play despite being in the city centre. Furthermore, the block, containing 290 flats for the Hornbaekhus Cooperative Housing Association, again showed its adaptability to diverse urban functions. Due to the fact that it follows the street, the corners were preferred places for trade and this was where the corner shops were located.

5. Stockholm

²⁴ Nancy Stieber, *Housing Design and Society in Amsterdam. Reconfiguring Urban Order and Identity 1900-1920*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1998, pp. 221-224. Cf. Helen Searing, *Housing in Holland and the Amsterdam School*, PhD Yale University 1971; Helen Searing, "With Red Flags Flying. Housing in Amsterdam 1915-1923", in: Henry A. Millon and Linda Nochlin, *Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics*, Cambridge: MIT Press 1978, pp. 230-269.

²⁵ Francis F. Fraenkel, *Het plan Amsterdam-Zuid van H. P. Berlage. Met een catalogus van uitgevoerde bouwwerken en een register van architecten*, Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto 1976.

²⁶ Manfred Bock, Sigrid Johannisse, Vladimir Stissi, *Michel de Klerk. Architect and Artist of the Amsterdam School, 1884-1923*, Rotterdam: NAI Publishers 1997, pp. 249-257. Maristella Casciato, *The Amsterdam School*, Rotterdam: 010 Publishers 1996.

²⁷ Björn Linn, *Storgårdskvarteret. Ett bebyggelsemönsters bakgrund och karaktär*, Stockholm: Statens institut för byggnadsforskning 1974, pp. 181-182.

²⁸ Tobias Faber et al., *Kay Fisker*, Copenhagen: Arkitektens Forlag 1995. Cf. Kay Fisker and F. R. Yerbury (eds.), *Modern Danish Architecture*, London: Ernest Benn 1927, pl. 66-67, 72-74.

The use of reformed urban blocks was quite common in Sweden for urban housing until the 1930s. In a groundbreaking study, Björn Linn coined the term *Storgårdskvarteret* (large court blocks) for these kinds of blocks with large courtyards.²⁹ In Stockholm, several quarters feature a certain variety of urban patterns for reformed blocks, most of them displaying a kind of Nordic Classicism which contributes to the impression of a long-lasting and culturally defined urban setting. The most exemplary district of reformed perimeter blocks emerged in the 1920s at Rödabergen, where a plan for a garden suburb from 1907 by Hallman had been revised in 1923 by Sigurd Lewerentz who proposed a much denser development with five-storey buildings, encircling lower green courtyards and lower buildings.³⁰

6. Paris

In Paris a seminal step in the development of sanitary urban workers' housing was undertaken in 1905. The Fondation Rothschild pour l'amélioration de l'existence matérielle des travailleurs opened a competition for an entire urban block at the Rue de Prague in Paris. From the very beginning, the foundation asked for a continuation of the existing urban fabric, a variation of the traditional Parisian town house with improved sanitary conditions.³¹ The competition, which was held in two phases, created an entire catalogue of possibilities to design an urban block ranging from large interior courtyards, smaller internal buildings, internal streets and internal squares to courts towards the street.³² The winning design by Adolphe Augustin Rey, finally constructed by 1909, showed a combination of internal and external courts. Shops covered almost the entire street front. Further facilities included a restaurant, a nursery, an assembly hall, baths and artists' ateliers, while the building contained 321 flats. Specific emphasis had been put on the design of the facades which achieved a delicate balance between urban richness and low-cost housing. While the generic material of brick broke with the Haussmannian tradition and provided an industrial aspect, structural parts such as the lower floors and the projections were executed in stone masonry which alluded to luxury apartments. The result is a distinct building which nevertheless fits smoothly into the urban context.

The models invented in this competition then influenced the entire social housing programme of the Ville de Paris (HBM, *habitations à bon marché*) which started in 1912,³³ as well as private speculative buildings.³⁴ When in 1919 the city abandoned its fortifications and opened

²⁹ Björn Linn, *Storgårdskvarteret. Ett bebyggelsemönsters bakgrund och karaktär*, Stockholm: Statens institut för byggnadsforskning 1974.

³⁰ Magnus Anderson, *Stockholm's Annual Rings. A Glimpse into the Development of the City*, Stockholm: Stockholmia 1998, pp. 108-111. Thomas Hall, "Urban Planning in Sweden", in: Thomas Hall, *Planning and Urban Growth in the Nordic Countries*, London: Spon 1991, pp. 167-246, 207.

³¹ Marie-Jeanne Dumont, *Le logement social à Paris 1850-1930. Les habitations à bon marché*, Liège: Mardaga 1991, p. 34, 105.

³² *La Construction Moderne*, 2nd series, vol. 10, 1904-05, p. 483, pl. 97-99; *La Construction Moderne*, 2nd series, vol. 17, 1911-12, pl. 1; Marie-Jeanne Dumont, *Le logement social à Paris 1850-1930. Les habitations à bon marché*, Liège: Mardaga 1991, pp. 31-57, 84-90; Nicholas Bullock and James Read, *The Movement for Housing Reform in Germany and France 1840-1914*, Cambridge 1985, pp. 403-407; J Taricat und M Villars, *Le logement à bon marché. Chronique. Paris 1850-1930*, Boulogne: Editions Apogée 1982; Adolphe Augustin Rey, *Le cri de la France: des logements! La gravité de la crise, les grandes remèdes*, Paris: Rivière 1912.

³³ Ville de Paris, *Premier concours pour la construction d'habitations à bon marché*, Paris: Ville de Paris 1913. Cf. Henri Provensal, *Les problèmes sociaux. L'habitation salubre à bon marché*, Paris: Schmid 1908.

³⁴ Monique Eleb with Anne Debarre, *L'invention de l'habitation moderne. Paris 1880-1914. Architectures de la vie privée, suite*, Paris: Hazan 1995, pp. 295-298. Cf. Eugène Hénard, *Études sur les transformations de Paris*, Paris 1903-09, fascicule 2: "Les alignements brisés. La question des fortifications et le boulevard de Grande-Ceinture", Paris: Librairies-imprimeries réunies 1903.

a construction zone next to the Boulevard périphérique, the area was developed by the city with HBM which all followed the pre-war models of large internal courts, external courts, internal squares and streets.³⁵ The first large realisation, the Cité de Montmartre between the Porte de Clignancourt and the Porte de Montmartre with 2,734 flats designed by the architects of the Office public d'habitations à bon marché (1920-26), featured relatively artificial patterns of triangular, rectangular, pentagonal and octagonal blocks. After 1923, not only social housing was erected, but also more luxury dwellings as ILM (*immeubles à loyers modérés*, buildings with moderate rent level), and from 1930 on also purely speculative housing blocks. Furthermore, these types of metropolitan housing blocks also emerged in the *banlieue*.³⁶ With their open courts and their variety of materials, the blocks can be easily distinguished from the historic parts of Paris, but as they were still designed as urban blocks, they unmistakably continued the urban fabric of Paris.

7. Milan

In Southern Europe the task for reforming housing blocks required different means. As for climatic reasons there was no aim to introduce more sunlight into urban housing, there was no need for arranging large courtyards. Combined with the centuries old tradition of out-door street life, this led to an emphasis on the public parts of the tenement buildings, i.e. particularly the facades. Milan as the centre of economic development also became the centre of new metropolitan architecture in the 1920s. The apartment house *Ca' brüta* by Giovanni Muzio (1919-22) was planned as the manifesto of the architecture of the Novecento Milanese.³⁷ Typically, he did not conceive a perimeter block with a green court, but subdivided the block into two buildings by introducing a new street. The emphasis was thus put on the arrangement of new public spaces the design of the facades. Muzio's sophisticated approach not only consisted in the unclassical reinterpretation of classical motifs, but also in the unusual subdivision of the entire facade into different house units to fit the new block into the scale of the existing city, "forming a harmonious and homogeneous unit out of the complex of buildings."³⁸ After this scene-setting example Milan became the showplace of urban architecture of the Novecento Milanese, including architects like Giuseppe de Finetti, Gio Ponti or Piero Portaluppi.³⁹

8. London

London was the first large city to start a consistent public housing programme with the foundation of the Housing of the Working Classes Branch in the Architect's Department of

³⁵ Jean Louis Cohen and André Lortie, *Des fortifs au périph. Paris, les seuils de la ville*, Paris: Picard 1992; Henri Sellier, *La crise du logement et l'intervention publique en matière d'habitation populaire dans la région parisienne*, Paris: Office public d'habitations à bon marché 1921.

³⁶ Paul Chemetov, Marie-Jeanne Dumont, Bernard Marrey, *Paris-Banlieue 1919-1939, architectures domestiques*, Paris: Dunod 1989.

³⁷ Fulvio Irace, *Ca' brüta*, Rome: Officina edizioni 1982; Fulvio Irace, *Giovanni Muzio 1893-1982. Opere*, Milan: Electa 1994; Sergio Boidi (ed.), *L'architettura di Giovanni Muzio*, exhibition catalogue, Milan: Abitare Segesta 1994.

³⁸ "formare con il complesso degli edifici un tutto armonico ed omogeneo." Giovanni Muzio, "L'architettura a Milano intorno all'Ottocento", in: *Emporium*, vol. 53, no. 317, 1921, pp. 241-258, quote p. 258

³⁹ Richard A. Etlin, *Modernism in Italian Architecture 1890-1940*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press 1991; Annegret Burg, *Stadtarchitektur Mailand 1920-1940. Die Bewegung des "Novecento Milanese" um Giovanni Muzio und Giuseppe de Finetti*, Basel: Birkhäuser 1992; Marisa Macchietto, "Giuseppe de Finetti: Architettura e città", in: *Bolletino del centro di studi per la storia dell'architettura*, no. 33, 1986, pp. 3-113.

London County Council (LCC) in 1893.⁴⁰ Even if London is especially known for its Garden Cities and Garden Suburbs, the major task for LCC developments was to redesign dilapidated and overcrowded inner-urban slum areas. As these areas usually consisted of two-storey terraced houses, their replacement with five-storey buildings constituted a substantial step towards a metropolitan image of the urban fabric. Moreover, due to the fact that the buildings fitted into the urban street network, directly addressed the streets, were designed with architecturally aspirational facades, and included other functions such as shopping facilities, the new estates expressed a pro-urban attitude.

These principles can best be observed with LCC's first large slum clearance project in London, the Boundary Street Estate in Bethnal Green (1893-1900), designed by Owen Fleming and other architects from the Architect's Department. It transformed this run-down slum area into a real neighbourhood by changing its informal grid pattern into a centralised plan with a circular garden square at the centre – which may well have inspired Ebenezer Howard's circular Garden City diagrams which he published just a few years later. Furthermore, the new neighbourhood not only consisted of dwellings, but formed a real mixed use urban quarter. Apart from its 1,069 flats, the redevelopment included 18 shops, several workshops, clubrooms, a surgery and a public recreational square. It also retained two existing schools, a church, a laundry and a factory, and thus served all major purposes such as dwelling, work, traffic, recreation and culture within walking distance, long before Clarence Perry "invented" the neighbourhood unit in 1929.⁴¹

This metropolitan approach to workers housing continued until around 1940, and the official report in 1937 mentioned 173 "Block Dwellings" developed since 1893 against only 20 "Cottage Estates".⁴² However, the ideal of rural living was not only challenged by real developments, it was also vigorously criticised in theoretical discourse. The most acute condemnation of the Garden City Movement came from the architect Arthur Trystan Edwards, published in the *Town Planning Review* in 1913, usually known for its support of Garden City ideals. For Edwards, suburbs were the product of lower-middle-class narrow-mindedness: "The very word 'suburban' implies something that is second-rate, some narrow and pharisaical attitude of mind."⁴³ What is more, the incarnation of suburban lack of character was the Garden City: "But of all suburbs, perhaps the most shoddy and depressing is the typical Garden Suburb. It has neither the crowded interest of the town nor the quiet charm of the country. It gives us the advantages neither of solitude nor of society."⁴⁴ Inverting

⁴⁰ Kenneth Campbell (ed.), *Home Sweet Home. Housing Designed by the London County Council and Greater London Council Architects 1888-1975*, London: Academy Editions, 1976; Susan Beattie, *A Revolution in London Housing. LCC Housing Architects and their Work 1893-1914*, London: The Architectural Press, 1980.

⁴¹ London County Council, *The Housing Question in London 1855-1900*, London: LCC 1900, p. 194-213; Owen Fleming, "The Rebuilding of the Boundary Street Estate", in: *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. 7, 3rd series, 1900, pp. 264-273. Cf. Clarence Arthur Perry, *Neighborhood and Community Planning*, New York: Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs 1929.

⁴² London County Council, *London Housing*, London: LCC 1937; London County Council, *Housing of the Working Classes in London*, London: LCC 1913; W. E. Riley, "The Architectural Work of the London County Council", in: *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. 16, 3rd series, 1909, pp. 413-422; The Building Centre Committee (ed.), *Housing. A European Survey*, Vol. 1, London: The Rolls House Publishing Co, 1936; Grey Wornum, "Modern Flats", in: *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. 38, 3rd series, 1931, pp. 435-455.

⁴³ A Trystan Edwards, "A Criticism of the Garden City Movement", in: *The Town Planning Review*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1913, pp. 150-157, quote p. 154.

⁴⁴ A Trystan Edwards, "A Criticism of the Garden City Movement", in: *The Town Planning Review*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1913, pp. 150-157, quote pp. 154-155; A Trystan Edwards, "A Further Criticism of the Garden City Movement", in: *The Town Planning Review*, vol. 4, no. 4, 1913, pp. 312-318; F. X. Velarde, "A Choice of

Ebenezer Howard's ideal of combining the advantages of town and country into the new town-country-entity of the Garden City, he observed that, on the contrary, the ordinary garden suburb simply combined the disadvantages.

The block typology was also used for commercial luxury residential developments. The climax of a monumental metropolitan apartment building was reached by Gordon Jeeves's Dolphin Square in Westminster (1937). A large perimeter block extended between two public and two private streets, creating a spacious internal formal garden and two monumental facades. The main facade of ten storeys towards the river Thames celebrates the urbanity of housing, forming a massive wall where the repetition of the windows underlines the unity of the complex while the alternation of brick and stone subdivides the complex into horizontal and vertical units – into houses and storeys. Within the courtyard, the protruding wings with their set-back-storeys convey the image of towers, thus further enhancing the monumentality within the complex. The block not only contained 1,236 flats, but also included all the necessary amenities such as a sports centre with a swimming pool, an underground garage and a shopping gallery.⁴⁵ With such apartment blocks, London had become a place where metropolitan housing typologies provided what Charles Herbert Reilly had called "an adequate urban life".⁴⁶

9. New York

In New York, the reform of the urban block evolved in two fields where money was no concern - in philanthropic non-profit housing and in luxury apartment dwellings. Early generous perimeter arrangements with landscaped gardens in the courtyard were the Tower Buildings (1878-79) and the Riverside Buildings (1890) in Brooklyn, both designed by William Field and Son as philanthropic projects for Alfred Treadway White.⁴⁷ Large perimeter blocks for luxury apartments were Graham Court in 7th Avenue, designed by Clinton and Russell and completed in 1901, incorporating a remarkable planted courtyard in the centre while the exterior was designed as a block-like Italian Renaissance Palazzo,⁴⁸ and The Belnord in Broadway by H. Hobart Weekes (1908-10) which covered an entire urban block and contained a huge landscaped court. Its 13-storey structure was nearly three times as high as European models such as tenements from the Vienna Ringstrasse on which its Italian Palazzo style was based.⁴⁹ McKim, Mead & White adapted this model to the motor age. At 277 Park Avenue (1925), the large internal planted court, again surrounded by an arcade, was

Evils", in: *The Town Planning Review*, vol. 13, no. 3, 1929, pp. 185-187; Elizabeth Denby, "Rehousing from the Slum Dweller's Point of View", in: *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. 44, 3rd series, 1937, pp. 61-80.

⁴⁵ *The Architectural Review*, vol. 83, 1938, pp. 133-134. Bernard Friedman (ed.), *Flats. Municipal and Private Enterprise*, London: Ascot Gas Water Heaters LTD, 1938.

⁴⁶ Charles Herbert Reilly, "The Body of the Town", in: *The Town Planning Review*, vol. 16, no. 2, 1934, pp. 89-107, quote p. 100.

⁴⁷ Alfred Treadway White, *The Riverside Buildings of the Improved Model Dwelling Company*, New York: Improved Model Dwelling Co. 1890; Richard Plunz, *A History of Housing in New York City. Dwelling Type and Social Change in the American Metropolis*, New York: Columbia University Press 1990, pp. 108-110; Robert A. M. Stern, Thomas Mellins, David Fishman, *New York 1880. Architecture and Urbanism in the Gilded Age*, New York: The Monacelli Press, 1999, pp. 871-874, 878-883.

⁴⁸ Andrew Alpern, *Apartments for the Affluent. A Historical Survey of Buildings in New York*, New York: McGraw Hill, 1975, p. 26-27; Richard Plunz, *A History of Housing in New York City. Dwelling Type and Social Change in the American Metropolis*, New York: Columbia University Press 1990, pp. 78-83. Ernest Flagg, "The New York Tenement House Evil and Its Cure", in: *Scribner's Magazine*, vol. 16, 1894, pp. 108-117.

⁴⁹ Andrew Alpern, *Apartments for the Affluent. A Historical Survey of Buildings in New York*, New York: McGraw Hill, 1975, p. 50-51.

open to the street via four arches and could be accessed by cars. The entrances to the apartments were located in the court, while the entire front towards the streets was used for shops.⁵⁰

The 1920s saw the elaboration of the reformed urban block and the creation of what was known as the "garden apartment" for the low-cost housing sector. One of the leading figures in this trend was architect Andrew J. Thomas, who had already invented an urban block with 14 U-shaped buildings around a common internal garden as a model project for the New York State Reconstruction Commission in 1919.⁵¹ Also the two most distinguished housing architects of the period, Clarence S. Stein and Henry Wright designed reformed urban blocks – just at the time when they started to develop Radburn as an anti-urban model community in 1927. The Phipps Garden Apartments in Queens (1929-31) for the Society of Phipps Houses arranged working class flats on an indented perimeter block consisting of elements with four and six storeys, including a social room and a nursery.⁵²

Only during the economic depression, the federal government created the Public Works Administration (PWA) and started a federal housing programme in 1933.⁵³ At least at its start, public housing did not only follow technocratic ideals and bureaucratic methods, but aimed to improve social conditions in a deliberately urban context. In an official account of the public housing programme, Michael W. Straus and Talbot Wegg, two collaborators of the PWA Housing Division, underlined the importance of multifunctional urban neighbourhoods: "Housing should not be regarded as an aggregation of houses but as complete neighborhoods,"⁵⁴ including "parks, playgrounds, stores, community buildings and schools".⁵⁵ The first realised large-scale development, the Harlem River Houses at 7th Avenue (1934-37), exemplifies this urban attitude. Designed under the supervision of Archibald Manning Brown by chief designer Horace Ginsbern, the 574 apartments were arranged on four triangular urban blocks in four- to five-storey buildings as indented perimeter blocks.⁵⁶ The design combined inventions from sanitary housing projects with qualities from Beaux-Arts architecture and created a neighbourhood where the buildings clearly addressed the streets, courtyards formed distinguished recreational squares, vistas continued the axis of public streets, symmetrical compositions created understandable spaces, and an out door theatre served as a focal point for the community. In a critical review of New York's public housing programme, the Harlem River Houses were the only development which obtained unrestricted praise by the American Institute of Architects: it possessed "Simplicity and domestic character. An outstandingly excellent job of planning."⁵⁷

⁵⁰ Robert A. M. Stern, Gregory Gilmartin, Thomas Mellins, *New York 1930*, New York: Rizzoli 1987, pp. 417.

⁵¹ Richard Plunz, *A History of Housing in New York City. Dwelling Type and Social Change in the American Metropolis*, New York: Columbia University Press 1990, p. 137.

⁵² Clarence S. Stein, "Toward New Towns for America", in: *The Town Planning Review*, vol. 20, no. 3, 1949, pp. 203-282, no. 4, 1950, pp. 319-418; Clarence S. Stein, *Toward New Towns for America*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 1951.

⁵³ Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, *Urban Housing: The Story of the PWA Housing Division 1933-1936*, Bulletin No. 2, Washington: US Government Print Office 1936.

⁵⁴ Michael W. Straus and Talbot Wegg, *Housing Comes of Age*, New York: Oxford University Press 1938, p. 36.

⁵⁵ Michael W. Straus and Talbot Wegg, *Housing Comes of Age*, New York: Oxford University Press 1938, p. 74.

⁵⁶ Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, *Harlem River Houses*, Washington: US Government Print Office 1937; Richard Pommer, "The Architecture of Urban Housing in the United States during the Early 1930s" in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 37, 1978, pp. 235-264; Gail Radford, *Modern Housing for America. Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era*, Chicago and London 1996

⁵⁷ The Committee on Housing, New York Chapter, American Institute of Architects, *Large Scale Housing in New York, Monograph No. 1, The Significance of the Work of the New York City Housing Authority*, New York: AIA 1949, pl. 1.

10. Conclusion

Werner Hegemann's volume on *City Planning. Housing. A Graphic Review of Civic Art 1922-1937*, published after Hegemann's death and conceived as a follow-up volume to the famous *American Vitruvius. An Architects Handbook of Civic Art* from 1922, offers a telling overview on the state of the art of urban housing at the end of our era. Next to garden cities, new settlements and suburban quarters, it displays international examples of reformed urban blocks, including several *Höfe* from Vienna, Fisker's blocks in Copenhagen, public housing blocks in Liverpool and Manchester, new blocks from Paris, the skyscrapers of Villeurbanne, Schumacher's quarters in Hamburg, examples from Amsterdam and Rotterdam, blocks in Stockholm, a block in Madrid and several examples from New York and Chicago. This not only reflects the continued importance of this building typology, but also its widespread international dissemination which was in turn further enhanced by this publication. The reformed urban block for the modern metropolis was neither a European nor an American phenomenon – it was truly international with numerous local characteristics in typology, material and style.

All these examples show that there has been a broad tradition of creating metropolitan dwellings in the early 20th Century. This movement aimed to reform the metropolis, not to overcome it by proposing alternative models like Garden Cities and *Siedlungen*. The generic urban typology used was the reformed urban block, a city block which continued the tradition of city building, but improved housing conditions largely by introducing green spaces into the block. A huge variety of forms had been invented ranging from spacious courtyards, internal streets, courts towards the surrounding streets and lower internal buildings, just to mention the most obvious examples. The movement for block reform must therefore be considered as highly creative. This kind of *recherche patiente* may even have involved more creativity than developing simple bars as a result of sanitary demands according to supposed scientific methods.

Finally, this movement was truly international without ignoring the local context. In all the major metropolises in Europe and America, private developers, public housing associations, architects and planners constructed examples of these reformed urban blocks. Sometimes this type of unified block arrangement was even regarded as being the result of the international economy and therefore being essentially international. On the other hand, all the different examples within the different cities show quite different characteristics. Urban typology and architectural design were able to adapt to the respective local traditions. London blocks reflected Georgian design, Milan blocks Renaissance Classicism, Paris blocks reacted against Haussmann's uniformity and Scandinavian blocks created a new tradition of Nordic Classicism. While the basic typology could be used in every urban context, the architectural design of the reformed urban block was able to develop an appropriate mode of expression for the specific local context.

A STUDY ON SITUATION AND METHOD OF DRAWING WAR-DAMAGED AREA MAP IN EUROPEAN AND JAPANESE WAR-DAMAGED CITIES

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Preface

It is a well-known fact that during World War II, many cities in the world were damaged by bombing or urban battle or other disaster. After the war in several countries, war-damaged area maps for those war-damaged cities were drawn out, but in some country such area map was not made, and there not only war-damaged map itself but also related materials was not found in a case.

For example, in "Rebuilding Europe's Bombed Cities"¹⁾ edited by Jeffry M. Diefendorf, any war-damaged area map was not carried except Warsaw, where destruction map 1939-45 appeared on page. City planner seems strongly interested in reconstruction plan or planning than in war-damage area map. In short, war-damaged area map has rarely attracted the attention of urban planning researchers and the evaluation to war-damaged area map was not established or remained uncertain. Moreover, the existing war-damaged area map had been hardly compared with each other.

However, war-damaged area map has much information to consider and propose urban formation and planning history of some war-damaged city. In fact, after the war each war-damaged area map for several cities in several countries was drawn out.

In Germany, many cities had been damaged during World War II, and such as in Berlin, Hamburg, Dresden, Köln, Frankfurt am Main, Essen, Dortmund, Nürnberg and München etc. Then the war-damaged area map had been drawn out by each method. In Japan, too many war-damaged cities had occurred such as Tokyo, Osaka, Hiroshima and so on. Then mainly in Germany and Japan, how to draw the war-damaged area map and how methodologically in detail to present the war-damaged area map was examined by collecting some materials as to war-damage, by special researching and by comparing with each other war-damaged cities.

There is various drawing method for war-damaged area map, and especially the classifying type index of war-damaged building is various to each other. Therefore, it is worthy to study situation and method of drawing war-damaged area map and to compare the expression method on the whole.

1. Purpose and Method of this paper

Now, the definition of "war-damaged city" is the city, where the greater part of central area was destroyed by a certain reason at the war time, such as by bombing, air raid, street fighting, or strategic self-destruction. In any case, if the war has not been broken out, the city would not be suffered from the damage at large scale

Firstly, the purpose of this paper is to consider situation and method of drawing war-damaged

area map by taking up some typical war-damaged cities occurred in Germany(in fact West Germany before unification) and in Japan during World War II.

As to method of this research, how collect the materials related to those war-damaged cities is important, by using those materials it must be examined how to draw the war-damaged area map, especially how to classify war-damaged figure according to damaged degree, then it must be compared some war-damaged area map with other one. By comparison of the war-damaged area map in Germany with the one in Japan, several characteristics of each war-damaged area map will be made clear.

2. Object City and Whereabouts of War-damaged Area Map

Although many war-damaged cities made it appearance in the world during the time of World War II, it is rare to carry a war-damaged map in the general book as the war-damage information on each city, as mentioned above.

However, in Germany the specific reference has carried this information if materials had been retrieved in detail. As the intensive reference, there is "DEUTSCHER STADTEBAU NACH 1945" ²⁾ (German cityplanning after 1945), where the fundamental war-damaged city information is carried about 55 cities in West Germany of those days. Furthermore, we can find out "Kriegsschicksale Deutscher Architektur **Band Nord, Band Sud**" ³⁾ (Germany architecture broken by the war, the volume one is northern part and the volume two is southern part), and "Traume in Trummern — Planung zum Wiederaufbau Zerstorer Stadte im Western Deutschland 1940-1950 I **Konzepte, II Stadte**"⁴⁾ (In the Ashes and Rubble — the reconstruction planning of war-damaged city in West Germany, volume1 concept,volume 2concrete cities), and"Neue Stadte aus Ruinen" ⁵⁾ (New city from rubble). Those references are containing the information on war-damaged cities and occasionally war-damaged area map.

Which object city is taken up from these war-damaged cities? For example, according to the reference "from Ulm to a Utopia"⁶⁾, which described history of urban formation and development, pointed out Berlin, Hamburg, Dresden, Cologne, Frankfurt am Main, Essen, Dortmund, Nürnberg, Düsseldorf and München from view point of the numerousness of the amounts of rubble in ruins. It was mentioned that those cities were destroyed with 40% or more of city regions of those days, and a especial high ratio was 72% of Cologne, 65% of Dortmund, 60% of Frankfurt am Main and Dresden.

The data in the amount of rubble etc. can be checked also by "Statistisches Jahrbuch Deutscher Gemeinden"⁷⁾(the statistical yearbook of German city).

Now it should be examined how the war-damaged cities and those war-damaged area maps are.

As for Berlin, previous mentioned " DEUTSCHER STADTEBAU" inserts the war-damaged area map (Fig.1) titled "Karte Berlin Kriegsschaden" (Berlin war-damaged area map), and according to it, it

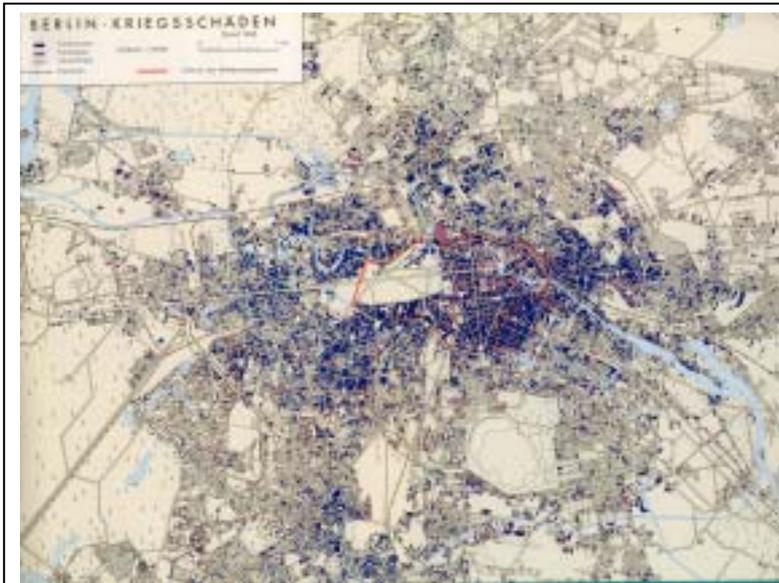


Fig.1 War-damaged area map of Berlin



Fig.3 War-damaged area map of Hamburg

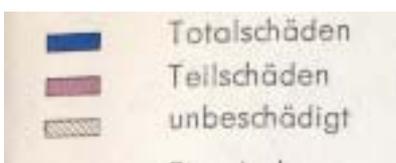


Fig.2 Index of Berlin



Fig.5 Index of Hamburg



Fig.4 War-damaged area map of Hamburg



Fig.6 War-damaged area map of Dortmund



Fig.7 Index of Dortmund

is drawn by the three classified colored index (Fig.2). That is, for ①dark blue meaning “Totalschaden” (whole damage) and ②brown meaning “Teilschaden” (partial damage) and ③right-directed hatch black meaning “unbeschädigt” (non-damage). In short, it is important that the damage is judged by building unit, that “non-damage” also is classified, and that it is drawn on the same standard for not only West Berlin of Germany but also East Berlin of East Germany in those days. By the explanatory note, it describes that there were many times bombings every month from late autumn in 1943 to early spring in 1945, that the most part of central city was destroyed, and that 1,560,000 residences those days existed in 1943 but in 1946 it decreased into 1,060,000 houses, that is about 500,000 houses were lost. Although there were the non-damage building in the surround part here and there, but the war-damaged map was drawn with thoroughly destroyed area in the central part. In addition speaking about the classification, there is a question whether non-damage means entire non-damage or non-damage included little damage.

Although a detailed war-damaged area map cannot be found in Hamburg, there is an unclear and rough war-damaged map and a war-damaged central city area map (Figs. 3 and 4), according to these the index are four classifications (Fig. 5). The classification is ①black meaning "ohne Schaden oder leichte oder mittel-schaden" (non-damage or light damage or partial damage), ②black mesh meaning "schwerer Schaden" (serious damage), ③ thin black mesh meaning "bedingter Totalschaden" (conditional total damage) and ④ almost white mesh meaning "unbedingter Totalschaden" (absolutely total damage). That is, the deeper color means light damage and lighter color means the heavy grade of war-damage, and it is a different method from the introductory-notes display of Berlin and a similar method to the display of usual Japanese index, but a little different method from the Japanese display in detail.

As for the war-damaged area map of Dortmund (Figs. 6 and 7) the index is 3 classifications, that is ①black means "Benutzbar" (possible use), ②vertical hatch means "Teil-zerstört" (partial damage)



Fig.8 War-damaged area map of Frankfurt am Main

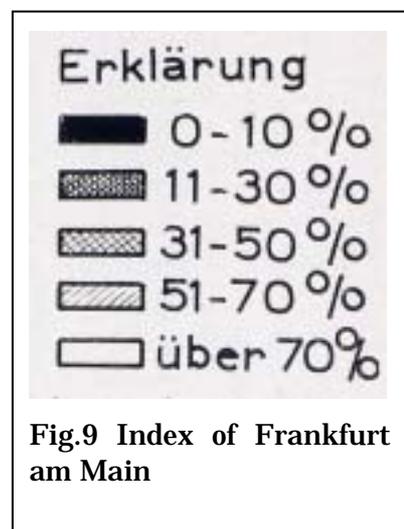


Fig.9 Index of Frankfurt am Main

and ③white without color means "Zerstört" (whole damage), such as a green tract of land and a railroad lot, are removed from the number of classifications, namely clear reverse order. The index of classification takes off damage without buildings such as Green land and railroad site.

In Frankfurt am Main, the index adopts more complete 5 classifications(Figs. 8 and 9), that is, ① black means 0 - 10% degree damage, ②vertical and horizontal hatch means 11 - 30% degree damage. ③from right to left direction hatch means 31 - 50% degree damage, ④right hatch means 51 - 70% degree damage and ⑤white means 70% or more degree damage, namely it is clear evaluated rank such as from partial damage to whole damage instead of an ambiguous classification. However, different from with expression of the war-damaged area map of many of other cities, it differs to evaluate the rank division of damage by the block unit instead by the building unit. Moreover, it is worthy of notice that the classification of non-damage dose not be dared, but be included into the classification of 0 - 10% degree damage. In Aachen there is "Schadenskarte" (war-damaged area map), the index is 4 classifications(Figs. 10 and 11), that is, ①black means "Unbeschädigt" (non-damage), ②thick left hatch means "Massig Weniger" (small damage), ③thin black mesh means "Mittlere Mittlerer" (middle damage) and ④white without color means "Total Schaden" (total damage).

In Pforzheim, by the method of painting out a damage building, the index is only one classification (Fig. 12), namely if the classification without damage will be counted, the index will become two classifications. Such the example extremely similar to Japanese example is also known by existing in



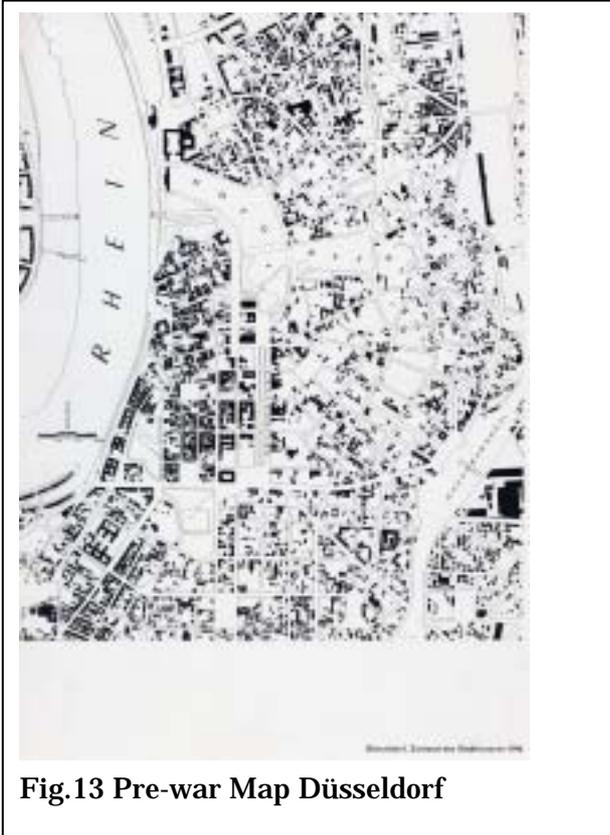


Fig.13 Pre-war Map Düsseldorf



Fig.14 Post-war Map Dusseldorf

Germany. If the explanatory note of war-damage is checked out, 237ha(s) of a central city area is counted in "total zerstört von weite Randgebiete teilzerstört" (from the extensive partial damage of the suburbs to total damage).

As for Düsseldorf, war-damaged area map itself cannot be found, but the area map in 1939, i.e. in pre-war, and the area map in 1946, i.e. post-war, are shown contrastively (Fig.13, 14). By those map, existing building all in those days is painted out, as a result two map play the role of the war-damaged area map. However, the grade of war-damage is not shown and it cannot be said as a general war-damaged area map in Germany.

A unique war-damaged area map is seen at Köln(Fig. 15). Although here is classified by four classifications, too, but ①most deepest dark black means 100-80% degree damage, ②next stage black mesh means 79-60% degree damage, ③gray mesh means 59-40% degree damage, and ④ whitish mesh means 39-20% degree damage. It is the most remarkable damaged classification with surrounds of Kölner Dome on the left bank of the Rhine River. However, the judgment of these four classification is made not by building unit but by the zone unit with remarkable large scale, then that war-damaged map cannot be said that it is the accurate map, Nevertheless, even the most lowest degree damage is 20% or more of classification, it is turned out how the war-damage in Cologne itself was an intense thing. Although data related with war-damage about Köln came to hand in uniquely, anything other than this war-damaged area map is not found by present one.

As for Hanover, a war-damaged area map is not carried for some of these main reference, but

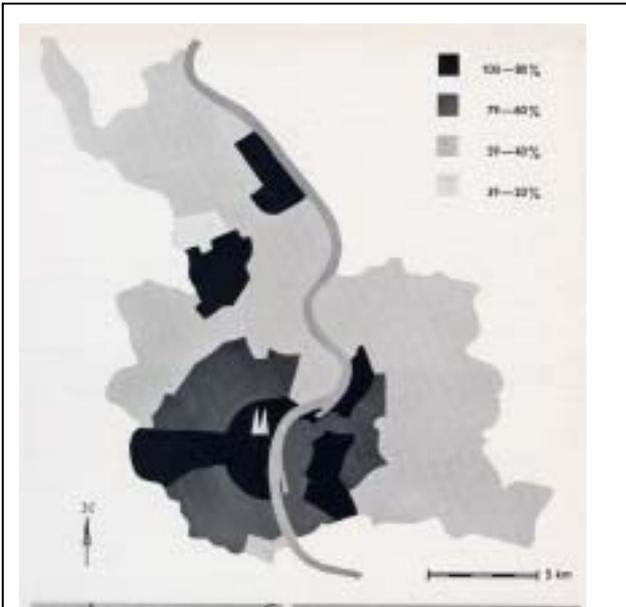


Fig.15 War-damaged area map of Köln



Fig.16-1 War-damaged area map of Hanover

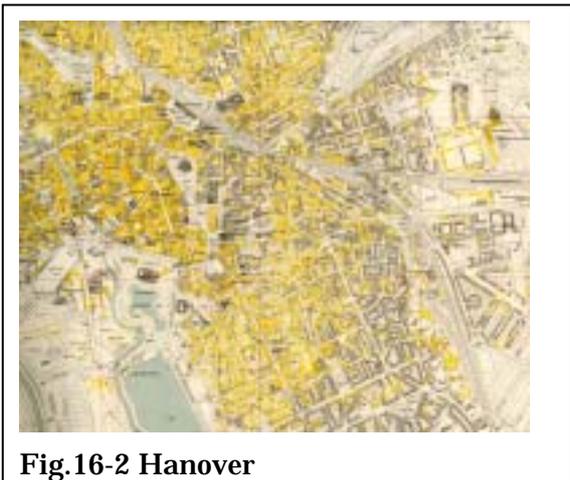


Fig.16-2 Hanover

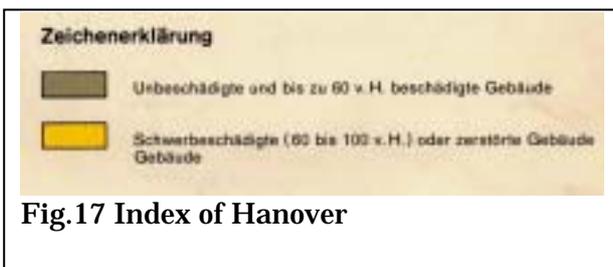


Fig.17 Index of Hanover

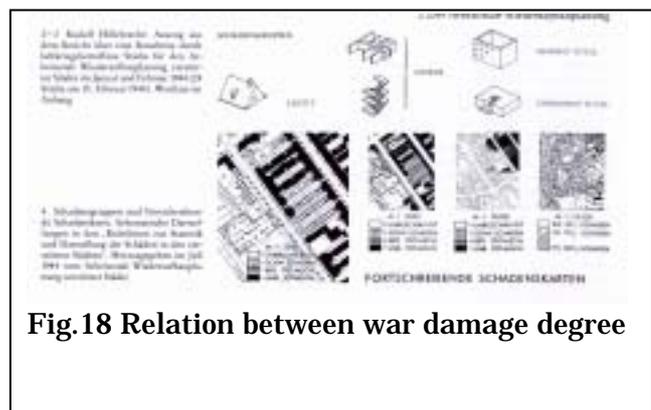


Fig.18 Relation between war damage degree

the reconstruction plan map for war-damaged area accepted by the competition is shown (Fig. 16). But if this figure is precisely seen, the existing building is written in and plays the role of the war-damaged area map as a result. However, because the damage situation of the pulled-down building is unknown, it cannot be said as the general war-damaged area map.

By uniquely correcting materials⁸⁾ about Hannover, several war-damaged area maps which is not carried in common reference, was made the whereabouts clear and could be obtained (Figs. 17 and 18). According to these, ①black means non-damage and less than 60%, ②yellow(painting out)

means heavy damage (more than 60% or up to 100%) or total damage, then the index is two classifications, but the index of ① is too broad and rough classification, and the existence of detailed war-damaged area map is explained to be a base on the scale of 1:1000 or 1:2500 in practice.

Table1 Classification method of war-damage for war-damaged area map in Germany

Number of classification	War-damage display type	Explanation of the war-damage type display method	The example of the displayed type war-damaged city
2	2-A type	It is painting out about the building beyond fixed damage.	Pforzheim
3	3-A type	The display according to degree of war devastation, the order from heavy to light	Berlin, Hamburg, Hildesheim, Karlsruhe, Paderborn
	3-B type	The display according to degree of war devastation, the order from light to heavy	Dortmund, Wormus, Würzburg, Stuttgart, Ulm
	3-C type	The display according to degree percent of war devastation	Bremen, Bönen, Hannover
4	4-A type	The display according to degree of war devastation, the order from heavy to light	Darmstadt
	4-B type	The display according to degree of war devastation, the order from light to heavy	Aachen, Braunschweig, Keel
	4-C type	The display according to degree percent of war devastation	(Köln)
5	5-A type	The display according to degree of war devastation, the order from heavy to light	
	5-B type	The display according to degree of war devastation, the order from light to heavy	
	5-C type	The display according to degree percent of war devastation	Frankfurt, Münster
Special	Special type	Contrast of a city area figure and an after [war devastation] city area figure prewar days	Düsseldorf, Mayen
	Area type	The display according to degree percent of war devastation	Köln

3. Typology of Drawing Method

Till now, situation of war-damaged area map of German cities as the concrete object is examined.

Then, it must be examined how the number of classifications in the index are, and how the contents of classifications could be typed in the expression of war-damaged area map. Index of building damage is to be examined, but the damage without building, such as a vacant lot or a green area or the railways, is to be excepted. As a result, there are many cases of five classifications or 4 classifications, and there are two types, one is the type by the words expressed from some damage

level of damage to other damage level of damage, and another is the type classified by the degree rank. And there are the two type of method using a deep color and a conspicuous color, one is the case from heavier damage, and other is the case from lighter damage. Although it is the case that the classification of non-damage or light damage in the index is usually expressed by painting some color in Germany general cities, but it is the seldom case in Japan.

If such expressing methods will be tabled and the main concrete city example will be hung up, the result will be shown as Table 1. In addition, if the mutual relation between the words expressed of building damage with the degree rank is shown as fig.18, it must be said right that the classification of light damage, less than 50% damage, and roof damage is the same group, that the classification of heavy damage, 50-70% damage, and floor-and-stairs damage is the same group, that comparatively total damage and side wall damage are the same group, and that absolutely total damage and the total building damage are the same group, and that later both group are not classified with the group classified as 70-100

Thus, the war-damaged area map is usually drawn by building unit and in rare case by block unit, and the index is classified according to the degree of war-damage, those are the fundamental tendency in German war-damaged cities.

4. Conclusion—in Comparison with War Damaged Area Map of War-Damaged City in Japan.

Probably, that is Japan where war-damaged area map were drawn and released most early in postwar and most extensively in the world. "General condition of war-damaged area map of national main city"⁹⁾ had been already edited and printed in December, 1946 after the war. According to this, the war-damaged area is drawn in 154 cities, towns and villages in those days. The drawing methods of the war-damaged area map in these war-damaged cities are two classifications fundamentally, and the index for presenting the war-damaged area was only one kind(i.e., one certain color usually red), -- being sufficient (the remaining white or blank areas being called non-damage). However, if speaking detail, there are some variations and they will be summarized, the war-damaged area map drawing methods can be typified as followed: fringing the outside fire zone as war-damaged area, and hatching the Inside(Japanese A Type). In it, there are several sub-types: one is a single zone type (A-1 type), a small-scale distribution zone type (A-2 type), the classified type of a collapsed house zone and a house-burned-down zone (A-3 type), a drawing type classified by war-damaged day (A-4 type), and a drawing type of the kind of war-damaged (for example, being what classified by the incendiary bomb attack and by the ship airplane attack, that is A- 5 type). The war-damaged area map of Tokyo in above mentioned "General condition of war-damaged area map of national main city" belongs to A-4 type. The war-damaged area is classified and expressed by every war-damaged day for 7 times (Fig. 19). However, in "History of reconstruction for War-damaged area" the war-damaged area is simply

drawing with the outside line (Fig. 20).

Although such examples of simple drawing method are most, there is one more type, that is the type of drawing the fixed zone by damage degree (Japanese B type), and as sub group one is the classification type of middle damage degree area or comparatively little damage degree area (B-1 type, for example, Kamaishi-shi), and one is the type which classified a rank division such as a total destruction and total burnt zone, a partial destruction and half burnt zone, and a partial burnt zone into it (B-2 type). There is one type(3), that is the type of drawing damage-less zone in the zone where the destruction-by-fire zone is bordered and the hatch is carried out (Japanese C type, for example, Sendai-shi), and one more type (4), that is, the type of dividing a damage-by-fire zone and a cartridge zone from war-damaged area(Japanese D type, for example, Sakata-shi).

Therefore, the drawing method in German war-damaged area map, it can be read, has an intention in order to use for reconstruction planning. The expression method and the display method of the war-damaged area map in Germany is by building units, and the degree of war damage must be judged in the unit. In short, in a case of Germany, though a building was usually destroyed by bombs occurred and the building was burnt down, the case of fire spreading to the outskirts of fringe of city is dropping from the sky, the outbreak of a fire seldom. If some building was hit by the bomb and that building were burnt down, in many case the adjacent or neighborhood building of that building was safe or suffered from little damage. Thus, in Germany the war-damage should be judged and expressed by each building unit.



Fig.19 War-damaged area map of Tokyo1



Fig.20 War-damaged area map of Tokyo2

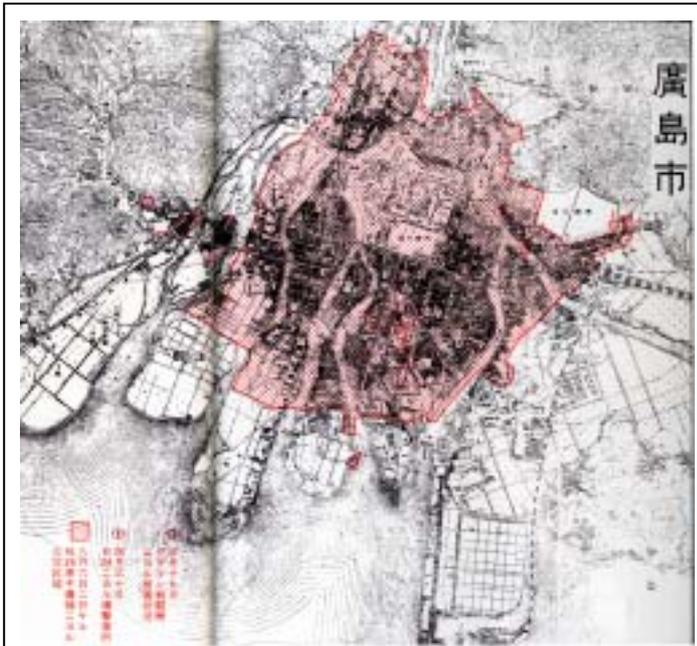


Fig.21-1 War-damaged area map of Hiroshima 1



Fig.21-2 War-damaged area map of Hiroshima 2

The war-damaged area map of the war-damaged city in Japan differs from Western (mainly in Germany), the display method of a war-damaged area map and the war damage in Japan itself differs remarkably from in Germany. If the outside line of war-damaged area is drawn as a rough spread-of-a-fire zone, the method in the case of Japan had achieved the objective or the intention.

In the case of Japan, it was restricted to the atom-bombed city in Hiroshima or Nagasaki, and some exceptional cities that the war-damaged area map was unexpectedly used as a role which shows the degree of war damage. As for Hiroshima, although the outside line of a spread-of-a-fire area showed the position and contamination destruction-by-fire zone of the bomb dropped before contamination with the war-damaged area map of the national version (Fig. 21), the rank part injury of the degree of damage was almost possible in the delicate revival magazine in the shape of a concentric circle like complete-destroyed / total-destruction-by-fire zone, partial destruction and a half glow zone, and a partial glow and partial destroyed area(Fig. 22). Such a classification is followed although the drawing according to grade of damage is reported by reference with various damage by contamination.

As the result it become clear that in Germany, the war-damaged area map was made by means of corresponding precisely to the degree of building damage of building unit, though the presentation of each city varies little by little. And the map is efficiently utilized in the reconstruction planning for war-damaged cities. Whether some building should be repaired, continued or not, pulled down or not , it is used by carrying out as the judgment material. Afterwards, the planning system was developed as B-plan, namely, district detail planning.

On the other hand, as for Japan, war-damaged area map becomes a figure of the

war-damaged zone. The war-damaged area map is simple comparatively. Though the outline or envelop line of the range of directly burnt zone and the spread of a fire zone, the method is not always obstacle to reconstruction planning and enterprise for war-damaged area. Because Japanese reconstruction planning and enterprise should have been projected under the land re-adjustment enterprise, namely not for building unit itself but specified block unit. Any way, there are several types of drawing method of war-damaged area map and each method or type should be made more clear, that is the conclusion.

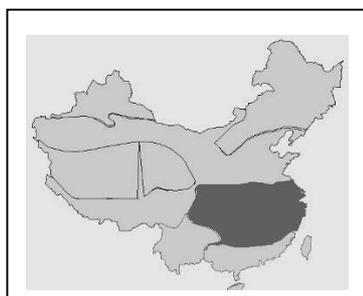
Footnotes :

- 1) By "Rebuilding Europe's Bombed Cities" written by Jeffery M.Diefendorff, as for the war-damaged area map, although it refers to the photograph and reconstruction plan-map of France, Belgium and Middleburg, Hamburg, Dresden in Germany, Warsaw in Poland, Coventry in Britain, Rotterdam in the Netherlands, and etc., but war-damaged area map was described without Warsaw.
- 2) E.Wedepohl : Deutscher Stadtebau Nach 1945 (Richard Bacht, 1961)
- 3) Hartwig Beseler, Niels Gutschow:Kriegs-schicksale Deutscher Architekturtur Band I Nord (Karl Wachholtz Verlag, 1988), Hartwig Beseler, Niels Gutschow:Kriegsschicksale Deutscher Architekturtur Band II Sud (Karl Wachholtz Verlag, 1988)
- 4) Werner Durth and Nies Gutschow:Traume in Trummern -Planung zum Wiederaufbau Zerstorere Stadte im Western Deutschland 1940-1950 I Konzepte (Vieweg, 1988), Werner Durth and Nies Gutschow:Traume in Trummern-Planung zum Wiederaufbau Zerstorere Stadte im Western Deutschland 1940-1950 II Stadte (Vieweg, 1988)
- 5) Werner Durth e.t.al: Neue Stadte aus Ruinen (Prestel-Verlag, 1992)
- 6) Worf Shneider(translater:Kazuyuki Shikama): From Urm to a Utopia (Jiji Press pp.448-449). The data is based on. With this reference, although there is indexical data of war-damage, the index like a war-damaged area map is not prepared.
- 7) Received from Hanover city authorities.
- 8) Department of Materials, The First Mobilization Ministry: National main War-damaged Area Map (in December, 1945, reproducing from the Hara Shobo as issue "Japanese War-damaged Area Map" in 1983)
- 9) The Ministry of Construction edited: History of Reconstruction for War-damaged City -- the ninth volume and tenth volume
- 10) A yearbook called "Statistisches Jahrbuch Deutscher Gemeinden" is published from the German self-governing body (Alfons Burger Verlag issue), according to 38.Jahrgang(1950 issue) pp.28-29, "Trummerraumung und -verwertung 1945-49" (rubble withdrawal and rubble practical use) is reported, and it turns out that the rubble problems were serious concerns of those days.

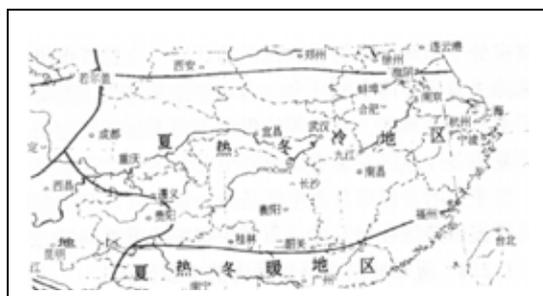
I. Division and definition of regions hot in summer and cold in winter of China

1.1 Scope and climate feature of regions hot summer and cold in winter

The majority of the regions located along and around Changjiang drainage areas belongs to that hot in summer and cold in winter (Picture 1-2). The general scope of this area is south from Longhai Line, north from Nanling, and east from Sichuan basin, including the two municipalities directly under the Central government, Chongqing and Shanghai; the total of Hubei, Hunan, Anhui, Zhejiang and Jiangxi province; the eastern part of Sichuan and Guizhou province; the southern half of Jiangsu and Henan province, the northern tip of Guangdong and Guangxi province, which involve in 16 provinces, counties and municipalities directly under the Central government. This area enjoys fairly developed economy and culture as well as important position with almost 1/3 population of the country covering about 1,800,000km² and taking up 48% of DGP.



Picture 1



Picture 2

Picture 1—2 The summer-hot and winter-cold area in china

1.2 The typical region hot in summer and cold in winter—Wuhan

The geographical position of Wuhan city is 113°41'–115°05' of east longitude and 29°58'–31°22' of north latitude which belongs to the north subtropical monsoon (humid) climate, having plenty rain and rich heat throughout the year and is the typical region hot in summer and cold in winter. (The figures in Table 1-1 and 1-2 shows) the average temperature in July and August of Wuhan is 29.8°C and the

highest extreme temperature reaches 39.4 °C; while the average temperature in January and February is 3 °C and the lowest extreme temperature reduces to -18.1 °C. However, during these two periods, both of the average air humidity is near to 80%. The coexistence of humidity and hotness as well as that of humidity and coldness make the outside environment in Wuhan quite tough in summer and winter.

Table1-1: 9 cities' summer meteorological parameter in summer-hot and winter-cold area

	Shang hai	Hangz hou	Nanj ing	He fei	Nan chang	Cu han	Chang sha	Chong qing
The average temperature in the hottest month/°C	27.8	26	28.0	28.3	29.6	29.8	29.3	28.1
The highest extreme temperature /°C	38.9	39.9	40.7	41.0	40.6	39.4	40.6	40.2
The average temperature in the hottest month on 14'o clock /°C	32	33	32	32	33	33	33	33
The highest temperature is not lower than 35°C which the number of days in the year	8.7	22	15.8	16.3	27.7	21	30	
The average relatively Humidity in the hottest month%	83	80	81	81	75	79	75	71

Table1-2: 9 cities' winter meteorological parameter in summer-hot and winter-cold area

	Shang hai	Hang zhou	Nan jing	He fei	Nan chang	Cu han	Chang sha	Chong qing
The average temperature in the coldest month/°C	3.5	3.8	2.0	2.1	5.0	3.0	4.7	7.2
The average temperature is lower than 5°C which the number of days in the year	56	51	77	72	18	59	32	
The lowest temperature is lower than 5°C which the number of days in the year	801	714	1155	1080	239	856	432	
The average relatively Humidity in the coldest month%	75	77	73	75	74	76	81	83

II. City hot in summer and cold in winter—present situation of water environment in Wuhan

2.1 Present situation of water environment in Wuhan

Due to the constant expansion of cities and rapid development of economy the environment transformation changes with each passing day and the relationship between human beings and living environment becomes increasingly tense. Thus the sustainable ecological plan must be put forward. As for the present saturation of waters in Wuhan, the hardened and channelized phenomena are quite obvious and there is not the possibility for sustainable development, which is a big obstacle for the formation of ecological landscape.

As the city with hundreds of lakes, Wuhan is located in the center of China, close to rivers and lakes. Among 189 of them, 43 are distributed in the central area of the city. Currently, the water resource is enough, however, the water quality problem is rather striking, 56% rivers and 89% lakes are polluted in different degree throughout the city. The division of water system, the withering of ecological function of water and the increase of water pollution greatly prevents the improvement of living environment. Many lake net systems exist in name only.

2.2 The present situation of city hot island in Wuhan

The city climate effect in Wuhan is very notable, esp. after 80s of last century, the annual average temperature increases with more rain and less wind speed. At present, the city scale is constantly expanding and high buildings are standing in great numbers. Meanwhile, with the radiated energy of the sun and the city activities, the gathering of large amount of makes part sections of the city show the hot island effect. Now, the “hot island” of Wuhan is mainly appearing in the old district and Qingshan industrial district with highly dense population. Because of the lack of ecological vegetation as well as the holding back and absorbing of water surface, the city cyclone turns “scorching” into “stifling” and at the same time brings out city “rain island effect”, “fog island effect”, etc.

III. The strategy to improve living environment by using water environment

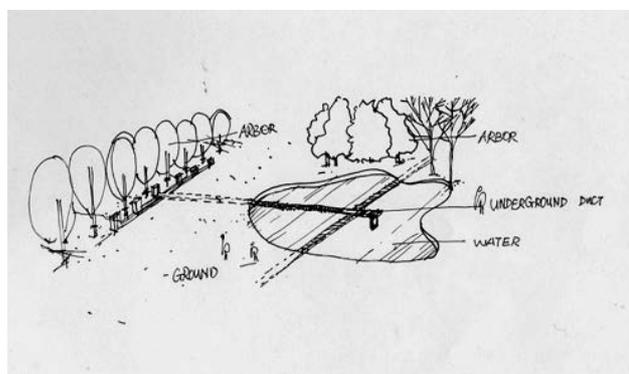
3.1 The establishment of humid land system to improve living environment

Humid land system not only has the highest producing of living beings in the ecological system, which can produce a great amount of microorganisms rich on vegetation community or plants, but good to further purify water environment and then improve microclimate to optimize the living environment.

In Wuhan, the ecological humid land should be recovered for the over-developed and unduly big water environment. The hard revetment should be changed into soft one with the blend of natural water and land. Suitable development around the undeveloped humid land can also be done, keeping the integral of its ecology to the utmost. Some water plants such as canna, reed, etc., which not only provides flourishing living environment, forms blending landscape of human and nature, but also has active effect to the improvement of microclimate. The humid land environment can really optimize and improve living environment.

3.2 Use underground water as the resource of cold-producing and warm-keeping

By using the cold-producing and heating potential of soil environment 2M underground, the energy can be reduced by 30%-100%. The soil temperature 2M



underground is almost the same to the annual average temperature in this area. In Wuhan, the highest extreme temperature is 39.4°C in summer, the coldest extreme temperature is -18.1°C in winter and the annual average temperature

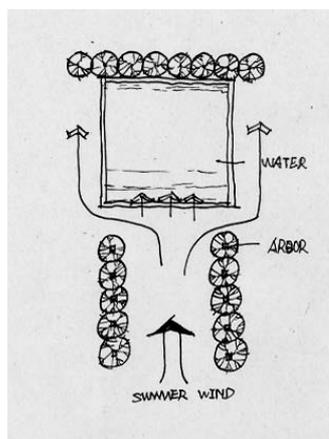
Picture 3-1

is 16.4°C. By the way of energy storing and burying, the living environment can be evidently improved. Using the temperature change at the bottom of waters between the daytime and night, the temperature difference on the land surface can be ameliorated.

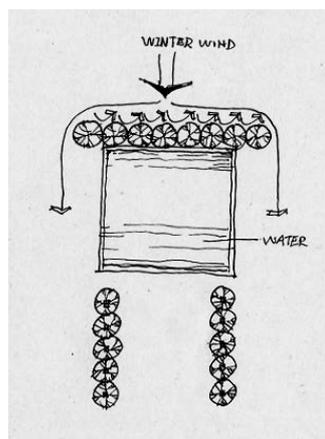
In winter, the hot pump absorbs heat from the underground cycling water and releases it indoor and outdoor, increasing the temperature inland surface, creating the comfort of human body and improving living environment.

3.3 Summer ventilation and winter windbreaking of waters

In the area hot in summer and cold in winter, the water surface is better arranged windward of the leading wind, which is benefit to reduce the air humidity around the water and the scope of low temperature can be expanded. The summer ventilation can be led to the surface by tall deciduous arbor.(Picture 3-2)



Picture 3-2



Picture 3-3

Planting evergreen arbor in the windward of the leading wind in summer can prevent negative wind and prevent the loss of heat from the transpiration.(Picture 3-3)

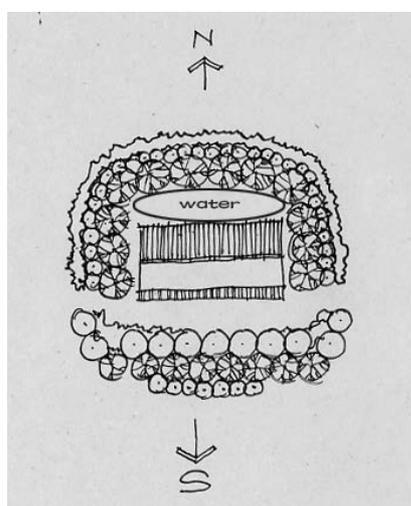
3.4 Water design of defending sunshine in winter and receiving it in winter

Defending-sunshine water design outside buildings: better to plant water vegetation. Thus it can not only prevent the water surface receiving excessive radiative heat from the sun, but reduce the dazzling light from water surface in summer and can create richer landscape effect. Species should be selected, according to the ecological feature of water vegetation and the demand of landscape. The

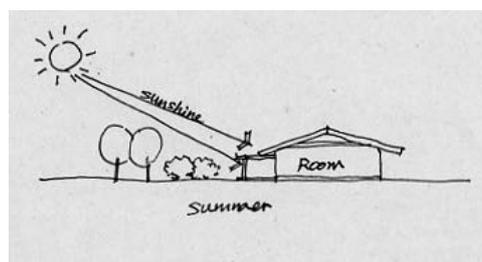
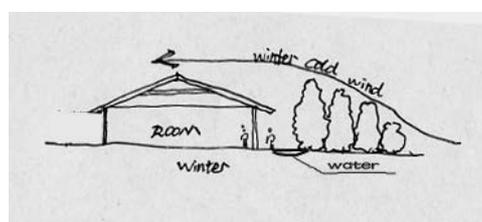
rootstock of the water-floating plants, such as lotus, water lily, etc, grows from the water soil. In order to guarantee the effect of the uneven density of water vegetation and not influence the appreciation of the inverted image besides water, it is better not to plant those vegetation on the whole bank, esp. the straightening plants(such as reed, water bamboo, etc.), but more clumps and smaller scope.

3.5 The importance of living environment from water steaming amount and irradiating angle of the sun

Waters arranged windward in the summer leading wind are good to reduce the air humidity and expand the scope. In summer, the tall deciduous arbor can lead air to the water surface. Planting evergreen arbor windward in winter leading wind can prevent negative wind and reduce the loss of heat from water steaming. Water design can combine the defending-sunshine design by itself and that by surroundings, avoiding the water surface receiving too much radiation and can reduce the dazzling light in summer. When the pond's bottom is paved, the changeable design strategy can be adopted to solve the heat contradict in winter and summer.



Picture 3-4



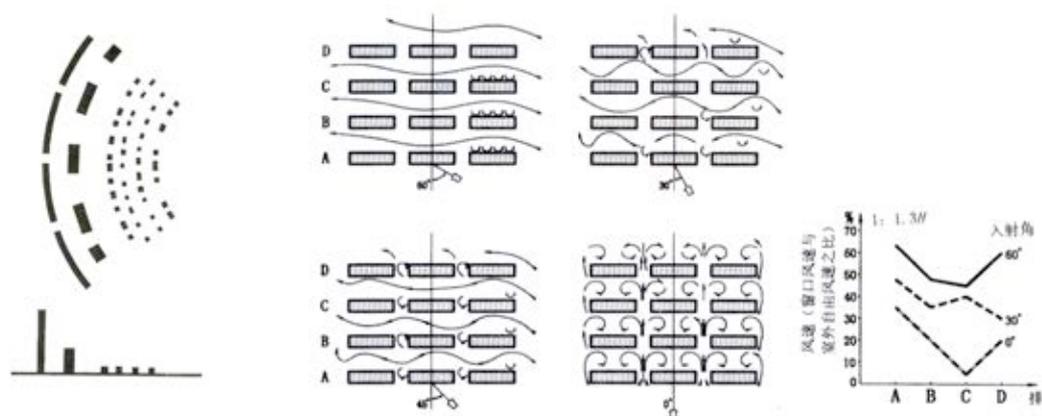
Picture 3-5 3-6

In summer, the southern part of the house can prevent sunshine or radiation by the wave structure; in winter, the obtaining of sun energy should be increased. The best way is to plant deciduous arbor. In winter, only dead branches are left, so the sun can directly radiate on the outside of the building. The heat storing work can be

transformed to the indoor through the walls and keep warm. In summer, the arbor has thriving branches and the sun cannot directly radiate on the outside of the building. The plants function to prevent heat.(picture 3-4 3-5 3-6)

3.6 The influence of constituting for our space of water-faced buildings to the wind environment

The constituting way for out space of water-faced buildings has something to do with natural ventilation, which can be considered from plane and stereoscopic



Picture 3-7

aspects. From the angle good to the ventilation of single building, the long side of the building is better vertical to the summer's leading wind; but from the angle good to the ventilation of building complex, it will seriously affect the summer ventilation of the bank building. Therefore, the angel should be better controlled from 30 to 60 between the planned orientation and summer leading wind.(Picture 3-7)

Conclusion

Evaluating whether a region or city is comfortable or not, climate is the very crucial factor. Then that is the water environment and terrain condition, i.e. forming integral ecological environment. As a passive design element, water can be designed to reduce the temperature in summer and increase it in winter as well as change climate cycling. In the region hot in summer and cold in winter, water environment plays active role in optimizing and improving the living environment within fairly big size. According to the different size, different section and different physiognomy, the possibility that water, as the main body, improves the cycling of microclimate will also change. Wuhan, as a typical region hot in summer and cold in winter, has big scale, rich waters and special climate. The key point illustrated in this paper is how to scientifically use water environment to create comfortable and suitable environment for human beings themselves as well as establish sustainable close water landscape.

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CONDITIONS AND SUSTAINABILITY OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN THE IMS GROWTH TRIANGLE

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Keyword: Tourism development Regional cooperation, IMS Growth Triangle

1. Introductions

According to the World Tourism Organization (WTO), the international tourist arrival in 2004 recorded as 763 million. The number has increased about thirty times from the 1950's mainly due to the introduction of passenger aircrafts. The trend of expansion forecasted as continuous 5% increase every year that it would reach a billion by the year 2010. The current regional share shows the domination of Europe as 50%. However, the increase in Asia and the Pacific and Middle East were 27.9% and 18.0% between 2003 and 2004, which were higher than other regions. This tendency also predicted continuing in the future.

The positive impacts of tourism development for the regional development are widely recognized in aspects of economy, and socio-culture. Tourist spending such as accommodation, transportation, food and beverage, and shopping are direct revenue for the region. Furthermore, employment and raw material supply needs can generated as ripple effects. Facilitation of infrastructure including construction of road, water supply and sewage treatment facilities, waste management plants, and leisure facilities serves for both tourists and residents. Socio-cultural impact often noted as a human interaction with people who have different history, culture, and social background. It may enhance the understandings of different cultures and prevent conflicts between them. Therefore, the tourism development perceived as a useful measure for regional development. Meanwhile, negative impacts noted such as decline of natural environment, socio-cultural values, and increase of crime.

The positive economic impacts of acquisition of foreign currency and employment generation are highly regarded especially in developing countries that they tend to promote tourism development as a significant tool for their economic development. In order to undertake the tourism development, the formulation of master plan is essential. However, realization is not easy in developing countries due to the lack of technology, knowledge, and fund.

The study aims to find out the clues for the feasible and sustainable tourism development methodology through focusing on a unique exercise of tourism development under the multi national cooperation in Indonesia Malaysia Singapore (IMS) Growth Triangle. An example of the focal tourism development area named Bintan Island is closed up to assess the conditions and perspectives of tourism development especially on its accomplishments and perspective in the future in terms of feasibility and sustainability.

The authors carried out the survey in 1999 and 2005 that the findings should evaluate through the comparison between its early stage and present conditions. The benefits and advantages of multi co operational tourism development will discussed along with the

possibility of application to other areas. Moreover, obstacles and limitations of the methods will examine.

2. IMS Growth Triangle

The center of IMS Growth Triangle (GT) is two islands locate between Singapore and Indonesia namely Batam and Bintan (Figure 1). Those islands belong to Indonesia and conveniently accessed from Singapore by ferry within an hour. Taking into account the proximity of the location to Singapore, establishment of industrial park started in 1970s in Batam Island. The moderate land price and labor costs attracted foreign investments. It was agreed as Free Trade Zone in late 1970s and it aimed to be the process and export base.

The both Indonesian and Singaporean presidents encouraged the co-operative development and agreed to introduce 100% private investment as well as its application procedure in Batam. It confirmed the private investment and water resource provision for Singapore. Employment generation in the industrial park and technical transfer from Singapore contribute to Indonesia. Meanwhile, solutions of water and land resources shortages, reduction of process costs, securing regional security are merits for Singapore.

Simultaneously, the Mater Developer named P.T. Bintan Resort Cakrawala (BRC) established in 1991 based on the agreement between Indonesia and Singapore governments for Bintan Island's tourism development. The BRC is responsible for formulating master plan, infrastructure facilitation, construction of tourist's attractions, encouraging private investment for resort hotels, natural environment conservation, and maintenance and operation of resort area (Figure 2). Its operation started in 1996 and tourist arrivals increased from 113,494 to 340,465 in 2001. However, the number decreased to 263,058 due to the Bali bombing in 2002, and Iraq war and SARS in 2003. The number shows gradual improvement of 288,083 in 2005 (Figure 3).



Figure 1. The Area of IMS Growth Triangle
Source : <http://www.peterloud.co.uk>



Figure 2. Tourism Development Area in Bintan Island
Source : <http://www.bintan-resorts.com/brcms/>

3. Methods

The reasons of focusing on the tourism development in IMS Growth triangle are to find clues for feasible and sustainable tourism development in developing countries. The efforts of encouraging private investments and multi-national implementation methods acknowledged as a unique technique. Therefore, the progress of tourism development in Bintan Island examined through interviews of stakeholders and field survey. Moreover, the authors' previous study in the same area in 1997 will refer to the current conditions¹.

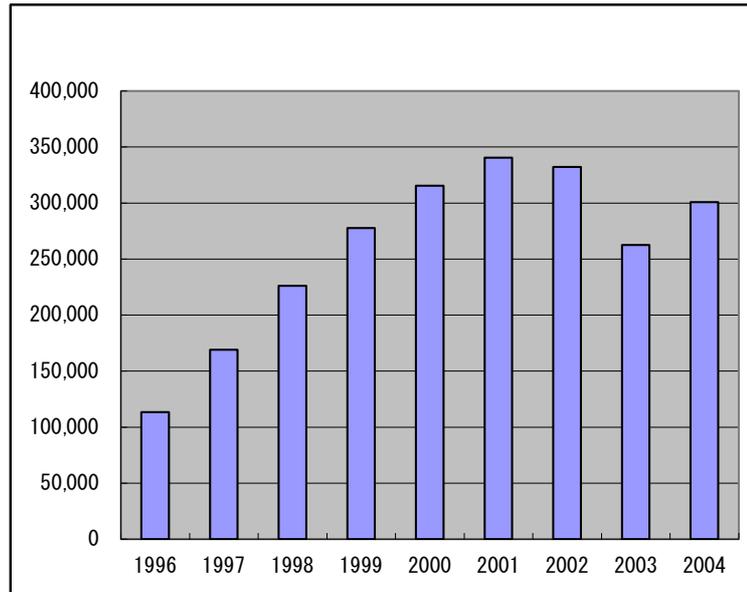


Figure 3. Tourists Arrivals
Source: <http://www.bintan-resorts.com/brcms/>

The interview with Director of the BRC took place in August 2005 at the head quarter of BRC in Singapore. The Director was the same person whom interviewed in 1999 that the interviewed items concentrated on the progress of tourism development and its perspectives. A request for the BRC supports for the field survey in Bintan Island mentioned at the meeting.

The field survey carried out in January 2006 at Bintan Island with the cooperation of BRC local staff.

4. Tourism Development in Bintan Island and its impacts

The current conditions and progress of the development summarized as below (Table 1). It based on the interview with the BRC Director.

Table1. Current Conditions of Tourism Development in Bintan Island

Items	Contents
1. Overall Development	
Infrastructure and Tourism facilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opening of a new resort hotel (Number of existing resorts is 10. Different types of resorts supposed to attract diverse markets). • Additional tourist attraction for the existing resorts such as spas. • It await for the investment for phase two developments, this includes new resort hotel establishments, commercial complex, and second house complex.
Customer service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improvement of access for both ferry and air via Batam Island • Introduction of excursions such as heritage, culture, and Mangrove Forest tours.
Natural Environment Conservation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monitoring of marine spices (Twice a year) did not show any damage by the tourism development. It rather affected by the local fishery. • Mangrove tour prevents illegal cutting and animal hunting (tour guide can report the incidents).

¹ Nami Tanaka and Kazunari Tanaka, Tourism Development Guidelines in Developing Countries: a Case of the Bintan island, Indonesia, 4th Asian Design Conference International Symposium on Design Studies, D-3, 1999

2. Profiles of Tourists	
Tourist Arrivals	<p>Figure 4. Origin of tourists number decrease: Sept.11 2001, Bali bombing 2002, SARS 2003, tsunami 2004 Source: BARS 2003, BARS 2004 http://www.brcms.com/</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gradual increased from 2005.
Origin of the Tourists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 76.7% is from Asia (Figure 4). • Domestic (Indonesian visitor) is increasing via Batam airport.
Marketing Targets	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Golfer, Conference participants (international, company meeting etc.), and family
Public Relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Websites: keeping high profile for search engine appearance, linkage with travel search engine, multi-language websites • Affiliation with JTB for Japanese market
Investments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sift from Singapore domination: 60%(initial) →30%(current) • Increase of Indonesian investments caused by insecurity of Indonesian economy. Import and export tax exemption. Batam Island becomes popular investment market. • Educational facilities are increasing in Batam in responding the rich Indonesian demand.
3. Regional & Local Involvements	
Impacts on Regional Economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment Generation: Out of 5,000 employers, 95% is from Indonesia, 50% is from Bintan Island. • On the job, trainings are under implementation.
Regional Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Providing medical checkups • Participation of heritage and cultural tour • Utilization of local products (fishery and crafts) at resorts introduced.

The field survey in Bintan Island mainly focused on the newly developed facilities after 1999. It included interviews with local office staff of BRC as well as local residents, who are participating joint projects with BRC.

The responsibilities of BRC Bintan local office are daily operation of resorts such as supplying electricity and water, water quality management, road maintenance, and port and gate security. It also monitors tourist profiles, operate tours, and implement regional development projects.

The number of employees is five hundreds and a hundred are dealing with security section. Majority of workers are Indonesian and only thirteen administrative staff are non-Indonesian. The findings of field survey summarized as in the Table 2.

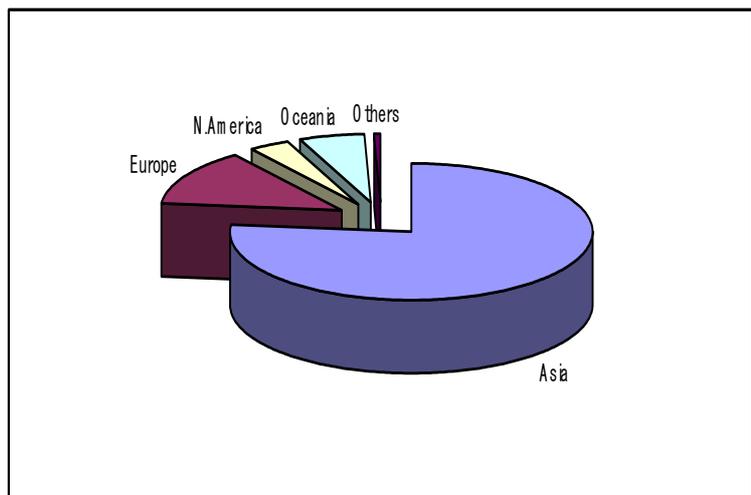


Table 2. Summary of Bintan Island Field Survey

Item	Contents
1. Overall Development	
Infrastructure and Tourism facilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Renovation and expansion of existing visitor complex is in progress. It aimed to add variety of foods and products. • Renewal of exhibition at visitor center is also in progress. • Introduction of a new up-scale resort hotel • Elephant Park by an independent investor. They lend Elephants to the Hotels. Elephant ride experience and shows in the park.
Customer service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide porter services for the visitors entering the Bintan via Batam airport. Visitors need not pickup luggage after the check in at Batam airport. The service received good reputation among golfers. • Mangrove Tour: guided tours with duration of 1-1.5hr. Maximum capacity of three boats for 10 passengers can dispatched at the same time. It operates five times a day including one night tour. English, Mandarin, and Japanese Guides tours are available. About 5% of the visitors joined the tour. It won PATA's Gold Award in 2001. • Heritage Tour started in 2002. The duration of the tour is one day that number of participation is small. Due to the road conditions in the local area, it is impossible to shorten the duration. • Malaria prevention measure is in implementation. Researches and annual blood tests of employees are undertaken. There were two death cases in 1996 (opening). None of Malaria case reported last three years. • Introduction of Hop-on/off free Resort bus to connects all hotels and Pasar Oleh Oleh will be in operation from 19th January 2006 with SD6 for adult and SD3 for children. Presently, each resort provides shuttle buses to Pasar Oleh Oleh. • It facilitated signs, which represent the natural character of Bintan and Indonesia within the resort. Sculpture of orangutan, picture of Sumatra tiger, Komodo dragon, and Dugong are on steer towers.
Natural Environment Conservation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They plan to establish Green Turtle hatchery for the promotion of Eco-tourism. The project started in 2005.
2. Profiles of Tourists	
Tourist Arrivals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decline of arrivals: 2002 Bali Bombing, 2003 SARS, 2005 Tsunami. • Gradual increase is expected in 2006.
Origin of the Tourists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • China and India are emerging market • Increase of Korean golfers in Oct. and Nov. in 2005. • Visitors from Batam Island are increasing. Foreign workers (Japanese, Korean, and Chinese) in Batam spend their holiday in Bintan
Marketing Targets	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • China, India, and Russia are new targets. • Singapore Airline operates a flight from Moscow via Dubai. They try to promote warm weather during the winter for Russian tourists.
Investments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Korean opened Korean restaurant.
3. Regional & Local Involvements	
Impacts on Regional Economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The resort contributes 70% of the tax revenue of Bintan Island. • Share of local employee differs from resorts (as an average, 50% are from Bintan): Club Med is less than 5% due to the operational policy of providing multicultural staff. Banyan Tree is also less than 50%. • Township (staff housing area) offers dormitories, market primary school, and a mosque. One dormitory building can accommodate 16 employees (8 units for 2 persons). Local workers can commute from their village as well. Housing area designated by the ranks of employees.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Locally caught fish sold to hotels. • Quality of fruits and vegetables do not match with the hotels' standard. Hotels mainly purchase foods from Singapore. The projects of establishing local SMMEs are in progress.
Regional Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Department of Community Development in BRC is in charge of regional development. • There was a demonstration by the fishermen regarding the compensation of relocation by the Resort development at the initial stage. A gate to the Resort area facilitated. • The BRC mainly look after two villages near the Resort area. • They provide traditional fishing tour, which local fishermen can participate. • Invited handcraft trainers from Java to teach housewives, and assisted selling products at hotels' gift shops. • They negotiate with Banyan Tree to produce hotel brand products by the locals. • Establishment of hand craft center: Trained housewives make bags and containers from plants. The tourists can observed and experience the procedure within the cultural tour. The guest book showed a few visitors per day. Housewives mentioned that they are grateful about their gained skills and exchange opportunities with tourists. • Assisting local chips (deep-fried) production and sales. • Started farming experiment in 2005: building the capacity of locals to produce good bananas. Singaporean consultant came to establish the program. Started from 300 tree planting (helped by the 65 (age between 16 and 17) students from Singapore for 3 days). Four people carry out current operation. Expecting the first harvest in May 2006 and will export to Singapore, (a local worker showed their strong ambition). • It introduces organic farming methods (utilizing rabbits and warms). It breeds goats for feasts. • Farming experiment is funded by the DFID (UK funds) along with BRT fund (availability of future funding is uncertain). • Scholarships select three students from primary, secondary and high school per year. It covers school tuition, stationeries, and textbook fees. • Training provision: 2-year program in Singapore Hotel School for accounting and front management between 2000/01. One trainee selected from 18 years old or above. • Teaching English at secondary schools (program is on suspension). Local language is Bahasa. • It facilitated school libraries in the six villages with the support of Anglo China Junior College in (ACJC). • Students exchange program is ongoing between ACJC and local schools. • It involved ACJC students for the Banana tree planting and eco-education.

Based on the above-mentioned findings, the regional impacts of tourism development in Bintan Island examined. The impacts can categorize into two aspects. One is the positive aspects and the other is the rather problematic aspects, which may be the further tasks. Those summarized in the Table 3.

Table 3. Impacts of Tourism Development

Positive aspects	Reasons
Local employment generation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Share of Indonesian employees is high.
Revenue and foreign currency earnings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contribution of tax revenue • Local products purchase (fishery and handicrafts).
Opportunity of business establishment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provides craft production skill training for locals. • Implements experimental farm project.
Supply of Infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Road, water, electricity, emergency (medical) care, fire station
Cultural exchange	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Several projects are implemented involving locals, tourists and students participation.
Improvement of medical care	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Malaria prevention measures • Medical and dental check-ups provision
Educational support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitated libraries • Scholarships
Natural environment conservation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continue monitoring of marine, fauna, and animal species. • Implementations of nature sound projects.
eritage and culture conservation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Heritage and culture tour operation. • It preserved traditional fishery.
Technical transfer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advanced techniques and skills from Singapore introduced. • Knowledge of tourism marketing transferred. • Locals provided medical and educational opportunities.
Further Tasks	Reasons
Disparity of Job types	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foreigners take administrative and high-qualified jobs. • Simple labor tends to offered to locals.
Human Resource Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highly depends on the job training and internal training. • Local residents have limited access to the training opportunities.
Utilization of local products and quality improvement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local products not fully utilized in the resorts except fishery. • Need to upgrade the quality of products through technical transfer.
Consumer oriented information dissemination and PR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourists do not frequently visit visitor centers. The shops and restaurants' information is not fully disseminated. • Need to advertise BRC heritage and culture tours to attract tourists. Some amendments of tour packages may require attracting tourists. • Need to observe the outcome of Hop-on/off free Resort bus.

5. Discussions

Some positive regional impacts of tourism development are observed in Bintan's case. These derived from regional cooperation and private investments. Therefore, this section of the paper discusses the applicable measures of tourism development, which learnt from the case.

1) Establishment of Cooperation Structure

It is essential to secure the benefits of all stakeholders, who will take part in the development. It clearly identifies the roles of participants and generates multiple effects. We believe that the structure desirably includes countries, which are in the different stages of economic and technical developments

2) Establishment of master developer

It is efficient to establish Master Developer like BRC to undertake overall development including master plan formulation, infrastructure facilitation, investment promotion, natural environmental conservation, advertisement, and operation. The independent master developer can flexibly implement the plans and amend the original plans depending on the economic conditions and other factors compare to the rigid

governmental institutions. Moreover, when considering the impacts of tourism development on natural and socio-cultural environment, the master developer can monitor the conditions prior to the development, construction period, and after. The master developer can cover the entire area of development and if they detected the problems, they may be able to find countermeasures for negative impacts prevention.

3) Technical transfer and utilization of human resources

Involvement of multi-countries, which are in the different level of development process, can provide opportunities of skill transfers, adaptation of innovative techniques, information dissemination, and advertisement. The mass labor and special skilled human resources may utilize under joint projects.

4) Tourism marketing

Inclusion of countries opens access to the various tourism industries in different countries. It can maximize the existing channels such as travel agents, airlines, and tourism developers in order to promote and formulate marketing strategies. It is also useful to maintain close relationship with industries in different culture when unexpected events happened such as terrorists attack and natural disasters. They can work together in finding efficient advertisement and information dissemination activities depending on the market profiles.

6. Perspectives of the study

The study aimed to find clues feasible and sustainable tourism development in developing countries through referring the case of Bintan Island. As mentioned above, we observed several key factors of effective development measures in BIntan's case and these may reflected to other regions with taking into account the respective regional realities and contexts.

The perspective of study requires continuous data collection and monitoring of Bintan and overall IMS Growth Triangle area. It includes field survey of the area and interviews with parties concerned. After the data accumulation, we will aim finding the indicators of the sustainable and effective measures of tourism development in developing countries.

7. Acknowledgment

This is to express our sincere gratitude towards the P.T. Bintan Resort Cakrawala (BRC) for supporting the field surveys of Bintan Island. It included interviews with Mr. Bertram Wong, Director Resort Development, Island Leisure International - Bintan Resorts at the head office, Bintan office representatives, and guided site visits within the island. Finally yet importantly, we ought to mention that the study funded by the Heiwa Nakajima Foundation.

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Title: A Gateway To Sustainable Management Plan For Heritage City Space Of Delhi

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Key words: Sustainable Development, Heritage City Space, Urban Village, Threshold, PRA, & Environmental Management

Introduction:

The world over, initiatives have been attempted to curb the unsustainable growth of urban settlements, towards directions more at tuned to environmental protection and long-term sustainability. A sustainable development of a city is one which is self reliant and healthy which is not overcrowded to jeopardise living space that is relatively easy to conceive under two broad heading:

1. Ecological sustainability
2. Economic viability

Environmental Management is the control and reduction of the negative impacts of human activities on the physical, biological, cultural and economic environments. It is an endeavor to avoid the ever use, abuse and misuse of resources in the environment.

Need of the Study:

Delhi exists as capital site of India, a historic power center. It has seen the rise and fall of many empires, which have left behind a plethora of monuments along with crunched settlements. Seven principal cities were chiefly created by different rulers but when the British decided to shift the capital of their Indian empire from Calcutta to Delhi in 1911, they were laying out a city in an area that was in fact dotted out ancestral cities. Part of the planning envisaged the same way. These two threads were the warp and weft of the weaving of urbanisation in the story of a Delhi's heritage settlement. According to the urban sociologists and historians (Mumford, 1966)

all cities are “living entities”, which go through a life-cycle as the birth, growth, consolidation, expansion, decline, and quite often some kind of end, or state of decay, unless they are “turned-around” and “revived” by combined human efforts. Therefore it is need to revive remnants of the historical city space of Delhi .

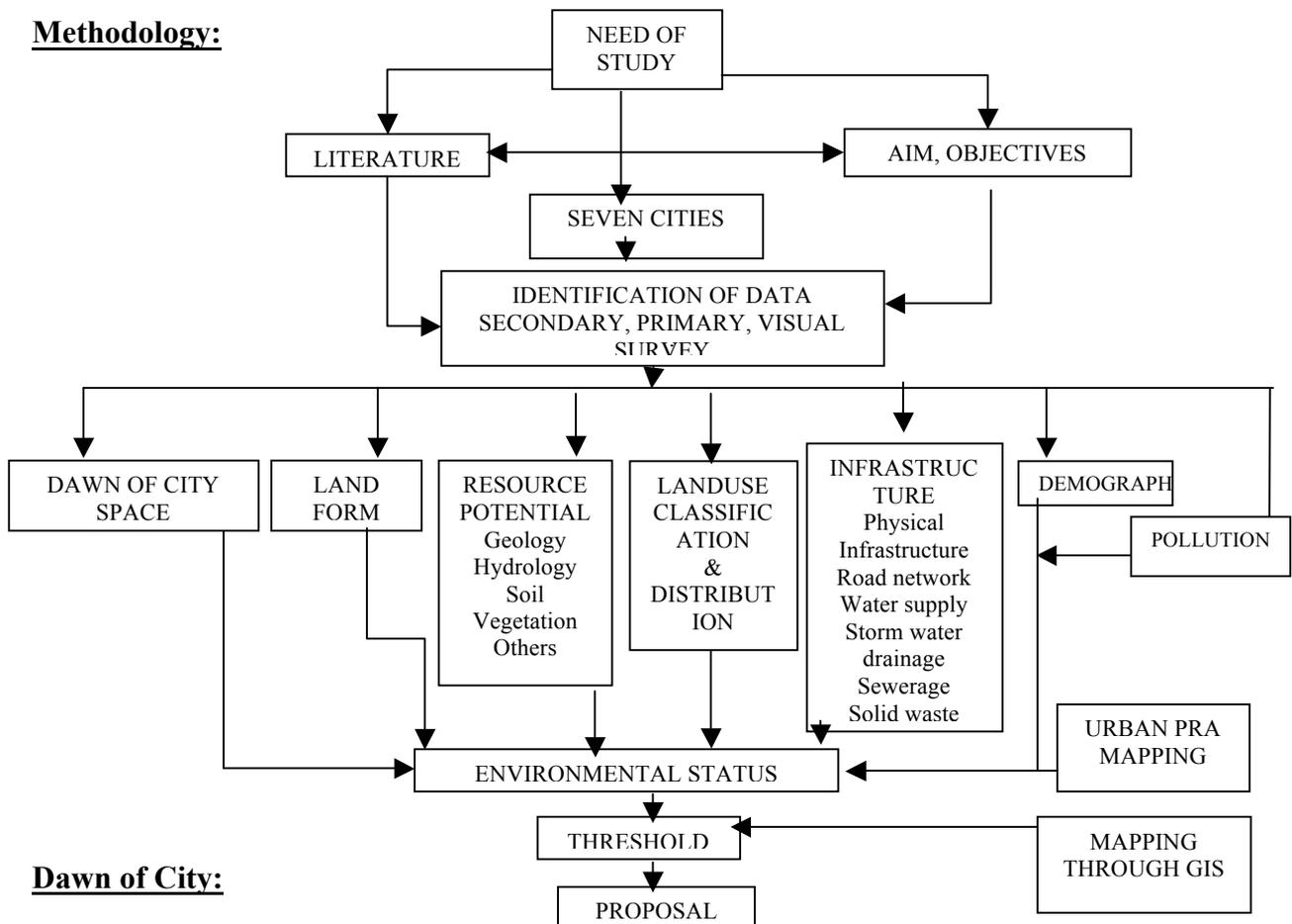
Aim of the Study:

Aim of this paper is to make integrated planning approach for Self Sustained Heritage City Space.

Objectives of the Study :

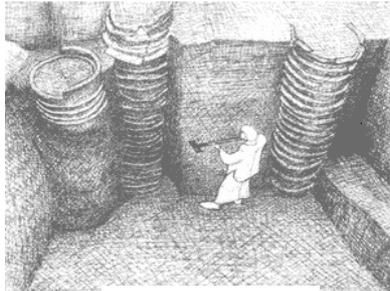
- To understand the causes and consequences of heritage city space;
- To study the present environmental status of existing heritage city space through secondary, primary, visual survey and Urban PRA mapping;
- To identify potential and critical issues of areas;
- To evolve strategies to improve the quality of environment and propose management plan of present heritage settlement incorporating participatory tool.

Methodology:



Dawn of City:

Delhi is known as one of the most fascinating modern city with the world-renowned ancient architectural and cultural heritage sites. The eternal Jamuna bears witness to the glorious at 5,000 year old history of Delhi. Indraprastha of Pandavas about 1400 BC was a huge mound somewhere between the sites where the historic Old Fort and Humayun's Tomb were later to be located. Although nothing remains of Indraprastha, pieces of old pottery known as Painted Grey Ware (PGW for short) were also found here and there. Till the end of the nineteenth century, there was a village called Indarpat (which sounds very similar to 'Indraprastha') inside the



These terracc Fig 1: Inderprashtha ana Qila. www.dreamstime.com

fort. The first reference to the place-name Delhi, seems to have been made in the 1st century BC, when Raja Dhilu built a city Lal Kot near the site of the future Qutub Minar and named it after himself. And some say it came from the medieval town of Dhillika means 'threshold' located near present date Mehrauli. A history which encompasses all the various kings and emperors

who fixed their royal citadels here – Indraprastha, Lal Kot, Quila Rai Pithora, Siri, Jahanpanah, Tughlakabad, Ferozabad, Dinpanah, Delhi Sher Shah or then Shahjahanabad. There have been at least major *seven cities* around modern Delhi. These are:

S.N	Name of Cities	Built by	Time Period A.D.	Area in Sq Km	Longitude D: M: S	Latitude D:M:S	Distance from Lal Kot	Present Settlement
1	Qila Rai Pithora near Lal-Kot	Prithvi Raj Chauhan	Upto 1192	3.40	77:10:58.799	28:31:51.817	0.00	–
2	Mehrauli	Qurtubuddin Ayibak	1192-1300	4.20	77:11:07.26	28:31:27.8	0.10	Mehrauli
3	Siri	Allaudin Khilji	1303-1321	1.70	77:13:00.306	28:34:21	4.40	HuazKhas
4	Tughluqabad,	Ghiyazudin Tughlak	1321-1325	2.20	77:15:37.550	28:31:33.227	7.70	
	Jahanpanah	Muhammad bin Tughlak	1325-1351	0.20	77:14:04.633	28:33:17.586	4.40	
5	Firozabad	FirozShah	1351-1388	0.10	77:14:18.928	28:39:07.811	13.10	
6	Purana Qila and Dinpanah	SherShahSuri & Humayaun	1538-1545	0.20	77:14:26.075	28:36:44.862	10.70	Nizamudd.
7	Shahjahanabad	Shah Jahan	1638-1649	4.90	77:13:00.306	28:42:22.792	14.80	Chandni Chawk

Source: Secondary & Help of GIS Tool

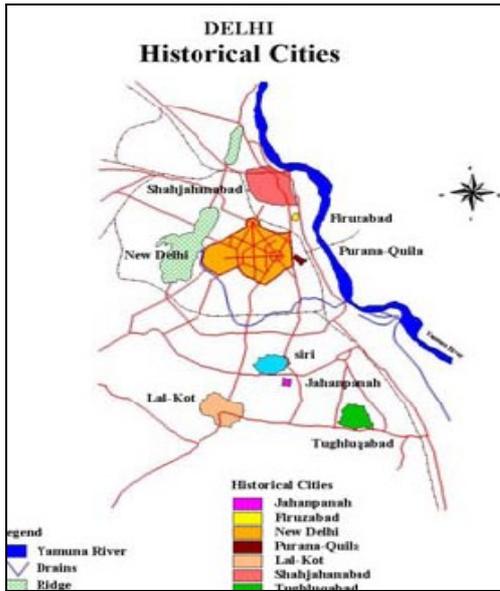


Fig 2. Location of Seven cities

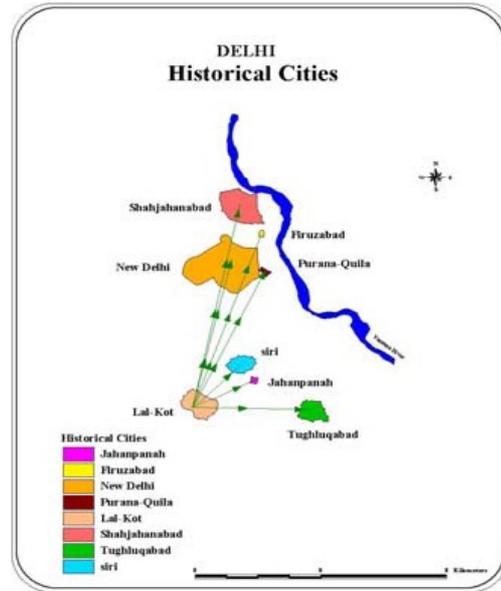


Fig3. Distance Of Seven Cities From Origin

Many of them, however, retain their Old-World characteristics. Due to fast urban sprawls

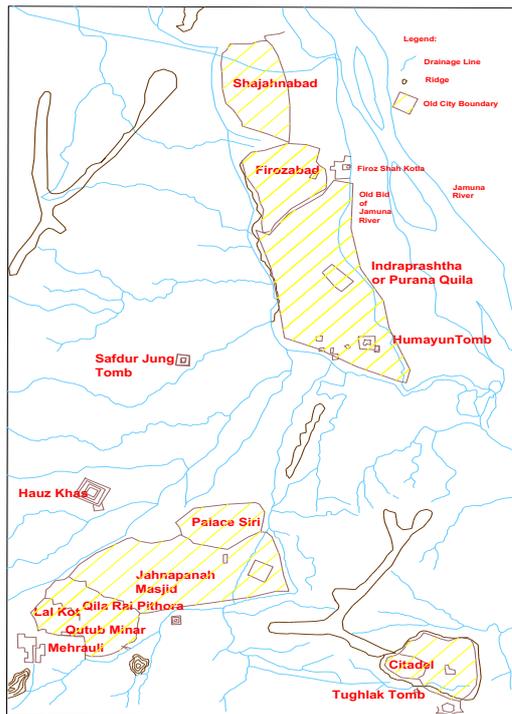


Fig 4: Extension of Ruins seven cities

and land use change, most of the cultural heritage sites are almost endangered by such changes in Delhi. The land-environment is under stress due to the fast pace of urbanisation. These spaces create spatial-social constructs that represent, invert or challenge real arrangements with their surroundings. Sustainable urban development, therefore, is the most important concern to the current urban environmental crisis for restoration and conservation of historical monuments and also cultural heritage sites along with city space in Delhi.

Status of Heritage City space:

Now the question, the extent of this heritage space is Transgressive Space or Subversive Space or Abnormal Space or Deviant Space or Other Space or Topological Space or Chaotic Space or Nucleated Space or Disrupted Space oror only it is a point. Is there any other way to manage this?

1. Heritage City Space of Qila Rai Pithora:

The 'first city' of Delhi dating to 10th century gets its recognition due to the availability of recorded historical facts. The core of the first of the seven cities was created by Anangpal Tomar who is said to have built LAL KOT. The Chauhan Rajput's Prithviraj III known as Rai Pithora extended Lal Kot, adding massive ramparts and gates, made ***Quila Rai Pithora***. The ruins of the fort are still partly visible in the area around Qutab Minar, though the city is known to have had several Hindu and Jain temples.



Fig 5. *Quila Rai Pithora*

Lal Kot was an oblong structure with seven gates – Land Sohna, Ranjit, Ghazni, Hauz Rani, Barka, Budaun and Maya. The Sohna gate, whose lake still attracts tourists is also supposed to have had a sun temple. The Maya gate was named after Jogmaya whose temple was greatly venerated by Anangpal II. The Hauz Rani, Barka and Budaun gates can still be traced, Today the walls of Lal Kot have been pierced by at least three roads leading to the Qutab. The tomb of Adham Khan in the background dwarfs its ruined walls claim to be the oldest fort city of Delhi. A conservation complex at Mehrauli now stands an 18th foot-high statue of Prithviraj Chauhan,

famous both in history and legend, for his chivalry only.

2. Heritage City Space of Mehrauli :

Prithviraj Chauhan was defeated by Mohammed Ghori in 1192, and left his slave Qutubuddin Aybak as his viceroy in India. In 1193, Qutubuddin Aybak captured Delhi and enthroned himself as the first sultan of Delhi a capital of Mamluk or the Slave dynasty, the first dynasty of Muslim sultans. Old settlement Dhellika turned into **Mehrauli**, by destroying Hindu temples and building Islamic structures in their place. One of these was the tower of victory - the 72.5 m tall

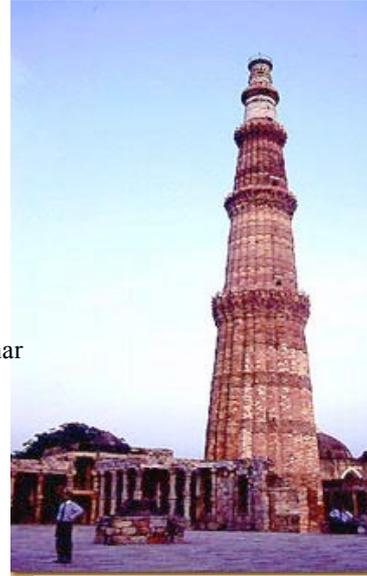


Fig 6: Qutub Minar

Qutab Minar, finally Around Qutab Minar are several

ruins from the 11th and 12th century, including the mausoleum of Saint Qutubuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki, Shamsi Talab, a mosque and tombs of rulers. The famous iron pillar near the Qutub Minar was commissioned by the emperor Kumara Gupta I of the Gupta dynasty (320-540) and transplanted to Delhi during the 10th century. Hauz-I-Shamsi is a



Fig 7: Iron Pillar in Mehrauli



Fig 8: Pillars

large tank that was built by Iltutmish on the outskirts of Mehrauli. The tank was supplied with rain water and the double storey pavilion could be reached only by boats when the

tank was at its brim. The existing domes pavilion, which rests on twelve pillars, is located near the southwestern corner of the tank. The hauz is on one side of the main market street and on the bank of the hauz is a 16th century structure perhaps built during the reign of the Lodi dynasty and known as the Jahaz Mahal. On the left side of the street is a Jharna, which takes care of the overflow from the tank. The well-known Phul Walon-ki-sair, which is held every year, begins from this Jharna. It is said that flower bedecked vans were taken to the Dargah Qutb Sahib and the Jogmaya for blessings. The main function is held at the Jahaz mahal. The festival was instituted in the 1720s as a tribute to the Mughal ruler from the flower sellers, both Hindu as well as Muslim of Mehrauli. Within the complex of the *urban village* of Mehrauli, are located a large number of baolis and other treasures that are associated with the glory of the Mughal era.

Due to the prospects of availability of jobs, education and better social and physical infrastructure facilities, low cost of living than urban Delhi influxes the rate of more migrants in alarming rate within this presently coined Heritage city as “urban village”. The total livable area is growing through horizontal expansion to vertical columnar structure. It carries multi purpose building in one plot, no open space, water channel is turned to solid waste dump site, inadequate of water supply causes under ground water depletion, lack of sewerage system storm water drainage used for sewerage,

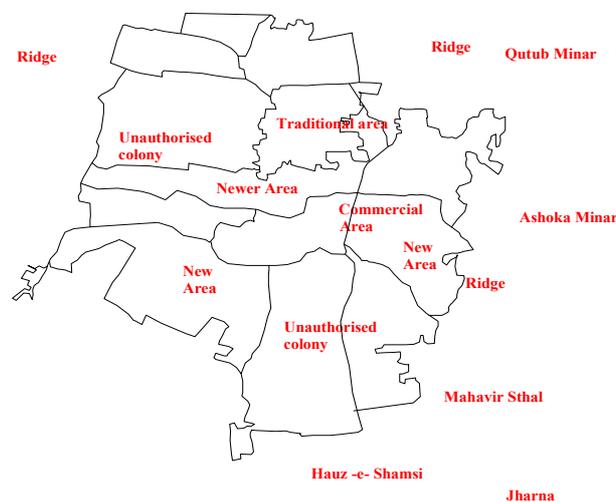


Fig 9: Map of Mehrauli

too. Even quality of water is poor. Back lane are become main access to house. Lack of implementation of planning practices in the city, haphazard development took place, overruling the environment onstrained, which has affected the potential natural resources of that area. It changes the character of Heritage space to urban space without access of urban fabric. Motor Service Centre is located near to Hauz -e-Shamsi. Even Sewrage and drainage Water are disposed off from Islam colony and Rana Colony to this Hauz-e-shamsi area. Unauthorised colony are Islam colony, Garwal colony, Rana Colony, St Joseph Colony, Church Colony .Main spine is occupied by commercial use. Kalu ram chawk is just behind the commercial area.

Heritage City	Present Area in Sq Km	Population	Threshold Analysis with respective to Population																	
			Land		Water		Drainage		Road		Solid Waste Disposal		Facilities		Income level		Aesthetic View		Noise Pollution	
			Supply	Demand	Supply	Demand	Supply	Demand	Supply	Demand	Supply	Demand	Supply	Demand	Supply	Demand	Supply	Demand	Supply	Demand
Mehrauli	4.20	198000	25/30sq mt	5/100sq mt	15,40,000l	1584000l	50 % open drainage	100% covered	6 m to 15 m rd	15 to 45 mt	3 dhallaos for 17, 600 kg/day	Door to door collection	DDA park&	Opren space , parking	Mainly resntal	Regulation	Road is congested and	Clenaliness and Widend	90 dba	30- 45 dba

Source: Primary Survey & Visual survey

3. Heritage City Space of Siri:

The ‘Slave’ dynasty was followed by the line of Khilji rulers. Allauddin Khilji created the third city of Delhi, Siri. The Saljuqian influences are the most remarkable feature in the buildings from this period. A large reservoir called Hauz Khas was another accomplishment of city of Siri. It was originally known as Hauz-i-Alai. Firoz Shah Tughlak re-excavated the silted tank A madrasa (college) was also created here by later rulers. Hauz Khas today is a complex of chic boutiques against the ruins of an ancient



Fig 12: Heritage city space is ruined



Fig 11: hauz-e ilahi

Fig 10: Heritage Site of Siri

Fort while Siri is represented by stretches of thick stonewalls and raised several buildings on its southern and eastern banks of royal tank. The enclosure wall is partly modern. A building of historical importance within this enclosure is the tomb, multi-storeyed wings, consisting of series of halls and chambers. Staircases lead down to the tank from the upper storey of the madrasa. One of the old entrances to the enclosure is from the west, now closed. The octagonal and square chattris standing here were built



as tombs over the graves possibly of teachers attached to the madrasa. Now Hauz Khas is one of a plan city space of modern Delhi but settlement termed as urban village. Old settlement now mingles with present grey shaped settlement, old fortified boundiery is converted now as backbone for poor housing.

Heritage City	Present Area in Sq Km	Population	Threshold Analysis with respect to Population																	
			Land		Water		Drainage		Road		Solid Waste Disposal		Facilities		Income level		Aesthetic View		Noise Pollution	
			Supply	Demand	Supply	Demand	Supply	Demand	Supply	Demand	Supply	Demand	Supply	Demand	Supply	Demand	Supply	Demand	Supply	Demand
Siri	1.70	150000	20/30sq mt	5/100sq mt	12,00,000 l	1600000l	60 % open drainage	100% covered	6 m to 20 m rd	15 to 45 mt	4 dhallaos for 12, 600 kg/day	Door to door collection	Lack of open	Open space, parking	Commercial	Regulation	Road is congested and	Clenaliness and Widdend	85 dba	30- 45 dba

Source: Primary & visual Survey

4. Heritage City Space of Tughlakabad

In the 1320s Ghiasuddin Tughlak invaded Delhi, won and gained kingdom. He created a fort here (the splendid ruins still remain). He also raised a city, Jahanpanah,

Fig 16: The walls which largely comprised a walled enclosure between Qila Rai Pithora and Siri. This is

Fig 14: Tomb of Tughlak



Fig 13: Ruined city of Tughlakabad

called the fourth city of Delhi. There were eleven rulers from the Tughlak dynasty but only the first three generations were interested in architecture-raising mosques, caravanserais, madrasas and laying canals Like Lal Kot, the crumbling walls of the fortress of Tughlakabad also make the rambler think They are thick walls and more rugged than the ones built later in Mughal times and one instinctively associates them with a tougher people of an age which was fiercer and less sophisticated. But therein lies the charm that distance in time provides. The walls of Tughlakabad are their crumbling



Fig 15: Bat cave in Tughlakabad



memorial and to view them is not only a visual experience but also something more than that. This place is now place of Army's camp and air force area. Area is well maintained.

5. Heritage City space of Firozabad:

One of the Tughlak rulers, Firoze Tughlak created the fifth city of Delhi, Firozabad or Kotla Firoze Shah next to the river Yamuna. This was a large enclosure of high walls, containing palaces, pillared halls, mosques, a pigeon tower and a water tank with many step-wells, several gardens he laid. On the top of his palace, Firoze planted an Ashokan pillar from 1500 years ago. He also built several hunting lodges in and around Delhi, as well as mosques, some of which still remain. Apart from raising new buildings, Firoze Shah also repaired old ones, such as Sultan Ghori's Tomb, Qutub Minar, Suraj Kund and Hauz Khas. Today, Kotla Firoze Shah is famous for its sports stadium - a common venue for cricket matches. The Nizammuddin baoli also dates back to that time,

Fig 17: Firozabad

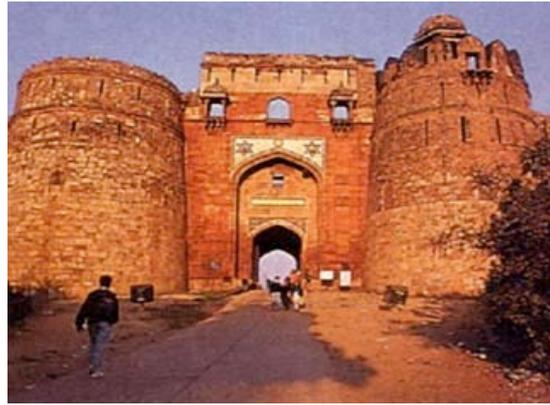


also the one near Saket. In fact, Lal Kuan, in the heart of the Walled City, too has a pre-Moghul baoli. Represent stretch of his city area. "Water flows from the step-well to the tank, as is usual with baolis." The Nizamuddin baoli, still in use.

In the old city, close to Manwari Begum-ka-Burj, a baoli was built during the reign of Feroz Tughlak. Another baoli of the time of Feroz Tughlak, a massive structure of rubble masonry was built some 50 years from Pir Ghalib near the Flagstaff Tower on the Ridge. It originally was encircled by a series of chambers, but these chambers have now practically disappeared. The whole city is now crunched with modern Delhi. Only pieces of land is left fallow is as mourn structure.

6. Heritage City Space of Shergarh; Purana quila

What is known as the Purana Qila today, was the creation of Sher Shah when he wrested Delhi from Humayun in 1540, the second Mughal king. It was originally being



started building his own capital introducing ornate elements in architecture. Delhi was won back by Humayun not very many years later in 1555 and he completed parts of the



Fig 19: Humayun Tomb



Fig 20: Beautiful octagonal structure in Quila

Purana Qila left unfinished by Sher Shah. The ruins of Humayun and Sher Shah's creations are today a big tourist attraction. The beauty of the mosque lies in its architectural grandeur. White marble and bright red sandstone make for the center portion of the mosque. It is an octagonal building called Sher Mandal. After the building was recaptured by Humayun, the Mughal emperor converted it into his library. The Humayun Tomb lies just outside the gates Purana Qila. This old but wonderful fort has been a witness to some of the greatest events in the history of India. Its battle-scarred walls speak of the agony of defeat and joy of victory. It is a well-maintained archaeological site. The city space is beautifully weaved with old & new buildings. Near the Tomb, one side Mathura Road gives easy access to the place.

7. Heritage City Space of Shahjehanabad:

Humayun's grandson Shahjehan, the man who gave the Taj Mahal to the world, created the city of Shahjehanabad, the seventh city of Delhi - in the area that is now



Fig 21: Fort wall of Lal Qila



Fig 22: Old layout of Shajahnabad

known as Old Delhi. The Jama Masjid and the Red Fort are two excellent examples of the architectural splendour of the 17th c. The red sandstone walls of Lal Qila, the Red Fort, extend for two km and vary in height from 18m on riverside to 33m on the city side.



Fig 23: Sketches of of Old Chandni Chawk



Fig 24: Present view of Chandni Chawk

When the emperor rode out on elephant-back into the streets of Old Delhi it was a display of pomp and power at its most. The intricate lanes of the 'walled city', its bazaars Chandni Chowk and way of living seem to exist in a time warp. These days the river is over one

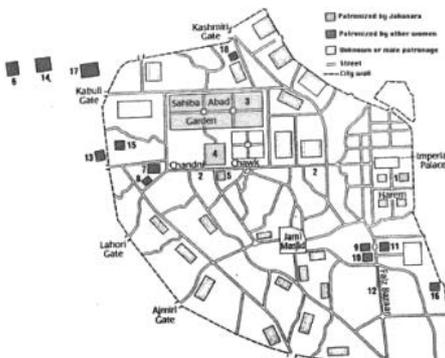


Fig 25: Map of Shahjahanabad



Fig 26: Hapazard building in Shahzanabad city space

km to the east and the moat remains empty. The need to construct water sources as seen in the presence of baolis, wells and tanks was a characteristic of the period of old city.

Critical Issues:

Cities, by definition, are diverse, polymorphous and multi-layered. They have no essence, enjoy little stability and do not yield to precise boundaries. Flux, movements, flows, transgressions and intermeshing of forms are what characterize them. Such phenomenal increase in urban population resulting to the physical expansion of city like Delhi has caused a skewed pattern of development. The main issues are:

- Low rent & proximity to work center, facility of connectivity the day by day influx of population has exceeded the threshold of the area.
- Lack of fulfillment of needed supply leads to overexploitation of under ground water sources and inadequate disinfections of drinking water.
- There are no provisions for sewerage network. The septic tanks are used for each houses but division of plots and smaller size does not left space for it. As a result some places sewer are attached with storm water drainage.
- Lack of dhallao or garbage bin w.r.t population. No open space for abadi area.
- Due to additional bondage of population change the whole sole characteristics of the area. The existing social infrastructure does not cater the whole population. As a result of mismatch between need and supply.
- Illegal industries and other activities cause to air pollution, water pollution and noise pollution over the area and leads to poor quality of life.
- Gateway to heritage buildings leads the poor aesthetic view of heritage city space.
- Environmental potential areas are overlooked and un maintained.

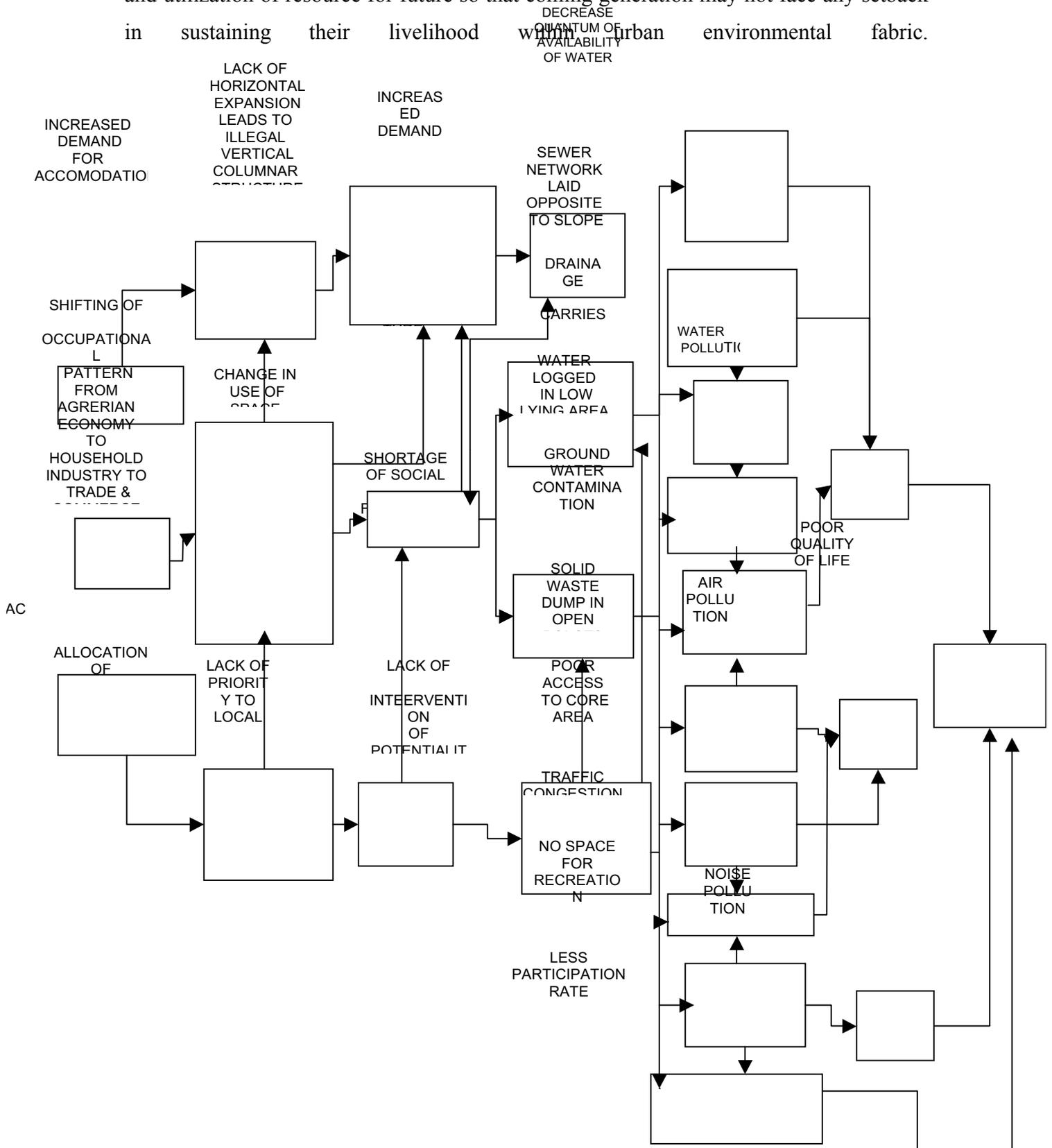
The size of heritage city has now become a hugesettlement. People are living in dark space. Human life deemed unworthy of assuming the title of ‘heritage’ is sacrificed at the

altar of formalist aesthetics. It is heritage that ultimately suffers; it is truncated. Therefore, there is emergent need for an environmental management plan for this heritage city-space, which would aim to maintain the balance growth between environmental assets



Fig 27: City at a Glance

and utilization of resource for future so that coming generation may not face any setback in sustaining their livelihood within urban environmental fabric.



- Delineation of area of along with Heritage Core and buffer zone site execution plan.
- Identification of Resource potentiality of City Space

Proposal for Management Plan which embraces the site of

heritage building
 Human life deemed unworthy of assuming the title of 'heritage' is sacrificed at the altar of formalist aesthetics. It is heritage that ultimately suffers; it is truncated. Detailed Master plan of this Area and frame out

DEVELOPMENT HERITAGE CITY SPACE
 However, the combined evaluation of all parameter shows that this area is beyond the supportive capacity of the area. So, there is need to sustain the area through the help of assimilative capacity building. The proposal for management of the area has to be done by three fold:

- Strategy planning for whole area
 - Detailed land use plan for entire settlement
 - Revival of Land use pattern
 - Corridor management plan for Heritage Space
 - Special Area Management Plan
 - Interlinkage planning for Settlement and Site
- for economic benefit for local community through sustainable tourism

- Improvement Plan for old resource area like baolis, park, garden, Land form, any structure and managed by local bodies
- Heritage City Space management through local body

- Participatory approach for revival and restoration of Special area planning
- Tourism development on Heritage City Space along with socio-economic improvement of settlement area.

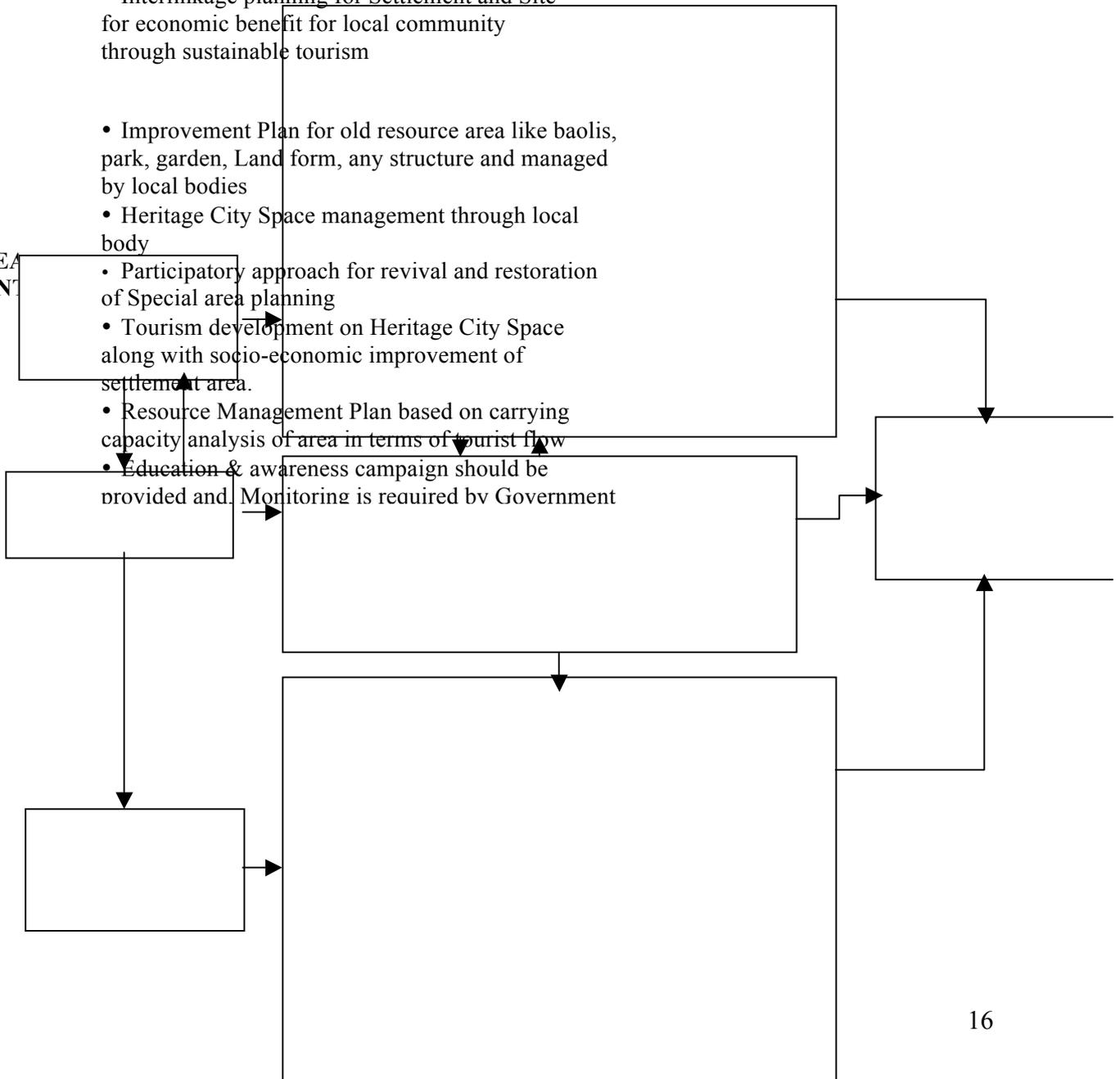
- Resource Management Plan based on carrying capacity analysis of area in terms of tourist flow

- Education & awareness campaign should be provided and Monitoring is required by Government

ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT PLAN OF HERITAGE CITY SPACE

PROPOSED LAND USE PLAN

SPECIAL AREA MANAGEMENT PLAN



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12th IPHS Conference
Cross National Transfer of Planning Ideas and Local Identity

Maria da Silveira Lobo

The *glocal* planning of Rio's port zone: from the Guggenheim-Rio to the Cidade do Samba.

*"Innumerable port cities worldwide present well succeeded projects of revitalization of their old docks for new uses of leisure, offices, commerce, culture and residence. London, Baltimore, New York, Buenos Aires, Barcelona. Why not Rio ?"*¹

Thus, related to the international experience of urban projects and also to the residential and transport local deficit, Rio de Janeiro's port region was presented, together with the center of the city, as priority 1st by the Secretary of Urbanism, in January 2001. By the end of this same year, the Project Port of Rio, elaborated by the municipal urban planning institute, was presented to the public in an exhibition at the Center of Arts and Architecture, together with images and texts about the redevelopment of the ports of Genoa, London, Boston, Baltimore, New York, Buenos Aires, Lisbon, Barcelona and Belém do Pará, in Brazil, as well as with eight projects created by local architects and urban planners, all introduced by a text entitled "*Port of Rio: Mill of Dreams*" written by the Secretary. By then, the City Hall was already negotiating with the Guggenheim Museum's former director, Thomas Krens, and the French architect Jean Nouvel a franchise project to be constructed at Pier Mauá.

The present paper compares peculiar aspects of the mentioned ports and discusses the clash and eventual merger of global planning models – urban project and strategic planning, Agenda 21, Agenda Habitat, public-private development agencies, heritage marketing and museums, teleports and intelligent offices, festival malls and theme parks, Olympic villas and loft living etc - with Rio's identity, its planning traditions, political culture and characteristic public spaces' sociability.

Why not Rio ?

If that would be the announcement of a Master Plan of the 70's and not of an Urban Project of redevelopment which is part of a strategic plan of the beginning of the XXI st. century, the official reference to global experiences would not have been so explicit and emphasized. While the master plans that followed the model of the National Service for Residence and Urbanism (SERPHAU), said "total plans", were part of the big

¹ Proposals for the urban management during the period 2001-2004 – Communication Sirkis - 15/01/2001 at <http://www2.sirkis.com.br/noticia.kmf?noticia=4740978&canal=257&total=24&indice=20>

national-developmental plans and justified expansionist needs in metropolitan scale, the projects for the restructuring of neighborhoods (PEUs), elaborated since 1988, the more punctual, the more global oriented they seem to be. London, Baltimore, Boston, New York, Genoa, Barcelona, Lisbon, Buenos Aires: *"Think global, plan local"*, seems to be the slogan of the 'new age' urbanism. As if the transplanting to Rio's port zone of something similar to the high-class enclaves of Battery Park City, Docklands and its Canary Wharf of New York and London, respectively 1st and 2nd on the ranking of the global-cities, could by itself make retreat and detain the derivative capitals which, in 2000, have closed the local stock market, agonizing since the beginning of the National Program for Privatizing, in 1991.² Or as if the admirable public spaces and the Olympic Park built by the socialist municipality of Barcelona, a city with approximately only 1,7 million inhabitants, once they were transplanted to Rio would transform it into a 'compact' city, with industries connected to the rest of the south continent and residences available for all its citizens.

Still in contrast to the 70's master plan, of which the ideological premises were very well analyzed by Flávio Villaça³, because its territorial ordaining proposals included broad social-economic diagnostics and innumerable recommendations for implementation of collective equipments, but never presented pre-defined budgets and timetables for execution; the strategic plan is not a speech-plan to be filed only. It is a marketing oriented plan to be executed. Nevertheless, it tends to be a ritual-plan, as Antonio Heliodoro Lima Sampaio⁴ remarked, because although its objectives are supposedly compacted between the different governmental and non-governmental stakeholders, this participation is often ritually simulated. In this sense, the strategic plan and the urban project also differ from the participatory budget, pioneered by the city of Porto Alegre in the south of Brazil, which is not voted by the City Hall technicians. Those are allowed only to advise the counselors elected by each city's region in deciding about the new investments at the Participative Budget Council. The urban project also differs from the new master plan, which every municipal chamber in

² The privatizing of the port of Rio was enacted by Federal Law in 1993, but effectively it occurred only 1997, when the terminals were leased by concession contracts lasting for 25 years, in consortium with the Banco do Brasil.

³ Villaça, Flávio – "A contribution to the history of urban planning in Brazil", in Deak, C & Schiffer, S. *"The process of urbanization in Brazil"*, São Paulo, Edusp/Fupam, 1999.

⁴ Sampaio, Antonio Heliodoro Lima – *"Master and Strategic Plans: from the old myths to the new rites"*, X National Meeting of ANPUR (National Post Graduate Association of Research in Urban and Regional Planning)

Brazil will have to approve by October 2006, because it is not a conclusive and normative plan, but only indicative. In brief, it is an open territorial pact.⁵

In Rio de Janeiro, the strategic planning was used for the first time in 1995, as a complement to the master plan, and it “*envisaged to consolidate the city as an entrepreneurial and competitive metropolis, capable to be a business center for the country and the world*”, by means of seven strategies which would unfold themselves into 159 projects of the municipal administration.⁶ In order to implement those strategies a variant of the Delphos method, developed by Rand Corporation, was used for marketing and perspectives. According to this method, a coordinator communicates with specialists about a certain problem and these mail back their answers, which are crossed. It is not necessary that people meet and get to know each other. Looking forward to include entrepreneurs, universities, NGOs, social movements and the three levels of government, about 800 people are said to have participated of the process in Rio. In this occasion, it was created the Municipal Council of Urban Politics – COMPUR, which is composed by 4 professional urban planning entities, 4 entrepreneurial entities, 4 communitarian entities, the Chamber of Aldermen and 13 municipal institutions. The sponsoring for elaborating and maintaining the Council is done by Rio de Janeiro’s Commercial Association, Industrial Federation, the City Hall and 40 public and private enterprises. The Strategic Plan has divided the city into 12 “cities of the city”, among which is the center, where the port zone is located. The port zone is composed by the neighborhoods of Cajú, Gamboa, Santo Cristo and Saúde, amounting to 8,4 km and 39.973 inhabitants, one of the lowest population densities of the city.⁷

On the other hand, according to the recommendations of Agenda 21 and Agenda Habitat, supposedly the good side of globalization, the more compact and polycentric is a city (high density + mixed use + shorter distances, by means of public transport interconnecting the sub-centers and of pedestrian and cyclist lanes) the more participative its managing may become, that is, more comprehensively negotiated and compacted. Logically, it follows that the cleaner and more echo-energetic is the city, the more sustainable and durable it will be.⁸ Thus, the displacement of the shipment of

⁵ Rezende, Vera Fernandes Motta – “*Plans and Urbanistic Regulation: the Normative Dimensions of the Interventions in the City of Rio de Janeiro*, X National Meeting of Anpur (National Post Graduate Association of Research in Urban and Regional Planning)

⁶ <http://www.rio.rj.gov.br/planoestrategico/>

⁷ <http://portalgeo.rio.rj.gov.br/./bairros Cariocas/armazém de dados>

⁸ THE EARTH SUMMIT AND AGENDA 21- general view base don the article “*The Earth Summit's Agenda for Change*”, Michael Keating in the Earth Summit Times, September 1992,published by the Centre for Our Common Future.

SUSTAINABLE CITIES – Subsidies to the elaboration of the Brazilian Agenda 21 – Ministry of Environment/ Project 1- BRA/94/016 – Brasília, 2000.

bin – coal, iron, soy etc, that is, the ‘dirty cargo’ – from the intra-urban territory to the metropolitan territory with the inauguration of the new port of Sepetiba, in 1982, and the specialization of the Port of Rio in the transshipment of iron and steel products and cars, the ‘clean cargo’, was opportune to the model of Agenda 21’s sustainable development.

Theoretically, this displacement, which has also occurred in the main city-ports worldwide, was caused and made viable, at last instance, by technological changes, that is, by the telecommunication and informatics revolution, by containerized cargo and fast stocking, ships’ automation and specialized terminals. In the new global economy, with the rise of new industrial centers of high-tech products and the concentration of financial transactions in a limited number of metropolis, the new port is a ‘logistic hub’, not only a place where freights are transported to and forth, but a place from where the total flow of commodities inside a country or a region is coordinated and conducted. In many port cities, the boom of activities in the immediate surroundings of airports and railway junctions, since 1980, testify to the importance of small and medium businesses around the ‘electronic port’. The necessity to restore the classic public domain to boost economic development is another characteristic of this phase, as Han Meyer observed.⁹

Thus, the dislocation of part of the port to Sepetiba and part to the extremity of the Cajú neighborhood, also served the “agenda” of the real-estate capitals’ gentrifying plans, because it liberated the old port, its obsolete quays, wharfs and railways’ patios to speculations about new investments in connection to the retake of the old centrality, disinvested since the 70’s due to the urbanization of Barra da Tijuca, a new neighborhood by the seashore in the opposite direction.¹⁰

Collage City = consumption + offices + housing

Nevertheless, before analyzing the project Port of Rio from the City Hall, presented in 2001 as an ‘urban project’, it is important to trace the origins of this planning concept and its evolution. The concept of ‘urban project’ as a project of limited dimension,

Ascelrad, Henri – “Directions of Urban Sustainability” in Henri Ascelrad (org) *“The Duration of Cities: Sustainability and Risk in Urban Policies”*, Rio de Janeiro, DP&A, 2001- pgs 27 a 55

⁹ Meyer, Han - *City and the Port : urban planning as a cultural venture in London, Barcelona, New York, and Rotterdam: changing relations between public urban space and large-scale infrastructure*, International Books, Rotterdam, 1999.

¹⁰ About the hypothesis that disinvestment and gentrification are often the two sides of the same coin, see Smith, Neil – *“The New Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City”*, (1996) Routledge, London and New York, 2002.

About Rio’s urban schizophrenia, divided between investments in the expansion and dispersion of the city and in the revitalization proposals for the central areas, see Moreira, Clarissa da Costa – *Contemporary City between the tabula rasa and preservation: sceneries for the Port of Rio de Janeiro*, São Paulo: Editora UNESP, 2004.

conceived as an architectural-urban ensemble, within a relatively short span of time, and of strategic importance to the renovation of great urban areas, was introduced in New York, during the 70's, inspired upon the megaprojects of the architect and developer Portman: *Embarcadero Center* in San Francisco, *Renaissance Center* in Detroit, *Peachtree Center* in Atlanta. Those projects have done in the interior of the city what only Disney had done beforehand outside the city and they included an arsenal of programs – department stores, supermarkets, hotels, restaurants, accommodations for congresses, apartments and parking – which neglected the surroundings and generated fast profit. The urban project has found its theoretical founding in the concept of “collage-city” by Colin Rowe, which employs the technique of collage as a strategy that enables urban utopias to be dealt as fragmented images and not *in toto*, emphasizing the morphology of buildings to reach special coherence. The urban project became viable in New York after the approval of the law of public-private partnership, by the end of the 70's, when it was created the Battery Park City Authority, an entity which incorporated and managed the redevelopment of the west side of the south of the island of Manhattan, at the shore of the Hudson River, where innumerable piers were once located.¹¹

In the beginning, New York's City Hall was looking for a project that would express a relationship between the new district and the rest of Manhattan; while the Battery Park City Authority searched a project which emphasized exclusivity and security, similar to the suburbs. The proposed plan included a representation of monumental public spaces from the XIX th century, squares and parks. But, once the Westway was maintained, a barrier was formed between the Lower Manhattan and Battery Park City, stressing the enterprise's characterization as an enclave. Moreover, the side turned to the city has no commerce at all, the shops are turned instead to the interior, to the seaside. The office buildings were incorporated by the Canadian firm Olympia & York and the 700.000 m² of office space and 20.000 m² of retail space of the World Financial Center, the 4 towers designed by César Pelli, together with its 12.000 apartments of the Battery City Park created 30.000 jobs and saved the City Hall of bankruptcy. The 600 million dollars invested attracted 4 billion dollars of private investors, that is, 7 times the initial amount, generating extra taxes which were invested in social housing projects in other places of the city.

***Fun City* = leisure + culture + consumption**

¹¹ Meyer, Han – *op.cit* - chapter 4 - *The North American Port City: New York, a boundless urban landscape*.

On the other hand, the South Street Seaport of New York, developed by the same impresario of the Baltimore and Boston's harborfronts, the Rouse Company, whose formula *'cities are fun'* to undue guettos consist of turning downtowns attractive to whites again and opening the suburbs to blacks; was not undertaken as in Baltimore, where conditional contracts guaranteed the provision of employment, housing and public facilities to the local population, and thus did not avoid eviction of houses, studios and small businesses. The fish market, the museum-ships, the shopping malls and restaurants formed a cardboard enclave of leisure to tourists and workers of the financial district of Manhattan that live in the suburbs and commute daily.¹²

While piers and molls are typical of North-American ports, the European ports use berths and basins with embarking and disembarking quays, and this explains why the majority of the port renewals in the US begin by the piers. The Port of Rio, though, built in the beginning of the XXth century, by an English company, has only one pier throughout its 6.740 m long continuous quays. Therefore, it is very significant that the majority of the redevelopment projects for the port of Rio have been designed for the Pier Mauá, inaugurated in 1952: Teleport – 1985; Project Pier Mauá – 1993; International Center of Water and Sea – 1994; Mauá Tourist Pole – 1994; Project of Docas Company and Engepasa Consortium – 1996; Rio Third Millennium – 1997 and the project Guggenheim Rio by architect Jean Nouvel – 2002, among others.

The one-track mindset was that the redevelopment should start there, near the Mauá Square, the spectacularity of which is being nostalgically rescued from the 40's and celebrated, in contiguity to the business center. Afterwards, the revitalization would follow towards the other quays and warehouses that are being liberated step by step as the containerized activities are being concentrated at Cajú's extremity.

"Because it is logical: one cannot start from where it is degraded, nor start from the middle; the Mauá Square is a little better, it has already the new building Rio Branco nº 1. Therefore, if you start from here it will become a virtuous circle. If you make a renewal of the Mauá Pier, you will value the warehouses 1,2 and 3. Then, you will make an intervention. Because you need to attract the private investor and he will not put money to open a restaurant like of the Pier 17[in NY] here in the middle of the slum because nobody will go. To put a theater here, it will not work (...) This Mauá Pier was used to embark steel, which was the principal cargo of the port. But steel is too heavy and, in 1992, an engineer from Docas Co. was doing a routine inspection when he found that the stakes were broken. There is a film showing this. It's amazing. This is a concrete structure supported by stakes (...) The stakes were being devoured and a diver was hired. He then saw the following: suppose that 100 stakes were broken, 10 beheaded and 200 were good. Sixty days afterwards, he would dive again and find that already 20 were beheaded

¹² idem

and 150 were broken. So, the pier was going to tumble down, fall apart. The port concluded then that it could not continue to operate on it and, in 1993, came to Cajú. What was the logic of Docas Co ? Whenever I would dispose of an area, I would hand it to revitalization, generate money with this and invest in another area of the port, so that I may liberate a new area and so on. Therefore, at that moment, due to a physical problem, the port could liberate an ideal area to revitalization which was the Mauá Pier, from which the whole process would start. Of course, the pier was condemned only for ship anchorage and loading and unloading but not for sustaining weight under its the platform. Did you follow my argument ?”¹³

It is also significant that the majority of the proposed projects fit in the model ‘*cities are fun*’, privileging the leisure function, ‘culturalization’ and consumption. There was no lack of suggestions for aquariums, marines, squares for events and shows, acoustic shells, geodes, theaters, movie theaters, maritime museums with wrecked ships, submersed forests, art and historical museums, museum of precious stones and of carnival, and promenades and waterfronts with restaurants, bars, shops and hotels. These megaprojects, hedonistic enclaves with its backs turned to the poor neighborhoods and slums of the port region, would transform the Mauá Pier in a legitimate thematic park. One may say that its creators have learned very well the lessons of Disney World: to beautify differences, clean the conflicts, maintain fear under control, represent fictitious narratives of social identities and of the real history of citizens, encourage consumption, create jobs and generate income by the multiplication of sponsorships, concessions, partnerships and rights of exploitation and, above all, to create a public space managed by private administration.¹⁴

Business City = industry + habitation + offices + consumption + leisure

A second urban project model, of which the slogan could be “*cities are serious*” is the redevelopment of London’s Docklands which, in connection to the Euro Tunnel, was considered, by Margaret Thatcher’s conservative party that came to power in 1980, a solution to the battle between the metropolises for the financial leadership of the European Union. Decreed a national interest area, its redevelopment was given in charge to London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC), which answered directly to the federal government, received only advises from the 32 representatives of London’s neighborhoods and had all its meetings closed to the public. Between 1981 and 1985, LDDC had a budget of 700 million pounds and in 1983 it developed a plan that balanced high-tech industries inside the basins, restored the historical axis of Greenwich and privatized the Docks and the plots along the Tames river. Nevertheless, unsatisfied with the results of this plan, LDDC created the “enterprises zones”,

¹³ Interview with the president of a maritime transport firm in 16/03/2005. Luís Henrique Carneiro — President of Multiterminais Rio.

¹⁴ See Zukin, Sharon - “*Learning with Disney World*” translation in Revista Espaço & Debates, nº 43-44, jan e dez 2003.

sufficiently regulated in terms of design, volume and height of the buildings in order not to allow the polluting and dangerous industries to install themselves there and, at the same time, deregulated enough to attract investments by the light industries, 50% of which were, moreover, subsidized during 10 years. Newspapers, graphic industries, wholesale firms, mounting industries, distribution offices and transport companies were installed in these zones, specially at the Island of Dogs, causing unemployment in the old industries and promoting downsizing in the new which profited the opportunity to diminish the number of their employees. Another strategy of LDDC was to invest in spectacular transport links: the Dockland Light Railway, an elevated automatic subway, the STOL airport for international jets and a fast ferry connection to the City. On the other hand, the production of 17.000 residences, from 1981 to 1991, more than doubled the population of Docklands and the construction around the docks in the traditional style of the 'squares' of the West End was highly regulated in terms of typology, lot implantation, height, materials, colors and open spaces, characterizing those residential areas as exclusive and closed. Because of this, up to 1988, the residential projects were inhabited by "speculator-nomads". Nevertheless, afterwards, the local residents of East End were offered a special amortization system which made possible that 50% of the occupation was done by them. Even then, although there are nowadays more diversity of social-cultural groups, of economic activities and income categories, the different fragments still remain isolated from each other, at Docklands. The third stage of rehabilitation was the establishment of a new centrality, the Canary Wharf at the old West India Docks. By mid 80's, the annual rents of the City averaged 600 pounds per m², the double of the amount demanded at the businesses offices complexes in Docklands. After the 1986 stock-market crash, the Canadian Olympia & York, the same which had developed Battery Park City, took over the entrepreneurship and made a new plan, designed by Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, with 418.000 m² of office spaces combined with public spaces of the kind that were being experimented in the US. But, in 1992, after having invested 3 billion dollars and constructed 70% of the offices of which only 40% was occupied, Olympia & York went bankrupt. And, as one of the explanations given for the "débâcle" was the lack of adequate public transport, LDDC decided to construct a new extension to the east of the Jubilee subway line, a station at the center of the Canary Wharf as well as big open spaces, parks, waterways and basins, Westferry Circus excelling. In order to undertake these projects, a bank consortium was formed, the Canary Warf Ltd. By the end of the 90's, the industries located on the enterprise zones which originated the Docklands strategy,

were considered inappropriate for the area of London's new center and there were cogitations to destruct them.¹⁵ In 1998, LDDC, as it was foreseen, was liquidated and, in 1999, the group Canary Warf floated in London's stock market. In 2002, the construction of the Jubilee Place Retail Mall started, its 963 m² will sum up to 6.727 m² the total retail area at Canary Warf. Also, in 2002, the total working population was of 55.000 people and it was estimated that the whole cost of the entrepreneurship amounted to 20 billion dollars.¹⁶

Public City = regional transport plan + public spaces + residences

The revitalization of Barcelona's port area, in its turn, was a consequence of a metropolitan general plan to provide traffic infrastructure for the new tax-free industrial zone, connecting it by a belt from the airport to the north, in the direction of France and the rest of Europe. The plan of the socialist municipality of Barcelona emerged from the necessity to create connections between this transport structure of the plan of the Generalitat de Catalunya and the form of the city and its districts. And also from the need to create new public spaces that could gather again the free citizens, after dictator Franco's death, in 1976. The challenge was to maintain the city compact and to avoid evasion of Barcelona's population. Therefore, we may nickname this model as "*cities are public*". Between 1980 e 1983, 62 % of the municipal budget was invested in public works. The urbanism of La Ribera was based in the importance of cultural cartography, geomorphology and topography of the territory more than in the architecture of the buildings in order to create a sense of recognition and admiration of the regional characteristics. Its creator, Manuel de Solà-Morales has emphasized the intermediary scale of the urban project, that is, specific solutions negotiated between the interventions of large and the topographic and historical context. "From plan to project" was the slogan of this approach, which searched the regeneration of diverse surroundings and a demographic equilibrium, by means of the initiative of its own residents. The projects were divided between elements directly linked to the highly public domain of the main transport infrastructure, expressed by the use of stone, and the social domain of the surroundings, expressed in the layout of the parks and gardens with sportive, educational and cultural communitarian equipments. This duality of the public and the social domains is one of the landmarks which distinguish the Barcelonese public space, from Cerdà up to the 80's.

¹⁵ Meyer, Han – op. cit. Capt. 2 -The English Port City: London and the Wonder of Docklands – item 4 – The New Course.

¹⁶ <http://www.canarywharf.com/mainFrm1.asp?strSelectedArea=History>

From the start, the waterfront was considered the most explicit characteristic of the city and the nucleus of the main engineering works. However, during the second half of the 80's, when Juan Busquets substituted Bohigas as supervisor of the department of urban planning, the focus became less the accessibility of the historical center and its seafront and more the interconnection between new areas of centrality. With this change, the pressure to implant high-rise office buildings diminished and only the Diagonal Avenue received a program of commercial offices. In the historical port and the old industrial zone, the emphasis was given to the leisure quality of the waterfront which had to be integrated to the new belt of 12 traffic lanes where 120.000 vehicles would circulate daily. In the revitalized port's waterfront, a series of cafés, restaurants, beaches, aquariums and boat stations were installed. Tunnels below the earth created high and medium zones forming a balcony with view to the sea, an esplanade of 75 m width above an arcade through which a traffic artery passes and where the parkings are located. The industrial area was transformed for residential use and for hotels. After the 1992 Olympic Games, the port authority accepted a proposal by The Rose Company to establish one of its "fun cities" in a pier, with shops, restaurants, aquarium and movie theaters. This has obstructed the view and has destructed the unity between the Moll of Spain and the Barceloneta, besides having created a traffic Gordian knot. In Barceloneta, the port authority has decided to attribute public functions to the warehouses of the quays - markets, libraries, ministries – and removed the *chiriquitos*, illegal barracks on the beach which used to characterize it as a periphery neighborhood. In their place now it is an area paved with natural stones which mark the transition between the beach and the street, which ends in a wood sidewalk along the waterfront.

The urban project for the Olympic Villa was done by Bohigas' office to accommodate 2.500 apartments, 60.000 m² of office space and 185.000 m² of facilities. After the removal of the industries located at Poble Nou, the train rails and the cars' belt were mostly located in the interior of a tunnel. At the waterfront were located the parks, a boulevard and two towers in the axis of the main street. On the embankment, superblocs were built with a series of modern buildings of free typology, aligned by the streets, and with suburban houses, small towers and classic crescents in their interior. The result was very criticized, though, because since the tunnel was not entirely constructed, a dike of 2 m was formed between the Olympic Villa and the sea, obstructing the view. Moreover, the seven avenues which cut the superblocs in the direction of the sea transformed the internal areas into public areas alike the streets,

and this has damaged the possibility of a social domain of peace and security distinguished from the public domain, as is distinguished in the Cerdá plan.

Event-City = leisure + culture

The Lisbon Expo 98 Park, alike Barcelona's Olympic Villa, has profited of the opportunity of an international event to revitalize the port area by means of posterior use of the traditionally temporary and spectacular buildings of international fairs : exhibition pavilions, museums, sea-aquarium, marina, gymnasium, convention center and administrative buildings.

The proceeding of anchoring urban rehabilitation projects in leisure, entertainment and cultural facilities has been exerting a strong influence in the urban project of Rio's port and in the city's strategic planning as whole. Another model, stemming from a more sophisticated cultural background than Disneyfication, the 'event-city' as formulated by the architect Bernard Tschumi, author of the deconstructivist manifest *Parc de la Villette*¹⁷, has been merged in Rio with the 'fun-city' model.

Although the deconstructivists were great admirers of the situationists and their ludic city, they do not partake of the utopian ideals of the International Situationist (1957-1974), founded by Guy Debord, of an unitarian urbanism of which "The New Babylon" conceived by Constant is the most complete expression.¹⁸ Instead, the deconstructivists presuppose that an urbanity based on unity and harmony and an architecture founded on the synthesis of form and function, as in the modern movement, are not possible anymore in contemporaneity. Therefore, they rather express the fragmentation and generalized social and cultural dispersion by means of formal deconstruction. From the urbanistic standpoint, their projects do not differ much from the late modern megastructures in that they are also enclosed in relation to the surroundings. Nor they surrender to the post-modernist contextualist approach which envisages the regenerative contamination. The case of the Park de La Villette is emblematic because in his 'hortus inconclus', Tschumi has deliberately refuted to take into consideration its context and in order to compensate for the "invisible wall", for years the government had to heavily subsidize a special multicultural and popular programming before it could attract the local residents, workers and immigrants that live in that fringe between Paris and the suburbs, and who did not understand, at first, the non-sense of the 'folies' with no pre-defined functions and over which they were

¹⁷ Tschumi, Bernard - "Parc de la Villette, Paris" in Papadakis, Andreas/Cooke, Catherine/Benjamin, Andrew (editors)- *"Deconstruction: omnibus volume"*, Academy Editions / Rizzoli, Londres, NY, 1989, e *"Event- cities 2"*, MIT Press, 2000.

¹⁸ Ver Debord, Guy -Ernest - "Society of Spectacle" (1967), Ed. Contraponto, RJ, 2000 e Constant "New Babylon" (1974) in www.situationist.cjb.net

supposed to project their own desires. Nowadays, though, the park is always full of citizens of science and music.

The architect of the Cité de la Musique of the Parc de la Villette, Christian de Portzamparc, is also the author of the City of Music at Rio's new neighbourhood Barra da Tijuca. The City Hall liked so much the concept of 'event-city' that it already inaugurated two of them: the City of Children, in Santa Cruz, and the City of Samba, at the port region. Nevertheless, the two projects have a clear Disneyfied configuration and do not present a potential for surprising events as in Tschumi's own event-cities.

Spectacle City: the "Factory of Dreams"

"The spectacle presents itself at the same time as society itself, as part of society, and as an instrument of unification. While part of society, the spectacle is expressively the sector which concentrates all the sight and all the conscience. Due to the fact that this sector is separated, it is the place of the deluded sight and false conscience; and the unification which it realizes is no more than an official language of the generalized separation." - Guy -Ernest Debord ¹⁹

The City of Samba is of exclusive use of the carnival workers of the 14 warehouses of the best schools of samba, elected each Carnival. In the near future, tourists will be able to watch small parades and shows in its internal square, where there are food and beverage kiosks under tensed canvas. Seen from above and from outside, though, the City of Samba seems to be entirely accessible, a public space, indeed. Its form is a "glocal" hybrid : a star like the baroque ideal-city which inspired Disneyland, but broken into fragments as in Libeskind's deconstructivist style. Its warehouses' structure hesitates between that of typical XIX th c. port warehouses and that of movie and tv settings which simulate the barns and stables of the old farwest farms and villages. Inside them, the industrial production of carnival is fordist, with mechanic tracks and cranes to transport the pieces and fantasies which compose the huge allegoric cars that parade in Sambódromo, the special carnival avenue. However, the wages of the carnival workers that come and go daily from the slums to the City of Samba cannot allow them to afford any real car, as in the system idealized by Henry Ford.

The City of Samba itself was a surprising event in the strategic planning of the city of Rio de Janeiro. Back in 2001, nobody could have ever imagined that the urban project of the franchise-museum Guggenheim-Rio would literally disappear from the horizon of the Guanabara Bay and give place, instead, to a home-made City of Samba. The project by Jean Nouvel was designed for the Pier Mauá, not far from the historical and business city center and close to the tourists' ships embarkment station. The museum

¹⁹ Debord, Guy -Ernest – op. cit. chapter 1, "The unfinished separation", item 3.

would accommodate itinerant exhibits from the collections of the Guggenheim museums as well from the Kunsthistorish Museum/Vienna and in the contract a new collection of Latin American art should be acquired by Rio's City Hall. The administration of the museum would be carried out by a Society of Friends of the Museum under the Guggenheim's administration supervision. Jean Nouvel's aesthetics of disappearance was expressed in the submerge museum and in a sinking fantastic tropical forest as well as in a huge panel that would separate the pier from the "disappearing" poor neighborhoods of the port.

The artistic class was divided, but there were many manifestations against the Gugg-Rio from the part of museums administrators and civil servants which complained that the city had already enough good museums that lacked financial support for conservation and for new acquisitions for their collections. Finally, the Aldermen Chamber embargoed the contract between the City Hall and the Guggenheim, alleging that the construction of the museum and the acquisition of new collections would seriously compromise future administrations' revenues. Therefore, after the re-elections, in 2003, the City Hall bought from the Federal Railroad Company the area of the former maritime railroad courtyard and began the construction of the City of Samba and of the Gamboa Olympic Villa. This terrain was the biggest public terrain in the port region and is located in the middle of it. The project of the Cidade do Samba was idealized by LIESA, the league of the best schools of samba, to be a "Carnival Disney" and the City Hall invested approximately R\$ 120 million in its construction and will still invest more in the construction of a virtual museum of carnival.²⁰

Let us agree: this was a 'glocal' overturn that even the most rebellious Basque could not have planned for Bilbao. Nevertheless, this spectacular reverse of a globalized urban project was based not only in a democratic veto by the Chamber of Aldermen but also in a decision-making political system, as old as Brazil, named "clientelism" that is, patronage. Alike the patrician and the plebeian, in Rome, the suzerain and the vassal, in the feudal system, the colonial Brazilian plantation farmer, the 'colonel' after the First Republic and the rural workers, the urban populist deputies, mayors and governors exchange protection for political support from the poorest sections of the population: jobs, fiscal benefits and public services for votes.²¹ The political support of the carnival

²⁰ Guided visits to the construction site of the Cidade do Samba and interviews with Dr. Luis Paulo Leal, director of Urbanism of IPP, Dr. Iran Araújo, Director of the Center of Carnival Memory, with the architect responsible for the project, Victor Wanderley and visit to the provisory warehouse of the Beija-Flor school of samba – November 2004. See <http://www.papodesamba.com.br/site/index.php?a=lc&c=cidadedosamba>

²¹ For precise differences between these political relations see Carvalho, José Murilo de - Mandonismo, Coronelismo, Clientelismo: Uma Discussão Conceitual *, in revista Dados vol. 40 no. 2 Rio de

leaders and samba schools of the communities living in slums cost the abandonment of a residential project of approximately 3.000 apartments for families with income below 5 minimal wages. According to the Secretary of Urbanism, though, this was a claim from the local residents themselves:

The Maritime railroad courtyard was the biggest federal terrain in the whole area of the port of Rio and for long it was the object of controversy between the City Hall and the Liquidator of the Federal Railroad Net. During Conde's administration it was tried, unsuccessfully, to expropriate the realty in order to implant there a big low income residential project. The residents of the area opposed to this project because they realized, reasonably, the risks of having a low income community of big dimensions in the immediate vicinity of the Providência Hill [first slum of Rio de Janeiro]. The danger was to have, in the future, a situation similar to the conflict between Parada de Lucas versus Vigário Geral.”²²

Vigário Geral and Parada de Lucas are poor neighbourhoods at Rio's Baixada Fluminense, where traffic gangs compete. Vigário Geral has suffered a horrible slaughter in 1993, when 21 residents were killed by 50 policemen in vengeance for the killing of 4 military policemen, two days before. In March 2005, another slaughter of 29 people happened at Baixada Fluminense.

Ironically, as if a memorial of the burial of this low income residential project in name of peace, the City Hall has inaugurated in August 2005, "The New Black Men Portal", an archeological site at the neighborhood of Gamboa where rests the mortal remnants of the black slaves cemetery, and which integrates a circuit composed of the Slum Museum, the Open Air Museum, historical buildings and of three belvederes. At this occasion, the works of urbanization of the Providência Hill were inaugurated with the opening of a Café Internet "where residents may have free access to the global net of computers and do digital jobs"²³

The small Olympic Villa at Gamboa, besides the City of Samba, is a local adaptation of the 'event-city' model. Its name is only a fantasy name for it was not built to accommodate athletes of the international Olympic Games; it functions as an educational sports center for swimming, soccer, volleyball and basketball classes to

Janeiro, 1997. According to this author "colonelism" lasted only from 1889 to 1937 and was characteristic of the strengthening phase of State power. * Paper presented at the Symposium " Nation-Building in Latin America: Conflict Between Local Power and National Power in the Nineteenth Century", in homage to Raymond Buve, Leiden, Holanda, 20-21 de abril de 1995.

²² Communication Sirkis – RJ 03/03/2006 – "The revitalization of the port area has begun by Gamboa".

²³ See decree at http://doweb.rio.rj.gov.br/sdcgi-bin/om_isapi.dll?infobase=06042004.nfo&jump=04&softpage= recs
See communication 126 rendering of the Museum in August 2005 - http://doweb.rio.rj.gov.br/sdcgi-bin/om_isapi.dll?infobase=09082005.nfo&softpage= recs
See portal - <http://www.pretosnovos.com.br/>

students of the municipal schools in the area and as a club to the communities, during the weekends. It is part of a series of 8 sport centers built in slums and neighborhoods of the periphery. Next year, though, Rio will siege the Panamerican Games 2007, but the opportunity to launch the redevelopment of the port zone through this event was lost. The residential villa for the athletes as well as the most sophisticated stadiums and sportive equipments are being constructed on 'tabula-rasae', at the other extreme of the city, at the new neighborhood of Barra da Tijuca. Thus, reinforcing the already mentioned city's schizophrenia between the expansion and doubling of its centrality and the preservation of its original center. According to the director of municipal institute of urbanism, since the proposal of making the Olympic Games at the port zone was discarded by the Committee before, the City Hall decided not to present the same option for the PAN 2007 games, in order not to lose again the competition for another city.²⁴

From Project to Plan. From the new logistic center to the *Fun & Cult City*.

If the key of the Barcelonese approach was to go 'from plan to project', and we may say this also regarding Bilbao, although the propaganda highlights the "effect Guggenheim"; the redevelopment of the port zone of Rio de Janeiro seems to be taking the inverse path, that is, it started by the urban project to comprise a strategic plan for the region and nowadays it is resenting the absence of a metropolitan plan and an entity of mixed capital for the long span management and execution.

In retrospective, we may verify that the first projects, at the beginning of the 1980's, were still closely linked to the port functions and to a conservational concern regarding the historical local heritage. In 1983, an year after the inauguration of the Sepetiba port, the Commercial Association of Rio de Janeiro has proposed the creation of an International Center of Commerce close to the quays, a showroom for Brazilian products, connected to an infrastructure of leisure and shopping, envisaging to increase exportation. In 1985, the Association presented a Teleport project, but this was dislocated to the New City, where the City Hall is located and a business convention center is also under construction. In 1989, the Ministry of Transports, the state company Portobrás and the Docas Company of Rio de Janeiro developed a plan of expansion to the city's original business center, including commercial, service, residential and leisure uses. Nevertheless, after these attempts to implant the Portman model of a mixed use enclave or new business center as London Docklands' Canary

²⁴ Interview with Pedro Corrêa, director of urbanism of IPP.

Wharf and New York's World Financial Center, a conceptual shift occurred in the planning of Rio's port zone.

Regarding heritage, in 1984, it was started the program Cultural Corridor in the center, a project idealized by writers and architects to rehabilitate public spaces and private houses and buildings in exchange of urban territory taxes discounts and exemptions. And in the port zone, it was begun an inventory of buildings worthwhile enlisting in the neighborhoods of Saúde, Gamboa and Santo Cristo which, in 1988, was transformed into law, also linking restoration to the reduction and exemption of territorial taxes. Approximately 1.800 buildings were enlisted. It is worth noting that the British Labor Party too has made efforts to preserve the identity and memory of the port and the port's population before the Thatcherist "tabula rasae" entrepreneurialism took over Docklands.

During the 90s, the private initiative projects to the port zone in Rio caught the "fun city" virus, a fever of frenetic entertainment which had already spread during the precedent decade, when a mega auditorium, a formula 1 race track, a marina, a planetarium and the sambódromo were built. However, to counterbalance the fun-city projects, the City Hall has presented a project to restructure the area, in 1992, indicating enlisted buildings, establishing preservation areas for housing, changes in the use of the soil legislation and in the transport system. Besides, during this decade important public investments were made in low income residential projects: 1) project Residential Opportunities (1993-4), carried out by the Cooperative of Professionals of Habitat, which made a survey of the private properties in order to stimulate social housing and a revision of the local legislation to allow interventions; 2) project Saúde (1996 – 2001), carried out by the office Invento Espaços and financed by a Federal Bank which consists of 150 units distributed in 9 apartment blocks of 54m² each; 3) program New Alternatives (1996 – 1998) for the rehabilitation of poor people home-beehives with the support of the program of historical sites rehabilitation of a Federal Bank; 4) project for the maritime railroad courtyard and the warehouse nº 10 (1997) with approximately 3000 residential units, for families with income below 5 minimal wages, distributed in semi-closed and closed squares or in isolated blocks and a central square. In its place now is the Olympic Villa and the City of Samba; 5) project of rehabilitation of the Conceição Hill (1998-2000), conceived by the municipal institute of urban planning in collaboration with the French ministries of transport, housing and culture, the consulate and other municipal agencies. It rehabilitated public spaces, revised legislation and

developed tourism potential of this place, which is the hill where samba was invented and played for the first time.²⁵

Besides the continuation of the program New Alternatives and the introduction of the Favela-Bairro (Slum-Neighborhood) program in the Providência Hill, mentioned before, the 2001 Plan for the port presented two big residential projects for the middle-class: 8 buildings of 683 apartments of 1 room and 2 bedrooms, 47 shops and 62 commercial rooms, close to the City of Samba, and 6 buildings with 464 apartments and space for shops in the terrace, at Avenue Presidente Vargas where 22 thousand civil servants work at the City Hall's administrative center. The preference given to the middle-class in the residential projects of the 2001 plan was justified as follows:

*"It is suitable to balance carefully residential projects among the different income levels in order to avoid two types of problems that might occur: on one hand, the gentrification, when the original residents are evicted due to the raise of rents, and on the other hand, the "favelization", when the number of projects for the low income families are superior than the neighborhood may support, thus provoking evasion of the middle class. In this case, it is necessary to start with residential projects for the middle-class of good dimension, in order to create a job market to absorb the low income population, upgrading, in a first phase, the conditions of the population already living in the area and, afterwards, gradually attracting new residents to well planned projects, of small and medium size, thus avoiding the big residential complexes of sad memory, that today are vulnerable to the drug traffic control."*²⁶

Regarding the buildings' retrofit, it is worth noting that the first and unique retrofitting in the region up today is that of the Warehouse Dom Pedro II, occupied by the NGO Action Citizenship, which will offer courses of theater, music, cinema, visual arts and cooking as well as civic activities for low income residents. Among the 13 retrofits foreseen in the 2001 Plan are 6 of the 18 warehouses of the quays, although 2 of them are already rent for shows, fairs, exhibitions and parties and 2 of them are being negotiated to be transformed into a new home-port station with shopping, envisaging to serve the tourist ships which anchor there, in growing number. The other buildings are: a) the old National Press, which presently accommodates the federal police superintendence that will be removed, and will gain an office tower. Inside its 3 ales an university and a research institute might be installed ; b) the building called "The Night", famous in the 40's for its radio hall programs, is already being restored and might be converted into a hotel; c) the historical building Praça Mauá nº 10; d) 1800 prisoners

²⁵ See Moreira, Clarissa da Costa – op. cit. Chapter 2

²⁶ Communication Sirkis - 21/10/2005 - Programa Porto do Rio

were already dislocated from the Polinter building, which accommodates the specialized delegacies besides the Saúde Hill and which will be demolished to give place to a residential project; d) the civil police hospital at Praça Mauá will probably be transferred somewhere else to give place to another university; e) for the Cibrazém warehouse, bought by the City Hall, a public competition is foreseen for a retrofit project of a City of Cinema, a complex of studios and projection rooms; f) for the Pier Mauá, another cultural equipment is being thought of in place of the Guggenheim museum and there might be an international contest of ideas for it.²⁷ The idea is that this equipment may retain for more than a day the attention of the tourists that disembark the transatlantic ships and stimulate them spend more. In brief, the prisoners, the sick and the police are on their way out of sight in the port zone and in their place will come into the scenery university students, artists and the entertainment entrepreneurs of the Fun & Cult City.

Nevertheless, the 2001 Plan's backbone is the transport system: an inter-neighborhoods' corridor, 4 lines of Light Rail Transit; bicycle lanes; the restoration of historical waterfront way; a new bus terminal; integrating stations for buses, taxis, LRT and boats; tunnels; underground and street level parking lots; a new road linking the Port to the Cajú neighborhood, new streets and the acoustic treatment of the perimeter viaduct. And to tie in all these new circulatory ways, the retrofit of the former railroad station Barão de Mauá to accommodate a Museum of Trains.

Regarding the land ownership situation, the largest part of the most valued land belongs to Docas Company of Rio de Janeiro, a mixed capital company, in second place comes the liquidated Federal Railroad Company, then the Union, the Army, the Water and Sewage Company, the State of Rio de Janeiro, the Municipality of Rio de Janeiro, the Fluminense Mills and the Portus, a former maritime servants pension fund. Before the construction of the City of Samba and the Olympic Villa there were approximately 400.000 m² of empty lots. The actual legislation allows the construction up to 18 floors and, with garages, up to 22 floors. As Clarissa Moreira observed, the perspective of verticality, opened by the legislation 15 years ago, has probably caused speculation and appreciation of lots and this explains the pressure for interventions of massive investments, besides the technical argument that the soil of the embankments requires foundations up to 30 meters, therefore, big scale construction.²⁸ At the quays, only the six first warehouses are enlisted because the Docas Co. and the maritime

²⁷ Communication Sirkis – RJ -21/10/2005

http://www.spu.planejamento.gov.br/conteudo/noticias/noticias_2006/060324_secretaria_patrimonio.htm
interview by telephone with the director of urbanism of IPP, Dr. Pedro Corrêa – 21/06/06

²⁸ Moreira, Clarissa da Costa – The Contemporary City between the tabula rasae and preservation: sceneries to the port of Rio de Janeiro, Editora UNESP, SP, 2004. Chapter 2.

transport concessionaries still “believe in the recovery of port activities in that area which goes up to the warehouse n° 18”.²⁹ No wonder the ideal model mentioned by a representative of a concessionary is the rehabilitation of the Hamburg port, which combines the rescue of the spectacle-port of the XIX th c. with the modernization necessary for a regional logistic port which faces fierce competitive challenges of globalization in the XXIst c..³⁰

Why still not in Rio ?

After twenty years gone by since the first initiatives and dozens of projects to revitalize the port region, a few questions remain: 1) why the real estate market has still not started to invest there ? 2) why up to now it was not created a port authority or a society or consortium of public-private partnership that could carry out the redevelopment of Rio’s port zone, as was done in New York, London, Baltimore, Bilbao, Buenos Aires etc ?

In his farewell balance, by the end of October 2005, the secretary of urbanism lamented that so little was done up to now and blamed the frustration of expectancies on the fact that “we are champions of bureaucratic-cartorial imbroglios”³¹ Moreover, he complained the lack of long range financing of infrastructure works, the lack of convergence of expectancies among the actors involved and the lack of a public-private entity to implement the special projects for the area:

“All the mentioned infrastructural projects are ready for bidding and immediate execution. (...) 50% of the budget was asked for the National Bank of Development, which, up to now, was obstructed by the Treasure Secretary’s interpretation about the city of Rio de Janeiro’s capacity of debt. This fact, plus the budgetary restrictions due to 2003 recession and the municipal taxes revenue fall have concurred to the delay of the construction phase.”

“A great variety of opinion and interests and diverse political factors were inhibiting factors. Many seminars, exhibitions, meetings and two big researches and public audiences were elaborated, during this period, for the main projects, which suffered many changes due to the discussions”.

“The absence in our public management culture of an instrument like the Société d’Économie Corporación Antigo Puerto Madero, of Buenos Aires is, together with the lack of metropolitan administrative mechanisms, one of our biggest institutional gaps.”

²⁹ Luis Paulo Leal – mentioned interview.

³⁰ Schweizer, Peter José and Cesário, Sebastiana (orgs) – “Revitalization of urban centers in port areas: : Hamburg, Belém and Rio de Janeiro”, Rio de Janeiro, 7 Letras: AFEB, 2004. This publication includes the lectures of a Seminar organized by the Association Fluminense of Ex-Scholarship Students at Germany in partnership with IPP (Instituto Municipal Pereira Passos) and the Municipal Secretary of Urbanism, in October 2003.

³¹ Communication Sirkis – RJ - 21/10/2005

As positive results, however, the Secretary observed that it was established a good dialogue between an interlocutor group and the leadership of the three neighborhoods of the port region and that important political articulations were done during his period in charge:

“This articulation have enabled the overcoming of old conflicts with federal agencies as the liquidating Federal Railroad Company and the National Food Supply Company (...) and the reunion of an informal working group with members of the Federal Government and of the City Hall which is little by little progressing (...) Besides the Minister of Cities and the Cabinet Chief of the president of the National Bank of Development, the following institutions have also been participating of this working group: the Ministry of Planning, the Union Heritage Service, the Docas Co., the liquidating Federal Railroad Co., the Federal Police, the National Institute of Industrial Property, the National Food Supply Co. and the National Institute of Social Service”

The decisions reached in this group were turned into an agreement, signed on March, of Technical Cooperation between the Municipality and the Ministries of Planning, of Cities, of Culture and of Transports, which comprise the rehabilitation of the neighborhoods of Saúde, Gamboa, São Cristóvão, Benfica, Vasco da Gama and Cajú, and counts upon the support of the Docas Co., the National Bank of Development and the Federal Savings Bank.³²

If, after this agreement between the federal and the municipal governments, the revitalization will advance it is still unknown in this election year. But, one thing became clear with this agreement: the verticality of the decision-making process. This testifies to the difficulties and to the rhetorical aspect of the strategic planning because neither the working group nor the agreement included the participation of the City’s Council, the CONPUR, mentioned above. The inclusion of 3 more neighborhoods in the rehabilitation plans of this agreement also testifies to the characteristic territorial flexibility of urban projects and of strategic planning in comparison to the old regulatory planning based on zoning.

Considering the retardation of the port revitalization plan also advantageous because it allowed to assimilate the hits and discard the errors of previous experiences, the Secretary highlighted 5 lessons: 1) to blend the rehabilitation of the old with the keen introduction of the new; 2) to foment the pre-existing local economy and to avoid gentrification by means of microcredit, of transforming street vendors into kiosk owners or small shopkeepers, of supporting poor women, of financing the restoration of the traditional houses and by retrofitting the old industrial warehouses for services and housing (lofts) and by financing new housing projects; 3) to guarantee the plurality of

³² See

http://www.spu.planejamento.gov.br/conteudo/noticias/noticias_2006/060324_secretaria_patrimonio.htm

uses and strongly stimulate the residential use; 4) to promote the participation and the partnerships between public managers, communities, public and private investors and universities; 5) to found a society of mixed economy to manage the long span implementation of the revitalization plan, because the more levels of government are involved in the negotiations, the longer the process will take.

Cool Port

Of this 5 years' balance, it is still important to take notice of the revision of the international models the Secretary had praised at the beginning of his mandate and of the shift to alternative culturalization models as means of promoting the revitalization process. From New York, the South Street Seaport and the Battery Park City were not mentioned anymore, but instead, Soho's revitalization became a reference:

"The South of Huston Industrial Area (SOHO) was condemned due to the latest of the great projects of express-ways of Robert Moses, the tzar of the roadways' revolution in New York, of which the destruction of Bronx was described in a touching chapter of the book "Everything that is solid melts in the air" by Marshall Bermann. In contrast to Bronx, in Soho, the community resisted and won, with the support of great urban thinkers as Jane Jacobs (author of the Death and Life of Great American Cities). Once the expressway was vanquished, the big empty warehouses, devaluated, began to be occupied by artists, profiting of the low rents. Soon, behind them came the little trendy bars and charming restaurants, the qualified commerce, the charismatic neighborhood of artists. When the public power finally understood and began to support, the revitalization was already on the way."

In accordance to this view, Rio's City Hall has been supporting the NGOs established in the old warehouses of the port zone which promote social inclusion of teen-agers of low income families by means of art-education, particularly through theater: Spectaculo and Kabum !, the Talents of the Time and the Artisans' Workshop at the Aplauso Warehouse, and the Cultural Center of Citizenship Action, already mentioned.³³

However, at the Secretary's speech no negative mention was made about the intense gentrification process that Soho went through, which forced eviction of part of the so praised charismatic artists and about which many researches have written about.³⁴ In other words, the conjunction of interests between the elite of New York, the artists that occupied the lofts and the

³³ See Lobo, Maria da Silveira – *"Port of Rio: Ready-Made revitalization ?"*, in cd-rom and book of the 1º Seminar Art & City, PPG-AU-UFBA, Salvador, May 2006.

³⁴ See Zukin, Sharon – *"Loft Living Culture and Capital in Urban Change"*, Rutgers University Press, 1989 e Smith, Neil – *op. cit.*

industrial warehouses that have been abandoned by the workers, the business world of galleries and museums which injected 1.5 billion dollars, already in 1980, in the city's economy and the real estate market which discovered the gold mine called Yuppies. The result was that the middle-class fascinated by the bohemian lifestyle came to dominate the urban landscape of Soho, also coveted by the 5th Avenue stores, thus provoking the eviction of the less affluent among the responsible for the original appreciation of the neighborhood. Also note that while Soho was elevated to model for the port zone of Rio, London's Docklands were now demonized:

*"In the European experience there are two different examples of docks' revitalization which resulted in opposite study cases: the Canary Wharf, in London, is an example of authoritarian imposition made by the first-minister then, Margareth Thatcher. The "Iron Dame", without consulting the community and having dissolved London's City Council, has imposed a model of segregated uses in view of the priority to the multinational offices, which resulted in an extreme low economic maturation that was consolidated only two decades later. However, the Kop van Zuid, in Rotterdam, became an example of creative port revitalization with constant participation of local power and the communities in the vicinity, consecrated the principle of multiplicity of uses and attracted the best artists and architects available."*³⁵

The 'Glocal' Port:

The paper has tried to demonstrate the fusion between global models of planning with the local reality, its planning traditions, its national and municipal political culture. The analysis of the facts, of the lines and the between the lines of official and non-official interviews, lead to the conclusion that the power of the urban projects surpasses the federal political obstacles as well as the municipal strategic plan itself. It was observed how the City's Council CONPUR did not participate of the working group of the Union and the City Hall, and also how new neighborhoods were included in the Technical Cooperation Agreement derived from this group's decisions. Although the autonomous agency of mixed capital has not yet been created, and which probably will be a consortium composed of the federal, state and municipal governments and managed by a private concession; in practice, some negotiations and biddings for the constructions already begun have preceded the federal legislation of public-private partnerships.³⁶

It is important to understand that this process of fragmentation of the city in many types of "cities" and special projects correspond to the strengthening of the municipal domain and to the weakening of the national domain. In the first decades of the post-war

³⁵ Communication Sirkis – RJ - 21/10/2005

³⁶ The case of the Convention Center at Cidade Nova mentioned by Sirkis in this communication of 21/10/2005, was a pre-paid concession for higher construction, according to the director of urbanism of IPP, Antonio Corrêa.

period, almost all of the major capitalist countries had strong central governments and national economies inside clearly defined territories, in spite of big and fast expansion of commerce exchange and international investments. The capacity of state-nations to implement the domestic policies was not questioned, as it is today. As a result many developing countries have been abandoning their regional policies that used to promote decentralization inside the national territory, provoking inter-regional fiscal wars to conquer the new investments. The decentralization of fiscal powers, of infrastructure construction and urban planning, in its turn, capacitate the richer regions to invest more resources to the solution of their own troubles, resulting in more inter-regional disparities inside the national territory.³⁷

In order to conclude, I quote the words of a big coffee exporter and former president of the Docas Company of Rio de Janeiro, Dr. Rui Barreto:

“But why is the city finishing? Because you have finished the port after you finished the coffee exportation. Then, you automatically finished the importation. The ships moved to São Paulo to embark and disembark merchandises. The economic and financial life of a city-port is the importation, this is what made New York build that World Trade Center. You want to revitalize the port region or the city ? Do you wish to revitalize the port region and transform it into a fantastic residential and apartment complexes, shops, business offices and provide housing for the poor ? Or do you wish to revitalize the city of Rio de Janeiro so that the slums may end, or at least that misery may diminish and employment rise and the city will revive through the port economic revival ? If you tell me: “no, I wish to revitalize that area” , then forget about the rest and construct a bunch of new buildings there. But if you tell me: “no, I wish to revitalize the city”, then we will have to look after cargo because port is cargo, port is not the sea, is not the beauty, is not the beach, is not the street, is not the people, is not the crane; port is the cargo. If it does not have cargo, nothing will help. And cargo is also a political problem of the federal government.”³⁸

³⁷ Allen J. Scott, John Agnew, Edward W. Soja e Michael Storper – Regional Global Cities in in Espaço & Debates: Revista de Estudos Regionais e Urbanos – Ano XVII – 2001 – n. 41, pgs. 11 a 25

³⁸ Interview Dr. Rui Barreto – 3/06/2005 -

In the summer of 1955, a group of prominent planners from the United States and Italy convened on the island of Ischia, in the gulf of Naples, to participate to a symposium organized by the Italian Institute of Town-planning (INU), the Italian Ministry of the Public Works, and the United States Operations Mission (USOM). Under the title of "Italo-American City and Regional Planning and Housing Seminar", the meeting aimed at comparing the latest and purportedly most advanced experiences of both countries in the fields of town and regional planning and housing policies. Italian experts were asked to comment on papers presented by the American guests. The event was marked by the high profile of the participants. On the American side were practitioners and academics of the caliber of Oscar Stonorov and Vernon DeMars. Among the Italian respondents were important planners and architects such as Ernesto Rogers or Gino Pollini, but also intellectuals and politicians of various origin and political leaning. The themes debated during the seminar ranged from the United States' South to the future of the American cities and Philadelphia's planning programs.

The meeting was held in a significant moment of the history of postwar Italian-American relations in the field of architecture and planning: in fact, the mid-1950s were characterized by a shift from a direct involvement of the US authorities in Italy's reconstruction to a more selective reception of American models and ideas on the part of the Italian design culture. Events such as the one in Ischia could no longer be viewed as initiatives meant to favor a rapid transfer of know-how from an economically and

technologically more advanced country to a political and social reality in a subordinate condition. The "Italo-American City and Regional Planning and Housing Seminar" took rather the form of a confrontation between two professional worlds that, despite frequent assertions of reciprocal equivalence, were concerned with problems of diverse nature and tackled them with quite different tools in their respective countries.

While in the official avowals the seminar sought to prompt a constructive exchange between the participants, one that would eventually lay "... the foundation for future cultural collaboration" (as it was later stated in a memorandum of the meeting), the discussions that it prompted seemed to rarely touch on a common ground: not only the cases presented by the American participants looked perhaps alien to the Italian context but some of the issues that were more cogent to Italy's postwar condition were almost ignored. Despite attempts of this kind at bridging the gap between the two countries, American and Italian planning cultures remained culturally and professionally distant. Asymmetrical local conditions as well as dissimilar backgrounds prevented from establishing fruitful forms of interchange. Almost inevitably, events such as the one in Ichbia could not steer clear of several degrees of ambiguity.

The list of the participants represents an illuminating cross-section of the debate of the time on city and regional planning. The figure of the industrialist Adriano Olivetti clearly stood out against the group of the Italian coventurers. President of the INU since 1950, Olivetti was well known for both his patronage of architecture and planning and for his first-hand knowledge of American production system and corporate world. In addition to Olivetti, the seminar was attended by personalities of the political establishment such as Camillo Ripamonti and Ugo La Malfa, architects and planners such as Giovanni

Astengo, Vincenzo De Giosa, Luigi Piccinato, Ernesto Rogers, Ludovico Quaroni, Bruno Zevi and Gino Pollini, intellectuals as diverse as the economist Manlio Rossi Doria and the sociologist Angela Zaccaroni. Interestingly, all these participants were linked by the involvement in the activities of the INU (such as Quaroni, Astengo, Piccinato -- vice-presidents of the Institute, in different years -- and Zevi, secretary from 1952) and, in general, by the proximity to Olivetti's ideas and initiatives.

Olivetti's presence was particularly significant, as the seminar broached themes very close to his cultural and political agenda. In fact, Olivetti's presidency of INU coincided with one of the most prolific seasons of the Italian planning debate: a debate that, in those years, was mainly focused on planning interventions at regional scale. Not incidentally, the memorandum of the meeting insisted on the necessity of planning, highlighting the implicit interrelation of "national, regional and local levels" in the planners' work. The need for an approach at a higher scale than the urban one was recurrently discussed in many initiatives promoted by INU: for example, the subject of regional planning was at the center of the 4th National Town Planning Congress, held in Venice in the October of 1952, an event that marked the Italian planning culture for at least a decade.

The meeting was the result of a venture undertaken by Bruno Zevi, a young professor at Venice's School of Architecture and an already well-established architectural historian and critic. Acting as the main organizer of the seminar, at the end of 1954 Zevi began to establish contacts with Italian agencies and ministries with the aim of organizing a "Town-planning Seminar" that included the participation of Italian and American experts. Zevi was surely one of the key figures in the mediation between Italian and American architectural cultures. Having left Italy before the war to Britain and then the

United States, he had received in 1942 a Bachelor of Architecture from the celebrated Harvard Graduate School of Design. Returned to Rome in July 1944 with the American Army, Zevi began to collaborate with the Italian office of the United States Information Service (USIS) in the preparation of technical bulletins and handbooks aimed at guiding Italy's reconstruction.

Zevis acquaintance with various US federal agencies proved to be instrumental. An important role in the early organization of the "Italo-American City and Regional Planning and Housing Seminar", in fact, was played by American governmental organizations such as the already mentioned USIS and the Foreign Operation Administration (FOA) that provided financial support for the initiative. With the help of the FOA and USIS, Zevi put forward the idea of a seminar "as a pure cultural proposition", as one can read in a letter sent to two prospective American participants, Frederick Guthrie and Oskar Stonorov. Even though the event was officially organized under its aegis, the INU was only involved in the financial support of the proceedings' publication, a goal that was never achieved. The organizers had indeed high expectations about the profile of the participants: in the list of the invitees initially drawn up by Zevi, were Lewis Mumford, Catherine Bauer and Kevin Lynch, familiar names to the Italian public between the 1950s and the 1960s.

The structure of the meeting reflected what organizers and sponsors wanted to realize: a comparison between the experiences in planning carried out in the two countries from the coupling of invited "experts" with local professionals, intellectuals, and politicians. For example, architect and planner Oskar Stonorov presented a paper titled "The Coming Reconstruction of American Cities" with Luigi Piccinato - another architect and planner

-- as commentator. To respond to planners Vernon De Mars and Frederick Guthrie, who lectured respectively on "Choice as an Objective in Planning" and "Plans for Today and Tomorrow", were an industrialist (Olivetti) an architect (Rogers) and a politician (La Malfa).

In the intentions of the organizers, the American case studies were presented almost as paradigmatic examples. For instance, the leaflet enclosed in the issue of the journal *L'Architettura* that informed of the seminar paid particular attention to planning techniques for which the United States were -- the text went on -- "an example" for Italy. However, how America could become a model for Italian planners was not explicitly explained: apart from generic appeals to a "humanistic approach" that would take the place in both countries of a mere "preoccupation with types of urban structure" or common-sense declarations such as "... urban and regional planning is entering a new phase all the world" (this was the tone of the memorandum of the seminar), little more was proposed. At the end, the Italian and American cases were portrayed as potentially comparable only at the level of university teaching.

Obviously, these implicit yet resolute assertions of equivalence between United States and Italy in the domain of planning bore no relation to reality. The cases discussed by the American guests represented general thematic references, hardly adaptable to the Italian context: they touched on problems and phenomena bound to become current in the years to come, though within a completely different economic and social framework. In the mid-1950s, examples imported from the United States continued to be presented to the Italian public for their implied ideological value, as a metaphor for the possible transformation of the country. In the context of the Cold War, even an oblique allusion to

American origins could help domesticate ideas that, otherwise, would have been regarded as socially and politically subversive.

A good case in point is represented by the presence at the seminar of Howard Menhinick, former director of the City Planning Division of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) and Girard Davidson, another former collaborator of the Authority in the 1940s. Menhinick presented a paper titled "The South in the U.S.A." with economist Manlio Rossi Doria as respondent while Davidson lectured on the "Regional Resource Planning by the Federal Government" with a comment by Giovanni Astengo, a renowned Italian planner and the director of Urbanistica, the mouthpiece of INU, since 1949. After the end of the Second World War, the TVA had turned into a recurrent reference for Italian planners, as it is demonstrated by the translation in 1946 of David Lilienthal's *TVA: Democracy on the March* into Italian (the book had become available to English-speaking readers in 1944), and the publications of several articles and books.

At a first glance, the model put into operation by the TVA seemed to be hardly repeatable in Italy: not only orographic and hydrographic conditions were different but the size of the TVA intervention basin amounted to more than one third the entire surface of Italy. Despite this evident incongruence, however, the TVA appeared to those who advocated massive projects of land reclamation and social reform in underdeveloped Southern Italy as a legitimizing reference. Quite significantly, in his response to Girard Davidson Giovanni Astengo did not play down the differences between Italy and the United States: to the contrary, Astengo emphasized diversity in order to assert the general principle that social change could follow physical transformation. In this respect, the fact that the TVA was an exception in the American political and economic panorama seemed

to count little for Italian architects, planners, and reformers: more important were the affinities in social status between prewar American South and postwar Italian *Mezzogiorno*.

Equally interesting -- for the way they established intricate links with the Italian situation -- were the papers by Douglas Haskell, "Roadtown U.S.A.," and by Robert Mitchell, "Transportation in Contemporary City Planning," and those by Paul Oppermann, "Central City Planning in a Metropolitan Context," and Edmund Bacon, "Philadelphia's Planning Program." By considering transportation infrastructures as the subject of their speeches, Haskell (the editor of *Architectural Forum*) and Mitchell (the executive director of Philadelphia's Urban Traffic and Transportation Board) referred to a bounty of studies that had given the United States an undisputed leadership in the field since the 1930s. However, the presence of the theme of transportation among those discussed in the seminar held in Ichia was not matched by an equal interest on the part of the majority of the Italian planners in those years. It is not incidental, in fact, to remark that the Italian planning culture remained substantially excluded from the decision-making process that, from the second half of the 1950s, would lead Italy to develop one of Europe's largest highway networks.

If it was difficult to grasp how American principles concerning transportation infrastructure could be implemented into the Italian context, even more tenuous were the links between the United States and Italy on the question of the "urban centers"; the theme that Paul Oppermann and Edmund Bacon's papers touched on. Oppermann and Bacon, the directors of the City Planning Commission of San Francisco and Philadelphia respectively, discussed issues such as city form and central city development that had to

appear particularly engaging for the Italian participant to the seminar. Bacon, in particular, illustrated a case that was not unfamiliar at all to the Italian conveners: the last thirteen years of planning activity in the city of Philadelphia.

In the 1940s and 1950s, Philadelphia became a recurring paradigm, regularly mentioned in international architectural and planning debates. Not infrequently, articles dedicated to the interventions in the central area of the American city appeared in the specialized press, with a circulation that, originating initially from the United States and Great Britain, rapidly reached continental Europe. Echoes of Philadelphia's planning experience could be found in Italian journals as early as the beginning of the 1950s: in 1950, for instance, *L'Espresso* published a review of the "The Better Philadelphia Exhibition", a show mounted by Bacon and Stonorov in 1947. Not much differently from the case of the TVA, this interest was grounded on an ideological interpretation: the experiments in democratic participation carried out in Philadelphia since the early 1940s appealed to the Italian planning community for their value as an example.

An indirect sign that Philadelphia was a major subject of interest for the organizers of the seminar in Iechia (and, implicitly, for the Italian architectural and planning culture) comes from the biographies of some of the American participants: Bacon and Mitchell were both professor at the University of Pennsylvania (the latter had founded the university's Department of City Planning) while Stonorov's firm was based in the city. In general, the plans for Philadelphia were regarded in the postwar years as a series of original proposals defining a new approach to urban design: the novelty lay in the attention to both the real-estate and morphologic dynamics of the city center, that portion of the metropolitan area that came to be known in those years as "the core of the city."

Not surprisingly, in the same period the interest of the Italian architectural culture was shifting slowly from urban planning to urban design.

It is important to remark, in fact, that 1955 is a pivotal date for the history of Italian planning. That year the proposal for a new plan for the city of Ivrea, Adriano Olivetti's hometown, was rejected by a large majority of the City Council amid fierce political polemics. Began in 1953 with Olivetti's full financial support, the plan was meant to become a model to be imitated in the rest of the country. Its preparation involved the participation of architects, planners, geographers, economists, and sociologists and relied on a large survey campaign. In the intention of the plan's promoters, the gathered information was to be transferred on punched cards and analyzed by calculating machines provided by the Olivetti company. Clearly, the plan was considered the ultimate paradigm for city planning.

The failure to put the plan for Ivrea into action was not simply imputable to local conditions. The negative epilogue was also the outcome of a process that involved the Italian planning culture as a whole: initially accompanied by the enthusiasm for a "scientific" and "all-embracing" approach to planning (thanks also to the possibility of resorting to the early advancements in the field of information technology), the plan generated skepticism about the foundations of the discipline within the same planning community. Plunging the principles of city and regional planning into crisis, the new scenario favored a growth of interest for city form. Not accidentally, Ludovico Quaroni, one of the architects called upon to work on the plan for Ivrea, developed in the following years a significant penchant for urban design.

In an attempt to compare two professional and cultural contexts, the "Italo-American City and Regional Planning and Housing Seminar" originated little more than an examination of the state-of-the-art in US planning. What was missing was a real contact between the two sides and a tangible exchange of experiences in a condition of equality. Certainly, the obstacles raised by the use of different languages were not of help. Apart from several factual errors retracable in both the memorandum of the seminar and the translation of the papers, any debate involving Italian and American planners was doomed to pay a heavy toll on language and terminology. This was a problem that affected also the circulation of texts written in English. The translation into Italian of Lewis Mumford's *The Culture of the Cities*, by Adriano Olivetti's Edizioni di Comunità publishing house, is a good example of the communication barriers existing between the United States and Italy: published in 1953, the book carried out rather different messages from the original 1938 version.

At the root of these linguistic problems was also the need to adapt the American examples to the Italian political and cultural context. For instance, one of the terms recurrently used in the seminar was "community." "Planning - one could read in a passage of the memorandum - will emphasize not static schemes of physical arrangement but schemes of development to guide the *creative evolution* of communities." This was an obvious tribute to Olivetti who had advocated the return to communitarian aggregations as the way to reform society and had even founded a political party called "Movimento di Comunità" (Community Movement). It was a predictable yet ambiguous reference: in fact, it is not easy to understand which notion of "community" American and Italian participants to the meeting had in mind, particularly

in the mid-1950s when the debate on the "communitarian" roots of American regionalism had almost completely fizzled out.

In conclusion, why American and Italian planners failed to generate successful interactions in the postwar years? When viewed by foreign audiences, American examples were rarely contextualized and more often transposed to a local perspective: not infrequently, they seemed to oscillate between the incompatibility with national conditions and a partial pre-figuration of future transformations. While Italy's planning experiences had virtually no coverage in the United States, on the Italian side American examples were either received with self-importance or used to legitimate local policies and personal agendas, with little interest for their practical usefulness and likelihood to be implemented. At the end, more than favoring a fruitful dialogue between the two sides of the Atlantic Ocean, events such as the "Intra-American City and Regional Planning and Housing Seminar" produced nothing but a chorus of dissonant voices.

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Situating the Bungalow in Global Context: A Functional Standard for Working Class Domestic Space

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([X] inserts mark slide-image locations)

[X] Anthony King's influential book, *The Bungalow*, gave powerful articulation to a dominant form of 20th century domestic housing: the single-family, technologically facilitated, set-in-nature, suburban bungalow. King's scholarship has been influential for understanding the phenomena of residential domestic life in Anglo-American suburban environments. Arguably the bungalow set within its suburban landscape has become a standard type in the planning discourse of early 20th century, as, in King's words, "a production of global culture."

This paper offers an interpretation of the Anglo-American bungalow based on an analysis of its most common physical/spatial characteristics during the early 20th century—the first era when bungalows were popularly built for middle-to-working class families. Unlike King's emphasis on a broad range of bungalow houses sharing similar nomenclature and ideological and cultural characteristics, this paper focuses more specifically upon the physical amenities and functional characteristics of the most popular forms of the bungalow and its environment settings that help to explain its popularity for its inhabitants and particularly for its working class inhabitants. While I will make references to Indian and British colonial examples, this paper primarily interprets the spread of houses with bungalow characteristics in England and America that became one of the most dominant forms of comfortable housing for an expanding working-toward-middle class between 1900-to-1940.

(It is important to note that although the bungalow and the ideology of bungalow domesticity became a widely accepted ideal by 1940, a majority of the working class did not actually achieve this quality of life until after WWII, during a second great era of popular housing construction after 1946.)

Anthony King's book covers 400 years of bungalow development from India to Britain and throughout the world and is necessarily a wide-ranging exploration analyzing many types and styles of homes called bungalows including vacation and second homes. This paper focuses on a much shorter period of bungalow construction between 1900-to-1940. Although shorter in scope, it was the key initial period of popular housing bungalow construction in Britain and America—a critical period when the bungalow was transformed from an alternative dwelling, primarily for the upper classes, into one of the most popular forms of middle-to-working-class housing. Although English and United States examples differed widely, I hope to demonstrate that the most common bungalow types in both countries represented a remarkably unified synthesis of technological improvements and modern life-style adjustments for their occupants. In this synthesis I will argue that these houses represented newly developing, national consensus standards about the character and quality of modern domestic life for an expanding, western-industrial, popular or working-toward-middle class majority.

[X] The success of this “domestic standard” can be analyzed and debated from many ideological perspectives, including social historical, Marxist, architectural, feminist, phenomenological, etc., but is perhaps best articulated and summarized from the value systems of its users as common physical amenities and functional characteristics of the housing. In common bungalows of the early 20th century, some of the most significant

characteristics included: the three-fixture bath, the technological kitchen, dining room, public utilities, individual bedrooms, closets, porches and landscaped yards, and in America, access to the car. [X] In both Britain and America, these characteristics were arranged in houses with standardized floor plans of four-to-six rooms with bath. Smaller versions contained a living room, kitchen, two bedrooms and bath and larger version also included a dining room and additional bedrooms. In both countries, the increasing availability of these characteristics created a type of domestic yardstick or standard for an evolving, commonly shared conception of modern or “middle class” popular domesticity. Although neither universally shared nor without flaws, this functional standard of “bungalow domesticity” has proven to be a remarkably durable benchmark in the development of domestic environments in western-industrial, popular or working class cultures and perhaps, as this audience might evaluate, for domestic cultures throughout the world.

Returning to King’s book, it is important to note the wide diversity of houses labeled bungalow from different countries and regions and especially the changes in how bungalow houses were developed over time. The originality and strength of King’s analysis was to demonstrate the commonality of these diverse houses united by common domestic ideological characteristics—a counter-urbanism or suburban expansion of modern industrial and capitalist societies in the form of a single, detached house, set in nature, separated from work, supported by modern technologies. Much of King’s book records the dissemination of these domestic themes, in diverse houses broadly labeled “bungalow,” from the English upper classes toward the working classes in England, America, the British colonies, and throughout the world.

This is where I pick up the bungalow story by emphasizing that the broader ideological themes in King's overview were articulated and standardized in popular working-class bungalows through the standardization of a consistent package of uniform domestic building characteristics. This popularization and standardization of the bungalow is simultaneously the record of how the quality of working-class domestic life uniformly improved between 1900-to-1940 and how this process significantly narrowed the historic boundaries separating the domestic spaces and amenities of upper/middle-class households and working-class households—boundaries that even in 1900 seemed unbridgeable to most social and domestic reformers.

Common Standards for Comfortable Houses of the Working Class

[X] The massive production of “improved” working class bungalow housing in the early 20th century did not produce identical looking houses but rather, as I will now demonstrate, these houses functioned similarly. The slides show many different houses from different countries, all built between 1900-to-1940. Although these houses differed in size, cost, style, plan arrangement, and especially the social and economic class of their residents, the domestic spaces of these houses shared a set of basic physical and technological characteristics that unified the way these houses functioned for their diverse inhabitants. These shared characteristics can be defined in many ways such as levels of comfort, technological amenities, or social patterns of usage but are most succinctly summarized in a generic house plan containing five to six rooms with bath, including a living room, dining room, kitchen, two or three bedrooms and bath. [X] A version of this plan type is shown in an Aladdin Bungalow from 1917 one of the most popular forms of the American bungalow. It was the production of houses containing this basic plan and amenities that significantly

contributed to an improvement in the over-all quality of domestic life for the American working class. (There are also two-story versions of this generic plan which I do not have time to demonstrate.) Although beyond the scope of this paper, arguably the domestic progress associated with the production of these modest bungalows parallels the expansion of the working class as consumer-participants in an expanded industrial economy.

The way these houses functioned similarly can be summarized by a group of nine physical/functional characteristics or amenities that, I believe, defined the commonly accepted ideal for an adequate, comfortable house for working-class inhabitants during the early twentieth century—a threshold for the acquisition of middle-class housing standards. These nine functional characteristics or amenities included:

The Three-Fixture Bath. The combination of a bathtub, toilet, and sink helped to solve some of the most vexing problems of domestic life related to sanitation, family hygiene, health care, disease prevention, personal privacy, and the overall quality of domestic life. The configuration of these three elements relied on a minimum, standard 5 x 7 room plan. For working-class inhabitants who generally began acquiring bathroom fixtures only after 1900, these technological improvements marked a quantum leap from primitive semi-public toilet and bathing facilities, including the outhouse, the public toilet, and public bathhouse or natatorium that had remained largely unchanged since the medieval period. In modest new houses and especially in remodeled housing, the bathroom's three fixtures were initially added in incremental fashion, often in separate rooms, when funds became available. Today, almost one hundred years later, this basic assemblage of three bathroom fixtures remains surprisingly unchanged.

The Dining Area. In both England and America, progressive social reformers laid emphasis on the dining room as a desirable symbol of middle-class domesticity. In contrast, the typical pattern of working-class dining is shown in a photograph of an immigrant family in New York City having a meal in their kitchen (fig. 7). However, while a separate room for dining might have appeared extravagant, working-class families increasingly recognized this room as a potent symbol of modern, middle-class acculturation and, consequently, a desirable improvement. In addition to the status associated with it, the space of the dining room also provided practical benefits through its use for multiple activities such as home-based work as well as regular dining and special celebrations. The development of the working-class living room as a separate room, devoid of work and sleeping arrangements, engages some of the same social and functional issues as the dining room, but requires an extensive discussion of house plans and regional traditions that cannot be addressed in this article.

Kitchen Technologies. Newly acquired kitchen improvements greatly facilitated the everyday work of the homemaker in the early twentieth century. In addition to the ubiquitous wood or coal-fired kitchen stove of the urban cottage and farmhouse, other features were added such as a sink with plumbed or pumped water, and later, hot water heaters; refrigeration units, from ice holding appliances to electric refrigerators; washing machines in several, increasingly mechanical phases; and, a variety of labor-saving devices, before and after the introduction of electricity, including cleaning equipment culminating with the electric vacuum cleaner, and food preparation devices of many varieties. Social and technical analysts of American domesticity are nearly unanimous in emphasizing the critical importance of these new technical features for improving the overall quality of domestic life for increasing numbers of American families. The literature on this subject, however, is

almost always based on middle-class households. Working-class families acquired these technical improvements much later; thus the overall availability and distribution of these items to the larger population came later, often by many decades.

Public Utilities and Services. Before 1900, the only public utility that may have been found in most working-class households was cold running water. Equivalent rural or suburban homes generally relied on individual wells or cisterns with hand pumps, both inside and outside the home. One of the most significant accomplishments of progressive era reformers after 1900 was their success in introducing a range of public utilities and services to working-class neighborhoods, including sewage, electricity, gas, garbage collection, and other municipal services such as street lighting and sweeping. Public utilities were a critical component in the creation of “working-toward-middle-class” housing. Since such amenities generally began in the city and moved toward suburban and rural areas, urban residents were among the first of the working class to receive public water, sewage disposal, and garbage collection. It is difficult to make generalizations about the acquisition of public utilities in working-class areas, however, because of the uneven distribution of services within and between urban, suburban, small town, and rural environments. For example, the problem of sewage or garbage disposal, so critical to the improvement and success of urban life, typically had a much lower priority in rural areas. On the other hand, electrical service, although obtained much earlier in urban areas was equally transforming in both city and country settings.

The Private Bedroom. Before 1900, privacy was difficult to obtain within typical working-class households of two-to-four rooms. Generally, parents appear to have obtained a minimum of personal privacy if a small separate room was available, but a separate room for

individual family members was seldom possible in traditional vernacular, immigrant, and working-class homes before 1900. One of the major, usually unrecorded, effects of housing reform in the early twentieth century was the creation of a new world of domestic privacy for working-class families. Typically this entailed the addition of private bedrooms, first for parents and then for children

The Storage Closet. The closet was a new type of space in working-class homes.

Previously, there was little to store, and therefore common housing made almost no provision for built-in, enclosed storage. While the closet does not compare in importance to other features, the new availability of closets in working-class households of the early twentieth century signals a critical turning point in the common availability of industrially produced, personal, and domestic goods for the working-class.

Porches and Landscaped Yard. After the turn of the nineteenth century, the front porch became a place for, and symbol of, leisure for the working class. For many non-farm residents, in bungalows and triple-deckers, the front porch symbolized the potential of a new life-style made possible by the eight-hour workday and improved living conditions.

Previously, either inside or outside the house, there was no equivalent leisure space in non-farm, working-class housing. Therefore, the modest front porch more than any other architectural feature expressed a new type of space for domestic comfort and social gathering in improved working-class housing. (Add import of green yard)

Car and Garage. In America the automobile was a late addition to working-class households, arriving in large numbers in the 1920s, often as the popular, universally acclaimed Model-T. As recognized by almost all scholars of modern domesticity, the popular use of the automobile significantly contributed to the transformation of the American

home and life-style in the twentieth century. In this respect, it is one of the major differences between American and British environments where the automobile was far less available. For working class Americans, this transformation occurred with tremendous speed and impact, so that by 1928 three-fourths of all non-farm families owned an automobile. Twice as many households owned cars as owned homes.¹ While its impact on domestic life-style was substantive, the introduction of the car did not transform the physical shape of housing until after World War II since the car tended to be accommodated in rented garages or minimal, detached structures before that era.

[X] By 1930, the popular adaptation of these nine housing standards coalesced into generic versions of the four-to-six-rooms-with-bath house plans I have just shown to become nationally recognized standard for domestic living. These plans, although modest by the standards of upper-and middle-class families who had generally been accustomed to these amenities for many years, represented a significant progress in the quality of common domestic life for the families of the working classes especially when compared to previous, late-19th century.

The Development of Popular Bungalow Era Plan in America

In America the most popular house style of the early 20th century was the versatile and durable bungalow – the picturesque poster-child of single-family housing. Yet, as I have attempted to demonstrate, it was not the bungalow's picturesque craftsman or mission style but its function and amenities as defined by its common floor plan that truly marks this house type as a landmark in the development of popular American housing. When stripped of its architectural style, the single-story bungalow plan in its most popular five-to-six-room-with-bath configuration is indistinguishable from many of the era's most popular houses that

evolved during the last quarter of the nineteenth-century and constituting, what I believe was, a popular benchmark for the (counter-urban) suburban home of western industrialized countries at the beginning of the 20th century.

The development and production of these houses has not been given sufficient study. There were no single proto-types, source or single creative designers nor were these houses simply poor copies of elite or upper-class residences as might commonly be assumed. Rather, vernacular or folk builders gradually evolved these plans through simultaneous development employing many sources in many regions during an extended period of popular experimentation in the late 19th century following the American Civil War. Like other popular housing inventions, such as the balloon-frame and the ranch house, the development of the bungalow plan was the product of an evolutionary process conducted within a national-vernacular building culture. Thousands of local builder-developers, aided by mass communications, industrialized product development, and a speculative housing market, designed and developed this plan type. [X] The floor plans from an 1870 Midwest-Chicago builder's catalog serves to summarize this development. In several variations, the plans demonstrate a process that essentially transformed the typical, two-room, hall-and-parlor worker's house plan, into embryonic versions of the most common bungalow plan. Over a period of twenty years, from approximately 1880 to 1900, increasingly standardized versions of these plan types appeared throughout America in evolving, new, and remodeled housing. By 1900, numerous single-family house types in one- and two-story forms, such as the evolving bungalow as well as multi-family houses such as duplexes and triple-deckers, all contained the core elements of the soon to be standardized, five-to-six-rooms-with-bath floor plan.

Conclusion

Throughout this paper, I have emphasized that the usually unexamined acquisition of decent, comfortable homes for members of the working class in the early twentieth century was achieved through the attainment of a set of physical housing characteristics, such as bathrooms, dining rooms, kitchen technologies, public utilities, closets, and private bedrooms. Although we may call these houses bungalows and acknowledge the broad suburbanization and industrial capitalist themes underlying their evolution as outlined by Anthony King, the development of the common working-toward-middle-class bungalow also evolved in equal measure from popular and working class cultures and economics with similar and different ideological agendas. In either case, the key to understanding the widespread development of the bungalow is the popular selection, acquisition, and standardization of a group of domestic characteristics and amenities that constituted a fundamental underlying unity between the various houses called bungalow. I have attempted to show that these similar characteristics marked substantive improvement for families of the working class who, prior to 1900, had little exposure to domestic comforts of any kind. These improved housing characteristics were obtained for a large number of English and Americans before 1940 in a broad range of bungalow period houses such as multi-flats, semi-detached, modest single-family houses, and remodeled housing of all types. The various ways that the working-class obtained these improved houses represents a combination of technological progress, progressive reform, government incentives, and working-class initiative that occurred with quiet determination on a national scale. That they actually acquired these improvements in “modest, substantial homes” warrants acknowledgment and further, intensive study.

Reconstructing Golden v. Planning Board of Town of Ramapo:

The Real Story Behind the First Major Growth Management Plan in the U.S.

By Stuart Meck, FAICP, and Rebecca Retzlaff, AICP¹

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Introduction

If the growth management movement in the United States could be said to have a firm start date, it was May 3, 1972, when the New York Court of Appeals, the state's highest court, released its decision in *Golden v. Planning Board of Town of Ramapo*.² Here the Court upheld a phased development timing ordinance in which the approval of a special permit for residential development was linked to the provision of public infrastructure in accordance with an 18-year capital improvement program; the developer had the choice of waiting for the infrastructure, some of it to be provided by other governmental units, or installing it at his/her own expense. The ordinance, the court said, was within the scope of the state's enabling legislation, and the limitations on development fell short of confiscation under the Constitution.

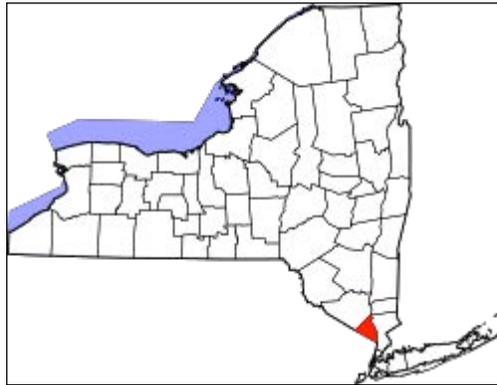
The ruling, subsequently appealed to the United States Supreme Court, which declined to hear it, represented the culmination of six years of work, in which Ramapo officials pulled together all of the conventional tools at a planner's disposal, along with some new technical twists, and combined them into the phased growth system. While it was not without its flaws and critics, the Ramapo plan influenced the design of growth management systems across the nation.

How the Ramapo officials proceeded and the circumstances in which they operated are the subject of this article. The article's first part describes the regional setting of the Town of Ramapo and surrounding Rockland County in the early 1960s. The second part reviews the emergence of the concept of growth management in the mid 1950s in the U.S. The third part describes how the need for a growth management program in Ramapo was identified, and the actors behind it. The fourth part introduces the growth management program itself, the debates over its adoption, and its eventual application to the Golden property. The fifth part turns to the litigation, and follows the case from the trial to the appellate levels. Finally, the article concludes with an account of the aftermath of the controversial decision, including the reaction of the planning and legal communities, an assessment by the authors of the strengths and weaknesses of the approach used by Ramapo, and an evaluation of decision's impact on contemporary planning practice.

I. The Context: The Town of Ramapo and Rockland County

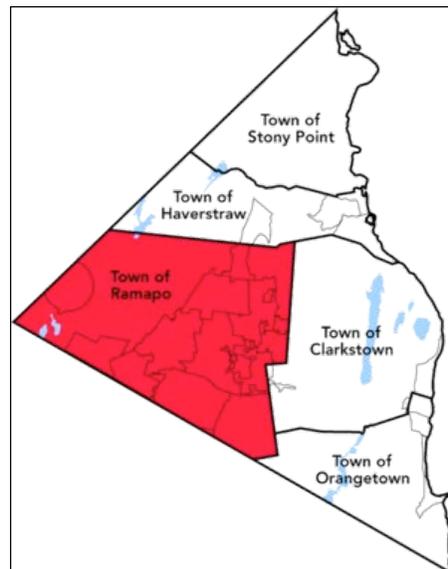
Rockland County, New York, of which the Town of Ramapo is a part, is located on the west side of the Hudson River, and is immediately north of the New Jersey state line. The county contains five townships; Ramapo, at 61.2 square miles, is the largest, bordered on the east by Clarkstown, to the north by Haverstraw, on the west by Orange County, and on the south by the State of New Jersey. The average distance from Rockland County to Manhattan in New York City is about 35 miles. (See Figures 1 and 2).

Figure 1: Rockland County in the State of New York



Source: Wikipedia (<http://www.wikipedia.org/>), 2006

Figure 2: The Town of Ramapo and Other Towns in Rockland County



Source: Wikipedia (<http://www.wikipedia.org/>), 2006

The New York State Thruway, opened in 1955, connected the Town of Ramapo and other Rockland County municipalities in Rockland County with Westchester County via the Tappan Zee bridge, which spans the Hudson River. The completion of the bridge, in late 1955, provided a direct connection from Nyack, New York to Tarrytown, to one of the main commuting lines into Manhattan, and to employment areas in Westchester County north of the New York City line. Further, the opening of the George Washington Bridge and the Palisades Interstate Parkway created easy access to Ramapo from New York City and New Jersey.³ While Ramapo was far enough from New York City to miss earlier waves of suburban growth⁴, by the late 1950s the town was considered a bedroom suburb of New York City.⁵

At the time of the development of its growth management program, discussed below, Ramapo had five villages: Spring Valley, Sloatsburg, Suffern, Hillburn, and New Square, each with their own planning and zoning authority. Of the five, New Square was the newest, and its formation eventually influenced the socio-economic characteristics of the town. Established in 1961, after a battle with the town over its incorporation, the Village of New Square is a community of Hasidic Jews, who had originally moved to a farm north of Spring Valley in 1954 from Williamsburg, in Brooklyn New York, and gradually the community grew.⁶ Today, the Town of Ramapo and its villages are home to substantial numbers of Orthodox Jews.

II. The Emergence of the Growth Management Idea in the U.S.; Approaches Prior to Ramapo

The first formal effort to sketch out a rationale and approach to the problem of development timing in the post World War II period in the U.S. was that of Henry Fagin, who was the planning director of the Regional Plan Association, a private organization based in New York City. Fagin's article, "Regulating the Timing of Urban Development," appeared in a special symposium issue on planning in the law journal, *Law and Contemporary Problems*, in 1955. Fagin maintained that the coordinative aspect of planning involved both space and time; absent tools to address the dimension of time, "many attempts at space coordination must continue to fail."⁷ Most of the motivations for regulating development timing were, according to Fagin, chiefly economic in nature: the need to economize on the costs of municipal facilities and to maintain a high quality of community services in the face of municipal growth. During periods of rapid building expansion, Fagin contended, adequate intervals of time must be assured for the assimilation of residential, business, or industrial additions to the community. At the same time, municipalities must retain strong control over the eventual character of development to ensure, for example, that low-intensity development served by private wells and septic tanks did not occur in an area where higher intensity development served by public water and sewer was desired.

Fagin outlined a system for regulating development timing. It involved establishing "zones of building priority," where building permit applications were granted on order of the individual zone priority and the order of the application dates. The assignment of building priority expressed "the sequence of development most advantageous to the

municipality for economizing on municipal services and for securing the desired character of development.”⁸ The municipality would be responsible for fixing the number of development permits by broad zoning classifications using a series of multifactor allocations and would also be responsible by statute for carrying forward programs of facility and service expansion. A developer should have the opportunity of improving the building priority of his land by offering to construct off-site facilities and to provide services needed for development ahead of municipal programming. Under special circumstances some form of compensation would be necessary to offset individual losses when development wasn’t possible.

Fagin’s article prompted a session on development timing at the American Society of Planning Officials conference in Montreal, Canada, that same year. Phillip P. Green, Jr., the assistant director at the Institute of Government at the University of North Carolina, the session moderator, pointed out that, assuming the factual basis existed to support development timing as a lawful exercise of the police power, a substantive due process issue, the procedural due process issue had to be addressed: “enabling legislation, ordinances, and administrative safeguards must be adequate to prevent arbitrariness in applying the controls to particular property owners.”⁹ Moreover, Green observed, if a developer offers to install utilities, pay for the increase in water and sewage plant treatment the development necessitates, build schools, dedicate parks, and pay up front for certain municipal services, “there is no basis for delaying him” in completing the development.¹⁰ Developing timing controls also presented problems of inadequate jurisdiction; if a municipality that used them only covered a limited area, Green predicted, the result might be that development might “leapfrog” to the next tier of land not subject to the controls. Development timing, he declared, would only have an impact if imposed over a wide area.

Frederick P. Clark, a planning consultant from Rye, New York, described a new procedure he devised for Milford, Connecticut, where the town was organized into two priority areas: a high priority area already served with municipal facilities; and a low priority area with no or inadequate facilities. In low priority areas, the approval of the preliminary subdivision would be subject to a development schedule that would permit not less than 20 percent of the lots shown in the preliminary layout to be developed each year over a period not to exceed five years in order to permit necessary municipal facilities to be constructed at a rate commensurate with the rate of subdivision development. The developer could also elect to build the necessary municipal facilities to eliminate inadequacies and therefore the applicable subdivision area would be reclassified from low to high priority.¹¹

Richard May, Jr., the planning director for Rockland County, New York, where the Town of Ramapo was located, explained a new zoning ordinance for the nearby Town of Clarkstown. The ordinance allowed more intensive development by special permit when the planning board made specific findings after a public hearing, although the final action was by the town board, the governing body. One zoning district would normally allow residential development on a one-acre lot, but 15,000 square-foot lots could be approved via a special permit; a second district allowed 15,000 square-foot lots, but, with a special

permit, this figure could be lowered to single-family residences on 7,500 square-foot lots, and multi-family residences at 4,000 square feet per dwelling unit. The ordinance required the planning board to make findings regarding the presence of water and sewer; proximity (within 1,000 feet) to an area already developed at a similar density; and the presence of public services, including schools, or adequate plans for them. The particular advantage of this approach, said May, is that it brought the school boards into the planning arena. "They are being officially put on notice," he commented, "as to what is coming; and under these conditions have little excuse for not making the necessary building plans."¹² May observed that, from the perspective of 1955, the classic American master plan had "too loose a relationship to zoning"; he favored something akin to a British development plan with "a master plan, zoning ordinance, and capital budget all wrapped in one tidy package."¹³

The Clarkstown ordinance was eventually challenged in court and the 1960 decision, *Josephs v. Town Board of Clarkstown*,¹⁴ was the principal New York State ruling prior to the Ramapo decision. In *Josephs*, the state supreme court (the trial court in New York) upheld the action of the Clarkstown town board in refusing to approve a special permit that would have allowed residential development on 22,500 square foot lots in a district that would normally require 40,000 square foot lots. The basis in this case was lack of school capacity. The court found within the state zoning enabling legislation the authority to take into account "adequate provision of . . . schools" and that there was adequate support for the town board's denial; in any case, the applicant had no vested right to an approval of the lot size reduction. Other ad hoc growth management schemes, however, met with hostility from the New York courts.¹⁵

Thus, by the early 1960s, the stage was set for the Ramapo system. Development timing had received its first serious attention in the planning literature,¹⁶ and experimentation had begun with a variety of devices, including special permits that were linked to the presence or adequacy of public facilities, and priority schemes for approving development.

III. Major Actors in the Growth Management Program and Litigation

The major actors involved in the Ramapo growth management program and litigation on behalf of the town were :

(1) *John McAlevey, Ramapo Town Supervisor*. Assigning responsibility for Ramapo's managed growth program is difficult,¹⁷ although by all accounts Ramapo Town Supervisor John McAlevey was a key figure. The concept of the growth management program was born at a Democratic campaign strategy meeting in 1965 attended by John McAlevey, Democratic Town Chairperson Herbert Reisman, and McAlevey's campaign manger Robert Freilich. The three agreed on two issues, first, that growth should be controlled, and second, that voters would respond favorably to the idea of controlling growth.¹⁸

John McAlevey, an attorney, was controversial long before his role in the Ramapo managed growth program. As mayor of Sloatsburg (in Rockland County) from 1960 to 1964 he brought zoning and master planning to the town.¹⁹ According to one assessment:

[M]ention the name John F. McAlevey to a builder and watch for a look of disdain... Mention the name John F. McAlevey to a major land owner in Ramapo and watch for the same reaction... Mention the name John F. McAlevey to certain residents who live near the two sites of government subsidized housing...they mobbed public hearings to vilify him for placing the hated subsidized housing, to them a euphemism for slums, in their affluent midst. Finally, ask John F. McAlevey how he reacts to all the venomous feelings his name invokes – and watch him smile.²⁰

(2) *Robert Freilich, Town Attorney.* During John McAlevey's first town supervisor campaign in 1965, Robert Freilich worked as his campaign manager, and later moved to the position of town attorney after the election. Freilich worked on all of the elements of the managed growth program until he resigned in July 8, 1968 for a visiting professor position at University of Missouri at Kansas City, where he remained. He remained involved in the program as a consultant to the town and as attorney for the subsequent court cases; he argued the case before the New York Court of Appeals. Once the decision was released, Freilich was instrumental in widely disseminating information about the program's significance.²¹

(3) *Manuel Emanuel, President, Manuel E. Emanuel Associates; planning consultant to the Town of Ramapo.* Manuel Emanuel worked as a consultant to the Town of Ramapo on preparing the master plan and other elements of the planned growth system.

(4) *John Keough, Director of Zoning and administrative assistant to boards and commissions.* John Keough coordinated and administered the meetings and actions of the Town Board, Planning Board, Development Easement Acquisition Commission, Community Development Review Commission, Drainage Commission, and the Board of Adjustments.²²

IV. The Growth Management Plan and Program

A. Impetus Behind the Growth Management System

The impetus behind Ramapo's growth management system was the result of the confluence of several factors. The first factor came from impact of increased transportation alternatives, which gave greater regional access to the town, as discussed above.

The second factor was a sudden spike in population and residential construction, as a result of the first factor. Between 1940 and 1963 the population of the unincorporated area of Ramapo increased by 285.9% . During the same period, the population of the state of New York increased by 31.3%.²³ The town's population doubled between 1950 and

1963, and tripled by 1968.²⁴ Despite minor fluctuations in population and new residential construction in the decade in which the growth management system was conceived, the population of Ramapo increased from 35,000 people in 1960 to 76,700 people in 1970.²⁵

The third factor was a change in political leadership and electorate composition in Ramapo. In the 1960s the electorate of Ramapo shifted from majority Republican to majority Democrat, as Table 1 shows. In 1965, the Democratic and Liberal parties of the town combined and mobilized to reform government in Ramapo, bringing new issues such as growth management, rising taxes, ballooning school enrollment, and overcrowded roads and infrastructure to the forefront.²⁶ The 1965 Democratic party platform also included the promise of removing multiple family residential units from the Ramapo zoning ordinance.²⁷

Table 1: Party Enrollment in Ramapo, New York

Year	Percent Republican (Ramapo)	Percent Democrat (Ramapo)
1950	73%	27%
1955	64%	36%
1957	62%	38%
1959	59%	41%
1961	51%	49%
1963	50%	50%
1965	43%	57%
1967	41%	59%
1969	40%	60%
1971	37%	63%
1973	36%	64%
1975	33%	67%

Source: Gary K. Duberstein, *The Politics of Controlled Growth in Suburbia: A Case Study of Ramapo, N.Y.* Senior Thesis. Department of Politics and the Woodrow Wilson Schools of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, 1976: 79.

John McAlevey was elected on this platform and his administration put not only new ideas and issues on the political agenda, but also saw themselves as reformers for a government who worked for the individual people and landowners in the town.²⁸ According to McAlevey, “the only people over the years who were consistently helped by the various Republican administrations which were in power in Ramapo were the untaxpayers,” referring to “large landowners, the landed gentry, and the speculative builders.” In McAlevey’s assessment, the citizens of Ramapo needed “relief from the rising burden of a total tax load which was spiraling upward at an alarming rate... beneficial tax ratables and a control on the rate of residential growth.”²⁹

Despite the administrative and public discourse concerning the rate of growth in the town, Ramapo actually experienced a decline in residential growth immediately prior to adoption of the controlled growth program. In 1961 the number of building permits issued for new dwellings in the unincorporated area of Ramapo was 502. That figure rose to 535 in 1962, 620 in 1963, 726 in 1964, 798 in 1965, 835 in 1966, and decreased to 551 in 1967 and 485 in 1968.³⁰

Taxpayers in Ramapo also experienced rapid tax growth in the years prior to adoption of the controlled growth plan. School budgets in Ramapo rose by 23% in 1964-65, 28.5% in 1965-66, 23% in 1966-67, 27% in 1967-68, and 14% in 1968-69.³¹ Some of the most vocal supporters of the managed growth program came from school administrators and parents who were concerned about school overcrowding and facilities, and the public who was concerned about rising taxes to pay for schools.

Thus, a final factor was a perceived lack of public facilities to support the new residential development. Despite the decline in residential permits after 1966, McAlevee said in 1969, “what was wrong with the community was that it was growing too rapidly and that it was growing without a plan . . . The result was unplanned and uncoordinated growth which either taxed, or ignored the absence of, necessary community facilities.”³²

B. Development of the Growth Management System

Development of the system of land use controls that comprised the planned growth program began with the elimination of all multi-family housing in the zoning ordinance on February 14, 1966, and culminated with the passage of the development timing point ordinance on October 13, 1969.

The Ramapo managed growth program relied on traditional planning tools to work in concert to manage growth. As Manuel Emanuel said in a 1974 interview, “There are many communities that have the same kind of growth problems. The most significant thing about Ramapo was the fact that it had gone through the conventional cycle of planning. It actually executed all the elements of the conventional planning process. No community can initiate a growth control process without doing that.”³³

The following are the elements of the Ramapo growth management system:

- (1) Elimination of apartments from the zoning ordinance (February 14, 1966)
- (2) Creation of first lateral sewer district (May 1966)
- (3) Creation of Ramapo Drainage Commission (May 1966)
- (4) Interim development ordinance (June 6, 1966)
- (5) Master plan (July 26, 1966)
- (6) Zoning ordinance implementing the comprehensive plan (December 29, 1966)
- (7) Development easement acquisition law (June 26, 1967)
- (8) Mandatory average density ordinance (August 14, 1967)
- (9) Prohibition against new village incorporations (August 28, 1967)
- (10) Official map (August 28, 1967)
- (11) Housing code (February 1968)
- (12) Soil and excavation law (May 1968)
- (13) Subdivision regulations (July 1968)
- (14) Six-year capital improvement program (November 1968)
- (15) Development timing ordinance (October 13, 1969)

While all of these elements were important links in the system of managed growth in Ramapo, the most important and controversial elements were the elimination of multi-family residential units in the zoning ordinance, the master plan, the interim development controls (building freeze), the capital improvement program, and the development timing ordinance. These elements of the program are summarized below.

(1) *Elimination of Multi-Family Housing.* In keeping campaign promises made by both Republicans and Democrats, McAlevey and the town board unanimously voted to eliminate multi-family housing from the zoning ordinance on February 14, 1966. Over objections that the ordinance was discriminatory to minorities and would undermine the town's tax base, the town board's decision rested on the desire to preserve Ramapo's open space and rural character, and put an end to rapidly rising school taxes.

In a newspaper account of the public debate over the issue, local attorney Robert Grank was quoted as saying "at the risk of being considered personally obnoxious, am I to assume that, because we have five villages, the township is to be kept 'lily white'?"³⁴ According to the newspaper, some villages³⁵ were thought of as having much larger African-American populations than Ramapo. Town board member Bernard Charles responded: "What I'm concerned about is good planning. And when I sit on the board, I'm concerned about the overall good of the people. I am aware that a number of apartments are being built in the villages, but I do not go along with any relationship between apartments and keeping the township 'lily white'"³⁶

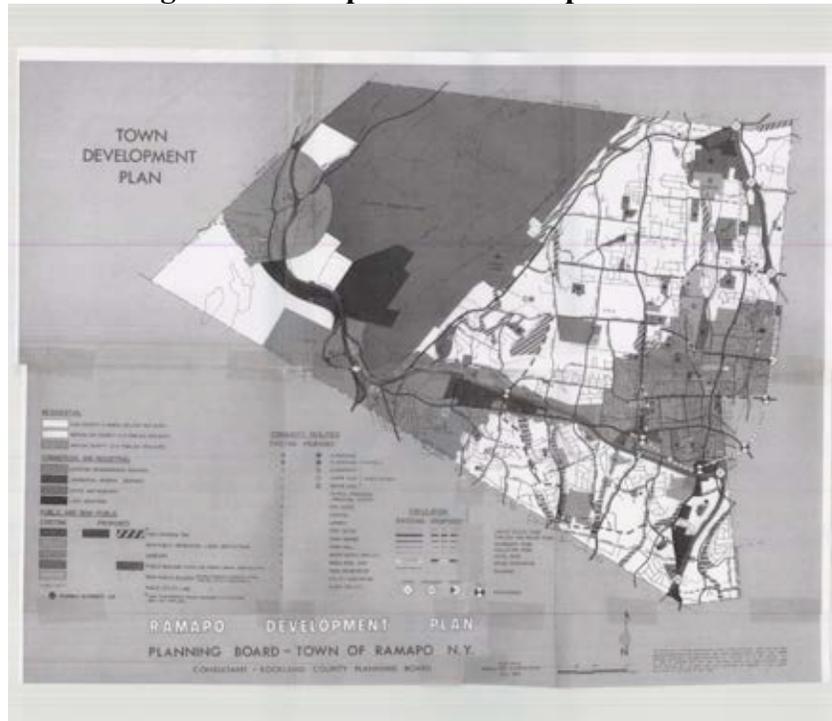
The elimination of multifamily zoning in Ramapo was done prior to the completion and adoption of the town master plan. The impression that is left by this action is that town board appears to have been motivated by a desire to make good on campaign promises rather than on an examination of the costs and benefits of the elimination of multi-family housing from the zoning ordinance.

(2) *The Master Plan.* The origin of the system of development controls that comprise the managed growth program begins with development of the master plan in 1964, funded with a federal grant. Public hearings were held over two years, and the master plan – a four-volume study that includes a set of background studies, proposed zoning and subdivision regulation, and the plan itself - was adopted by the planning board in July 1966.

A key assumption contained in the master plan study was that every developable parcel in the town would be developed by 1979 unless some form of growth management was enacted.³⁷

Figure 3 shows the composite Town Development Plan map from the master plan.

Figure 3: Ramapo Town Development Plan



Source: Ramapo Planning Board, *Development Plan: Ramapo, New York* (Ramapo, NY: Ramapo Planning Board and Rockland County Planning Board, July 1966): 81.

Five policies contained in the master plan provided the basis for the growth management program.³⁸ Those policies surrounded the issues of: preserving open space and natural resources; assuring that population increases in the town were kept at a moderate level; the character of commercial development; the provision of adequate public facilities, and strengthening the tax base of the town.³⁹

Based on the five development policies, the town board established three principles to guide the character and density of residential development in Ramapo:⁴⁰

1. The areas of the greatest residential densities should be those in the villages of the Town and those closest to the villages. In general, densities should become increasingly lower as the distance radiating from the villages increases.
2. Residential densities should be consistent with the character and density of surrounding developed areas, topography, the adequacy of circulation and other community facilities and the overall objective of providing for a moderate population increase in the unincorporated portion of the Town.
3. To preserve natural features and open space and to provide for more flexible and diversified residential development, broader use should be made of the land use control device of “averaging” or “clustering” as provided for in Section 281 of the Town Law, using the rural, semi-rural,

and suburban densities provided for in the Plan as the basis for such development.

Following these principles, the planning board established three categories of residential density: low density, which included one or less home per acre; medium-low density, which included between one and two homes per acre; and medium density, which included between two and four homes per acre. The highest densities were to be near the villages of Spring Valley and Suffern, lower densities were permitted surrounding the highest densities, and the lowest densities were permitted in areas farthest away from villages.

Multi-family housing was generally excluded from the plan (except for in certain large vacant areas by means of density averaging). The plan declared: “[T]he planning board feels that there are few, if any, areas in the town where large-scale apartment developments could be located without radical change in the character of the area. Furthermore, the provision of opportunities for extensive multi-family development would be inconsistent with one of the prime objectives of the Plan, to keep future population growth at a moderate level so as to preserve the general character of the Town and to avoid overburdening public facilities.”⁴¹ It should be noted that an assumption was that higher density housing, including multifamily housing, would be located within the villages; thus, the plan assumed—without any clear agreement by the villages—that this would occur.⁴²

Given the allowable density and areas for residential development, the plan would provide for the ultimate development of some 20,000 homes in the unincorporated areas of Ramapo.

The master plan included recommended changes to local regulations, including the zoning ordinance, subdivision regulations, the official map, housing and building codes, and the capital improvement program. All of those recommendations supported the low-density development called for in the master plan. The town board later acted on those recommendations, as discussed below.

(2) *Interim Development Law*. The interim development law, known as Local Law No. 2, was adopted by the town board for the purpose of prohibiting the issuance of building permits and approval of preliminary subdivisions in certain areas, representing about 50 percent of the town, designated on an “interim development map,” to protect the new master plan from defeat before it could be officially adopted. The law was adopted on June 6, 1966 for a period of ninety days, after a stay order by the Rockland County Supreme Court was lifted which prevented the board from taking action on the law.⁴³

As with the other components of the planned growth system, the town board was met with considerable public outcry against the interim development law. At a May 16, 1966, public hearing concerning the proposed law, at least seventeen people spoke in opposition to the ordinance. People opposed to the ordinance

were builders, attorneys, a real estate agent, and other residents. Three people spoke in favor of the proposed ordinance – a rabbi from New Square, the Hasidic community, an attorney, and a resident.

Passage of the interim development law by unanimous vote allowed the town board time to put in place the remaining elements of the planned growth program.

(3) *Capital Improvement Program.* The Ramapo Town Board adopted a six-year capital budget (effective for years 1-6) and a twelve-year capital program (effective for years 7-18) in 1968, which, together, constituted an eighteen year plan for the timing and funding of the infrastructure necessary to support residential and other development in Ramapo.⁴⁴

The six-year capital budget consisted of a total of over \$4.5 million in capital improvements over six years. Of that, approximately one-third (\$1,784,400) was to be spent on road improvements and new road construction (mostly road widening), approximately one-third (\$2,046,100) was to be spent on miscellaneous items such as sidewalks, engineering, a highway garage, an incinerator, and police facilities, and one-third was to be spent on parks and recreation facilities and drainage projects such as drainage culverts along roadways (\$1,313,700 and \$590,950, respectively).⁴⁵

The list of capital improvements prioritized each item into one of three groupings: improvements to be undertaken in 3-6 years (high priority), improvements to be undertaken in 6-10 years (second priority), and improvements to be undertaken in 10-15 years (lowest priority).⁴⁶

Ramapo officials saw the adoption of the capital program as a key part of the growth management system, and a more proactive element than some of the other tools already in place. John McAlevey told the Association of Towns in 1970:

The zoning ordinance, fortified by the official map, constitutes the realistic establishment of a passive town development policy. I call this, even after all the work of the master plan, zoning ordinance adoption or revision, and official map adoption “passive” because it presumes to predict and/or control what the character of the town will be as it develops by circumscribing the options of the private entrepreneur. Essentially, under the conventional system, whether the town develops and at what rate is a result of a multitude of decisions made in the private sector, not only outside the pale of government but unknown to it.

If the town board wishes to be more proactive in the development of its plan than there is a third step available which raises its level of response out of the passive and into the active area – this is the development and adoption of a capital program under Sec. 99-G of the General Municipal Law. This is not an easy or common step.⁴⁷

As McAlevey said in a 1974 interview, the reasoning behind the capital budget and capital program was to provide a comprehensive, long-term approach to development timing:

One of the objectives of the capital program is to crank in amortization costs of different projects which have different life expectancy so that the capital cost isn't the primary criteria. It is what is going to cost you during the five or ten or fifteen years. Then try to balance those things so that you have a level rate of debt service. Hopefully you are only going to absorb with your normal rate of growth so that it won't affect your tax rate.⁴⁸

With the capital budget and capital improvements plan in place, all that was left in creating the planned growth program was the adoption of the development timing point system.

(4) *Development Timing Ordinance.* A key element of the growth management system - and perhaps the most controversial one - was adoption of the development timing ordinance that used a point system to approve residential development. To some, the point system is what constituted the managed growth program;⁴⁹ however, the point system was simply an amendment to the zoning ordinance adopted to implement the master plan, as required by town law.⁵⁰

The town board established the point system⁵¹ in order to assure that infrastructure and public facilities kept in pace with new residential development. To that end, by-right residential development was eliminated in the zoning ordinance and was only allowed with a special permit. Special permits were given based on a point system which awarded between five and zero points for improvements in five areas: sewers, drainage, recreation facilities, roads, and fire stations,⁵² either provided privately by the developer or the town through the capital budget and capital improvement program (see Table 2). Special permits were granted by the town board to residential developments that achieved at least fifteen points.⁵³ Proposed developments that failed to achieve at least fifteen points were denied a special permit. The system only applied to residential use, not to other uses, such as commercial or industrial activities.

Table 2: Ramapo Development Timing System

<u>Capital Improvement</u>	<u>Number of Points</u>
Sewers	
Public sewers available in certain residential districts	5 points
Package sewer plants	3 points
County approved septic system in certain residential districts	3 points
All others	0 points
Drainage	
Percentage of required drainage capacity available:	
100% or more	5 points
90% to 99.9%	4 points
80% to 89.9%	3 points

65% to 79.9%	2 points
50% to 64.9%	1 point
Less than 50%	0 points
Improved Public Park, Recreation Facility, Public School Site	
Within ¼ mile	5 points
Within ½ mile	3 points
Within 1 mile	1 point
Further than 1 mile	0 points
State, County, or Town Major, Secondary, or Collector Roads Improved with Curbs and Sidewalks	
Direct access	5 points
Within ½ mile	3 points
Within 1 mile	1 point
Further than 1 mile	0 points
Fire House	
Within 1 mile	3 points
Within 2 miles	1 point
Further than 2 miles	0 points

Source: Town Board of Ramapo, N.Y. Amendments to Town of Ramapo Building Zone Amended Ordinance of 1969, adopted October 13, 1969.

If developers could not accrue the requisite fifteen points, a special permit could be also issued for some future date when the necessary improvements were planned to be completed under the capital budget and capital improvement plan, as amended, or failing to meet sufficient points then for the final year of the capital plan. Points were awarded based on scheduled improvements – not the actual existence of improvements. In other words, if the town failed to provide improvements according to the capital improvement plan, points would still be awarded according to the plan. Developers who constructed and paid for capital improvements themselves were permitted to develop their land prior to the capital improvement plan schedule.⁵⁴ In other words, developers who were not able to accrue the requisite fifteen points had three choices: (1) wait until the development was able to accrue fifteen points, (2) apply for a variance⁵⁵, or (3) provide the capital improvements necessary to acquire fifteen points.

Landowners who chose the first option – to wait until the property was able to accrue fifteen points-- also had the option of taking advantage of the newly-created development easement acquisition program. The Development Easement Acquisition Commission (DEACOM), adopted on June 26, 1967, provided owners of developable property with a remedy to tax pressures that were forcing many of them to sell their land.⁵⁶ Under DEACOM, the town could acquire an easement for a property for not less than five years and the assessed value of the property was proportionally reduced because of the limitation on future use of the land.⁵⁷

The capital improvements program provided that every parcel of land would accrue the necessary fifteen points at some time during the 18-year timeframe for capital improvements. However, at issue in the public discussions surrounding the ordinance was the certainty that Ramapo would be able to provide the necessary infrastructure and capital improvements. Some of these improvements were to be provided by separate boards -- sewers were provided by a special district, fire stations were provided by

separate fire districts, schools were constructed by school districts, and many of the roads were under county or state jurisdiction. Funding for these facilities was also at question and was dependent on voter referendum or federal assistance.⁵⁸ Only parks, sewage collection (not sewage treatment), drainage, and some roads were under jurisdiction of the Town of Ramapo.⁵⁹

Nonetheless, the town was cautious about including capital improvements which it did not have control over in the point system. As Manuel Emanuel wrote in 1974, while the master plan and various studies were considerations in establishing the point system, the proposed capital budget and capital plan were the final determinants. The town decided to only include improvements for which it had direct or indirect control, some improvements were left out of the point system, “the inclusion of standards with respect to school facilities was first considered and finally rejected as inappropriate, since separate special district jurisdictions have control over this matter.”⁶⁰

Emanuel noted two exceptions – some roads and recreational facilities - because of their essential place in development. “In the case of roads, state and county roads were also included with town roads, since they are all vital parts of the Town highway network.” Emanuel noted that the planning board was involved in county and state roads through requiring widening and curb and sidewalk improvements for these roads through the subdivision and site plan review process.⁶¹ “In the case of recreational facilities, improved facilities on public school sites, not owned by the Town, were given equal consideration in view of the fact that they are considered an integral part of the Town’s recreation system.”⁶²

This presented Ramapo with the problem of having a point system based in part on a capital budget and capital improvement program that relied on outside control and financing. With time, several areas of capital improvements demonstrated some of the problems with this approach. An example of one such problem that emerged was sewer system construction, which was not part of the capital budget but was part of the point system. Funding for sewer construction was severely cut back in Ramapo by the state and federal governments by 1969.⁶³ This resulted in a capital improvement program that did not exactly keep pace with assumptions built into the point system.

Even those parts of the capital budget and capital program that were under the jurisdiction of the Ramapo Town Board could not be followed exactly as written. One such problem came after the town experienced severe damage from hurricanes Doria and Agnes in 1971 and 1972, respectively. The town appropriated \$1.5 million to hurricane recovery, thus differing capital budget work for 1972 and 1973.⁶⁴

A 1974 analysis of the point system by Emanuel indicates that the main capital improvements lacking in most developments that were granted special permits were related to drainage. Emanuel noted that every special permit case received all five points for sewers, every case had a recreational facility within one mile, most cases had at least three points under the road category, and most had a firehouse within two miles. However, few had more than three points for drainage.

On the other hand, development variances were denied for a number of issues, including inadequate drainage, lack of road access, and lack of fire station access. However, variances that were denied generally had more points for sewers and recreation facilities.⁶⁵

The development point system – and the planned growth program in general - found many supporters in the Ramapo public school system, which was divided into two school systems: Ramapo School District No. 1 and Ramapo School District No. 2. In 1950, Ramapo School District No. 2 had 2,000 students. The growth of the town in the years prior to enactment of the planned growth system brought the district's student population to 14,600 by 1968.⁶⁶

While the two Ramapo school boards did not take official positions on the development timing ordinance, the president of the Ramapo No. 1 School Board, William Ward, spoke favorably at an October 1968 public hearing, one of three held on the ordinance that year. Ward indicated that growth in the student population in the district would almost certainly lead to increases in taxes, "A pupil population that grows between 15 and 17 percent per year in the past five years almost makes it axiomatic that increases in 15 percent or more in the gross budget will be in line for some period of time."⁶⁷

The Ramapo No. 2 School Board president, Joe Caliteri, said "as a board we have not taken, and will not take a position... Our position is that this is a municipal and town responsibility. However, we do feel, and we share with you an agreement that some form of growth control must be exercised."⁶⁸ Other supporters of the development timing ordinance included representatives of the North Main Street School PTA Executive Board, The PTA Coordinating Council of Ramapo 2 School District, and individual citizens.

Opposition to development timing ordinance came from some landowners and, predictably, builders and developers. In an October 1968, public hearing, Rockland County Builders Association executive director Neal Johnson argued that the point system would cause great financial hardship to small local landowners, and do little to control growth from large speculative developers, "land in Ramapo was being bought up by big speculators who had the money to either hold the land...or if the land had nearly sufficient points to build they had the money to put in a sewer plant or sidewalks and curbs where necessary in order to comply with this ordinance whereas the owner of a lot or two would not be in a position to hold on to this land in many instances..."⁶⁹ Other people who spoke out against the planned growth program included Rockland County Builders Association President Nathan Woolf and owners of one or several parcels of land who were concerned about being allowed to develop in future years.

V. The Litigation

A. Golden Estates Denied "Without Prejudice"

The litigation surrounding the Ramapo ordinance began shortly after the ordinance was enacted. It came from two directions: the Rockland County Builders Association filing with two property owners; and Ruth Golden and the Ramapo Improvement Corporation, which wanted to develop a tract of 53 acres into 41 lots, on the north side of Viola Road in the northern part of the town. The development, which was called “Golden Estates” on the northern side of Ramapo, had received “sketch plat” approval at the Ramapo planning board’s August 19, 1969, meeting, and the board directed that an advertisement for preliminary approval be placed in the local newspaper.⁷⁰

This article concentrates on the litigation by Golden and the Ramapo Improvement Corporation. The challenge by the Rockland County Builders Association and the property owners intersects with the Golden challenge at the intermediate appellate level and is discussed below.

Immediately after the development timing ordinance passed, on October 13, 1969, Ramapo took steps to implement it. At an October 27, 1969 meeting of the Town Council, Deputy Supervisor Ned Siner told the Council that John Keough, the administrative assistant for boards and commissions, had prepared forms and procedures for the administration of the new ordinance, and the Council immediately ratified them.⁷¹

At the planning board’s December 9, 1969, meeting, Carl Wanderman, the deputy town attorney, appeared before the opening of the first public hearing, and reviewed the requirements of the new ordinance. Wanderman told the board that the special permit for residential development prohibited subdivision approval of any kind except where the developer or developer’s agent secured the permit, or a variance under the ordinance. “This would apply to any Planning Board approval whether the same be [a] sketch plat, Preliminary, or Final or any combination thereof,” the minutes record Wanderman as saying.⁷²

With that, the planning board denied “without prejudice” the approval of 20 subdivisions at either the sketch plat (pre-preliminary) or preliminary stages,⁷³ One of these was the Golden tract, up for preliminary approval. Immediately after the denial of preliminary approval of Golden Estates, a planning board member, William S. Gould, requested that the minutes reflect that “he does not disagree with the opinion of counsel but, rather feels that Section 46-13.1 [the development timing regulations] of the Ramapo zoning ordinance is a BAD law.” [emphasis in original].⁷⁴

B. Golden’s Complaint and Ramapo’s Answer

Attorney David Coral filed a seven-page petition with the New York Supreme Court, the trial court, on behalf of Ruth Golden and the Ramapo Improvement Corporation on February 3, 1970.⁷⁵ The petition asked the court to review and annul the decision of the planning board in refusing to approve the Golden preliminary plan on the grounds that the board acted on a local law that was unconstitutional and void.⁷⁶ Coral contended the amendments to the zoning code violated both the U.S. and New York constitutions and were not supported by New York statutory law. He made essentially two arguments: (1) the amendments delayed for as much as eighteen years, or more, the effective use of

property for any reasonable use under the zoning ordinance, without compensation to the owner of the property for the restrictions and limitations; and (2) the attempt to tie in residential development with a capital improvement program (CIP) for the 7th to 18th year went far beyond the authority of a town to adopt a capital improvement program under New York's General Municipal Law. Because there was no assurance that there would be a budgetary allotment for CIP beyond any give year, municipal facilities under the program may never be erected, and "[I]f this be so, then there may be a complete cessation of residential development."⁷⁷

Coral pointed out that the ordinance only affected owners of residential, and not commercial, industrial, or other property. He also argued that the traditional purpose of zoning had been frustrated by the ordinance, which was for the purpose of determining "land use" and not "'phasing' of buildings or determining when buildings may be constructed."⁷⁸ Finally, he maintained that Ramapo's development easement provisions, which permitted the town to grant an easement limited by time in order that the property owner could obtain a reduction in property taxes during the period that the development restrictions were in effect, were illegal under New York law.

The Town of Ramapo's answer and return, filed on March 2, 1970, by Town Attorney Thomas J. Newman, and Robert Freilich, who was of counsel to the town, contained a 34 point response, denying most of the assertions in the Golden petition.⁷⁹ The special permit provisions, the response contended, constituted "temporary restrictions on the reasonable and proper exercise of the planning, zoning, police power, and home rule powers of" Ramapo. The petitioners had, according to the answer, never applied for a special use permit or variance, and, because of that, had failed to exhaust their administrative remedies. Ramapo's answer contained affidavits from John Keough, the town's administrative assistant for boards and commissions, Manuel S. Emanuel, the town's planning consultant, Hyung C. Chung, a planning consultant who had conducted a cost-revenue study for the town in 1968, and John McAlevey.

Emanuel's four-page affidavit laid out the rationale for the phased growth system, concentrating on the capital improvement program itself and stressing that it was a temporary, but proactive scheme at achieving planning objectives. "All professional planners and virtually all planning literature," he stated, "subscribes [sic] to the view that programmed growth is one of the prime goals to be achieved through sound comprehensive community planning." The capital budget contemplated a rate of expenditure "considerably in excess of the programmed expenditures of other comparable townships in the New York metropolitan area."⁸⁰ Emanuel declared that Ramapo would reach "zoning saturation" by 1985, and at that time "sufficient capital works will have been constructed so that no further limitations on the development of the remaining acres need be entertained any longer."⁸¹

Chung's affidavit was cautiously worded. He had concluded that a controlled growth alternative would yield smaller increases in taxes over the 18 year period, but "'the net savings in tax rates is something which must be weighed carefully against the problems which the introduction of a controlled growth situation could cause. . . [T]he advantages

which would be gained must be set against such considerations as the desirability of interfering with the free market processes.”⁸² Any “untoward social consequences” in terms of zoning control in Ramapo that would eliminate “persons of the lower bracket from residence in the community” were, he wrote, the consequence of Ramapo’s 1958 zoning ordinance, which introduced large-lot zoning to the town. The development timing ordinance, he declared, “added insignificantly to the basic inhibition created as a result of the 1958 ordinance.”⁸³

At the time, McAlevey was in his third term as Town Supervisor. His affidavit reflected upon all the steps the town had taken under his administration to formulate the planning program that was being litigated, mentioning briefly his efforts to build public housing.⁸⁴ In the affidavit’s last page, McAlevey pointed out that the town’s building and development industry had long been put on notice that the program was underway, and that the builder trade association “had kept their members informed at all times about the development of the Town’s plans for stricter controls, large town capital outlays, and for planned sequential development.”⁸⁵

C. Trial Court Decision

New York Supreme Court Judge John H. Galloway, Jr., released his decision on October 26, 1970, finding for the Ramapo Planning Board. The opinion began by dismissing a number of defenses and objections advanced by Ramapo, including those dealing with standing to sue and exhaustion of administrative remedies, and quickly got to the heart of the matter. As to whether the development timing ordinance was in excess of the zoning powers delegated to the town board by the New York constitution and the state enabling legislation, Galloway pointed to language in the constitution and New York Town law. In particular, he noted the “purposes in view” language in the zoning enabling legislation indicated that zoning was intended “to avoid undue concentration of population, to facilitate the adequate provision of transportation, water, sewerage, parks and other requirements.”⁸⁶ He observed that the statute “reflects the current trend toward broadening the scope of the police power in the field of zoning.”⁸⁷

The challenged ordinance, Judge Galloway wrote, was “adopted in accordance with a most comprehensive master plan, and in establishing the point value standards related to the available service categories of sewers, roads, fire protection, schools, parks, and drainage, the ordinance does not contravene the Town’s comprehensive plan.”⁸⁸ To Galloway, the “conclusions are inescapable” that the development timing ordinance fell within the scope of the New York town law.⁸⁹ Moreover, he could find no authority that barred the successive renewing of six-year capital improvement programs, so that an 18-year time span was possible.

Galloway disagreed with the plaintiffs’ contention that the ordinance “thrust upon petitioners the burden of a problem of inadequacy of public facilities, but rather it provides for a planned deferment of residential subdivision approval pending the availability of minimally adequate facilities to be supplied either by the Town over a determinable period of time or by the land owner on an accelerated time basis.”⁹⁰ Finally, Galloway held that the ordinance did not confiscate property without due process

and without compensation. The duration of the ordinance's restraint on Golden's land and lands similarly situated was "neither permanent nor unreasonable either on its face or in practical effect."⁹¹ The ordinance also included "reasonably effective methods or remedies for the reduction of any period of deferment of beneficial use up to the potentially maximum 18-year period, and for other relief."⁹²

The decision suggested that Galloway had been impressed by scale of problems faced by the town in terms of public facilities and services resulting from "an enormous growth in population," the planning framework presented by Ramapo, and the linkage of the development timing ordinance to the town's detailed capital budget and capital improvement program.⁹³ Adding to that was the plain language in the enabling legislation in terms of the purposes to which zoning was to serve. Nothing was said in his opinion about the potential for exclusionary mischief; indeed, the plaintiffs had not raised that issue. The issue would surface later.

D. Appeals to State Supreme Court, Appellate Division

In the appeal of Judge Galloway's decision, Attorneys David Coral and Reuben Ortenberg continued to argue the question of whether the development timing ordinance comported with the state's enabling legislation for zoning. The ordinance, Coral wrote, did not attempt to regulate use, but rather prevented use of property. The period of time that use was prevented, their brief said, was "almost a generation," and "neither a temporary or reasonable time during which the Town can demand that an owner pay taxes and have the land lie fallow."⁹⁴

The reply brief filed by Max Mason, the town attorney, and Robert Freilich, reaffirmed Galloway's reasoning. But it added some new angles. The brief declared that the Ramapo program was "in accord" with recommendations of three Presidential commissions on housing and urban growth and studies by the New York State Department of Planning on planning legislation.⁹⁵ The brief then went on to condemn large-lot zoning, noting that while it had been held valid in New York, "[i]n many cases it is utilized to exclude lower-income families, although this alternative purpose is not expressed."⁹⁶ The Ramapo ordinance, the brief said, "to the contrary, insures the construction of about two hundred housing units for low and moderate income families and the Town contains about five thousand apartment units."⁹⁷

This provided a new opening for David Coral because the question of whether the town's zoning ordinance provided adequate opportunities for affordable housing, either public or private, had not been an issue at the trial court level, nor had the issue of the appropriateness of the lot sizes applied to the Golden property. In his reply brief, Coral took Ramapo to task for "misstated matters of fact that do not appear in the record."⁹⁸

Respondents keep referring, in their brief, to low and middle income housing. They would make it appear that such housing was in the original 1966 Comprehensive Zoning Amendment.

A review of [the zoning ordinance] will show that there was no place where a multiple residence could be built in the Town of Ramapo. . . [W]e feel it is incumbent to correct

the record. Low and middle income public housing may now be built in the Town of Ramapo, by special permit, in any residence zone, pursuant to an amendment adopted in 1970, months after the challenged amendment [emphasis in original]. . .

Appellants' property is located in a building zone . . . calling for 50,000 square feet in each lot. This is, in the opinion of the writer of this brief, a "large lot" which is condemned by respondents.⁹⁹

E. Appellate Decision

In a 3-2 decision by the New York Supreme Court's Appellate Division, released on July 23, 1971, Justice Henry Martuscello struck down the Ramapo ordinance, finding it was not authorized by the state zoning enabling legislation for towns, thus reversing the trial court. He conceded that it was "common knowledge that the extraordinary growth in suburban population in recent years has given rise to complex physical, social and fiscal problems and that communities have been hardpressed to solve these problems."¹⁰⁰ He pointed to the *Josephs v. Town Board of Clarkstown* case, described above, as an example that "illustrates a town's use of its delegated powers to control population density through minimum lot requirements."¹⁰¹ But Ramapo, he wrote, "has sought not only to regulate density, but also to time its population growth rate by imposing, through its point system, restrictions on land use."¹⁰²

To Martuscello, there was "a vast difference between regulating population density through such techniques as minimum lot requirements or limitations on multi-residential housing and controlling the time and rate of population growth. In essence, respondent asks us to uphold an ordinance which restricts the free mobility of population until a designated area has available certain necessary municipal facilities. I can find no authority to allow enactment of such an ordinance."¹⁰³

Then, as a response to the various national reports, studies, and journal articles on urban sprawl that Ramapo had cited in its brief, Martuscello observed: "I am aware of the positions of many legal commentators who have suggested that perhaps new types of controls may be needed to prevent urban sprawl and the problems associated with it. However, the consequences of allowing municipalities to place time controls on their expansion, geared to when the municipalities can provide certain necessary facilities and services, are far-reaching in their ramifications." A delegation of power to allow that should, he wrote, "be clearly spelled out in appropriate amendments to the Town Law, the Village Law and the General Municipal Law if such be the intent of the State Legislature."¹⁰⁴

The reversal by Martuscello validated the plaintiffs' strategy: if a development timing system were to be used, there had to be enabling legislation clearly supporting it.

F. Appeal to the New York Court of Appeals

With each level of appeal, the briefs got longer, as the stakes got higher. The Ramapo brief to the New York Court of Appeals, by Attorneys Max Mason and Robert Freilich, who argued the case before the court, was 74 typeset single-spaced pages. Its central theme was this: "The Ramapo ordinance . . . was not a precipitous response to a crisis

brought about by lack of planning and foresight, but rather a well-planned, multi-faceted comprehensive plan to direct the community's growth and development rationally. Appellees are not discriminated against—they are reasonably classified with *all* other developers and reasonably restricted by a comprehensive plan tending toward a legitimate end. [emphasis in original].”¹⁰⁵ The brief reasserted arguments made at the trial and intermediate appellate levels, including the town's efforts (against great opposition of its citizens) to build public housing. Ramapo, it noted, “has made extensive, conscientious efforts to achieve balance, socially economically and functionally.”¹⁰⁶ Again the brief cited numerous studies, including those of federal commissions, that inveighed against sprawl and supported development timing.¹⁰⁷ And again, the Ramapo brief declared that “low density” zoning was used an exclusionary device in suburban communities and “was destructive of comprehensive planning.”¹⁰⁸

The 31-page Golden brief, by David Coral (who argued the case) and Reuben Ortenberg, again noted that the Ramapo brief contained “a conglomerate of alleged facts not in the record, statements of law, the brief writer's philosophy, etc. . . . At page 7 in their [the Ramapo] brief they appear to be critical that ‘no private developer has ever met the need for low-cost housing’.”¹⁰⁹ The brief then hammered away at Ramapo's 1966 elimination of multifamily residences in the zoning ordinance and the application of a 50,000 square foot lot area requirement to the Golden property, a large lot size of the type the Ramapo brief inveighed against. “It needs neither argument nor extensive discussion to indicate that low-cost housing can only be erected in the form of multiple residences If an acre and a quarter and two acre lots are not ‘large lot’ zoning, then there seems to be no definition of that phrase.”¹¹⁰ The brief added: “If each town were to adopt similar restrictive zoning ordinances, whether based on the same or different arbitrary standards, then others would follow suit, each town would erect a wall around its territory and keep out all but a selected few.”¹¹¹

The oral arguments by Coral and Freilich before the seven justices of the Court of Appeals in Albany lasted for nearly two hours on November 17, 1971. At one point, Associate Judge Adrian P. Burke told attorneys that suburban development in New York was “in a mess” because of early court rulings allowing haphazard development. “[T]he American way of development seems to be growth of hamburger stands and pizza parlors,” Burke said. “New York City is a mess and Suffolk County is becoming a mess.”¹¹² Burke's remarks foreshadowed the views of the court majority.

G. New York Court of Appeals Decision

The New York Court of Appeals reversed, upholding the development timing ordinance, in a 5-2 decision written by Judge John Scileppi.¹¹³ The decision joined the Golden case with a second brought by the Rockland County Builders Association.¹¹⁴

The state's highest court had no problem finding the enabling legislation authority for the Ramapo scheme, even though there was no specific authorization for the development timing ordinance. “That, of course, cannot be said to end the matter,” wrote Judge Scileppi. “Our concern is, as it should be, with the effects of the statutory scheme taken as a whole and its role in the propagation of a viable policy of land use and planning.”¹¹⁵

Analyzing the language in the Town Law,¹¹⁶ Scileppi concluded: “[T]his much is clear: phased growth is well within the ambit of existing enabling legislation.”¹¹⁷

To the court, the Ramapo scheme built on how subdivision regulation in New York towns operated, but with a distinction. A planning board always had the authority to deny a subdivision based on lack of infrastructure, but with no recourse at all for the developer. Under the Ramapo scheme, the developer could either install the infrastructure or wait until their property could accumulate the requisite 15 points. That period, however, did not rise to the level of confiscation, in the court’s view, and the procedures in place for easements that would allow a reduction in property taxes satisfied the court as appropriate mitigating measures.

The extensive planning underpinned the development timing ordinance impressed the court. It also expressed confidence in Ramapo’s commitment to carry out the capital projects. “Yet, in passing of the validity of the ordinance on its face, we must assume not only the Town’s good faith, but its assiduous adherence to the program’s scheduled implementation.”¹¹⁸

The court was clearly taken with the Ramapo’s extensive citations to various national and state studies and reports as the policy backdrop for the growth management system; the decision contained several lengthy references to them.¹¹⁹

The prospect that the system would be used to exclude low- and moderate-income persons nonetheless troubled the court. “What we will not countenance,” wrote Judge Scileppi, “. . . under any guise, is community efforts at immunization or exclusion. But, far from being exclusionary, the present amendments merely seek, by the implementation of sequential development and timed growth, to provide a balanced cohesive community dedicated to the efficient utilization of land.”¹²⁰ Although Scileppi did not address the fact that multifamily housing had been eliminated from the zoning ordinance, as David Coral had noted repeatedly, he did note that the town had a variety of housing types, from modest to expensive (although the elimination of multifamily zoning by the town in 1966 was not addressed).¹²¹

A strong dissent by Judge Charles Breitel concentrated on the absence of authorizing language for development timing in the Town Law. “Existing enabling legislation does not grant the power upon which the Ramapo ordinance rests,” Breitel declared, “And for policy reasons, one should not strain the reading of the enabling acts, even if straining would avail, to distort them, beyond any meaning ever attributed to them, except by the ingenious draftsmen of the Ramapo ordinance.”¹²² Breitel’s dissent dealt as well with possibility of exclusionary zoning in developing suburbs, and the likelihood that, absent a regional approach under careful state authorization, there might be “calamitous effects of ill-advised parochial devices.”¹²³ He concluded:

. . . [W]hen the problem arose outside the State the judicial response has been the same, frustrating communities, intent on walling themselves from the mainstream of development, namely, that the effort was invalid under existing enabling acts or unconstitutional [case citations omitted]. The response may not be charged to judicial

conservatism or self-restraint. In short, it has not been illiberal. It has indeed reflected the larger understanding that American society is at a critical crossroads in the accommodation of urbanization and suburban living, with effects that are no longer confined, bad as they are, to ethnic exclusion or 'snob' zoning . . . Ramapo would preserve its nature, delightful as that may be, but the supervening question is whether it alone may decide this or whether it must be decided by the larger community represented by the Legislature. Legally, politically, economically, and sociologically, the base for determination must be larger than that provided by the town fathers.¹²⁴

H. Appeals: Denial of cert by U.S. Supreme Court

The plaintiffs in *Golden v. Planning Board of Town of Ramapo* had one last option: an appeal to the United States Supreme Court of the New York Court of Appeals. Attorneys Irving Anolik, David Coral, and Milton Shapiro filed a 37-page petition with the high court on September 1, 1972. “The transcendent constitutional and legal issues are so grave and portend dire domestic problems of such magnitude,” they wrote, “that only intercession and clarification by this Court can avert a tragedy in land development and mobility of population of monumental proportions. If this decision is left undisturbed, the Ramapo ordinance may well become a model for other communities throughout the country.”¹²⁵ Despite the drama and urgency of the petition’s language, on November 13, 1972, the Supreme Court dismissed the appeal “for want of a substantial federal question.”¹²⁶

VI. Aftermath

A. The Reaction in Ramapo

The first reaction to the New York Court of Appeals decision was that of Robert Freilich. “I think this is the most important zoning decision since 1926,” he told the *Rockland County Journal News*. “I hope it will have national ramifications.”¹²⁷ But a Ramapo town council member, Hy Jatkoff, a critic of the ordinance, was less euphoric. He charged that the plan “will cement the trend of poor blacks in the cities ringed by white suburbs and result in further polarizing society.” Jatkoff believed, according to the *Journal News*, “only the wealthy will be able to buy land and live” in Ramapo and claimed that building permits had only been issued to development only two percent of the town’s open land in 1971.¹²⁸ “Any good thing has the potential of being used for bad purposes,” John McAlevey responded, noting that the town was trying to build safeguards into the ordinance to prevent its abuse. “No other area could just pick up our plan and use it for its own use without adapting it.”¹²⁹

The *Journal News* itself was reserved about the Court of Appeals decision. “The master plan and court ruling appear eminently sensible,” it editorialized. “But who’s to say whether another court in another state might not have rejected an identical situation as a discriminatory subterfuge and invalidated the master plan,” comparing the Ramapo decision with the first trial court ruling in the *Mount Laurel* anti-exclusionary zoning litigation in New Jersey, which had found the township discriminated against low- and moderate-income persons through its zoning ordinance.¹³⁰

After the United States Supreme Court declined to review the Court of Appeals decision for lack of a substantial federal question, the *Journal News* noted that “zoning, since its conception, has been implemented basically as a device for preserving one-family residential areas “ but that Supervisor McAlevey continued to stress the town’s efforts to create a more “balanced community”; Ramapo’s backing of the two public housing projects that had been completed in the town, according to McAlevey, showed that the zoning ordinance was not meant to be exclusionary.¹³¹

B. The Reaction in the Planning and Legal Communities

The response of the professional planning and legal community on the Ramapo case focused mainly on the wisdom of the phased growth scheme, rather than the decision itself. The impact on low and moderate income housing was a central concern of many commentators. The American Society of Planning Officials dedicated two issues of its monthly journal, *Zoning Digest*, to reporting on the case and the reaction to it, “A key factor in the Ramapo situation,” wrote Sy J. Schulman, one of the journal’s reporter-commentators, “was that the town had ‘clean hands’ in that it had a successful policy of providing for affordable housing.” But Schulman observed that the local reaction in the New York area tended to ignore that fact and instead “hailed the case as judicial concurrence in the right of municipalities to restrict development, by in effect, withholding the provisions of needed facilities.” The decision, he said, “is clearly not the last word in New York or elsewhere, and, in this reporter’s opinion, should not be viewed as a new kind of suburban hunting license.”¹³²

Randall W. Scott, director of the Urban Governmental Affairs Department of the National Association of Home Builders, contended that the Ramapo decision offered “unfortunate precedent which could encourage the adoption of unilateral policies—in pursuance of seemingly valid planning ideas—which in combined effect could severely and adversely affect the quantity, quality, cost, location, and equitable opportunities for decent housing in the country.” Scott advocated a system of state and regional planning for housing, not present in the Ramapo case, and local planning that took into consideration “overall housing needs.”¹³³

Richard May, Jr., a Nyack, New York, planning consultant, who had been planning director in Rockland County when the Clarkstown ordinance was developed in the mid 1950s (see above), compared the Clarkstown program from that of Ramapo. Clarkstown had zoned “substantial areas” for smaller lots or apartments or were designated for development at higher densities under the development timing program. By contrast, he observed, Ramapo had “no multifamily districts whatsoever and the vast majority of the unincorporated area in the township is zoned for single family lots ranging in size from 25,000 square to 80,000 square feet. [emphasis in original] . . . Timing the development of \$50,000 to \$60,000 single family homes [in 1972 dollars] is hardly an approach to the solution of regional housing problems.” While the Ramapo ordinance “will help the suburbs meet their development problems,” May predicted, it will “do little to open up housing for middle- and lower-income families in suburban areas.” He praised the Court of Appeals majority for “a remarkable understanding of current planning problems and ideas and an impatience with the legislature for avoiding its responsibilities in revising

the planning acts” but declared that “perhaps the court was carried away by these considerations and overlooked the effect of the entire Ramapo zoning ordinance and master plan on housing opportunities in the New York metropolitan region.”¹³⁴

Echoing the same concern of Richard May about the impact on low- and moderate-income housing, Herbert Franklin, a Washington, D.C., attorney, distinguished two types of urban sprawl: the first “leapfrog development” in which the private market develops land furthest from supportive facilities because it costs less to do so, while leaving large tracts of more expensive undeveloped land closer to served areas, and the second, a continued spread of low-density housing on large lots. The Ramapo system was only intended to deal with the former, he said. It did not counter the low-density form of sprawl, he wrote’ rather “it programs it.” The town’s capital plan made no effort to promote cluster or multifamily housing in areas that might be suitable for more intensive uses, Franklin said. “The capital improvement plan thus contemplated a continuation of expensive and exclusionary ‘sprawl’ which in all probably would have occurred—although somewhat faster—without the plan.”¹³⁵

Robert Freilich, who by 1972 was a professor at the University of Missouri-Kansas City School of Law, contributed a *Zoning Digest* commentary that traced the development of the timing system and the litigation, and the practical problems confronting him as the town attorney in one of the most rapidly growing suburban communities in New York. “All zoning and planning tools are essentially neutral,” he wrote in countering the contention that some communities apply them in an exclusionary manner, “They can be used correctly or incorrectly depending upon the motivation of the regulators. Our efforts must be to eliminate the abuses, while simultaneously developing stronger efforts to preserve the quality of our communities and of the environment.”¹³⁶

“[B]ased on past experience,” wrote Chicago land use attorney Fred Bosselman in a lengthy examination of the decision, “each town can be expected to exercise this [the development timing ordinance] and similar techniques as if were an island independent of other towns.”¹³⁷ If ordinances such as Ramapo’s became commonplace, he said, “they will will encourage the clustering of new development around the fringes of existing settlements and the excluding of new development from large areas where it now typically takes place. The impact of a proliferation of such ordinances would be to create a series of communities made increasingly exclusive by raised housing costs and to exaggerate the trend toward megalopolitan sprawl.”¹³⁸ Like Herbert Franklin, Bosselman advocated state legislation that would provide regional planning review of suburban zoning, a theme that the majority and dissenting opinions in the Ramapo case had also touched upon.

Finally, Professor Norman Williams, Jr., included an extensive dissection of the trial, intermediate appellate, and Court of Appeals decisions in his land use treatise. Williams believed the majority decision in the Court of Appeals had “reached a reasonable conclusion.”¹³⁹ To Williams, the question of whether development timing was lawful was distinct from whether it was exclusionary. In some cases, an exclusionary motive could be found, and that would prompt an inquiry separate from the question of the

validity of development timing provisions. However, like Fred Bosselman, he noted the difficulties that would arise if Ramapo and many other nearby towns adopted their own timing-of-development schemes, “each setting its own pace in accordance with its own preference.” If this happened, “a major and difficult readjustment will be necessary if subsequently a regional growth policy is adopted, presumably to cover allocation and timing.”¹⁴⁰

C. The Plan is Discarded

Ramapo’s Town Board decided in March 1983 to eliminate the point system due to slow growth in the New York metropolitan area and delays in providing capital improvements. By that point, the town administration had changed.¹⁴¹ John McAlevey had won reelection as supervisor in 1969 and 1971 (when the 200 units of newly constructed public housing in Ramapo were an election issue), but family matters prompted him not to seek reelection in 1973.¹⁴²

Just as a change in municipal leadership was a major factor that led to the development of the managed growth program, it was also a factor that led to its demise. Ramapo saw several administrative changes in the 1970s, including the replacement of McAlevey as Town Supervisor in 1973 and a new Republican town board. Accordingly, the town’s policies changed from seeking to curtail residential development to promoting it.¹⁴³

McAlevey’s successor, Morton Baron, stopped building capital and infrastructure improvements under the capital improvements program due to the fiscal crisis that was affecting Ramapo as well as the nation and because of different philosophies about development. Without the commitment to build capital improvements, phased growth in the town fell by the wayside because the town could no longer claim reasonable timing for development phasing. As McAlevey said in a 2003 interview, “The town had no choice but to start giving variances to builders when requested.”¹⁴⁴

In 1967 Ramapo had enacted a town law preventing new village incorporations. Prior to that law’s enactment, a new village could be established with as few as 300 people and a little as three square miles of land. However, the law was overturned by the New York Court of Appeals¹⁴⁵ in 1982, opening the floodgates for new village establishment in the unincorporated areas of Ramapo.¹⁴⁶ Without control over incorporations, the Ramapo administration was unable to prevent the formation of new villages by those seeking to bypass the planned growth system.¹⁴⁷

In a 2003 interview, Emanuel indicated that a lack of regional cooperation was another problem with the growth management system, “Growth control would have been more successful if it had been done regionally...but there wasn’t a universal vision ... The county’s master plan had no teeth, also no comprehensive housing policy. Without zoning powers, the system breaks down.”¹⁴⁸

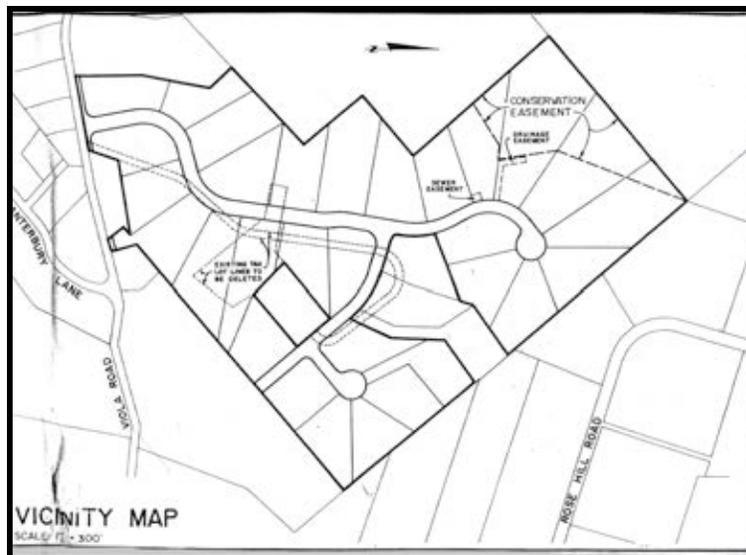
D. The Site Today

The Golden property was eventually developed with low-density single family homes. Today, the Golden Estates subdivision is located in the Village of Montebello,

incorporated in 1986. The Ramapo planning board granted preliminary subdivision approval of Golden Estates on February 3, 1987,¹⁴⁹ and final plat approval on April 21, 1987.¹⁵⁰

Figure 4 shows a schematic of the approved subdivision, 30 lots on 48.46 acres located on the north side of Viola Road, a gross density of 1.61 dwelling units per acre. The development is zoned rural residential (RR-50), with a minimum lot area of 50,000 square feet - the same minimum lot area and zoning as before establishment of the growth management program.¹⁵¹ With its large suburban-style houses, expansive lawns, and wide streets, Golden Estates would hardly fit most peoples' perceptions of sprawl-free controlled growth. Figures 5, 6, and 7 shows photographs of the Golden Estates subdivision as it appeared in July 2006.

Figure 4: Golden Estates Subdivision



Source: Village of Montebello, New York

Figure 5: Golden Estates



Source: Photo by Stuart Meck, July 18, 2006.

Figure 6: Golden Estates



Source: Photo by Stuart Meck, July 18, 2006.

Figure 7: Golden Estates

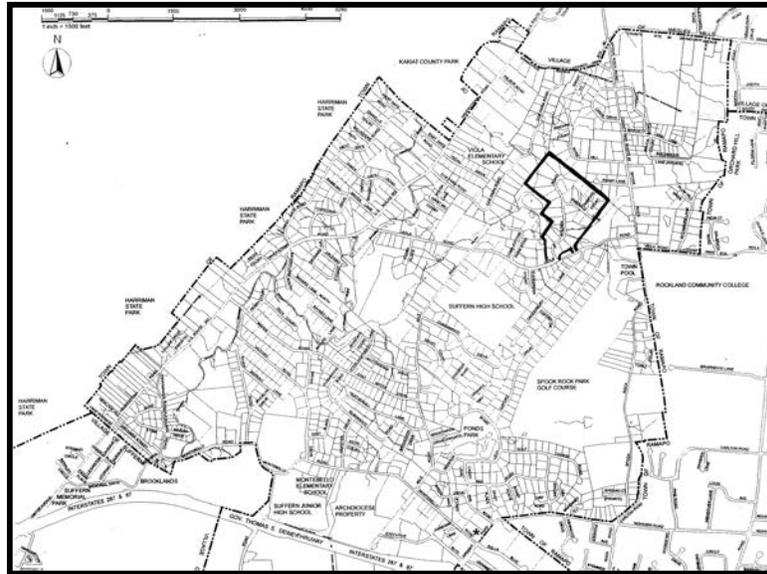


Source: Photo by Stuart Meck, July 18, 2006.

The growth management program did not fundamentally change the spatial pattern at Golden Estates (indeed, the plaintiffs never disputed the zoning designation in place at the time the development timing ordinance was enacted), although it did apparently delay development until 1987, presumably until adequate public facilities were present to support the development.¹⁵² As a 2003 article indicated, sprawl has been the dominant pattern of development in Ramapo. “ ‘My sense is that sprawl has predominated,’ said James Cymore, Rockland County Commissioner of Planning. Perhaps if the points program had prevailed, growth would have been concentrated around that infrastructure, and would have left those other areas green,’ he adds. Then again, the Ramapo development pattern ‘is no different from other towns that didn’t have the points

system.”¹⁵³ Today, the Golden Estates subdivision is surrounded by similar large-lot developments, as Figure 7 indicates.

Figure 7: Village of Montebello (formerly part of the Town of Ramapo)



Source: Village of Montebello, Rockland County, New York

Note: The map only includes the current Village of Montebello, not all of Ramapo, Golden Estates is outlined near the upper right side of the map.

E. Discussion

Impact of the Decision on Other Litigation

The Ramapo system and New York Court of Appeals decision upholding it have unquestionably had an impact on American planning law and on the design of growth management programs in the United States. A search on Westlaw, the online legal database, by the authors in September 2006, found that *Golden v. Planning Board of Town of Ramapo* had been cited 108 times by federal and state courts, and five times by state attorneys general. Robert Freilich went on to design growth management systems for states, regions, and local governments in the U.S.¹⁵⁴

Assessment of Ramapo System and Decision

Several observations can be made about the Ramapo program and decision.

(1) *Ramapo contributed to reviving and clarifying the role of the local comprehensive plan as a supporting element for land use regulation.* In so doing, it added a new temporal element to federal takings law by articulating what was a reasonable use over a reasonable period of time; in Ramapo, “[t]he comprehensive plan provided a legal basis for reasonably delayed development”¹⁵⁵ The rationale for the delay of the development was due to the absence of any, or sufficient infrastructure, thus, Ramapo “made the

connection between comprehensive planning and the requirement for adequate public facilities and services.”¹⁵⁶

(2) *Ramapo carefully built on existing planning practice as authorized in New York enabling statutes.* All of the basic tools were in place in the mid-1960s to formulate a growth management system: the master plan, zoning and subdivision regulations, the capital improvement program and the capital budget, and the special permit. While there were some new wrinkles introduced, such as the purchase of development easements in order to allow a reduction in property taxes from properties, the strategy was essentially a conservative one, a slight stretch of existing statutory authority.

(3) *Ramapo introduced the concept of an adequate public facilities (APF) requirement—that a development shouldn’t be approved until the facilities are either in place at the time the development is approved or guaranteed to be in place when the development is completed—into American planning law and practice.* The APF requirement seems a routine notion today, but it was not in 1969 when the development timing ordinance was adopted. It is noteworthy that the APF approach in Ramapo did not involve a quota, a fixed limit on the number of building permits that could be issued in a given year, in contrast to the system upheld in Petaluma, California.¹⁵⁷ In the Ramapo system, if you had the points, you got the right to build.

The adequate public facilities concept found its way into growth management legislation in Florida, Washington, Maryland, and New Hampshire,¹⁵⁸ and used in ordinances independent of enabling legislation by local governments in other states.¹⁵⁹ As one commentator observed with respect to Florida, which was the first to adopt a system based on the Ramapo approach, “[e]very Florida city and county has adopted a local comprehensive plan that incorporates the fundamental principles of the Ramapo Plan.”¹⁶⁰

(4) *Ramapo aggressively argued its case through the various appellate levels using Robert Freilich’s “Brandeis brief” approach.* The Ramapo case, as noted, dealt with two issues that were not entirely clear and certainly debatable: (1) whether the language of the New York Town Law language, especially concerning the purposes to which zoning could be put and the duration of a capital improvement program; and (2) whether a development delay of up to 18 years constituted a taking. These two issues, and others, were extremely well-briefed and well argued by both sides. Freilich’s briefing strategy placed the Ramapo system in the context of national and state studies calling for expanded powers of municipalities to deal with issues of growth and included extensive citations to studies and journal articles; it allowed the New York Court of Appeals majority to feel comfortable with an expansive view of the police power and a flexible interpretation of the enabling legislation, as if they were semi-legislating by supporting this new policy direction. That it was effective clearly shows in the majority and minority opinions, which cited many of the same studies and articles listed by Freilich.

(5) *Despite the above, the Ramapo system still had significant problems as an instrument of modern planning policy.* The land use policies that the master plan advocated and the zoning ordinance implemented entailed very low-density development, the kind of

development that today is regarded as urban sprawl and is often viewed as exclusionary in places with few other development options. In reading the 1966 master plan, one finds no examination of alternative land use patterns and their impacts, no assessment of alternative population and economic projections, no evaluation of land use plans of adjoining towns, and no discussion of plans and zoning ordinances of the villages within the town. In implementing the plan through zoning ordinance amendments that same year, Ramapo lowered the overall maximum residential densities of the unincorporated area.¹⁶¹

That Ramapo abolished multifamily zoning in 1966 prior to adoption of the master plan is therefore revealing and it dilutes the town's later advocacy for public housing because it eliminates the prospect of true housing (and presumably racial and economic) diversity in the town, albeit diversity that does not rely on federal subsidies. Indeed, the master plan does not discuss the need for low- and moderate-income housing, or different housing types. Moreover, the approach taken in the plan was to push responsibility for multi-family and higher-density single-family housing onto the villages, without any apparent agreement that this was to happen.

A profile of John McAlevey in the *New York Times* in 1971, while the development timing system was being litigated, confirms this. The article noted that most of the unincorporated area of Ramapo was zoned residential, mainly in lot sizes of 25,000, 35,000, and 40,000 square feet, with 50,000 square foot lots boarding the Palisades ridge to the west, and some 15,000 square foot lots near the villages. According to the article:

McAlevey was asked whether these relatively large lot sizes were tending to keep out people of moderate means looking for the suburban homes, and whether the purposes of such lot sizes was to keep out minority groups.

“If I believed that were true my conscience would bother me,” he said. “But builders will build to the highest market and sell to the market regardless of lot size. When you have a seller's market they can sell on any lot of any size houses that are still out of range of the common man.

“I don't believe that all you have to do is go from the large lot to the small lot and the housing problem will be solved.”

Nor does Mr. McAlevey believe that creating zones for apartment housing or cluster housing would be wise. The proper place for apartments—usually garden apartment in the suburbs—is in the already more intensely developed villages, he said. . .

It is through public housing in some form that Mr. McAlevey believes that the suburbs must meet their social responsibility not to exclude lower income people.¹⁶²

The focus of the Ramapo plan on low-density development then undercuts the rationale of the development timing system (particularly as it was presented to the courts), and whether it was in fact really stopping sprawl, or, as one critic, Herbert Franklin, said, instead actually “programming” it. If public sewers were desired, and package plants and septic tanks are relatively disfavored, as the point system shows by giving them fewer points, then what is the purpose of providing sewers to extremely large lots? And couldn’t the needs of low- and moderate-income persons be satisfied by relaxing residential use restrictions so as to authorize multifamily dwellings that were not public housing that requires a subsidy.

While the Ramapo system was a significant step forward for American city planning, these issues, which modern growth management plans in the United States have still not successfully confronted and resolved, remain troubling in 2006, 34 years after Ramapo’s victory.

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² *Golden v. Planning Board of Town of Ramapo*, 30 N.Y.2d 359, 285 N.E.2d 291, 334 N.Y.S.2d 138 (1972), appeal dismissed for want of a substantial federal question, 409 U.S. 1003 (1972) (hereinafter referred to as “Ramapo decision.”).

³ Julienne Marshall, “Whatever Happened to Ramapo?” *Planning Magazine* December 2003, website [accessed September 14, 2006] <http://www.planning.org/25anniversary/planning/2003dec.htm>.

⁴ Eric Damian Kelly, *Managing Community Growth*, (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1993): 32.

⁵ Julienne Marshall, *supra* note 3.

⁶ “Hasidic Jews Win on Forming Rockland Village; Court Bids Ramapo Yield Incorporation Papers; Sect Would Keep Its Ways in ‘New Square’ Hamlet,” *New York Times*, July 14, 1961; see also, *Application of Unger*, 28 Misc.2d 513, 220 N.Y.S.2d 93 (1961) (Proceeding to require a town clerk and a town supervisor to perform ministerial acts relating to the incorporation of a village, required by the N.Y. Village Law).

⁷ Henry Fagin, “Regulating the Timing of Urban Development,” *Law and Contemporary Problems* 20(2) (1955): 298-304, 298-299.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 302-303.

⁹ Phillip P. Green, Jr., “Clinic: Development Timing,” in *Planning 1955* (Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, April 1956): 81-87, 81.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 83.

¹¹ Frederick P. Clark, “Clinic: Development Timing,” in *Planning 1955* (Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, April 1956): 87-90.

¹² Richard May, Jr., “Clinic: Development Timing,” in *Planning 1955* (Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, April 1956): 90-94, 93.

¹³ May commented that his approach was a “preferable alternative to the exclusionist device of ‘upzoning’ popular in many suburban communities,” meaning the practice of dramatically increasing required minimum lot area. *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Josephs v. Town Board of Clarkstown*, 24 N.Y. Misc2d 36, 198 N.Y.S. 965 (Sup. Ct. 1960). This case is discussed in Norman Williams, Jr. and John M. Taylor, *American Land Planning Law*, Vol. 3A (Deerfield, IL: Clark Boardman Callaghan, 1988), Sec. 73.13. The late Professor Williams, a giant in American planning law, was a consultant to Rockland County in the formulation of the ordinance. He commented that “[i]n view of the court’s reference to schools it appears probable that the major reason for the success of the scheme was that the Clarkstown central school district was in fact proceeding to building

schools in a regular schedule. The opinion noted that ‘everything reasonably possible is being done by the local authorities to meet the urgency in the school situation’; and it seems likely that this served as a major legal bulwark of the validity of the whole scheme.’ Williams, at 109-110 (quoting *Josephs v. Town Board of Clarkstown*, 24 N.Y. Misc2d 36, 198 N.Y.S. at 699 (Sup. Ct. 1960)).

¹⁵ A number of early New York decisions invalidated schemes to manage growth, but these cases, which involved ad hoc devices, did not rise to the level of comprehensive systems. See *Albrecht Realty Co. v. Town of New Castle*, 8 Misc.2d 255, 167 N.Y.S.2d 843 (N.Y. Sup. Ct. 1957) (holding that town zoning ordinance providing that no more than 112 residential building permits a year shall be issued for any land that the town board shall declare to be within a special residence district was a taking without just compensation and because of lack of authority under the New York Town Law); *Westwood Forest Estates Inc. v. Village of South Nyack*, 23 N.Y.2d 424, 297 N.Y.S.2d 129, 244 N.E.2d 700 (N.Y. 1969) (holding that village zoning ordinance amendment barring new construction of multiple dwellings throughout the village for purpose of alleviating the burden on village's sewer disposal plant and not because of any requirement of or change in comprehensive plan for development of the village was invalid as restricting plaintiff's property to a use for which it was not adaptable and because the amendment did not properly relate to zoning purposes) (this opinion was written by Justice Breitel, of the New York Court of Appeals, who would write a strong dissent in the *Ramapo* decision); *Opgal, Inc. v. Burns*, 20 Misc.2d 803, 189 N.Y.S.2d 606, affd. 10 A.D.2d 977, 201 N.Y.S.2d 831 ((N.Y.A.D. 2 Dept. 1960), affd. 9 N.Y.2d 659, 212 N.Y.S.2d 74, 173 N.E.2d 50 (N.Y. 1961) (holding that an ordinance changing a zoning classification from residential to light industry and barring use of property for residential and for heavy industry purposes was so unreasonable and arbitrary as to constitute an invasion of property rights contrary to the constitutional due process clause; here the purpose was to prevent an increase of school population and at the same time increase the tax income to the school district).

¹⁶ See also Richard Cutler, *Legal and Illegal Methods for Controlling Community Growth on the Urban Fringe*, *Wisc. L. Rev* 1961 (1961): 370-402, Henry J. Schmandt, “Municipal Control of Urban Expansion,” *Fordham L. Rev.* 29 (1960-1961): 637-646.

¹⁷ Gary K. Duberstein, *The Politics of Controlled Growth in Suburbia: A Case Study of Ramapo, N.Y.* Senior Thesis. (Department of Politics and the Woodrow Wilson Schools of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, 1976): 103

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 103.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 94.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 95.

²¹ While Ramapo was not the first effort to control growth by an American city, it is arguably the most well-known and studied. Eric Damian Kelly attributes its influence and popularity to several factors:

First, the program was viewed as an innovation in planning in the 1960s; second, the Court of Appeals decision upholding the program was the first to uphold a development timing scheme; third, it had a professional – Robert Freilich – who told the story widely; and fourth, while the Clarkstown growth management program was a predecessor to Ramapo and clearly a major influence on it, that program never achieved the notoriety necessary to influence planning practice.

Eric Damian Kelly, *Managing Community Growth*, (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1993): 30.

²² Susan Adams, *Growth Control with Development Timing in Ramapo, New York*, Master’s Thesis (Graduate School of Planning, University of Tennessee, 1975): 10.

²³ Robert Freilich, “Editors Comments” *Urban Lawyer* 4 (1972): xi.

²⁴ Robert Freilich, “Growth Management Techniques: An Overview of Systems for the New Millennium” *The Rocky Mountain Land Use Institute Technical Service Report* No. 13. 1997: 2.

²⁵ Robert Freilich, “Editors Comments” *Urban Lawyer* 4 (1972): xi; see also

Sylvia Lewis, “Some Little Cities Don’t Want to be Big Ones,” *New York Times*, December 22, 1974, 145.

²⁶ Gary K. Duberstein, *The Politics of Controlled Growth in Suburbia: A Case Study of Ramapo, N.Y.* Senior Thesis, (Department of Politics and the Woodrow Wilson Schools of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, 1976).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 104.

²⁸ According to Gary Duberstein, a Princetown University student who chronicled the Ramapo growth management program: “He [McAlevy] then forged a new relationship between town hall and the builders.

As he recalls ‘The most distressingly obvious thing was that it seemed the builders were running the town. ...Certain builders walked into town hall and they brought buns and rolls and everybody sat down. ...and made a big celebration.’ McAlevey’s anti-builder attitude stemmed from the laudable premise that those in the construction trade, regulated through zoning and building codes established and administered by town hall personnel, should not enjoy too cozy a relationship with them. As an astute gauger of public opinion aided by Reisman’s skills in that area, McAlevey realized that it was politically safe to be belligerent towards builders. When some builders withdrew financial support from his campaign because of controlled growth, he said. ‘That’s all right; there are more homeowners than builders.’” Ibid., 109-110.

²⁹ Town of Ramapo, New York, Town Board Minutes, “Comments by John F. McAlevey, Supervisor, Town of Ramapo on Controlled Growth Legislation,” October 13, 1969.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Susan Adams, *Growth Control with Development Timing in Ramapo, New York*. Master’s Thesis (Graduate School of Planning, University of Tennessee, 1975): 81.

³⁴ Vincent Desalvo, “Ramapo Bans Building of Apartments,” *Rockland County Journal News*, February 15, 1965.

³⁵ Particularly the Village of Spring Valley.

³⁶ Vincent Desalvo, “Ramapo Bans Building of Apartments,” *Rockland County Journal News*, February 15, 1965.

³⁷ Manuel Emanuel, “Ramapo’s Managed Growth Program: A Close Look at Ramapo After Five Years Experience,” *Planners Notebook* 4, No. 5 (1974): 2

³⁸ Ramapo Planning Board, *Development Plan, Town of Ramapo, N.Y.* (Ramapo, NY: Ramapo Planning Board and Rockland County Planning Board, July 1966): 20. See also Manuel Emanuel, “Ramapo’s Managed Growth Program: A Close Look at Ramapo After Five Years Experience,” *Planners Notebook* 4, No. 5 (1974).

³⁹ The policies contained in the master plan were: (1) every effort should be made to preserve those natural resources of the Town which give it a pleasant, open setting and which serve as an attractive background to the more developed areas of the Town. (2) The population increase provided for in the Town’s Development Plan should be kept to a moderate level so that the existing rural, semirural, and suburban character in different parts of the Town can be maintained so that the existing and projected public facilities will not be overburdened. (3) Commercial development should conform with the existing pattern of development, providing for essentially local population needs. (4) Provision should be made for adequate public facilities (e.g. transportation, circulation, education, recreation, etc.) consistent with the anticipated needs of a growing population. (5) Continued efforts should be made to strengthen the tax base of the Town and local employment opportunities by encouraging properly planned and located light industrial establishments, research buildings and businesses and administrative offices. Ramapo Planning Board, *Development Plan, Town of Ramapo, N.Y.* (Ramapo, NY: Ramapo Planning Board and Rockland County Planning Board, July 1966): 20.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 21.

⁴¹ Ibid., 24.

⁴² The plan stated: “The areas of the greatest residential densities should be those in the Villages of the town and those closest to the villages.” Ibid., 21.

⁴³ The interim development law was later extended past the initial ninety-day period.

⁴⁴ The capital program and capital budget were derived from the official map of the Town of Ramapo, which was originally derived from the master plan. The town also completed several studies to support these documents: a drainage study, which provided an analysis of all drainage ways based on the capacity needed if the town was developed at its maximum density; a map and plan for future sewer development; and a recreation study which analyzed the need for public and private recreation sides. Manuel Emanuel, “Ramapo’s Managed Growth Program: A Close Look at Ramapo After Five Years Experience,” *Planners Notebook* 4, No. 5 (1974): 3

⁴⁵ Town of Ramapo, New York, Town Board Minutes, “Summary of Proposed Capital Program, Town of Ramapo,” October 27, 1969.

⁴⁶ Ramapo Planning Board, *Development Plan, Town of Ramapo, N.Y.* (Ramapo, NY: Ramapo Planning Board and Rockland County Planning Board, July 1966), 20. See also Manuel Emanuel, "Ramapo's Managed Growth Program: A Close Look at Ramapo After Five Years Experience," *Planners Notebook* 4, No. 5 (1974).

⁴⁷ John McAlevey, "The Town Board Role in Town Development Policy," a Speech to the Association of Towns, *Town and Country Topics* Vol. 29, No. 9 (1970): 3-4, quoted in Susan Adams, *Growth Control with Development Timing in Ramapo, New York*. Master's Thesis (Graduate School of Planning, University of Tennessee, 1975): 41-42.

⁴⁸ John McAlevey, Interview with Susan Adams, May 16, 1974, quoted in Susan Adams, *Growth Control with Development Timing in Ramapo, New York*. Master's Thesis, (Graduate School of Planning, University of Tennessee, 1975): 43.

⁴⁹ "This is where the now famous Ramapo managed growth program began to the outside world. Actually, the plan was not altered. The managed growth program was additional amendments to the zoning ordinance, in conformance with the plan as required by Town Law." Manuel Emanuel, "Ramapo's Managed Growth Program: A Close Look at Ramapo After Five Years Experience" *Planners Notebook* 4, No. 5 (1974): 3.

⁵⁰ Manuel Emanuel, "Ramapo's Managed Growth Program: A Close Look at Ramapo After Five Years Experience," *Planners Notebook* 4, No. 5 (1974): 3.

⁵¹ Gary Duberstein provides this account of the formulation of the development timing ordinance by John McAlevey and Robert Freilich: "Some 400 feet above Hillburn and commanding a panoramic view of the Ramapo Valley sits the Motel on the Mountain. At the base of tis [sic] craggy slope, cars hurl by on the New York State Thruway, the highway which precipitated Ramapo's growth. To the mild amusement of controlled growth's detractors, that modern day Mount Sinai was where John McAlevey and Robert Freilich went for their final inspiration. As McAlevey recalls: 'We decided that we were just so busy with day-to-day stuff. There was a problem in getting time to just sit down when we got to the crucial point of trying to make some policy decisions. We put out a cover story that we were going out of town. Nobody but our wives and my secretary knew that we weren't going out of town What we did is we went up to the motel on the Mountain and tool a suite up there, the two of us for three days. We just holed up there and spent two days rapping the whole thing day and night, back and forth. Then on the morning of the third day, we thought we had out concepts pretty well lined up. This is when we came up with the points system as the alternative we would settle upon because it satisfied the criteria we were looking for'" Gary K. Duberstein, *The Politics of Controlled Growth in Suburbia: A Case Study of Ramapo, N.Y.* Senior Thesis, (Department of Politics and the Woodrow Wilson Schools of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, 1976): 131-132 (quoting the author's undated interview with McAlevey).

⁵² According to McAlevey, "the elements of the point system...were principally derived from the scope of the master plan, official map, and special facility studies." Manuel Emanuel, "Ramapo's Managed Growth Program: A Close Look at Ramapo After Five Years Experience," *Planners Notebook* 4, No. 5 (1974): 4.

⁵³ The total point score of fifteen was incorporated into the zoning ordinance "after a series of extensive trial and error analysis were performed. First of all, the existing undeveloped land areas in the unincorporated portion of the Town were mapped and the potential development capacity for each area then computed based upon existing zoning. The series of different overall scoring systems were tested to determine the number of lots or building units which would become eligible for approval each year, based upon the projected capital budget and capital plan. These calculations also gave the Town a measure of the probable annual rate of land consumption measured against its ultimate capacity." Manuel Emanuel, "Ramapo's Managed Growth Program: A Close Look at Ramapo After Five Years Experience," *Planners Notebook* 4, No. 5 (1974): 5. For details about the point system see also Town of Ramapo, New York, "Amendments to the Town of Ramapo Building Zone Ordinance of 1969," October 13, 1969; the ordinance appeared as Section 46-13.1B of the Ramapo Zoning Ordinance.

⁵⁴ Susan Adams, *Growth Control with Development Timing in Ramapo, New York*. Master's Thesis (Graduate School of Planning, University of Tennessee, 1975): 38; see also Manuel Emanuel, "Ramapo's Managed Growth Program: A Close Look at Ramapo After Five Years Experience," *Planners Notebook* 4, No. 5 (1974).

⁵⁵ According to Emanuel, "A variance for one lot is almost always granted. Variances for two lots are usually granted, while those for three lots of more are usually denied." Manuel Emanuel, "Ramapo's

Managed Growth Program: A Close Look at Ramapo After Five Years Experience,” *Planners Notebook* 4, No. 5 (1974): 6.

⁵⁶ Julienne Marshall, “Whatever Happened to Ramapo?” *Planning Magazine* December 2003.

⁵⁷ In a 1974 assessment of DEACOM, Emanuel wrote, “since the first properties entered the DEACOM program in 1969, slightly more than 200 properties have taken advantage of it...Of the properties which originally entered the program in 1969 for a five year period, well over half have renewed their participation on the program for a similar span of time or for a longer period. As of July, 1974, there were over 150 properties, constituting almost 1,700 acres of land, still taking advantage of the DIACOM law. These properties would normally be assessed in the aggregate at approximately \$7.5 million; under DEACOM abatement their combined assessment total about \$3.5 million.” Manuel Emanuel, “Ramapo’s Managed Growth Program: A Close Look at Ramapo After Five Years Experience,” *Planners Notebook* 4, No. 5 (1974): 7.

⁵⁸ Fred P. Bosselman, “Can the Town of Ramapo Pass a Law to Bind the Rights of the Whole World?” *Florida State University Law Review* 1 (1973): 234-265.

⁵⁹ Eric Damian Kelly, *Managing Community Growth* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1993): 31.

⁶⁰ Manuel Emanuel, “Ramapo’s Managed Growth Program: A Close Look at Ramapo After Five Years Experience,” *Planners Notebook* 4, No. 5 (1974): 4.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Ralph Blumenthal, “The Roar of Bulldozers Marks Rockland Growth,” *New York Times* March 25, 1968: 33.

⁶⁷ Town of Ramapo, New York, Town Board Minutes. Transcript of Hearing, October 11, 1968, 110 .

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 113.

⁶⁹ Town of Ramapo, New York, Town Board Minutes. October 13, 1969, 102.

⁷⁰ Town of Ramapo Planning Board, Planning Board Minutes, August 19, 1969, 9.

⁷¹ Town of Ramapo, Town Board Minutes, October 27, 1969, 109.

⁷² Town of Ramapo Planning, Board Planning Board Minutes, December 9, 1969, 1. An attorney, Charles McGroddy, representing one of the subdivision applicants on the board’s agenda that evening, “stated for the record that it was now his understanding that no land may be used under this ordinance as a matter of right; that a subdivision does not give a right of use but merely a right of sale, and if the Ramapo Zoning Ordinance is construed as a prohibition of sale, it is no longer zoning.” *Ibid.*, 2.

⁷³ Denial of approval “without prejudice” meant that the denial left open the possibility for an applicant to resubmit the same subdivision at a future date, after obtaining the special permit for residential development from the Ramapo town board.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 6. The *Rockland County Journal News* incorrectly reported that the planning board denied 19 of 20 plans that evening, but the figure was in fact 20 denied, with action with one deferred until January 1970 because of the applicant’s attorney’s contention that the subdivision in fact met the standards of the new development timing ordinance, and required approval of the special permit by the town board before the approval of the subdivision. *Ibid.*, 7-8. Compare with Scott Webber, “Ramapo Denies 19 of 20 Plans,” *Rockland County Journal News*, December 10, 1969.

⁷⁵ Record on Appeal, Ruth Golden and Ramapo Improvement Corporation, Petitioners-Appellants, against The Planning Board of the Town of Ramapo, Respondent-Respondent [sic], New York Supreme Court, Appellate Division, Second Department, filed March 24, 1971 (hereinafter referred to as “Record”). The record contains all of the principal documents at the trial and intermediate appellate levels.

⁷⁶ The particular action was called an Article 78 proceeding, after Article 78 of the New York’s Civil Practice Law and Rules. Article 78 proceedings are used to challenge action (or inaction) by agencies and officers of state and local government. In such a proceeding, a judge reviews the administrative case, scrutinizes the agency’s actions and decisions, and if necessary will reverse an agency’s decisions.

⁷⁷ Petition to New York Supreme Court [trial court], in Record, 11-12.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁷⁹ Answer and Return, in Record, 28-26.

⁸⁰ Affidavit of Manuel S. Emanuel, Record, 58-61, at 60.

⁸¹ Ibid., 61.

⁸² Affidavit of Hyung C. Chung, Record, 62-64, at 63.

⁸³ Ibid., 64. Conventional large-lot zoning, stated Chung, “invariably results in *de facto* discrimination of low- and moderate- income families to be located in the Town.” However, he speculated that the Ramapo “controlled growth ordinance . . . could be part of a deliberate policy of growth control to foster the development of apartment dwellings suitable [f]or low and moderate-income families without the undue fear of inducing rapid growth.” Ibid., at 65. Of course, the Ramapo zoning ordinance, as noted earlier, had been amended in 1966 to prohibit multifamily dwellings, so this policy was an unlikely initiative. It is possible that Hyung was indicating to the court that he believed that Ramapo’s large-lot zoning regime, which was in place prior to the enactment of the ordinance, was problematic, and that the entire growth management system did not alleviate the problems potentially created by it, and perhaps worsened them.

⁸⁴ McAlevee’s administration pushed the construction of public housing in the town, and overcame court challenges to it in the early 1970s. See Deidre Carmody, “Plan for Low Cost Housing Arouses Anger in Suburban Ramapo,” *New York Times*, Aug. 1, 1970, p. 25. See also the related cases: *Greenwald v. Town of Ramapo*, 35 A.D.2d 958 (1970); *Farrelly v. Town of Ramapo*, 35 A.D.2d 958, 317 N.Y.S.2d 937 (1970); *Fletcher v. Romney*, 323 F.Supp. 189 (S.D.N.Y. 1971).

⁸⁵ Affidavit of John F. McAlevee, Record, 65-75, at 75.

⁸⁶ Decision of Galloway, J. October 26, 1970, Record, 85, quoting New York Town Law, Sec. 263. This section of the Town Law, “Purposes in View,” is identical to Advisory Committee on Zoning, U.S. Department of Commerce, *A Standard State Zoning Enabling Act* (Washington, D.C., 1926 rev’d ed.), Sec. 3.

⁸⁷ Ibid., citing *Berman v. Parker*, 348 U.S. 26 (1954) and *Udell v. Haas*, 21 NY 2d 463, 235 NE2d 897(1968).

⁸⁸ Ibid., 90.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 92.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 95.

⁹¹ Ibid., 98.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid., 99.

⁹⁴ Petitioners-Appellants’ Brief, New York Supreme Court, Appellate Division—Second Department, *Golden v. Planning Board of Town of Ramapo* (n.d., 1970), 34.

⁹⁵ Respondent-Respondent’s Brief, New York Supreme Court, Appellate Division—Second Department, *Golden v. Planning Board of Town of Ramapo* (n.d., 1970), 8 (citing reports of the National Commission on Urban Problems (“Douglas Commission”), Kaiser Commission, and Kerner Commission).

⁹⁶ Ibid., 28. The brief also contains a lengthy discussion of the regulation of mobile homes, even though the litigation had nothing to do with them. However, it observes that “a mobile home park can be built very quickly and filled soon after completion. They thus can impose a sudden and severe burden on municipal services.” Ibid., 46. Of course, the same could be said for any large-scale land use that is erected and filled quickly.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 29.

⁹⁸ Petitioners-Appellants’ Reply Brief, New York Supreme Court, Appellate Division—Second Department, *Golden v. Planning Board of Town of Ramapo* (n.d., 1970), 1.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 3-4, 9. The point Coral was making was that private multifamily housing, which could be a source of affordable housing, could not be built in Ramapo.

¹⁰⁰ *Golden v. Planning Board of Town of Ramapo*, 37 A.D.2d 236, 324 N.Y.S.2d 178, 183

(N.Y.A.D. 2 Dept., 1971). Because both the Planning Board and the Town Board were before the court at this point, the decision treated the proceeding as a declaratory judgment.

¹⁰¹ 324 N.Y.S.2d at 183.

¹⁰² 324 N.Y.S.2d at 184.

¹⁰³ 324 N.Y.S.2d at 185.

¹⁰⁴ 324 N.Y.S.2d at 186. See also the concurring opinion by Justice Hopkins, 324 N.Y.S.2d 187-189 (“The problems are indeed regional, and not local; and their solution lies within the province of the Legislature rather than within the more parochial vision of the Town”).

¹⁰⁵ Respondents-Appellants’ Brief, *Golden v. Planning Board of the Town of Ramapo, et al.*, N.Y. Court of Appeals (n.d., 1971), 70.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 7, citing *Farrelly v. Town of Ramapo*, 35 A.D. 2d 957, 317 N.Y.S. 937 (1970) and noting that the court found that the public housing was in compliance with the Ramapo Master Plan.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 40-45, *passim.*, citing Fagin, *supra* note 3; Persico and Risse, *New York State Planning Law Revision Study*, New York Planning Federation Institute (1969), 45; Williams, *The Structure of Urban Zoning* (1966), National Committee on *Urban Growth Policy*, The New City (Praeger, 1968); National Commission on Urban Problems (aka “The Douglas Commission”), *Building the American City* (1968); National Commission on Urban Problems, *Alternatives to Sprawl*, No. 51 (1968); U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Urban and Rural America: Policies for Future Growth*, Document A-32 (1968).

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁰⁹ Petitioners-Respondents’ Brief, *Golden v. Planning Board of the Town of Ramapo*, et al., N.Y. Court of Appeals (n.d., 1971), 9.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹¹² Gary K. Duberstein, *The Politics of Controlled Growth in Suburbia: A Case Study of Ramapo, N.Y.*, Senior Thesis (Department of Politics and the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, 1976): 205(quoted Carole R. Richards, “Ramapo Zoning Debated in Albany,” *Rockland County Journal News*, November 18, 1971).

¹¹³ *Golden v. Planning Board of Town of Ramapo*, 30 N.Y.2d 359, 285 N.E.2d 291, 334 N.Y.S.2d 138 (1972) (“Ramapo decision”).

¹¹⁴ *Rockland County Builders Ass’n, Inc. v. McAlevey*, 37 A.D.2d 738, 324 N.Y.S.2d 190 (N.Y.A.D. 2 Dept. Jul 23, 1971), reversed by *Golden v. Planning Board of Town of Ramapo*, 30 N.Y.2d 359, 285 N.E.2d 291, 334 N.Y.S.2d 138 (1972). For a discussion of this litigation, see Gary K. Duberstein, *The Politics of Controlled Growth in Suburbia: A Case Study of Ramapo, N.Y.*, Senior Thesis (Department of Politics and the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, 1976): 215-218. The National Association of Home Builders (NAHB) entered the case late, initially believing it would not have national implications. It provided money and legal advice. The NAHB believed that the Rockland County Builders Association should have raised issues of racial and ethnic exclusion. However, these issues were not adequately developed in the original briefs and record in the state supreme court.

¹¹⁵ Ramapo decision, 285 N.E.2d at 298.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 285 N.E.2d at 297.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 285 N.E.2d at 300.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 285 N.E.2d at 299.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 285 N.E.2d at 297, fn. 6, and 285 N.E.2d at 299-300.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 285 N.E.2d at 302.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 285 N.E.2d at 295, fn. 2:

As of July, 1966, the only available figures, six residential zoning districts with varying lot size and density requirements accounted for in excess of nine tenths of the Town's unincorporated land area. Of these the RR classification (80,000 square feet minimum lot area) plus R-- 35 zone (35,000 square feet minimum lot area) comprise over one half of all zoned areas. The subject sites are presently zoned RR--50 (50,000 square feet minimum lot area). *The reasonableness of these minimum lot requirements are not presently controverted, though we are referred to no compelling need in their behalf* [emphasis supplied; case citations omitted]. Under present zoning regulations, the population of the unincorporated areas could be increased by about 14,600 families (3.5 people) when a suitable vacant land is occupied. Housing values as of 1960 in the unincorporated areas range from a modest \$15,000 (approx. 30%) to higher than \$25,000 (25%), with the undeveloped western tier of Town showing the highest percentage of values in excess of \$25,000 (41%). Significantly, for the same year only about one half of one percent of all housing units were occupied by nonwhite families. Efforts at adjusting this disparity are reflected in the creation of a public housing authority and the authority's proposal to construct biracial low-income family housing [case citations omitted].

¹²² *Ibid.*, 285 N.E.2d at 306 (Breitel, J. dissenting, joined by Jasen, J.).

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- ¹²³ *Ibid.*, 285 N.E.2d at 310 (Breitel, J. dissenting, joined by Jasen, J.) (citing E. F. Roberts, “The Demise of Property Law,” 57 Cornell L.Rev. 1 .
- ¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 285 N.E.2d at 310-311 (Breitel, J. dissenting, joined by Jasen, J.).
- ¹²⁵ Jurisdictional Statement and Petition of Petitioners-Appellants, Ruth Golden and Ramapo Improvement Corporation, Case No. 72-3691, United States Supreme Court, filed September 1, 1972.
- ¹²⁶ *Golden v. Planning Board of Ramapo, and Rockland County Builders Association*, 409 U.S. 1003 (1972).
- ¹²⁷ James Surkamp, “Ramapo toasts, critics roast court decision on zone plan,” *Rockland County Journal News*, May 4, 1972. Freilich was referring to *Village of Euclid v. Ambler Realty*, 272 U.S. 365 (1926), which upheld the constitutionality of zoning.
- ¹²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹³⁰ Editorial, “Courts shaping future of zoning,” *Rockland County Journal News*, May 5, 1972.
- ¹³¹ Bill Tucker, “15 points still facing rough test,” *Rockland County Journal News*, Nov. 14, 1972. Observed the article: “The question that many critics have asked, and which envious town supervisors might also be consider, is whether another town might not put through a similar ordinance and then find it administratively inconvenient—or politically impossible to include the ‘compensation’ of low and middle-income housing.”
- ¹³² Sy J. Schulman, “Reporters’ Comments,” *Zoning Digest* 24(3) (1972): 71.
- ¹³³ Randall W. Scott, “Reporters’ Comments,” *Zoning Digest* 24(3) (1972): 75-80, at 80. Scott’s commentary analyzed the ordinance’s operation, noting the difficulty with the provisions dealing with adequacy of fire service. A hypothetical developer could not negotiate with the Town of Ramapo because firehouses were not within the scope of Ramapo’s authority. *Ibid.*, 77.
- ¹³⁴ Richard May, Jr., “Reporters’ Comments,” *Zoning Digest* 24(3) (1972): 80-81, at 81.
- ¹³⁵ Herbert W. Franklin, “Control Urban Growth—But for Whom?” *Zoning Digest* 24(9) (1972): 307-309, at 307-308.
- ¹³⁶ Robert W. Freilich, “Reporters’ Comments,” *Zoning Digest* 24(3) (1972): 72-75, at 74. This same commentary by Freilich, editor of *Urban Lawyer*, appears as: “Editor’s Comments: *Golden v. Ramapo*: Establishing a New Dimension in American Planning Law, *Urb. Law.* 4 (1972): xi-xvi.
- ¹³⁷ Fred Bosselman, “Can the Town of Ramapo Pass a Law to Bind the Rights of the Whole World?” *Fla. St. U. L. Rev.* 1(1973): 234-265, at 234.
- ¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 250.
- ¹³⁹ Norman Williams, Jr. and John M. Taylor, *American Land Planning Law*, Vol. 3A (Deerfield, IL: Clark Boardman Callaghan, 1985), Sec. 73.14, at 119. Williams believed that parts of the majority opinion were “turgid” and that the Court of Appeals majority leaned too heavily on unfinished proposals by the American Law Institute (its Model Land Development Code) and a similar study to revamp New York’s planning and zoning laws, which the legislature had not yet passed upon. To Williams, “[t]hese two sources are as confusing as they are nonauthoritative.” *Id.* He also observed that the “entire Ramapo scheme would be a much strong stronger basis, both substantively and legally, if it had been carried out to its logical conclusion—that is, if one of the final products of the entire scheme had been a map idnciating which areas were planned to be developed, with public facilities and with housing, in which years (or periods of years) so that the town could really see and evaluate the proposed growth pattern, and each landowner could tell more or less when his turn would come. No such map was prepared; in fact, the only capital programs available consisted of three sheets of paper, listing proposed improvements and their estimated costs.” *Ibid.*, 121-122.
- ¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 121.
- ¹⁴¹ David L. Callies, Robert H. Freilich, and Thomas E. Roberts, *Cases and Materials on Land Use*, 2d edition (St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing, 1994):, 585.
- ¹⁴² Gary K. Duberstein, *The Politics of Controlled Growth in Suburbia: A Case Study of Ramapo, N.Y.*, Senior Thesis (Department of Politics and the Woodrow Wilson Show of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, 1976).
- ¹⁴³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁴ Julienne Marshall, “Whatever Happened to Ramapo?” *Planning Magazine*, December 2003.
- ¹⁴⁵ *Marcus v. Baron*, 57 N.Y.2d 862, 442 N.E.2d 437, 456 N.Y.S.2d 39 (N.Y. 1982).

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- ¹⁴⁶ “During the 15 years that the law was in effect, not a single new village was incorporated in Ramapo. After the law was overturned in court in 1982, the number of villages doubled, from six to twelve, by 1991.” Julienne Marshall, “Whatever Happened to Ramapo?” *Planning Magazine* December 2003.
- ¹⁴⁷ Through incorporations and the creation of new villages, the unincorporated area of Ramapo shrunk from about 80% of the town in the 1960s to about 30% in 2003. Julienne Marshall, “Whatever Happened to Ramapo?” *Planning Magazine*, December 2003.
- ¹⁴⁸ Julienne Marshall, “Whatever Happened to Ramapo?” *Planning Magazine*, December 2003: 3.
- ¹⁴⁹ Minutes, Town of Ramapo, N.Y. Planning Board, February 3, 1987: 9-13.
- ¹⁵⁰ Minutes, Town of Ramapo, N.Y. Planning Board, April 21, 1987: 16-17.
- ¹⁵¹ Code of the Village of Montebello, New York (Rockland County), Part II: General Legislation, Chapter 195: Zoning, Article II: Zoning Districts and Zoning Map, as amended December 29, 2003.
- ¹⁵² As one analysis concludes: “Neither the Ramapo plan nor the program itself worked exactly as intended. ...Of the facilities used by the town as the basis for the program, the town of Ramapo controlled only parks, sewage collection (not treatment), drainage, and some roads. Many roads, the proposed regional sewer system, schools, and fire protection were the responsibilities of other entities, meaning that Ramapo’s ‘plans’ for construction of such facilities were more like wish lists than plans. The second problem was that the town never really followed the system, awarding unearned points because of a planning problem and approving nearly as many lots that did not meet the standards of the ordinance as it approved because they complied with it. Further, the impact of the program was probably just to reduce Ramapo’s share of regional growth, not to change the growth patterns. Like most economic trends, the growth pressures that temporarily overwhelmed Clarkstown, Ramapo, and Rockland County had waned by the 1980s...” Eric Damian Kelly, *Managing Community Growth*, (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1993): 31.
- ¹⁵³ Julienne Marshall, “Whatever Happened to Ramapo?” *Planning Magazine*, December 2003.
- ¹⁵⁴ Robert Freilich, *From Sprawl to Smart Growth* (Chicago: American Bar Association, 1999) (describing systems Freilich developed for the Twin Cities and San Diego regions, the State of New Jersey, and Palm Beach County, Florida, among others).
- ¹⁵⁵ Edward J. Sullivan, “Ramapo Plus 30: The Changing Role of the Plan in Land Use Regulation” *Urban Lawyer* 35 (Winter 2003): 75-111, 79.
- ¹⁵⁶ *Id.*, at 110.
- ¹⁵⁷ *Construction Industry Ass’n of Sonoma County v. City of Petaluma*, 522 F.2d 897 (9th Cir. 1975), cert. denied, 424 U.S. 934 (1976) (upholding residential building permit allocation system in which a certain number of building permits are awarded annually through an award competition).
- ¹⁵⁸ Fla. Stat. Ann. Sec. 163.3177(10)(h); Fla. Admin. Code Sec. 9-J5.0055; Wash. Rev. Code Sec. 36.070(6)(b); Wash. Admin. Code Sec. 365-195-835; Md. Code Ann. Art. 66 B, Sec. 10.1(a)(1); N.H. Rev. Stat. Ann. Secs. 675:21-22.
- ¹⁵⁹ See, e.g., S. Mark White, *Adequate Public Facilities Ordinances and Transportation Management*, Planning Advisory Service Report No. 465 (Chicago: American Planning Association, August 1996).
- ¹⁶⁰ Thomas G. Pelham, “From the Ramapo Plan to Florida’s Statewide Concurrency System: Ramapo’s Influence on Infrastructure Planning,” *Urban Lawyer* 35 (Winter 2003): 113-133, 114.
- ¹⁶¹ See Gary K. Duberstein, *The Politics of Controlled Growth in Suburbia: A Case Study of Ramapo, N.Y.* Senior Thesis (Department of Politics and the Woodrow Wilson Schools of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, 1976): 111-113 (describing dramatic reductions in density in 1966 zoning ordinance, including elimination of RG district, which permitted 7,500 square-foot lots, and removal of apartments from zoning ordinance in February 1966, a Democratic campaign promise).
- ¹⁶² Alan S. Oser, “Innovator in Suburbs Under Fire,” *New York Times*, Mar. 28, 1971, p. R1.

The Limitations Of Western Based Conservation Theory And Policies For Conserving The Cultural Built Heritage In The Sub-Continent, South And South East Asia: A Review Of Theory And Philosophical Approaches.

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ABSTRACT

Throughout millennia there has been a divide of cultures across the world labeled in numerous ways: East and West, Occidental and Oriental, Western/European and Asian. One clear manifestation of this divide is in the built heritage that has been produced from these cultures.

The beginnings of conservation of the built heritage in a Eurocentric sense lies in the awareness of the heritage of Greek and Roman culture and histories developing through the generations supported by a growing enthusiasm for the protection, research, studies and writings of many people. While during periods of colonial rule there were the discoveries of the richness of Asia, these were originally perceived only through colonial eyes.

While there have been recent trends toward inclusiveness of other cultures and views (Nara Documents 1994, Burra Charter 1999) the current pervasive view of conservation and restoration has been driven by Euro-centric policies forming the basis of global heritage protection enshrined in the clauses of international charters and guidelines. However, representation and interpretation of art and architecture irrevocably differs between the Eastern mode of thinking and that of the European. For example the cultural systems of the sub-continent have been based on spiritual values, norms and beliefs while western culture has evolved through values founded on the reality of the material world or materialism.

The implication of these differences are explored by firstly analysing the underpinning philosophies of current conservation theory and policy. Secondly, highlighting the possible limitations of these philosophies to the conservation of the cultural built heritage of the sub-continent, south and Southeast Asia. The paper concludes that there are limitations to approaches of current conservation in the context of attitudes of authenticity and the non-material values particularly of non-secular monuments. This paper is a component of the primary author's Doctoral work looking at these issues as a basis for developing a framework for conservation theory, practice and policy in the region.

Keywords: Cultural Built Heritage, conservation theory, policy, sub-continent, south and south east Asia, Eastern philosophy, cultural traditions.

INTRODUCTION

Historically, the thinking, theory and practice of global conservation have been dominated by attitudes toward the protection of the Cultural Built heritage (CBH) in the European regions of the world (Jokilehto 2006, Brandi 1963, Riegl 1903). However, at the commencement of the 21st century there is increasing recognition of the need to develop different approaches to the conservation of the diverse CBH of the west and east (Taylor 2004, Seung-Jim 2005, MacKee and Briffett 2002, 2000, Nara Document 1994, Burra Charter 1999, Chiang Mai 1994). This is based on a developing body of knowledge on the unique cultural and philosophical traditions of countries of the Asian region. This has its roots in the latter quarter of the 20th century and is now finding strong support amongst conservators, theorists and policy makers in the east and west (Taylor and Altenburg 2006, Seung-Jim 1998, Chen and Aass 1989, Agrawal 1975).

The following discussion is predicated on the belief that any approach to conservation has to be based on solid theoretical foundations. Accordingly it is necessary to investigate and analyse the philosophical thinking underpinning modern conservation practices in the context of the growing scholarly work on a uniquely Asian attitude of their CBH. This analysis will be conducted with a comparison of Asian approaches to conservation identified in the literature.

This paper deals only with the cultural built heritage as opposed to the broader definitions of cultural artifacts including tangible and intangible objects. The study is geographically confined to the subcontinent, south and Southeast Asian for the purposes of the study for this paper. For this paper conservation is taken to mean the whole field of conservation and not just the physical activity on site.

The structure of the paper will be based on a review of the three major periods of conservation, then a discussion analyzing the limitations of the modern Eurocentric conservation theories and their application in the area under study.

BACKGROUND: Tracing the origins of conservation theory.

To understand the development of conservation theories of the west it is necessary to step back to Europe to the period prior to the renaissance and the awakening amongst intellectuals of the richness of the history and heritage of the Greek and Roman empires; the Acropolis, the Coliseum, the Pantheon, Plato, Aristotle, Socrates. It was from this period and especially the renaissance that the need to conserve and restore heritage became valued for reasons of nationalistic pride and the developing thinking of the relationship of the past to the present and the future (Jokilehto 2006, 1999).

During this period, along with the more general and basic ideas of restoration that the broader concept of the approach to the conservation of cultural

heritage originated that of a reliance on the “material” value of a monument. This concept of the materialistic approach to the values of historic monuments lies in the Christian tradition. This belief lay behind the rituals of the cult of holy relics, being one of the bases for the doctrine of Roman Church (Tomaszewski 2003). The origins of “authenticity” of their material substance stems from this cult of holy relics.

Initially religious, the cult of relics was limited to the bodies of holy martyrs, but eventually widened to include objects connected with holy people, and with places imbued with their presence. Thus was born the beginning of the western fascination with “material” values in a monument as one of the primary determinates of authenticity and significance. Leading up to the industrial revolution this notion persisted and supported the concepts of restoration and reconstruction prominent as the major means of protecting or conserving monuments. The German Art Historian and eminent leader in the early movement of archaeology Johann Joachim Winckelmann stands out (Jokilehto 1998). Winckelmann was responsible for the very early discussions on the idea of distinguishing the original work from any reconstruction or restoration. During the earlier history of conservation practices such as reconstruction and restoration had reached the status of “art” in its own right. Winckelmann had begun considering ideas of the need to highlight the difference between the original and any lacunae, respecting the original creative effort of the artist. His work became influential in later conservation work and thinking.

From the nineteenth century and the height of the industrial revolution we begin to see the thinking and development of the ideas that led directly to the theories and principles that support modern conservation practices. Restoration and reconstruction were still the predominate practices. The first European theory regarding the restoration of historical monuments, the principle of “stylistic restoration” was based on the concept of the superiority of the ideal over the material. Original parts of the historical monument were removed in order to return the hypothetical ideal and original form (Tomaszewski 2003). The French Architect Eugene-Emmanuel Viollet Le Duc was the main proponent of this practice (Viollet Le Duc 1854, Jokilehto 1999). He believed in the process of restoration as the highest art form and should be considered with greatest respect for the “*..best thing to do is to try and put oneself in the place of the original architect and try to imagine what he would so if he returned to earth and was handed the same kinds of programs as have been given to us now.*” (Viollet Le Duc pp318, 1854).

In England John Ruskin began the fight against what he saw as the destruction of monuments through restoration. His thesis was based on the ideals of gothic architecture and the belief in the creative processes that if the original artisan could never be copied. This was the beginning of the first theory of conservation as opposed to stylistic restoration of a monument, and was the initial influences for the concept of authenticity that has underpinned all subsequent conservation approaches in the 20th and 21st centuries.

William Morris of the Arts and Crafts movement was to take these ideas to an “operational” point and brought together fellow believers into the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SAPB) and developed a manifesto that is still used by the SAPB today. The summation of their ideas was that these buildings created in the past were the result of a particular creative process of a specific milieu under different circumstances to those of the present. Subsequently they could not be recreated and if damaged or lost they could not be recreated (Morris 1877). Under these principles restoration and reconstruction would destroy the integrity and debase the original intentions of the artisan. This thinking underpins current ideas on significance, truth and authenticity and is currently implicit in many of the charters and guidelines developed by agencies such as UNESCO and ICOMOS.

Similarly guidelines are influenced by the philosophies of Plato, Aristotle, Kant, Husserl (Jokilehto 1999) developed from a rationalist and empiricist tradition of viewing the world in the western/ European philosophical tradition. The reductionist approach that these represent has been generalised as a mechanistic worldview where the behaviour of the world can be analysed in terms of the properties of its parts rather than from the whole (Du Plessis, 1999, 2000, 2001).

From its origin in England the development of modern conservation theories shifted to Europe. At the beginning of the 20th century Alois Riegl an Austrian Art Historian had written an influential piece of work the “*The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its character and origin*” was an unprecedented attempt to speculate on the popularization of the heritage in western culture (Arrhenius date unknown, Tomaszewski 2003). Riegl proposed a range of values that relate to the appreciation of a monument; in summary these are memorial value¹ and present-day value² (Riegl 1903, Tomaszewski 2003, Jokilehto 1999). His description of monuments also discusses the unintentional and intentional monument. Unintentional monuments are that which was not erected with the purpose of commemorating any specific event or person but become monuments due to their irreplaceable historical significance. The house that Mahatma Gandhi was born in would be an example. The intentional monument are those deliberately constructed to commemorate some event or person, such as the stupas of Ancient India or Sri Lanka. This impacts, in Riegl’s theory on the way in which the monument could be protected. With the intentional monument one could accept restoration or reconstruction to maintain those memorial values inherent in the monument. While the unintentional may not be restored as the specific values that made it a “monument” maybe lost (Riegl 1903). This later aspect has significant implications for Asian heritage.

Riegl’s greatest legacy to conservation was his discussions on values. Before Riegl’s proposition, values had not been articulated or understood as a concept in the context of appreciating monuments. In all previous considerations age, history, aesthetics had been the primary basis of

¹ This included age value, historical value, and intended memorial value.

² This includes use value, art value, newness value and relative art value.

discussion without being qualified as values per-se. Values are now considered an important basis in determining the significance of a monument, with much work having been done to quantify, qualify and understand what they mean.

During the 20th century the resurgence of Italy as the fountain of ideas and thinkers in conservation and restoration cannot be underestimated. Serious discussions revolved around concepts of architectural restoration, conservation, aesthetics focusing on scientific approaches. Contributions were made by philosophers, art historians, and conservators. People such as Giovannoni who distinguished himself from previous thinkers by looking at restoration as a cultural problem and saw Viollet le-Duc's methods as anti-scientific, identified four types of restoration³. He believed that the best restoration should not be visible. Much of this debate occurred against the background of the post second world war period and the destruction caused in Rome, Berlin and many other European cities. The destruction created a sense of urgency in terms of developing an approach and principles. Many academics contributed to the debates; Chierici believed in scientific methods and strict respect for history, Croce an eminent art historian whose thinking was based on the "organistic" Hegelian school of classical Romanic philosophy he emphasized the whole of an object over its details. Argan was another who had made significant contributions to the debate emphasising that restoration required historical and technical competence as well as sensitivity. Argan along with Cesare Brandi proposed the establishment of the Central Institute of Restoration (Jokilehto 1999). Another person who has made a significant contribution both during his life and continuing after is Brandi. As an Art historian, Brandi produced a controversial theory on restoration that has become one of the most significant and influential theories of modern conservation (Philippot 1982, 1972a, 1972b, Jokilehto 2005, 1999).

After the second world war, the "dogmas" of Croce and followers were beginning to be questioned and people such as Brandi and his generation were beginning to focus attention on German philosophy and historiography. The work of Husserl, Fiedler, Wolfflin, Benjamin, Heidegger, Panofsky as well as Riegl was prominent (Jokilehto 2005, 1999, Philippot 1996). Brandi's theory is too complex to explain in few words, however two of the core concepts of his theory is firstly the definition of art not as imitation of nature as conceived for centuries but as a result of an authentic, creative process with the artist himself (*sic*) as the active protagonist. The second is temporal in that he articulated as part of his theory the timing of the artist to realise the work, the interval from the completion of the work to the present and the instance of recognition in the consciousness of the presence.

These issues became crucial to the overall formulation of his theory on restoration. In his theory he summarised the essential concepts of conservation in relation to works of art, including architecture, and

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1. Restoration by consolidation.
2. Restoration by recomposition (anastylosis)
3. Restoration by liberation.
4. Restoration by completion or renovation.

emphasised their specificity and the role of historical critical definition as a basis for any intervention. Additionally he underlined the importance of the conservation of historical and artistic authenticity (Jokilehto 1999).

Brandi's theory gained support over the years and ultimately can be seen as the paradigm recognized at international level in the development of conservation policies. It was integral in the writing of the Venice Charter and in the development of other conservation policies and guidelines. His theory has had its critics but in the end has stood the test of time as reflected in current global conservation practice (Jokilehto 1999, 2006, Philippot 1982, 1972a).

In summary, the history of ideas and theories of conservation in the west have been influenced by and evolved within the societies whose attitudes have been changed by the philosophies proposed by people like Kant, Hegel, Husserl, Fiedler, Wolfflin, Benjamin, Heidegger, Nietzsche (among many others) and the doctrines of religious movements through the ages. This has resulted in the characteristics of rationalism, empiricism and reductionism of a mechanistic worldview (Du Plessis 1999, 2000, 2001). Intellectuals in the fields of art history, architecture and conservation like Viollet Le Duc, Ruskin, Morris, Riegl, Croce, Brandi and Argan have developed theories on restoration and conservation within the influence of this worldview or milieu (Jokilehto 1999). The outcome being two theoretical issues dominating international discussions among conservators namely authenticity and values. These issues need to be explored in the context of how they may or may not be appropriate in providing a foundation for conservation theories for practice in the Asian context.

DISCUSSION

At the turn of the 21st century two theoretical issues have dominated international conservation in the European context: the authenticity of the historical monument: and, their values (Tomaszewski 2003, Jokilehto 2006). This is where conservation has come to after centuries of the search and development of appropriate theories and ideas. It is suggested that to a large degree it is on the results of these discussions that the future development of conservation in this century will depend. However it is useful to question the appropriateness and limitation of the conservation theories developed in the west and practiced in the Asian region. The following discussion will be framed around the three issues of *authenticity*, and the *non-material values* of a monument. These are the issues framing current conservation practice as Tomaszewski argues “[C]onflict with the Far East regarding the concept of authenticity, understood in terms of form, function and tradition and based – among other things – on a belief in reincarnation led, for the first time, to a global discussion on this topic among conservators.” (p1, 2003).

Authenticity

The Venice Charter of 1964, for many years the primary guiding document for the foundation of global conservation practices begins by stating that “It is our duty to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity” (1964). Implying the imperative of ensuring that the monument that we conserve/protect is an authentic representation of the range of values they represent. This is an important tenet of modern global conservation the search for truth, the authentic monument.

The question that needs to be asked in the context of European monuments is what are we ensuring is authentic, the physical fabric or the spirit or essence of the monument. Certainly since the engineering and natural science investigations that are now at the service of preservation practice, there are possibilities that were unknown before for definitive testing on questions of authenticity; for example determining the true age of an object, researching the authentic construction or the authentic colour scheme, etc.

This "monument cult" of the 20th century, concentrating entirely on "historic fabric", regards the monument in the same way as the Venice Charter, which was strongly influenced by the new principles from the turn of the century. If it is to remain a credible - an authentic - document, the monument may be conserved, but only in special cases restored; if at all possible it is not to be renovated and it is truly never to be reconstructed. Sueng-Jim argues for a reappraisal of the use of the Venice Charter in the Asian context stating that the charter is “...strongly based on European cultural values, and thus not sufficiently universal enough to be unequivocally deployed in societies outside Europe and European cultures” (pp69, 2005). In his study of conservation in South Korea he develops a case showing how the Venice Charter by focusing on the material fabric of the building overlooks the primary concerns of the Korean and by inference Asian conservation where the concepts of spirituality and naturalistic sensibilities are used to determine values.

The case of authenticity based on the Venice Charter seems to focus primarily on the physical fabric or as Brandi defined scientific conservation. However it is the theories that evolved over the years based on the discourses of Ruskin, Morris, Dehio, Riegl, Brandi and Argan has produced a focus on authenticity and cult of the physical fabric as the only true manifestation of this (Jokilehto 1998, Philippot 1982, 1972a).

Supporting this is the “test of authenticity” developed and used by the World Heritage Centre, the name implying global usage of the test to determine the authenticity of any monuments or potential monuments. The test is built on four areas **design, materials, workmanship** and **setting**, with another group of parameters added in 2005 which include **traditions, techniques, language**, other forms of **intangible** heritage as well as **spirit** and **feeling** (Jokilehto 2006). With the recent addition of these last group of parameters there is some concession to acknowledging the different way in which Asian monuments could be interpreted, however one could argue that there is still a reductionist approach to reduce the assessment of all monuments down to a

group of individual parameters without looking holistically at the monument and the cultural and historical milieu in which it exists.

In the context of Asian monuments where the cultural heritage has undergone reconstruction or more commonly stylized restoration for various reasons of tradition or common practice this maybe a difficult test to apply. However would it make the monument's assessed heritage any the less an "authentic" monument? Larsen (1995) in his *Authenticity and Reconstruction: Architectural Preservation in Japan* acknowledges the four authenticities but goes on to note that "*..it is not the original formal concept which is regarded as authentic, but the building as it has been handed down to us through history*" (Larsen, pp 1995), in this way accounting for whatever exists at the time of coming to the attention or awareness of the community as an historical monument with the implied values.

With the awareness of the differences in terms of the Asian context the Nara document of 1994 confronts the notion of authenticity with the awareness of the differences that exist between western and Asian conservation practices. The document opens by stating that "*..[D]epending on the nature of the cultural heritage, its cultural context, and its evolution through time, authenticity judgements maybe linked to the worth of a great variety of source on information.*" (Nara Document 1994). Qualifying this statement with a range of criteria used for determining authenticity including, in addition to the standard four criteria stated by the World heritage Commission, setting, spirit, feeling and "*..other internal and external factors.*" (Nara Document 1994).

This represents a considerable shift from the early World Heritage Centre definition that was developed in the mid seventies being more flexible and accommodating of other interpretations of what authenticity may incorporate. Clearly this reflects the change in attitudes based on what has been slowly appreciated of the nature of heritage conservation in those countries outside Europe, and is supported by the Larsen's (1995) worked described above and a paper by Herb Stovel (1994) written as a stimulus for debate at the Nara conference. This highlights the difference in attitudes between euro-centric conservation approaches and those of Asia and the gradual acceptance of the need for a broader and flexible definition accounting for the cultural and philosophical traditions. Differences could also be framed in the context that the cultural and philosophical traditions have resulted in the current "global" theories, guidelines and policies have come from the rationalist and empiricist traditions of the west/Eurocentric, which has been described as a mechanistic worldview (Bell and Morse 2005, du Plessis 1999, 2000, 2001), while the Asian approach has been described in terms of a systemic worldview which is characterised by holism, communalism, and process orientated. These points will be referred to again in the later in the discussion.

Non-material values

The last concept is one of the non-material values of a monument that form the basis of the monuments significance or authenticity. The values can be

tangible and intangible, however, it is the intangible or the non-material values that the west has had the most difficulty dealing with, influencing their narrower perception of cultural heritage (Tomaszewski 2003). This is supported in the works of Chen and Aass (1989), Agrawal (1975) and Seung-Jim (1998, 2005) who argue that conservation in the western tradition focuses on the object reality of the monument leading to the preservation of the materials values to the point where the spiritual values of the monuments have secondary importance.

In the western tradition Riegl was one of the first to elaborate the concept of values and outlining broader memorial values and present-day values. These concepts encapsulated the non-material values, and Riegl's theory defined associations with a monument's significance or overall value. In many of the instances of the Asian cultural heritage the non-material values are often the predominant values, particularly for the non-secular monuments that make up much of the cultural built heritage of Asia (Chen and Aass 1989, Agrawal 1975, Seung-Jim 2005, 1998, Chiang Mai Conference 1991).

The western study of the humanities and conservation, which remains intellectually backward in its obsession with the material substance and unable to undertake the task of the balanced protection of both material and non-material cultural heritage (Tomaszewski 2003) has often ignored the non-material values of a monument. At the same time, other cultures regions that are not involved in deep theoretical studies of the non-material values of cultural property – but instead draw from their own cultural traditions – have long ago found practical solutions to this problem. In this respect, the West has still much to learn from the East and South. However the dominance of western thinking has not allowed this to occur.

Chen and Aass (1989) and others have highlighted that the major components of the cultural built heritage in the Asian context are the non-material or spiritual values or natural sensibilities. These have no physical form and cannot be represented in the fabric or the mortar of a monument. In the context of the Chinese painting Chen and Aass describe the differences as “*..the bulk of Western painting until very recently has been concerned with verisimilitude, leading to such techniques as chiascuro and perspective, the Chinese artists have felt for thousands of years that the goal of painting is to reflect and depict spirit of the subject of the painting. A painting of a mountain will only be rarely identifiable as a specific mountain but rather will show mountain-ness, or the spirit of a specific mountain.*” (p6-7, 1989).

While this description highlights the differences in the approach to painting it does show how the “spirit” of a monument is given more consideration than the material value. This is evident in the Venice Charter where articles like 12 and 13 emphasise the importance of maintaining the integrity of the “original” monument without considering the other values that may give integrity such as the non-materials (Chen and Aass, 1989; Seung-Jim, 2005, 1998).

In summary, the European approach to conservation focuses on the reality of the material values of the monument to be preserved, with the potential result

that this may lead to the preservation of the material aspects of the cultural built heritage and the historical facts only to the point where the spirit of the place has secondary importance or could be lost particularly in the case of non-secular monuments (Chen and Aass 1989, Seung-Jim 2005, 1998, Taylor 2004, Taylor and Altenburg 2006). These sharp differences in the views toward the emphasis on the material values of the west and the non-materials of the east provide one of the greatest points of contention and are at the base of the schism between western and Asian approaches to the conservation of monuments.

Based on these approaches to the values of a monument shows the limitations of the policies and guidelines and by implication the theories that have given rise to these views of the west in terms of values.

CONCLUSION

When defining an Asian approach to the conservation of Asian cultural heritage it is essential to work from a relevant theoretical base as has been shown in the context of the development of the conservation theories in the west and applied to western cultural heritage. This paper has taken this as the beginning of a discussion of an appropriate Asian approach by looking at the limitations to the currently accepted western or Eurocentric policies and guidelines as founded on western cultural and philosophical traditions.

The lesson from the European example is that any sound theory or framework must be based on the unique cultural and philosophical traditions of the culture or milieu in which the heritage is being conserved and as even Heidegger has written “..[I]t would thus not be feasible to impose on other cultures the concepts of historicity and relativity of values as evolved in the European context; theoretically each cultural region would need to go through its own process and define relevant values.” (Heidegger cited in Jokilehto pp214,1998).

The limitations as highlighted show in the disparate attitudes to the basic tenets of authenticity and the appreciation of the non-material values in a monument. For authenticity it was shown that the “test” for authenticity applied to western monuments is founded very much in the rationalist and empiricist traditions which tends to the reductionist model and can be very limiting in the context of the Asian monument particularly the non-secular monument. While amended test accounts for other possible ways in which the monument maybe be “authentic” it is still not a holistic approach which underlies an Eastern approach to monument.

In terms of the non-material values, the Asian monuments seem to have a greater weight toward these values in terms of why a monument maybe important whereas the guidelines particularly the Venice Charter tend to focus on the material values as reflected in the fabric or historicity of the monument.

This paper has investigated the limitations that need to be addressed in any approach that may accommodate the attitude and values associated with the Asian cultural built heritage. These limitations have been explored against the background of the philosophical and cultural traditions of the western approach to conservation that has give rise to an approach as odds with that in Asia. As alluded to in this discussion the core of the problem may come down to the difference in worldviews and to acknowledge these and address the differences in these worldviews may provide the beginning of an approach or approaches that could deal with the uniqueness of the cultural built heritage in Asia.

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Preservation of Urban Farmland and Forests: Particular policies and citizens' participation in Yokohama city

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Preface :

Yokohama city is the second largest city in Japan having 3.58 millions population in 2005. Farmland and forests in Yokohama city have decreased remarkably in the high economic growth period since the 1960s, however still have not a few amounts of farmland and forests, not only in the Urbanization Control Areas (UCAs) but also in the Urbanization Promotion Areas (UPAs).

In 2000, sum of farmland and forests are 3,699.6 ha. in total and covers 8.7% of Yokohama city area; in UCAs 2,717.8 ha. and 26.1% of UCAs and in UPAs 946.9 ha. and 3.1% of UPAs. Farmland and forests have been preserved by using both of urban planning systems and agriculture promotion measures, in which, beside those provided by the Central Government, particular measures based on Yokohama city's policies were introduced. Both of the Greens for Farming system for UPAs by the City Planning Act and the Farmland Area system for UCAs by the Agriculture Promotion Act were provided by the Government. Exclusive agricultural zone is one of Yokohama's particular systems which was introduced in 1969 and have been applied in UCAs to preserve a fairly large area of farmland run by professional farmers.

In 1989, the Working Committee on Urban Agriculture [*Yokohama-shi toshi-nôgyô konwakai*], submitted the recommendation entitled "Yokohama city's Urban Agriculture in the 21th Century: machizukuri in cooperation with agriculture" and contributed to establish new policies on urban agriculture and citizen's participation. "Machizukuri in cooperation with agriculture" [*nô no aru machizukuri*] became a slogan of Yokohama's particular policies on urban agriculture and forests.

At present the City of Yokohama have many systems and measures to preserve agricultural land and forests in both of UCAs and UPAs encouraging professional farming and citizens' activities to participate agriculture, kitchen gardens, and caring of parks and community forests.

In this paper the author, after outlines and evaluates these many measures have executed in Yokohama city, taking up two cases which he have been involved; a work farms for the handicapped which have been supported by citizens and local farmers, and a voluntary citizens' group caring a small community wood by means of local and traditional forestry as examples, will discuss achievements and problems of Yokohama's policies and plans on urban agriculture and forestry, and the future of Yokohama's urban farmland and forests as important environmental resources.

1 : Changing urban farmland and forests in Yokohama city

Changing urban farmland and forests in Yokohama after 1970, when the area demarcation system or *sen-biki* was enforced, are as following tables show.

Table 1. Changing Yokohama's land use (taxed private land)

[unit= ha]

year	total	building	farmland	forests	waste	water	others
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	(%)		paddy f (%)	Field (%)	total (%)	(%)			
1980	29,277	15,708	1,232 4.2%	4,691 16.0%	5,923 20.2%	5,152 17.6%	84	6	2,404
1990	28,871	17,111	568 2.0%	4,233 14.7%	4,801 16.6%	3,676 12.7%	32	5	2,646
2000	28,010	18,987	325 1.2%	3,375 12.0%	3,700 13.2%	2,732 9.8%	13	4	2,608
2005	27,821	19,475	267 1.0%	3,103 11.4%	3,370 12.4%	2,375 8.8%	11	3	2,436

Source: Yokohama city's website

In 1980, 10 years after *sen-biki*, farmland still covered 20.2% and forests 17.6% of Yokohama's total taxed land, which means private owned land. In 2005, a quarter century after, the coverage of farmland and forests in Yokohama's taxed land reduced to 12.4% and 8.8% respectively. Farmland in Yokohama city area, decreased remarkably from 5,923 ha. to 3,370 ha. or about 40% reduced during a past quarter century. While in these twenty five years Yokohama's population have increased from 2773.7 thousands in 1980 to 3561.3 thousands in 2005 or increased 28.4%.

Table 2 : Changing Yokohama's farmland (category & demarcations) [unit= ha]

	total	land categories		demarcations	
		paddy field	field	in UPAs	in UCAs
1975	6,104	1,548	4,556	2,808	3,296
	100%	25.4%	74.6%	46.0%	54.0%
1980	5,542(100%)	1,156(100%)	4,386(100%)	2,270(100%)	3,272(100%)
	100%	20.9%	79.1%	41.0%	59.0%
1990	4,481(80.9%)	503(43.5%)	3,978(82.3%)	1,564(68.9%)	2,917(89.2%)
	100%	11.2%	88.8%	34.9%	65.1%
2000	3,611(66.2%)	313(27.1%)	3,298(68.2%)	907(40.0%)	2,704(82.6%)
	100%	8.7%	91.3%	25.1%	74.9%
2005	3,370(60.8%)	267(23.1%)	3,103(64.2%)	751(33.1%)	2,619(80.0%)
	100%	7.9%	92.1%	22.3%	77.7%

Source: Yokohama city's website

Table 2 shows characteristics of farmland decrease from 1975 to 2005. As for land use categories of farmland, paddy field decreased more rapidly than field. Paddy field decreased to one fourth of in 1980, however, field keep about two third of in 1980. In decreased acreage of paddy field included not only those were lay down into urban use, but also those were reclaimed and changed into level upped field[*age-hata*]. This is because; in suburban area field farming for vegetables or fruits is more profitable than rice farming in paddy field. What's more in suburban areas, especially in the metropolitan region, reclamation works bring for land owners not expenditure but easy earnings, because flat paddy fields are appropriate to dispose waste soil, so construction companies would pay enough reward, and land owners can easily get rich soil.

As for city planning regulations, 751 ha. farmland or 33.1% of those in 1980 are still remaining in UPAs and it is very important how to preserve and utilize those scattering farmland effectively as environmental resources and for increasing citizens' demand of kitchen gardens etc. In UCAs 2,619 ha. farmland or 80.0 % of those in 1980 remains in 2005, and it is not too much to say that land use control measures both of city planning and agricultural promotion have been effective to preserve farmland in UCAs.

Table 3 : Land Use Planning and Farmland in Yokohama

demarcation area and landuse zone	total area A (ha)	farmland B (ha)	B/A (%)	field (ha)	paddy f. (ha)
total city area	43,547	3,420.0	7.9	3,148.6	271.4
UCAs	10,525	2,640.3	25.1	2,373.1	267.2
agriculture promotion area	4,926.1	1,776.4	36.1	—	—
agriculture land zone	1,066.0	1,035.1	97.1	819.5	215.6
uncontrolled zone	3,860.1	741.3	19.2	—	—
exclusive agriculture district	1,011.0	613.1	60.6	537.3	75.8
out of agriculture promotion area	5,598.9	863.9	15.7	—	—
UPAs	33,022	779.7	2.4	775.4	4.3
green for farming	350.8	348.6	99.4	346.4	2.2

Source: Yokohama city's website

Note : Dates of data : farmland January.1st, 2004/green for farming March 32, 2003/those related to the city planning are of April 1st, 2003/those related to the Agriculture Promotion Act are of March 31, 2003.

Table 3 shows the present relationship between Yokohama's farmland and land use control measures both of the City Planning Act and the Agriculture Promotion Act[nôshin-hô]. In 2004, Yokohama has 3,420 ha. farmland in total and 2,640.3 ha. or 77.2% in the UCAs and 779.7 ha. or 22.8% in the UPAs. 2,640 ha. farmland in UCAs are as a rule, severely restricted to lay off into urban use by the City Planning Act. Farmland of 1,035.1 ha. or 39.2% of farmland in UCAs are also in the Agriculture Land Zone[nôyô-chi kuiki] of the Agriculture Promotion Act. Those are under twofold land use control. On the other hand however, there are 863.9 ha. farmland in UCAs but out the Agriculture Promotion Area which are called *chôsei-shiroji* and 753.9 ha. farmland which in both of UCAs and the Agriculture Promotion Area but out of the Agriculture land zone we named this as *nôshin shiroji*. In two types of *shiroji*,¹ land owners can escape some of land use restrictions which twofold land use control systems intended. Further more the twofold system itself has many loopholes in their land use control systems². Remaining 348.6 ha. or 44.7% of total farmland in UPAs were designated as the 'Greens for farming' [*seisan-ryokuch*] of the Greens for farming in UPAs Act[*seisan ryokuchi-hô*]of 1992. It is very difficult to explain the system and translate the term of *seisan-ryokuch* exactly. A lot of farmland, of which land owned farmer decided to maintain farming more than thirty years hereafter, the lot can be designated as *seisan-ryokuch* by the City of Yokohama and high property tax would be remitted

Table 4 : Changing Yokohama's Forests by area demarcations [Unit: ha.]

year	total rated land	total of forests	area demarcations	
			in UPAs	in UCAs
1965		9,741	—	—
1970		8,715	—	—
1975		6,452 <100%>	3,763 <100%>	2,689 <100%>
		(100%)	(58.3%)	(41.7%)
1980	29,277	5,115(0)	2,770	2,345
		(100%)	(54.2%)	(45.8%)
1985	28,871	4,406	2,233	2,173

¹ A Japanese jargon *Shiro-ji* is composed of two words, *shiro* means white and *ji* means land. Therefore *shiro-ji* means literally 'white land' and freely 'land out of land use control'. The Japanese of '*Chôsei-shiroji*' means land or area which is originally under twofold land use control, however, restricted only by UCA system and escape from those by the Agriculture Promotion Act.

² As for systems and its loopholes of land use control measures for the UCA, see Ishida 1996b.

		(100%)	(50.7%)	(49.3%)
1990	28,871	3,676 <57.0%>	1,690 <44.9%>	1,986 <73.9%>
		(100%)	(45.9%)	(54.0%)
1995	28,863	3,094	1,265	1,829
		(100%)	(40.9%)	(59.1%)
2000	28,010	2,683	970	1,713
		(100%)	(36.2%)	(63.8%)
2005	27,821	2,375 <24.4%>	771 <20.4%>	1,604 <59.7%>
		(100%)	(32.5%)	(67.5%)

Source : Yokohama city's web

Table 4 shows the historical situation of Yokohama's forests. In 1965, before the *sen-biki* system was provided and Japanese economy in the gate way of the high economic growth age, Yokohama still had 9,741 ha. forests or more than one third of total rated land was covered by forests. In 1975 a few years after *sen-biki*, 3,763ha. forests or more than half of total forests were in UPAs. In the next thirty years, however, forests in UPAs reduced very much to only two fifth of in 1975. In same year, in UCAs however, 1,604ha. or about 60% of those in 1975 still remains undeveloped. In UCAs the decrease of forests are more severe than farmland. Some reasons are considerable, for examples land use restriction measures for farmland were twofold but for forests only the city planning measures was available and furthermore, measures to respite or to exempt from high inheritance tax are only applicable for farmland. It is even hearsay, the author has heard a case of a farmer who was a landowner of wood in UCAs and reclaimed it into farmland to escape from predictable high inheritance tax.

2 : Planning policies on urban agriculture and forests in Yokohama

The Area Demarcation System which is the system to demarcate the city planning area into UPAs and UCAs had been proposed since the early 1960s³ and was first provided, though a little too late, by the 1968 City Planning Act to control severe urban sprawl in those days.⁴

Sen-biki in Kanagawa Prefecture

Previous to the enforcement of the Area Demarcation System, Kanagawa prefecture office introduced in its third comprehensive administration plan of 1965, a new land use planning system, in which, based upon estimated future urbanized areas, demarcated a particular land use planning area named as 'estimated future urbanized area' and thereafter new land development activities should be permitted only within the areas and outside of designated areas, developments were severely controlled and as a result farmland and forests effectively preserved. For example in Yokohama and Kawasaki areas, the then city planning area were 55,417 ha. in total, however, 17.5% of which or 9,701 ha. was demarcated as outside of future urbanized areas (Ishida 1990, 256-271). Kanagawa's system had no legal bases and was only a kind of administrative guidance, however, very effective to control urban sprawls in Kanagawa prefecture.

The 1968 City Planning Act was enforced in 1969 June and the Area Demarcation or *sen-biki* planning in Kanagawa prefecture was finished until next June, only in one year even if under the first

³ The author proposed in 1960 in his doctoral dissertation the basic idea of the area demarcation system (Ishida 1960).

⁴ As for the outline of the Area Demarcation system, see Ishida 1996a : 132, and the detail of system and problems and issues of the system see Ishida 1996b.

and inexperienced citizens' participation. While citizens' participation, the majority of farmers in Kanagawa prefecture wanted to preserve their farmland and through farmers' cooperatives and farmers' unions made campaign to designate their farmland for UCAs as much as possible. As a result, in Yokoham and Kawasaki areas, finalized UPAs fell 2,680ha below than the 'estimated future urbanized areas' which Kanagawa prefecture office decided in 1965 and designated UCAs reached 22.6% of the City Planning Area.

Kanagawa's case was exceptional in Tokyo Metropolitan Region where most of farmers requested or even claimed to designate their farmland and forests for UPAs. In Saitama prefecture as a example, land owner farmers, showing false land readjustment plans, requested to demarcate their 9,431 ha. land for UPAs. As a result the demarcated UPAs were excessively wide for future urbanization, and in 1980, that is 10 years after *sen-biki*, 31.1% or 66,152 ha. land in UPAs were still vacant and 73.3% of which was farmland (Ishida 1990:256-271).

Detailed *Sen-biki* in Kanagawa ward, Yokohama City and Citizen's Participation

Sen-biki in Kanagawa ward, Yokohama city, was a typical example of thoroughgoing campaigns by Farmers' Cooperatives to preserve urban agriculture and in which as a issue of urban planning, a limited extent of 'insular UCAs' [*ananuki chōsei-kuki*] was discussed seriously (Ishida 1990, 123—164). Kanagawa ward is one of eighteen wards of Yokohama and neighboring to the CBD of Yokohama. Kanagawa ward covers 23.59 square kilometers, population and population density in 2006 is 221 thousand and 94.0 person par hectare respectively.

Table 5: Land use of rated land in Kanagawa ward Yokohama city (unit:ha.)

	total	building use	farmland			forests	others
			. total	paddy f	field		
1985	1483	1047	242	—	—	136	58
2003	1563.54	1126.46	212.02	0.36	211.66	86.88	138.18
	100.00%	72.04%	13.56%	0.02%	13.54%	5.56%	8.84%

Source : Website of Kanagawa ward

Although Kanagawa ward has such location and considerably high population density, in 2003 farmland was 212.02 ha. or 13.56% of rated land and forests 86.88ha. and 5.56% respectively. And in the end of March 2004, UCAs still covered 453 ha. or 19.2% of its City Planning Area. It is not too much to say that the unique land use ratios of Kanagawa ward derives from the area demarcation in 1970. Contrastively Tokyo's boroughs, even Nerima borough at the most outskirts, have no UCAs in 1970, that is at the start of *sen-biki* system.

In Kanagawa ward, *sen-biki* had been executed, from start to finish, under the initiatives of Kangawa Farmers' Cooperative. In January 1969, a half year before the enforcement of *sen-biki* system, the cooperative established a working committee for the new city planning of thirty committees and made a precise survey on farmers intention to choose UPA or UCA for their farmland. The result of survey was that 78 ha. or 27.6% for UPAs, 200ha. or 70.7% for UCAs and for 5 ha. or 1.8% no answers. What's more 57.2% of local farmers hoped to work as full time farmers or to work mainly on farming. In April 1969, based upon local farmers' individual choice, the working committee finalized their original *sen-biki* plan and proposed to the City of Yokohama. The original plan by the working committee was 189 ha. farmland for UCAs and which was divided into 10 groups of farmland.

In July 1969, the first proposal of *sen-biki* plan by Kanagawa prefecture office was opened for public and until next June the long and zealous procedures to hear public opinions and to finalize *sen-biki* plan had been going on (Ishida 1990: 151–157). We called small UCAs designated in vast UPA as *uchinuki chōsei kuiki* in Japanese [literally stamp out UCA or freely insular UCA] and in the case of Kanagawa ward, how to designate insular UCAs was the most important and difficult issues. The exceptional size standard of insular UCA which the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry noticed was ‘not less than ten ha.’ instead of ‘not less than twenty ha.’ in the cabinet order⁵. However, in the farmers’ plan there were four planned UCAs acreage of which less than ten hectare. After long negotiation between the farmers’ corporative and the City of Yokohama, 8.36 ha. insular UCA in which farmland covered only 6.07 ha. was finally approved.

Sen-biki in Tōkyū Tama Den'en-toshi and preservation of farmland and forests

Tōkyū Tama Den'en-toshi projects⁶ which is the biggest garden suburb development by private sector in Japan and planned and executed with substantial cooperation with the City of Yokohama. The area demarcation to divide the project areas into UPAs and UCAs had been done theoretically and successfully following the city planning points of view.

The first section of Tōkyū Tama Den'en Toshi, from Tama-gawa River to JR Yokohama line, was planned to be divided into three garden suburb areas and were separated each other by three confluents of Tsurumi-gawa River. Areas along the river branches, mostly paddy field, were designated as UCAs and farmland in the area simultaneously as the Agriculture Land Zone as well, and until now, have been preserved fairly well. Almost all of UPAs were developed by means of land readjustment system by land owners’ associations and have escaped from urban sprawl. Land use in UCAs of Tōkyū Tama Den'en-toshi have been relatively well controlled, however, some issues worth to mention. Loopholes of the *sen-biki* system⁷ caused intrusions of urban land uses and because of lack of agriculture working forces or transfer of ownerships to non local farmers have caused discontinue of farming. As for UPAs of Tōkyū Tama Den'en-toshi, relatively low rates of land allocation for networks of road system and parks in land readjustment projects⁸ has become issues in the areas which have been matured and approaching its completion.

Yato or *yatsuda*, a local name of small valley with stream and paddy field which are typical local micro topography in Tama hilly area [*Tama kyūryō*] and most of which in Tōkyū Tama Den'en-toshi area have been lost in the process of development. New comer citizens often campaigned to preserve remaining *yato* which still survived but scheduled to develop. Campaigns for *Akada no yato* and *Onda no yato* both of which were typical examples of *yato* in the areas. *Akada no yato* was developed and the campaign ended in the 1980s, however, the latter, name of group is ‘*Onda no yato* fan club’ have been still active. In park design of Tōkyū Tama Den'en-toshi especially in Aobadai area, preservation of village woods and water reservoirs were paid attention. For example, in Moegino

⁵ According to the cabinet order and a notice of the under secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, the official standard of the insular UCA was ‘an area of excellent farmland not less than twenty ha.’

⁶ Tōkyū Tama Den'en-toshi project was planned and executed by Tōkyū Corporation since the 1960s. As for Tōkyū Tama Den'en-toshi see Ishida 2006 and Tōkyū 2005.

⁷ As for loopholes of the *sen-biki* system, see Hebbert 1994 and Ishida 1996b.

⁸ Land allocations by *genbu* of land readjustment projects for road system and parks in Tōkyū Tama Den'en-toshi were 17.18% and 3.57 % respectively. (Ishida, 2006).

neighborhood park of 1.9 ha., the pond is a remnant of reservoir and about one third of park is the rest of village wood as it was.

3. Preservation of farmland in Yokohama city

Machizukuri in cooperation with agriculture

Nô no aru machizukuri [machizukuri in cooperation with agriculture], which appears often in local government's documents nowadays, is cleverly symbolized urban agricultural policy. Although, I don't know when this slogan appeared first in Yokohama's agriculture or urban planning policies, the recommendation by the Working Committee on Yokohama's Urban Agriculture in 1989, which had the phrase in the title, would be early example (Yokohama-shi toshi-nôgyô konwakai 1989). How relationship between city and agriculture should be has been one of the most important challenges for both of urban planners and agriculturists. The theme itself has been always vague, ambiguous and variable in changing situation. What is the most appropriate relationship between urban land use and farmland, urban activities and agriculture production, citizen life and farming?

Sen-biki system in the 1968 City Planning Act has been presumed as the system to divide urban land use or urbanized areas and agricultural land use severely. The original concept of the system in the early 1960s, however, was more flexible and in which the relationship between urban land use and agriculture would be easily cope with. The Green for Farming in UPAs Act of 1974 provided a system to permit farmers to have arable land in UPAs temporarily without paying high rate as high as building estate. A special system of land readjustment technique to collect farmland in special farming blocks [*shûgô nô chiku*] was provided in November 1975⁹. These systems provided by the Government are based on a concept to regard farmland or farming in UPAs would exist only temporarily. The Yokohama's concept of 'machizukuri in cooperation with agriculture' in 1989, on the contrary, regarded the existence of farmland and farming in urbanized areas as necessary or essential for city itself and citizen's life.

Exclusive agriculture zone system since 1969

A framework of the Kôhoku New Town project was released in 1965, in which reorganization and revitalization of agriculture in the project areas was included. The city of Yokohama organized a research group on immediate task and more theoretically about what urban agriculture should be. An idea of Exclusive Agriculture Zone (EAZ) [*nôgyô senyô chiku*] was first conceptualized in the discussion of the research group and included in Yokohama city's planning policy for the Kôhoku New Town. In September 1969, six Exclusive Agriculture Zones of 230ha., 141.5ha. farmland and 88.5 ha. forests and others, were designated. Before designation of EAZs improvement works and exchange and consolidation procedures of farmland had been elaborated. It is very surprisingly that in case of Nippa-Ôkuma EAZ, farmland in the development area and in the exclusive agriculture zone were exchanged equivalently after zealous discussion among participated farmers(Enari 1991: 94-100).

⁹ The system provided by the Act to Promote Residential Areas Supply in Metropolitan Area [*daitoshichiiki no jyûtakuchi kyôkyû sokushin-hô*] and land readjustment using this system called the specific land readjustment project.

The system of EAZ is based on the particular urban agriculture policy of Yokohama city, however, the EAZs related to Kôhoku New Town, were also designated as UCAs and simultaneously Agricultural Land zones of the Agriculture Promotion Area Act. Accordingly, land use restriction in the six EAZs has been done legally.

In the end of fiscal 2005, there were 26 EAZs of 1,011 ha. in total and most of them designated in the 1970s and 1980s. The requirements to be designated as EAZ are the mass of farmland in the Agriculture Promotion Area, more than 10ha. acreage and hopeful agricultural productivity. The present states of EAZs, are a proof to successful particularity of Yokohama's urban agriculture policy.

Green for farming [*seisan ryokuchi*] in UPAs

The Green for Farming in UPAs Act was first enforced in June 1974, however, have been useless for quite a long while, except for limited local governments. The act was fully revised in 1992 and farmland in UPAs should be classified into two categories those are 'green for farming' which should be used for farming for thirty years forth and farmland to be developed in near future. Forty five percents of Yokohama's farmland in the UPAs or 348.6 ha. was designated as the green for farming, however, average acreage of which is only 1761 square meters and are scattered here and there. The local governments are provided the right to buy greens for farming in UPAs when land owners inevitably have to stop farming before thirty years pass away, however, because of financial shortages, the right seldom exercised. The present circumstance of the green for farming system is not fruitful from the planning point of view.

Citizens' farming and citizens as local markets

'*Chisan chishô*' is an abbreviated Japanese expression means local agricultural productions for local food markets. In Aoba ward Yokohama city, the author's neighboring area, there are still many types of *chisan chishô*, such as direct sales depots of vegetables, direct harvest orchards mostly of Japanese pears, direct harvest of sweet potatoes and contracted cultivation with neighboring stores. Until the 1980s direct harvest orchards were located mostly in UCAs, and in UPAs as well. Recently, however, acreage of direct harvest orchards in UCAs are reduced very much and seldom in UPAs. In the 1970s another style of direct harvests of strawberries, called as *une-uri* [sale row separately] were popular in which farmers sold a row for citizens before bear fruit and citizens can harvest at any time from their individual row.

The article 3 of the Farmland Act restricted legal requirement of farmland owners and tenants very severely. So, it is very difficult or even impossible for citizens to buy or to rent farmland for their farming. Allotments were difficult to realize under such inflexible system. In Yokohama city's agricultural policies many trials to promote citizens' farming have been provided¹⁰. Municipal allotments first opened in 1976, in which Yokohama city borrowed up farmland from land owner farmers, divided into lots and opened for citizens' use. This type was based on the Government notice in 1975 which introduced a soft interpretation of the Act. In the peak, the municipal allotments increased to 154 allotments of 31ha. and users of which were 14,420 households. In 2004, however,

¹⁰ As for the detail and problems of Yokohama city's policies and promotion projects, see Gotô 2003: in which the cases of other local governments, such as Nerima borough in Tokyo and relationship between juridical system of the Farmland Act and citizens' possible utilization of urban farmland are also referred and discussed.

because of changing circumstance the city abolished the projects and replaced with other new projects.

The Act for Rent of Specific Farmland of 1989 and the Allotment Promotion Act of 1990 opened a possibility for local governments and farmers' cooperatives to borrow up farmland from farmers and legally run allotments. Farmers cooperatives borrowing farmland from their associates and managed allotment systems; one very large scale allotment in Kanazawa ward of 2.5ha. in total and small scale ones called citizens' farming gardens. In 2004 five citizen's farming gardens have opened in northern three wards and user were 201 households

Another two new allotment systems are, compared with the conventional type, rather unique to avoid severe restriction by the Farmland Act. 'Farms for exercise of cultivation' and 'harvest' opened in fiscal 1993, using farmland in UCAs or of green for farming in UPAs. This type of farm clears the restriction by the Farmland Act by means of farming are managed and practiced by landowner farmers themselves and citizens only participate farming for exercising cultivation and harvest following landowner's farming plan and guidance.

In August 2002, the City of Yokohama utilizing the Structural Reform Special Zone Act of 2002, proposed the Government to authorize Yokohama's proposal to exemplify many restriction on citizens' participation in agriculture. After negotiation the Government authorized the Allotment Promotion Special Zone for Yokohama's whole area, however, provided relaxation limited only for requirement of establishing and managing body of allotments which the Act for Rent of Specific Farmland of 1989 provided for local governments and farmers' cooperatives. As a result landowners, other individuals and corporate bodies as well can be establishing bodies of allotments. In fact many bodies such as real estate agents which have a lot of know how on rent. Allotments by the Allotment Promotion Special Zone system which called *tokku nôen* in Yokohama, opened in fiscal 2003 and 2004 were 22 cases of 936 lots and 3,36 ha.. In November 2005, however, the Act for Rent of Specific Farmland was revised and relaxation was generalized and the Allotment Promotion Special Zone system itself became of no use and repealed.

Preservation of agricultural landscape as a heritage

The City of Yokohama named its north and western parts as 'Hilly Yokohama' and traditional landscapes in the area are *yato* or *yatsuda*. In 1998, the author published an article on preservation of agricultural landscape (Ishida & Hatano 1998) in which the author discussed that a traditional landscape of farming community, where local and traditional farming measures are still preserved, should be regarded as a kind of national heritage¹¹.

In the planning concept and design of public parks recently opened or scheduled to be open such as Maioka park in Totsuka ward which opened in 1992 and Niiharu Village Wood park in Midori ward, both of which have a planning concept to preserve the traditional landscape of *yatuda*. or *yato*. In Maioka park, the zone of 28.5 ha. named 'zone to experience and enjoy countryside' and

¹¹ In the paper I also referred to Norwegian case which is a small and beautiful village called Havrå. Recently the village with its traditional farming was designated as the area for protection as cultural environment by the Norwegian National Heritage Act.

management activities of the zone including farming and forestry are commissioned to the citizens' committee¹².

Among Yokohama's policies and projects on preservation of urban agriculture and forests, some, for example the countryside zone [*furusato mura*] projects and the village of smiles [*megumi no sato*] projects, may keenly targeted on the preservation of agricultural landscape.

As for the countryside zone projects, which emphasizes the importance of agricultural landscape much more, two examples, Jike in Aoba ward and Maioka in Totsuka ward, are now running, using many kinds of measures both of urban planning and of agriculture promotion based upon agreement between the City of Yokohama and local farmers' association.

Jike countryside zone covers all area of Jike chô which is one of administrative districts of Aoba ward, a spread of which is 86.1 ha. and a population in 2006 is only 339 and are consisted of ramified many *Yatsuda*. Allmost all area of Jike-chô was designated as UCAs in June 1970 and most of farmland were included in Farmland zone in which land uses other than agricultural should be severely prohibited. In Jike countryside zone other than above mentioned legal land use control measures, Yokohama's many particular land use control measures were applied, such as a citizen's forest project of 11.7ha. in 1983 and an exclusive agriculture zone of 86.1ha. in 1986. Furthermore studios of local and traditional industries, such as ceramics, foundry, maker of special coal for tea ceremony and etc. have been invited.

As for the evaluation of project's out come, the author as a local resident have perceived and worried about changes of natural resources which resulted from, for examples, over inflow of visitors from wide catchments areas and coming by cars, excess improvement works for paddy fields and their irrigation streams, lack of careful forest caring and etc. In summer evening until the 1980s, we could easily enjoy many fireflies dancing in Jike's *yatsuda*, recently, however, fireflies reduced very much and became rather difficult to find them. It may be clear evidence of the start of environment deterioration in the area.

4. Policies and measures to conserve forests in Yokohama city

Land use control by planning laws and conservation of forests

There were some land use control measures to preserve urban greens mainly forests, woods and groves, such as the scenic zone system by the City Planning Act and the special zone of suburban valuable green preservation areas by the Act for Preservation of Valuable Suburban Greens in the Capital Region of 1969 and the special urban green preservation districts by the Act for Preservation of Valuable Urban Greens of 1974.

The scenic zone system, which first provided by the 1919 City Planning Act, intended to use for suburban low density residential areas to maintain those scenery. The two valuable greens preservation area systems aim to preserve hardly remaining forests and woods in suburban and urban areas. Even though two acts do not have the word of 'valuable' greens in Japanese titles, the author dare to add 'valuable' in translation. Because the acts surely targeted valuable or superior forests, may

¹² A citizen's group has been concerned before opening of the park and working voluntarily for farming, forestry, management of *yato*, furthermore they run a training course for activities in *yato* named *yato gakkô*.

it be in excuse, and could provide severe land use control measures for local governments and land acquisition claims for land owners.

Yokohama city designated the special zone of 100ha. in Enkaizan and Kita-kamakura suburban valuable green preservation areas of 998ha. (755ha in Yokohama) in 1969. Since then and until the end of fiscal 2001 Yokohama city have bought 56.9 ha. land receiving land owners acquisition claims. As for the urban green preservation districts, the Act set up four individual requirements and three of them are cultural value, scenic value and value as reservoirs of biology. Until the end of fiscal 2001, Yokohama city have designated 25 districts of 150.4 ha. in total. Acreage of each district is varied from 0.7 ha. to 36.7 ha. and 6.0 ha. on average. Until the end of March 2005, Yokohama city had bought 24.9 ha. land or 16.6% of total designated areas.

Preservation of forests by means of agreements and citizen's participation

Other than above mentioned forest preservation projects by means of land use control and purchase, the City of Yokohama have prepared some measures to preserve woods and forests under agreement with land owners and by means of opening for citizens' use and care.

There are four types system; those are citizens' forests and community woods projects and greens or greening agreements. The first two are so to speak 'borrow up' type projects. In case of the former, Yokohama city and land owners have to exchange a land use contract for more than ten years and in the latter to make a lease agreement also for more than ten years. In both cases management of forest or wood will be commissioned to local caring club. Land owners are paid in case of the former bounty and the latter rent.

The citizens' forest projects target on forests in UCAs of more than 5 ha. The project started in 1972 and cases steadily increased and in 2005 there were 26 cases of 415.8 ha. in total. Among 26 cases the smallest is Kamoi-hara citizen's forest in Midori ward which has only 2 ha. and opened in April 2005. Kamoi-hara citizen's forest originally was designated for the urban green preservation districts in 1994. Building and development activities have been severely restricted by the Act, however, care or up keeping of wood was out of consideration. As a result, abundant garbage had been dumped in the wood. After two years voluntary care, Kamoi-hara wood was transferred to the citizen's wood system and under the citizen's care. The largest citizen's forest is Niiharu citizens' forest of 66.2 ha. also in Midori ward. A part of this forest of 15.8 ha. was devised to the City of Yokohama and was planned to reform to a city park.

In 2005 there are fifteen community wood projects of 20.4 ha. in total and the largest is Miyazawa community wood of 2.4ha. in Seya ward and the smallest is Ichizawa community wood of 0.7 ha. in Asahi ward. Detail and issues of the community wood projects will be referred and discussed later, taking up the case which the author now participated in.

Woods and trees in built-up neighborhoods

As for minute afforesting measures, Yokohama city has many to preserve and increase small greens in built-up areas, such as for tiny woods, scattering stand out trees and green hedges. For examples the preservation contracts of tiny woods in UPAs are, so to speak, mini community wood projects, and tiny woods of 172.1 ha. in total were under contracts in March 2005.

Based on the Master Plan on Yokohama's Greens of 1996 and to correspond each areas' peculiarity, Yokohama city designated the important district to preserve and increase greens. It is very stimulative, however, each area already designated covers very wide areas from 160ha. to 1635 ha.. I suppose, if the comprehensive plan making should be done under citizen's participation, it is more appropriate and easy to start in smaller areas where some citizens' activities on caring, preservation and creation of greens etc. and/or other activities such as protective covenant on residential environment are already exist.

5. Two cases in Aoba ward

The organic farm by the handicapped in Tôkyû Den'en Toshi.

The workshop 'Green' is the welfare workshop, main works of which are organic farming. The workshop 'Green' established in 1993 in Aoba ward Yokohama city by *Sakuranbo-kai* which was an early exercise course for handicapped infancy. At the end of 1980s, *Sakuranbo-kai* began farming as a trial, wet rice culture, potato growing and etc. and sent one of staff who is now a head of the workshop and a few apprentices to the precedent of farming workshop for the handicapped such as *Kokoromi gakuen* in Tochigi prefecture.

In those circumstances the author was a member of the Yokohama's Working Committee for Urban Agriculture and proposed an idea to combine two challenges, namely social welfare for the handicapped and preservation of urban agriculture and the idea was included in the proposal on "Machizukuri in cooperation with urban agriculture" in 1989¹³. The Department of Agriculture and Greens [*ryokusei kyoku*] of Yokohama city¹⁴, supported the start of farming by the handicapped, *Sakuranbo-kai* and "Green" in farming techniques and farmland tenancy etc¹⁵.

Since its establishment in 1998 the workshop 'Green' or the organic farm 'Green' have been growing up steadily and in 2006 spring and has 33 handicapped members called *shoin* (28 males and 5 females), 8 fulltime staff, 2 part-time staff, 4 regular volunteers and many occasional supporters, and is cultivating 0.76 ha. farmland which are broke up into 8 pieces of farmland (two paddy field of 0.26 ha. in total and six field of 0.5 ha.). Because of the restriction of the Farmland Act, 'Green' can not own any farmland and only borrows from discrete farmers temporarily and somewhat illegally. This is very serious issue for steady management of the workshop.

The workshop 'Green' now use two buildings for office, dining room and works in rainy days, and two group homes for handicapped members. These buildings were built and let by local farmers at the Green' request, which were the support for 'Green' by local community, however, from another view point the 'Green' offered chances of property management for local farmers¹⁶.

In 1996 three years after opening of the 'Green', the head of 'Green' co-edited a book entitled "Citizen's declaration for happy farming" and outlined three year's experiences and outlook for future

¹³ In its recommendation the committee proposed clearly that the City of Yokohama should create places and systems which would afford the aged and the handicapped possibility and chances to participate farming and as a result to acquire their motivation in life and to build up their health (Yokohama-shi toshi-nôgyô konwaka 1989: 17).

¹⁴ *Ryokusei kyoku* was the particular department in local governments in those days, which covered both of deferent kind administrations, agricultural administration and park and green administration.

¹⁵ A for Green workshop in the history of Tôkyû Tama Den'en Toshi see also Ishida 2006 forth coming.

¹⁶ As for the relation ship between property management and urban agriculture in Kanagawa prefecture, see Ishida 1990: 180-197.

of the 'Green' (Ishida & Akemine 1996: 212-226). Another book entitled "Growing up while cultivating: challenges of a workshop for the handicapped" was published in May 2005 [Ishida Shûichi 2005]. After book published the head of 'Green' have been asked now and then to give lectures about his practice and lesson, and NHK [the Japan Broadcasting Corporation] have been covering daily activities of the workshop 'Green' and producing a series of TV documentary titled 'four seasons of a workshop 'Green' for the handicapped'.

Although the activities of 'Green' deserve wide attention, the future may not be so rosy. In 2003 the workshop applied to the City of Yokohama for approval as an authorized social welfare corporation, but refused on the grounds of hopelessness of the Government's subsidy.

The author proposed in 1989 the idea to combine social welfare policy and urban agriculture policy. In fact, I have imaged to combine urban farmland, which will lose cultivating powers more severely and financial margin in social welfare sector. Although the Act to Support Independency of the Handicapped was enforced very recently and has a hopeful name, has been criticized for its two pretense key concepts, those are self responsibility and self payment.

Community wood in matured residential areas : the case in Moegino

As aforementioned, the community wood project is one of the four borrow up type forest preservation projects in Yokohama city which started as a system in 1988 and the first community wood was opened for community in 1990. The community wood project targeted small woods remaining in UPAs, and borrowing up more than ten years and open for community as a space for rambling or community activities.

Land for Moegino community wood [*Moegino fureai no jyurin*] in Aoba ward is 1.4 ha. remaining wood in nearly built up residential area and located only 500 meters off from Fujigaoka station of Tôkyû Den'en Toshi line. The land lease contract between land owner of the wood and the City of Yokohama was agreed, and after finished some improvement works such as to provide foot ways etc. opened for public on August 1st, 1998. The reason why this 1.4 ha. block in Tôkyû Den'en Toshi projects had been excluded from development works and remained in original state of wood¹⁷ is said that the land owner of this block, father of present land owner, raised an objection to the land readjustment project itself. The present land use condition of neighboring blocks of the community wood, three of four blocks are of low building coverage and low floor area ratio. Present vegetation of the community wood are mostly copse of oaks [*kunugi*, *konara* and etc.], and bamboo grove [*madake rin*]¹⁸ and many kind of wild grasses including important species such as wild orchids of some variety.

Care and management of community woods are commissioned for caring clubs organized for every community wood. The caring club of Moegino community wood headed by the land owner¹⁹ and have forty members in 2006. Most of members are the aged and one forth of them are the local and the other are newcomers settled after the late 1970s. Some of the caring club members are also members of neighboring park' caring club, another some are committees of the building covenant in the neighboring area. As a rule, club members gather monthly on the fourth Sunday and

¹⁷ In the latter half of 1980s, four edges of this block were severe slants without any vegetation.

¹⁸ *Madake* grove in Moegino community wood covers about one fourth of the area and is said as the biggest in Yokohama city.

¹⁹ It is rather rare cases in fifteen care clubs that land owners act as a head of the care club.

work for care and maintenance. Eager members however, come more frequently, every Sunday or even twice a week. Care and maintenance works are basically, such as weed, mowing, pruning of trees; repairing foot ways and paling and etc. Recently we have changed method of wood caring and adopted the local and traditional techniques called *hōga-koshin* [renewal by sprouts] in which we cut down deciduous oak trees of from fifteen to twenty years old and nurse and grow up new sprouts from stumps. Cut down trunks and limbs used for charcoal making or *shiitake* mushroom cultivation. In autumn of 2004, a charcoal kiln [*sumi yaki gama*] in our community wood was accomplished after a few years' trial and elaboration. In 2005, we made charcoal several times. We burn mostly logs of oaks such as *konara*, *kunugi*, *shirakashi* and occasionally some kind of bamboos.

According to the agreement with the City of Yokohama, the caring club should include in its schedule of activities a few events open for the community. We have planed and carried out a couple of such open events every in one year. For examples, a party to enjoy chirping crickets in summer and a grand party to taste roasted sweet potatoes in late autumn. Very recently, we received an outside school lesson for fifth grade pupils of the adjoined elementary school and we supposed this type of activities will increase hereafter.

The club issued the bimonthly newsletter of four pages. The contents of recent issue on July 2, 2006 is as follows; front page was a scientific report on *yama-yuri*[white lily], page 2 & 3; recorded our activities; right part of page 4 was a column titled 'on my childhood and nature' and left part of page 4 reported the general meeting held on April 29. We had published matters, for example a photo collection of wild flowers in Moegino community wood and a list and explanation of wild birds in Moegino community wood and Moegino park.

As for finance of the caring club, expenditure to run the club and for maintenance works and cost of open events etc in 2005 fiscal year ,are 579 thousand yen in total and mostly granted by the City of Yokohama. Members pay 2000yen for one year membership and in every attendance day bear 300~500yen for a lunch and contribution of goods are welcomed.

The anxiety of caring club members are aging of members. Many of members are over sixty five years old and are afraid of injury while caring works on many severe slants in the wood. More serious problems we are worrying are land ownership of the community wood. If the inheritance occurs, successors will not be able to bear inheritance tax which supposed to be very high. The public or community ownership of the wood would be subject of examination.

Concluding remarks :

In discussing Yokohama's planning and preservation policy on urban farmland and forests many key words or key phrases may be deserved to mention and most of which have some how Yokohama's particularity. Those key phrases or key words could be categories into three, namely philosophical, technical and planning conceptual. Most of the important key phrases and key words, have been already referred to in this paper. For examples, the key phrase or slogan of 'machizukuri in cooperation with agriculture' outlined and discussed as a philosophical example and the system of 'exclusive agricultural zone' as a technical example. In this concluding remark, the author would like to refer to another category of key phrases or key words, that is to say, those on planning concept.

In the documents, which explains urban planning concept of Yokohama city or plans of a individual ward of Yokohama, we often find key phrases or key words showing planning concepts related to greens, farmland or forests. In November 1997, Yokohama city decided the Master Plan on Yokohama's Green and in explaining the plan indicated, in line with philosophical key phrase of 'machizukuri in cooperation with agriculture', two phrases as important planning concepts. Those are 'preservation and utilization of seven important mass of greens'[*midori no nana-dai kyoten no katsuyō to hozen*] and to create 'networks of water and greens'[*mizu to midori no networks*]. Both of them are the key planning concepts of Yokohama's future greens, however, the former, based upon existent large-scale pattern of Yokohama's greens and shows the key concept of the city wide plan and on the contrary the latter, imaging future of rather smaller areas, for example of wards and intends to show detailed planning concept.

In fact in the early 2000s, many of Yokohama's wards engaged to elaborate the ward's urban master plan and in those plans, especially those of northern wards such as Midori, Aoba and Tsuduki wards, though naming of each differed a little in Japanes²⁰, had nearly same planning concept along the key concept of 'networks of water and greens'. After Aoba ward's urban master plan finalized in March 2001, which had an attractive concept of 'corridor of water and greens'[*mizu to midori no kairō*], zealous citizens supported the concept and discussed repeatedly how to realize the concept, however, nothing has practically realized yet. Differ from the philosophical key concept of 'machizukuri in cooperation with agriculture' which could be realized in many style and in many places and the key planning concept of preserve and utilize 'seven important mass of greens' which would be realized according to the definite existence of greens and the obvious plan of preservation and improvement, realization of the planning concept of 'networks of water and greens', however, it is inevitable to make the concept substantial, that is to say before realization of the concept, plan and measures to realize the plan is indispensable.

²⁰ Aoba ward used *mizu to midori no kairō* [literally corridor of water and greens] and Midori ward *mizu to midori no jiku* [literally axis of water and greens]

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TITLE:

CROSS TRANSFERS AND LOCAL PLANNING PATHS. THE BARCELONA MARKET SYSTEM.

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CROSS-TRANSFERS AND LOCAL PLANNING PATHS. THE BARCELONA MARKET SYSTEM.

ABSTRACT:

Commercial Urbanism lacks a literature devoted to retrospective planning history. Generally speaking, new retail premises (shopping arcades, supermarkets, hypermarkets, shopping malls...) have drawn much greater attention than the evolution of public markets. This is quite surprising since it is widely acknowledged that public markets “have been the driving force behind the configuration of European cities from medieval times” and that they have maintained their ability to structure the city up to the present. Indeed, this is even more striking given the importance of market regulations in planning history and the significance attributed to the market hall in urban space modernization by 19th-century council planners.

The retail revolution of the 20th century made the public markets an anachronism doomed to vanish, given the efficiency of the new commercial formats. On the one hand, the economic efficiency of the new shopping malls has had a substantial impact on the retail structures of existing cities. But on the other hand, in most cases the high survival capacity of public markets contrasts with the rapid obsolescence of new commercial formats. Even in cities where market halls had disappeared, they have showed a surprising capacity of *resurgence*.

This paper will take Barcelona as a case study in order to question the renewal of activity in connection with the city’s public market halls system, a renewal which took place in the 19th and 20th centuries. This city provides some elements for a comparative approach. Moreover, this paper shows the relevance of cross-transfers and poses the question of the importance of particular historical contexts and routes. More than the initial influence from the French experience, what characterizes the case of Barcelona, on comparing cities, is the construction of a considerable number of ironwork market halls by local industry. This first generation of market halls was joined by a new generation of such facilities in the period 1940-1970, bringing the total number of covered market halls to over forty, evenly spaced throughout the city. It is even more striking that this whole system of market halls has been preserved and that it has been turned into an asset which has been actively managed by the Barcelona City Council since 1991.

The contemporary municipal trend is to seek to balance the various commercial distribution formats and their role in neighbourhood revitalization. This represents a significant change of course in the regulation of commercial activities in the 1990s, in harmony with the changes that have come about in the selfsame discipline of urbanism. It is an urbanism that is less concerned with the arrangement of more or less permanent objects, stable configurations or definite crystallization, than with accommodating processes, with the adoption of strategic guides ¹. In this new context it is necessary to look to the past but not merely for instrumental reasons, and to seek to examine not only the market halls’ artistic-monumental value but also their impact on urban structuring. Likewise, it is necessary to observe the structuring of a less tangible area, that is to say, the city culture that is most visibly expressed by the municipal markets system.

1. Markets as the driving force of the European city

It is widely acknowledged that public markets have been the driving force behind the configuration of European cities from medieval times. Henri Pirenne attributed the rebirth of

the medieval city to mercantile activity and to the long-distance trade in sumptuary goods². Today, however, we think that the process was fuelled by the country farmers and that the modest trade carried out in the local markets boosted the long-cycle growth of medieval Europe³. Large-scale trade and the birth of capitalism would only be later consequences. Thus, medieval towns grew up around local markets and this can be seen in their morphology, just as has been stated in numerous studies on the medieval city and as can be easily verified in the case of Barcelona⁴.

It is known that around A.D.1000 there was a market outside the eastern gate of the city's Roman wall. In the 11th century the *burgus* grew up around this market, where the farmers of the surrounding countryside came to sell their produce. In the 13th century, when the new city walls began to be erected, the area around this market was already completely built up and the market trade unfolded at various squares and streets. This commercial area sprawled towards the shoreline, which served as the city's port, and towards the water channel where most of the industrial workshops (wool, leather, etc) were found. These three elements (market, port, water channel) caused this district to be denser and more active, and from the 15th to the 18th century this area, which formed about 14% of the extension of the city enclosed by the new medieval walls, contained over 41% of Barcelona's inhabitants and almost all its economic activities. This area was actually the motor that drove the whole city until the 19th century.

From the end of 13th century, with the increase of its population, the city began to depend largely on the supply of grain from Sicily and other distant places. The main goal of the city council was to manage the economic challenges: to assure, through the guilds, the quality of the products that were exported and to assure supplies in times of need. The regulation of the markets formed an essential part of this scheme, and the civil servant who was responsible for the good order of the market was called the "almotacén"⁵. To assure the ethics of trade, to guarantee weights and measures and the right prices, to prevent forestalling and regrating, and to maintain good order in the market were priority concerns of the city council. Market activities and craftsmen's shops invaded the public space, and it is significant that the first well-known urban reform undertaken by the city council in the 14th century was precisely in the place where the market had originated. The growth in trade and population had made it necessary to re-organize the sale of the various goods at the city's different squares and streets. The dispersed market that was established in this way formed the very backbone of urban life.

From the second half of 18th century, the urban growth problems and the emerging enlightened view of urban life caused a change in the attitude towards marketplaces and streets that opened the way for the complete renovation of markets in the 19th century. Despite this profound renewal and the disruptive effects of the capitalist economy, the public markets continued to be an example of the persistence of the inherited pre-capitalist "moral economy", and the ethics of trade continued to be regulated by a vast number of municipal ordinances⁶.

2. The market as a facility

In the last half of the 18th century, the first market renewal was closely tied to the new enlightened ideas and to an emerging new "urban knowledge" that had in some ways been anticipated, in 1749, by Voltaire's ideas about city embellishment. He thought that such urban embellishment was not only a matter of aesthetics and that it depended essentially on the development of a set of facilities, based on numerous, convenient and safe transport means, and on the homogeneous distribution of markets, theatres and churches⁷. These ideas were further developed in architecture by Laugier and Patte, and they led to new planning tools, such as the

general geometrical plan, systematic street alignment, and the regulation of building by means of ordinances, which were widely used in the latter decades of the century. At the same time, new medical and police outlooks arose with respect to urban space, as did the “Ponts et Chaussées” engineers’ economic view of the territory. All this helped to create a new type of city-planning thought that flourished with the revolutionary rupture⁸.

Manorial rights were abolished in the France of 1790 and markets became the municipalities’ exclusive responsibility. The expropriation of ecclesiastical and émigré nobility properties allowed the replacement of the old structures by the new State institutions. The centralized organization of the French State made the replacement process unique in terms of its coherence and breadth. Under the supervision of the “Conseil des Bâtiments Civils”, a homogeneous management technique and a programmed method for the evaluation of needs, distribution and construction of areas was adopted⁹. City amenities became signs of institutional and technical modernity. The market areas and buildings, such as market halls, public granaries and slaughterhouses, were deemed amenities the same as prefectures, hospitals, public schools, judicial establishments, jails, police stations, theatres, museums and religious buildings, which have been considered public services since then.

Markets, which used to be mainly local features, became progressively integrated in expanded distribution networks and were influenced by the new economic criteria. In this area, the “demands of yield, effectiveness and satisfaction of `needs’ wove a network of practices, rules and laws that influenced the selfsame layout of the market buildings”. They adopted a functional logic that unfolded on three levels of organization: “the sales cell, the circulation space and the organization of cells that obeyed the will to classify and to control, as well as to isolate the trade activities from the street”¹⁰. The new trends tended to establish a clearer distinction between public and private space, and they sought to remove market activities from the street and locate them in bounded places. They also tended to impose greater hygienic demands and to add larger doses of urbanity to the markets, which were thus to become true amenities and schools of courtesy, an ideal that would imbue the whole 19th century¹¹.

These new trends were systematized in France and many new market halls were built from the 1820s¹². The French model was followed by many European countries, but there the political-legal framework changed at a different pace, with greater limitations on public intervention. For example, in England and Wales in 1888, despite the fact that municipal control was more common in large towns, 279 of the 769 known town markets were still in manorial hands. In the case of Spain, the first steps toward overcoming legally the old regime were not taken until 1834, when trade was deregulated and permission was granted to deal in “all the objects for eating, drinking or burning”, except bread. The confiscation of the religious orders’ properties in 1836 made it possible to reorganize and modernize the urban space with modern amenities, including some markets. But the precarious availability of public funds did not allow a programme like the French one to be implemented. In Barcelona, where the number of public markets had grown to a total of nine, only two were built on the confiscated plots of convents. The aim was to transfer the activities that overcrowded two of the city’s most central places. From a typological standpoint, the two solutions were rather different, as required to suit the features of their respective neighbourhoods. San Josep square, next to the Rambla, where La Boqueria market had been transferred, was designed as a homogeneous square surrounded by arcades with monumental Ionic columns, as befitted a district that had acquired a perceptibly bourgeois character. Santa Caterina market, in a more popular neighbourhood, followed the model of Paris’ Saint-Germain market, built by J.B. Blondel in 1813-1817, but it did so in a more modest way¹³.

In the 19th century, important changes took place in cities and in retail marketing. In the opening decades, one of the main concerns of the city council was to provide basic subsistence. In the latter decades of the century, however, the abundance of supply was assured and the consumption habits had changed completely. The main problem was the rise of prices above the working-class wages. A sign of this change was the progressive elimination of public granaries. In France, for example, numerous public granaries were built in the opening decades of the 19th century. These facilities concentrated an increasing production, assuring a more regular supply, and they were showcases lending security to an urban population that still recalled the recent crises. In 1840, however, when many of these buildings were just finished, certain doubts arose as to their utility since other distribution channels already existed. In 1849, the *Chambre de Commerce* of the city of Tours considered the cost of building a granary to be a waste, considering the growing custom among the people, even in the countryside, not to cook their own bread, preferring to buy it ready-baked¹⁴. Cerdà in his *Teoría de la Construcción de Ciudades*, of 1859, considered granaries to be very important facilities, whereas in 1867, in his *Teoría General de la Urbanización*, he wrote: “we no longer live in the times when the Public Administration had to build great public granaries to care for the common subsistence of the citizens (...); the freedom of trade now comprises everything, even the articles of prime necessity...”¹⁵. The systematic increase in the flow and the fluidity of trade would be harnessed, in the last half of the century, by the generalization of the new transport systems. This entailed an overall acceleration that fostered a speedy renewal of the commercialization channels and brought about a far-reaching change in consumer habits.

3. The ironwork market generation.

(926 words)

Almost 60 markets were built yearly in Great Britain between 1820 and 1850, including the first ironwork structures, and London was, beyond compare, the world's foremost modern metropolis¹⁶. In the last half of the century, however, Paris provided the most important models. The new market proposals were included in the wide-ranging urban renewal carried out by Baron Haussmann. The influence exerted by the rebuilding of Les Halles central market and the Paris renewal processes can be compared. In both cases the decisive intervention of the State allowed systematized solutions and an unprecedented degree of ambition. The long and careful debate on the various projects and the quick performance of works give an idea of the engagement of the public authorities. The project of Les Halles obtained final approval in July 1853, and the works began in February 1854. The two previous pavilions were inaugurated in October 1857 and one year later the six pavilions were finished that completed the first section, occupying 21,080 m². Only four pavilions of the west section, with a surface area of 12,400 m², remained to be built. The many criticisms of the former stages were soon forgotten and, with its complete immediate success, Les Halles central market became the model of more than twenty district markets in Paris, which showed similar typological and technical features, as well as of four hundred other markets built in French provincial towns between that time and the end of the century. These structures had a great following and not only in France: they provided a useful pattern for many countries. The building of ironwork markets spread quickly throughout Europe and America. English, French and German architecture journals helped to spread the novel technical solutions for the new markets, but it seems clear that the French model also predominated in the main period of market renewal in Belgium, Italy, Germany, Austria, Spain, and in the new nations of Latin America¹⁷. This building boom has been attributed to a combination of factors, including the expansion of the railway, the rise in real wages, abundant and cheaper food, continued urban growth and improved methods of public funding¹⁸. In the United States of America, where municipal markets had been challenged by

private meat shops in the 1830s and by the authorization of private market house companies, as in Pennsylvania in 1859, “the municipality in the late 19th century rediscovered the fact that public markets could improve - not hinder - public order, hygiene and urbanity while providing cheap, affordable food for wage earners and their families. Unlike private food shops and grocery stores, market houses encouraged interaction and bargaining between buyers and sellers”, and “municipalities (...) built sophisticated market houses that were bigger and more numerous than ever before...”. In New Orleans, for example, fifteen market houses were added “to its already extensive public market system between 1880 and 1891...”. In Berlin, between 1886 and 1891, during its reorganization as a new capital, seventeen open square markets were closed to be replaced by thirteen retail market houses¹⁹.

In Spain, the new typological solutions were introduced with some delay. Although several plans to cover market areas with ironwork structures had been considered, the shortage of municipal funds had hindered their construction. After the Revolution of 1868, the new political trends fostered municipal services and began the construction of a new generation of markets. It was impossible to avoid a comparison of the Parisian markets, which had been operating for almost fifteen years, with the open-air markets of Madrid and Barcelona. La Cebada market in Madrid and El Born market in Barcelona were held outdoors, amid considerable disorder and very deficient conditions of salubrity. In Madrid, the popular city council of 1868 decided to build two new markets in order to organize the town’s chaotic supply situation and to improve its sanitary conditions. The new market halls of La Cebada and Mostense were built in Madrid between 1868 and 1875. El Born market hall was built in Barcelona between 1872 and 1876. All these markets combined retailing and wholesale as did Les Halles in Paris.

In Madrid, only a small number of ironwork market halls were built in this period. In Barcelona, on the other hand, with the Eixample expansion district at the height of its development and where most of the adjacent municipalities had been annexed by the city in 1897 and were also growing, a remarkable network of market halls was built in the space of a few years. The number and coherence of this set of ironwork markets was largely due to the fact that they were made of products from the city’s local industry. These ironwork markets were those of El Born (1872-1876), Sant Antoni (1872-1884), Hostafrancs (1881), Barceloneta (1884), Concepció (1888), Llibertat (1888), Clot (1889), Unió (1889), Abaceria of Gràcia (1892), Sarrià (1911), Sants (1913), La Boqueria (1914), Sant Andreu (1914), Galvany (1927) and Ninot (1933)²⁰. All these market halls were built to replace outdoor markets that had supplied the various old and new neighbourhoods.

Up to this point, Barcelona - like the other major Spanish cities -, was merely a follower with a significant but relatively modest market system within the European context. The distinguishing feature of the covered markets of Barcelona and other Spanish cities is that they were not only preserved but underwent a significant increase in number in the first half of the 20th century. Moreover, and this is even more unusual, after World War II, when market halls were disappearing in most of the advanced countries, the district market systems were substantially strengthened in some Spanish cities.

4. The waning markets halls and the open markets (766 words)

In the leading countries, the market erosion was a slow and progressive process during over half a century, until it reached the point of what was practically a liquidation of the market systems as conceived in the 19th century. The circumstances in each country were different but the final results were quite similar. In Great Britain, for example, the construction of new

markets took place mainly between 1830 and 1880. The peak was in the 1870s, when 29 new market halls were built. Since then there has been a progressive decrease in the number of structures of this kind and between 1910 and 1950 only eleven new market halls were built in the whole country²¹. A New York magazine from 1885 wondered if the markets were doomed because of the increasing competition from the private stores established uptown. The prices were higher in these establishments, of course, but they had many advantages for customers: they were near their residences, they knew their tastes, household servants could purchase on account, and the customer service was better. The municipal markets, on the other hand, were criticized for their deficient maintenance, cleanliness and hygiene and for the coarseness of their vendors²².

In 1913, Philadelphia had already lost a considerable portion of its exemplary market system and the *clerk of the markets* did not think in those “times of the telephone and the corner grocery store” that it would be possible to return to “old custom of marketing”²³. In the same way, the researchers on the case of France have observed that, in the latter years of the century, there came about a certain weakening of the markets, threatened as they were by grocers, wholesalers and cooperatives, and by the decline in traditional agriculture. During and after the war of 1914-18, the deterioration took place at a faster pace owing to the selfsame destruction of the war, the lack of maintenance and the later demolition of many of the markets. In the Interwar period, the policy of the British government was to return to free trade and to encourage the organization of central wholesale markets in large towns, in order to fight the increase in prices. This policy did not favour the farmer-producers. Meanwhile, consumer habits were changing. It was the time “of imported butter, tinned beans and tinned meat” and of an increasing standardization of products that hindered “local farmers from selling directly to their local markets”²⁴. All these factors harassed small retailers and the public market.

Most city markets were more and more clearly oriented toward the working class. They were still lively but, as the years went by, the public budgets were less able to cover the market renewal needs. In order to meet the demand for cheap food, many towns encouraged the re-establishment of weekly open-air markets and they even allowed street vending. The open-air markets did not require large investments and were more easily adaptable to new situations, such as the needs of new neighbourhoods. In fact, the open-air markets never actually disappeared and Guadet wrote in his treatise around 1890 that, even in Paris, while several old open markets remained quite successful, other new markets that had been costly to build were closing²⁵. The resilience and resurgence of the open markets were widespread phenomena in all countries. The open market tradition remained very alive in many provincial towns, including the very important ones. In the United States, for example, a 1918 market survey by the Census Bureau counted about 180 open markets in the 237 cities with a population over 30,000²⁶.

The definitive market hall crisis broke out during the second post-war period. The lack of investments, the selfsame destruction of war, the post-war renewals of historical centres, the growing motorization, and the rapid spread of supermarkets, tied to the pre-packaging and branding of goods, were all working against the traditional market hall, which came to be considered an obsolete anachronism²⁷. The rapid development of the new retail establishments in the 1950s and 1960s was combated by the representatives of traditional commerce, but that process had decisive political support because it was seen as a means to contain the persistent increase of prices. Events unfolded very quickly and, in the sixties, the bases of the present marketing system were laid in France, Germany and England. Accordingly, it is not surprising that the post-war decades were the most destructive period for market halls in the leading European countries. The market halls were often replaced by other commercial formulas or they were completely “modernized”, losing their original

character. The final demolition of Les Halles in 1971 was the most apparent and dramatic episode in this destructive process and, by receiving great international attention, it became the one that helped the most to raise the awareness of the need to preserve this kind of structures.

5. Barcelona and the case of Spain

(633 words)

As a result of the historical lag in the modernization of the marketing framework, the development of the Spanish markets diverged significantly from the process in other European countries. Between 1910 and 1936, a very considerable number of markets were built in the leading Spanish cities and in many smaller towns as well. In Madrid, for example, San Miguel market (1912-1916) and the small San Antonio district market were built. From 1930, a substantial renewal was undertaken and the new markets were built with reinforced concrete. In Palma de Mallorca a new market hall was designed in 1914 and several new market halls came to be built: Verónicas market (1914) in Murcia, the Central (1914-1929) and Colón (1916) monumental markets in Valencia, Abastos market (1921) in Alicante, and Salamanca market (1923-25) in Malaga. In Bilbao, Ribera market (1929) was rebuilt and, in that same year, a market was designed for the city of Vitoria. We can see a similar trend in different smaller towns, like the one at Plaza de España (1927) in Cieza (Murcia Prov.), the one in Vilafranca (Cordova Prov.), and the concrete market designed by the engineer Eduardo Torroja in Algeciras (1933).

Barcelona and the Catalan area were no exception. La Boqueria market was covered (1914) and the Sarrià market hall (1911), the two markets in Sants, the main market (1913) and Hort Nou market (1911), Sant Andreu market (1914), Galvany market (1927) and Ninot market (1933) were built in those years. Also built at that time were the market halls near Barcelona in Hospitalet de Collblanc, Sant Just Desvern, (1920-1923), Sant Joan Despí (1927), Sabadell (1927-1930), Badalona (1924-1926), Arenys de Mar (1925-1929), Molins de Rei (1932-33) and Plaza de Cuba market in Mataró (1936). Other markets were built in Calella (Girona Prov.) (1927) and in Sant Feliu de Guíxols (Girona Prov.) (1928-1930)²⁸. Also remarkable in these years was the activity of the recently organized association of municipal architects of Spain. In its journal CAME, it published numerous articles about markets between 1929 and 1936. Moreover, the architect Giralt Casadesús, the journal's factotum, even published a monograph on markets in 1937²⁹.

However, the most notable divergence from other countries came after the Spanish Civil War (1936-39). In the fifties and sixties, while the old markets were disappearing in other countries, in Spain a new generation of markets came to be built in the new suburban districts of the main cities. The shortage of commercial structures made it necessary to encourage open-air markets in the popular districts, and they were finally replaced by covered ones. In this respect, the case of Barcelona forms a good example of this unusual trend. Twenty-five new market halls were built there between 1944 and 1987³⁰.

While the most outstanding ironwork markets disappeared in Madrid as a result of the market renewal of the 1930s, in Barcelona these structures have been almost completely preserved. Not even the removal of the central market from El Born was to lead to the latter's destruction. The negative example of the demolition of Les Halles helped to evidence the need for a stubborn defence of El Born market building. A popular movement arose which was politically strengthened by the circumstances in the last years of the Franco regime, and it finally saved the building. The paradox is, consequently, that a late-comer city has maintained a much richer legacy than other greater cities, not only in terms of the architectural heritage but also in those of public market halls as functioning facilities. A quick browse of diverse cities' market systems, according to the information available on the

Internet, shows that Paris, whose market system served as model for the leading Spanish cities, today has only eleven covered markets, of a total of 78 market facilities. The rest are basically open-air markets, most of which operate only two days a week, usually opening on Saturday or Sunday. Madrid, on the other hand, has 46 markets and Barcelona has 40, all of which are roofed facilities opening 47 hours a week and closing only on Sundays³¹.

6. Markets as city-planning tools.

(1136 words)

The removal of the central markets, around 1970, from Les Halles in Paris, from the Covent Garden Market in London, and from the Quincey Market in Boston, were the most visible aspects of the old market halls' process of disappearance. Thanks, however, to the growing awareness of downtown decay and of the loss of the architectural heritage, the renewals undertaken in London and in Boston finally preserved the ironwork structures. From a functional standpoint, in any case, the old markets appeared to be definitively doomed. Nevertheless, at the same time there were some voices that defended farmers' markets as "totally functional anachronisms". Supermarkets were cheaper but farmers' markets had been able to meet consumers' wish for high-quality fresh products and, although they had long been considered inefficient anachronisms, the energy crisis of seventies and the growing environmental awareness provided convincing arguments in their favour. Open markets are held today in all countries round the world and several arguments are adduced in their defence. In the less developed areas, they are the main source of retailing while in the industrialized world they are an alternative form; and in some areas they are the only source of fresh produce. Likewise, they are useful to the small farmers, operating as "business incubators and survival safety nets for people at the economic bottom". In the same Western countries where market halls had progressively vanished, these facilities have received ever-growing support from consumers in recent decades and their numbers have significantly increased. The market tends to recover its traditional character as an event; a completely different experience from the equalized and controlled environment of shopping centres. Nevertheless, the market's impact on the urban space and its driving effect on the commercial fabric, which are key aspects today and have been so throughout city history, are rarely mentioned. No one doubts at this time that the shopping malls located on the outskirts of the big cities have weakened the traditional marketing fabric and, consequently, the life of the urban centres. In France, the Royer Act of 1973 launched a policy that is very restrictive for new shopping centres and favourable to small retailers. That law was not expressed properly in city-planning terms, seeking mainly to prevent the destruction of small companies and the loss of commercial facilities. In any case, since that time the attitude has grown more and more restrictive.

In Spain, in the seventies, retailing was in a much more traditional stage than in other European countries and the impact of the new shopping centres was delayed until the period 1984-1996. In that dynamic period, the quick expansion of the new big retail centres coincided with the adoption of French commercial urbanism's restrictive model by Spain's Public Administration. Nevertheless, this policy has been often hindered in Spain by the regionally decentralized authorities. In the Catalan region, the defence of traditional marketing has been quite strict and the act of 1987 is in many aspects like the French one. The city-planning policy in Barcelona, unfolded by the democratic city councils from the beginning of the 1980s, did not properly consider the markets but established a set of guidelines that will favour them in the long run. It envisaged the "rebuilding" of the consolidated city and preferred to design the city starting from the neighbourhoods rather than from the general plan. It revindicated the public space and the collective marks of

identity, and proposed precise programmed actions adapted to the existing morphologies and uses.

The issue of the markets arose in the last half of the eighties, when the capacity of the retail system was exceeded by its own growth dynamics and by the crisis of the whole sector. The proliferation of dispersed units was saturating the sector and the traditional retail fabric showed itself to be unable to adapt to the circumstances. In 1990 a Special Plan for Food Retail Facilities was approved by the City Council that emphasized, from the city-planning standpoint, the importance of fostering traditional food retailing. The municipal markets formed the fundamental poles of proximity retailing and they were the foremost tool for updating the whole system. The Special Plan concentrated its proposal on the renewal of the existing market network. The Barcelona Municipal Markets Institute was created in 1991 with the mission to manage, administer and modernize the municipal markets, aiming to maintain their social, civic and cultural centrality. Since that time it has carried out an integrated management and promotion of the Barcelona market halls system, and it has not only modernized and renewed the existing markets but has even built some new ones. The recent experience of Barcelona has been very different from the political choices made in Madrid, where some municipal markets have been disappearing in the last few years because of a shortage in investment.

Retailing is a multiform and turbulent environment which is increasingly segmented because today consumption depends more on desires and cultural choices than on massive "needs". In this changing environment, the various types of markets can find their own niche. Moreover, the survival of markets must be a strategic commitment to revitalize the city centres. To face the markets' future, we require a better knowledge of their past, but little attention has been given to this matter. Historically, the new retail premises, such as shopping arcades, department stores, self-service shops, supermarkets, large stores, regional malls, etc., have aroused much greater interest, as an expression of a constantly renewed modernity, than the public markets. Despite the quick expansion and great visibility of these new formats, however, they have had a very short service life, especially if compared to the market halls with their traits of resilience and resurgence.

In the present phase, experts predict a notable contraction of the big commercial centres that dominate the retail trade at this time. In the United States of America, the time spent at shopping malls has already decreased, and it is accepted that the new online trade, which can offer better prices, will cause retailing to become concentrated in a small number of giants³². In addition, the consumption sphere will be increasingly filled with 'leisure' and 'experiences', in which traditional markets provide good assets³³. Face-to-face buying and selling, the various kinds of quality fresh products, and the selfsame differences between markets can offer a wide, richer and more authentic range of experiences than other generic formats. Appropriately managed, they can revitalize city centres, linking them to their own past while fitting the new urban multicultural habits. These are two positive features in a time of a 'cultural turn' in city planning³⁴. The Barcelona market policy fits an urban cultural choice and shows some of its possibilities as a planning tool within an urbanism that can be qualified by diverse adjectives (strategic, commercial, cultural...), but that, as a general rule, is today "less concerned with the arrangement of more or less permanent objects, stable configurations or definite crystallization, and more interested in accommodating processes with the adoption of strategic guides"³⁵.

¹ Koolhaas, R., (1995), "What Ever Happened to Urbanism?", in *S, M, L, XL*, (New York: The Monacelli Press, p. 969.

² Pirenne, Henri, (1927), *Les villes du Moyen Age. Essai d'histoire économique et sociale*, Bruxelles. ST: *Las ciudades de la edad media*, Alianza, Madrid, 1972.

³ Bois, Guy, (1989), *La mutation de l'an mil. Lournand, village mâconnais, de l'antiquité au féodalisme*, Fayard, Paris. ET: *The Transformation of the Year One Thousand. The Village of Lournand from Antiquity to Feudalism*, trans. Jean Birrell (Manchester, 1992). ST: *La revolución del año mil*, Crítica, Barcelona, 1991. See also Alain Guerreau, "Lournand au Xe

siècle: histoire et fiction," *Le Moyen Age*, 96 (1990), pp. 519-37 and Adriann Verhulst, "The Decline of Slavery and the Economic Expansion of the Early Middle Ages," *Past and Present*, 133 (1991), pp. 195-203.

⁴ Ganshof, F.L., (1943), *Étude sur le développement des villes entre Loire au moyen âge*, Paris-Brussels. Lavedan, P, Hugueney, J., L'urbanisme au moyen âge, Droz, Genève, 1974. Conzen, M.R.G. (1962) 'The plan analysis of an English city centre', in Norborg, K. (ed.)(1960), *Proceedings of the IGU Symposium in Urban Geography*, Gleerup-Lund, Lund, pp. 383-414. Conzen, M.R.G. (1960) 'Alnwick, Northumberland: a study in town-plan analysis', *Institute of British Geographers Publication 27* (George Philip, London). Carter, H., (1983), *An introduction to Urban Historical Geography*, Arnold, London.

⁵ In Spanish, *almotacén* and, in Catalan, *al mostassaf*, both from the Arabic *al muthasib*.

⁶ Tangires, H., (2003), *Public Markets and Civic Culture in nineteenth century America*, John Hopkins U. P., Baltimore. "the persistence of the moral economy despite the disruptive effects of capitalist market economy in nineteenth century America. The moral economy reflected local government's effort to maintain the social and political health of its community by regulating the ethics of trade in life's necessities"

⁷ Voltaire (1749), *Des embellissements de Paris* <<http://www.voltaire-integral.com/Html/23/30Embellissements.html>> «Paris serait encore très incommode et très irrégulier quand cette place serait faite; il faut des marchés publics, des fontaines qui donnent en effet de l'eau, des carrefours réguliers, des salles de spectacle; il faut élargir les rues étroites et infectes, découvrir les monuments qu'on ne voit point, et en élever qu'on puisse voir. (...) Nous rougissons, avec raison, de voir les marchés publics établis dans des rues étroites, étaler la malpropreté, répandre l'infection, et causer des désordres continuels. (...) Il est temps que ceux qui sont à la tête de la plus opulente capitale de l'Europe la rendent la plus commode et la plus magnifique». En *Des embellissements de la ville de Cachemire*. (1750) : « c'était une pitié de n'avoir aucun de ces grands bazars, c'est-à-dire de ces marchés et de ces magasins publics entourés de colonnes, et servant à la fois à l'utilité et à l'ornement».

⁸ Monclús, F.J., (1989), "Teorías arquitectónicas y discursos urbanísticos. De las operaciones de 'embellecimiento' a la reforma global de la ciudad en el s. XVIII", *Ciudad Y Territorio*, 79-1, Madrid.

⁹ Teyssot, G., (1980), 'Il sistema dei Bâtiments civils in Francia', in *Le macchina imperfetta. Architettura, programma, istituzioni, nel XIX secolo*, Officina edizioni, Roma, p. 97. Lepetit, B., (1988), *Les villes dans la France Moderne (1740-1840)*, Albin Michel, Paris, p. 255.

¹⁰ Lemoine, B., (1980), *Les Halles de Paris. L'histoire d'un lieu, les péripéties d'une reconstruction, la succession des projets, l'architecture des monuments, l'enjeu d'une "Cité"*, L'Equerre, Paris, p. 32

¹¹ Schmiechen, J., Carls, K., (1999), *The British market hall. A social and architectural history*, New Haven, Yale University Press, p.21 and p.47. In Britain, for example, "the emerging 'enlightened' view of urban life held that the street and the open marketplace, which had long been the turf of the lower classes (...), should be reshaped according a 'rational' and 'educated' middle-class models of respectability, social order, and civic virtue". The new public market halls were planned as features "of everyday life which went beyond commerce into the realm of human behaviour and social values. If buying and selling were to be conducted in a respectable orderly fashion, then people needed to be educated in the appropriate virtues; it was believed that the proper spatial arrangement and visual language of the market environment would serve as instructors in such moral lessons". Also in Thompson, V. E., (1997), "Urban Renovation, Moral Regeneration: Domesticating the Halles in Second Empire Paris", *French Historical Studies*, 20, winter, pp. 87-109.

¹² Bruyère, L., (1813), *Collection des marchés de Paris avec projets*, École Nationale des Ponts et Chaussées.

¹³ García Domènech, R. M., (1990), "Mercats de Barcelona a la primera meitat del segle XIX", *Història Urbana de Barcelona. Actes del II congrés d'Història del Pla de Barcelona*, 6-7, diciembre 1985, vol.2. IMHB, Barcelona. It seems that the market hall Project of Santa Caterina was designed in 1837, but it was not begun until 1843.

¹⁴ Bailly, G-H. & Laurent, Ph., (1998), *La France des Halles & Marchés*, Toulouse, Privat.

¹⁵ Cerdà, I., (1859), *Teoría de la Construcción de Ciudades*, Ministerio de Administraciones Públicas - Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, 1991. Cerdà, I., (1867), *Teoría General de la Urbanización*, Madrid, reprint by Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, Barcelona, 1968

¹⁶ Schmiechen, J., Carls, K., (1999), *The British market hall. A social and architectural history*, New Haven, Yale University Press, p.144.

¹⁷ Tangires, H., (2003), *Ibid*, p. 187; Bailly, G-H. & Laurent, Ph., (1998), *Ibid*, p. 44

¹⁸ Schmiechen, J., Carls, K., (1999), *Ibid*.

¹⁹ Tangires, H., (2003), *Ibid*, p. 173

²⁰ Castañer Muñoz, E., (2004), *L'architecture métallique en Espagne: Les halles au XIXe siècle*, Presses Universitaires de Perpignan.

²¹ Schmiechen, J., Carls, K., (1999), *Ibid*, p. 44

²² Tangires, H., (2003), *Ibid*, p. 182. "creating an atmosphere of civility was difficult in the old, established public markets (...) for women were particularly aware of this and criticized vendors failing to maintain standards of orderliness, cleanliness, and general appearance...".

²³ Tangires, H., (2003), *Ibid*, p. 194.

²⁴ Schmiechen, J., Carls, K., (1999), *Ibid*, p.190

²⁵ Guadet, J., (1894), *Éléments et théories de l'architecture*: "...à Paris même tandis que quelques vieux marchés tenus sous les anciens parapluies de toile goudronnée réussissent à merveille, les marchés neufs, construits à grands frais, aménagés avec luxe, ferment les uns après les autres..." In Bailly, G-H. & Laurent, Ph., *Ibid*, p.45

²⁶ Tangires, H., (2003), *Ibid*, p. 201.

²⁷ Schmiechen, J., Carls, K., (1999), *Ibid*, p.209

²⁸ Castañer Muñoz, E., (2004), *Ibi.d*.

²⁹ Giralt Casadesús, R., (1939), *Mercados: Teoría y práctica de su construcción y funcionamiento*, CAME, Barcelona.

³⁰ Sagrada Family market (1944), occupying the General Motors facilities; Carme market (1950), replacing the Drassanes “open-air market”; Sagrera market (1950), Horta market (1951), Vallvidrera market (1953), Estrella market in Gràcia (1954), Guinardó market (1954), Tres Torres market (1958), Bon Pastor market (1960), Montserrat market (1960), Mercè market (1961) (the latter two in Nou Barris), Les Corts market (1961), Guineueta market (1965), Ciutat Meridiana market (1966), Felip II market (1966), Sant Martí market (1966), Besòs market (1968), Sant Gervasi market (1968), Carmel market (1969), Vall d' Hebron market (1969), Port market (1973), Provençals market (1974), Lesseps market (1974), Trinitat market (1977) and Canyelles market (1987).

³¹ The Madrid average is 47 hours a week, and the Barcelona average is 47,5 hours a week. In contrast, the 78 Parisian markets average 20.5 hours a week, and Lyon's 35 markets average 17 hours a week..

³² Harvard Design School, (2001), *Guide to Shopping*, Taschen, Köln. pp. 72-92.

³³ Kooijman, D., (2006), “New cathedrals of consumption for German car makers, Autostadt as a built metaphor”, in *Perspectivas Urbanas / Urban Perspectives*, nº 7, (<http://www.etsav.upc.es/urbspersp>) ETSAV. Barcelona.

³⁴ Freestone, R., Gibson, Ch., (2006) “The Cultural Dimension of Urban Planning Strategies: an historical perspective”, in *Culture, Urbanism and Planning*, Monclús, F. J., Guardia, M. (eds.), Ashgate, forthcoming.

³⁵ R. Koolhaas, (1995), *Ibid*, p. 969.

The Urbanism of Thomas Sharp¹

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1. Introduction

This paper sets out some of the principal planning ideas of Thomas Sharp (1901-1978) a prominent figure in planning in the UK in the middle part of the twentieth century. From working class origins Sharp was one of the first planners trained as such, rather than entering planning via another profession. He established his name in the early 1930s through a series of polemical texts, starting with *Town and Countryside* (Sharp 1932). He partly wrote this whilst unemployed, which is indicative of the troubled relationships he often had with those with whom he worked and his habitual response of resigning in such cases. Subsequently he worked as an academic, was seconded to central government for part of the Second World War and became a consultant. In this latter capacity he was probably the most prolific of authors of reconstruction plans during the mid-late 1940s (Larkham and Lilley 2001), with something of a specialisation in historic towns such as Durham, Oxford and Exeter. He was also President of the Town Planning Institute in 1945 and subsequently of the Landscape Institute in 1949. With a shift to local authority planning after the introduction of the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, combined with his obduracy, meant that his later career, in the 1950s and 1960s, was quiet compared with the peak, and rather frenzied, years of the 1940s.

¹ This paper forms part of a project *Town and Townscape: The Work and Life of Thomas Sharp*, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council.

In very simple terms Sharp can be summed up as an urbanist. Like many of his generation, his views were in part a reaction against the industrial and urban horrors of the nineteenth century. However, he was equally critical of what he regarded as romantic responses and was in the vanguard of a critique of garden city principles. He sought a rediscovery of a civilised urbanism that would be distinctly modern in character and was influential in then evolving ideas about the appearance of place, and the idea of townscape. A short paper such as this can only focus on a few key ideas. Also it cannot fully reflect how those ideas evolved over time. This paper principally focuses upon the two decades when Sharp when he was prominent in the profession; the 1930s and 1940s.

The paper draws from Sharp's published works and from the archive of his personal papers held as a Special Collection at Newcastle University (GB186 THS). It is very much work in progress; further work is needed on Sharp and, in particular, in contextualising his ideas in the wider planning milieu of the period.

2. Key concepts

a. *The Modern Town*

Sharp initially laid out his principal ideas about planning and settlement form in his first book *Town and Countryside* (Sharp, 1932). The core principles remained through his subsequent 'general books', *English Panorama* (Sharp 1936), *Town Planning* (Sharp 1940) and substantially revised 2nd edition of *English Panorama* (Sharp 1950) (with some interesting shifts and changes of nuance from the first edition).

Sharp set out his stall early in *Town and Countryside*. In part his argument stemmed from the wider concerns of the period over the perceived desecration of the countryside as motor traffic allowed the ugliness hitherto largely associated and confined to the industrial town to spill out into rural areas. However, for Sharp, the problems of the future of the countryside were inextricably linked with the future of the town. Urban areas had lost urbanity, according to Sharp, because of Victorian industrialism and capitalism but also because of the planning response of garden cities and their suburban progeny;

'Tradition has broken down. Taste is utterly debased. There is no enlightened guidance or correction from authority. The town, long since degraded, is now being annihilated by a flabby, shoddy, romantic nature-worship. That romantic nature-worship is destroying also the object of its adoration, the countryside. Both are being destroyed. The one age-long certainty, the antithesis of town and country, is already breaking down. Two diametrically opposed, dramatically contrasting, inevitable types of beauty are being displaced by one drab, revolting neutrality. Rural influences neutralize the town. Urban influences neutralize the country. In a few years all will be neutrality. The strong, masculine virility of the town; the softer beauty, the richness, the fruitfulness of that mother of men the countryside, will be debased into one sterile, hermaphroditic beastliness' (p11).

He went on to directly savage Howard's *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*. The essence of the argument was that the correct response to the horrors of the Victorian city should have been ideas about how to improve it rather than abandon it. He mocked Howard's preoccupation with town 'evils' such as gin palaces. He lambasted the concept of Howard's idea of marriage

of town and country as 'Town-Country' as being 'a hermaphrodite; sterile, imbecile, a monster; abhorrent and loathsome to the Nature which he worships' (p143). He lamented how garden city low density ideas had been encapsulated in planning legislation and in the profession. Howard was assaulted perhaps to an even greater degree in *English Panorama*; in describing the Three Magnets he stated 'It was on pseudo-philosophical foundations like this that the New Jerusalems were builded. The acceptance of such romanticism may perhaps be regarded as an indication of the desperate condition to which sociologists had been reduced...' (p 78-79). The incorporation of garden city ideas in planning orthodoxies led to 'universal suburbia', as development wasn't restricted to new contained settlements but sprawled across the countryside, 'vague, wasteful, formless, incoherent, it slobbers over the counties' (p 86). *Town Planning* continued the assault on garden cities (now labelled 'Neither-Town-Nor-Country') and suburbanisation.

At the heart of Sharp's critique of the garden city movement and its influence on planning standards of the time was the issue of density (and how this was architecturally articulated). In *Town Planning* he assaulted what he regarded as fallacious standards of housing density and distance between properties (with the then prevalent norms of twelve houses per acre and seventy foot between fronts and backs of parallel houses). He restricted himself from making conclusive statements about population density but suggested that in the order of 150/200 people per acre might be appropriate versus the less than 50 in garden cities and the 400 suggested by Le Corbusier in *Ville Radieuse*. The task of the planner was to rehabilitate the idea of the town. He was careful to distinguish between himself and other commentators on the state of the English town, such as D H Lawrence, by establishing that poor town building was not an intrinsically English failing and indeed for Sharp there was a distinguished post-Enlightenment, pre-Victorian history of town building. This history was related to practical democratic utility rather than authoritarian show (as might be found on the Continent). London squares exemplified this. Similarly English (and some Scottish) provincial towns were compared favourably to other European countries, as pleasant towns for citizens (though as Sharp made clear, historically not all citizens benefited).

However, though Sharp's appreciation of urbanity was rooted in the past he was at heart a modernist. These historical examples were inspiring but not for imitation. In *Town Planning* he reviewed various theorists of urban form. He started with the linear city as proposed by Arturo Sona y Mata in Spain and Soviet variants. Sharp dismissed this concept on a variety of grounds, not least its inefficiency in its stimulus; in claiming to be 'Planning for a Transport Age'. He then considered ideas put forward to reformulate the big city. Though not named as such, he clearly had the MARS plan for London in mind with an old centre retained but the rest of the city rebuilt in a modified linear way, with substantial wedges of country between the urban blocks. Again Sharp was ultimately dismissive, over the desirability of having such big cities and the massive extent of such a renewed London; so this was 'not only a wild dream but rather a bad one' (p 64). Next he turned to urban hierarchies with satellite towns, a model he found more appealing and in principle more practical. This acknowledged that whilst big cities were problematic they had social attractions and might form part of a wider hierarchy in what Sharp sought to define as 'subcentralisation' (vs. decentralisation). In considering what an ideal size for a town might be, he concluded with a guess that it might generally be around 100,000 with the occasional larger city.

b. *Town Design*

Sharp's published views on Le Corbusier were somewhat equivocal. In *Town and Countryside* he referred to 'the much-discussed frenzied theatricality that Le Corbusier has entitled "The City of Tomorrow"' (p140). In his discussion of theorists in *Town Planning* he displayed some sympathy for Corbusian ideas but considered them impractical. He was not especially adverse to high rise flats at this point and concluded the appropriate residential mix would be a combination of flats and houses. However, from the time of *English Panorama* on Sharp had pronounced, drawing inspiration from Georgian precedents, that the key urban building block should be the street. His advocacy for the street was used also to attack semi-detached, hip-roofed, 'open' development.

In *Town Planning* he analysed why the later nineteenth century street was a debased architectural form before making the case for why the terraced street remained his preferred form of urban design, providing the best picturesque (not quaint) architectural composition. As he had in *Town and Countryside* earlier, Sharp cited Trystan Edward's *Good and Bad Manners in Architecture* as a key influence on his ideas on these issues; at the level of the individual house stress was placed upon emphasising doorways as an expression of the individual house. Sharp outlined compositional principles for terraces which might avoid the monotony of the nineteenth century street. Each individual street should be regarded as an architectural composition and a town should be a continuous series of contrasting compositions. With an urban hierarchy some principal streets might be quite long and given modest monumentality but most would be short and might be in cul-de-sacs. Above all the key was held to be variety.

Similarly the partially completed draft manual, *Civic Design*, (Sharp 1942) prepared for the Ministry of Town and Country Planning in a discussion on the street opened with the bald statement that 'the axiom that the street is the urban unit of design' (p29). At the core of this was the importance of good neighbourliness between buildings; 'each street must be judged, and should so be designed, as a large-scale finite composition, a single urban picture' (p29). Monotony could be avoided by keeping streets relatively short and having variety between streets. Formal architectural 'stops' were not deemed necessary but there was considered to be a danger of anti-climax if compositional issues were not fully considered. The manual further considered issues relating to domestic streets and commercial streets. The latter included a blast against 'chain-store architecture', the practice of using standardised designs for particular companies, considering it 'a most deplorable abrogation of civic responsibility' (p37). Effectively this was recognition of what we now term 'local distinctiveness'; 'Each town differs from every other town, every site from every other site and every individual problem of design requires its own individual solution' (p37).

This consideration of the street was part of a wider approach to urban design that Sharp was formulating which he came to call townscape, a term which was of course also used by a group of writers at the *Architectural Review*, leading to Gordon Cullen's (1961) seminal text. An antecedent for a townscape approach is today usually taken to be the work of Camillo Sitte. However, Sharp's own published references to Sitte were not kind. In *Town and Countryside* he wrote,

'Camillo Sitte saw in picturesque 'natural' medieval towns a beauty that he could not find in later architectural uniformity. He set out directly to copy in modern cities the irregularities, the fumbings, the purposeless staggerings of those old towns. Where

the old builders did not plan at all he planned an imitation of their lack of planning - with such lamentable results that the whole of his theory stood condemned by his works within a few years. Of all artificiality the most barren and depressing is the conscious imitation of the unconscious and "natural" (p66).

In the early 1930s Sharp had a strong preference for the building and towns of the Enlightenment period. This was perhaps ironic given that many of his subsequent prestigious commissions as a planning consultant in the 1940s were for older medieval settlements. However, these made him more appreciative of their qualities as a comparison between the two editions of *English Panorama* shows (Lilley 1999). In the latter he did not disavow his previous analysis of the disorder of the medieval town but was now willing to celebrate its picturesque effects and also concede that the pictorial possibilities of some major sites were consciously and deliberately exploited. And certainly the detailed appraisals he had undertaken of the cities he worked upon had a major influence on his ideas about townscape.

This was evident in his first major plan produced as a consultant, undertaken for Durham, *Cathedral City* (Sharp 1945). For example, the oblique approach to the Cathedral from the town up a narrow medieval street was described as follows,

‘[Owengate] climbs steeply up to Palace Green, with a glimpse of the Cathedral at its head. Then, at the top of the rise, at the head of the curve, the confined view having thus far excited one’s feelings of mystery and expectation, the street suddenly opens out into Palace Green, broad, spacious, elevated, with a wide expanse of sky: and there, suddenly, dramatically, the whole fine length of the Cathedral is displayed to the immediate view. It is as exciting a piece of town planning as occurs anywhere in the kingdom’ (p54).

Thus, the Owengate approach to the Cathedral was not an accidental piece of townscape charm, but given further validation as a consciously planned composition.

It was in his Oxford plan, *Oxford Replanned* (Sharp 1948), though, where his ideas about townscape crystallised. The plan contained a Frontispiece and Tailpiece which effectively set out principles and components of townscape, using Oxford as an example. Together these sections totalled some 65 pages of analysis. He analysed the magnificent; Sharp considered the High Street a 'great and homogenous work of art' (p20), not due to the intrinsic quality of the buildings but because of the relationships between them. Nearby, the sequence of Bodleian Library, Radcliffe Camera and St. Mary's church was held to be 'a first class aesthetic experience... to be treated with awe' (p32). He considered that crucial to both these experiences was the experience of movement through space or, as he termed it, kinetic experience, one his fundamental townscape principles. Another can be considered to be an aversion to monumentality and ‘opening out’, honed by his work in historic cities with their intricate visual effects. This stands in contrast, to for example, other reconstruction plans of the era such as York (Adshead, Minter et al. 1948) and Chester (Greenwood 1945). His exposition of townscape also encompassed much more humble elements. For example, under the heading of 'trivia' he considered the importance of floorscape, demonstrating the significance of texture, and its erosion through tarmacing².

² However, in *Chronicles of Failure* (Sharp c.1973) Sharp stated that some of the text in Frontispiece and Tailpiece was introduced anonymously by H. de Croning Hastings.

His ideas on townscape were subsequently reprised and developed in *Oxford Observed* (Sharp 1952), and in his last significant work *Town and Townscape* (Sharp 1968).

c. *The Organisation of the Town*

Though Sharp is perhaps now best known for his ideas on the visual appearance of place he was also greatly concerned with the functionality and social and economic organisation of place. He was also angry about the social and economic conditions that prevailed in significant parts of the country. His *A Derelict Area* (Sharp 1935) was a bitter treatise on the depressed coal mining area he had grown up in south-west Durham and he considered himself a life-long socialist (e.g. letter GB186 THS).

These attitudes informed his planning principles. His first major foray into the Town Planning Institute was through a paper presented in 1937 entitled *Segregation in Town Development* (Sharp 1937). The paper was a critique of over-segregation. His particular target was the large-scale separation of social classes in housing provision, or 'snob-zoning', which he considered socially undesirable. Planning, such as it was, he held to reinforce this process through its approach to density. The delivery of this paper was a traumatic experience; nearly all the speakers in the following discussion were highly critical, some defending the practice of social segregation. *Town Planning* subsequently picked up this theme. Again, Sharp was very critical of the social segregation of the contemporary city and the attendant class snobbery, the more so as he saw planning reinforcing the separation of the social classes.

As part of the creation of satellite towns, Sharp was an advocate of the neighbourhood unit. In *Chronicles of Failure* (Sharp c. 1973) he takes some credit for the development of the idea of the neighbourhood unit although more usually it is associated with evolving ideas in the USA in the 1920s (see, for example, Madanipour 1992). He did set out ideas for something akin to the neighbourhood unit in the first edition of *English Panorama*; the smallest unit he identified was such as might exist around a crèche, a number of which might aggregate to support a health centre or primary school. The neighbourhood unit was clearly advocated in *Civic Design*, it is 'the residential unit which allows for convenient social contacts and which can provide a full range of social, cultural and technical services of a local character' (p52) and was considered to be something like 2,000 inhabitants (though Sharp soon modified this figure – for example his Durham plan referred to 6,000 to 10,000). It was considered advantageous to have each of the units between principal traffic roads with the functional centre somewhere towards the geographical centre. Again, the use of neighbourhood units was advocated by the Study Group of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning credited with introducing the neighbourhood unit into British planning (Stephenson, edited by DeMarco 1992), led by Sharp, in their report appended to the main Dudley Report, *Design of Dwellings* (Central Housing Advisory Committee 1944). This sort of thinking became generally accepted in the planning of the first generation New Towns.

Another example of Sharp's challenge to orthodox thinking on grouping of activities was his attitude to civic centres. The idea of a grouped 'civic centre' was very popular in reconstruction plans, following Edwardian antecedents. No longer was a town hall considered sufficient, it needed to be accompanied by a range of other administrative and cultural facilities which might include, for example, colleges, libraries, museums and art galleries. Sharp stood more or less apart in this fashion. Indeed he had criticised the concept before the war in *English Panorama*. He directly attacked the concept again in *Oxford Replanned* and

there is distaste for the idea expressed in the more official language of *Civic Design*. In essence he considered they were advocated out of a misguided wish for monumental display. Whilst acknowledging some groupings made functional sense, in his plans he was generally advocating a dispersal of facilities in a town and city as a functionally and aesthetically superior solution. In Larkham's work on civic centres four of the five plans he identified as rejecting the idea of such a centre were by Sharp and only one Sharp plan, for Stockport, appeared in the much longer list whereby such centres were advocated (Larkham 2004).

d. *Urban Roads*

The problem of managing the massive growth of motor traffic in existing settlements was to prove to be one of the defining features of Sharp's career from the 1940s on. In particular, following his reconstruction plans for Durham and Oxford he remained embroiled in the issue of how to relieve central area traffic in these cities for many years subsequently.

Sharp's approach to this key planning problem was quite distinct and different from the prevailing model evolving in the wake of the well-known recommendations of (Tripp 1942), which generally led to a tight inner-ring road with a series of precincts internal to this (though Sharp did adopt this model when applied to new development such as neighbourhood units). In *Civic Design* Sharp criticised standardised solutions not derived from proper analysis of the individual place. Like Tripp he had a general preference for roundabouts for traffic junctions though suggested that in towns they should generally be rectangular. Pedestrians should be separated in such locations by means of subways, for technical (smaller difference in height levels than bridges) and aesthetic reasons (less intrusive).

Based on consideration of his reconstruction plans Buchanan considered Sharp's approach as sufficiently significantly different to warrant a section in his seminal text *Mixed Blessing* (Buchanan 1958). Buchanan noted these plans generally did not have inner ring-roads as such and that Sharp (correctly) concluded that much urban traffic was internally generated and therefore could not be removed by bypasses and ring-roads. Sharp used the term 'substitute road' for his approach. A substitute road was a road inserted close to the main congested streets (which might be commercial or shopping) and designed to relieve the principal street of all its traffic except that directly needing to be there. Buchanan wrote 'Reading his reports now, one is impressed by his unerring eye for the choice of substitute road locations, and saddened by the way his proposals have been whittled away in the course of years of discussion' (p166). However, Sharp was not a pioneer of pedestrianisation, except perhaps for particular narrow historic streets. Indeed, he viewed a certain amount of traffic as representing the bustle and liveliness one would expect from a town centre.

e. *The Nature of Planning*

Though outside the main frame of this paper, it is worth briefly commenting upon Sharp's attitude towards the organisation and process of planning. In this regard, as so many others, Sharp's prominence was as a critic. A strong critic of the weak inter-war legislation his most public returns into the profession's eye were through assaults on the process of planning in the late-1950s and mid-1960s. A passionate believer in planning, in *Town Planning* he made some suggestions of how a planning system should work. At the heart of the process would be a National Plan prepared by a Central Planning Commission of experts. This would provide a framework for Regional Commissions and so on down to the level of local authorities. Elsewhere he spoke in favour of the nationalisation of land. An undoubted

technocratic Sharp nevertheless took the issue of public participation seriously. Indeed this was the major theme of his Presidential address, at a time when participation issues were not foremost in the profession's concerns (Sharp 1945). Sharp did not believe in public *engagement* in the process as such but did believe in the rights of the public to know what was being planned for them, to have the right to comment upon those proposals and if necessary to reject them. For Sharp planning was fundamentally concerned with design, a point he forcibly made to the Schuster examination of the qualifications of planners (Schuster 1950). Schuster concluded that planning is primarily a social and economic activity.

3. Towns that never were³

The post-war period was one era when planners can have been truly said to have designed towns in Britain, with the new towns programme and in some bomb-damaged towns, such as Coventry, substantial areas of planned development. This, however, was an area in which Sharp was to remain frustrated. Though his various reconstruction plans had varying degrees of influence it is perhaps only with bomb-damaged Exeter (Sharp 1946) that a significant part of an existing town was built in part along the lines proposed by Sharp. In terms of new settlements he was the initial master-planner of the first generation new town of Crawley before a characteristic falling-out led him to resign his position. Perhaps his most complete realisation of his ideas for a town was the hypothetical design he did which was featured in the film *When We Build Again*. He was also commissioned by the Forestry Commission to design a series of villages in Northumberland (although only three of these were built in part) and later in his career there were also plans for other new settlements; though neither of these are considered in this paper.

The plan and model he prepared for the Bournville Trust's *When We Build Again*, and exhibited in 1943, was for a small town, effectively not much bigger than concepts of the time for the appropriate size of a neighbourhood unit. A hypothetical scheme, but apparently based on a real site in the north of England, it was designed for a population of 8-10,000. The original intention was to represent a town of 50,000 people but that proved impractical for making a transportable model which was to be exhibited around the country.

A major factor immediately apparent in the plan of this satellite town was transport (*plan ref*). It was arranged either side of a railway, with an industrial area on one side and the remainder of the town on the other. There was a national highway nearby, separated from the town by playing fields. From this highway ran an arterial road, though again this did not link directly with the town. Rather, local roads ran off this into the main part of the town and the industrial area. This had the affect that there was no direct vehicular linkage between the industrial area and the rest of the town (though there was pedestrian access).

The primary local road in the major part of the centre ran through the centre. The centre itself was arranged fairly formally with a principal axis with shops on either side of this street. It was terminated at one end by a town square (off axis), with a community centre, church and cinema. At the other end of the axis was a roundabout and beyond, on axis, a 12 storey block of flats. Typically, though, the major of the housing was shown as being terraced, running in long-linked rows with semi-formal patterns of straight lines and curves. At the front, houses

³ This section draws significantly from material in the Thomas Sharp archive at Newcastle University (GB186 THS). Full references will be added as cataloguing proceeds.

were often set around small green squares, lying in the middle of local distributor roads. Most local streets were shown as through streets with only the very occasional use of cul-de-sacs. In some places terraces backed on to linear green space, before another road and another terrace. The densities of the terraces were up to 24 houses/ acre (net). In addition to the one point block previously indicated, there was also provision of some three storey flats and, at the periphery, some detached houses. Also to be found at the periphery were the major schools, allotment gardens and so on.

Sharp's approach with this hypothetical new town can be seen replicated in some respects with his outline masterplan for Crawley, presented in early 1947 (*plan ref*). Initially employed to define a boundary for the proposed new town Sharp sought to use some of the principles he had previously developed. So, for example, at Crawley the initial idea had been for the new town to be developed either side of the main north-south London-Brighton railway but Sharp argued for keeping the town west of the railway whilst locating the major industrial area to the east (with the purpose of excluding industrial road traffic from the town) (letter and report Sharp to Silkin 6/8/46 *refs*).

Crawley was by no means a virgin site. As well as the small town of Crawley it encompassed another settlement, Three Bridges, plus a sprawl of development in the countryside. Consolidating this sprawl seems to have been one reason for its choice as a site. Curiously for someone generally looking to increase urban densities compared to his peers Sharp recommended a larger land-take than the norm that had been established for new towns (suggesting 4,677 acres rather than 4,200 acres), explaining this on the basis of land wastage arising from existing development. Sharp's report (report March 1947 *ref*) indicated the existing Crawley High Street as one of its principal town centre axes, regarded as having character due to some good buildings but 'mainly due to the directness and simplicity of the broad street, with its green strips, and the island shopping site at the crown of the rising ground' (p2). To this he added a major east-west axis, running from near the north of the High Street. In terms of traffic, Sharp described it as a 'distributed centre', with little or no cross-town traffic but with good accessibility, making the centre free from congestion but lively 'as a town centre should be' (p7).

The rest of the new town was laid out on fairly conventional principles of first generation new towns. Six neighbourhood units and two sub-units were proposed, with the main units housing 6-10,000 people. The design of these were intended to create places self-contained for daily use, to save children under eleven crossing main traffic roads, to encourage neighbourliness and a local civic sense, to be a reasonable scale for providing local community buildings and, in effect, create a series of villages which coalesced to a sum greater than the parts as a town (Explanatory memorandum 1/2/47, *ref*). Densities in neighbourhoods were higher in those nearest the town centre. Open spaces between neighbourhoods linked to provide easy access to the countryside and utilised natural features, such as streams. The road network was described by Sharp as a 'roughly radial-and-circular system', with some in 'parkway' form. Thus, overall Sharp's outline plan for Crawley was not radically different from the principles prevailing with first generation new towns (Madanipour 1992) with only the pushing of industry to the periphery and his approach to the town centre being slightly unusual. However, it should be emphasised we only have an outline plan; we do not know how Sharp would have translated this into detailed proposals.

The Chairman of the new Town Corporation, Sir Thomas Bennett, an architect seems to have been very 'hands-on' in approach. The *Architect and Building News* (23/1/48) reported the

essence of the dispute being Sharp's refusal to provide for a monumental town centre. Sharp confirmed this in *Chronicles of Failure* (Sharp c.1973) referring to Bennett's distaste for his 'organic' layout in preference for something more formal. Eventually Bennett's interference came to a head and Sharp resigned. Sharp was replaced by Anthony Minoprio. His outline masterplan did not deviate enormously from that of Sharp. The town centre was somewhat reconfigured (though no great monumentality was evident) but seems to have a more conventional precinct approach, encircled by an inner ring-road. The purity of the separation of the primary industrial area to the east of the railway was diluted by dragging it partly to the west. The road network proposed was similar and though the configuration of neighbourhoods differed in detail they were not radically different in conception.

Sharp made a brief comment on the first generation new towns in the second edition of *English Panorama*,

'the first plans for these new towns are still clouded with garden-city suburbanism: and future building in similar places, and in all old towns, will need to be more compact and more truly urban than these first new ventures are at present planned to be' (p 109).

4. The Urbanism of Thomas Sharp

Even more than the rest of this paper, this section represents work in progress.

a. As appraised by others

The memory of Sharp in the planning profession, when remembered at all, is often for the trouble he caused, for example in the Town Planning Institute as it sought to redefine the nature of planning and the profession (see e.g. Cherry 1974). Yet it is clear that his contemporaries and near-contemporaries often held at least aspects of his work in very high regard (see e.g. Stephenson, 1992), something evident in many of the reviews of his publications at the time. Equally he was known and regarded outside the confines of the planning profession; for example, a letter from John Betjeman (*insert date & reference*) was gushing in its praise for *Oxford Observed* a view also held by the architect George Pace who cited it as a masterwork (Pace 1961/62).

This brief summary concentrates, however, upon specific and extended appraisals that have been made, mostly from the early 1980s, relatively soon after his death in 1978. The most authoritative work on Sharp is by Kathy Stansfield, initially in her MPhil thesis (Stansfield 1974) and subsequently in a book chapter (Stansfield 1981). In summarising Sharp Stansfield celebrated his qualities to inspire us that the town can be beautiful, the countryside should be defended and bad planning challenged.

After Sharp's death his widow provided funds for a biannual memorial lecture at Newcastle University that continues still. The first two of these by Lewis Keeble and Gordon Cherry directly addressed Sharp and his achievements. Keeble (1981) was enthusiastic in his evaluation. For example,

'He established... the idea that there are places in which buildings should happen and other, very much larger areas in which it should not happen at all. I am not certain that

his predominant contribution to the prevalence of this view or to the astonishing success it has met is now fully understood.

He revived and re-established the idea that the street, whether in town or village, is the proper unit of design rather than the individual building.

He wrote much of the now generally accepted grammar of planning, especially in relation to residential neighbourhoods, though it is now virtually impossible to identify and detach his particular personal ideas from a general ferment of thought in the perhaps uniquely creative time for planning of the 1940s.' (p14 and 15).

Cherry's evaluation was perhaps rather more equivocal (Cherry 1983). He did state that Sharp 'stands as a seminal figure of the mid century' (p1) and that 'for particular reasons, Sharp takes his place amongst the greats' (p17). But on substantive issues Cherry tended to regard Sharp a failure (as he did himself, Sharp c. 1973) or misguided,

'First, on his conviction that country is country and town is town, we have to say that his views could not prevail....'

'Next, in respect of his view of planning and townscape, Sharp saw cities as physical artefacts; people came second.... Concepts of townscape and urban form, and the practice of environmental design, are not today major features in planning. Again, Sharp stood for things which have slipped away as the century has progressed.'

'Finally on the nature of planning itself, the single, unitary, elite profession which Sharp advocated was an impossibility.... Sharp can be presented as a tragic figure, standing impossibly resolute against things destined to come to pass, representing views increasingly rejected by his generation and finally holding onto a wrong vision of his profession. In so many things seemingly he was uncompromising, but finally wrong.' (p15-17)

Cherry went on to say,

'But in the same breath we bounce back and say he was wonderfully, gloriously wrong.... The quality of the built environment does matter; the unique qualities of the British countryside are something for special protection; the directness and unambiguity of a planning system, underpinned as it should be by clear political will, is important; and our profession does demand our care and support.' (p17)

Some of Cherry's assertions are questionable (for example, though Sharp focused on place he cared deeply about people) and time lends a different perspective on others to which we will return below.

b. a preliminary evaluation

As Cherry so aptly put it Sharp was a man 'who dared to be different'. He was original and rigorous and not someone who would uncritically adopt prevailing conventional wisdoms. Some of his ideas and arguments became, for a time at least, part of the mainstream, others had less impact. Of course though he was important in developing various ideas he was (despite his sometime protestations to the contrary) generally not completely alone. Decoding

exactly who was responsible for the germination and development of some of the concepts discussed here is beyond the scope of this paper but it is posited that Sharp was at least one of the people important in their development.

Fundamental to Sharp's impact on planning debate in the 1930s was his critique of garden city ideology, a daring assault on deeply embedded planning conventions of the time. He was certainly one of the first in the planning world to launch such a direct assault. Less contentious was his disdain for their suburban progeny, sprawling out from existing towns and cities at a rapid rate. Underpinning these views was a strong belief in the urban and the urbane and its distinction from the rural. His view of modern urbanism, with its emphasis upon the street, though, was in marked contrast with the fractures of urban form promoted by the architectural Modern Movement as exemplified by Le Corbusier. Esher (1981) credited Sharp, along with Trystan Edwards, as one of the few arguing for such urbanity in the 1930s, but said that he 'spoiled his case by naughtily picking on Welwyn as his suburban bestiary' (p28).

In the short term his ideas on urban form were more influential in the management of existing historic towns; through the analyses he undertook in his reconstruction plans and his influence on emergent ideas of townscape. He brought a sensitivity and understanding to the rich complexity of historic towns than was common in the period, both in terms of their appearance and also, perhaps to a lesser degree, in the way they functioned. Planning and design at the time were still often rather stuck with a grandiose monumentality. He also brought a distinctive approach to the overwhelming issue facing historic cities at the time, provision for the motorcar, which if somewhat romantic about the impact of new roads (Pendlebury 2004), was always thoroughly thought through and non-formulaic. His ideas about historic towns formed part of developing thinking that was, in due course, to prove influential on the developing conservation movement in the 1960s and 1970s (though Sharp was anything but a militant conservationist!).

Sharp's approach to the design of new urban form in the 1940s was less distinctive than his handling of existing places, though whether this is in part due to orthodoxy catching him up is debateable. His preference for satellite towns was conventional by the mid-1940s at least and was exemplified in the New Towns. They used the neighbourhood model that he supported and had at least some role in introducing into British planning. Indeed, his model of a hypothetical new settlement and his initial plan for Crawley show no marked divergence from the norms of the time. However, it is regrettable perhaps that we do not know how Sharp's vision of Crawley would have evolved. It may have been more 'urban' than its contemporaries, which Sharp found clouded with 'garden city suburbanism'. Indeed, one of the shifts with the second generation New Towns was an attempt to make them more urban in feel (Madanipour, 1992).

c. Relevance today

Cherry's evaluation of Sharp concluded that many of his strongly held beliefs had come to naught. Yet much has changed since 1983. Certainly in some respects Sharp would have no truck with prevailing values. He (like most of his time) was a modernist and a technocrat, believing in expert knowledge, albeit tempered by a public right to challenge what was proposed. He would have struggled with post-modern uncertainties and 'relational' perspectives. But in other ways his views seem fresh and contemporary. Since Cherry's analysis the importance of design as part of a process of satisfactory urban planning has re-

emerged through American New Urbanism and a greater design focus in British planning. His ideas about the need for a contemporary modern urban form (based around the street), well designed without overly contrived 'showiness', seem as relevant as ever, if as elusive to achieve, as major urban expansion occurs in the south-east of England and as all over the country towns and cities continue to develop and evolve. We perhaps also need reminding of his belief of planning for all, not just those who can traditionally afford good design.

Finally something not so far discussed in this paper, but hopefully evident in the quotations made from Sharp's writings, is that he was a brilliant communicator. Holford reportedly said that Sharp was the only planner who could be read as literature (Horsbrugh, pers comm) and Keeble (1981; p14) said he 'wrote lovely, dense, concise English in a way which has never been excelled in writing about planning'. His ability with words helped make a deep impression on his contemporaries, albeit his maverick nature means he is now less well remembered than some of his peers. And he brought the subject of town planning to a much wider audience, with *Town Planning* often cited as the best selling text on the subject of all time. Planning and urban design needs, but rarely produces, men and women who can so forcefully and clearly argue for the need for good planning and design.

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Reconstruction and the small town

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Introduction

Although the vast outpouring of planning documents and plans in the busy period of immediate post-war reconstruction planning (from about 1941 to about 1952) has received much critical attention in the last decade and a half, many issues have not yet been addressed. By far the greatest consideration has been given to the major plans for heavily bomb-damaged cities, and the plans of the eminent and prolific consultant planners. Patrick Abercrombie is a good example (Jones, 1998; Lambert, 2000; Larkham, 2004; Essex and Brayshay, 2005), to such an extent that one might think from the standard planning histories of the period that he alone replanned post-war Britain (cf Larkham and Lilley, 2001, Table 1).

Amongst the unexplored questions are issues relating to the ‘bandwagon effect’: the reasons why, and indeed the extent to which, little-damaged and undamaged towns rapidly seized on the activity of replanning during this hectic period. It has been suggested that this might have been a result of civic boosterism: towns becoming conscious of the changes in the hierarchy of retailing, business and image, and seeking to use the production of a plan, or even the engagement of a high-profile consultant, to reposition themselves in the post-war urban economy (Larkham and Lilley, 2003). However, the cost implications of this activity were substantial, especially for smaller towns. Although not suffering the economic consequences of bomb damage, many had suffered significant indirect economic consequences of war (eg the absence of tourist income for resorts), and the rateable income for small towns was often tiny. Planning was not a cheap activity (Larkham, 2005), even when the plans were not implemented (for years, if ever).

This paper therefore explores issues of reconstruction in some of the much smaller, and less-studied, towns that did follow the fashion. Why did they become involved? How did they do so – who wrote the plans? What were the key issues covered? To what extent did their experiences match, or diverge from, those of the better-studied, larger and better-resourced towns and cities? The paper is focused around four case studies.

A range of towns could be subject to review. Selection criteria might include population size, area, rateable income, and the main function of the town. Table 1 imposes an arbitrary maximum population size of 60,000, which thus excludes well-known cities with well-studied plans, such as Exeter and Oxford (by Thomas Sharp, 1946a, 1948), Bath (Abercrombie *et al.*, 1945) and York (Adshead *et al.*, 1948). A wide range of historic towns, ports, resorts and industrial towns remains. All indulged in replanning. Although the historic towns are of particular interest in terms of the development of modern planning values and ideas, given the current importance of conservation and heritage (Pendlebury, 2003, 2005), the other categories are under-represented in the existing critical literature.

Of those tabulated, 18 engaged outside consultants. A distinct minority employed existing in-house staff, and this contrasts strongly with the national picture, where consultants produced just under half of the known plans (Larkham and Lilley, 2001, as amended by ongoing research). These included the most eminent (Abercrombie), the most prolific (Sharp), the then-eminent but now unknown (Alwyn Lloyd) and the young professional (Jeremiah). The towns’ wealth (its rateable value, ie income derived from rates in the year surveyed) ranged from Bewdley’s tiny £18,655 to Guildford’s £509,788. Their population ranged from just over 4,000 (Bewdley again) to Eastbourne’s 57,435 (although it should be noted that this is usually the 1931 Census data).

The case studies

The four towns selected for individual consideration in this paper are Bewdley, Warwick, Durham and Todmorden. Bewdley is the smallest town in Table 1, but nevertheless engaged a professional – although he was not well known as a planner he was at least available in the later war years. Warwick, also a smaller town, engaged arguably the best-known planner, albeit towards the end of his career – Sir Patrick Abercrombie – and suffered a shock when the final account was presented. Durham and Todmorden both used Thomas Sharp, who made his reputation as a planning consultant by a substantial series of ‘reconstruction’ plans.

These examples are early in this series, and it could be argued that Durham made his reputation in this field.

Bewdley

Bewdley is a small and rather isolated town, whose main feature is its location as a crossing-point on the River Severn, allowing movement from the resource of the Wyre Forest to the industrial Midlands. It was never a significant industrial town, but the river traffic was important to its income; its location also meant that it was an easy day-trip visitor destination from the Midlands. It was not bombed. However, in January 1944 – for reasons not apparent in the surviving records – the Council’s General Purposes Committee invited the architect Clough Williams-Ellis to prepare a plan (Minutes, 31/1/44). A Development Committee was constituted “to whom be delegated the consideration of all matters relating to the preparation and completion of the report and plan for the future development of the Borough” (Minutes of special Council meeting, 3/4/44). At that time the borough’s Town Planning Committee was more concerned with wider-ranging proposals for local government reform, and with the removal of numerous temporary buildings that had been constructed without permission in the early years of the war.

Williams-Ellis was a First World War veteran and historian of the Royal Tank Corps. He was not on active service during the Second World War, and therefore might be considered to have been available at the right time. This is his first known reconstruction plan; shortly afterwards he was involved, with his partner Lionel Brett (later Lord Esher) in producing the plan for Weston super Mare, and from 1947 both were involved in designing ‘reconstruction’ housing estates in Bilston to the concepts of the architect Sir Charles Reilly (Larkham, forthcoming). Williams-Ellis is best known today as the owner, designer and developer of Portmeirion, and professionally generally worked as an architect. His autobiography hints at his erratic work practices and of the disappointments caused by government interference or inertia when working more in a planning capacity:

“once the delights of the preliminary reconnaissance and the draft proposals were behind me and one began to be impeded by the dead weight of public lethargy and official slow-motion brakemanship, I found it hard to sustain my initial enthusiasm or to persevere with whittled down schemes with the necessary patience. For some years, however, I was reasonably persistent, sometimes collaborating ... with Lionel Brett ... but the actual physical results on the ground – for all our hopeful work on paper – remain pitifully small” (Williams-Ellis, 1971, p. 255).

In Bewdley he applied his reconnaissance skills, consulted with professional officers at local and county level, and held several public meetings. A draft report was available by July 1944 (Williams-Ellis, 1944). Williams-Ellis was clearly anxious that local residents should be consulted:

“Though I can bring to the solution of the several problems that must confront the town a certain technical experience, it is the intimate practical local knowledge of Bewdley’s own citizens ... that should be drawn upon as a check to whatever I may put forward as theoretically desirable. It is in the hope of benefiting to the full by this specialised yet varied local wisdom that I ... issue this interim draft, which indeed is expressly designed to provoke discussion and evoke such alternative proposals as may seem worth consideration ...” (Williams-Ellis, 1944, Introduction).

This is unusual. Although many contemporary plans mounted elaborate exhibitions or published books and reports, and some explicitly sought local “criticism”, few issued *draft* reports in this manner.

The draft report, and papers accompanying it, highlight Williams-Ellis’s own concerns about planning as an activity. First, planning should not necessarily involve large-scale and expensive public works and rebuilding; in fact “one of the prime objects of a Planning Scheme¹ is to prevent the unnecessary expenditure of public money” (p. 8, original emphasis). But, more fundamentally, in a note attached to the draft, he said “I believe in Planning but do not believe in planning too far ahead, say fifteen or 20 years, as conditions change considerably in this time and what may see alright [*sic*] now may not be justified or necessary when this period of time has elapsed”.

The initial concerns of the draft report make interesting reading. The town is praised for its “higher proportion of architecturally pleasing buildings than almost any other that I know of in all England” (p. 2), though many are let down by inappropriate painting, advertising, alterations or neglect. In fact this mirrors the concerns of the inter-war Design and Industries Association with which Williams-Ellis was involved. There was no need for “radical internal re-planning” although some road widening and new roads could provide a “round-the-town circuit”.

Congestion was a major issue. Through traffic could only be dealt with by “radical re-planning” that would destroy the integrity and character of this small town, or by a ring road/by-pass. It was suggested that much traffic “will wish just to ‘see’ Bewdley” (p. 3, original emphasis), and this led to the suggestion for a river-front by-pass that would facilitate this. However, this would require a new road bridge – the alternative, of replacing or substantially widening Telford’s bridge of 1801, a scheduled monument, had been suggested but rejected.

Although the town had little industry, there was concern for provision of some new working-class housing, and a programme for immediate post-war construction was being developed elsewhere in the authority. Williams-Ellis sought to minimise further outward sprawl (again, hardly surprising given his inter-war activities as, for example, author of *England and the Octopus*: Williams-Ellis, 1928). The town could afford to “fill in its gaps” and perhaps extend the most recent fringe pre-war estate.

“That is, of course, provided that what is built is rightly built, for if it is not, the less the place is meddled with the better and what must be built had best be smuggled away as far as possible and out of sight – at any rate of the old Borough” (p. 4).

He certainly sought to restrict further industrial growth, suggesting instead that the town seek to retain its character as a residential centre and tourist destination. The town needed to remain distinct and distinctive, not “submerged and lost in an unpremeditated industrial mix-up scarcely distinguishable from that of Kidderminster or Stourport” (p. 11).

¹ ie under the pre-war Acts, and at the time of his writing the only existing mechanism for seeking planning control other than a private Act promoted by a particular town – which was being discussed within the authority.

At the public meetings, the main issues raised were the extent and severity of flooding in the town, and what replanning could do about it (Williams-Ellis noted that one could remove all river property and lay the whole out as garden – though “I risk sack here”), and that the proposed riverside road and bridge “will not look at all well”. Williams-Ellis was clearly advocating a contemporary design: he argued that “there is no reason why the new bridge should not be a great adornment to the landscape, and every reason why it should be, an absolutely plain stream-lined single-span structure in ferro-concrete probably being the most acceptable (memorandum dated 4/8/1944).

The draft plans were circulated, indeed copies were intended to be sold through local newsagents and there was a small display at the Town Hall in October 1944. Copies were sent to the County Council and the Ministry’s Regional Planning Officer. However, the County Surveyor took exception to the consultant’s proposals in terms of practicability and cost, and especially to his unwise description of an alternative by-pass as “an engineer’s by-pass” (letter dated 18/8/44). A range of responses received had been sent to Williams-Ellis, who had replied to the Committee. The Council was even discussing publishing the final report in book form (General Purposes Committee Minutes, 29/1/45).

Although Williams-Ellis was also engaged as architect for various post-war housing schemes in Bewdley, by late 1945 the Council was expressing irritation that he was not responding as they desired, and considered his appointment terminated (Minutes of special Council meeting, 29/10/45). Final revisions to the plan were also greatly delayed, and indeed were overtaken by proposals by the County Council (Council Minutes, 28/1/46). In fact no final report was ever produced or published. There were, clearly, disagreements with the County Council particularly about traffic planning and major road proposals, and this disagreement, and Williams-Ellis’s own delays, finally killed the plan. The Town Planning and Development Committees merged in November 1945. No more is heard of the plan after January 1946, although the plan is mentioned in Hussey’s chapter on Bewdley in 1952. Like Warwick, the Borough lost its planning functions after the 1947 Act, although it did consider planning issues such as the local implications of the West Midlands Plan (Abercrombie and Jackson, 1948) (Planning Committee Minutes, 25/4/49).

Warwick

Warwick is a county town, significantly larger than Bewdley, but still very small considering its historic administrative and market functions. It was virtually undamaged during the war, but nevertheless felt by January 1945 that a plan was necessary. This may have been a reaction to the replanning exercises of its neighbouring towns. The Town Clerk received a list of suitable names from the Town Planning Institute, and Professor Sir Patrick Abercrombie had been engaged by June, to begin work in September. The fee was about £500, although Abercrombie wrote to Sharp that this was low (letter 3/9/45). At the time, Abercrombie was probably the country’s best-known planner, reaching the end of his career but still seeking commissions (he said he could not afford to retire). This is not one of his more important plans, but has nevertheless attracted some critical interest (Slater, 1984; Larkham, 2004; Pendlebury, 2004).

Even while survey work was being carried out by his assistants, the Council requested details of the costs of publishing the report in book form. Their reasons are unclear, although their professional officers cannot have been unaware of Sharp’s well-reviewed published report on Durham nor press reports of his Exeter study, about to be published.

The focus of the report was explicitly on the “preservation of character”, although the full title of the published book is *Warwick: its preservation and redevelopment* (Abercrombie and Nickson, 1949). Abercrombie and his team focused on Warwick’s function as a regional tourist centre, and an architectural and photographic survey of the town centre’s buildings was carried out to support the analysis.

To retain this function and character, the town’s growth was to be restricted. Efforts were made to ensure that Warwick did not sprawl outwards to coalesce with its neighbours, Leamington Spa and Kenilworth. What was sought was explicitly a “compact development” form (Abercrombie and Nickson, 1949, p. 65). In fact, the maps show, and the text discusses, an “urban fence”, the clear physical limit of development (a Ministry of Agriculture term: Abercrombie and Nickson, 1949, pp. 112-3).

It was strongly suggested that long-term population increase should not exceed 20 per cent. There was to be no major development of the retail centre, nor of the administrative functions beyond the ‘county administrative headquarters’. Nevertheless, there were proposals for some redevelopment even within the originally-walled town core. These included the creation of small ‘precincts’ and some land-use redistribution to achieve functional quarters. The modest residential expansion was to the north, but was not to exceed one mile from the centre. One part of this extension was planned in detail, as a demonstration (Abercrombie and Nickson, 1949, p. 69).

Road development was a high priority. Changes were proposed to ‘internal’ roads in the area between Warwick and Leamington Spa. However, “unless radical changes are made ... congestion in the town will become intolerable” (Abercrombie and Nickson, 1949, p. 74). An outer bypass, first proposed in the 1930s, was designed to the west and north, and was to be extensively landscaped. Abercrombie was aware of the need that new roads “must be planned so as not to encroach unduly on valuable buildings, agricultural land, or to mar amenities by cutting through areas of natural or artificial beauty” (Abercrombie and Nickson, 1949, p. 61). An inner bypass would run around the town centre, more or less following the line of the original walls.

Implementation of the proposals was carefully organised in three phases. The first, over about ten years, would include the outer bypass and some housing. The second, “of the greatest significance”, would take about 15 years and would include the inner bypass, other major road improvements, and the remainder of the housing and commercial expansion. The final phase would consolidate improvements to the town centre, and its timing was more vague.

It was decided to publish extracts of the draft report in the local newspaper, and to hold a public exhibition. However, there was no formal consideration of the report’s suggestions: this was deferred until such time as the report could be circulated (Public Health and Housing Committee Minutes, 13/1/47). The exhibition took place in July 1947, and was visited by 665 adults and 295 children (Public Health and Housing Committee Minutes, 11/6/47), representing about 6 per cent of the borough’s population. Comments reported in the *Warwick and Warwickshire Advertiser* were largely positive, although there were some doubts about when the work would be completed, and one correspondent suggested that “it’s a waste of public money to draw it up ... It’s too vast for Warwick: the reconstruction has got

to come some time or another, but not on the lines of the Abercrombie Plan” (*Warwick and Warwickshire Advertiser* 4/7/47).

By 7/2/47 Abercrombie’s final account was presented. The costs had risen to a startling £3,200; although the Council had approved various additional surveys and expenses in the meantime. In the late 1940s the costs of publishing were rising fast, and Abercrombie’s final advice was that 3,000 copies in book form would cost about £3,000. This was agreed, not without acrimonious debate, and the report was finally published on 7 November 1949.

On publication the Council finally had sufficient copies of the report to circulate, and its contents were debated and adopted on 17/3/50. However, by this time the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act was in operation; Warwick Borough Council was no longer responsible for town planning, and the County Council was in the advanced stages of preparing an Outline Development Plan. This was adopted by Warwick Borough Council on 16 March 1951.

Durham

Durham, like Warwick, was a small county town retaining administrative functions and with a historic built environment generating significant tourism. Some of the issues which were to dominate the Durham reconstruction plan had been live planning issues for some time, such as the need for new roads and the inadequacy of significant parts of the housing stock. For example, the County Council’s planned relief road line had been approved in 1931; the convergence of a series of major roads on the three narrow streets leading into the peninsula at the heart of the city meant that traffic congestion was already a major problem by this time. By 1940 work on an East Durham Planning Scheme by a Joint Planning Committee including Durham City was being discussed (Durham City Council Works and Town Planning Committee Minutes) and subsequently a resolution was passed to prepare a planning scheme following section 6 of the 1932 Town and Country Planning Act (DCWTPC Minutes 19/3/41). In December it was reported that Ministerial approval for proceeding with such a scheme be deferred, anticipating revised post-war legislation (DCWTPC Minutes 29/12/41).

In April 1943 the Town Clerk of Durham City Council presented a report about the desirability of appointing a planning consultant (DCWTPC Minutes 27/4/43). Surviving correspondence with Sharp shows that the Town Clerk was in communication with him that May (letter 15/5/43), although it is not known who else (if anyone) was considered. In June the Town Clerk recommended Sharp’s appointment (DCWTPC Minutes 28/6/43). However, this was not uncontested. Opposition in the City was led by Councillor Smith, Chairman of the Works and Town Planning Committee, who was later one of the critics of Sharp’s proposals. Attempts were made to block the appointment and to consult the East Durham Joint Planning Committee (Durham City Council Minutes 7/7/43). The County Surveyor was reported as being strongly opposed to the appointment of any consultant ‘and to the appointment of Mr. Sharp in particular’ (DCWTPC Minutes 6/7/43).

It is not clear from local government minutes why Durham City chose to go it alone. The report of the discussion of the Council meeting in the *Durham Advertiser* (9/7/43) suggests one stimulus for the City proceeding in this fashion; a councillor suggests that the Ministry of Town and Country Planning was keen to see someone consider the planning of the City itself,

rather than through the constraints of East Durham as a whole.² Whatever the underlying reason for the appointment, the City wished to present this to the County Council as complementary to the sub-regional process in East Durham (County Council Minutes 28/7/43).

The County Surveyor's antagonism towards Sharp in person may be explained by Sharp's pronouncements over issues in Durham in the preceding years. He wrote on Durham in his contribution to the polemic *Britain and the Beast* (Sharp, 1937). It was estimated that nearly a third of the city would have to be rebuilt due to slum clearance including 'picturesque (and hygienically foul) quarters' (p. 150). He had no quarrel with this, but 'one-third of the entire city! That is surely a job of such enormous scope that it should only be undertaken to a most carefully worked out plan. And, characteristically, there is no plan at all' (p. 150). But his key target was the County Council's relief road proposals, sections of which would have been elevated on a high embankment. Sharp used this opportunity to publicize his ground-level alternative (first prepared in 1934, Sharp c. 1973 and Stansfield, 1974) to the officially-approved elevated road. Here and elsewhere in the chapter he attacked the responsible authorities, including local authorities and the cathedral and university, for their apparent lack of engagement in the city beyond their own interests.

Sharp's appointment was, however, duly approved by an agreement of 10/12/43 (GB186 THS). Amongst the key provisions were that the consultant would prepare

'an outline redevelopment plan and report for the City of Durham which plan and report shall have particular reference to the historical and architectural character of the City and to the appropriate treatment of areas which have been or are likely to be cleared of buildings under the provisions of the Housing Acts....'.

Completion was expected by 31/3/45.

What was to become *Cathedral City* (Sharp, 1945) was commissioned at a time of great interest in planning issues in Durham. In July to September 1943 the *Durham Advertiser* published a series of articles on planning issues in the city by the Bishop of Durham (23/7/43), the Dean of Durham (also President of the Durham Preservation Society) (3/9/43), Patrick Shiel (30/7/43) and Bertram Colgrave (13/8/43). The *Durham Advertiser* also published various reports of planning publications prepared by various local bodies (3/3/43, 21/4/44), and Rushford (1944) produced a book, *City Beautiful: A Vision Of Durham*, with miscellaneous interventionist proposals.

It was clear that *Cathedral City* was no ordinary commission for Sharp. It was his first significant commission as a consultant-planner (as opposed to as a writer), and he had a personal passion for Durham that led him to invest far more effort in the commission than was commercially sensible. Towards the completion of the report Sharp, in correspondence with the new Town Clerk, estimated that a true account would be 1500 guineas for his time and effort (letter 9/1/45 GB186 THS). Furthermore, he commissioned the perspectives from A.C. Webb for 75 guineas from his commission fee, and unsuccessfully sought to sell these on to the Council.

² Interestingly Durham County Council's minutes (28/7/43) record that the Minister of Town and Country Planning (Morrison) was in Durham on 10/7/43 and held an informal discussion about town and country planning with members of the Council.

Cathedral City, one of the best known of the reconstruction or advisory plans, was a handsomely-produced plan, heavily focused on the master-planning of physical form. It was published in January 1945.³ The City Council viewed it as a consultation document as the proposals had not been approved before publication (*Durham Advertiser*, 12/1/45). Sharp's appreciation of Durham was largely based upon its visual qualities. Not surprisingly the Cathedral, and to some degree the castle, were central to this, although there was an appreciation of the roofscape and of the foil that domestic scaled building gave to the major monuments. Sharp also emphasised the historic and visual importance of the cathedral as part of emphasising the significance of Durham. His proposals for preservation were focused on the peninsula containing the Cathedral, Castle and heart of the University and commercial centre, although a map of buildings of historic interest included buildings across the City such as a concentration on the north side of Old Elvet, an historic street to the north-east of the peninsula. The setting of the Cathedral and Castle were given extensive discussion. Beyond the peninsula he saw the need for extensive rebuilding, whilst acknowledging that some of the buildings to be cleared had architectural merit.

A key element of the plan was his alternative to the County Council inner relief road. Sharp produced an extensive critique of this elevated proposal in terms of its impact on the character of Durham, saying of his alternative that "it will *belong*" (Sharp, 1945, p. 41, original emphasis). Also important was the suggested limit to the population growth of Durham of 4,500, from 18,500 to 23,000. He saw the appropriate function of Durham as being an administrative, shopping, educational, residential and tourist centre.

An exhibition was held in the Art Gallery in February (opened by the then Chairman of the Royal Fine Art Commission) (*Durham Advertiser*, 23/2/45), and 8000 copies of the plan printed (Durham City Council Minutes, 19/3/45). Although the report was to receive many plaudits, it was not always so warmly received locally. Councillor Smith, who had led the objections to Sharp's appointment, complained that they had paid Sharp to be their own critic (*Durham Advertiser*, 12/1/45). The editorial content in the *Durham Advertiser* was generally quite critical. The major problem was considered to be impracticality of its timespan of implementation. There were also criticisms of specific proposals, such as the intention to remove fairly new housing at Milburngate for his road line at a time of housing shortage. Sharp responded in his normal robust manner, asserting that his critics could not 'see beyond their nose ends' and defending the plan's practicality (*Durham Advertiser*, 23/2/45). The Council generally approved the plan, although not unanimously on all issues.

The planning issue which came to the fore on the back of *Cathedral City* and which was to rumble on through a convoluted series of proposals and inquiries was the relief road scheme. On this occasion the City and County Councils were in opposition, with the City accepting Sharp's proposals and the County sticking to their original preferred scheme. Sharp was employed as consultant for the City for a public inquiry in 1946. This issue dragged on until the relief road was eventually constructed in the 1960s, broadly on Sharp's line although to a detailed design about which he was highly critical (Gazzard, 1969). Sharp's relationship as a planning advisor with Durham continued from 1948 until the end of 1962.

Todmorden

³ It was published by Architectural Press but this seems to have been arranged very late in the day with all the financial risk on the Council (and Sharp claimed have effectively put it together); the preceding August Sharp was anticipating that it would be published by Penguin (letter to Webb 1/8/44 GB186 THS). It sold for 5 shillings (*City Beautiful* was 7s 6d).

Todmorden was the largest of the small towns studied; and provides a further contrast in its industrial nature. The decision to engage a consultant was taken by the Development Sub-Committee, a newly-created sub-committee of the Finance Committee (Todmorden Development Sub-Committee (TDSC), 22/2/44). The same Committee resolved a few weeks later to approach Thomas Sharp (TDSC, 16/3/44). Planning was very much in the air at Todmorden at the time, with, for example, the creation of an Upper Calder Joint Planning Committee.

A later newspaper report suggested that Sharp was approached because of his outstanding reputation as a consultant and that he had accepted the commission, whilst turning other requests down at the time, because he viewed the very difficult topography of the town as a challenge (*Todmorden News and Advertiser*, 27/9/46, p. 10). Indeed topography was a key feature of the town, lying at the junction of three narrow valleys which quickly rise to high moorlands. Sharp was initially engaged to write a short preliminary report (TDSC, 30/5/44), which led to an invitation to consider preparing a full report, accepted by Sharp (TDSC, 28/6/44), leading the Committee to resolve to appoint him to prepare a full plan (TDSC 4/7/44).

The outline plan was received by the Council at its Development Sub-Committee meeting of 6 September 1945 (TDSC, 6/9/45). Sharp then attended a special meeting of the full Finance Committee (Todmorden Finance Committee (TFC), 3/10/45). Although there was not the build-up of planning issues evident in Durham, there were clear challenges to be faced in the post-war period. Sharp's preface identifies housing conditions as the main physical problem, but an equally profound issue he identified was the decline in the local economy. Todmorden was very much a cotton town and, at this time, in some decline. In the report Sharp discussed whether, with this steady loss of *raison d'être* it might be sensible to evacuate the town. He concluded otherwise, given the well-settled community with all its spiritual and emotional attachments. Whilst industrial relocation was outside the scope of the plan, Sharp sought to identify sites where new medium to medium-heavy industry could be housed. The sites for new industry were largely seen as being produced by house clearance. Sharp was pleasantly surprised how well cared-for the housing was, but nevertheless considered that between a third and a half of it, much of which was back-to-back, would need redeveloping. He considered, and dismissed, the rehabilitation of this stock. Finding sites for new housing was considered problematic given the topographical constraints. Sharp's goal, as with industrial sites, was to achieve reasonably large groupings of housing in order to create neighbourhoods. He recommended a density of 24 houses/ acre. He earmarked sites to the north of the town to accommodate some of this new housing but was forced to look beyond the valley floor to meet all the need he identified. His recommendations on some of his usual preoccupations of roads and the central area were limited. Given the topography, he saw no scope for a bypass and thus proposed a phased improvement of roads where they met in the centre which, in his view, gave scope also for a better public space along with the rebuilding of some public facilities.

Sharp's report seems to have been fairly well received, with the Finance Committee approving the report in principle and authorising both the publication of the report in book form and a public exhibition of the proposals with models (TFC, 3/10/45). Within a few days the Housing Committee had resolved that two sites be submitted for Ministry approval (Todmorden Housing Committee, 17/10/45). It was a while longer before the town centre proposals were considered but, in November 1946, the Highways Committee recommended

that the Council approve Sharp's proposals for the town centre with a view to submission to the Ministry of Transport and the County Council for inclusion in their programmes (Todmorden Highways Committee (THiC), 9/11/46).

Arrangements were made for the publication of the report and the exhibition. After some debate over publication costs and cover price it was eventually decided to print 2000 copies⁴. By the end of November 1946, 1115 copies were reported as being sold (TDSC, 27/11/46). The exhibition was arranged for September 1946 and was opened by the Minister of Works. It included a model of the proposed town centre made by local volunteers. The exhibition seems to have been much wider than Sharp's proposals, however, including showings of various relevant films and exhibitions by electricity and gas departments of Halifax Corporation (*Todmorden News and Advertiser*, 27/9/46, p. 10).

In *Chronicles of Failure* (Sharp, c.1973 p235), Sharp briefly referred to his Todmorden proposals and commented 'Whether any part of them was ever carried out I do not know – an experience that is common to planning consultants in relation to most of the plans they make'. Despite the general welcome Sharp's proposals seem to have received, with none of the controversy evident in Durham, in the speeches at the exhibition opening it is clear that full implementation was anticipated as being the work of many years (*Todmorden News and Advertiser*, 27/9/46). Visiting Todmorden today it is difficult to see evidence in the town today of any proposals having been implemented; indeed there is limited building from the twentieth century generally. For whatever reason, the town centre proposals were not proceeded with, nor was housing constructed at his preferred sites. Some housing was located in sites suggested by Sharp but, given the scarcity of sites in the town this is hardly a matter of great surprise. Similarly, some clearance of older housing took place but less than Sharp advocated, and substantial numbers of back-to-backs remain.

Discussion

This paper is an exploration of reconstruction plans for a particular type of settlement; all the case study towns and cities being small with (at the time) populations of around 25,000 or less. There is a particular intrigue with these places. It is easily understandable why a city such as Plymouth, devastated by bombing, should commission a plan or, without that context, why a little-damaged but messy industrial town such as Wolverhampton would see it as a useful activity. However, it is less immediately apparent why small settlements not directly troubled by the war would do so.

Perhaps the first point to make is that there was a 'planning fervour' in this period probably unparalleled before or since. Council minutes inspected for this paper were full of reports of councillors and officers attending national and regional planning conferences; this was an issue of immediate and great importance.

The case study plans considered here were all commissioned by lower-tier authorities. At least some of them had been engaged in plan-making activities, but this was usually as part of sub-regional groupings to prepare a statutory scheme under the 1932 Town and Country Planning Act. It seems to have been widely understood by the early 1940s that this legislation would soon be redundant and be replaced by something more comprehensive,

⁴ A substantial loss on this publication was built into the calculations, even if all copies were sold.

even if the form that this would take was unclear. The Ministry of Town and Country Planning was urging local authorities to embrace planning and seems to have been prepared to intervene directly in some small cities considered important, such as Durham. It is also clear that in some places, such as Durham again, the issues to be addressed in plans had been fermenting for a number of years. Local politics may also have had an influence, with small local authorities seeking to gain influence in the planning process.

Local government records tend to be frustratingly opaque in explaining more precisely why plans were undertaken. However, these were small authorities and the lack of internal capacity to undertake such a job must have been a factor. Nor is it clear why particular consultants were selected; but generally it seems to have been a case of invitation on the basis of reputation – there is no suggestion with any of these case studies of a competitive process or even a selection short-list. There was certainly a considerable expense to bear by employing an outside consultant to prosecute these plans. Warwick's plan and its publication cost approaching £6,500; Williams-Ellis's fee for Bewdley is unknown, but in the year of his activities, the town's rates increased from 14/10- to 17/10-(producing £13,261 in 1944-5 and £15,836 in 1945-6) when there are no records of other major expenditure changes. In comparison Durham had a bargain at £472 10s, plus probably some loss on *Cathedral City*.

In terms of the principal themes of the plans, a number were shared. Above all, there was the issue of traffic. All but Todmorden (where topography made major road proposals impractical) proposed major new roads as the principal means of removing existing or anticipated high traffic loads from the centres of small medieval towns. Bewdley's led to substantial disagreement. Warwick's outer bypass was – much later – built more or less to Abercrombie's principles, though Slater (1984, p. 333) noted that “the proposals for the [outer] by-pass are carefully related to, and use, the fine grain of the countryside – existing hedgerows, woods, paths and lanes, yet his proposals for the historic town ignore the fine grain of streets, lanes, plots and buildings, particularly where road plans are concerned”. In Durham, Sharp's substitute road was ultimately built along generally the lines he proposed, but only after many years of County Council opposition.

A secondary theme with three of these plans was the importance of their heritage, and the need to balance this with necessary modernisations. Warwick was explicit in considering the protection of the town's historic character as a fundamental part of the proposals. In Durham, the historical and architectural character was at the heart of the agreement. Despite Williams-Ellis's earlier involvement with the Design and Industries Association (eg Williams-Ellis, 1930), in Bewdley there was much less explicit concern for character or heritage; in fact demolition and replacement of Telford's bridge had been considered. Heritage was not considered a significant issue in Todmorden.

Other common themes included the need to address housing conditions; nationally this emerged as perhaps the most significant planning issue given the need for slum clearance and replacing wartime losses. Indeed, a significant start had been made upon slum clearance in the 1930s as a key element of housing policy and following the 1935 Housing Act (Cherry, 1996). Housing was at the heart of the Todmorden plan but significant in Durham and Warwick also. Although Bewdley was actively considering new post-war housing development, it was on a very small scale (50-100 houses). Otherwise there was a focus upon general tidying up and amenity improvements, such as the improvements proposed for Todmorden town centre.

It is notable that three of the plans considered here were published and, had the fourth been completed, it too would have been published. Given the expense of this, and the risk of not covering costs, this is perhaps surprising. A significant number of plans for much larger towns were never published: some are only known as typescripts marked “confidential”. In part the desire for publication in these small towns may be explained by a desire to inform people in the locality as widely as possible in response to the interest that was clearly there. In part, too, it may represent an act of civic boosterism (Larkham and Lilley, 2003); having employed an expensive national local consultant it made sense to advertise the fact. *Cathedral City* is perhaps an unusual case in that Sharp’s devotion to the publication (and project) must have been partly for self-promotion as he launched himself as a consultant.

Organising a public exhibition was also a common practice. It was common for national politicians, including Ministers, to accept invitations to open such exhibitions – as at Warwick and Todmorden. However, in many cases these attracted relatively low numbers of visitors. Local press coverage probably took the message more directly to more people. However, it was relatively rare for *draft* proposals to be circulated: Bewdley was unusual in this respect. The later planning ethos of public participation was not well developed at this time. Even so, the Warwick and Durham plans as publicised had not been discussed and adopted as policy by their respective councils.

The final issue for exploration concerns the plans’ reception and influence. Todmorden seems to have been essentially well received; each of the others seems to have been more controversial for one reason or another. In the case of Bewdley and Durham, hostility from the County Councils on highway proposals in particular was evident. None of the plans can be said to have been implemented as such. Both Bewdley and Warwick were delayed; in one case apparently by the consultant; in the other because of a reluctance to discuss the draft proposals until they had been published in expensive book form, by which time they had been superseded by new legislative arrangements for town planning. Indeed, in the wake of the particular requirements of the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, all of these reconstruction plans soon appeared anachronistic, as well as unrealistic in the austerity of post-war Britain. Even the well-received Todmorden plan seems to have had little or no impact in practice as a result of these changes, and perhaps also for the lack of any driving force to carry proposals through; as most planning powers rested with a combination of the Ministry, County Council and Upper Calderdale Joint Planning Committee. Perhaps the one exception is Durham where, although *Cathedral City* cannot be said to have been implemented in any meaningful sense, it certainly had an influence. Here the City Council were prepared to back Sharp’s recommendations and fight the County Council over the road line and indeed the City Council continued to employ Sharp as a consultant, in an often uneasy relationship, until 1962, with Sharp winning some battles and losing others. It also had a national influence, being widely and favourably reviewed, and essentially launched Sharp’s career as a replanning “expert”. Abercrombie’s reputation was insufficient to reassure some sarcastic reviewers, however: “no doubt the people of Warwick are proud of their plan – they have now been planned, actually been planned (they don’t know what that means but it sounds good) by one of the greatest names in planning” (Anon., 1950, p. 298).

Table 1: Small towns and their characteristics

Town	Type	Population	Area (acres)	Rates	Rateable value (£)
Bewdley	Historic	4,279	3,757	14/10	18,655
Sudbury	Historic (?)	7,007	1,925	15/-	33,449
Abergavenny	Historic	8,608	2,398	19/11	50,716
Bideford	Historic	9,442	4,068	10/6	64,286
Warwick	Historic	13,459	5,057	11/4	106,060
Chichester	Historic	14,912	2,869	10/-	159,102
Durham	Historic	18,147	4,029	Not given	121,234
Todmorden	Industrial	22,222	12,790	14/3	113,834
Deal	Port/Historic	23,500 (1938 est)	2,919	13/10	152,575
King's Lynn	Historic	23,528	6,687	16/-	126,194
Canterbury	Historic	24,450	4,703	10/9	216,332
Salisbury	Historic	26,456	2,845	11/-	262,754
Chelmsford	Industrial(?)	26,537	4,755	12/6	338,520
Leamington Spa	"resort"/historic	29,669	2,833	11/2	313,293
Guildford	(?)	30,754	7,184	11/-	509,788
Bilston	Industrial	31,248	1,871	17/-	133,407
Taunton	Historic	31,640	2,434	11/6	236,973
Stourbridge	Industrial	33,150	4,214	14/6	181,656
Macclesfield	Industrial	34,902	4,641	14/9	203,546
Tunbridge Wells	Historic	35,365	6,634	11/5	475,523
Weston super Mare	Resort	41,000 (1939 est)	7,006	11/-	416,592
Lowestoft	Port/historic(?)	41,768	5,640	15/6	Not given
Nuneaton	Industrial	46,305	11,767	16/6	247,529
Chester	Historic	47,863	4,142	14/5	404,600
Worcester	Historic	50,497	5,394	12/-	407,278
Great Yarmouth	Port/historic	54,220	4,534	18/-	330,381
Eastbourne	resort	57,435	Not given	9/-	886,514

Taken from *Municipal Year Book 1945*. Population refers to 1931 Census. Rates refer to general rates (excludes special levies)

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Title: THE GLOBALIZED STYLE OF PLACES

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INTRODUCTION

Place is a key concept in the history of planning, as numerous classic authors (e.g.: Lynch, Norberg-Schulz, Rossi) laboriously examined the topic. In the actual shift of paradigms from modernism to postmodernism, the concept is receiving a number of contributions from authors of varied disciplines (e.g.: Casey, Fainstein, Koolhaas, Relph, Tuan, Zukin). As a consequence, a broadened transdisciplinary perspective has been conveniently appended to the basic understanding of the construct. On the other hand, in the move from internationalism to globalism, the form of cities are also experiencing drastic changes that clearly display the heavy influence market forces exert upon the shaping of the urban landscapes of globalization. One typical manifestation of such influence is the insertion of prettified images of places in order to competitively use “urbanity” - that unique quality forwarded by cities to their citizens in terms of communication and sociability - as a tool to attract people and entertain them in an exciting assortment of iconic places spread over the urban landscape. Their genesis, identified in the planning literature as “placemaking” - accompanied by a tactic “placemarketing” - already represents a global contemporary planning style, in which, the private and public sectors play, together, a crucial planning role. The paper questions the consequences the cross-national transfer of this global planning idea exercises in the context of local identities - so as not to distort them exceedingly. It is argued whether the indiscriminate use of the new planning trends - such as the reuse of abandoned historic areas as new “places” of entertainment; or the production of urban projects aiming at introducing newly and glamourized “places” - would be plainly transferable to the local scale, hence becoming just another episode to be rapidly absorbed in the local planning history, or would represent a more remarkable change in the course of that history. In other words, the paper argues if one can talk about a globalized style of places in postmodern urban planning, similarly as one had previously talked about a model for an international style in modernist architecture.

Surprisingly, as it will be discussed as follows, the answer may be positive - at least in certain cases. Present engagement on a research project led by the author on the subject of urban “places” in contemporary cities provides grounds for new arguments. The methodology adopted in the project privileges the use of environmental perception techniques and studies specific cases, three of which are covered in the paper. Initial research outcomes point out to a situation in which some of the invented places - namely, a new shopping mall, a multifunctional airport, and a reused historic area - tend to be successfully appropriated, even

by the poorer segments of the population, and hence, to function as real places of urbanity for the city as a whole. Therefore, in view of recent place theory advances, and previous examples taken from the planning history, the paper tries to raise a “reasonable doubt” about the quality and pertinence of the novel places, and about the transfer of this global planning idea to local situations. Seen from this perspective, the globalized use of placemaking-plus-placemarketing may prove useful for obtaining strategic results even in local circumstances, considering that the new places tend to be perceived as legitimate urbanity places, as the population progressively appropriates them in their daily life.

THE CONCEPT OF PLACE

Place is a well-accepted theoretical construct of the area of spatial studies. The various disciplines involved in the area approach the concept according to each individual rationale. In this, way, one may say that there is a *psychological* interpretation of the concept, an *architectural* interpretation, and so on.

In the planning area, the concept is frequently used to facilitate the understanding of man-environment relationships, since the two major factors the concept deals with - people and space - are at the central core of attentions. On urban-architectural grounds one can say that *place* is a created environmental form, imbued with symbolic significance to its users. On those grounds, the acknowledgement of the important symbolism that places are able to confer to people has grown intensively in recent times. In effect, during the Urban Modernism times, the concept experienced a predominantly *functional* bias: *places* were understood as urban spaces carefully allocated and quantitatively dimensioned, and adequately distributed along the urban territory, to provide spaces destined to stimulate social opportunities for the city’s inhabitants. Curiously, the use of the expression *place* was not very common in the “townplanning” works of the times: *places* were frequently referred to as *centers* or as *activity centers*. In reality, *places* were strictly recognized as *functional areas*, intentionally designed to produce social interaction. Probably, the traditional neighbourhoods centers designed for British New Towns best illustrate such functional areas.

Approximately at the end of the 1950s and from the 1960s onwards, an encouraging approach was set out when joint efforts essayed by both, architects and psychologists, contributed to ascertain the scientific interest raised by the subject. “This was the time when the initial intersection between research about the formation of places and exercises of design that intended to gather together the factors that make up a place encountered a receptive handling in the linked ventures developed by architects and psychologists” (CASTELLO 2005 p.350). Important contributions were brought to the area by authors such as Kevin Lynch (1968), who advanced the idea of constructing what he called ‘place utopias’, where *people* and *place* would bond naturally, enjoying a pleasurable *sense of place*. An enlightening contribution forwarded by Lynch remarks that “A good place is one which, in some way appropriate to the person and her culture, makes her aware of her community, her past, the web of life, and the universe of time and space in which those are contained” (LYNCH 1982, p. 142). In his influential *Architecture of the City*, published in 1966, Aldo Rossi is another author to point out specifically to the extraordinary significance of *place* as a locus of collective memories, suggesting the importance of bridging the thoughts of other fields of study, such as anthropology, psychology and urban history, to those of architecture and urbanism (ROSSI 1977). On a similar line, Norberg-Schulz observes that “It is common usage to say that acts and occurrences take place. (...) Place is evidently an integral part of existence” (NORBERG-SCHULZ 1980, p. 6), in view of which, “The existential purpose of building (architecture) is therefore to make a site become a place, that is, to uncover the meanings

potentially present in the given environment” (NORBERG-SCHULZ 1980, p. 18).

Surely, thoughts like the ones issued by authors such as Lynch, Rossi or Norberg-Schulz, ended up by producing momentum for the setting up of a revisionist process about the concept of *place* on urban-architectural theory. Increasingly, authors started to acknowledge the crucial role that places had to play in humanist matters and, progressively, though slowly, the understanding of places within the profession started to move from the strict functionalist focus it had so far, to a new phenomenological approach that could rightly encompass the extraordinary importance places play in human existential matters. In other words, the concept of place progressed from its former status of *functional areas*, to a well-deserved upgrading to *existential areas*. One way or another, though, the concept of place retained its condition of being the result of a *social construction* - a very trying condition for those who, like the urban planners, intend to create a place by means of urban design.

Not surprisingly, the environmental psychology approach to *place* focuses on a very similar direction to that employed in Architecture and Urbanism: it understands the construct as units where human experiences and physical form are fused together, so as to create a unitary context. Evidently, as a general rule, there is no single factor that can explain all phenomenology involved in man-environment interactions. But, if a place is imbued with symbolic attributes that evoke the role this place played in some of the most significant times the city has experienced, then the acknowledgement of the presence of *memory* in the structure of the place must be accounted for, as an additional attribute, since it is *memory* what can bring about the good (or bad) images a place evokes. Hence, the crucial role the concept plays in the development of Planning History. Once again, however, it is worth remembering that, as a general rule, *place* may be approached through a variety of ways. As a matter of fact, as observed by the present author in a recent entry to an *Encyclopedia of the City*, places may be regarded from several perspectives:

They may be seen from the viewpoint of a behaviour setting, and, in this case, people’s environmental behaviour on them is what really matters in the analyses. Social representations of places are another way of approaching the subject, and there, the symbolic representation of society’s territorial identity is what counts best. The appraisals of the physical-spatial images of the urban form people get affectionate with, occupy the efforts attempted by researchers of the environmental design areas, and are usually captured by means of techniques such as cognitive mapping. Trying to understand why people do so, however, may be best approached through the environmental perception research (CASTELLO 2005, p.350).

RETHINKING THE CONCEPT OF PLACE

The turn of the 20th to the 21st century has brought some motivating variations in the conceptualization of place, insofar as the application of the concept to the area of urban projects is concerned. This section tries to understand the changes and argues about the new paths possibly brought about by changes on the urban studies field.

As discussed above, there were some rising criticisms about the employment of the concept of place on urban projects. More often than not, the *design of a place* was not strong enough to *make a place* come true, but, on the other hand, certain urban spaces show an undeniable vocation towards spontaneously becoming places of conviviality and sociability - in other words, to becoming *places of urbanity* - and hence, prone to bringing a somehow disquieting provocation to the architectural thinking of the time: Could places be effectively designed?

Even considering that places are the result of a *social construction*?

Generally speaking, the criticisms were born as a reaction to the rising claims that the design of *places* might be leading to circumstances of ‘placelessness’ (RELPH 1976) or to ‘non-place places’ (AUGÉ 1994), just to name two of the most recurrent complains of the times. In the same direction, as a growing disapproval against the Modernism canons was gaining corpus, noticeable alterations to the original concept of place were ripe to be enunciated. Consequently, new interpretations about *place* began to come into light, especially in the United States, where - thanks primarily to some of Walt Disney’s most notorious experiments with *theme places* - the idea of “placemaking” soon would find fertile ground for germinating almost indiscriminately. In fact, for some authors,

There is a direct line from the historical invention of place in the American past to that quintessential and most universal of modern American inventions, the theme park. When place becomes story, or snatches of story, designed as an appealing visual narrative (...) when the story line is selected, and everything is coordinated to reinforce the illusion of reality - or of the borrowed reality - the result is, as their creators and marketers say, a ‘themed’ package (HUXTABLE 1997 p.44).

The practice of “making places” in “packages” aimed at a general target: the makers of such places wanted to create (or to *re-create*, in certain cases) lively “social” areas within the cities - *and bring them into businesses as well*. Criticisms apart, the excellent results attained by some of the initial “placemaking” projects were ultimately responsible for including the new practice within the urban designers’ preferred choices, mainly when enlivening the public realm was the primary objective of their proposals. Probably herein lies the most drastic variation to reach the core of the concept of place: thanks to that goal of transforming fantasy into materialized constructions, places became highly tied to the construction of *images*. Differently to what had characterized *place* in the Modern Urbanism period, to *make* a place now - more than merely designing a functional area dedicated to boost sociable encounters -, also entailed strategies to *marketing* that place. And a quick and safe way to market a place is through the construction of an *image*. An appealing *image*, so that places could become more rapidly included within people’s *imaginary* repertoire.

Sooner than possibly expected, the new trend of *making places* and *marketing places* spread throughout the world; and a sort of a *globalized style of planning places* became indiscriminately applied as a new (and very lucrative) planning tool. The urban planners reaction was of perplexity. Is this good? Is this bad? Will it entail a severe distortion upon local cultures, by introducing alien global ways of living? Will it induce what Benjamin Barber (1996) acidly describes as a conflict between Jihad X McWorld?

To this matter, three interesting experiences of making and marketing places happened in Porto Alegre, south Brazil. Since one purpose of the present paper is to discuss the globalized style of places, i.e., the changes noticed in the structural configuration of contemporary urban agglomerations linked to variations that are on course within the very concept of place, a description of the new invented places in Porto Alegre may bring some new arguments. In fact, changes in the concept of place and changes in the urban configuration of cities are so important, that one can even think that a global pattern of newly invented urban places is going on around the world, setting a new model for cities. To test that assumption, the following section will describe very briefly the three experiences in Porto Alegre, namely, the construction of a new shopping mall that “clones” the patterns of a city hub; a new multifunctional airport, that aims at creating a new center of activities; and a reused old

historic area, revamped according to features that try to “clone” its old configurational patterns. They can properly illustrate the point, because the new “cloning” places are being successfully appropriated even by the poorer segments of the population, and hence, may be said to function as real *urbanity places* for the city as a whole.

CLONING PLACES IN PORTO ALEGRE

In the researcher’s work, the new invented places of today are usually called “cloning places”. This is so because the researcher regards them as efforts to replicate the spatial patterns through which the phenomenon of *urbanity* is recognized in the urban environments. Urbanity, of course, is the phenomenon already referred to as the urban quality eventually conferred to citizens through the city’s environmental values. Accordingly, since *urbanity* is found in “urbanity places”, the design of “cloning places” draws from the environmental stimuli believed to be responsible for attributing urbanity to the urbanity places. Hence, the expression “cloning” is used in a positive manner. In fact, the expression is used in order to evoke the strong human content of Architecture and Urbanism, in the first place, suggesting that whereas *bio-technological cloning may create life, urban-architectural cloning may create places where life can be lived and shared*.

The shopping mall as a new urban place

A field survey actually going on in one of Porto Alegre’s most important middle-class shopping centers - the “Praia de Belas Shopping Center (PBSC)” - motivates the kind of reflections commented above (FIG. 1). In its present stage, the research permits to hint at an interesting speculation: the PBSC is being perceived as a *place* - even by the poorest segments of the population.



This conjecture was suggested by the background information obtained from the visits undertaken by poorer people to the shopping, in a precise circumstance: in the days they gain easy physical access to the mall. This occurs in the “free pass” days, that is, in the particular days in which the city’s public transport, in response to a local government policy, becomes liberated from fees. Frequency on the mall those days rises extraordinarily, with thousands of persons coming from the most recondite urban areas - even from slums - flocking into the shopping in batches, most of them just for merely strolling up and down the mall, rubbing shoulders with other people, seeing other people under an unusual angle, an angle very much detached from their familiar everyday reality.

There have been two pilot works investigating the perceptions PBSC customers have about the mall. The first of them, took place during a free-pass Saturday; and the other, on a regular weekday. Researchers interviewed clients at random, asking questions, applying apperception tests, measuring attitudes, and/or simply observing people. Their answers revealed interesting perceptions in terms of behavior, motivations to visit the mall, traditions, and familiarity with

environments showing some traits of affluence. The study indicates that in the free-pass day, over 70 per cent of patrons belong to the lower middle and lower classes. In this segment, teenagers constitute the vast majority, suggesting that among the poorer population, to pay a visit to what it is for them a hyper-real place is a favorite practice among youngsters (FIG. 2). As for the other groups, of middle- and upper middle-classes, it is not surprising to point out that their major purpose to going to the mall is unambiguously linked to consuming activities. If they want to rest or to chat with other people, contrarily to what the lower classes ‘newcomers to the world of simulation’ do, they will not stand or stroll in groups. They will sit at a café, go to the mega-bookshop, enter the cineplex or have a quick meal at the food parlor.



The weekday survey also brought a good amount of new informations. To start with, there are less lower classes clients, and the public is considerably more mature. The predominant age group is over 18 years. When asked whether the mall “would impress a friend, because of its classy environment”, the majority answered that their friends would surely not be impressed by the lavishness of the shopping, showing that they are clearly used to that sort of ‘reality’. They spontaneously complained that they do not like to visit the mall during free-pass days.

Lastly, the more affluent clients also stated that their preferred activity in a shopping mall was, as expected, that of shopping. But they also included within their favorite activities those of going to the movies and eating out.

Like elsewhere, in other globalized urban environments, also in Brazilian cities the downtown areas suffered a severe process of dereliction and abandonment, especially from the second half of the twentieth-century onwards. Therefore, promenading along the aisles of a shopping mall assumed, very rapidly, a crucial role in the Brazilian leisure experience. To no one’s surprise, soon the “cloning” of the hub became the favorite hub, very much in conformity with what many scholars are used to state (BAUDRILLARD 1994).

The multifunctional airport complex and its complex of place

Nowadays, cities and mega-cities present the phenomenon of hybrid complexes as a real and crescent tendency. Such complexes are projects characterized by multi-functional programs, combining diversified activities such as, among others, shopping mall, entertainment areas, transport terminals (including airfields), health services, museum, hotel. The hybrid complexes try to play a similar role to that found in urban retail and services centers, where the phenomenon of *place* can be noticed.

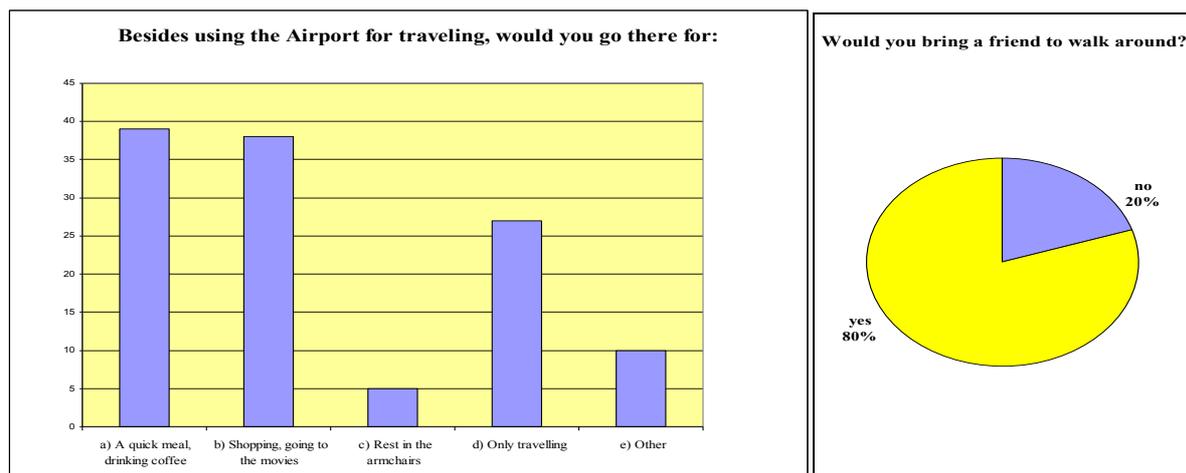
This sort of “catalysis” of different urban activities in one single building characterizes a process that is being called urban hybridism, and that is clearly designed so as to intentionally “clone” the characteristics of an urban place. This is the case with the new airport of Porto Alegre, south Brazil. The building combines a diversity of freely accessible urban functions, and introduces to the city an example of the new global tendency of gathering up under a

single roof a multifunctional compound. It constitutes a typical representative of the multipurpose buildings increasingly present in today's postmodern urbanism (ELLIN 1999) supposed to act as one of the public urban places the city has to offer to its citizens and tourists alike.

The new airport, named "Complexo Aeroportuário Salgado Filho" (even in its name it holds the expression *complex*) "landed" in Porto Alegre in 2001. A field research carried out by the author in the airport investigated: people's reactions to the new phenomenon of urban hybridism; whether the project stimulates intentional perceptions and behaviors; and whether people and tourists perceive the airport as an urban place. The choice of the Airport Salgado Filho as a case of urban hybridism is due primarily to the extreme multi-functionality the architectural program of the building comprises. More than an ordinary airport, the Salgado Filho includes, besides the air terminal, several other facilities such as: a twenty-four hours shopping mall, medical and dental clinics, food center, cineplex, cultural space, VIP room, parking building, chapel, LAN house, electronic games hall, beauty parlor, air traffic regional control center, bank agencies (FIGS. 3 and 4). The adjacent external areas are also integrated to the project, adding more functions to the multi-functional complex, such as: outlets of international hotel chains, an all-inclusive business center, express courier offices, access to the overground railway, and to the hub of regional freeways. More recently, even a gigantic stadium for musical shows opened in the immediate vicinity.



Both the quantitative and qualitative results taken from a field survey realized in the Airport revealed that all the functions offered by the complex are in full use. Furthermore, Charts 1 and 2 show that an expressive number of interviewees stated that "Yes, they would bring some friend to take a walk in the airport"; and that items such as "leisure" and "other reason" were included in their answers, when questioned about the reasons that had motivated their visit to the airport. Figures are also quite revealing. They show people at ease, taking "chimarrao" (that is, drinking mate tea, a local tradition), reading, gathering in the food parlor, shopping, going to a cinema, or simply relaxing in the armchairs. This fact is quite revealing. It shows that it is not only travelers - or some of their companions - who are attracted to the Salgado Filho Airport. Actions and activities typical of those that ordinarily take place in a *place* are now occurring in the new building: the day-to-day routine of the complex is already responsible for attracting people from the adjacent metropolis and its outskirts. It can even be said that the population at large already perceives the complex as a place.



The reuse of a historic area and its transformation in a place

Two major field works in the central area, one in 1986 and other in 1995, focussing basically on the interaction between people and physical settings, led to a collection of elements - buildings and places - perceived as the most significant for Porto Alegre's central area users. In order to provide for a qualitative subjective assessment, information was gathered by means of environmental perception techniques. Crucial to the concerns of this paper were the findings relative to one specific building, the old Gasometer plant (presently lodging a multifunctional activity center). This building is a place where interaction between people and environment is at its highest today in the Center. But it was not so in the first field research of 1986. At that time, the Gasometer plant was just an old building in ruins at the edge of the river. In spite of that, it was quite vivid in people's more recondite memory, probably by its strategical presence in the Center's visual structure. Or by its privileged location at the very interface of water and concrete, of nature and culture, at the edge of the central peninsula (FIG. 5).



It offered an image of permanence, an image of reference, an image deeply immersed in the cultural memory of the population. In the 1995 research the building had been rehabilitated by the implementation of some minimalist design strategies, mostly addressed to the old building's basic maintenance. Its surrounding areas were also requalified by a series of design strategies, providing new functional designations. Besides that, the building started to act as a multifunctional activity center (including, among the activities, a movie house, theater, art gallery, library, coffee house, workshops and assembly rooms). All this was achieved by simply "cloning" the memory images the building and its surroundings had always offered to the population. Surprisingly, interaction soon reached unexpected peaks, up to the point to confer to the place the label of being one of the most popular areas in the Center. Furthermore, it managed to develop a new "behavioural setting" for the leisure times of the community, for groups visiting the center, for offering a *place* where people can assemble to see and to be seen, to play musical instruments and to sing - ultimately - to enjoy the *urbanity*

the place has to offer (FIGS. 6 and 7). This way, the old abandoned central space gained the label of a genuine place, fully marked by sociability and urbanity. A new place, which is now one of the most popular sites in the central area, and that has surely resulted from a social construction.



The newly conserved area also gained in political status. It symbolizes, today, the awareness the inhabitants of Porto Alegre share about the political power they possess, since it is in the Gasometer newly born “*agora*” that most of the public manifestations take place. Certainly, the scale of the new place has much to do with its public acceptance, since it can provide enough physical room for any type of manifestation, either of angry political protests or just for the sheer cultural enjoyment of attending a pop concert. Popular concerts, by the way, are frequently performed there, and the Gasometer area was the place chosen by the “*portoa-alegrenses*” to celebrate the emblematic New Year’s Eve of the year 2000. In sum, it is there that the city’s population likes to gather when it has to deal collectively with collective matters.

Lessons from the Pilot Surveys

Unfortunately, there are predictable and often redundant criticisms to the experiences described above. Criticisms that can be expected almost as a rule. In general terms, it is very likely that social and cultural analysts will raise their voices against at least three points involved in the experiences: (i) new *places* like shopping malls are destined to cater for elitist clientele and will, without doubt, oust poorer people from the shopping precincts; (ii) global places, such as hybrid multifunctional buildings, are alike all over the world, causing what Rem Koolhaas (1997) criticizes as a redundancy of *generic places*; (iii) the reuse of old historic areas will necessarily encompass a removal either of the former residents or of the local businessmen of the revitalizing area, causing, as an unavoidable consequence, a process of “*gentrification*” of the area.

Fortunately, from a more accurate review of contemporary bibliography on the topic of place; and from the empirical evidence obtained in Porto Alegre; it seems that a general lesson can be advanced: the usual criticisms are not necessarily imperative and applicable indiscriminately as an inevitable dogma.

Of course, to progress on a theme that is likely to experience daily changes is not an easy task. But even so, the following discussion will bring out a (sketchy) revision on the concepts of place according to the views of different disciplines. Though sketchy, this revision will indicate that one may always postulate “*a reasonable doubt*” about the urban developments that result from a cross-national transfer of planning ideas - at least, as far as place theory is concerned. Indeed, planning styles may be globally generic, but locally favorable.

GLOBAL AND LOCAL CONTEMPORARY PLANNING STYLES

As changes in the concept of place were introducing “placemaking” and “placemarketing” as viable alternatives for the urban development of towns and cities, other important historical changes were also in motion. Among these, changes happening within the more selective arena of *urban concepts* insinuated that a drastic revolution in what used to be the *concept of public space* could soon be expected. And it indeed occurred. As observed by Denise Scott-Brown, “(...) in all cities there are private places that feel more ‘public’ than many public places: (...) Main Street in Disneyland and the interior of Quincy Market in Boston, are examples of such private-public places” (SCOTT BROWN 1990 p.21). Surely, nowadays this interpenetration between the public and the private realms is even stronger, so as to motivate some authors to recommend that urban designers should focus “(...) on the broader concept of ‘public life’ (i.e. the sociocultural public realm of people and activities), rather than the narrower one of physical ‘public spaces’”, since public life now is “flourishing in private places, not just in corporate theme parks, but also in small businesses such as coffee shops, bookstores and other such third places” (BANERJEE 2001 apud CARMONA et al. 2003 p.114).

Furthermore, the variations surrounding the concept of place cannot be confined exclusively to the boundaries of Architecture, Urbanism, and Urban Planning. But, a selective look on the bibliography of several disciplines that deal with *place* - and the different ways they employ to appraise the concept - leads to approaches that do not receive sufficient attention from the urban-architectural discipline. And that should have. Disciplines like, for instance, Economics, Administration, Marketing, Laws, and even Politics, are disciplines that can establish a fecund relationship to *place* but that, occasionally, do not pay the specific attention demanded by the topic or that, alternatively, leave the concept either completely unobserved or just superficially insinuated.

This way, from Geography, for example, it can be learned, from none less than the renowned Chinese-american Yi-Fu Tuan (1998) that the so criticized *escapism*, that usually comes associated to the creation of cloning places, is nothing more than a spontaneous manifestation of a humane act, relieving, thus, many researchers of the guilt that afflicts them when they opt to study today’s places. Besides that, Tuan cunningly teaches that the *perception of place* may vary throughout time. He alerts that it was necessary to cross one whole century so that the Tour Eiffel passed to be perceived by the Frenchmen as it is nowadays, legitimated as the place of urban quality that it exhibits today (TUAN 1980). Like this tower, many and many other examples of places all over the world have been subject to criticisms, but many of them - throughout a process of becoming popularly appropriated by the public - have finally acquired the perception that awarded them the qualification of places.

Relph, also from Geography, unadvisedly became one of the great instigators of criticisms against “invented places”, because it was him who coined the neologism “placelessness” in his book “Place and Placelessness” (RELPH 1976). Twenty years later, however, writing his “Reflections on Place and Placelessness”, he has positioned himself against the simplistic duality that he had established between “placeness” and placelessness, pointing out that, paradoxically, there are negative aspects tied to “places”, as well as unexpected positive aspects attributed to “placelessness” (RELPH 1996).

Susan Fainstein (2001), from Urban Planning, brings a totally revolutionary vision of the role “cloning places” can exert in today’s city. In her vision, also areas like Administration, Laws, Marketing, Tourism and Politics should not be absent from the *place’s* concept, since she

adds to the classic conceptualization of place as a *social construction*, an opportune opening breach for explaining place also as an *economic construction*.

HANNIGAN (1998) brings from Urban Sociology the understanding that the so-called fantasy-places may be powerful generators of sociability. And that even in face of their apparent mask of selectivity, those places are fully permeable to become publicly appropriated. Also from Sociology, ZUKIN (1996; 2002) reinforces the adjustment that must be conceded to public and private spaces of today's urban environments. Many of them, even if legally private, reveal an increased perception of being public spaces *de facto*, which entails their appropriation as such by the public. The Brazilian sociologist Rogerio Leite (2002) is another one to bring an important contribution to the public appropriation of urban spaces. His research deals with the topic of places that result from the reuse of old historic areas, areas which were usually vacant or derelict, and that experience a process of placemaking that transforms them in new places. This process, though quite common nowadays, is often criticized in view of its tendency to originate the phenomenon known as "gentrification". Leite convincingly points out that, as far as one must recognize the presence of new uses in these spaces, one must also recognize the "counter-uses" that eventually get introduced to the scenario and that concur to the reactivation of the reused spaces as *public places*.

And there are so many points raised by MAGNANI (1996) in his anthropological appraisal about place that the best thing to detach from his work is the careful attention he pays to the role played by the human tactics and strategies of everyday life. In a manner very much like De Certeau (1984) he brilliantly discusses what he calls the "morphology of the practice" in people's daily appropriation of places. In a similar line, MENDES DE ALMEIDA & TRACY (2003) try to find an explanation to what the authors call the night "circuits" through which youngsters move around freely in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. In their considerations, those "circuits" represent a sort of a variation in the concept of place, in fact, a very important contribution to the new studies about places, since it allows introducing the idea of movement into the concept - the "displacement of places" - an idea that proves absolutely fundamental in face of the intense number of fluxes that characterizes contemporary society. In point of fact, the lack of this movement component had already been signaled by Leach, who correctly registered the discomfort he felt in the actual discussions of place about the "(...) more static notions of 'dwelling' that emanate from Heideggerian discourse, which seem so ill at ease with a society of movement and travel" (LEACH 2002, p. 9).

Finally, the rethinking of the concept of place actually happens within the Philosophy world, as well. Both FOUCAULT (1997) and DE BOTTON (2004) conclude in their reflections that it remains indifferent whether today's places result from the actions of an economic strategy or from the efforts of a subjective lucubration. In the end, *place* is always *existential*, place results from the human beings interaction with their own location, place represents our correlation with ourselves "(...) so that we can at last find it, and thus our own ineluctably implaced selves" (CASEY, 1998, p. 286).

CONCLUSION

The concept of place, positioned as it is at the very interface of physical, social, and behavioral disciplines, seems to provide a likely means for tackling the challenge of communicating global and traditional local planning styles. The cases discussed are symptomatic of the possibilities opened by the use of the *place approach* for promoting an interconnection among diverse disciplines. Consequently, they also provide grounds for

understanding that there are benefits that may be earned when one tries to approximate place theory to the purposes of the cross national transfer of planning ideas. Certainly, the cases chosen are modest, but they surely indicate solid directions to follow when the intention is to widening up the opportunities for urban development forwarded by strategies that bridge the global disciplinary knowledge the technical side of planning has already accumulated over time, to the non-disciplinary perception people show in relation to the elements of their new urban local environments.

Although much of the evidence for these considerations must lie within the realm of conjecture, there is the possibility that within the concept of place may effectively reside a positive methodological interface for an adequate cross national transfer of planning ideas and its manifestation in local spheres. This transfer will be able to capitalize on the multifaceted dimensions involved in a place - behavioral, sensorial, experiential, historical, preservationist, economical, financial - and to indicate directions for a sustained development process for the city as a whole.

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*STATE, LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND URBAN PLANNING IN MEXICO'S CITY: GENESIS
OF AN URBAN POWER, 1900 – 1933.*

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Abstract: This paper aims to explain Mexico City urban outgrowth between 1900 and 1933. I will analyze the proposals of urban planners to solve the anarchic expansion of its urban tissue and populations, solutions like the creation of a zonal division improving the traffic, housing, consumption, employment and the conurbation of the city.

Traditional studies about urban planning in Mexico in this period have pinpointed the influences of functional urbanism, American and ecological European zoning and the Chicago school's conception of the City as essential to the project of modernization of Mexico City. They have, on the other hand, consistently dismissed the political dimension of urban planning, eager to eliminate the old structure of municipal government. This aimed at a reinforcement of the *status quo* through centralization and simultaneous reinforcement of the state's institutional power since it better managed urban growth and the distribution of its population. This paper will thus explore the political significance of urban planning in Mexico City at the beginning of the twentieth century from an historical perspective. I will begin with a review of the urban problems of the city and the main ideas about urban planning introduced Mexican planners in the period of 1900-1933, their academic formation, their relations with the international urban planning community, their projects and the political and institutional reception of their proposal by the Mexican State.

KEY WORDS: URBAN PLANNING, MEXICO'S CITY HISTORY, MEXICAN STATE, MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

Urban and municipal problematic of the Federal District

Throughout its history and until 1929, the urbanization of the municipalities of the Federal District, capital of Mexico founded in 1824, had been conducted by local and superior authorities without a general plan or appropriate legal frame articulating its functions, attributions, resources and actions. This gave rise to a disordered and unequal urban growth, serious and continuous problems of public health, numerous social conflicts because of the deficiency and shortage of public services, the materialization of social inequality and conflicts between federal and local authorities both simultaneously reclaiming the control of production and administration of the city.¹

The negative outcomes of this secular quarrel of political and administrative nature began to be problematic at the beginning of the 20th century when the population and the size of the District also registered an explosive increase as a result of the economic growth that Mexico experienced under the regime of Porfirio Diaz (1876-1910).

Thus, if in 1900 the Federal District counted 541,516 inhabitants, by 1910 it had attained 720,753 and 906,063 in 1921, to reach 1,229,576 in 1930. In the same period its urban area also registered a maintained growth of 1370 hectares in 1910, 3250 in 1918 and 6262 in 1929,² growth that was translated in the foundation of 64 new colonies between 1901 and 1926. Nonetheless basic urban services were not provided for a great number of them.³

The necessities of this enormous urban conglomerate (housing, commerce, transports, industry and services) exerted an enormous pressure overwhelming the existing urban infrastructure and the administrative capacity of the municipalities. This already complex growth was accompanied by the shortage of resources provided by city councils, the corruption and inefficiency of its authorities and the climate of political instability of the annual municipal elections.

Although as much federal as local authorities shared responsibility in the maintenance of public services and the management of the urban space in the District, municipal institutions had been subject to severe critics since the 19th century. The attacks had been made by the government and Mexican society on the grounds of the city council's administrative

¹ . On the history of the problems of the urban growth and the municipal and federal management in the Federal District Vid. Sergio Miranda Pacheco, *Historia de la desaparición del municipio en el Distrito Federal*, México, Unios/Soner/FP, 1998.

² . *Estadísticas sociales del Porfiriato 1877-1910*, México, Secretaría de Economía, 1956, p.7; "México, Censo de 1910. Distrito Federal", in Hira de Gortari and Regina Hernandez, *Memoria y encuentros. La ciudad de México y el Distrito Federal*, México, Instituto Mora/DDF, 1988, v.3, p. 287; and Enrique Espinoza López, *Ciudad de México. Compendio cronológico de su desarrollo urbano, 1521-1980*, México, Edition of the author, 1991, pp. 108, 114, 124 and 139.

³ . Sergio Miranda, *Historia...*, p. 174.

anachronism, the corruption and lack of scientific and technical preparation of its members to suitably approach the solution to the problems of an increasingly metropolitan city. Even though their accusations were sustained by real facts, the critics made against the municipal government did not consider the shortenings of municipal budgets, the political and administrative interventionism of the federal government in the local management calling for the necessity of a legislation that demarcated the sphere of action and responsibility of both levels of government.

The regime of Porfirio Diaz, eager to turn the city of Mexico into the symbol of the material progress supposedly brought to the country, was first in condemning the administrative anachronism of its municipal government because it was unable to lead its urbanization suitably. The regime ideologists supported, in the Local chamber, the initiative to reform the government of Mexico City under the main argument that “the government of the cities had become an extensive and complicated art” so it had to be lead by “special civil employees whit suitable knowledge” and not by “people without theoretical studies or practical knowledge”, like the ones who already integrated the city councils.⁴ Thus, in 1903 a constitutional reform left into the hands of an executive authority, the Superior Council of Government of the Federal District, the conduction of all the subjects related to the services and the urbanization of the District. Additionally, the city councils were reduced to consultative organs of this dependency, thus losing their resources and public functions.⁵ Nevertheless, with this reform the urbanization of the District was far from directing itself to surpass its urban, social, material and institutional backwardness and contradictions. The Superior Council of Government promoted an urbanization plan that excluded the surrounding municipalities delaying further the solutions demanded by the metropolis. Therefore, Mexico City was the main beneficiary of the expensive public works undertook by the Superior Council. However, urban services were introduced in selective form; while a good network of sanitary services were introduced in the center and the west, the other quarters of the city lacked services until well into the 20th century. Roads, beginning to be transited by vehicles and electrical street cars, were extended and modernized, and their main arteries were upholstered of monuments dedicated to the memory of the main mexican heroes, including old Aztec (kings) tlatoanis, which in the imaginary official had contributed to the

⁴ . *Diario de los Debates de la Cámara de Diputados*, XX Legislatura, año de 1900, Sesión del 9 de Noviembre, México, Imprenta Central, 1901.p.370.

⁵ . On the political reform and the urbanization of the D.F. under the Porfiriato Vid. Sergio Miranda Pacheco, “Problemática urbana y reforma político administrativa en el Distrito Federal, 1903-1914”, in Maria del Carmen Collado Herrera (coord.), *Miradas recurrentes. La ciudad de México en los siglos XIX y XX*, 2 vols., México, Instituto Mora/UAM-Azcapotzalco, 2004. V. I, pp. 226-247.

forge of a national identity.⁶ The elites erected modern and functional colonies in the neighborhoods of the old historical center that were submitted to new and diverse regulations meant to contain and correct an environment still deprived of hygiene and permeated by the hustle and bustle produced by the popular classes characterized by their pernicious customs and activities – lack of hygiene, traveling commerce, laziness, alcoholism, drug addiction, invasion of the public routes to make diverse offices, etc.⁷

Although the first post-revolutionary governments gave back to the city councils their old functions, these also were far from promoting an urban policy that covered the backwardness of the District and took care of its urbanization.⁸ Still more, the political autonomy reached by the municipal corporations consequently to the constitutional consecration of the free municipality turned the city councils into the centers of fights between political parties reaching its climax in the municipal elections year after year. The offices of the city councils also served the accomplishments of private businesses while public interests were in the hands of the local authorities.

Thus, by the end of 1928 the informed public opinion believed that the frequent conflicts between the federal powers, the city councils and the government of the District had failed to serve public interests since all these authorities “attended the diverse public services of the District without a clear cut plan, in many occasions following measures that contradict one another because their administrative functions and attributions were not clearly defined”.⁹

⁶ . On the urban ideology and its projection in public works made in the city of Mexico under the Porfiriato Vid. Claudia Agostoni, *Monuments of Progress. Modernization and Public Health in Mexico's City, 1876-1910*, University of Calgary Press/University Press of Colorado/Institute of Historical Investigations of UNAM, 2003.

⁷ . On the urban management of the CSGDF Vid. Sergio Miranda Pacheco, “Problemática...”.

⁸ . Vid. Sergio Miranda Pacheco, “Los gobiernos de la revolución y la problemática municipal en el Distrito Federal, 1912-1917”, in *Estudios de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea de México*, México, IIH-UNAM, num.28, July-December 2004, pp. 77-129.

⁹ . A critic of the time offers a picture to us of the municipal disaster that affected the Federal District before of being suppressed his city councils in 1928: “The inhabitants of the DF have been witnesses of the scandalous and irregular form in which the elections for City councils were carried out. Political parties, organized by devoid individuals of all morality, but capable in you intrigue electoral, they were appropriated the city councils of the city of Mexico and the other municipalities. [...] The municipal subjects and the public services were at the hands of immoral individuals and without technical knowledge for the performance of the positions that were entrusted to them; but however, to the shelter of these they made dishonest businesses and sometimes they robbed with impunity the bottoms pertaining to the municipality. [...] Frequent were the contracts for the purchase of necessary equipment and machinery for the services public to exorbitant prices in which the ones in charge of the purchase had their participation. [...] He was public who by means of the money was feasible to obtain with the city councils any concession by immoral which this one will be. [...] The fiscal debts were object of transaction between the contributors and the municipal authorities. Many of these were boasted of which their pays did not mean anything for them and who their main entrances were in the businesses that made. [...] The anarchy in the municipal subjects was increased, to more of the immorality of its members, by the lack of regulation of the diverse services municipal public. The situation that reigned in the municipalities of the Federal District is similar to that it reigns in the municipalities of all the Republic”. Jesús Ramírez Flores, *Nueva organización del Distrito Federal. Ley del 14 de Agosto de 1928*, México, Universidad Nacional de México, Diciembre de 1928, p. 32.

The urban and the municipal issues in the speech of the city planners

As we know, in general terms, modern urban planning was originated in industrialized nations where private initiative realized the convenience of organizing and of improving the conditions of life of industrial workers to multiply its gains. Secondly, the state took care to plan the housing and the growth of the city to satisfy the increasing demands of public health and services.¹⁰ It was in Germany that the first steps towards public intervention in urban matters acquired the dimension of state policy. By the end of the 19th century and until before World War I, Germany was the more advanced nation in urban planning, because its great and small cities had been subjected to districts plans in which a network of main lines was introduced together with residential streets, industrial areas, drainage systems and the geographic expansion of the cities prepared. With time, the old and new urban zones were including in zoning plans which assigned to each district a different function and were assigned to certain rules of construction. Even before the end of the 19th century, the urban growth of the small and large cities forced the state authorities to coordinate the plans of the central urban nuclei with those of the neighboring municipalities. Thus, at the beginning of the 20th century, in the region of Frankfurt, and also around Berlin, regional planning arose, from which the interest in introducing the whole country to a detailed program of local and regional urban plans that would be developed years later.¹¹

In the United States, due to a relative decentralized political system, modern urban planning had a relatively chaotic appearance. At the turn of the century, because of the fast growth of the most important cities during the preceding decades, the gravity of the urban problems acquired grave and varied dimensions so that it became the center of national attention. The exigency of some type of public intervention in favor of the reformation of the urban planning and several speeches and movements that struggled for an urban reform materialized, by the end of the second decade of the 20th century, in the creation of a new profession: urban planning. Although this was concentrated mainly in the physical planning of cities, the discourses around urban topics preceding its creation were rich in contents that emphasized great social preoccupations. These speeches did not only advocate social reforms but the application of aesthetic, egalitarian and engineering schemes for the development of the cities. Nevertheless, the triumph of the practical aspect over the aesthetic (of the reformed policy

¹⁰ . An historical framework of the urban planning can be seen in Arnold Whittick (ed), *Encyclopedia of Urban Planning*, McGraw Hill, 1974.

¹¹ . Anthony Sutcliffe, *The History of Urban and Regional Planning*, Facts on File, Inc., New York, 1981, p. 5-6

over the egalitarian) can be mainly attributed to the fact that the American urban civilization was, and continues being, essentially a capitalist enterprise.¹²

After World War I, as much in Europe as in the United States the idea and convenience of the urban planning had already matured sufficiently and the states were beginning to apply modern legislation on urbanization following the rules of the science and art of planning. Nevertheless, much of the terminology, ideology and techniques of urban planning had arisen before 1914. According to Anthony Sutcliffe, expressions like 'town planning', 'City planning', 'Städteplanung', 'urbanisme', 'urbanistica', 'stadsplanering', 'stedebouw', and 'gradostroitel'stvo', had become general use between 1890 and 1914, at the same time that had emerged an integral plan of development for a whole city, mainly in Germany. Additionally, the State that had discovered the increasing threat of urban problems was increasingly interested in urban subjects.¹³

Under this international context urban planning was introduced to Mexico by a group of engineers and architects, who, from diverse tribunes during the second and third decade of the 20th century impelled the idea to plan the urban growth of the Federal District and the country, and obtained that the Mexican State create a new legislation and new national and local institutions of urban planning.

Carlos Contreras and Jose Luis Cuevas Pietrasanta were the main impellers of the planning movement in Mexico in the decades of 1920 and 1930. Cuevas Pietrasanta had been in England in 1920 to study the development of the cities garden of Raymond Unwin and participated in one of the first meetings of the International Congresses of Modern Architecture. At his return to Mexico, among other city-planning projects that carried out, he adapted the postulates of the city garden to the development of the residential settlement Chapultepec Heights (1922), located to the west of the city of Mexico, where lived the elites of the post revolutionary Mexico.¹⁴

But the most outstanding of the impellers of the urban planning in Mexico was Carlos Contreras who, in 1918, initiated his studies in the University of Columbia, New York where

¹² . Katharine Kia Tehranian, *Modernity, space and power. The American City in discourse and practice*, Hampton Press, Inc. Cresskill, New Jersey, 1995

¹³ . Anthony Sutcliffe (ed.), *The Rise of Modern Urban Planning 1800-1914*. The first volume of the trilogy 'Planning and the Environment in the Modern World', Mansell, London, 1980, p. 2-3

¹⁴ . Vid. Gerardo G. Sánchez Ruiz, *Planificación y urbanismo de la Revolución Mexicana. Los sustentos de una nueva modernidad en la ciudad de México, 1917-1940*, México, UAM-A/Asamblea Legislativa del D.F., 2002. Alfonso Valenzuela raises that the transformations of the urban space of the city of Mexico in the first decades of century XX were inspired by European models like the one of the city garden of Ebenezer Howard and the system of parks of Claude Forestier. Vid. "The Place of Nature in the City in Twentieth-Century Europe and North America", in GHI Bulletin, no. 38 (Spring 2006)

he was professor after he had obtained his title of architect in 1925. At his return to Mexico he devoted an enormous activity to organize the planning of the cities but mainly the capital city. The same year he published a project for “The Planning of the Mexicana Republic”. The following year, he impelled the foundation of the *National Association for the Planning of the Mexican Republic* (ANPPRM). In 1927, he occupied the chair of Planning of Cities and Art Civic in the National School of Beautiful Arts of the National University, whose directors proposed, without luck, to create the Faculty of Planning. As Head of the Commission of Program of the Secretariat of Communications and Public Works (1929-1932), he wrote up, along with the engineer Enrique Schulz the *Law on General Planning of the Mexican Republic* (1930), and, in 1931, the *Law of the National Commission of Planning*. In 1933 he proposed the application of the *Regulating Plane of the Federal District*, the first plan in the city’s history, and, under the regency of Aaron Saénz (1933-1935), redacted the *Law of Planificación and Zonificación of the Federal District and Territories of the Baja California* (1933), and elaborated a plan of working house for the city of Mexico. Together with the impulse given to the planning of the Federal District, Contreras proposed regulating planes for other Mexican cities like Matamoros, Monterrey, Guadalajara, Veracruz, Acapulco, Mexicali and Aguascalientes. Also, he developed a publishing work for the planning through the magazines *Planning*, and the newspapers *Excelsior* and *The Universal*. In 1938, he organized the XVI International Congress of Planning and Housing celebrated in Mexico city, and from the following year until 1965, he held the position of Vice-president of the International Federation for Planning and Housing. He also represented Mexico and the Society of Mexican Architects in the International Congresses of Planning celebrated in New York, Paris, London, Israel, and San Juan of Puerto Rico. Finally, he was member of diverse organizations of Planners like the American Institute, American Institute of Architects, Royal Institute of British Architects and Colegio Nacional de Arquitectos of Uruguay.¹⁵

The studies of modern urban planning developed during what we could name the foundational stage of urban planning in the history in Mexico, usually exalted the visionary projects of their protagonists, as well as to demarcate from its influences as justification of their originality. Thus, for example, Sanchez Ruiz, emphasizes that far from following the city-

¹⁵ . Vid. Francis Violich, *Cities of Latin America. Housing and Planning to the South*, Reinhold Publishing Corporation, New York, 1944, pp. 162-163. Biographical data and a summarized, although little critical study, of the ideas and the works of the Mexican city planners can be seen in Gerardo G. Sánchez Ruiz, *Planificación y urbanismo de la Revolución Mexicana. Los sustentos de una nueva modernidad en la ciudad de México, 1917-1940*, México, UAM-A/Asamblea Legislativa del D.F., 2002; and Gerardo G. Sánchez Ruiz (coord.), *Planificación y urbanismo visionarios de Carlos Contreras. Escritos de 1925 a 1938*, México, UNAM/UAM-A/UASLP, 2003

planning ideas of Le Corbusier (1924) and the dictations of the *Letter of Athens* of 1933, until end of the decade of 1930 the Mexican city planners, led by Contreras and Cuevas Pietrasanta, folded to some of the postulates of the modern planning of the cities such as the zones division of the city from a district of businesses, circulations with radial, concentric streets and in checkerboard, low densities in houses, the care of environment, the beauty of the cities, the community participation and the respect to the urban-architectonic tradition, from which they generated projects and they introduced modifications for some of the Mexican cities.¹⁶

Thus, under the impulse behind the speech of urban planning during the decade of 1920, the city and its problems, as well as the management of their government, was subject to the scientific glance of city planners and architects whose opinions were spilled in the press of the time. Its diagnosis was demolishing. Maybe the most serious problem of the urbanization of the District identified by the planners, besides its serious lack of planning, was the obsolescence of the administration and urban policies of the municipal government, which had turned into a deficient organization. One of them diffused this idea in *The Universal*: **“We must confess modestly that in view of our languid civic preparation, we do not deserve by suddenly more than the severe control of the Government of the District in the capital. It would have the advantage of which under its direction one would be saved the unit of the city of Mexico and the effectiveness of the services public, in exchange for the famous Free Municipality. After all we will not lose a so great treasure if it is deprived to us of the enjoyment of a democratic spectacle, that until like maneuvers, is more and more improbable and boring”**.¹⁷

Convinced of the urban and municipal disaster of the capital, in September of 1927, in the context of the political conflict produced by the aspirations of Alvaro Obregón to be re-elected President of Mexico, the architects grouped in *Society of Mexican Architects*, founded in the same year, to denounce “the failure of the free municipality” and summoned to that an Municipal Advice dependent directly of the Executive “was in charge of organize, understand and solve the transcendental problems that the operation of a modern city constitutes and that finishes once for always the chaos of our present urbanism”.

Basic component of the political reform that proposed to modernize the capital was the paper assigned to the architects and city planners. Given to the importance of a city like Mexico, a political, commercial and financial national center, and potential industrial center, “its

¹⁶ . Vid. Sánchez Ruiz, *Planificación...*

¹⁷ . Editorial. *El Universal*, 13 de enero de 1928

development, its urbanism, the extension of its avenues, the zoning, the creation of new colonies, the organization of the present ones, the multiple problems of traffic, the monumental embellishment in agreement with the exigencies of the time, the complete regulation of the construction, the resolution of problems of the present time according to the special nature of the subsoil, etc., etc.," all these problems had " to be solved with the scientific and artistic cooperation of the Mexican architects, of whom it is known are most competent, of those who have irrefutable tests of their value and personal integrity ".¹⁸

Thus, with its proposals on the solution that required the problems of the urbanization of the District, the community of city planners supported the administrative political reform of the District that, in the heat of campaign for its re-election, would present in April of 1928 the ex president Alvaro Obregón to the House of Representatives. Although they pointed to some of the problems who derived from the technical and administrative incapacity of the city councils, as well as of their corruption, they did not reason, as Obregón did not do either, on the institutional contradictions that surrounded the urban management of the city councils – mainly their inadequate legal frame, its shortage funds and its potential political explosive at times encouraged, and at others, repressed by the federal government, and therefore on the possible reforms to the municipal administration to solve the problems of the urbanization. In that sense the mexican city planners trusted that the powers and benefits of science of the city and the planning actions would be equal to which it would be possible to hope of the political and administrative centralization.

In fact, judging by the experience about the city planning in other Latin American countries, like Brazil and Argentina, an ideological component in which it was sustained that the modern speech of its city planners was the idea that the representative institutions, chosen by the route of the vote, were opposite to all possible planned conduction of the urbanization of the cities, because it took to that the positions public were held by incompetent individuals. For that reason the critic to the municipal authorities was translated in a negation of the representative government and in the exigency of a strong government, authoritarian and centralized.

In both Latin American nations, Outtes notes that the application of the plans and the institutionalization of urbanism like independent discipline, took place under interventionist and anti-liberal political regimes, like the years of Vargas in Brazil (1930-1945), especially the dictatorship of *State Nuovo* that invited city planners to become mayors of the Brazilian cities (1937-1945), and Argentina under the military governments of general Jose F. Uriburu

¹⁸ . "La supresión del municipio libre", in *Excélsior*, 25 de septiembre de 1927. Sección de Arquitectura.

(1930-1932) and presidents Agustín P. Just (1932-1938), Robert M. Ortiz (1938-1940) and Ramon S. Castle (1940-1942).¹⁹

In Mexico, after the triumph of the Revolution initiated in 1910, arose a new State that centralized in its hands the power under the form of a presidencialista and authoritarian regime sanctioned in the own Constitution of 1917,²⁰ and was this power who forged and consolidated the centralization of the government of the District that, since we have seen, from the perspective of the Mexican city planners was most propitious for the rational and ordered conduction of the capital city.

The centralization of the government of the District

In its initiative of law -directed to the Permanent Commission of the Congress of the Union with date of 18 of April of 1928 and read in the session of the House of Representatives of 14 of May- to completely suppress of the Federal District the city councils, the ex-president Alvaro Obregón diagnosed that the causes of the problems of the District and the incapacity of the municipal governments to solve them were reduced to “the conflicts of political and administrative character that constantly have arisen by the coexistence of authorities whose faculties are excluded sometimes and at times are confused”. Reason why, “to be in agreement with the logic and the reality”, the solution that prevailed was to reorganize the administration of the Federal District for establish the control and the “efficiency in all orders of the public service”.²¹

In support of its proposal he adduced a series of arguments that took care of the legal, historical and politics aspects of the problematic of the District. He pointed that “in all time the General Congress and the Federal Executive have been controlling the municipal administration of the District” and that the Revolution had hoisted the restoration of the free municipality as a demand to legitimize in all the country, because the city councils had been subordinated to the power of caciques and political intermediaries thus annulling their public functions. Nevertheless, the makers of Constitution of 1917 had extended this conquest to the Federal District “without considering the historical precedents that demonstrated the impossibility of the independent municipality in the District, neither the series of conflicts that

¹⁹ . Vid. Joel Outtes e Irene Kazumi, “Disciplinar a la sociedad por medio de la ciudad: la génesis del urbanismo en Brasil y Argentina (1894-1945)”, in *Secuencia*, núm. 57, septiembre-diciembre 2003, pp. 144-145.

²⁰ . Arnaldo Córdova, “La legitimación del presidencialismo en la Revolución Mexicana”, in A. Córdova, *La Revolución y el Estado en México*, México, Era, 1989, p. 113

²¹ . The initiative presented by Alvaro Obregón for the political reform of Federal District can be seen in: *Diario de los debates de la Cámara de Diputados*, año de 1928, XXXII Legislatura. Sesión del 14 de mayo.

always had been between this power and the Federal Executive, nor the difficulties of economic order, nor other many considerations of transcendental importance [...]”.²²

For that reason the main lines of their proposal to reach the best efficiency in the services public of the District were the suppression of the city councils and the creation of an Financial Advice and an Executive Advice of Administration of the District, independents to each other, who would take care of the fiscal collection and the administration of the public services, respectively, without no political function.

Obregón had the idea that the reorganization and control of the cost and public administration was forced by the solution of the problems of the District. Nevertheless, in its single diagnosis he described the reality of the institutional difficulties by which it crossed the municipal government of the District, and omitted to analyze and to explain the causes of the same ones, subject of which we have taken care already in another work.²³

What matters to analyze now are the arguments of the idea defended by Obregón in the Congress wherein “after of the mature examination that the experience [was] to him forced to do on the terrible operation of the City councils in the District and on the conflicts that its existence has created, [prevailed] the necessity of the legal reform for the best efficiency of the urban services”.²⁴

As it can be observed, the solution that prevailed in the District, from the perspective of Obregón, was a political and administrative reform. Although Obregón had chosen to suppress the city councils for exerting its second presidential period. Whit out his political enemies encrusted in the city councils, he could not ignore the social, economic, urban and institutional problems that the District lived, of which, as a route to conceal its political interests, blamed the municipal administrations. Was in this point where he made use of the diagnosis of the city planners in order to back up his political reform:

“ [...] the questions on traffic, police, roads, instruction, justice, hygiene and salubrity, on charity, is not circumscribed to each locality, but that is really common to all the District. [...] the service of traffic is impossible to regulate it properly, if they have to be the dispositions that prevail until the edge between Mexico and Tacubaya and others of there in ahead. The service of roads and highways would be equally impossible to practice if the regulations of the Secretariat of Communications and Public Works struggled with those of the foreign City councils. [...] the proximity of the populations that belong to the municipalities of the Federal

²² . *Ibidem*

²³ . Vid. Sergio Miranda Pacheco, *Historia...*

²⁴ . Diario de los debates de la Cámara de Diputados, año de 1928, XXXII Legislatura. Sesión del 14 de mayo. p. 9.

District, with the capital of the Republic, does that their conflicts of authorities, their difficulties in their services, their necessities, always are fixed with aid of the Powers of the Center. And as if all the saying was not enough to support the reform that we propose, is left even the very powerful reason of the great economy that would obtain if in time of two treasuries, the one of the government of the District and policeman, single one public were in charge of the collection of the funds, if the great payments that the support of all the two hundred counselors of the District demands, etcetera, etcetera took off. In addition, the services public of each municipality already are bound to each other, of such way, that its general attention is indispensable, and thus the service of water and drainage requires to previously extend it to all the populations of the District, extending it in the extension of its necessities, being urgent not only to take care of the established thing, but to extend it, bringing sufficient water of other places, by means of works that require not only high costs, but possibility of guaranteeing them and of executing them properly. The same considerations must become respect to ways, services of police, traffic, etcetera. Surely a most important number could be destined, without resorting to easy means of creation of new taxes, to these services; and easy it will be to calculate the transformation which it could operate in the Federal District, in few years in which their populations can enjoy the investments that in services can't be postponed public will be able to become, of the economies, reductions and suppression of an endless number of offices with similar services in each municipality, in addition to great number of expenses that could be suppressed as a result of the new organization who can occur to the District”.²⁵

Seen the previous thing it was clear that the improvement of the services public depended, from the perspective of Obregón, to eliminate the superposition of authorities, to establish a unified and metropolitan administration, to reduce the costs of the administration inverted in the payment of an excessive municipal bureaucracy, and to elevate and to guarantee the investment in the attention, extension and planning of the services by means of the saving that would produce the suppression of municipal offices.

Nevertheless, in opinion of Obregón's opponents in the House of Representatives, represented by the deputy Vicente Lombardo Toledano, the initiative was wrong because all the problems weren't see integrally. For Lombardo Toledano, who had attended years back representing the city council of Mexico's City at the International Housing and Town Planning Congress, celebrated in 1925 in New York City, the problems of the District

²⁵ . *Ibidem*, p. 10.

demanded a technical and nonpolitical solution that contravened the constitutional democratic principle of the free municipality.

This difference of opinions is explained partly by the fact that the militants of the Mexican Labor Party, would see lost their political power if was approved the suppression of the city councils, some of them under their control. But, leaving to a side their political interest, the arguments that exposed in the legislative tribune Lombardo Toledano, let see obviously that the problems of the Federal District had acquired such magnitude and complexity who prevailed the reform of his administration, but not necessarily in the direction of suppressing their municipal government.

Assuming that the problem of the reform of the Federal District was “fundamentally a technical problem and not a political problem”, Lombardo Toledano sent in his critic to the solutions that had been applied in some countries of the world, specially in some European capitals, to resolve the problems of the urban growth of the modern cities and that had given rise to the accomplishment of studies, meetings and publications of specialists.

According to the opinion of the specialists, for Lombardo, it was necessary solve jointly the problems of salubrity, economy, moral, architecture, physical growth, etc., of the great cities, which had to integrate legally to their surrounding cities, but agreement did not exist on the government system who agreed to establish in these great population centers.²⁶ “ Only reasons of political order, reasons of moral order, historical, own reasons of economic order, reasons perhaps until of the places in where the problems must be solved, will indicate which is the government system who is suitable to the great municipal areas ”.²⁷

Taking care of this recommendation of the specialists of the foreigner, Lombardo suggested analyze the reform of Mexico considering the antecedents of social, economic and moral character related with their problems of growth and administrative reorganization of that moment. In the absence of historical and sociological studies on the subject, he referred to the conclusions that could be extracted of the examination of the planes and maps of the city and Valley of Mexico that dated from the colonial times until beginnings of century XX. From this point of view him recognized the primacy that had come exerting historically the city of

²⁶ . Some of the works that mentions Lombardo in their opposition to the initiative of Obregón in the House of Representatives are: “Circulations and transports”, of Augusto Bruggeman and Jacques Gréber, professors of the Institute of Urbanism of the University of Paris; “Methods of decentralization”, of the doctor Raymond Unwin, architect head of the British Ministry of Public Salubrity; “Cities satellites and local government” of G. Montagu Harris, lawyer of the Ministry of Briton of Salubrity, and Van Poelje, of the Department of Education in the Hague; “How to provide to the cities of spaces open and covered by the vegetation”, of J. Stubben (Westfalia); and “The City average garden as to avoid the threat of the great cities”, of Lawrence Veiller.

²⁷ . *Diario de los debates de la Cámara de Diputados*, año de 1928, XXXII Legislatura. Sesión del 16 de mayo, p. 16

Mexico in the set of the populations of the Valley until the point to annex these to its physical body and to exceed the physical borders that separated to them, constituting therefore a new economic, social and urban reality that no longer corresponded with the administrative limits imposed by the municipal organization. Therefore, prevailed a reform that left from the recognition of this historical reality and not from political objectives.

Moreover, politically, according to Lombardo, was wrong to argue on the failure of the free municipality in the Federal District because in general in all the Mexican Republic the state governments and legislatures, having as they had the faculty to control the municipal elections, had always favored the integration of docile city councils or subordinates to their interests and not to those of their respective localities. To solve this problem was a pending task of the Revolution, that if it were solved in the DF eliminating its city councils, doing to depend “this great administrative organization on the Federal Executive”, not only would take place “a civic dissociation in the most important population of the Republic” that it would take to that to anybody concerned the destiny of the city of Mexico, but that would set standard so that the governments of the States did the own thing with the capitals of the federal organizations. It was necessary to maintain the elect local government effective, and to obtain the consensus of “a so heterogeneous population, so opposite, as difficult as it is the population of the city of Mexico and the bordering populations ”, Lombardo suggested to resort to a system of proportional representation that included the capitalist sector, to the craftsmen, the small retailers, the wage-earners, the proprietors, the middle-class and the government.²⁸

As we know, the arguments of Lombardo and their comrades of party were disregarded in the Camera. For Obregón and his adept legislators the city councils were corrupts and incompetents and always had been an onerous appendix of the resources of the federation. Moreover, for them the problems of the city required of practical solutions and not of great library theories, nor to the experience of other countries. So, under these assumptions, the deputies approved the initiative to suppress the city councils of the District, giving continuity thus to the constitutional proceeding so that the state legislatures and in the end the Congress of the Union confirmed this decision definitively.

Views therefore the two positions whereupon diagnosed the problems of the Federal District, cannot be said that a conscience did not exist, in the scope of the political class of post revolutionary Mexico, on the necessity of an integral reform of the District, one that when

²⁸ . *Ibidem*, pp.19-22

taking into account all the factors that influenced in their urbanization established the bases to be solving their immediate problems and at the same time seated the foundations of their future growth. Nevertheless, the final solution that was adopted was influenced by the political conjuncture. Obregón did not invent the problem of the inefficiency of the municipalities and the one of the disaster of the services public in the District to conceal its true political intentions, that were, as already we said, to undo of the political pressure of their enemies in the city councils. Both problems were real, had decades being perpetuated and the society inhabitant of the capital hoped that the Revolution's government gave solution them. Obregón, nevertheless, gave a political interpretation to these problems, it was used them to fulfill his political aspirations, and in it the practical and ideological work unfolded by the Mexican city planners was of extreme importance, because it gave technical arguments to legitimize the political reform him of the District. This took to him to ignore the necessity to fortify the municipal institution by means of the legal reforms that established clearly their tasks and responsibilities, their political and administrative autonomy and, most important, the provision of the economic resources that it required to fulfill his functions, thing that and beside the point then required the capital and the set of the municipalities of the country. Instead of this, Obregón, and who approved their initiative, bet to the centralization of the government of the D.F. and with it smoothed the way so that the specialists in urban planning conducted battle.

The city planners grouped in the National Association for the Planning of the Mexican Republic (ANPPRM), founded it the same year on which the municipalities of the District were suppressed (1928), and they began to try to induce the urban growth of the country through plans and projects. Thus, in their report of profits of the period of 1929-1932 the ANPPRM emphasized that their members occurred to the almost exclusive task to disclose the principles and benefits of the urban planning between the authorities and institutions of the country, without not to have obtained some concrete results like the one of the official approval of the projects for the planning of the port of Veracruz and Acapulco, the creation of the Commission of Program of the Secretariat of Communications and Transports, the celebration of the First National Congress of Planning (1930), the promulgation of the Law on General Planning of the Mexican Republic (1930), the creation of the commissions of planning of Mazatlán, Chilpancingo, Guanajuato, Aguascalientes, D.F. and Territories of the Baja California and Cuernavaca, the promulgation of the laws of Planning of Guerrero, Guanajuato, Aguascalientes, of the Federal District and Territories of the Baja California and Cuernavaca, in addition to have directed to more than 400 city councils of the Republic, each

one with more than 10 thousand inhabitants with the intention of making see the importance them that their respective organizations counted on a program of ordered development. Thus, then, throughout the decade of 1930, the Mexican State adopted the proposals of the modern urban planning and it was giving an institutional sustenance them, without it meant necessarily its effective application. The interventionist and authoritarian character of the State, that in the city of Mexico was absolute produced by the suppression of its municipal government, caused, since we have seen, a political instrumentation of the planning and with it the cancellation of its real possibilities to affect the conduction of a ordered, planned and equitable urban growth as it postulated the modern urban planning.²⁹

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²⁹ . *Planificación*. Órgano de la ANPPRM, México, tomo 2, num. 1, enero-marzo 1933, p.3-4

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URBAN FORMS: historical references regarding Le Corbusier's project for Rio de Janeiro and others Brazilian architects

Introduction

Urban morphology uses urbanistic and architectural analysis viewing the city as an architectural fact, in other words, that urban space construction goes necessarily through architecture. The idea of urban form corresponds to the physical means built as architecture, constituted by a set of architectural objects interlinked by spatial relations.

Architecture will be, therefore, the key to the correct and global interpretation of the city as a spatial structure. (Lamas, 1992, 41)

Through this concept we try to understand how the urban form of the *crescents* in Bath – *Royal Crescent*, 1769, and the *Lansdowne Crescent*, 1794 – build, by means of architecture, a reference urban space, which may have been the base or reference for Le Corbusier's project for Rio de Janeiro, in 1929. Also how the latter became the reference for two other projects built in Rio de Janeiro such as the residential condos Pedregulho and Marquês de São Vicente, by Affonso Eduardo Reidy, and Parque Guinle, by Lúcio Costa.

Sigfrido Giedion (1958, 161) states that, in the Argel project, "Le Corbusier is based upon buildings that prevail in the organic line of the *Crescents* in Bath." The *crescents* in Bath aim to merge the buildings with the surrounding natural environment, where nature is not at service of architecture, but where both – nature and architecture – have the same importance. *Royal Crescent* results in a visual softness of the broad elliptical curtain that uses the slope in landscape as a scenic component of the whole. *Lansdowne Crescent* overlooks the heights of Bath with its long and serial serpentine.

In the Obus Plan, for Argel, 1931, Le Corbusier applies the same philosophy, where nature and architecture complete and respect each other. The curves projected in Argel, as in Bath, are adapted to the natural landscape, even if the level variations are exaggerated in relation to those existent in an English city.

However, previous to Argel, the first project by Le Corbusier in Rio de Janeiro, presented in 1929, also portrays the proposal of a building-viaduct that, with the sea in front and the Atlantic Forest behind, is supported on the level curves and grows parallel to Guanabara Bay. Le Corbusier's proposal is a highway, located 100m above the ground, that crosses the city, skipping obstacles, surrounding barriers or breaking blockings. In this proposal not only transportation problems are solved but also housing problems, creating buildings where residences are projected up to 30m above the ground, under the highway.

Since, for Argel, Obus Plan is a re-elaboration of the project presented for Rio de Janeiro, we assume the project's formal reference for the Carioca building-viaduct, which follows the sinuous line of the mountains and supports itself on the topography, can be found in Bath, especially in *Lansdowne Crescent*. We also wonder if this same formal reference is present in the residential condos of Pedregulho, Marquês de São Vicente, and Catacumbas by Affonso Eduardo Reidy, as

well as Parque Guinle by Lúcio Costa.

1. Renaissance and Baroque urban form

Edmund Bacon (1995, 182) states that, in modernism, the interrelation between buildings did not evolve beyond the renaissance principles, and actually, failed to employ those principles. Except for Kenzo Tange and Tokyo's olympic stadium project, the author finds it difficult to find two or more modern structures related to something other than the Renaissance design principles, therefore recommending that the projects should be reviewed according to the renaissance structure.

We find significant changes in the city's design after the perspective and rationalism of the Renaissance period, which overwhelms the intuitive sensorial reactions of previous planners. Since the 15th century, architecture, esthetical theories and urbanistic principles follow similar ideas: the wish for order and geometric discipline. In lectures, treaties, schemes, projects and executions, the city's form is subordinated to unit and rationality.

Integration between architecture and urbanism can be found since the beginning of Renaissance until the 19th century. Architecture, however, is the first to absorb new ideas in accomplishments, while urbanism evolves based only on theoretical terms, from the conception of the ideal city to the architecture treaties and city planning. (Lamas, 1992, 168)

Points in common can be found between the urban design that developed during Renaissance and during the Baroque period: the principles of architecture and spatial design that constitute them are closely related; and the proportion rules generally used in plants, three-dimensional elements, and in the detailed drawings of façades, are extended to the organization of urban space. Architecture and urbanism are based on discipline and order, while asymmetric informality is restricted.

In Baroque, a focal point can be transformed into a powerful planning force bringing order to chaos. The plant is geometric by nature, and if to alter this type of plant and introduce new elements is to impair its symmetry, even superficial esthetical elements can only remain by the means of rigid management rules.

The main elements of Baroque urbanism are symmetry in relation to one or more axis, the conclusion in perspectives and isolated buildings integrated as being one, generating a coherent architectonic scenario. Its application is done in three ways: main straight street, neighborhoods with reticular formation and open spaces.

The street, or its drawing, is an extremely important element. The street has a regular trajectory granting access to the buildings, however, for the first time it is a perspective axis, union and valorization line between urban elements. The street quits being solely a functional route – as in Middle Age –, to become a visual, ornamental, pageant trajectory, adequate for carriages to pass, and an organizer of scenic and esthetical effects.

The construction of open spaces can't be justified exclusively by the political purpose of working as a frame for the king's statues, as in *places royales* in France. It is also linked to economic reasons, and to a higher demand level of urban efficiency: the construction of open spaces enables a localized intervention and a functional adequation, defining commercial centers, housing areas, and the city's administration. The spaces can be occupied by religious and civil buildings;

residential constructions in line; and by market and commercial buildings.

However, still under Baroque dominion, there are wonderful designs that are free from the formal demand of axial symmetry, as in the city of Bath, in England. Maintaining the above mentioned principles, but setting aside the closed geometric forms, the *crescents* in Bath are open to nature, innovating the urban form and breaking the rigid Baroque formalism.

Bath started to be much visited by the aristocracy, during the 18th century, who went there for its waters bringing about a series of small scale improvements and causing the landowners in the neighborhood to elaborate bold plans for the residential surroundings. In some spinal extensions, such as *Gay street*, the *Circus* and the *Royal Crescent*, along with *Queen Square*, we have a new urbanization order, in its best and most appealing form. (fig. 1)

The excellence of Bath demonstrates the advantage of a strict discipline, when it is sufficiently flexible to adapt to geographic and historical challenging realities. (Mumford, 1982, fig. 37)

Fig. 1: Airview of the Circus, Brock's Street, and Royal Crescent

Projects that mark the history of urban design in Bath are: *Queen Square*, by John Wood (father) 1729, who builds following the logic of a speculative operation, where Wood is able to create an ordered architectonic composition following several demands by his tenants; *King's Circus*, by John Wood (father) and John Wood (son) 1754, 96m diameter and 33 houses originating three façades in a circumference arch, with 3 floors, attic and basement, and an even height of 13m; *Royal Crescent*, by John Wood (son) built from 1767 to 1774, a perfect integration between built form and natural landscape, with 30 houses with rigidly controlled façades which close different plants; and the *Lansdowne Crescent*, by the architect John Palmer.

Royal Crescent's semi-elliptic pattern with its biggest axis of 155m opening to a sloping meadow, is not only the application of a geometric figure, but constitutes, with its location, an elevation that overlooks the entire valley, protected by the park below, besides the gardens in the back, all which can be seen through the iron gates. John Wood (son) leaves the previously used compact characteristic behind, projecting the *Royal Crescent* where the form used is in harmony with a softly sloping meadow. Nature does not serve architecture anymore, both now are endowed with the same importance.

Lansdowne Crescent, by the architect John Palmer, is an example where, besides the horizontal sinuosity of the set, the structure moves vertically climbing up a hill, descending to the valley, and continuing with another elevation, which Bacon compares to the spatial form of the "*sailing city*" by Paul Klee (Bacon, 1995, 183). It is a regional scale project, with no radical nor poorly known architectonic detail or even tricks; nevertheless the project is free of Baroque axial planing, representing a powerful declaration of a new and unexpected urban form. The urban design stands out due to the creation of ingenious spatial situations exploring topographic conditions in the territory, and using them to attain highly meaningful shapes. (fig. 2)

fig. 2. Airview of Lansdowne Crescent

The *crescents* in Bath have the buildings, the meadow and the green area as composition elements. A road, on the edge of the meadow, functions as a façade, while another one, behind, ensures service access.

We could locate here the beginning of the 'disappearance' of the blocks weren't it for the persistence of the relations between building/façade/urban space, and weren't it for the lack of continuity and evolution of these models. (Lamas, 1992, 198)

Mumford (1982, 430-1) considers that the squares, circles and *crescents* in Bath reached the peak in terms of residential squares, taking London and Paris as an example, partly due to an actual imponent use of new hilly and regular sites in the city. What we can see from *Royal Crescent* helps us understand that the projected form is not at all by chance, being a harmonious composition with the amplitude of the landscape and a view of distant hills that enthrall our souls. The panorama we contemplate explains the esthetical result, besides the wholesomeness of that open planning. (fig. 3)

Fig. 3: View of Royal Crescent façades and its meadow

This new order and unit are the result of a new attitude, a sole ownership of the land, and a unified control between the architect and the constructor. The result would not be the same if the land were previously divided and each landowner defined his own construction style. Despite the fact that, usually, open spaces are projected with closed geometric forms, the *crescents* in Bath and their new urban form, are recreated in some other English towns, such as the *College Crescent* projected and partially built by James Craig in Edimburgo (1786), and the *Park Crescent* built by John Nash in London (1812).

2. *The modernist urban form*

The modernist city originated from experiences and theoretical formulations that, in the first half of the 20th century, reject the traditional city and substitute it for a new model. These ideas come to substitute the residues of formal urbanism. Between the two wars, modern architects worked hard opposing formal urbanism and organizing the structure and morphology of the new city. Both architecture and modern urbanism aim to counter the traditional ways of building houses and cities. This anti-historical attitude, refusing shapes committed to the old city is also reflected on the rejection and destruction of historical centers.

During this phase, experiences were attempted to destroy and abandoned the block, street and even the square; the proposals are typologies of towers, condos and blocks; and the city is no longer structured based on a functional mixture to be zoned, breaking the reciprocal integration of the various morphological elements that constitute the urban structure. The new organization models of urban space reject the forms and the morphologic configuration of the traditional city.

After World War I, the need to build cheap standardized housings becomes apparent. It's the new spirit, proclaimed by Le Corbusier in 1920 – build serial houses, live in serial houses, and conceive serial houses.

Throughout Europe, legislative instruments related to city and territorial administrations are being reviewed; fact that enables the conception of ordenation plans for big and middle size cities.

Differently from the traditional city, the buildings are conceived alone, with the composition made as a wax model, where parts can be moved and repositioned.

Thus, the urban form is due to housing considerations disregarding the composition of urban spaces. The new housing typologies, which spread throughout the land according to needs such as hygiene, insulation, ventilation and accesses, cause the buildings to quit being part of the superior block structure to gain autonomy. The streets belong no more to the physical-spatial relations of the city being reduced to transports and services lines. The positions of the buildings are due to better living conditions and not to the position in the block.

The modern city is, therefore, different from the traditional city, where housing and residential constructions were determined by the lot, generated by the position and implantation previously determined by the urban form. Contrarily, in the modern city, the construction determines the urban form. The space between constructions becomes merely a residual space, left over space no more object of urban design.

However, the architectonic quality of the different isolated or contiguous buildings can't, by itself, confer shape to the urban environment. Even a quality condo, if not integrated into a context, emerges disarticulated and devoid of real meaning. The architectonic discourse assumes an interrelation between the buildings and the urban space which must be framed into a structure.

By means of *tabula rasa*, the modern metropolis project rationalizes the building's typologies, separates residential blocks from the road network, emphasizes the hygiene of linear residential blocks organizing them on unused land, and overall, separates the roads for cars from those for people, and business areas from residential areas. According to Gravagnuolo (1998, 336), it is the "steel frame" of an anticity abstract ideogram. Searching for the new, architects declare the death of the street, negating the traditional city.

In Le Corbusier's projects for ideal metropolis, the past and the traditional city have their rejection declared. Yet, after a more detailed analysis, wouldn't we find formal urban elements identified with the ideal Renaissance cities, Baroque open spaces, or even influences from architecture and urbanism from the first years of the 20th century?

3. *Le Corbusier's urban form and the project for Rio de Janeiro*

Le Corbusier, who can be considered as one of the great representatives of the Modern Movement, has a great influence over architects and urbanists; however his urban projects, all his ideas about cities, remained on the paper as a theoretical exercise, except for Chandigarh. Le Corbusier's urban philosophy evolves in a scenic mark of publicity projects and conferences, suggesting his solutions to the world in a narrative form and converting every project into literary fiction.

In his first urbanism project, *Ville Contemporaine pour trois millions d'habitants*, 1922, transports and speed are highlighted. His central point is to view the city as a circulating machine, which has now the new role as machine to live and machine to supply services. In this project, Le Corbusier develops the urban meaning of his architecture.

The concern regarding the integration of architecture and nature becomes apparent in 1925, at the

Pavilion of the New Spirit at Paris Exhibit, where a construction surrounded a tree, and where branches emerged through the roof. Nature, understood as irrational, demands to be once again accepted in architecture.

In 1925 Le Corbusier starts to criticize the garden cities more and more intensively, considering them as a model linked to excessive individualism. From then he dedicates most of the next two decades to research an individual housing that would not oppose the city, but would favor great density as well as an intense relation with the collective equipment.

Hence, he states that the urbanist revolution will be the only one to establish the conditions for a revolution in the art of housing, where the houses must abandon the streets (and the concept of road alignment disappear), rejecting the playground, and gathering, in height and extension, a useful number of housings, so the concentration in one place will free a considerable amount of land. He also suggests a separation between roads for cars and those for people. The roads for people must be free, not being hampered by real estate for they will be supported on a system of columns. The city will become a park, the ground free to be used by the people.

In regard to the buildings, Le Corbusier suggests that the business buildings must be located in a "vertical" center with enormous towers, such as the tower cities of Auguste Perret, 1922. The housings would obey the principle of "overlapped houses", however horizontal in their main extension. The big blocks of the *immeubles-villas* are interconnected by passageways forming a continuous network of "streets in the air", allowing the dwellers to go from one building to the next without landing. We can find the same idea in the buildings *à redents*, even more related to the organization of the constructions.

At a conference in Buenos Aires, 1929, Le Corbusier addresses the idea of a continuous building *à redents*, closely connected to a transportation axis freely extendable. From the moment he accepts such unlimited extension for buildings *à redents*, Le Corbusier opens the possibility of a more open planning. (Weber, 1998, 66)

The way in which Le Corbusier connects his projects to the geography of the location is not always that clear and, many times, a superficial analysis of his urbanist projects, assumes little or no relation with the elements existing in the place. We can attribute this interpretation to the contrast between the networks of the traditional city and that which Le Corbusier proposes, which, generally speaking, comes determined by the disappearance of the combination street-house.

We find an example of this relation, geography-city, in how to solve the problem of building on a highly irregular ground. Traditionally, the street goes surrounding obstacles and the houses follow its alignment, generating chaos and an arbitrary orientation. In a modern design, the buildings are located on the slope and a hillside street connects them. (Le Corbusier, 1980, 93)

Geography and city merge the most in the projects for Rio de Janeiro and Argel. Visits to the slums allow Le Corbusier to appreciate the view which establishes an intense relation between modest houses located on the hillsides and the bay's landscape. Le Corbusier certainly considers the possibility of rescuing the major advantage from the slums – the beautiful view of Rio – for housings located on the building-viaduct; but all latter reference to this subject appears, overall, at the service of an essentially theoretical proposal.

The ordination project for Rio, created by Le Corbusier on a few sketches in 1929, is based upon four fundamental principles: reduce traffic in the city's center; the increase of population density; expansion of means of transport; and expansion of park areas. His project is a building-viaduct, crossing the urban network over the existent buildings having the hill slopes as its garden and Guanabara Bay as its panorama.

In 1929, Le Corbusier traveled to South America and created a study for old urban centers in Buenos Aires, Montevidéo, São Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro. Among Le Corbusier's urbanist ideas, the manner how he retakes the utopist speech stands out along with high valorization of space and its therapeutic importance. He fundamentals his interventions evidencing the negative side of the modern city, does *tabula rasa* and substitutes it for an ordenated city.

For Rio, Le Corbusier considers an urban project which would not interfere with the existent city, where past and present overlap like layers of history. He elaborates the total of three ideas: the first one, in 1929, after flying over the city; the second one, already in Paris, in 1930, as an evolution of the first one; and the third one, in 1936, during his second visit to Rio.

From the airplane, I projected for Rio de Janeiro, an immense highway embracing the rocky headland open over the sea, so the city could be quickly reached from the wholesome plateaus, using this same highway. (Le Corbusier, 1979, 266)

Seen from the airplane, Rio makes an impression on Le Corbusier as a natural linear city, drawn as a narrow strip by the coast, having the ocean on one side and the high rocks on the other, which seam to have naturally suggested the idea of the city-viaduct. Hence, Le Corbusier draws an extension of Rio in the shape of a costal highway, with a longitude of approximately 6km and located 100m above the ground, comprehending 15 floors of artificial ground for residential use, below the road. The mega structure would stay above the roofs of the existing city.

Le Corbusier works hard to structure the strong and penetrating landscape and to understand its essential aspects. As a plastic artist, he was charmed by the unprecedented shapes; as an urbanist, he understood the impossibility of applying his theoretical rules and project challenging only the existent city.

The proposal – which crosses the uneven site from one point to the other – is altogether city, building and highway. Utopia incorporates lyrics: the highway continues, type of urban promenade, unfolding a delightful view; the sinuous 'strip', uniformly level, highlights the uneven topography; suspended in the air, the building open as belvederes to the extraordinary panorama. (Conde, 1998, 6)

The highway represents the base in all three projects, crossing the city, skipping obstacles, surrounding barriers, or breaking blockings. The big highway connects the main parts of the city; North Zone to the South Zone; Center and Niterói, on the other side of the bay. All three projects aim to solve transportation and housing problems.

Fig. 4: Sketch of Le Corbusier's project for Rio de Janeiro, 1929

Le Corbusier projects the city in its totality, having the car as a means of urban regulation. He denies the idea of periphery as a geographic and social notion, while his building-viaduct floats above the existent city. He projects the highway like a park-city which enjoys the landscape, the bay and mountains, as well as the old city.

In the first project (fig. 4), the big building-viaduct evolves parallel to the bay, with a bifurcation to the Sugar Loaf and another one to the business center, this one constituted by buildings which are perpendicular to the highway. The same structure is maintained in the second project, but without the bifurcation to the Sugar Loaf. The third proposal is entirely different from the others, since, in this project, the highway circuit goes towards the University City. The present residential units are substituted by “Y” shaped blocks.

Fig. 5: Elevation of Le Corbusier's project for Rio de Janeiro seen from the ocean, 1929

Without interfering in the city already built, Le Corbusier intends to create a contrast between the peaks of the mountains and the horizontal construction wall. The result is the contrast between man's work and nature's work. (fig. 5)

This project introduces one sole system: big axis that, as in *Ville Contemporaine*, effect regional connections between the city and its territory. It extends the level of arrival of this axis at the coast through a big viaduct over the existent city, being equipped in some strategic locations with big car elevators, which avoid a complicated system of ramps. It replaces the public "roof-gardens", with a highway, and grants liberty in walking areas below on the natural ground. The parking lots will be located on the highest floors and not on the ground.

There is the influence from the cinema, airview and theories, as *Park-movement* theses, where Le Corbusier integrates the built space, the landscape of Guanabara Bay, and the mountain's green slopes as a natural garden.

...for Le Corbusier it is not from the existent city [...] that guidelines and laws appear to generate the project. For Le Corbusier, the existent city is seen first of all as a poetic fact – plastic – in the way it relates to its site, its geography. (Pereira, 1996, 372)

The insight Le Corbusier had in his project was to establish a rational and economic urbanization system, where urbanize is to make money, and that the economy of the project comes from the implantation of a highway inserted in a territorial, urban and ambivalent logic, on one hand opening a connection between Rio and São Paulo and, on the other, dominating the agitated topography interconnecting neighborhoods, directing development and creating artificial areas, securing areas where there is no more space to build.

The beauty of the innovating form, the innovating form itself could never be noticed if they were not present in the corbusiana speech as part of a system. The example of housing as an 'extension of public services', the example of leisure linked to work time and to the liberation of the ground, hence, the issue of landownership and authority which must 'be present'... All constitute a system that validates the system of columns, the 'highway' supported by the buildings, the viaduct following the landscape. (Tsiomis, 1998, 39)

Bearing in mind that leisure is part of the modern city; Le Corbusier considers how his highway allows the user to enjoy the city's landscape, pride of the carioca, collective patrimony, while he drives his car to the beach or through the “window-frame” of his home under the highway.

4. Other projects for Rio de Janeiro

The Popular Housing Department granted to Affonso Eduardo Reidy the opportunity to perform, as the City Hall's architect, two major works in his carrier – the condos of Pedregulho and Gávea,

where he could associate plastic richness with social content. Pedregulho condo was built in 1946 on 50 thousand square meters located on the west slope of Pedregulho hill, which has an irregular conformation and uneven topography, with a difference in level of approximately 50 meters. The project comprises four residential blocks; being that block A has an extension of 260 meters, located on the highest part of the slope and following the sinuous shape of the hillside. There two bridges lead you to a partially free pavement where it is possible to enjoy the most beautiful panoramic view.

Taking advantage of the uneven land, the outstanding size of Pedregulho Condo is balanced by the flexibility of its design, using the undulating forms of the local relief. The curves of the main building respect the curves of the hillside, according to a formal dialectic, greatly enhancing its lines. (Carmen Portinho, 1999, apud Bonduki, 1999, 91)

Fig. 6: Airview of Pedregulho Condo Block A

Fig. 7: View of Pedregulho Condo Block A

In the case of Marquês de São Vicente Condo, in Gávea, 1952, half of the area follows the hillside until it reaches the highest part of the hill which has a difference in level of approximately 60 meters. Likewise, Pedregulho, the main building, follows the hillside integrating itself to the hilly landscape of Rio de Janeiro.

Fig. 8: Wax model of the main block of Marquês de São Vicente Condo, in Gávea

Another project by Reidy with the same shape conception, however not executed, it's Catacumbas Condo, at Rodrigo de Freitas Lake, 1951.

Fig. 9: Perspective of the Catacumbas Condo in front of Rodrigo de Freitas Lake

In the case of Guinle Park, in the project by Lúcio Costa, 1943, a difference can be noticed in relation to Reidy's projects and Le Corbusier's building-viaduct. While in these the form was define by only one block that followed the local topography winding its way by the mountain, adapting to level curves, and granting plasticity to the whole, Guinle Park's buildings are five separate blocks which follow the topography trying to maintain the park's integrity and respect its implantation in an amphitheater shape.

Fig. 10: Perspective of the whole with the six buildings proposed

5. Formal references of the projects for Rio de Janeiro

The highway of Rio's project, 100m above the ground, inspired on the suspended test road of Turim's factory, 40m above the ground over workshops, grant an outstanding position for the project in Le Corbusier's urbanist repertory, and consolidate the organic trend of his work. However a more accurate analysis reveals that, besides creating an inspired landscape, Le Corbusier develops a reasonably logic urban and architectonic format, adequate to the pragmatic character of the environment and not specifically organic.

Le Corbusier develops a urbanization devise which stands out more explicitly in the project for Rio de Janeiro, and that he then enhances in his plans for Argel: the building-viaduct, strong image, for which Le Corbusier searches for references both in past as in modern architecture. (Ziegler, 1998, 110)

It is possible to reconstruct three axis that connect the first project for Rio both to the proposals that precede it as to those that come after it: the relation between transportation spaces and constructions; the immense buildings; and the independent structure.

The repetition of urban forms is not a novelty: they repeat themselves throughout the history of urban design. For instance, the grid is not a North-American invention, but can be found in Greece, in Millet, and in the colonial American cities, it can represent a cosmic law for the Etruscan priest, or the maximum possibilities for real estate speculation for New York planners, in 1811. We can say the same about other urban forms such as the diagram, mandala, etc.

The sinuous line of the *crescents* in Bath, in the 18th century, disregard the closed geometric shape, used until then in the open Baroque spaces. The square is no more closed with buildings and opens itself to the infinite, encompassing the green areas surrounding it and changing the relation between architecture and nature. The beauty of both meadows and hills in Bath are a scenario for the *crescents'* inhabitants.

In Rio, Le Corbusier, charmed by the splendor of Guanabara Bay, its magnificent rocky headlands, and the Atlantic Forest, suggests the same integration between nature and architecture. Thus, when he positions his building-viaduct by the coast, he distributes the city's beauties democratically, since they can be contemplated throughout the highway and from the windows, being, therefore, used to complement his project.

The connection element between the units is the street and the new means of transportation. In Bath, with the introduction of carriages, wider and more regular streets became necessary. At the *crescents*, the presence of constructions on only one side of the road, allows the means of transportation to flow more freely, besides being a perspective axis, union and valorization line between urban elements. In Rio, cars demand free roads where they can speed without obstacles from the pre-existing city. The highway of Le Corbusier's building-viaduct also fulfills its role of perspective and union line of both the city's units and elements. The access to residential units in the condos also takes the pedestrians into consideration when it locates a free pavement half way downhill, facilitating access to the upper and lower apartments. In Guinle Park, the street is projected in front of the buildings, facilitating their access without interfering with the park located in front.

The *crescents* in Bath break with the way of thinking and projecting cities in the Baroque by not interfering with the site, supporting the buildings on the level curves, and using them to create a scenic effect. In Rio, Le Corbusier breaks with the modernist city way of thinking, which proposes itself as ideal with no regard for the site's condition nor for the conditions of the pre-existing city. Projects by Reidy and Lúcio Costa also break with modernist premises and use the implantation site as a fundamental element to structure the project, while using nature and the existent city as an integrating part, and the uneven topography in Rio as a strong definition element for the urban form. Laranjeiras Palace is a focal point at Guinle Park, which, as an acropolis, stands out, being this a Baroque city strategy.

Nature is an essential element in all projects analyzed; whether it is the panoramic view of Guanabara Bay from Pedregulho, Rodrigo de Freitas Lake from Catacumbas, the Corcovado hill from Marquês de São Vicente, or the amphitheater shaped park projected by the French landscapist Cochet, in 1916, from Guinle Park.

The goal of projects from such distinctive periods is the same: residential and urban expansion. In Bath, the projects target the British aristocracy which endeavored the cities thermal waters, while in Rio Le Corbusier's proposal is for popular housings with the declared intention to substitute the slums, the same aim of Reidy's condos. Guinle Park targets a wealthier population; nonetheless it is also a residential project. The strategies adopted whether at the end of the 18th century or during the 20th century, preserve the built environment and the pre-existing city placing layers of history side by side or overlapped.

Considering the proper proportions, the *crescents* in Bath and the building-viaduct in Rio de Janeiro by Le Corbusier present similar conception elements, creating, in their periods, a new urban form while breaking established rules and limits, thus becoming a formal reference for the generations to come. However, despite the similarity of shape and conception, a deeper study would be necessary for us to establish that the *crescents* in Bath are the formal base of Le Corbusier's project for Rio de Janeiro.

In the case of formal references in regard to Le Corbusier's project in Pedregulho, Marquês de São Vicente and Catacumbas, and Guinle Park condo projects, this conclusion is more immediate when we relate Le Corbusier's¹ influence among the architects authors of the projects mentioned: Affonso Eduardo Reidy and Lúcio Costa.

All had two fundamental references: Brazil and **Le Corbusier**. Utopias in regard to Brazil were those of a Brazil with strong Brazilian characteristics, of a fairer Brazil, where the national characteristic references were observed and consulted. Le Corbusier is above all the result of his trip through here in 1929, when he proffered conferences at the *Escola Nacional de Belas Artes* – just imaging the impact on those 20 year old “kiddoes” (Britto, 2002, 15) (highlights from the author)

The projects analyzed follow the same project adopted by Le Corbusier where architecture, nature and geography combine to the sinuous urban form that uses level curves as the bases for design and nature as landscape.

Within this context, we limit ourselves to the formal analysis of the projects. However, we could extend our analysis to an architectonic conception where, as states Bruand (1981, 229-30) Pedregulho building presents architectural details reminiscent of the strong Le Corbusier style that can also be found in the buildings of Guinle Park. That is, however, another analysis.

¹ As Bruand states (1981, 225) the contact with Le Corbusier, especially in 1936, was a revelation. Both architects, Affonso Reidy and Lúcio Costa, were part of the Project team of the Ministry of Education and Health of which Le Corbusier was the consultant.

URBAN FORMS: historical references regarding Le Corbusier's project for Rio de Janeiro and others Brazilian architects

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Introduction

Urban morphology uses urbanistic and architectural analysis viewing the city as an architectural fact, in other words, that urban space construction goes necessarily through architecture. The idea of urban form corresponds to the physical means built as architecture, constituted by a set of architectural objects interlinked by spatial relations.

Architecture will be, therefore, the key to the correct and global interpretation of the city as a spatial structure. (Lamas, 1992, 41)

Through this concept we try to understand how the urban form of the *crests* in Bath – *Royal Crescent*, 1769, and the *Lansdowne Crescent*, 1794 – build, by means of architecture, a reference urban space, which may have been the base or reference for Le Corbusier's project for Rio de Janeiro, in 1929. Also how the latter became the reference for two other projects built in Rio de Janeiro such as the residential condos Pedregulho and Marquês de São Vicente, by Affonso Eduardo Reidy, and Parque Guinle, by Lúcio Costa.

Sigfrido Giedion (1958, 161) states that, in the Argel project, "Le Corbusier is based upon buildings that prevail in the organic line of the *Crests* in Bath." The *crests* in Bath aim to merge the buildings with the surrounding natural environment, where nature is not at service of architecture, but where both – nature and architecture – have the same importance. *Royal Crescent* results in a visual softness of the broad elliptical curtain that uses the slope in landscape as a scenic component of the whole. *Lansdowne Crescent* overlooks the heights of Bath with its long and serial serpentine.

In the Obus Plan, for Argel, 1931, Le Corbusier applies the same philosophy, where nature and architecture complete and respect each other. The curves projected in Argel, as in Bath, are adapted to the natural landscape, even if the level variations are exaggerated in relation to those existent in an English city.

However, previous to Argel, the first project by Le Corbusier in Rio de Janeiro, presented in 1929, also portrays the proposal of a building-viaduct that, with the sea in front and the Atlantic Forest behind, is supported on the level curves and grows parallel to Guanabara Bay. Le Corbusier's proposal is a highway, located 100m above the ground, that crosses the

city, skipping obstacles, surrounding barriers or breaking blockings. In this proposal not only transportation problems are solved but also housing problems, creating buildings where residences are projected up to 30m above the ground, under the highway.

Since, for Angel, Obus Plan is a re-elaboration of the project presented for Rio de Janeiro, we assume the project's formal reference for the Carioca building-viaduct, which follows the sinuous line of the mountains and supports itself on the topography, can be found in Bath, especially in *Lansdowne Crescent*. We also wonder if this same formal reference is present in the residential condos of Pedregulho, Marquês de São Vicente, and Catacumbas by Affonso Eduardo Reidy, as well as Parque Guinle by Lúcio Costa.

1. Renaissance and Baroque urban form

Edmund Bacon (1995, 182) states that, in modernism, the interrelation between buildings did not evolve beyond the renaissance principles, and actually, failed to employ those principles. Except for Kenzo Tange and Tokyo's olympic stadium project, the author finds it difficult to find two or more modern structures related to something other than the Renaissance design principles, therefore recommending that the projects should be reviewed according to the renaissance structure.

We find significant changes in the city's design after the perspective and rationalism of the Renaissant period, which overwhelms the intuitive sensorial reactions of previous planners. Since the 15th century, architecture, esthetical theories and urbanistic principles follow similar ideas: the wish for order and geometric discipline. In lectures, treaties, schemes, projects and executions, the city's form is subordinated to unit and rationality.

Integration between architecture and urbanism can be found since the beginning of Renaissance until the 19th century. Architecture, however, is the first to absorb new ideas in accomplishments, while urbanism evolves based only on theoretical terms, from the conception of the ideal city to the architecture treaties and city planning. (Lamas, 1992, 168)

Points in common can be found between the urban design that developed during Renaissance and during the Baroque period: the principles of architecture and spatial design that constitute them are closely related; and the proportion rules generally used in plants, three-dimensional elements, and in the detailed drawings of façades, are extended to the organization of urban space. Architecture and urbanism are based on discipline and order, while asymmetric informality is restricted.

In Baroque, a focal point can be transformed into a powerful planning force bringing order to chaos. The plant is geometric by nature, and if to alter this type of plant and introduce new elements is to impair its symmetry, even superficial esthetical elements can only remain by the means of rigid management rules.

The main elements of Baroque urbanism are symmetry in relation to one or more axis, the conclusion in perspectives and isolated buildings integrated as being one, generating a coherent architectonic scenario. Its application is done in three ways: main strait street,

neighborhoods with reticular formation and open spaces.

The street, or its drawing, is an extremely important element. The street has a regular trajectory granting access to the buildings, however, for the first time it is a perspective axis, union and valorization line between urban elements. The street quits being solely a functional route – as in Middle Age –, to become a visual, ornamental, pageant trajectory, adequate for carriages to pass, and an organizer of scenic and esthetical effects.

The construction of open spaces can't be justified exclusively by the political purpose of working as a frame for the king's statues, as in *places royales* in France. It is also linked to economic reasons, and to a higher demand level of urban efficiency: the construction of open spaces enables a localized intervention and a functional adequation, defining commercial centers, housing areas, and the city's administration. The spaces can be occupied by religious and civil buildings; residencial constructions in line; and by market and commercial buildings.

However, still under Baroque dominion, there are wonderful designs that are free from the formal demand of axial symmetry, as in the city of Bath, in England. Maintaining the above mentioned principles, but setting aside the closed geometric forms, the *crescents* in Bath are open to nature, innovating the urban form and breaking the rigid Baroque formalism.

Bath started to be much visited by the aristocracy, during the 18th century, who went there for its waters bringing about a series of small scale improvements and causing the landowners in the neighborhood to elaborate bold plans for the residential surroundings. In some spinal extensions, such as *Gay street*, the *Circus* and the *Royal Crescent*, along with *Queen Square*, we have a new urbanization order, in its best and most appealing form. (fig. 1)

The excellence of Bath demonstrates the advantage of a strict discipline, when it is sufficiently flexible to adapt to geographic and historical challenging realities. (Mumford, 1982, fig. 37)

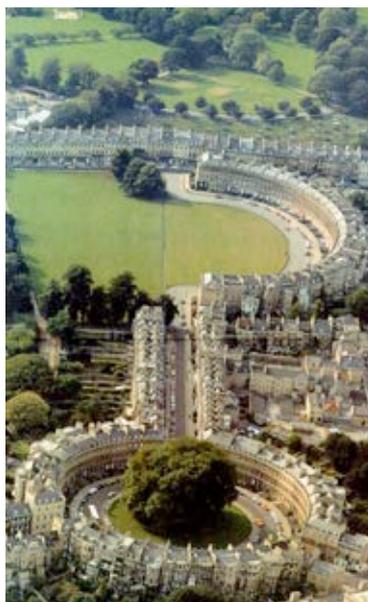


Fig. 1: Airview of the Circus, Brock's Street, and Royal Crescent

Projects that mark the history of urban design in Bath are: *Queen Square*, by John Wood (father) 1729, who builds following the logic of a speculative operation, where Wood is able to create an ordered architectural composition following several demands by his tenants; *King's Circus*, by John Wood (father) and John Wood (son) 1754, 96m diameter and 33 houses originating three façades in a circumference arch, with 3 floors, attic and basement, and an even height of 13m; *Royal Crescent*, by John Wood (son) built from 1767 to 1774, a perfect integration between built form and natural landscape, with 30 houses with rigidly controlled façades which close different plants; and the *Lansdowne Crescent*, by the architect John Palmer.

Royal Crescent's semi-elliptic pattern with its biggest axis of 155m opening to a sloping meadow, is not only the application of a geometric figure, but constitutes, with its location, an elevation that overlooks the entire valley, protected by the park below, besides the gardens in the back, all which can be seen through the iron gates. John Wood (son) leaves the previously used compact characteristic behind, projecting the *Royal Crescent* where the form used is in harmony with a softly sloping meadow. Nature does not serve architecture anymore, both now are endowed with the same importance.

Lansdowne Crescent, by the architect John Palmer, is an example where, besides the horizontal sinuosity of the set, the structure moves vertically climbing up a hill, descending to the valley, and continuing with another elevation, which Bacon compares to the spatial form of the "sailing city" by Paul Klee (Bacon, 1995, 183). It is a regional scale project, with no radical nor poorly known architectural detail or even tricks; nevertheless the project is free of Baroque axial planing, representing a powerful declaration of a new and unexpected urban form. The urban design stands out due to the creation of ingenious spatial situations exploring topographic conditions in the territory, and using them to attain highly meaningful shapes. (fig. 2)

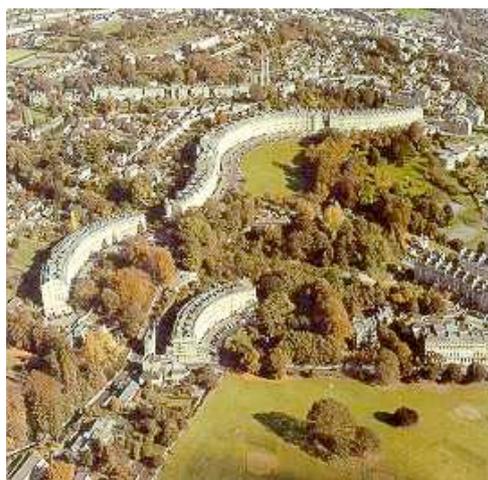


fig. 2. Airview of Lansdowne Crescent

The *crescents* in Bath have the buildings, the meadow and the green area as composition elements. A road, on the edge of the meadow, functions as a façade, while another one,

behind, ensures service access.

We could locate here the beginning of the 'disappearance' of the blocks weren't it for the persistence of the relations between building/façade/urban space, and weren't it for the lack of continuity and evolution of these models. (Lamas, 1992, 198)

Mumford (1982, 430-1) considers that the squares, circles and *crescents* in Bath reached the peak in terms of residential squares, taking London and Paris as an example, partly due to an actual imponent use of new hilly and regular sites in the city. What we can see from *Royal Crescent* helps us understand that the projected form is not at all by chance, being a harmonious composition with the amplitude of the landscape and a view of distant hills that enthrall our souls. The panorama we contemplate explains the esthetical result, besides the wholesomeness of that open planning. (fig. 3)



Fig. 3: View of Royal Crescent façades and its meadow

This new order and unit are the result of a new attitude, a sole ownership of the land, and a unified control between the architect and the constructor. The result would not be the same if the land were previously divided and each landowner defined his own construction style. Despite the fact that, usually, open spaces are projected with closed geometric forms, the *crescents* in Bath and their new urban form, are recreated in some other English towns, such as the *College Crescent* projected and partially built by James Craig in Edimburgo (1786), and the *Park Crescent* built by John Nash in London (1812).

2. The modernist urban form

The modernist city originated from experiences and theoretical formulations that, in the first half of the 20th century, reject the traditional city and substitute it for a new model. These ideas come to substitute the residues of formal urbanism. Between the two wars, modern architects worked hard opposing formal urbanism and organizing the structure and morphology of the new city. Both architecture and modern urbanism aim to counter the

traditional ways of building houses and cities. This anti-historical attitude, refusing shapes committed to the old city is also reflected on the rejection and destruction of historical centers.

During this phase, experiences were attempted to destroy and abandoned the block, street and even the square; the proposals are typologies of towers, condos and blocks; and the city is no longer structured based on a functional mixture to be zoned, breaking the reciprocal integration of the various morphological elements that constitute the urban structure. The new organization models of urban space reject the forms and the morphologic configuration of the traditional city.

After World War I, the need to build cheap standardized housings becomes apparent. It's the new spirit, proclaimed by Le Corbusier in 1920 – build serial houses, live in serial houses, and conceive serial houses.

Throughout Europe, legislative instruments related to city and territorial administrations are being reviewed; fact that enables the conception of ordination plans for big and middle size cities. Differently from the traditional city, the buildings are conceived alone, with the composition made as a wax model, where parts can be moved and repositioned.

Thus, the urban form is due to housing considerations disregarding the composition of urban spaces. The new housing typologies, which spread throughout the land according to needs such as hygiene, insulation, ventilation and accesses, cause the buildings to quit being part of the superior block structure to gain autonomy. The streets belong no more to the physical-spatial relations of the city being reduced to transports and services lines. The positions of the buildings are due to better living conditions and not to the position in the block.

The modern city is, therefore, different from the traditional city, where housing and residential constructions were determined by the lot, generated by the position and implantation previously determined by the urban form. Contrarily, in the modern city, the construction determines the urban form. The space between constructions becomes merely a residual space, left over space no more object of urban design.

However, the architectonic quality of the different isolated or contiguous buildings can't, by itself, confer shape to the urban environment. Even a quality condo, if not integrated into a context, emerges disarticulated and devoid of real meaning. The architectonic discourse assumes an interrelation between the buildings and the urban space which must be framed into a structure.

By means of *tabula rasa*, the modern metropolis project rationalizes the building's typologies, separates residential blocks from the road network, emphasizes the hygiene of linear residential blocks organizing them on unused land, and overall, separates the roads for cars from those for people, and business areas from residential areas. According to Gravagnuolo (1998, 336), it is the "steel frame" of an anticity abstract ideogram. Searching for the new, architects declare the death of the street, negating the traditional city.

In Le Corbusier's projects for ideal metropolis, the past and the traditional city have their rejection declared. Yet, after a more detailed analysis, wouldn't we find formal urban elements identified with the ideal Renaissance cities, Baroque open spaces, or even influences from architecture and urbanism from the first years of the 20th century?

3. *Le Corbusier's urban form and the project for Rio de Janeiro*

Le Corbusier, who can be considered as one of the great representatives of the Modern Movement, has a great influence over architects and urbanists; however his urban projects, all his ideas about cities, remained on the paper as a theoretical exercise, except for Chandigarh. Le Corbusier's urban philosophy evolves in a scenic mark of publicity projects and conferences, suggesting his solutions to the world in a narrative form and converting every project into literary fiction.

In his first urbanism project, *Ville Contemporaine pour trois millions d'habitants*, 1922, transports and speed are highlighted. His central point is to view the city as a circulating machine, which has now the new role as machine to live and machine to supply services. In this project, Le Corbusier develops the urban meaning of his architecture.

The concern regarding the integration of architecture and nature becomes apparent in 1925, at the Pavilion of the New Spirit at Paris Exhibit, where a construction surrounded a tree, and where branches emerged through the roof. Nature, understood as irrational, demands to be once again accepted in architecture.

In 1925 Le Corbusier starts to criticize the garden cities more and more intensively, considering them as a model linked to excessive individualism. From then he dedicates most of the next two decades to research an individual housing that would not oppose the city, but would favor great density as well as an intense relation with the collective equipment.

Hence, he states that the urbanist revolution will be the only one to establish the conditions for a revolution in the art of housing, where the houses must abandon the streets (and the concept of road alignment disappear), rejecting the playground, and gathering, in height and extension, a useful number of housings, so the concentration in one place will free a considerable amount of land. He also suggests a separation between roads for cars and those for people. The roads for people must be free, not being hampered by real estate for they will be supported on a system of columns. The city will become a park, the ground free to be used by the people.

In regard to the buildings, Le Corbusier suggests that the business buildings must be located in a "vertical" center with enormous towers, such as the tower cities of Auguste Perret, 1922. The housings would obey the principle of "overlapped houses", however horizontal in their main extension. The big blocks of the *immeubles-villas* are interconnected by passageways forming a continuous network of "streets in the air", allowing the dwellers to go from one building to the next without landing. We can find the same idea in the buildings *à redents*,

even more related to the organization of the constructions.

At a conference in Buenos Aires, 1929, Le Corbusier addresses the idea of a continuous building *à redents*, closely connected to a transportation axis freely extendable. From the moment he accepts such unlimited extension for buildings *à redents*, Le Corbusier opens the possibility of a more open planning. (Weber, 1998, 66)

The way in which Le Corbusier connects his projects to the geography of the location is not always that clear and, many times, a superficial analysis of his urbanist projects, assumes little or no relation with the elements existing in the place. We can attribute this interpretation to the contrast between the networks of the traditional city and that which Le Corbusier proposes, which, generally speaking, comes determined by the disappearance of the combination street-house.

We find an example of this relation, geography-city, in how to solve the problem of building on a highly irregular ground. Traditionally, the street goes surrounding obstacles and the houses follow its alignment, generating chaos and an arbitrary orientation. In a modern design, the buildings are located on the slope and a hillside street connects them. (Le Corbusier, 1980, 93)

Geography and city merge the most in the projects for Rio de Janeiro and Argel. Visits to the slums allow Le Corbusier to appreciate the view which establishes an intense relation between modest houses located on the hillsides and the bay's landscape. Le Corbusier certainly considers the possibility of rescuing the major advantage from the slums – the beautiful view of Rio – for housings located on the building-viaduct; but all latter reference to this subject appears, overall, at the service of an essentially theoretical proposal.

The ordenation project for Rio, created by Le Corbusier on a few sketches in 1929, is based upon four fundamental principles: reduce traffic in the city's center; the increase of population density; expansion of means of transport; and expansion of park areas. His project is a building-viaduct, crossing the urban network over the existent buildings having the hill slopes as its garden and Guanabara Bay as its panorama.

In 1929, Le Corbusier traveled to South America and created a study for old urban centers in Buenos Aires, Montevidéo, São Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro. Among Le Corbusier's urbanist ideas, the manner how he retakes the utopist speech stands out along with high valorization of space and its therapeutic importance. He fundamentals his interventions evidencing the negative side of the modern city, does *tabula rasa* and substitutes it for an ordenated city.

For Rio, Le Corbusier considers an urban project which would not interfere with the existent city, where past and present overlap like layers of history. He elaborates the total of three ideas: the first one, in 1929, after flying over the city; the second one, already in Paris, in 1930, as an evolution of the first one; and the third one, in 1936, during his second visit to Rio.

From the airplane, I projected for Rio de Janeiro, an immense highway embracing the rocky headland open over the sea, so the city could be quickly

reached from the wholesome plateaus, using this same highway. (Le Corbusier, 1979, 266)

Seen from the airplane, Rio makes an impression on Le Corbusier as a natural linear city, drawn as a narrow strip by the coast, having the ocean on one side and the high rocks on the other, which seem to have naturally suggested the idea of the city-viaduct. Hence, Le Corbusier draws an extension of Rio in the shape of a costal highway, with a longitude of approximately 6km and located 100m above the ground, comprehending 15 floors of artificial ground for residential use, below the road. The mega structure would stay above the roofs of the existing city.

Le Corbusier works hard to structure the strong and penetrating landscape and to understand its essential aspects. As a plastic artist, he was charmed by the unprecedented shapes; as an urbanist, he understood the impossibility of applying his theoretical rules and project challenging only the existent city.

The proposal – which crosses the uneven site from one point to the other – is altogether city, building and highway. Utopia incorporates lyrics: the highway continues, type of urban promenade, unfolding a delightful view; the sinuous 'strip', uniformly level, highlights the uneven topography; suspended in the air, the building open as belvederes to the extraordinary panorama. (Conde, 1998, 6)

The highway represents the base in all three projects, crossing the city, skipping obstacles, surrounding barriers, or breaking blockings. The big highway connects the main parts of the city; North Zone to the South Zone; Center and Niterói, on the other side of the bay. All three projects aim to solve transportation and housing problems.



Fig. 4: Sketch of Le Corbusier's project for Rio de Janeiro, 1929

Le Corbusier projects the city in its totality, having the car as a means of urban regulation. He denies the idea of periphery as a geographic and social notion, while his building-viaduct floats above the existent city. He projects the highway like a park-city which enjoys the landscape, the bay and mountains, as well as the old city.

In the first project (fig. 4), the big building-viaduct evolves parallel to the bay, with a

bifurcation to the Sugar Loaf and another one to the business center, this one constituted by buildings which are perpendicular to the highway. The same structure is maintained in the second project, but without the bifurcation to the Sugar Loaf. The third proposal is entirely different from the others, since, in this project, the highway circuit goes towards the University City. The present residential units are substituted by “Y” shaped blocks.

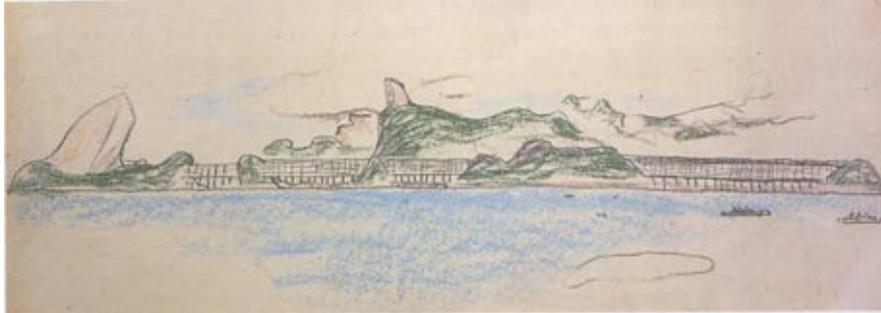


Fig. 5: Elevation of Le Corbusier's project for Rio de Janeiro seen from the ocean, 1929

Without interfering in the city already built, Le Corbusier intends to create a contrast between the peaks of the mountains and the horizontal construction wall. The result is the contrast between man's work and nature's work. (fig. 5)

This project introduces one sole system: big axis that, as in *Ville Contemporaine*, effect regional connections between the city and its territory. It extends the level of arrival of this axis at the coast through a big viaduct over the existent city, being equipped in some strategic locations with big car elevators, which avoid a complicated system of ramps. It replaces the public "roof-gardens", with a highway, and grants liberty in walking areas below on the natural ground. The parking lots will be located on the highest floors and not on the ground.

There is the influence from the cinema, airview and theories, as *Park-movement* theses, where Le Corbusier integrates the built space, the landscape of Guanabara Bay, and the mountain's green slopes as a natural garden.

...for Le Corbusier it is not from the existent city [...] that guidelines and laws appear to generate the project. For Le Corbusier, the existent city is seen first of all as a poetic fact – plastic – in the way it relates to its site, its geography. (Pereira, 1996, 372)

The insight Le Corbusier had in his project was to establish a rational and economic urbanization system, where urbanize is to make money, and that the economy of the project comes from the implantation of a highway inserted in a territorial, urban and ambivalent logic, on one hand opening a connection between Rio and São Paulo and, on the other, dominating the agitated topography interconnecting neighborhoods, directing development and creating artificial areas, securing areas where there is no more space to build.

The beauty of the innovating form, the innovating form itself could never be noticed if they were not present in the corbusiana speech as part of a system. The example of housing as an 'extension of public services', the example of leisure linked to work time and to the liberation of the ground, hence, the issue of landownership and authority which must 'be present'... All constitute a system that validates the system of columns, the 'highway' supported by the

buildings, the viaduct following the landscape. (Tsiomis, 1998, 39)

Bearing in mind that leisure is part of the modern city; Le Corbusier considers how his highway allows the user to enjoy the city's landscape, pride of the carioca, collective patrimony, while he drives his car to the beach or through the "window-frame" of his home under the highway.

4. Other projects for Rio de Janeiro

The Popular Housing Department granted to Affonso Eduardo Reidy the opportunity to perform, as the City Hall's architect, two major works in his carrier – the condos of Pedregulho and Gávea, where he could associate plastic richness with social content. Pedregulho condo was built in 1946 on 50 thousand square meters located on the west slope of Pedregulho hill, which has an irregular conformation and uneven topography, with a difference in level of approximately 50 meters. The project comprises four residential blocks; being that block A has an extension of 260 meters, located on the highest part of the slope and following the sinuous shape of the hillside. There two bridges lead you to a partially free pavement where it is possible to enjoy the most beautiful panoramic view.

Taking advantage of the uneven land, the outstanding size of Pedregulho Condo is balanced by the flexibility of its design, using the undulating forms of the local relief. The curves of the main building respect the curves of the hillside, according to a formal dialectic, greatly enhancing its lines. (Carmen Portinho, 1999, apud Bonduki, 1999, 91)

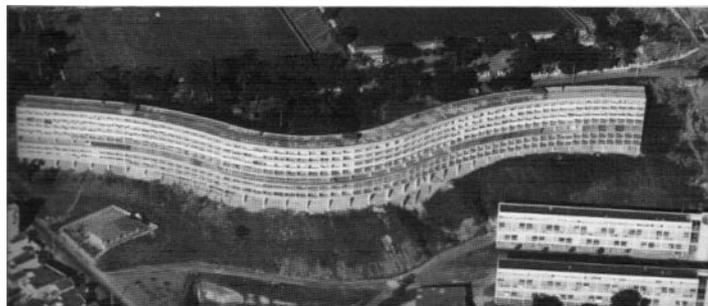


Fig. 6: Airview of Pedregulho Condo Block A



Fig. 7: View of Pedregulho Condo Block A

In the case of Marquês de São Vicente Condo, in Gávea, 1952, half of the area follows the hillside until it reaches the highest part of the hill which has a difference in level of approximately 60 meters. Likewise, Pedregulho, the main building, follows the hillside

integrating itself to the hilly landscape of Rio de Janeiro.

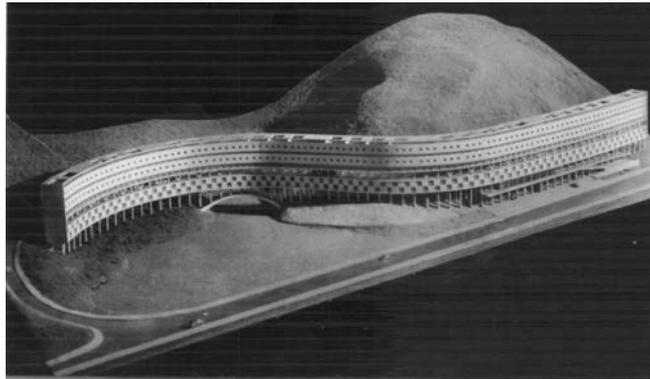


Fig. 8: Wax model of the main block of Marquês de São Vicente Condo, in Gávea

Another project by Reidy with the same shape conception, however not executed, it's Catacumbas Condo, at Rodrigo de Freitas Lake, 1951.

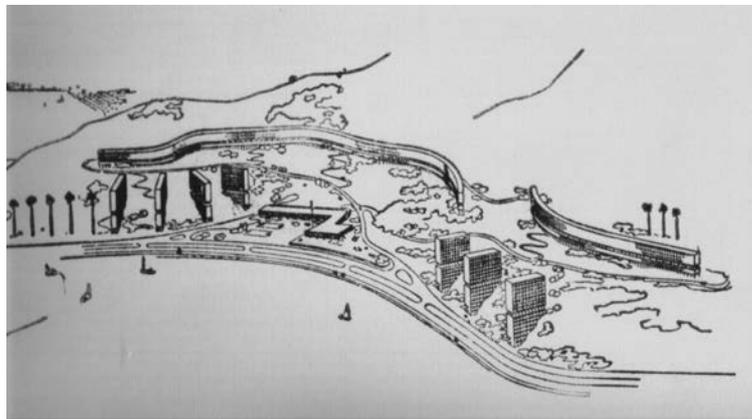


Fig. 9: Perspective of the Catacumbas Condo in front of Rodrigo de Freitas Lake

In the case of Guinle Park, in the project by Lúcio Costa, 1943, a difference can be noticed in relation to Reidy's projects and Le Corbusier's building-viaduct. While in these the form was define by only one block that followed the local topography winding its way by the mountain, adapting to level curves, and granting plasticity to the whole, Guinle Park's buildings are five separate blocks which follow the topography trying to maintain the park's integrity and respect its implantation in an amphitheater shape.



Fig. 10: Perspective of the whole with the six buildings proposed

5. Formal references of the projects for Rio de Janeiro

The highway of Rio's project, 100m above the ground, inspired on the suspended test road of Turim's factory, 40m above the ground over workshops, grant an outstanding position for the project in Le Corbusier's urbanist repertory, and consolidate the organic trend of his work. However a more accurate analysis reveals that, besides creating an inspired landscape, Le Corbusier develops a reasonably logic urban and architectonic format, adequate to the pragmatic character of the environment and not specifically organic.

Le Corbusier develops a urbanization devise which stands out more explicitly in the project for Rio de Janeiro, and that he then enhances in his plans for Argel: the building-viaduct, strong image, for which Le Corbusier searches for references both in past as in modern architecture. (Ziegler, 1998, 110)

It is possible to reconstruct three axis that connect the first project for Rio both to the proposals that precede it as to those that come after it: the relation between transportation spaces and constructions; the immense buildings; and the independent structure.

The repetition of urban forms is not a novelty: they repeat themselves throughout the history of urban design. For instance, the grid is not a North-American invention, but can be found in Greece, in Millet, and in the colonial American cities, it can represent a cosmic law for the Etruscan priest, or the maximum possibilities for real estate speculation for New York planners, in 1811. We can say the same about other urban forms such as the diagram, mandala, etc.

The sinuous line of the *crescents* in Bath, in the 18th century, disregard the closed geometric shape, used until then in the open Baroque spaces. The square is no more closed with buildings and opens itself to the infinite, encompassing the green areas surrounding it and changing the relation between architecture and nature. The beauty of both meadows and hills in Bath are a scenario for the *crescents'* inhabitants.

In Rio, Le Corbusier, charmed by the splendor of Guanabara Bay, its magnificent rocky headlands, and the Atlantic Forest, suggests the same integration between nature and architecture. Thus, when he positions his building-viaduct by the coast, he distributes the city's beauties democratically, since they can be contemplated throughout the highway and from the windows, being, therefore, used to complement his project.

The connection element between the units is the street and the new means of transportation. In Bath, with the introduction of carriages, wider and more regular streets became necessary. At the *crescents*, the presence of constructions on only one side of the road, allows the means of transportation to flow more freely, besides being a perspective axis, union and valorization line between urban elements. In Rio, cars demand free roads where they can speed without obstacles from the pre-existing city. The highway of Le Corbusier's building-viaduct also fulfills its role of perspective and union line of both the city's units and elements. The access to residential units in the condos also takes the pedestrians into consideration when it locates a free pavement half way downhill, facilitating access to the upper and lower apartments. In Guinle Park, the street is projected in front of the buildings, facilitating their

access without interfering with the park located in front.

The *crescents* in Bath break with the way of thinking and projecting cities in the Baroque by not interfering with the site, supporting the buildings on the level curves, and using them to create a scenic effect. In Rio, Le Corbusier breaks with the modernist city way of thinking, which proposes itself as ideal with no regard for the site's condition nor for the conditions of the pre-existing city. Projects by Reidy and Lúcio Costa also break with modernist premises and use the implantation site as a fundamental element to structure the project, while using nature and the existent city as an integrating part, and the uneven topography in Rio as a strong definition element for the urban form. Laranjeiras Palace is a focal point at Guinle Park, which, as an acropolis, stands out, being this a Baroque city strategy.

Nature is an essential element in all projects analyzed; whether it is the panoramic view of Guanabara Bay from Pedregulho, Rodrigo de Freitas Lake from Catacumbas, the Corcovado hill from Marquês de São Vicente, or the amphitheater shaped park projected by the French landscapist Cochet, in 1916, from Guinle Park.

The goal of projects from such distinctive periods is the same: residential and urban expansion. In Bath, the projects target the British aristocracy which endeavored the cities thermal waters, while in Rio Le Corbusier's proposal is for popular housings with the declared intention to substitute the slums, the same aim of Reidy's condos. Guinle Park targets a wealthier population; nonetheless it is also a residential project. The strategies adopted whether at the end of the 18th century or during the 20th century, preserve the built environment and the pre-existing city placing layers of history side by side or overlapped.

Considering the proper proportions, the *crescents* in Bath and the building-viaduct in Rio de Janeiro by Le Corbusier present similar conception elements, creating, in their periods, a new urban form while breaking established rules and limits, thus becoming a formal reference for the generations to come. However, despite the similarity of shape and conception, a deeper study would be necessary for us to establish that the *crescents* in Bath are the formal base of Le Corbusier's project for Rio de Janeiro.

In the case of formal references in regard to Le Corbusier's project in Pedregulho, Marquês de São Vicente and Catacumbas, and Guinle Park condo projects, this conclusion is more immediate when we relate Le Corbusier's¹ influence among the architects authors of the projects mentioned: Affonso Eduardo Reidy and Lúcio Costa.

All had two fundamental references: Brazil and **Le Corbusier**. Utopias in regard to Brazil were those of a Brazil with strong Brazilian characteristics, of a fairer Brazil, where the national characteristic references were observed and consulted. Le Corbusier is above all the result of his trip through here in 1929, when he proffered conferences at the *Escola Nacional de Belas Artes* – just imaging the impact on those 20 year old “kiddoes” (Britto, 2002, 15) (highlights from the author)

¹ As Bruand states (1981, 225) the contact with Le Corbusier, especially in 1936, was a revelation. Both architects, Affonso Reidy and Lúcio Costa, were part of the Project team of the Ministry of Education and Health of which Le Corbusier was the consultant.

The projects analyzed follow the same project adopted by Le Corbusier where architecture, nature and geography combine to the sinuous urban form that uses level curves as the bases for design and nature as landscape.

Within this context, we limit ourselves to the formal analysis of the projects. However, we could extend our analysis to an architectonic conception where, as states Bruand (1981, 229-30) Pedregulho building presents architectural details reminiscent of the strong Le Corbusier style that can also be found in the buildings of Guinle Park. That is, however, another analysis.

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A COMPARATIVE ARCHITECTURAL STUDY OF THE STRUCTURAL FORM BETWEEN TWO RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS IN BRASÍLIA: THE CATHEDRAL AND THE TIBETAN STUPA.

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ABSTRACT:

Brasília, born of the urban plan by Lúcio Costa and of the unexpected concrete structural forms designed by Oscar Niemeyer, knew how to adapt to the new forms that came from the country's religious syncretism.

This article aims to compare, through religious symbolism, structural forms and architectural spaces, two sacred monuments: The cathedral of Brasília, designed by Oscar Niemeyer in 1960, and the recently-dedicated Stūpa of the Tibetan Buddhist Center.

Even in a new capital, the millenary construction form of the Stūpa, one of the primordial sacred structures for all Buddhism traditions, the sacred symbol of enlightenment, must obey some construction rules according to its lineage's Buddhist tradition. In this way, the Stūpa is the opposite of a strong and fearless structural form embodied in the cathedral, with its 16 revolution hyperboloid concrete pillars and its subterranean entrance.

Although both structures must relate to a religious function, they are unusual forms of architecture, with specific religious and architectural significance. The spatial conception and the sculptural form are also distinct, as they respond to the religious symbolism of their own traditions.

Keywords: religious architecture, structural form, cathedral, stūpa.

1. INTRODUCTION

Forty-six years stand between the sculptural monument of the Brasília Cathedral and the Stūpa of the Brasília Tibetan Buddhist Center. In the city planned by Lúcio Costa and inaugurated on April 21st, 1960, to be Brazil's new capital, Architect Oscar Niemeyer's signature genius makes itself present in several administrative, cultural and religious buildings, especially in the Our Lady of Aparecida Metropolitan Cathedral.

The 2000 census showed that in Brazil, a mostly Catholic country, there is a rise in religious diversity, and among Eastern religions, Buddhism stands out. There are over 200,000

practitioners in Brazil, Centers with resident Lamas and local meeting temples throughout the nation's territory. The largest number of Buddhists is concentrated in São Paulo, due to the many people of Japanese descent in that state. Other Buddhist schools, however, such as the Tibetan, are beginning to gain strength in many regions. In Brasilia, the Tibetan Buddhist Center Kagyü Pende Gyamtso ("An Ocean of Benefits"), founded on the 14th of May, 1987, through the initiative of some Brazilian adepts and in the oral transmission lineage of Shangpa Kagyü,¹ has the goal of studying and propagating Buddhism, and particularly the Vajrayāna,² in its religious, philosophic, artistic and cultural aspects.

This article intends to show that these two sacred monuments, the Cathedral and the Stūpa built in the Tibetan Buddhist Center Kagyü Pende Gyamtso (CBTKPG), go beyond the fulfillment of their spiritual functions, and enrich the architecture of Brasilia, with their surprising forms, full of symbolism. On the one hand, the free forms of the Cathedral, expresses its strength through an innovative structure, and on the other, the sacred symbol of Enlightenment, built according to rules established in the Buddhist tradition, perpetuates the ages-old building type.

Brasilia, a futuristic and modern city, is open to this new building just as the nation is to a religious syncretism. The detailed study of the structural conception in the Cathedral and in the Stūpa will provide invaluable elements to foster an understanding of these architectural forms, so different from each other, yet responding in a similar way to the necessity of a place for the faithful to withdraw into and demonstrate their faith.

2. BRASILIA CATHEDRAL

The daring structures in religious monuments built throughout history have always reflected the technical and constructive progress of each age. When thinking about the Brasilia Cathedral, Oscar Niemeyer wanted his design to embody every possibility offered by reinforced concrete and, by means of its lightness, to showcase contemporary technique. The "slender columns, extremely slender, prove how technique controls reinforced concrete and how the latter adapts mildly to all our fantasies". (Niemeyer, 1977, p. 309, my translation).

The Brasilia Cathedral was intended to hold 4,000 attendees, but its architectural ensemble includes other elements, such as the reflecting pool, the baptistery, and the campanile. This

¹ A Tibetan Buddhist lineage which had an important role in the transmission of the Tantric teachings. Although it is close to the Dakpo Kagyü school, the two should not be confused. It was founded by Khyoungpo Neldjor (978-1079), who traveled to India in order to receive the teachings of Niguma, Naropa's sister. The Shangpa Kagyü school had among its spiritual leaders Kalu Rinpoche (1905-1989), who founded several centers in the West, including the Tibetan Buddhist Kagyü Pende Gyamtso, in Brasilia. Bokar Rinpoche, Kalu Rinpoche's successor, assumed the spiritual continuity of this school until 2004, when he passed away. The new incarnation of Kalu Rinpoche was born in 1989, and is currently engaged in the three-year, three-month and three-day retreat, which will end in 2008, at the Bokar Rinpoche monastery, in Mirik, Northern India.

² Or Tantrayāna (Skt.). Also known as the "Diamond Vehicle," Vajrayāna is the name of the third vehicle of Buddhism, in the Indo-Tibetan tradition, after the Hinayāna and the Mahāyāna. It is a natural follow-up of the Mahāyāna, when this vehicle adopts the methods and means adequate do develop rapidly the supreme knowledge and attain the Enlightenment in few life-cycles, if not in a single one. In this tradition, it is taught that the Buddha-nature is identical to the essential nature of mind, having the qualities of emptiness-clarity and non-obstruction. There we also conduct the Paramita practice with the techniques corresponding to the phases of creation and wholeness, drawing out the resources of body, word, and mind.

article will emphasize only the Cathedral building, analyzing it under the perspective of its structure.

2.1. Siting

The urban plan for Brasilia, conceived by Lúcio Costa, is in the shape of an abstracted airplane: two imaginary axes, called “highway axis” and “monumental axis.” The huge monumental axis is slashed perpendicularly by a long spine, arched following the topography (the residential-highway axis), along which the superblocks unfold. Along the monumental axis were placed the government buildings, administrations, palaces, ministries, the theater, the broadcast tower, the Cathedral, among others. The Cathedral sits on its own plaza, on the lower stretch of this axis; together with the ministries and agencies, it forms a large esplanade terminating at the Plaza of the Three Powers.



Figure 1: “Pilot Plan” of Brasilia: the Cathedral is on the Monumental Axis. In the picture, it is indicated by the small dot to the left of the central axis, behind the Ministries (photo: João Facó)

2.2. Building Phases

Construction of the Cathedral, following Oscar Niemeyer’s design, began on the 12th of August, 1958, amid the building campaign of the new capital. In 1959, before the inauguration of Brasilia (1960), its structural form (reinforced concrete piers, shaped as a ruled revolution hyperboloid) was already finished. The lateral sheathing between the piers was undertaken only in 1967, shortly before its dedication, on October 12th of the same year. On this occasion the Cathedral received the image of Our Lady of Aparecida. From 1969 to 1970, the precinct was completed with the construction of the reflecting pool around the Cathedral, the baptistery and the campanile. Inaugurated on the 31st of May, 1971, it was repaired in 1987, on a design by Niemeyer, when its structure was painted white and the colored stained glass panes, by Marianne Peretti, were added beneath the mullions of the nave. Although it stood for eight years (1959-1967) under the elements, the structure of the nave has not received significant interventions so far. Both repair campaigns (1987 and 2000) targeted only aesthetic aspects, with no direct intervention in the structure of the Cathedral’s nave. From a structural point of view, only the second campaign (2000) involved the structure of the reflecting pool, renewing the waterproofing of its joints, and the baptistery slab, with the restoration of corrosion points in the slab’s reinforcement.



Figure 2: Brasilia Cathedral, with the structure just poured, before the inauguration of Brasilia
(unknown photographer)



Figure 3: Brasilia Cathedral, with exposed concrete structure and lateral sheathing between the piers
(photo: Alexander Fils)

2.2. Form and Symbolism

Aware of the fact that a cathedral requires broad spaces, Niemeyer creates a volume generated by its structural elements, by means of which he reaches a unity of form, structure and religious symbolism. As he ventured saying himself: “when the structure is ready, the building is finished”.

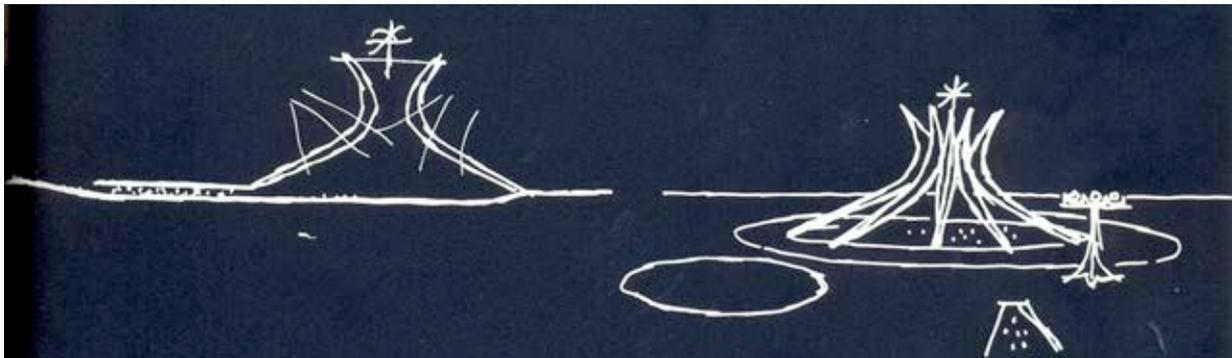


Figure 4: Diagram by Oscar Niemeyer showing the importance of daylighting in the temple's interior and the sculptural shape of the Cathedral, with the campanile and baptistery (“Cathédrale de Brasília”, 1974, p. 45)

Even though structural form may define a building, in the Brasilia Cathedral Niemeyer also demonstrates his genius for architectural composition. Structure and volumes interact to create spaces with so strong a religious connotation that the images of the cross and of saints may be eliminated. The curved columns pointing to the infinite may be seen as a gesture of supplication and communication with God. The regularity of the façade obtained with the circular form recalls the idea of purity.

Niemeyer lowers the nave 3 m below the esplanade floor and makes it accessible through a down ramp, followed by an underground gallery. Alfredo Ceschiatti's Apostle statues, lining the ramp, protect the devotees entering this dimly lit space so that, after the redemption, they may reach the wholeness of the nave's interior, bathed in daylight and colors. This magistral

play of light and darkness, nave and gallery, affords the faithful a space of withdrawal, hope, and peace.

Around the nave, and likewise sunken, are the sacristy, ancillary rooms for religious service and offices, linked to the main building through an underground corridor. This solution is also employed to connect the baptistery, placed outside the temple. Externally, however, the baptistery can also be accessed from a spiral stair as well as from a passage located in the tunnel leading to the church space.



Figures 5, 6 and 7: Brasilia Cathedral, present state. View towards the outer access ramp, interior devotional space bathed in daylight, and detail of the compression ring, roof slab and glazed curtain walls among the piers

(my photos)

2.3. Structure of the Cathedral

The structural form of the Brasilia Cathedral stems from the technical capabilities of reinforced concrete and from the genius of Engineer Joaquim Cardozo, who made the calculations for the structure at the time of its construction. The 21 40-meter tall hyperboloids, as had been intended originally by Niemeyer, were reduced, for aesthetic reasons, to 16 30-meter tall piers. Likewise, the concrete ring forming the base on the ground and serving as a footing, initially planned to be 70 meters in diameter, was altered for reasons of stability. It was reduced to 60 meters, and the top ring, a support to ensure the tying together of the piers and the rigidity of the structure, was lowered 10 meters from the top of the structure, enhancing the latter's light weight and transparency.

Among all possible geometric surfaces, Niemeyer chose, for the structural form of the Cathedral, the ruled revolution hyperboloid, a surface generated by a slanting line moving along two circles, the meridian of this surface being a hyperbola. This surface is also

considered a rotation surface, since its face is the result of the rotation of a planar curve (the meridian) around a line situated on its plane, and with the meridian convex in relation to the axis of rotation.

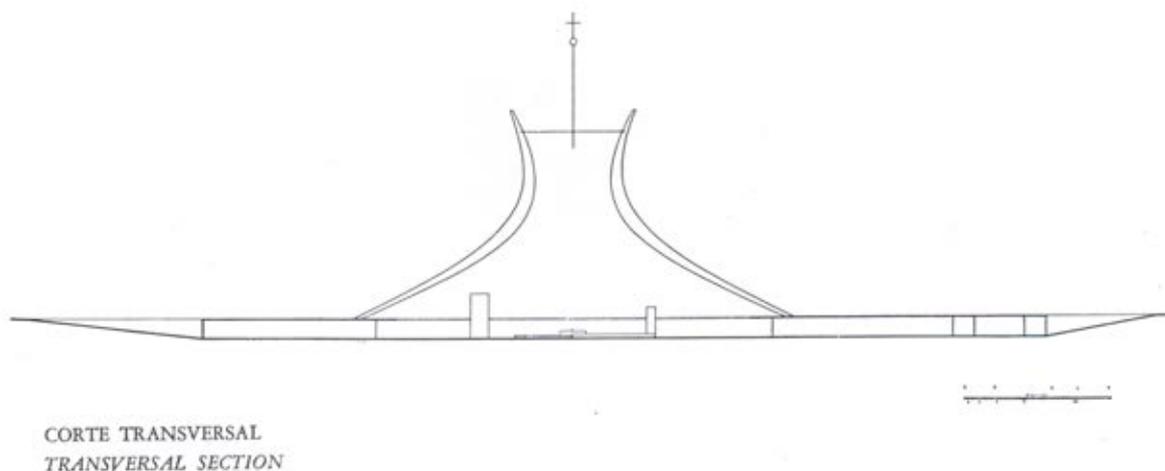


Figure 8: Diagrammatic section through the Cathedral, showing the hyperbolic arcs, the top slab as a base for the cross; also shown are the sunken spaces of the entrance, nave and sacristy (Niemeyer, 1958, p. 14)

The sixteen curved piers, revolution hyperboloids, represented a challenge to then-current structural concepts, as they find stability in the circular traction ring on which they stand, and also in the compression ring, placed not atop the piers, but 10 meters below their top. The upper ring is not visible, as it runs through the piers; the lower ring, at floor level, absorbs the traction stresses, thereby functioning as a tie-beam, reduces the load on the foundations, which then resist only vertical stresses. The roof slab has only a sheathing function, allowing for natural ventilation through its central opening.

The structural system of the Brasilia Cathedral is detailed below:

The structure is made of only 16 curved piers, with a near-triangular, hollow cross-section. The cross-section of the base is solid, shaped as a quadrilateral consisting of two triangles linked through their common, 65-centimeter-wide base, one being 20 centimeters tall, the other 50. From a statics point of view, this section was considered an articulation, the 76 x 1"-gauge (probably of 50-Megapascal steel), making up 16% of the cross-section area, notwithstanding. Along the first 7.4 meters the axis is straight and solid. From this point onwards, the section is hollow and wedge-shaped, leaving the side walls with a thickness of 15 centimeters. The maximum plan diameter at the base is 60 meters (on axis). At a height of 20.4 meters from the floor the least diameter is to be found, and the piers touch each other. An embedded beam with a section of 22 by 90 centimeters, not seen from the outside, ties the piers together, giving rigidity to the assembly. At this point the cross-section of the piers is largest, 2.05 meters tall and 2.58 meters wide. The diameter at the point of contact is reduced to a minimum of 26.28 meters. From there up, the piers spread out from the axis, reaching a height of 30.6 meters, with an outer diameter of 22.6 meters. At a height of $20.4 + 4.85 = 25.25$ meters there is a roof slab, 20 centimeters thick. A central oculus, with a diameter of 3.1 meters, is covered with a 4-centimeter-thick spherical slab, having an inside radius of 6.15 meters. The remaining 4.1 meters are solid and have a straight axis. The 16 piers stand on a circular beam of 200 x 5 centimeters, reinforced top and bottom with 40 x 1"-gauge bars. This slab functions as a large tie, and runs to the center of the church, with a grid-like structure shaped as a circular crown on a module of 100 x 100 centimeters. The distance between the piers at their bases is 11.8 meters, affording wide panes of glazing. The solution for the sheathing of these panes represented a big construction problem, since there was no way to fabricate curved glass leaves of this size, and Niemeyer would not accept their subdivision with mullions, which would have debased his conception of lighting. (Vasconcelos; Carrieri Júnior, 2005, p. 145, my translation)

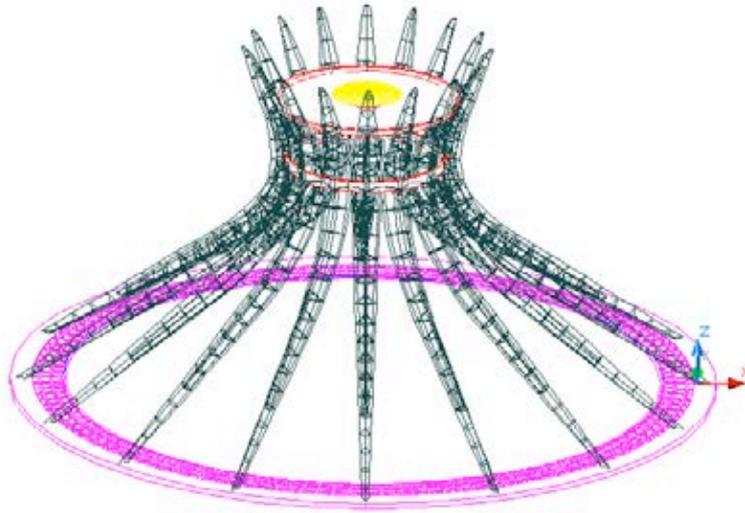


Figure 9: Structural system of the Cathedral; tracion ring, gridlike structure, piers, compression ring, and roof slab (Pessoa, 2002, p. 11)

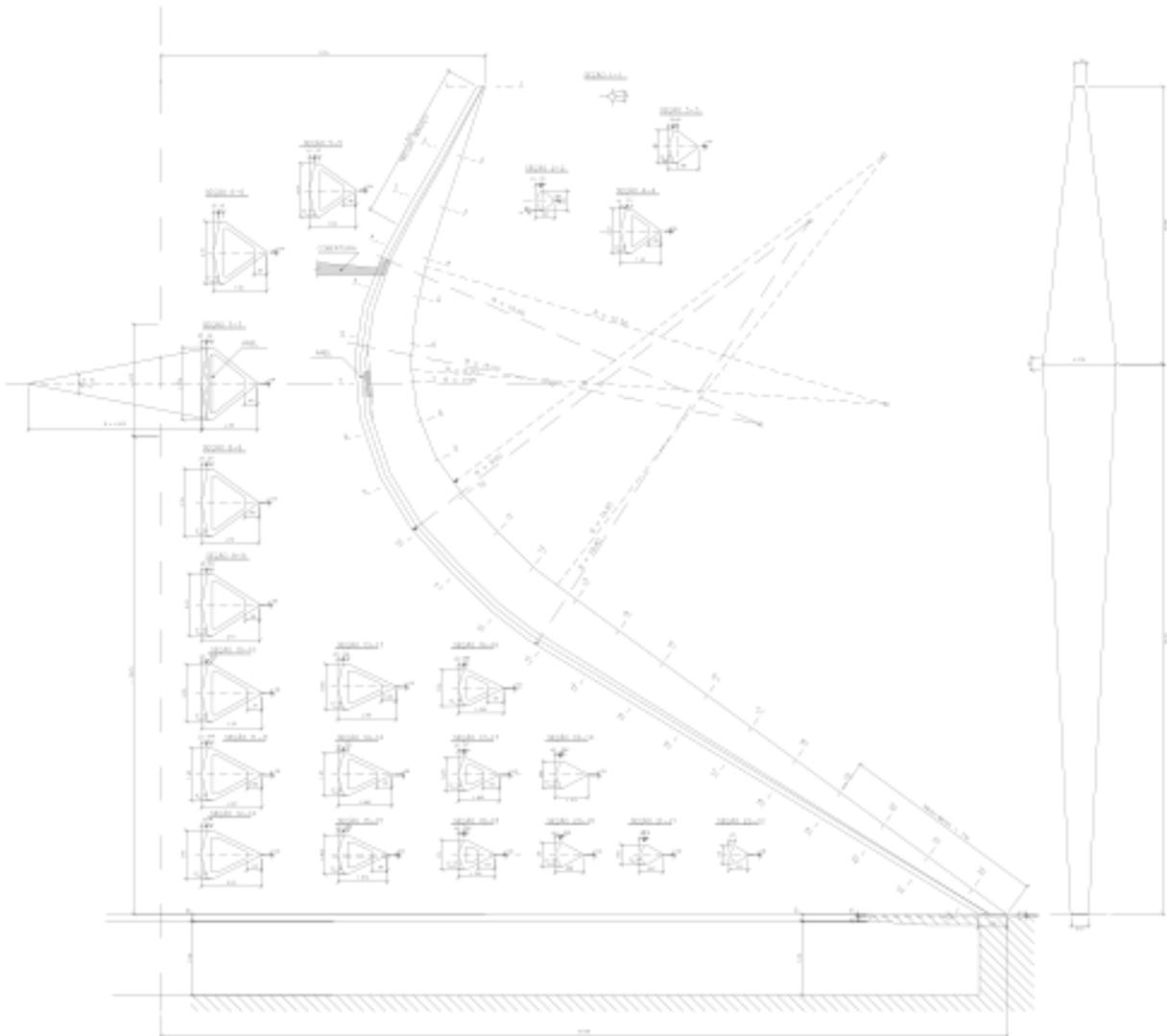


Figure 10: Cross-sections of the pier — copy of original work (Michelle Franz, *apud* Pessoa, *op. cit.*, p. 165)

Architect Carlos Magalhães, in charge of construction, describes the foundations and structure of the Cathedral, as follows:

On the foundation blocks stand 16 piers, one on each block, which support the ring from where spring the 16 columns marking the structure of the Brasilia Cathedral. The traction ring is separated from the infrastructure piers with sheets of neoprene (50 cm x 50 cm x 2.5 cm). The function of this traction ring is to absorb horizontal stresses transferred from the 16 columns. The neoprene prevents any horizontal movement of the traction ring to be transferred to the infrastructure piers. The columns rise from the traction ring, solid and slender, reinforced with seventy 1"-gauge, 50-Megapascal bars. From there their dimensions increase, and the structural calculations provided for lost caissons, which avoid an excessive increase in the weight of the member, preserving the size determined by the architect as well as the stability of the building. The 16 columns, even as they rise in height, draw near each other, and, after touching, keep rising, moving away from each other, solid again. On the spot where they touch, the columns rest on a ring which works in compression and prevents them from closing in. (Magalhães *apud* Pessoa, *op. cit.*, p. 15-16, my translation)

The 16 piers are tied together with glazing panes, and their initial loads, as anticipated by Cardozo, would have been limited to the wind loads and to the light weight of plastic mullions. Afterwards, the solution proposed by Niemeyer, with a spatial frame, has allowed, besides directing the heavier loads to the ground, the mounting of two layers of glazing on the hexagonal structure of the lower and upper webs of the truss.

2.4. Structure of the sheathing of the Cathedral's nave

Between the piers, a space frame (a three-dimensional truss) in steel, covered with glass panes, closes the structure. Although this space frame is tied to the concrete structure by means of steel bars fastened along the piers, it is not supported on the piers, but directly on the ground.

The Cathedral's lateral infill, executed in 1967, in between the 16 curved, slender piers in exposed concrete, constitutes the first idea of using a space frame in the architecture designs for Brasilia. However, this is not the case of a "spatial node": the bars, made in ¾"-gauge steel, are welded. The lower and upper web are made of elongated hexagons, horizontally sectioned, forming two wedges linked with diagonal braces. The proposed solution, a spatial frame, permitted, besides directing the heavier loads directly to the ground, also the fixation of both layers of glass, in the upper and lower hexagonal web structures.

The Cathedral was designed to have a glass skin on both upper and lower webs of the spatial frame. At the time of its inauguration, however, only the glazing on the upper web of the structure comprised its sheathing. This tempered glass was mounted in neoprene mullions, placed on the metallic structure, allowing the glazing to displace independently of the latter. The glass for the upper sheathing was made especially for the cathedral, and the dimensions of each pane are rigorously identical. In 1987, during the repair work, the lower web was filled with Marianne Peretti's stained glass (glass fiber colored blue, green and white). These glass panes were pre-cut and pre-stained. Perhaps because of this, their lengths are different, which caused some of them to rupture because of differential movement, since this time they were fastened to the steel bars. The suction of hot air is made through the purpose-designed central opening of the Cathedral.

The three-dimensional structure was delivered to the site in pre-welded stretches, and these were attached together on-site, forming 16 parts of 140 sq. m each, shaped like a triangle with a 10-meter base and 30-meter height. The pronounced slope of the spatial frame and the fact that the metallic structure is not welded to the piers caused almost all of the load from this roofing to be absorbed by the ground on which it stands. The piers therefore receive only the

wind loads, as previously estimated by Cardozo, and a small part of the load from the glazing panes, which touch the pier's lower stretches.

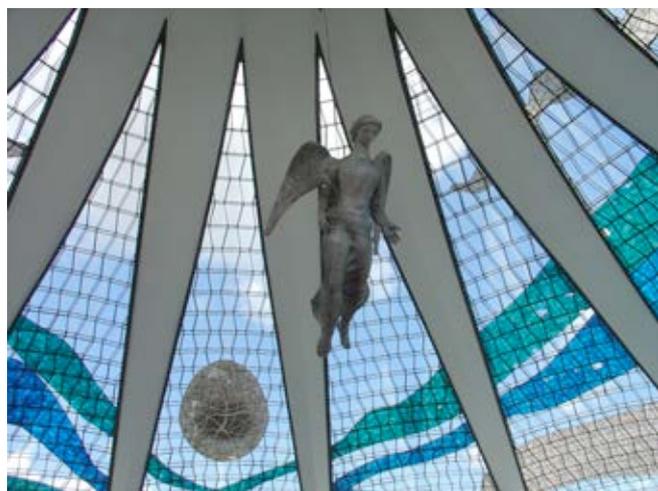


Figure 11: The spatial frame between the piers allows the fastening of two layers of glazing on the upper and lower hexagonal webs of the truss (my photo).



Figure 12: Detail of the fastening of the glass on the spatial truss (my photo).

3. STŪPA OF THE TIBETAN CENTER KAGYŪ PENDE GYAMTSO

Before analyzing the object, the Stūpa of the Tibetan Buddhist Center Kagyū Pende Gyamtso, it is necessary to address the origin, types, symbology, proportions and dimensions of this building.

3.1. Definition

A form unique to Buddhist sacred architecture, the Stūpa (Sanskrit; Tibetan *chörten*) is the highest symbol of Enlightenment, the representation of Buddha's mind, the primeval sacred structure of every Buddhist tradition. Built according to universal principles and made canonical through the blessings of the uninterrupted lineages of transmission of the teachings, the stūpa converts offerings into merits which open the spiritual path and give birth to the aspiration for Enlightenment.

3.2. Origin

The origin of stūpas goes back to pre-Buddhist times, and its hemispherical or conical shape over a round base conceivably descends from the *tumulus*, the earthen mound which every culture, since prehistory, has built on the spot of a grave. With the development of civilizations, this mound became a building erected with durable materials, such as the dome sculpted over a square base, mad in brick or stone, with a more or less researched ornamentation bestows it with an architectural character. In the center of the square base (that is, on the central axis of the building) is a reliquary intended to preserve the relics of saints or sacred texts.

Emperor Aśoka, who reigned in northern India in the 3rd century BCE, is held to be the great propagator of this kind of structure. Tradition credits him with building 84,000 such stūpas, but this number is probably more of a symbolic expression than a realistic assessment.

3.3. Functions of the Stūpa

The stūpa can have four functions: funerary monument, reliquary, commemorative monument, and votive monument. The first two are very close: the stūpas are real tombs when they hold complete remains, and they are considered reliquaries when they contain fragments of human remains or of other sacred objects. Several stūpas do not contain any kind of relic, and were built for commemoration and worship functions only, signaling and hollowing the sacred spots of the life of the Buddha (Lumbini, Sarnath, Bodhgaya and Kuśinagara). Finally, the stūpa bears, in the eyes of Buddhists, an intrinsic religious value, whence it is also considered a votive element.

Thus, according to the nature of their function, stūpas can be arranged in four categories: the *dhātu-śaitya*, which hold relics, the *paribhoga-śaitya*, which contain objects previously owned by the Buddha, the *dharma-śaitya*, which expound Buddhist doctrine, and the *uddeśika-śaitya*, which commemorate the *parinirvāna* (passing) of the Buddha, *śaitya* being a Sanskrit word for shrine.

For the purpose of the current study, the stūpa will be considered as a reliquary monument typical of Buddhism, originally built in stone by the lay congregation, on a suggestion from the Buddha Śākyamuni,³ to hold his relics. It later became a building intended for the relics of other beings who achieved great spiritual achievements, as well as for texts and statutes. These buildings are erected in memory of a Bodhisattva or to protect from evil spirits places traditionally considered dangerous, such as crossings, bridges and mountain slopes. Just like statues, the stūpas which represent the mind of the Buddha are consecrated and contain, within their structure, the tree of life (Tibetan *srogshing*)—a tree trunk with relief inscriptions of religious formulas, relics, mantras⁴, sculptures, sacred books and spices.

3.4. Placement within the Monastery Compound

In the time of the Buddha Śākyamuni, wandering monks, members of the Sangha (monastic community) did not have a fixed dwelling place. They remained in open air, in the forests, beneath trees, in mountain caves, cemeteries, etc. During the three months of Monsoon, however, when it was not possible to wander, they had to seek temporary refuge in caves or sanctuaries. These buildings were, initially, bamboo huts or simple wooden buildings, but they soon became monasteries. The monastic precinct comprised several private and common spaces. Besides serving their originally-intended purposes (a place for meditation and

³ Name given, in the Mahāyāna tradition, to the historical Buddha, Siddhārta Gautama (566-486 BCE), the son of a sovereign of the Śākya kingdom. Both for the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna schools, the historical Buddha was not the first, and will not be the last, to manifest himself on this Earth. He is the seventh on the Hīnayāna list and the fourth according to the Mahāyāna, and will be followed by the Maitreya Buddha in the future.

⁴ Sacred formula, verbal and mystical chant, invoking the deity. Mantras (Tibetan *ngak*) are Sanskrit syllables or words used to call on the power of the word or energy of one particular deity. The devotee need not know the meaning of the words, since the very sound of the mantra helps transform his own energy, hence his own awareness. The mantras are the oral form of waking reality, the ultimate divine sound. In this way, the mantra bears a particular blessing, a beneficial force which is inherent to it. Chanting, listening to, watching or touching a mantra allows one to enter the current of this force.

religious ceremonies), monasteries, especially the most important ones, became during the first centuries of the Common Era prestigious educational institutions, academic centers for Buddhist learning.

The earliest monasteries were made of decaying materials, such as wood or bamboo, and almost every one of them was destroyed or rebuilt several times, which makes it difficult to identify their original core. Fortunately, the rock-cut caves created since the 3rd century BCE provide elements regarding the evolution of monastic architecture. Although the monasteries (or temples) within caves are not buildings, and therefore not architecture, in the strict sense, they establish the original layout in the disposition of cells, isolated or grouped together.

It is necessary, therefore, to study a few of these buildings (particularly the Ajanta and Ellora caves, in India) in order to understand the evolution of architectural spaces in the built-up monasteries and the relationship among them (entrance piece, piers, colonnade, courtyard, porch, cells, nave, stūpa, and Buddha image).

Due to a long tradition, the Buddha image initially occupied a secondary position and was placed within the stūpa built inside the monastery. As the popularity of the image grew, this replaced the role of the stūpa in the shrine, and the latter was moved outside the precinct.

In the same way as for the temple, understanding the stūpa involves knowing its architectural evolution in Asia. Although our study is restricted to the essential elements of the Tibetan stūpa, the study of the evolution of the forms and plan of the stūpa, originating from the alterations introduced by each culture, tell of the migration of Buddhism. Without delving into detail, it should suffice to say that during the first centuries of its existence, Buddhism expanded to the Himalayan regions, in Northwest India. Afterwards, it spread to the Northeast, and from there the Indian emperor Aśoka introduced it to Nepal. Only after several centuries it reached Tibet. In the beginning of the Common Era it reached China, from where it spread to Korea, then in the 6th century to Japan.

3.5. Temple, prayer banners and stūpas: elements of the monastic compound

Buddhism, having a vast view of the Universe, conceives of innumerable extra-temporal worlds, that is, worlds which are above the plane of enlightened manifestation, called “pure lands,” over which reign emanations of Buddhas as deities. The palace of the deity is called “mandala”. The Tibetan temple is a reflection, for human eyes, of the heavenly mandalas perceived only by the dwellers of the pure lands. The name used by the Tibetans to refer to a temple, *lhakhang*, embodies what it represents, as it means “Dwelling (Khang) of the Gods (Lha)”.

For the Tibetans, the temples remain what they always had been: the house of godly reality or enlightened reality, before which they come to prostrate, make offerings and say prayers. With the destruction of nearly all the temples in Tibet, during the Cultural Revolution of China, many Tibetan Lamas in exile, using determination and courage, rebuilt these structures in India, Europe, and America.

Although the temple is a heavenly reflection, its earthly building requires great care as well. The shrine, in order to emanate all its power, needs a special environment. While Christian, Jewish and Islamic sanctuaries are typically built in the middle of cities, the Buddhist temple, as it is in the first place part of a monastery, is traditionally found apart from settlements, preferably in a wild and isolated place.

The reason for this goes beyond the mere intention of integrating architecture and landscape, and of providing a feeling of strength and power. It is necessary to add a certain knowledge of

telluric forces (which were also taken into account in the construction of churches during the Middle Ages), with the respect for an invisible population made of different categories of spirits living in mountains, valleys and waters.

Around the temples, prayer banners and stūpas enhance and support its splendor. From afar, when we draw near a temple or monastery, the first thing we see are the multicolored prayer banners waving in the wind. These banners, originally in bright colors which became duller with the action of the elements, are covered from top to bottom in sacred writings. The stūpas, due to the symbolic complexity of their construction, will be analyzed in more detail below.

3.6. Types of Tibetan Stūpas

There are different kinds of stūpas, ranging from a few centimeters in height to several meters. Their forms vary just as much, and we can count, among the Tibetans, eight kinds of stūpa. According to tradition, after the cremation of the Buddha, his relics were split in eight parts and distributed to the eight kings who had come to pay homage to him: Ajātaśatru, King of Magadha, Licchavi of Vaiśālī, the Śākya of Kapilavastu, the Buli of Allakappa, the Koliya of Rāmagrāma, the Brāhmana of Vatthadvīpa, the Malla of Pāvā and the Malla of Kuśinagara.

These were the relics which ended up being enshrined in the first eight stūpas, built according to the episodes of the life of the Buddha: his birth, awakening or enlightenment, the first sermon or teaching, the descent of a celestial kingdom, the performing of miracles and prodigies, the reconciliation of a schism in the Sangha, the voluntary prolongation of life, and his death.

1. **The Stūpa of the Flowering Lotus (of Birth)**, in the Lumbini garden of Kapilavastu, Nepal, where the Buddha was born in 566;
2. **The Stūpa of Enlightenment**, in Bodhgaya, Northern India, where the Buddha attained Enlightenment under the Bodhi Tree, at age 35;
3. **The Stūpa of the Turning the Wheel of Dharma**, near Benares (Vārānasī), India, where the Buddha taught for the first time;
4. **The Stūpa of the Descent from Heaven**, in Sankāśya, India, where the Buddha came down from the realm of gods, where he had ascended to teach his mother, who was reborn there;
5. **The Stūpa of the Great Miracle**, in Srāvastī, India, where Buddha, at age 50, realized extraordinary miracles and where he also held 30 summer meditation retreats;
6. **The Stūpa of the Reconciliation of the Sangha**, in Rājagrha, India, where the Buddha reconciled a schism in the Sangha which had been divided by work of Devadatta;
7. **The Victory Stūpa**, in Vaiśālī, India, where the Buddha announced he would be leaving this world for the Nirvāna. One of his fervent lay disciples begged him to remain longer, and the Buddha lengthened his own life by three months;
8. **The Parinirvāna Stūpa**, in Kuśinagara, India, where the Buddha passed away at age 80.

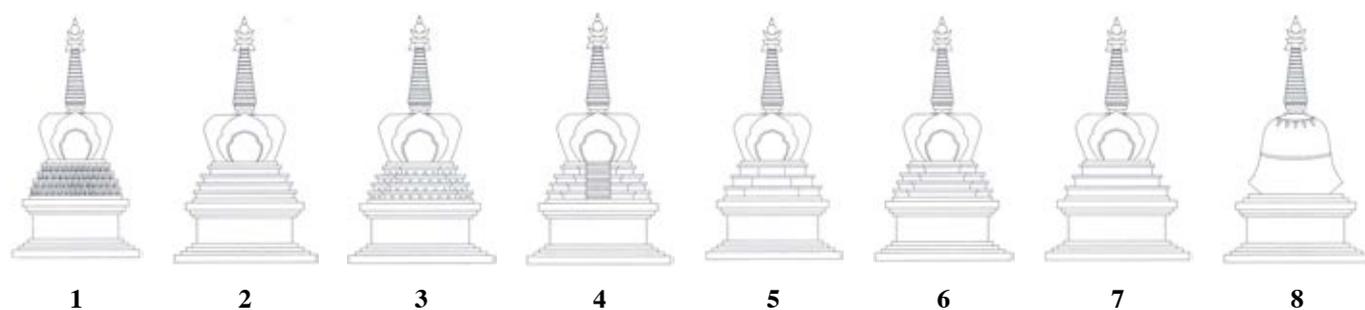


Figure 11: The eight types of Tibetan stūpas (Cornu, 2001, p. 551)

3.7. General Symbolism of the Stūpas

It is very common to find one or more stūpas around temples. These monuments are considered, by Westerners, as the emblem of religious architecture in Tibet. Under its apparent simplicity, the stūpa is a building that relates to a complex symbolism, difficult to explain in few words. We can say that it corresponds to the different aspects of progression towards Enlightenment, which can be attained by every being.

To showcase this symbolic richness, represented in the different architectural elements of the stūpa, we can say that the **plinth** (1), which supports the building, represents the ethics of the “ten virtues” upon which every spiritual practice depends, the **three staircases** (2) of the base stand for the Three Jewels, under the protection of which Buddhists place themselves—the Buddha, the Dharma (teachings), and the Sangha (community of believers), the **vase** (3) represents the “seven branches of awakening”, the **thirteen wheels** (4) designate the “ten stages” and the “three perfect applications”, the **moon** (5) represents the elimination of all suffering, the **sun** (6) symbolizes the unfolding of a thousand lamps of compassion, and the **jewel** at the top (7) stands for the realization of all wishes (Figure 12).

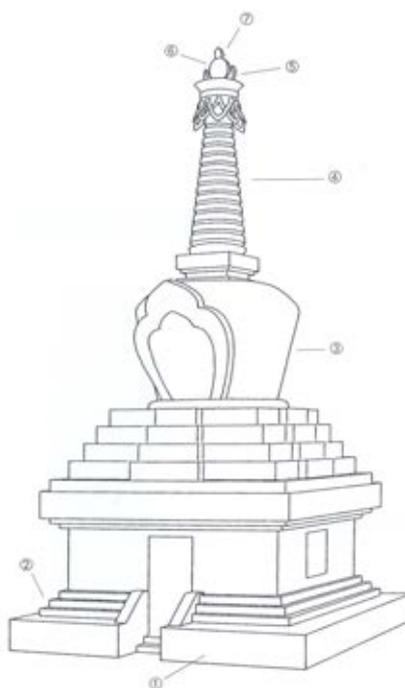


Figure 12: General symbolism of the stūpas (Sènguè, 1998, p.17)

The symbolism of this architectural image functions simultaneously at different levels. If the square base represents dominion over desire; the vase, dominion over form; the piled umbrellas, domain over no-form; and the central axis, Mount Meru, represented by the Tree of Life—a sandalwood or juniper trunk, ritually cut, which passes vertically through the center of the stūpa—other symbolisms can also be read. At the level of archetypes, a stūpa embodies five different geometric shapes referring to the five elements of which the Universe and all its atoms are made. The square or rectangular base is the Earth and the Buddha Ratnasambhava; the hemispherical dome symbolizes water and Akshobhya; the conical or pyramidal spire symbolizes fire and Amithāba; the canopy of the upper part is air and Amoghasiddhi; the Sun and the Moon are the female and male essences; and the volute at the top (*nāda*), the space and Buddha Vairocana.

In another symbolic interpretation of its form, the dome would represent nirvāna, the square base is the discipline, and the superimposed umbrellas at the top are a royal emblem, a symbol which might remind of the Buddha's princely origins. Besides, the overall shape of the stūpa is reminiscent of the sitting Buddha. It is held that, when we see such harmoniously balanced forms, we receive subtle benefits, experienced as a sensation of peace, well-being and wholeness. The several levels and steps of a stūpa also correspond to the different levels of the spiritual path which eventually reaches the ultimate Enlightenment.

In addition to its apparent structure, the stūpa is equally important for what it contains we do not see: several consecrated objects and relics. From there stem its force and power and what bestows it with a function, that of transmitting the Buddhas' blessings to all who see it, touch it, or think of it. It is said that the stūpa is the support for the mind of the Buddha, in the same way as the sacred texts are the support of his word, and the statues the support of his body. Two stūpas can be linked by a wall of prayers (*mani*), where there will probably be inscribed the mantra of Avalokiteśvara⁵ (Om Mani Peme Hung).

The monks and laypeople walk around a stūpa clockwise, following the course of the Sun. This is what is called a circumambulation. Through this action, typically accompanied by the chanting of a mantra, respect is paid to the stūpa while filling oneself with its blessing. Thereby, one accumulates merits (positive karmic tendencies), even if the action is done involuntarily. The stūpa is also a place for offering lights. The pilgrims, during the circumambulation, light candles or butter lamps while chanting prayers. This practice helps keep the image of Enlightenment and all it represents at the center of our attention and is, therefore, very beneficial both as a conscious action and for the subconscious. Although a Cartesian mind could see in several Tibetan Buddhist aspects the expression of a superstition, a Buddhist mind will see in the same action the interaction of mind and matter, the two being not-separate.

⁵ Avalokiteśvara (Sanskrit) or Chenrezi (Tibetan): The lord or Bodhisattva of Great Compassion, the Lord-who-looks-down-from-above, also called Lord of the World. It is the great Bodhisattva who personifies the compassion, the most popular Bodhisattva in the Mahāyāna tradition, also known as protector of the world or He-who-holds-a-lotus in his hand. The Dalai Lamas of Tibet are considered bodies of emanation of Avalokiteśvara, as well as the Gyalwa Karmapas, of the Karma Kagyü lineage.

3.8. Stūpa of Enlightenment

Architecture has been an effective means of expressing religion. In Tibetan Buddhism, any virtuous action with respect to the Three Jewels—Buddha, Dharma and Sangha—be it great or small, contains within it incommensurable merits. Among them, the construction of stūpas is considered one of the most virtuous and meritorious.

In Tibet and in all regions influenced by Tibetan Buddhism, the symbolism of the stūpa becomes Mahāyāna⁶ and Tantric. We have seen that each of the eight Tibetan stūpas holds a specific symbolic meaning, but the current study will address the Stūpa of Enlightenment, built according to the strict construction norms of Tibetan Buddhism, on the site belonging to the Buddhist Tibetan Center Kagyü Pende Gyamtso, located in Sobradinho II, one of 19 metropolitan areas of the Federal District (Fig. 13).

For the construction of the stūpa one needs, besides the knowledge of its essential constituent parts, such as the dome or the funerary chamber, the reliquaries, foundations, circling terraces, the base used as a shrine, the stūpa's own superstructure, also an understanding of dimensions, materials, of how to stucco or finish a surface, of interior spaces, of decoration, and of the site where it will be located.

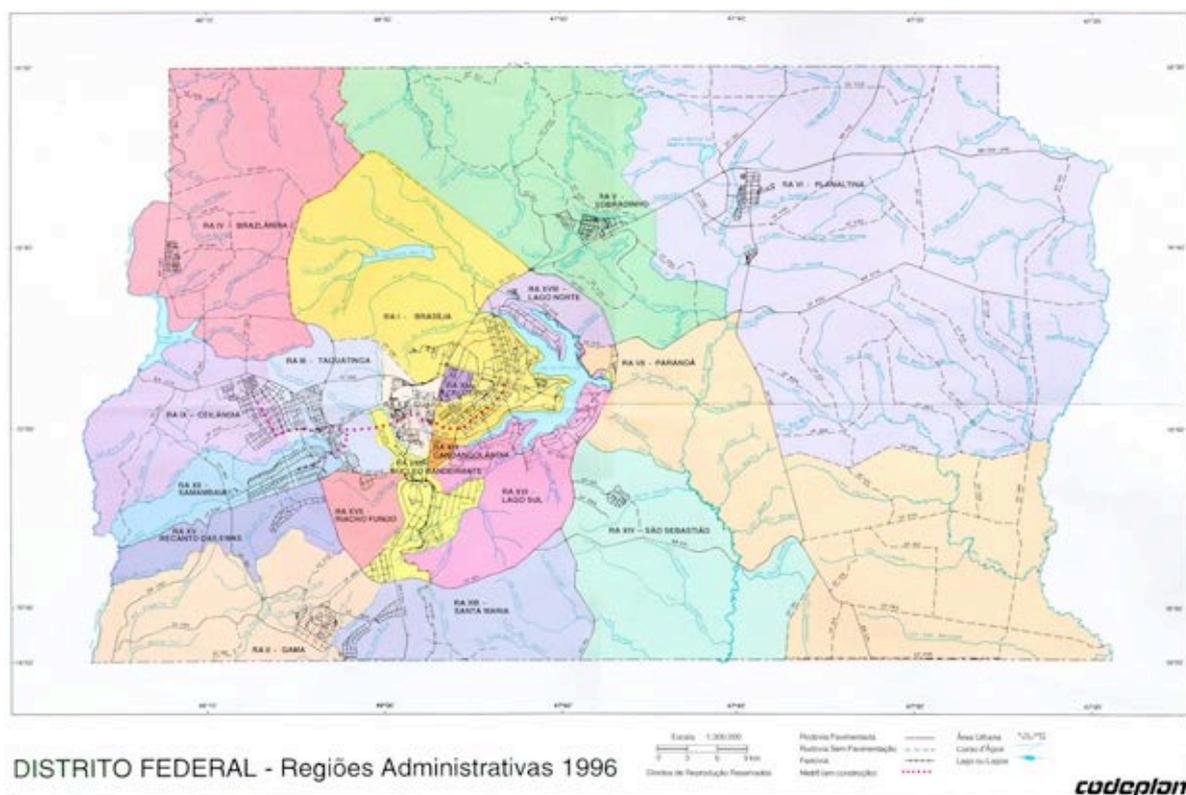


Figure 13: Administrative regions of the Federal District, including the location of Sobradinho, where the CBTKPG is located (Codeplan)

⁶ Buddhist current which encompasses several schools of the Great Vehicle, having as a principle the ideal of the Bodhisattva. The Mahāyāna or Great Vehicle is based on the realization of emptiness and compassion. That who follows it, the Bodhisattva, seeks to attain the perfect state of Buddhahood in order to free all beings from suffering and establish them in happiness.

The main component of the stūpa is its hemispherical dome, covering the urn which contains human ashes and relics. The second part comprises the foundation on which the dome sits, and the third is the niche where the pole with umbrellas is inserted, indicating symbolically its honorific value.

Stūpas come in all sizes, but Fig. 14 shows the proportions to be used when building the Enlightenment Stūpa. We can see that the three parts mentioned above have the same height in proportion, and that this proportion is maintained at the base of the dome and in the great lotus.

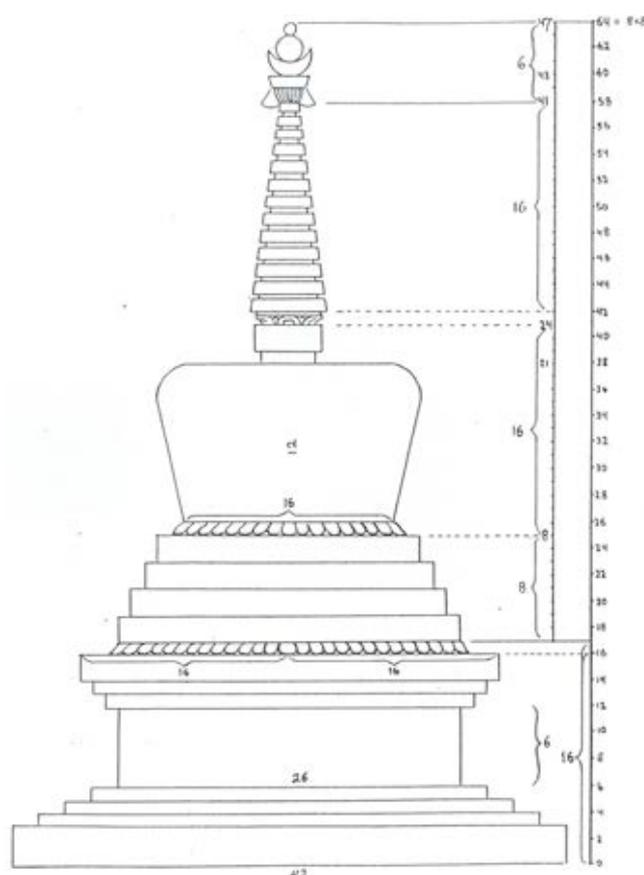
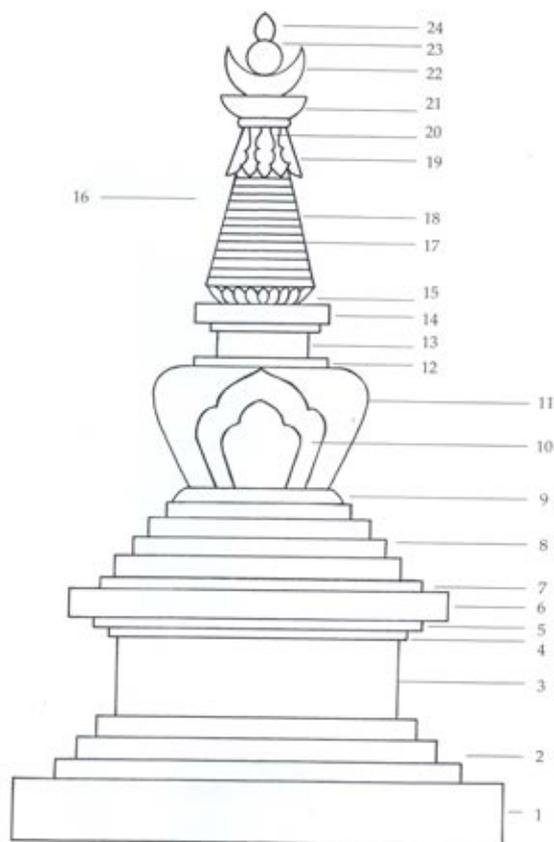


Figure 14: Proportions of the Stūpa of Enlightenment (Govinda, 1976, p. 23)

The Stūpa of Enlightenment, as shown in Fig. 15, is made of 24 parts, each one of them rich in symbolism. The analysis of several texts shows some degree of variation, but the purpose remains the same: the stūpa shows the way to liberation. Before building the stūpa, the site must be consecrated by means of the Treasure Vase, buried in the earth under the stūpa, representing the eight precious substances (the mirror, the crimson pigment, the white shell, the medicine taken from the elephant's brain, the *durva* grass, the *bilva* fruit, yogurt, and white mustard seeds).



1. foundation
2. stairs
3. face
4. edging
5. small lotuses (small border)
6. large lotuses (balcony)
7. the ten virtues
8. four steps
9. seat of the vase (dome)
10. door of the vase (dome)
11. vase (dome)
12. foundation of the harmikā⁷
13. support of the harmikā
14. harmikā
15. lotus parasol
16. thirteen dharmācakras
17. mother cakra (space in between)
18. father cakra
19. canopy
20. symbol of compassion
21. rain cover
22. Moon
23. Sun
24. top (*nāda*)

Figure 15: The Stūpa of Enlightenment (*The Stūpa – Sacred Symbol of Enlightenment*, 1997, p. 235)

The foundation or plinth (1) symbolizes the ten virtues: three of the body (protect life, practice generosity and have an immaculate sexual conduct), four of the word (tell the truth, reconcile, speak calmly and sweetly, and have a sensible talk) and three of mind (benevolence, altruism and to have faith in the right views).

The three steps (2) symbolize the three refuges we take (in the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha). The face or square base (3) is called Lion Throne and symbolizes the superiority over the entire Universe, its four sides being the four boundless (unlimited) thoughts (boundless love, boundless compassion, boundless happiness and boundless equanimity). Within it are placed the relics and sacred texts.

The edging (4) and the small lotuses (5) symbolize the six transcendent virtues (generosity, ethics, patience, energy, meditation, and wisdom). The large lotuses or four sides of the base throne (6) symbolize the four boundless ones, “the Four Unlimited”. Above the base throne

⁷ Harmikā is the kiosk or pavilion topping the upper terrace of a raised dwelling.

there are five steps forming a truncated pyramid, symbolizing the five paths (of realization of the four noble truths, of the elimination of ignorance, of clear vision, of meditation, and the path where there is nothing more to learn—passage from the tenth land into Enlightenment) towards Enlightenment, each step being, sometimes, broken up into two, thus symbolizing the ten Bodhisattva levels (*bhumi*) (joy supreme, immaculate, radiant, luminous, difficult to conquer, revealed, far-reaching, immovable, excellent intelligence, cloud of Dharma).

The step (7) is the base of the ten virtues (refrain from destroying life, from having an improper sexual conduct, from telling falsehoods, from using abusive language, from slandering, from indulging in irrelevant talk, from covetousness, from malice, from holding destructive views), and the four subsequent steps (8) symbolize, respectively, the fundamental four attentions - first step (impermanence of the body, of sensations, non-substantiality of thoughts, condition of existence - Dharmas); the four perfect efforts – second step—Sammāpadhāna (to strive to preserve existing favorable conditions, to bring about such conditions as do not yet exist, to give up existing unfavorable conditions, and not to allow such conditions to come about again); the four bases of supernormal powers – third step—Riddhipāda (meditative experience based on prayer, on thought, on perseverance and on action); and the five spiritual faculties- fourth step—Indriya (the faculties of faith, energy, attention, concentration, and knowledge).

Standing on its base (9) is the dome (11), which became a cylinder dubbed ‘vase’ (Tibetan *bumpa*), widening towards the top, with a rounded upper part, typically decorated with a door (10) containing a statue of the Buddha within it, and millions of mantras, symbols of the mind of the Buddhas. The immovable base supporting the vase (9) symbolizes the five spiritual forces—*Bala* (faith, energy, attention, concentration, and knowledge). The vase represents the seven branches of Enlightenment—*Bodhyanga* (the full memory of past lives, the perfect knowledge of all Dharmas, diligence, ecstasy, the perfect mastery of all disciplines, concentration, and equanimity).

Above it, standing over a foundation (12) and a support (13), there is a small square balustrade (14, Sanskrit *harmikā*), frequently marked with the eyes of the Buddha. This ensemble symbolizes the Noble Eightfold Path (perfect view, understanding, speech, action, living, effort, attention and concentration).

From the balustrade rises a spire pointing to the sky, with a base shaped like a lotus garland (15), thirteen piled concentric circles (16) and a crowning marked with a canopy (19), a cup-like structure (21), a crescent Moon (22) and a solar disk (23) capped with a volute, a spiral shell called *nāda* (24). The thirteen piled concentric circles (formerly parasols or umbrellas) represent the thirteen stages for reaching Buddhahood, and symbolize the ten powers and three applications of mindfulness (the power of mind, superior mind, memory, concentration, mindfulness, authority, security, desire, love and compassion, and the power of the blessing of all Buddhas; the mindfulness which makes the Buddha not feel satisfaction when the disciples listen with respect, that which makes the Buddha not feel angry when the disciples do not listen with respect, and that which makes the Buddha remain equanimous when some disciples listen with respect and others do not). Each of these rings is called father *cakra* (18) and the space between them (17), mother *cakra*.

On the central axis of the *stūpa* is the Tree of Life, standing on the balcony, the large lotuses (6), and reaching into the thirteen wheels. It symbolizes the ten knowledges (of phenomena, of mind, of Interdependent links, of illusion, of suffering, of the origin of suffering, of the cessation of suffering, of the path leading to the cessation of suffering, of destruction, and, merged into one, of the non-appearance and of the ten transcendental knowledges).

The canopy (19), the lotus petals which give its form (20), symbols of compassion, and the rain cover (21) symbolize the Victorious Stage—the non-appearance and the ten transcendental knowledges. Each lotus petal (*zaraizak*) symbolizes the ornaments of all the Supreme Qualities. The Moon (22) symbolizes the elimination of all sufferings, the Sun (23) is the radiating of the thousand lights of compassion, and the top jewel (24) symbolizes the fulfilment of every wish.

3.9. The Stūpa of the Tibetan Buddhist Center Kagyü Pende Gyamtso of Brasilia

The idea of building this stūpa came from one of the resident Lamas at the center, Lama Sönam Sherpa, coming from the monastery of the Highly Venerable Kalu Rinpoche, in Sonada, Northern India. Venerable Lama Sherab Dorje, abbot of the French monastery of Kagyü Ling, in 2003, consecrated the terrain and starts the establishment of the fundamentals of construction work for a stūpa to commemorate the Enlightenment of the Buddha, which was dedicated on the 23rd of April, 2006 (Figs. 16 and 17).

The development of the architectural design and of preliminary work, such as the production of *tsha-tshas* (small statues and stūpa miniatures, made by the thousands to fill the inside of the stūpa), the choice of the central Tree of Life trunk, and the collection of relics and sacred substances engaged the entire Tibetan Buddhist community and took two years. The construction process itself, another year. This stūpa, although modest in architecture, remains soaked in the same religious symbolism that is typical of these buildings.



Figure 16: Dedication of the stūpa at the CTKPG
(photo: Zuleika)



Figure 17: The Stūpa of Enlightenment at the CTKPG
(my photo)

Stūpas under two meters can be built in a variety of materials, but beyond this size the stūpa is a building proper, and requires a foundation and structural elements according to the chosen material. Here, the material was reinforced concrete, and its structural system is shown in section (Fig. 20). Figures 18 and 19 show the front view and dimensions of the stūpa.

It stands on a concrete base 85 centimeters tall, on the lateral projection (40 cm) of which are placed the offerings and candles. The overall height of the stūpa, including its base, is 6.51 meters (base: 0.85 m, trunk: 1.52 m, the four incommensurable (steps): 0.64 m, the vase (bumpa): 1.12 m, harmikā: 0.56 m, 13 wheels: 1.06 m, ensemble of the canopy, compassion symbol and rain cover: 0.22 m, and ensemble with Moon, Sun and Jewel: 0.54 m). The concrete structure ends at a height of 4.69 m, and is continued with a metal part 1.82 m tall. Around the base, a hardscape surface 1.20 m wide serves as a circumambulation path.

Three bumpas (vases) came for the purpose from the Kalu Rinpoche monastery in Sonada, India, for the construction of the stūpa, and two others were given by Lama Trinlé Drubpa, a disciple of Kalu Rinpoche. The latter, *sabum* (offering bumpa for the Earth deities) and *lübum* (bumpa containing offerings for the deities living in water, that is, for the *nāgas*, marine serpents), were buried in the ground beneath the stūpa. The other three, called *yangbum* (a vase of good fortune, auspicious, containing relics inside it), together with mantras, prayers, sacred texts, spices, incenses, precious gems, relics and approximately 6,500 *tshas-tshas* fill the inside of the stūpa up to the four steps (8), before the dome (11).

The dome, a funerary shrine, occupies the center of the monument and does not typically have outside access. At the stūpa of the Tibetan Buddhist Center of Brasilia, however, it covers a cavity, within which lies the Buddha Śākyamuni, accessible through a “door” having a richly decorated frame in dark red and golden colors. Above this, in the harmikā, are the eyes of the Buddha, representing his omniscience. A pine trunk is used as the Tree of Life. A rock crystal, symbolizing the wish-fulfilling jewel, terminates the stūpa. Like all stūpas, it is painted white. Prayer banners are hung from the canopy, spreading the stūpa’s blessings to the four directions.

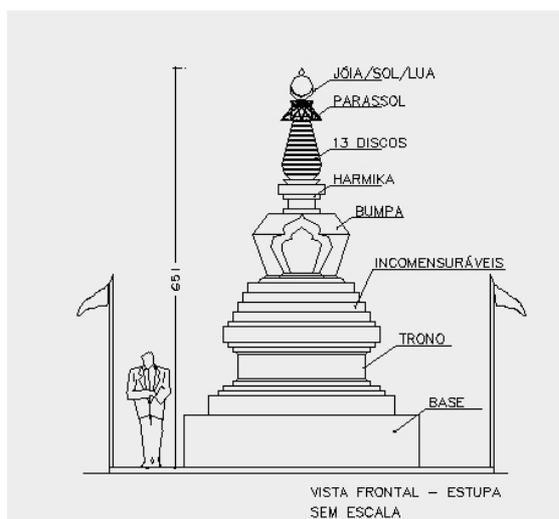


Figure 18: Front view of the stūpa
(Yves Yokoyama collection)

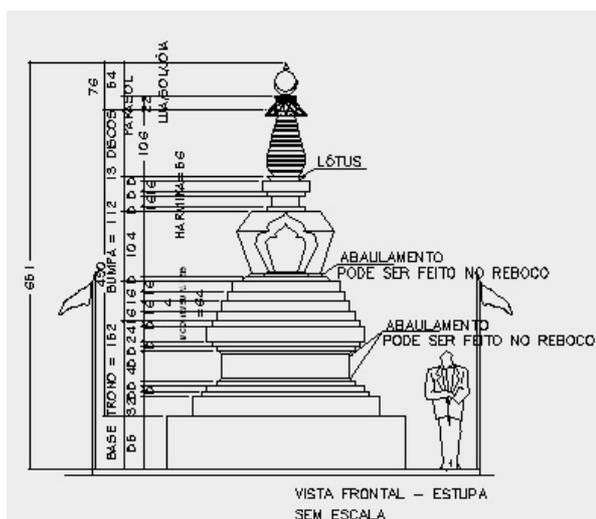


Figure 19: Front view of the stūpa — dimensions
(Yves Yokoyama collection)

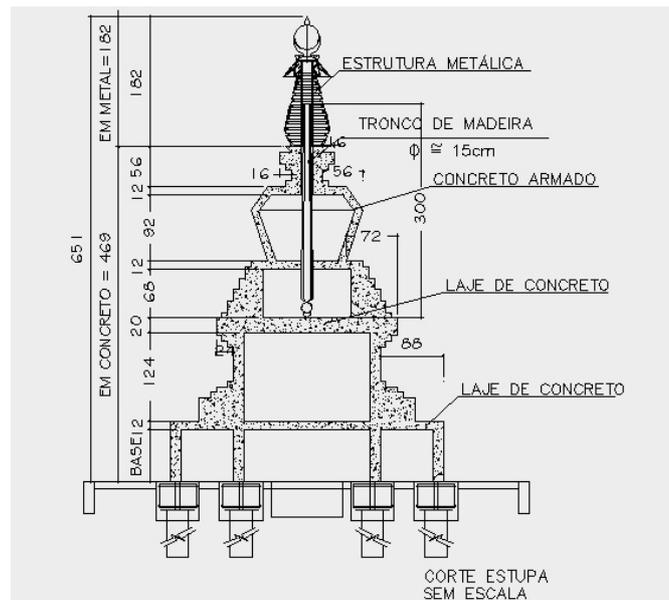


Figure 20: Section through the stūpa (Ives Yokoyama collection)

4. CONCLUSION

The Cathedral is Brazilian Catholicism’s major symbol, “...an ecclesiastic monument all the more impressive because it retains the sacred meaning within the unity provided by the volumetric purity” (Müller, 2003, p. 31, my translation). The stūpa is the symbol of the mind of the Buddha, an architectural expression of the spirit of Enlightenment and symbol of the different qualities of Buddhahood. Two architecturally different forms, which emanate force and attract the faithful, who come in a pilgrimage of offerings and prayers.

Granted the differences between religions, we see that both monuments have things in common, beyond the white color of their façades. There is a real integration between form and structure, volume and religious symbolism. The circular form, used in the nave of the Cathedral, is also present in the vase, the main part of the stūpa. When dedicated, a stūpa is seen not as a structure, but as a living and waking presence bestowing blessings. Likewise, in a Cathedral, the congregation seeks Christ’s blessing, the remission of their sins in order to reach eternal life.

Although the beauty of the Cathedral is in the plastic form of its structure, three angels by Ceschiatti hang from the ceiling, and, together with Marianne Peretti’s stained glass and the wall panels by Athos Bulcão in the baptistery, complete the decoration. The stūpa, on the other hand, is lit by the eyes of the Buddha, painted on the harmikā, and by the frame of the bumpa, which shelters his image.

Another particularity is that, although both buildings have religious functions, they are not widespread forms in architecture. While the stūpa forcefully recalls a centuries-old Buddhist tradition, the Cathedral stems from the expressive and creative freedom of Niemeyer. So expressive it is, that the Buddhists could see in it the unfolding of a lotus flower.

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**The City and the Bottom Line:
Urban Megaprojects and the Privatization of Planning in Southeast Asia**

Paper to be published in *Environment and Planning A*

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Abstract

Prevailing perspectives on the impacts of globalization on urban form in large, globalizing cities in Asia holds that these cities are experiencing an inexorable process of 'Westernization' or 'Americanization'. Yet this focus on convergence distracts us from the task of analyzing urban change and its causes, leading to analytical muddiness and awkward planning and policy implications. This paper presents an alternative framework that focuses on actor-centered analysis and the importance of understanding historical context. It then employs this framework in a case study of recent trends in urban development in Metro Manila based on interviews, government, private sector, and non-profit sector documents, and newspapers. The paper concludes that, in Metro Manila, a defining characteristic of contemporary urban development is the unprecedented privatization of urban and regional planning. Large developers have conceived of urban development plans on a metro-wide scale, and begun to implement these with the assistance of government. This phenomenon has its roots in the historical development of social groups in the Philippines and their shifting interests with the globalization of the Philippine economy. The paper concludes that the privatization of planning raises distinct issues for urban planning theory and practice.

Of the 19 cities identified by the United Nations as having populations of greater than 10 million, 15 are located outside of the advanced economies of the United States, Europe and Japan (UN Habitat 2005). The proliferation of such massive urban regions in developing countries has captured the imaginations of urban scholars, and the question of how their integration into global networks of trade, communications, and migration shapes their form is one of particularly intense investigation. Many of these cities have been shaped by what Scott et al (2001) have called 'global city-region' development, as firms seeking low-cost sites for production have fed massive urbanization of their peripheries, while the centralization of corporate functions that coordinate production for global markets has simultaneously fed rapid central-city redevelopment (Scott et al 2001). In addition, the explosion of residential development in urban peripheries has led some to question whether these cities will follow the experience of the United States, with urban regions becoming polarized between vast and sprawling suburbs of rampant consumerism and blighted inner cities (Marcuse and Van Kempen Eds. 2000; Fishman 2003; Leichencko and Solecki 2005). Studies have examined the rise of

‘gated communities’, the ‘sprawling’ of cities, the development of ‘edge cities’, and the emergence of mall culture in a variety of contexts (Dick and Rimmer 1998; Pirez 2002; Graizborg et al 2003; Firman 2004; Salcedo and Torres 2004; Wu and Webber 2004; Erkip 2005). The predominant perspective perceives a convergence of urban form around an American model, and decries the potentially devastating social, cultural, and environmental issues that are likely to blight the futures of these societies as a result.

This paper shares concerns about present patterns of urbanization, but argues that a focus on convergence is indicative of a central contradiction in urban theory in the era of globalization—the fact that this theory has “come to rest on the (usually unstated) experiences of a small group of (mostly western) cities” (Robinson 2002). A ‘tyranny of terminology’ has taken hold in the literature on cities and globalization, as the labeling of diverse urban phenomena using terms developed and theorized with reference to Western cities (edge cities, sprawl, Disnefication, gated communities) increasingly obfuscates our understanding of urban transformations, thus impairing our ability to understand change and its causes, and to derive implications for planning and policy.

The paper further argues that two recent trends in urban theory can help to restore analytical clarity. The first is a growing emphasis on actor-centered approaches that focus on how actors both internal and external to localities shape urban space in response to forces of change operating across different scales (Yeoh 1999; Olds 2001; Markusen 2004). The second is to focus on the historical development of a city, which shapes the context in which local actors act (Abu-Lughod 1999). Examining Southeast Asian cities through these analytical lenses reveals critical differences in urban development processes that are shielded from our view if we employ ‘Westernization’ or ‘convergence’ as our analytical frame.

The paper focuses on Metro Manila, a city of 10 million located within a rapidly expanding urban region of more than 16 million. In Metro Manila, I argue that one defining characteristic of contemporary urban development is the unprecedented *privatization of urban and regional planning*. A handful of large property developers have assumed new planning powers and developed visions for metro-scale development in the wake of the retreat of government from city-building and consequent deterioration of the urban environment. They have developed geographically ‘diversified’ portfolios of integrated urban megaprojects, and play a growing role in mass transit and other infrastructures that connect these developments to the city and region. This form of urban development reflects the imperative of the private sector to seek opportunities for profit by cutting through the congested and decaying spaces of the ‘public city’ to allow for the freer flow of people and capital, and to implant spaces for new forms of production and consumption onto the urban fabric. I therefore term it ‘bypass-implant urbanism’. This form of urban development is not merely a consequence of the blind adoption of “Western” planning models. Rather, it reflects the incentives, constraints and opportunities posed by the globalization of the Philippine economy, which has fostered a state of perpetual fiscal and political crisis in government while also creating new economic opportunity in Metro Manila. This shift in focus to the actors and interests underlying urban change unveils a range of issues that remain concealed by a focus on convergence. These include regressive government subsidies for profit-driven private sector development, the abandonment of the very concept of public purpose by planning agencies, and the promotion of governance models that idealize the private sector by international organizations.

The paper draws on a number of sources, including a review of documents and newspapers, and interviews. Thirty-one interviews were conducted in Metro Manila, including

ten with people working in the real estate development industry, eight with current and former officials of local and national government, eight with academics and researchers who work on urban development and planning issues, and the remainder with informants were representatives of non-governmental and community-based organizations (NGOs and CBOs) that work on urban issues, the World Bank, and prominent international planning and architecture firms. The interviews were open ended—the interviewer established a general set of questions and allowed interviewees to direct the conversation to their own areas of interest and insight. Each took between 45 minutes and two and a half hours.

The paper will first discuss and critique perspectives on globalization and urban form. Next, it will focus on the privatization of planning in Metro Manila. It will then discuss the history behind this process of privatization, employing an actor oriented and historically informed perspective. It will finish with a discussion of the implications of the privatization of planning for urban planning and policy.

Globalization and Urban Convergence: A Critique

The question of whether urban development in the global era is characterized by convergence, or is conversely shaped in fundamental ways by place-specific forces, has been fundamental to recent debates in urban studies. In the Asian context, a seminal contribution was McGee's (1991) concept of *desakota* urbanization. McGee argued that Asian cities experience a distinct form of development in the current era of growing international trade and investment due to the particularities of their geography. Of specific importance are their location in densely populated rice-growing regions, the existence of 'transactive environments' in the urban periphery characterized by a high degree of mobility of people and commodities, and the

‘cultural preparedness’ of rural workers for the types of labor that are required in a burgeoning industrial economy. The resulting form of urbanization in the periphery is characterized by a dense intermingling of urban and rural land uses (the term *desakota* is derived from the Indonesian terms for countryside and city), and industrial and agricultural economies that enjoy a certain symbiotic relationship.

With increasing focus on broadly comparative global frameworks in urban studies, however, two strands of thinking have argued for a global convergence of urban form. The ‘global cities’ literature posits that certain cities are shaped by their function as ‘command and control’ centers for global capital—as centers for multinational corporate headquarters and producer service firms (Beaverstock et al 1999; Sassen 2001). In this view, the polarization of employment between professional jobs and low-skilled service sector jobs in such cities leads to spatial polarization between (often racialized) low-income areas and centers of business, upper-income residence, and consumption (Marcuse and Van Kempen Eds 2000; Smith 2002). The Los Angeles school argues for a more conscious adoption of American urban form. In this view Los Angeles offers a model of urbanism centered on automobility, intense commodification of housing and community, a ‘Disnefication’ of difference, and a celebration of consumerism that has been embraced by consumer classes in many parts of the world who share a desire to isolate themselves from cities that they perceive as increasingly dangerous and chaotic (Cowherd and Heikkila 2002; Erkip 2005). The elements of this model include the development of ‘edge cities’ and gated communities, the ‘theme park’ quality to urban development, and the enclavization of upper-income groups (Dear and Flusty 1998). The idea of convergence has led to a wave of studies that have examined sociospatial polarization and the diffusion of urban forms associated with the United States, and more specifically Los Angeles, in a wide variety of settings (see, for

example, Graizbord et al 2003; Chiu and Lui 2004; Wu and Webber 2004; Erkip 2005; Leichencko and Solecki 2005)

One of the most insightful arguments for urban convergence in Southeast Asia is a study by Dick and Rimmer (1998) that sets out explicitly to refute McGee's thesis of Asian exceptionalism. They argue that the "driving force behind the new urban geography of Southeast Asia is the avoidance of social discomfort" which has arisen with the economic and social polarization inherent in the globalization of these urban economies (1998: 2317). The response by large developers has been to 'rebundle' urban elements by creating large new city developments that allow the growing consumer class, and particularly ethnic Chinese, to isolate themselves from the surrounding city in enclaves that explicitly copy a model derived from the suburbs of the United States. They argue that developers have sought to replicate this model based on their perception of shared socioeconomic conditions with those of American cities, and that this urban form that can best be compared to 'edge city' and gated community developments in that context.

While not denying the importance of global actors, influences, and processes to urban development, this paper follows McGee in placing emphasis on the ways that these forces are reshaped in their interaction with local actors, influences and processes. Specifically, I argue that the excessive focus on convergence is problematic for two reasons. First, in starting with the assumption that Western urban form presents a universal mould and then attempting to determine whether urban form in other parts of the world 'fits', theories of convergence inherently privilege similarity over difference and prematurely abort an analysis of spatial change. In fact, a cursory examination of private sector-built megaprojects in Asia reveals several distinct features. The sheer scale of many of these projects sets them apart from most

‘edge city’ developments in the US—for example, Muang Thong Thani in Thailand and Lippo Karawaci in Indonesia have projected populations when completed of 750,000 and 1 million respectively (Dick and Rimmer 1998; Marshall 2003). Many are transit rather than auto-oriented and quite dense. And they are scattered throughout urban regions rather than necessarily being on the ‘edge’. Hence trends in urbanization in Southeast Asia do not resemble the rejection of urbanity itself and consequent exodus of the middle class from the center to the periphery characteristic of the American model—rather, it is characterized by movements from public to private space, which may occur from center to periphery, periphery to periphery, center to center, or periphery to center. More will be said about the distinct nature of Metro Manila’s spatial change later. Suffice to say here that, while Western influences are certainly apparent, the emerging urban form is also powerfully shaped by place-specific urban geographies, cultural preferences, and social structures.

The second issue with much of the literature on convergence is that it denies the ability of actors at the local level to be reflective about these processes or shape them to their own desired ends. The possibility that megaprojects have been actively promoted by planners, policy-makers, developers, and other powerful actors in order to further their own interests is largely disregarded, and instead a blind adoption of American planning models is blamed for a range of social and environmental ills. This denial of local agency leads to a lack of analytical clarity and to awkward policy and planning conclusions, as is apparent in the following quote:

In Jabotabek (Indonesia), the Southern California development models...serve to promote both a greater social segregation and an acceleration of environmentally destructive practices... The experience of Jabotabek’s new towns demonstrates the power and malleability of the images being broadcast from Southern California...and the dangers of uncritical adoption driven by the lure of commercial imagery. (Cowherd and Heikkela 2002: 196)

Here, and elsewhere in the convergence literature, consumers and developers are characterized as being duped by movies, television, and slick advertising into believing they share the interests of

middle-class American suburbanites, rather than as reflective individuals reacting to their own lived experience. And government is oddly absent from the scene, leaving developers and consumers as the main culprits/dupes in this story of self-marginalization. With little discussion of the role of government in shaping urban form, the reader is also left to presume that developers are the only potential custodians of a more socially and culturally appropriate form of urbanization (depicted by several analysts as that of European cities). The central policy and planning implication one derives, therefore, is a need to enlighten developers and consumers, and to convince them to act against what they perceive to be their interests by adopting the prescribed models of urbanization.

The challenge is to restore local agency to the analysis and develop sharper tools for analyzing urban change and prescribing alternatives. This paper follows Markusen (2004) in arguing for an actor-centered approach that more meaningfully probes the ideologies and interests underlying urban change. This perspective sees this process of change not as one way but as negotiated, and views local actors as active participants both responding to pressures in their external environment and trying to shape them to their own ends. This is therefore a view in which “(s)tructure and agency are not contrasted, but complexified and integrated” (Nasr and Volait 2003b), and in which outcomes are inherently hybrid. It is also one that stresses a need for deep historical analysis as a basis for understanding social groups and their interests.

In Southeast Asia, globalization has created a context of both opportunity and threat for local actors. Economic change has led to the growth of new markets for ‘world class’ urban space among foreign investors and a growing wealthy professional and merchant class (Berry and McGreal eds 1999). At the same time, local and national governments face pressures to adopt growth-oriented policies, and international aid and lending organizations seek to shape

frameworks for governance and economic management in an agenda largely designed to ensure that country's repay their foreign debt. The result has been an agenda of decentralization and privatization in development planning that has influenced governance in most countries, although the degree of its influence has varied significantly based on local institutional dynamics and beliefs about role of government that are rooted in culture and history (Hill 2004). These external influences have interacted with urban political economies that are themselves formed through local histories of economic and cultural change, and social group formation. While a deeper discussion of Metro Manila's political economy will be undertaken later, several categories of actors can be identified as key agents in city building in many parts of Southeast Asia:

- *Local and national government* play key roles in providing the legal, policy and regulatory framework in which development occurs. In the global era, however, they increasingly experience incentives and pressures to liberalize their economies, to focus modest state investment on infrastructure to support export-oriented production, and to engage the private sector in achieving goals for economic growth. In some contexts the public sector's capacity to plan has been fundamentally compromised due to pressures for fiscal austerity, and governments have embraced the view that urban development is best left to the private sector.
- *Private developers* have consequently come to be seen as the agents of 'cutting edge' innovations in urban development. Throughout the region these developers tend to be from ethnic Chinese business families, and are able to tap into the vast liquid assets that are controlled by international networks of overseas Chinese, as well as new sources of international finance (Olds 2001). They have also built relationships with government actors in recognition of their strong role in consolidating land and regulating development.
- These developers are lured into the property sector by the profits to be realized from an emerging *consumer class* of 'winners' in the globalization of these urban economies, and from multinational and local corporate investors. The desires of the consumer class are shaped both by culture-specific preferences and by their exposure to landscapes of consumption that they have witnessed elsewhere through international travel and the media (Pinches 1999b).
- Private developers look quite naturally to *foreign planners and architects* for models of urbanism that are attractive, efficient, consumer-oriented, and therefore profitable. Yet, while their designs are influenced by planning models from the United States and Europe,

their central purpose is to distinguish urban megaprojects from the rest of the city in the quality and aesthetic character of the spaces created in order to attract the consumer class and maximize profit. Hence their impact is less to ‘Westernize’ urban form than it is to commodify the urban experience.

What we are observing, therefore, is not a simple drive to emulate the global cities of the West or ‘Americanize’ urban landscapes. Rather, influential local actors, notably large developers and their government partners, have sought to selectively adapt certain international models of urban planning and design to the distinct context of Southeast Asian urbanization. What is driving this, I argue, is the marginalization of the ‘public city’ and the privatization of planning, which has occurred as new models of urban governance have been embraced by political actors in response to opportunities and constraints fostered by the emerging influence of global actors in urban political economies. I define the privatization of planning as the transfer of power over and responsibility for the visioning of urban futures and the exercise of social action for urban change from public to private sector actors.

In Metro Manila, planning has become privatized to a particularly marked extent, resulting in the emergence of what I call ‘bypass-implant urbanism’. The Philippine political economy has been described as a system of ‘booty capitalism’, in which the state is essentially captured by elites who use policy to advance personal interests (Hutchcroft 1998). In this context of unusually inert and deferential government, private developers have been granted considerable power to reengineer cities to create new spaces for production and consumption, and to facilitate the flow of people and capital between these spaces, by ‘bypassing’ the congested arteries of the ‘public city’ and ‘implanting’ new spaces for capital accumulation that are designed for consumerism and export-oriented production.

Specifically, a handful of the largest developers have responded to the lack of a compelling public sector vision for Metro Manila by conceiving of their own visions for urban

redevelopment. These visions center on urban integrated ‘mega-projects’ that are developed in strategic locations and are intended both to capitalize on trends in the city-region’s development and to shape this development to the advantage of the developer. Developers are also increasingly involved in building supporting infrastructure, including community infrastructure and large scale transportation systems such as light rail, regional rail, and toll roads, to link these developments to the larger city and region (World Bank 2004). Hence private sector firms do not just develop real estate but conceptualize and implement entire urban systems that are overlaid onto the existing urban form. The form of ‘public-private partnership’ that emerges from this scenario is distinguished by the domination of private developers in the entire planning processes, from the visioning of urban futures to the management of the urban environments that they create. This contrasts with theories of urban growth regimes originating in the United States, which argue that elected leaders must “develop policies in concert with those who have access to capital,” by mobilizing private actors around a coordinated vision of urban development, in order to realize policy and political goals (Fainstein 1995: 35). In many cases these roles are switched in Metro Manila—large developers conceive of corporate visions, then convene public sector entities (a hodgepodge of local governments, national agencies, and special purpose agencies) to pursue their own objectives of urban transformation for corporate profit.

These characteristics are arguably unique to Metro Manila, where the privatization of planning has been particularly pronounced. However, aspects of bypass-implant urbanism can be found in many cities in Southeast Asia, and in other parts of the world. It may represent the future of planning in parts of the world where government is breaking down under the strains of foreign debt and crises of legitimacy.

Bypass-Implant Urbanism in Metro Manila

The growth of export-oriented industry in the Metro Manila region has led to dramatic spatial expansion with the industrialization and urbanization of the urban periphery. The five provinces surrounding Metro Manila, referred to collectively as CALABARZON (Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, Rizal and Quezon) have been a focus of foreign direct investment (FDI) and government planning. With about 20 percent of the nation's population, Metro Manila and CALABARZON combined represent more than one-half the country's GDP, and their share of manufacturing value added has remained steady at around two-thirds during the past two decades despite predictions by many that it would face competitions from other regions of the Philippines (NCSB 2003). This industrialization, and the more recent growth in business process outsourcing, has given rise to growth in the market for prime office space to house corporate headquarters and producer service firms. The city has also seen gradual movement of its middle-class population from the city center to the fringe, although the market for high-end real estate is not necessarily dominated by a managerial and professional elite as predicted in the global cities literature. According to many of the developers interviewed for this project, much if not most of the demand for new housing and consumer spaces comes from overseas Filipinos workers, a diverse group that includes maids in Hong Kong, engineers in the Middle East, nurses in North America, and others. Labor is the country's largest export, and the Philippine government estimates that overseas workers remitted \$8 billion annually by 2002 (Bagasao 2005; Ratha 2005).

The nature of bypass-implant urbanism as it has emerged in Metro Manila can perhaps best be illustrated with reference to an example. In 2004, a consortium of investors submitted an unsolicited bid to the Philippine government for a \$1.2 billion project involving the development

of a 22 kilometer ‘LRT-7’ light rail line connecting a major intersection along the northern portion of the city’s inner-ring road, Epinafio de los Santos Avenue (EDSA), to the rapidly growing city of San Jose del Monte in the neighboring province of Bulacan (Manila Bulletin 6/2/2005). This was not, as one might expect, the 7th phase of the city’s existing LRT system—indeed only three phases have been built, and government plans called for six lines. The proposal was instead an ‘unsolicited bid’, conceived outside of the Philippine government’s infrastructure plans. The consortium included the country’s largest mall developer, a construction company affiliated with one of the country’s largest conglomerates, a former secretary of finance in the national government, and several foreign partners. The primary motivation for the investors was not the profits to be made from the light rail itself, but rather the right to develop a commercial and residential megaproject on between 194 and 497 hectares of land adjacent to the line in rapidly urbanizing southern Bulacan province. The plan met with enthusiasm from some sectors, but many expressed concerns about overlap with government plans for the development of MRT-4, the fourth phase of light rail development in the city (Manila Bulletin 3/18/05). In addition, projections that the project would result in new sources of government revenue were questioned in light of the heavy subsidies required when previous light rail lines had not met their projected ridership and revenue.

Several aspects of this project mark it as part of a sea change that is occurring in urban development in the Metro Manila city-region. The fact that this project is an unsolicited bid is indicative of the greatly expanded role of the private sector in all phases of the planning process. This consortium proposes to develop an entire urban system, including a large-scale real estate venture and supporting mass transit and other infrastructure linking it to the region. Indeed the proposed new city development will be equivalent in size to some smaller Metro Manila

municipalities. Private sector influence has predominated at all stages of the planning process, from plan formulation to implementation to many aspects of post-project maintenance. Government agencies have played a rather modest role in facilitating the achievement of the consortium's objectives. The entire endeavor is premised on the belief that, given the poor performance of government in the areas of transportation and land development in the past and the restrictions on its power and capacity at present, there is a close alignment between public and corporate interests.

Tables 1 details some of the most notable urban development projects undertaken in Metro Manila in recent years, and Figure 1 shows their locations along with recent transportation infrastructure projects. The real estate projects contain certain common features. First, they are integrated, containing residential, commercial, office and industrial space in what is at least theoretically a self-contained development. Each was planned according to what its developers viewed as 'international' standards and best practices, and indeed many were planned by major multinational architectural and planning firms. Each also employs a system of development controls (such as floor-area ratios, minimum setbacks, and building codes) and traffic management to prevent the 'informalization' of the built environment and maintain a distinctive planned character. The intent is to differentiate these spaces from those of the 'public' city in their aesthetic appeal, in the types of clientele that they attract, in their levels of security, and in the quality of the connecting transportation infrastructure. While these projects do borrow design and planning elements from cities in the United States, Europe, and elsewhere in Asia, they often do so in an eclectic manner that does not adhere to any one specific model. This is demonstrated in the three photos in Figure 2 of adjacent portions of Eastwood City that evoke

alternately the forms of Singaporean high rise housing, a Southern California shopping center, and a New York style glass and steel canyon.

(Figure 1 about here)

(Table 1 about here)

(Figure 2 about here)

These developments reflect changes in competition and opportunity in the real estate sector. In the 1980s developers began to realize that great opportunity lay in building integrated megaprojects, as such projects “enjoy enhanced profitability because each facility fed the other, by attracting and circulating custom” (Dick and Rimmer 1998). The result was competition to increase the scale and scope of these developments in order to provide the highest quality of amenities. In order to realize such projects some developers have moved into banking and construction, thus internalizing financial capacity and managing costs (Sajor 2003). They have also tapped into sources of capital from international ethnic Chinese networks and large development companies in other countries in the region. The largest have also endeavored to ‘diversify’ their holdings by following trends in urban development, and in some cases shaping them to their own benefit. In particular, expansion to the rapidly growing provinces of Laguna and Cavite to the south of Metro Manila, and to a lesser extent the area around the emerging export processing zones in the former Subic and Clark military bases to the north, have come to be seen as key to future profitability. For this reason they have also been strong proponents of, and sometimes investors in, transportation infrastructure aimed at opening up these regions for investment. Real estate interests have in some cases played a more direct role in connecting mass transit and toll road projects in recognition of the importance of these developments for their property holdings. For example, the MRT-3 light rail transit line, completed in 2000, was

developed by a consortium that included four property developers, the most prominent being Ayala Land (World Bank 2004).

The experience of Ayala Land illustrates how developers have attempted to shape the metro region to the ends of corporate profit. One of the oldest family owned companies in the country, Ayala Land began to establish its identity as a property developer with the development of the first integrated megaproject in the country, the Makati CBD, in the post-World War Two period (Zobel de Ayala 1983). The company was also one of the first to recognize the importance of the region's southern expansion, and developed a second megaproject, Ayala Alabang, in southern Metro Manila. This was developed on a large lot purchased from a prominent local landowner (Ayala Land Incorporated 2004). More recently, as the Makati CBD's status has begun to face challenges from newer developments with lower rents, the company has sought to maintain its lead in this segment of the market by purchased a controlling stake in the Fort Bonifacio Global City development after the financial crisis of 1997 led to the collapse of the original consortium of developers. The company has continued its southern expansion with the purchase of development rights to large tracts of land in Laguna, where it plans to build Ayala Westgrove Heights. It has also become a major player in the development of industrial estates—its Laguna Technopark is the country's premier industrial park.

Ayala Land has moved into infrastructure development as it has perceived that the availability of high-quality network infrastructure is critical to future profitability, and has increasingly viewed the poor quality of government provision as a bottleneck to corporate growth. One prominent Ayala employee revealed in an interview that:

Our chair (Jaime Zobel de Ayala)...has expressed a lot of frustration with the state of infrastructure. He is constantly...asking us how can we be more involved in infrastructure development. And he is clearly saying this not from a direct interest in the profits to be had... Because when you're selling a community, you are not just selling a piece of land, but you are

selling the generation of presence in that area. The water supply, power, these are all the things that you need to ensure.

In 1997 Ayala Land successfully bid for the Manila Water concession, which serves about half of Metro Manila's population. During the late 1990s it began to move into the transport sector. It developed plans for the CALABARZON Express, a regional rail system that would have connected the company's Fort Bonifacio Global City and Makati CBD holdings with its developments south of Metro Manila. This plan was eventually abandoned. Ayala Land's stake in the MRT-3 was partially motivated by a stipulation in the contract that allows it to undertake a major commercial development at the northern terminus, but it also stemmed from a desire to ensure the continued value of its key real estate holdings. The line runs in-between two of Ayala Land's premier developments, the Makati CBD and Fort Bonifacio Global City, and greatly enhances their connectivity to major population centers to the north and south. As the Ayala employee stated:

Transportation is crucial. Makati is a central business district, and the life of a central business district is really regional access. The reason it is a central business district is because it connects to other areas, otherwise it will become local. So the interest in the MRT-3 was in making sure that the line was done properly in designing the station, in making sure that the service classification were....done up to specs.

Ayala Land's role in infrastructure continues to evolve—at the time this article was being written it was looking to move into the power sector (Orejas 2005).

The Ayala Land strategy of developing a regional vision, creating a model of master planning, and focusing on infrastructure has been widely emulated, and is clearly reflected in the LRT-7 model. This strategy entails a new working relationship between government and large developers, with government playing a number of key roles in the emergence of the new urban form. Government has played a key role in consolidating land—indeed it has used the privatization of public lands as an important form of revenue generation. The most prominent

case is that of Fort Bonifacio Global City, which is located on a former fort the development rights to which were sold to a consortium of developers in 1995 at a price of \$1.2 billion.

The public sector has also played an active role in facilitating the privatization of transportation infrastructure and providing subsidies to private providers. This has marked a shift in the urban political economy. Under President Ferdinand Marcos such large transport infrastructure projects were a central part of the regime's political machine—contractors were part of the patronage system and infrastructure improvements helped legitimize the regime. The public sector also played a relatively strong role under the Ramos administration, from 1992 to 1998, as efforts focused on the development of flyovers, particularly along the key EDSA corridor. Particularly since the mid-1990s, however, public-private partnerships have predominated, and the focus has been on expanding the light rail system and the development of toll roads (Llanto 2004). While often represented as a low-cost or no-cost option for government, these partnerships have frequently involved substantial subsidy, particularly when government has had to make up for shortfalls in projected revenue under risk sharing agreements. In the case of the MRT-3, the government has provided \$30-60 million per year in subsidy for the first few years of its operation (World Bank 2004).

In sum, developers and government are engaged in an epic effort to transform the region. The result is evocative of Graham's (2000: 185) description of the 'splintering' of urban development:

We are starting to witness the uneven overlaying and retrofitting of new, high performance urban infrastructures onto the apparently immanent, universal, and (usually) public monopoly networks laid down between the 1930s and 1960s. In a parallel process, the diverse political and regulatory regimes that supported the 'roll out' of power, transport, communications and water networks...are, in many cities and states, being 'unbundled' or even 'splintered', as a result of widespread movements towards privatization and liberalization.

This transformation has significant potential implications for issues of social equity and political transparency and accountability. For one, the public sector is essentially subsidizing the privatization of transportation and land development on a significant scale. This has drawn public subsidy away from public space and transportation for lower-income groups, and the consequences are evident in steady decline and blight experienced in the city's public spaces and the continuing transportation crisis. The public rationale for transportation privatization is that segregating automobile traffic and getting people out of cars and into mass transit will contribute to decongestion that benefits all travelers. However, anecdotal evidence suggests that, with the explosion in the number of automobiles, the meager road space dedicated to affordable modes, and the irregular enforcement of traffic regulations, the commuting experiences of low-income urban residents has seen little improvement. It is notable that there has been no significant effort to measure the impacts of recent transportation improvements on the mobility of low-income urban residents, even though enhancing their mobility was ostensibly a major objective of these improvements.

A less frequently discussed impact of this transformation is the displacement of a large number of people who are in the way of these developments, either on land that is to be redeveloped or along the right of way of these projects. Table 2 provides a summary of the estimated number of families who will be or have been evicted as a result of some of the more invasive projects. While many of these evictions will never occur, these figures give a sense of the scale of change to the urban landscape that would occur if these plans are realized, and the precarious position of informal settlers in relation to the urban redevelopment process.

(Table 2 about here)

The trend towards the privatization of planning is still in process and is contested by a variety of forces in Philippine society, including organizations of civil society and some policy-makers. Legislation sponsored by NGOs protects informal settlers from summary eviction and stipulates conditions for the conversion of agricultural to industrial land that are intended to protect agriculturalists from displacement. Displacees have also organized some of the most serious challenges to these development projects. Coalitions of NGOs and CBOs have emerged in several instances to ensure that legal restrictions to eviction are implemented properly, and that efforts at resettlement ensure that the communities created are viable. Such ‘right of way’ issues have delayed several infrastructure projects, and in some cases investors have backed out as a result.

The Origins of Bypass-Implant Urbanism in Metro Manila

The economic impacts of globalization on Metro Manila’s real estate sector—the emergence of markets for new types of real estate products, the availability of financing from international capital markets, and the growing influence of foreign architects and planners—tells part of the story of the privatization of planning and changes to urban form. Understanding why privatization has taken hold so markedly in the Philippines, however, requires an examination of the ways that these external factors interact with the domestic political economy of development. This has been described by Bello (2004) as a ‘political economy of permanent crisis’ in which domestic actors have been unable to coalesce around a stable model of governance that might bring about developmental ends. The causes and consequences of this situation have been debated exhaustively by foreign and Filipino social scientists (Boyce 1993; Rocamora 1994; Abinales 1998; Hutchcroft 1998; Sidel 1999). What follows is a brief summary, and relies heavily on Bello’s (2004) recent discussion.

The roots of this ‘permanent crisis’ lie in the plantation-based economy that developed during Spanish colonial rule, which resulted in the formation of an economically powerful landowning class that consisted largely of mestizo Chinese merchant families that had acquired land from Spanish friars (Sidel 1999). The American colonial regime, in place during the first half of the 20th century, fostered the development of an electoral democracy, but did so in a way that deliberately maintained elite political control. Wealthy landowning families were able to use their resources to dominate electoral posts in local government and parliament. The result is what has been referred to as a system of ‘booty capitalism’, in which a “powerful business class extracts privilege from a largely incoherent bureaucracy” (Hutchcroft 1998: 20). This system has persisted in the period since the overthrow of Marcos, even as government has enacted reforms aimed at improving political accountability, and the populace has attempted to use protests such as the one that unseated President Joseph Estrada in 2000 to overcome shortcomings in the electoral system.

The outcome of this system in the global era has been a classic story of a country caught in a debt trap. This story begins during the Marcos years (1965-1986), when the administration used foreign borrowing to finance a large scale infrastructure development schemes that played a critical role in its patronage machine. The debt crisis worsened as the economy sank into recession in the late 1980s. After Marcos was overthrown and democracy was restored in 1986, the administration of Corazon Aquino faced a choice between conceding to strong pressure from creditors and the IMF to liberalize the economy and practice fiscal austerity, and disregarding these pressures in the short term in order to make key infrastructure and social investments needed to address weaknesses in the Philippine economy. It chose the former—between 1987 and 1991 more than 40 percent of the national budget went to service foreign debt, and the

government took on additional debt to pay old creditors (Bello 2004). This compromised the government's ability to direct economic policy at this critical juncture.

Instead of strengthening the state to push the elite and the private sector in development-friendly policy directions, as was the case in Taiwan, Korea, Singapore and Malaysia, in the name of 'market efficiency' and 'weeding out corruption', they set about dismantling the state's role in planning, production, trade and finance. Not surprisingly...an already weak Philippine government bureaucracy was even more thoroughly colonized by private interests. (Bello 2004)

Hence the Philippine state was particularly poorly equipped to react to the opportunities presented by the globalization of the regional economy, particularly following the increased valuation of the yen following the 1985 Plaza Accords, which brought a flood of Japanese FDI to the region. While other Southeast Asian countries were investing in infrastructure and reforming political and economic systems in an effort to capture this investment, the Philippines remained saddled with debt, a weak government, and a shallow domestic market, and was not as attractive to Japanese or other foreign investment (Bello 2004). Rural areas and sleepy fishing towns surrounding other Southeast Asia city-regions were transformed in a decade into some of the world's most rapidly growing urban/industrial regions. Growth occurred in Metro Manila, but it was slower, as the government sought fitfully to emulate the dynamism of Bangkok, Singapore, and Kuala Lumpur.

The privatization of planning was a natural outcome of these changes for several reasons. First, the country's socioeconomic structure has remained highly polarized, with the fundamental divide being that between the landed and the landless or land poor. This has carried over into social divisions in the city as poor ruralites have fed the steady growth of the urban landless class living in 'informal' settlements. The benefits of Metro Manila's modest global growth, meanwhile, have accrued disproportionately to a small class that has access to elite universities and social influence. Social stratification, and the unabated growth of the city's urban poor population, have fed congestion and social conflict that have driven the process of enclavization.

The relatively small size of the urban elite has arguably also been an obstacle to economic growth, as investors have been drawn to invest in other countries with a larger consumer class and therefore a larger market for their goods.

Second, the concentration of landholdings in the plantation economy created conditions conducive to the development of an oligopolistic real estate sector. This concentration made it much easier for developers to acquire parcels for large scale development, and many developers have amassed significant land banks in Metro Manila and surrounding provinces (Magno-Ballesteros 2000).

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the conditions of 'booty capitalism' also laid the foundations for the retreat of government from planning. Planning had never been particularly strong in Metro Manila, although Marcos took an interest in urban development as a tool to legitimize his rule and to create sources of patronage for his cronies (Caoili 1988). In the post-Marcos era, Metro Manila government has been stripped of its powers under reforms for decentralization, and these powers were devolved to its 17 cities and municipalities. While the national government has recognized the need to invest in infrastructure in order to attract investment and retain the support of the influential consumer class, it has been hemmed in by its fiscal limitations and limited powers. It has consequently focused its efforts on easing the city's traffic congestion through public-private partnerships, and on privatizing public land as a means to generate revenue and achieve urban development objectives. These projects have inevitably been wrapped in the rhetoric of global competitiveness and the imperative to achieve 'Tiger' economy status, indicative of the Philippine government's view that the consumer class and multinational capital represent its most important constituents for urban development.

While private sector planning has reshaped the metro region, however, the urban crisis in the ‘public city’ has continued. Light rail has received large subsidies even as the transport systems used most heavily by the urban poor have remained almost entirely unsubsidized and unregulated. The free for all in the transport sector has led to a proliferation of small companies—in 2000, more than 400 bus companies operated in Metro Manila, including more than 100 that ran along the inner ring road of EDSA alone (Guarino 2001). The intense competition for passengers dictated that the most profitable strategy for any given bus was to idle along the side of the road waiting for passengers, thus clogging the road and slowing traffic to a crawl. Competition also dictated that bus companies purchase the cheapest used busses available on the international market, inevitably older models that emit more pollution. Thus a large majority of Metro Manila residents continue to find themselves limited to road-based mass transit, exposed to pollution spilling out of aged, idling vehicles. Road-based mass transit (busses, jeepneys, and high-occupancy taxis) accounted for 68.6 percent of personal trips in 1999, as compared to 28.6 percent for cars, motorcycles and taxis, and a mere 2.7 percent for light rail transit (Republic of the Philippines 1999). While light rail capacity has increased since then, it still represents a relatively small portion of trips.

The response to the privatization of planning among low-income groups and organizations that take up their banner has been a contradictory combination of resistance and acquiescence. Metro Manila hosts a large contingent of NGOs and CBOs, but their positions have shifted from proactive calls for state assistance in resolving a persistent housing crisis, to the defense of the space of community from perceived threats of displacement. The reasons for this are complex. In part, this reflects the power of ‘global city’ imagery and the call for the Philippines to achieve ‘Tiger’ status. It also reflects the fact that the urban poor are also users of

at least some of the new consumer spaces that are being developed—while dress codes and limited mass transit access exclude them from the more affluent developments, ‘mallings’ has become a pastime for the poor as well as the wealthy. Nevertheless, CBOs and NGOs do exercise some influence in the city-building process through their ability to use laws protecting informal settlers from eviction to ensure compensation or stop developments, and through the threat or reality of mass action. The power of their vote also means that they often have political allies, particularly in local government. For this reason, they can pose a considerable nuisance to the designs of developers and pro-growth public figures. It is telling that the Chamber of Real Estate and Builders’ Associations (CREBA), a prominent advocacy group for real estate interests, states the disenfranchisement of ‘squatters’, a group that it estimates to constitute half of the country’s urban population, as a central part of their program for political and socioeconomic reform (CREBA 2005).

Conclusions

The explosive growth of very large cities confronts governments and citizens with a pressing set of issues: How can such growth be managed in a socially and ecologically sustainable and equitable manner? How can the quality of urban environments be maintained in order that they continue to foster community livability and economic opportunity? How will these regions be governed, and what role will various actors, including residents of low-income communities, play in this governance? The search for answers to these questions requires accurate analysis of the forces driving the development of these urban regions, and particularly of the way that global financial and geopolitical forces interact with local political economies to shape this development. This paper has argued that the increasingly popular frameworks

focusing on the perspective of urban convergence are not adequate for this analytical task. In assuming a one-way transmission of ideas from West to East, and abandoning a detailed analysis of urban form for a more superficial accounting of the supposed ‘Westernization’ of urban form, they fail to identify critical local forces shaping urban development. As a result, they increasingly obscure rather than elucidate our understanding of urban change.

The paper has argued instead for an actor-centered, historically informed framework. Employing this framework, the paper has argued that Metro Manila’s development has been powerfully shaped by intense fiscal and external pressures on government to concede influence over urban development to private sector actors, and by a local political economy that has fostered the political power of elite families. The resulting mode of urban development is characterized by what I have referred to as the privatization of planning. Specifically, I have argued that the urban integrated megaprojects that are transforming Metro Manila, and indeed many large cities in Southeast Asia, are shaped by an emerging perception among powerful actors that the private sector is more capable than government of defining the public interest and creating urban space to achieve this interest. Yet this shift raises a number of distinct issues of inequity and exclusion, including:

- The potential for conflict between citizens and private developers over the economic, environmental, cultural, and social implications of urban development.
- The emergence of equity issues related to the subsidization of transportation that benefits the wealthy at the expense of transit modes of the poor.
- The dearth of meaningful popular participation in private sector projects, and the relegation of civil society to relatively meaningless public sector planning efforts.

In many respects Metro Manila represents a rather extreme version of the privatization of planning, and its emergence is a result of a particular context of social inequity and perpetual economic and fiscal crisis. Elsewhere in Asia, more ‘developmental’ states have conceded less ground, and the ‘public city’ has proven more resilient due to a variety of factors, including the

relative strength of popular movements, the retention of a belief in public responsibility for the built environment, and greater public sector capacity and willingness to plan. Nevertheless, the alluring image of for-profit urban utopias has influenced planning throughout the region and in many other parts of the world. Understanding the implications of this phenomenon, and conversely when and why the public city retains its meaning and legitimacy, is a critical task confronting academics and practicing planners. Achieving such an understanding requires us to look beneath the veneer of Western influence to understand the complex processes that are shaping urban spaces.

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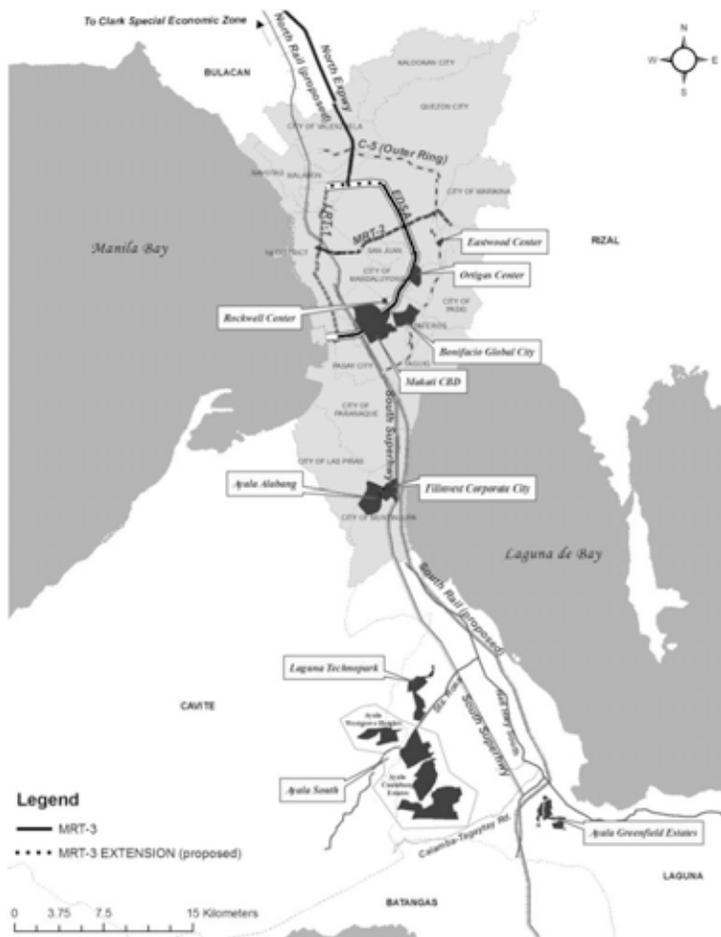


Figure 1: Major Real Estate and Infrastructure Projects in Metro Manila and its Surrounding Region

(Sources: United Tourist Promotions 2003; 3rd Island Corporation 2005; Asiatype, Inc. 2005; Bases Conversion Development Authority 2005; Filinvest Corporate City 2005; Ortigas Center 2005; Orejas 2005; Philippine National Railways Authority 2005; Rockwell Center 2005; Wikipedia 2005a; Wikipedia 2005b; Wikipedia 2005c)

Notes: The map displays a selection of prominent road and real estate projects. Polygons for real estate developments are approximations and may not be to scale.

Table 1: Major real estate developments in Metro Manila

Project/Year development began	Developer(s)	Planners	Size and composition	Description
Bonifacio Global City (1996)	Ayala Land, Inc.	HOK	150 hectares of former military land.	Public-private partnership to develop residential, commercial, office and industrial space. Development planned to eventually accommodate 250,000 residents and 500,000 daytime workers and shoppers
Rockwell Center (1995)	Lopez Group	Skidmore Owings Merrill	15.5 hectares on a former thermal power plant site.	Includes 5 high rise residential towers, office towers, a mall, and a branch campus of the prestigious Ateneo de Manila University.
Eastwood City	Megaworld Corporation	Klages Carter Vail & Partners (USA)	15 hectare high density development.	Includes residential towers and several high-rise office buildings. It has attracted national headquarters of IBM and Citibank.
Ayala-Alabang (1976)	Ayala Land, Inc.	Various	659 hectares	Development of over 5,000 residential lots. Includes a number of educational institutions, a community center, and equestrian club, and a golf and country club.
Ortigas Center	Ortigas Group	Various	About 200 hectares.	Major commercial center that contains the headquarters of the Asian Development Bank and several major corporate headquarters.
Ayala Westgrove Heights	Ayala Land, Inc.	Helber Hastert & Fee, Planner, Inc. (Hawaii) – Master Plan Consultant	400 hectares	Upscale residential development that includes commercial retail centers.
Laguna Technopark (1989)	Ayala Land, Inc.		387 hectares	The largest export-processing zone in the country, hosting manufacturing activities of over 100 export-oriented companies including Honda, Panasonic and Hitachi.
Filinvest Corporate City	Filinvest	Skidmore Owings Merrill, the SWA Group	244 hectares	New business district, Filinvest's 'gateway' development to the CALABARZON region. Includes a high rise residential complex, mall, Cyberzone, and retail, dining and entertainment center.

(Sources: Ayala Land Inc. 2005; Bases Conversion Development Authority 2005; Filinvest Corporate City 2005; Laguna Technopark 2005; Ortigas Center 2005; Philippine National Railway Authority 2005; Wikipedia 2005a, b, c)



Figure 2: Three Views of Eastwood City

Source: Author

Table 2: Number of Families Projected to be Displaced by Major Redevelopment Projects

<i>Project</i>	<i>Planned evictions</i>	<i>Evictions to date</i>
Expansion of R-10 Road	10,000	0
Cleaning of Esteros (Canals)	6,000	111
North Rail	40,000	7,000
South Rail	43,000	60
Pasig River Rehabilitation Program	21,000	10,000
Fort Bonifacio Global City	15,000	10,000
Laguna de Bay Ring Road	72,000	0
MRT-3	4000	4,000
Total	206,000	31,171

Source: Provided by Urban Poor Associates, compiled from various government sources.

**THE INEXISTENT REDEMPTION IN LOCAL URBAN PLANNING: THE
CASE OF TAMANDUATEHY AXLE PROJECT, 1997-2002, SANTO
ANDRÉ, SP, BRAZIL.**

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ABSTRACT:

MORO JUNIOR, E. (2006). **THE INEXISTENT REDEMPTION IN LOCAL URBAN PLANNING: THE CASE OF TAMANDUATEHY AXLE PROJECT, 1997-2002, SANTO ANDRÉ, SP, BRAZIL.** The Tamanduateí Valley, municipal district of Santo André, in Sao Paulo State, Brazil, was one of the main vectors of last century's Brazilian industrial activity development. This area, located in the outskirts of Sao Paulo City, known as Great ABC, presents better socioeconomic indicators, such as education, health and income per capita than the average Brazilian cities. In 1970's, Brazilian Government has promoted a deep transformation of the developmental pattern by the induction of industrial development to other areas of the country. Afterwards, in the 1990's, under globalization times, the Government promoted the implementation of managerial innovations and an increase of productivity through new technologies. These consecutive policies that changed the local and historic spatial pattern have increased industrial unemployment, urban violence and the number of low-income houses. The reduction of productive plant of the above mentioned municipal districts has brought the decrease of the tax revenues which would be used to face these challenges, by renewing degraded or sub-used areas that could undergo urban infrastructure changes.

As an alternative, Santo André Municipal City Hall throws, in 1997, the *Tamanduatehy River Axle Project* – (Projeto Eixo Tamanduatehy, PET) – an urban planning for public and private investments, that aimed at the economical change with social justice and environmental

sustainability. By the initial results, the PET had assumed to the country a role of being an alternative model of urban public policy, nor bringing in, with this methodology, solutions to all urban problems. This problem was analyzed through four sessions. Initially we demystified the simplistic technical vision to solve Brazilian urban matters concerning transposition of foreign experiences. Moreover, we discussed the application of new juridical town planning tools, starting from the construction of a theoretical panel about the relationships between the spatial police and Government role.

The second part approximates the focus of our object through the discussion of Brazilian State role in the urban development of Metropolitan Area of Sao Paulo and Great ABC, Santo André City. We dedicated special attention to the 1970's policy of industrial decentralization promoted by the government and 1990's productive restructuring due to Brazilian globalization process. The third session criticizes PET proving that their actions reflected the strategies of power of upper-class behind a speech of social equality. The PET used abstract concepts and miswritten excerpts taken from manuals of international organisms of fomentation, about "local power", "pole inductor", "strategic planning" or "public-private partnerships", and so on. Consensual speeches of social truce translated into a group of minimal measures in the attempt to resolving local problems were revealed innocuous or of little inclusion. The last session investigates the role of Brazilian State to guarantee competences and abilities of municipal districts to implant urban planning, which aim at the economical and social development. Therefore, in this context it demonstrates that divergent political interests hinder municipal districts from making up alternative politics that do not boost perpetuation of dominant political relationships in Brazil through a solid juridical, economical and institutional apparatus.

Key Words: Spatial Policy, Underdevelopment, Local Power, Urban Planning, Public/Private Partnership;

BACKGROUND

Relations between urbanization growth after Industrial Revolution and capitalist society evolution have proved that contrary interests of productive forces are clearly manifested when it comes to the production of space. The State role, means and end of dominant class hegemony, in promotion and assessing urban development, guarantees material conditions to the breeding of capitalist relationships and its actions. When implementing physical infrastructure, it upholds the ascendancy

of the dominating class under the primacy market unification A “normal” relation of power between social classes and its spatial expression presents particularities in the Brazilian case. Whereas European and North American Capitalism consolidate from the XIX century on the relations between bourgeoisie and proletariat, the dominating class increases manufactured goods import and exports tropical produce made by slave labor force linked to foreign capital, in contraposition to an autonomous industrialization. Brazilian model did not generate a dominating class as European or North-American: It gave birth to elite that preserves its internal bases and relation of power which hinder internal capitalism development (SCHIFFER, 1989).

Such model, which also serves the international capitalism needs for reproduction, blocks sound development of productive forces for part of the surplus is not reincorporated to the internal amplified reproduction. This process is named hindered accumulation (DEÁK, 1989) and ensures national elite hegemony, restricts internal market to demands so that it demands its own preservation that perpetuates Brazilian underdevelopment. Brazilian elite society, contrary to “classical” bourgeois society, needs not to high ten labors’ level of subsistence, and thus justifies the need for giving minimal conditions to workforce reproduction. The fast and intense Brazilian urbanizing process unveils the unbalance between spaces in the logics of spatial manifestation of its capitalist relations: on the one hand one finds plenty infrastructure and, on the other hand, the omission of the state in needy areas. It prioritizes the production of space to the elites’ convenience, which means, for instance, road system, transports or opportunities to the real estate market. The rupture of such dynamics as well as the denial of our underdevelopment is stalled by domination strategies used by the elites in economic, institutional and ideological dimensions. Recent data typifies the model of Brazilian Capitalist Development, which roughly promotes in historical series the increase of GNP, despite not distributing income in a homogeneous fashion:

Insert Table 1 here

This dynamics invigorates in the ever growing Brazilian “globalization”. The premises to understand this process take us back to the Keynesian State in the 1970s, which in Brazil was translated by the pulling down of the development policy promoted by the State adopted from mid XX century and the commitment with its false intentions of social protection network. This policy’s financing has suffered its main setbacks when fixed taxes were altered into fluctuation taxes as concerns the payment of the principal and Brazilian External Debt during the 1970s and 1980s. The rupture of this pattern has boosted up an intense transferring of exchange reserves and Brazilian

trade funds to rebuild of internal reserves of international creditors. The possible step on this financing has happened mostly through the emission of coins and capture of internal market funds by offering high interest taxes. This resource was one of the causes of the deep inflationary process of the period and its claim by the elite, historically attached to the international capital, would outline the economic policy from the available capital to the external debt payment and not through a macro-economic project of internal capitalism development. Whether the last action would come true, it would signal a rupture not only with hindered accumulation, but also with the interests of the dominating class. The policies pointed out in the emblematic Washington Consensus (1989) have conditioned the international financial cooperation to the opening of financial market and employment, privatization of state-owned companies and public services, commercial opening and inflation control at any cost, be this the increase of wages and salaries flattening or a definitive commitment with the Brazilian development model. (BATISTA, 1994).

From a seducing discourse of “administrative modernity” or “State inefficiency”, this liberal shock - named Neo-liberalism - has guaranteed the preservation of this elite and of this model associated with the international capital in a lot less favorable bases in the internal market, both due to the reduction of state and national private capital and due to the meaningful growth of foreign capital (GORENDER, 2000). The adoption of neo-liberal policies has produced middle-of-the-road results to social development, like deepening income concentration, crystallization of a cast of miserable and levels of social tension, unemployment, criminality never seen before. Neo-liberal urbanism has adhered to “new concepts” that incorporate the private logics in the public agenda by means of the urging challenge of enabling the city in an artificial and scenographic fashion to the plain reproduction of the capital or yet, the “global city”. Public managers in the 1990s concentrated public investments in areas of interest of private capital and attempted at hiding the spatial striking of social classes’ conflicts. The “paradigm of modernity” would be the opening of spaces to the market, economic dynamism as a precondition to life quality and security, consume and culture investments as attractions to new economic enterprises.

RESTRICT REACH OF MUNICIPAL POWER

The Federal Constitution of 1990 and the 1990s’ neo-liberalism have stood for the partial increase of municipalities autonomy and broadcasted their illusions of solving structural and conjectural matters by the appropriation of words that derived from the free translation of technical manuals of international agencies of foment, like, for example, “local power”, “actors” or “strategic planning”.

The opposition to the State weakening, facing a possible “minimal” State has turned out as the mistaken overvaluation of municipal power through restricted ends in limits of federative arrangements and some of its consequences, like, for example the fiscal war, namely the Law of Fiscal Responsibility or City decree. This last federative pact consolidates an unequal division of power amongst confederated elements, reaffirms regional disparity and privileges territorial regions, not taking into account the number of inhabitants and its distribution in the territory:

Insert Table 2 here

The fake autonomy of cities/municipalities discloses not only in the increase of federal and state funds to municipal districts in insufficient values to the thorough fulfillment of the decentralization of responsibilities and competences of Union and States, but also in the stimuli to the multiplication of small cities, which are favored by the mandatory transference of funds and consequently harm to more complex demands from the most densely inhabited cities. The open prohibition in the National Tax Code, legal piece from the mid 1900s, about the municipal competence when creating or suppressing taxes simply confirms the lack of autonomy. Such distortions also stimulate a predatory competition both amongst states and municipalities, where fiscal concessions, credit, infra-structure and state or city legislation would attract new enterprises. The policy of this so-called “fiscal war” (PIANCASTELLI, 2004) in short-term basis attracts new investments to states and municipalities to supply the current demands from the same investments: Housing to workers, schools, health, transport, sanitation amongst others. The approval of Fiscal Responsibility Law restricts even more municipal autonomy. The object of this law is the mandatory severe balance between revenue and expenses. Thus city halls cannot, for instance, have non-predictable expenses to minimize effects of natural disasters of tax advances to future receipt as a strategy aiming at the municipal development.

This law determines the harsh composition of long-term municipal budget with mandatory expenses approved by the Legislative Power in a pluriannual plan. Such plan, on its turn, has a strict relation with the new modality of the directive plan, established by the City Statute, for all these proposed urban actions are foreseen in the municipal budget. In spite of its importance as a municipal public tool to the management and intervention of private property, the role of the City Statute (EC) is very limited as in contraposition to the dominating interest. Amongst the predicted tools are the possibilities of increasing in property related taxes to the sub used buildings, the individualization between the estate and buildings or the municipal public power preference to acquire urban real

estate. However the City Statute has not foreseen the transference of estate to public areas occupied by the needy population, or still, controlling ways to prevent private valuation of public infrastructure. It has not discussed the complexity of interests of the many agents involved in the dynamics of profiting over the land, like for example, the city halls, the owners, the builders, the promoting agents as a whole, the investors etc.

One of the main tools is the *Urban and Interconnected Operations* and their “called for” partnerships with the public power and the private initiative. In short, they intended to provide public infrastructure through private initiative by replacing the legalization of liberalities in the real estate market. The Interconnected Operations would allow a few interventions in some areas of interest of the real estate market not considering their impact over the previously installed infrastructure. This will generate great public investments to compose new demands. The Urban Operations, public-private partnerships in perimeters determined by the real estate dynamics, expanded the possibility of change in the zoning through the sales of constructing potential above the allowed in its perimeter. Therefore they enabled the financing of such predicted contract jobs and services or yet the transferring of such potential to other areas of the city. In order to enable these partnerships there must be areas of interest to the real estate market and with preliminary public investments to the consolidation of valuation perspectives. That is to say that in this partnership just the public power loses (FIX, 2001). The main motto of the defenders of these partnerships would be their self-financing, in other words, the private capital allows the investment in reordering or large areas “freeing” the public power to invest in needy areas, a speech that has touched progressive and conservative governments from all Brazil. This dynamics is in favor of the “status quo” and deviates from the central point of the discussion, the issue of social classes in Brazil.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF GREAT ABC FROM THE MID 1970S

The income and wealth conversion in a few geographic areas, represented by the regional concentration of Brazilian industrialization in Sao Paulo State until mid 1970s, the economic and spatial inequalities concerning the Brazilian population distribution, or yet, the maintenance of the minimal conditions to the labor force reproduction are features of Brazilian Capitalist Model. The dismounting of this model, called industrial deconcentration, has regarded Sao Paulo as an area of decompression or contention over which efforts should be made to prevent excessive growth (EMPLASA, 1994). In this context, the role of the State in Sao Paulo’s Metropolitan Region

industrial deconcentration was mostly efficient: The State put together from incentives to the installation of new enterprises in the inland of the state and taking the red tape to the expansion of industrial activity, like environmental issues or rigid zoning to regional infrastructure implementation. This set of actions promoted by the Brazilian State, which has altered the economic development map of the greatest industrial park of the south hemisphere, has turned out as no improvement in the conditions of labor force reproduction.

Setting up of the industrial capital in the southeast sub-region of Sao Paulo Metropolitan Region, known as Great ABC, with around 2,3 million inhabitants, characterized as the most important South America's industrial pole, was deeply impacting: Apart from the aforementioned restrictions, about 56% of the territory is located in an environmentally-sensitive area and, therefore, highly restrictive to the implementation of industrial activity. One of its city districts, Santo André, offered excellent territorial advantages in the period between 1920 and 1990 to the implementation and development of industrial activity. There were large empty areas, the railway connection with Santos Port, one of the main trading port of Latin America, abundant electric energy, closeness to Sao Paulo's markets, qualified work force and still, physical continuity of Sao Paulo City industrial expansion. These activities take place in Tamanduatehy River Valley, which crosses not only Santo André but also Mauá, Sao Caetano do Sul and Sao Paulo cities. Industrial deconcentration has brought off to the city great underused industrial hangars in areas with great infrastructure, the fall of the level and employment quality as well as the expansion of areas to low-income housing, mainly in areas of environmental protection protected against industrial expansion, but not controlled as for illegal squatting. On the other hand, the restructuring of productivity and the adoption of neo-liberal policies in the 1990s, like the opening to imports and the new rules of competition in the global market has fostered in industrial base of Santo André a dramatic increase of productivity in the remaining industries. They began to produce more with a reduced work force. Still in this period, many segments of the industrial sector have undergone adjustments and restructurings, which grossly speaking included downsizing, the adoption of new processes and production techniques. This process, a lot closer to the transformation of industry than the expanded industrial evasion, is the new paradigm to the deepening of accumulation process.

The decrease of industrial base and the change in productive processes in the Great ABC have decreased the level of industrial employment in the period from 1988 to 1999 around 31,5%, in other words, more than 100,000 ex-factory (ANAU, 2001). Moreover, the reduction of industrial activity relative weight did not mean an expansion of the qualified tertiary sector, like for example,

the company commands, planning of new products of financial management. On the contrary, there was a growth in the number of sector services of low-qualification in commerce and services. The misfortunes caused by the consequences of industrial evacuation have had the aftermath, to the public service, of digging out the demand to housing to low-income class, urban infrastructure, sanitation, draining, health, education, and yet, has increased the high levels of unemployment and urban violence. In the Great ABC, the political powers are misled when they search for alternatives to reduce the outcomes of this wicked model instead of facing up its real causes.

TAMANDUATEHY AXLE PROJECT

Industrial deconcentrations together with productive restructuring have changed the production profile in Tamanduatehy River Axle. The attempt to reverse this process was induced by Santo André City Hall by means of the creation of a project on urban prequalification that would lead up to the economic reconversion of the municipality. The proposal named TAMANDUATEHY AXLE PROJECT “Projeto Eixo Tamanduatehy” (PET), officially launched in 1997, envisaged the implementation of 12 sqm of new economic, cultural and social enterprises through integrated actions amongst the municipal public power, private initiative and sound institutions from the civil society. It hinted the inexistence of conflicts and convergence of interests. This policy was based on the set of political actions and public policies implemented in Barcelona between 1983 and 1995, period in which Jordi Borja, one of the consultants hired by Santo André City, occupied directive positions in the Town Hall of Barcelona. This attempt to transpose identical diagnosis amongst different realities has lead on the urbanistic PET ideality by bringing to the Great ABC agenda lots of news such as city webs, public-private partnership, strategic planning, actors, city marketing, eventually the illusion of municipal autonomy as a way of solving economic and social problems.

Municipal Administration has hired four urbanistic studies, three of which were coordinated by European architects (Joan Busquets, Eduardo Leira and Christian de Portzamparc), consorted with Brazilian teams, and the Brazilian team coordinated by the urbanist architect C. M. Campos Filho. The generated products, a great quantity of urban drawing, foresaw, amongst other proposals, the valuation of metropolitan positioning of Tamanduatehy River, better connections with airports and the Port of Santos, valuation of railway transport to cargo and passengers, new agrarian arrangements, benchmarks, culture centers, green areas, incentive to mingle of social classes, *stimuli* to new economic activities, entertainment and housing. The value to the implementation of any of these projects in the 2001 would be approximately 1.5 billion dollars, almost fourfold the

annual budget revenue in the period, according to poll made by Santo André Town Hall Urban Projects Department (DPU/PMSA).

With this distant horizon the technical team of PET has developed a summarized project that would propose a review in depth of the road system, a special relationship between the railway and the surrounding areas, beside the new public and private enterprises strategically distributed in the vale to induce the movement of urban renewing by real estate market. Such revision has incorporated partnerships that had been previously working together but has not addressed urban actions to existing frailties in housing, sanitation, draining and transport.

In the beginning of 2002 a new managerial team has dismantled the expectations as illusion of “advanced tertiary”, a current speech in a region where hard industry reproducer of international technologies or presumption of a new “regional centrality” that is, a lot closer to an ideal model than its reach and possibilities. The motto of this revision was the concept of “including and participative” urbanism, in other words, urban requalification through collective processes and discussion. This speech has been limited not only by the opposing internal views of administrative segments, but also by the hard enabling of popular participation either due the lack of interest in implementing a managerial group and popular disillusion because generated funds in the partnerships have not met popular demands. The implementation, even to the most modest proposal that this revision had outlined, would need external funds. This revision has also upheld the demystification of municipal autonomy both in the generation of jobs and income, and it has demonstrated that apart from a few fiscal advantages, the city could do little to maintain and attract productive activities. The housing provision, transport and physical infrastructure are actions that mean a state policy and the municipality, on its turn, has little scope of action. The failure of a boastful alternative to urban policy was a mistake that would come out in conflicts and red tape in urban legislation, institutional apparatus, funding and fund management.

Over the fragmentation in urbanistic legislation, the incompatibility, uses and indexes of neighboring cities would hamper the necessary regional focus. Santo Andre’s Urban Legislation is formed by a list of countless decrees and laws unrelated to the improvement of urban quality. The regulation of a few irregular situations happens through the urbanistic uses and indexes authorized by means of encumbering grants, getting to the point in which allotments have precise and distinctive indexes of their surrounding areas. In the same fashion, it was approved between 2001 and 2002 a set of laws that authorized industrial, commercial activities, services rendering or

housing of social interest in all territory of the municipality facing encumbering grants. The daily conflicts amongst the municipal, state and federal legislations would be expressed not only in the restrictive industrial zoning of the metropolitan area, which stands for 75% of PET area and the permissive municipal legislation, but also in regulation of public records exchange or donation of areas between the public power and private initiative. This last painful ritual, before accomplished, would hinder the adequate charge of municipal taxes and the complete use of the remaining area. Besides, red tape, funding and management of funds would also present their uniqueness, for there has never been a permanent source of funds or a special budgeting. PET used scattered public and private funds. Public investments were concentrated in the poor recovery of road infrastructure, micro-drainage, public lightening, and recovery of gardens and squares. On top of that, a federal program has addressed scant funds to the low-income housing. The main source of funds was the encumbering grants of certain changes in uses and indexes of urban legislation in force since the industrial peak. Such changes would meet an emerging real estate market to the implementation of commercial and services activities. Moreover they would evidence the municipal public power complicity, absent to financially fund real estate valuation. Other frail points were the valuation of balancing items and the destination of funds generated by the encumbering grants; the inexistence of a single methodology to be adopted to the investigation of balancing items values; deadlines to urbanistic liberality or to the execution of balancing items by the entrepreneurs.

In spite of all this and regardless of irregularities in funding admission, from mid 1998s this auxiliary source has represented, in approximated values, around 2,5% of total budgetary revenue. The inconsistencies of management and destination of generated funds reveal that the private funds invested in new enterprises is far greater than the values of balancing items invested in the public *res*, that would hardly achieve 7% of the total value of the enterprise (DPU/PMSA). The comparison amongst the generated funds and their specific destination demonstrate that a meaningful part of the funds (97,5%) was reinvested in the very enabling of the enterprise, reproducing the classical *modus operandi* or Urban Operations that belong to the neo-liberal Brazil. There was no particular municipal policy concerning the social destination of at least part of funds generated in the balancing items. This unbalance translates a basic conflict when it comes to the dynamics of partnerships between the public power and the private initiative: The transferring of private funds to public actions is deeply rooted to the very enabling of private investment. Around 20% or PET territory would present accomplished interventions or in progress, even with the generation of lower qualification and remuneration jobs when compared to industrial employment of past decades in commercial and services activities. The remaining industrial base has updated

technologies of production and management, thus increasing productivity. Therefore this first stage is not a consequence of its conception but a consequence of the productive restructuring itself.

PET model of urbanistic implementation opposes its international references, for there was no precise boundary of the territory, subsidized credit lines to private intervention, significant changes in urban legislation or hard investment in infrastructure. This contraposition has not represented an alternative model, as the enterprises which were implemented or in process of implementation were specific and have empowered the existing infrastructure conditions since the beginning of the industrial cycle. Moreover the enterprises would not present physical continuity, perennial resources or a basic project of urban design. The real estate dynamics in the first years of PET and the consequent generation of funds and balancing items would not grant continuity. There has never been a particular program that would follow through the impact of new interventions in the immediate surrounding areas or municipality, either by monitoring possible impacts generated in real estate market, or still, in the relations of a considerable commercial enterprise in the micro-economy of the district. Due to hardships faced by the Town Hall, the attendance of works and services in public areas was superficially done. Eventually, it was a victim of real estate market logics.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The possible dynamics of PET implementation, the initial evaluated results prove that the Brazilian municipality does not have competence not ability to implement urbanistic plans to public and private investment that aim at economic development with social and environmental equity. Municipal autonomy that can be seen in PET opposes, in an illusory fashion, to restrictions to internal market expansion, to the raise of a national bourgeoisie and the minimal conditions of labor force reproduction, consolidated elements in the breeding process of Brazilian society. Such contextualization gives reason for its conceptual weakness in the paradox relation between an official speech – alternative urban politics that aggregate improvements in local social-economic indicators – and the profile of actions and interventions made, which are both subordinated to private initiative vindications incorporated to the public agenda and the logics of a market limited to the demands and deepening of national elite's hegemony. The double generating motto of PET, or yet, the official response to impacts caused by industrial deconcentration and productive restructuring of municipal industrial park, took as reference the reproduction of foreign models of the 1980s, which sought to promote urban development to catalyze economic growth and social

welfare. This model, condemned in its essence due to its simple transposition, would not spot that the supply of physical infrastructure of most important countries is a material condition to the maintenance of the bourgeois state. In Brazil, Capitalism and bourgeoisie have never assumed the classical forms, so there is no interest from national elites to promote infrastructure actions that points towards the restriction of their *status quo* maintenance.

Another paradox is the uncomfortable adoption of urbanistic principles that reinforce Brazilian Neo-liberalism concealed in speeches that value municipal autonomy when solving structural and conjectural issues. To the Brazilian municipality, the one and only alternative to the ever social-economic deepening in neo-liberalism is restricted to broaden alleviating measures, which are ineffective and burdensome to municipal finances, like assistance programs in the housing area that carry on the low level of work force. This attitude, inexistent redemption, does not subvert Brazilian State ideology and reaffirms the extremely comfortable situation of Brazilian domineering elites. It carries on the reproduction of the model in which a significant part of the surplus is constantly taken, not being incorporated to the amplified reproduction and therefore restricting the development of internal productive forces. The striking of neo-liberal concepts in PET is evident: Urban marketing, the possibilities of sales and territorial advantages to the real estate market, the public-private partnerships, the adoption of business strategic planning, the social armistice in the context of City Company and its subordination and intervention in favor of the market. The outcome in terms of accumulation are reflected in the ambiguous and fragmented municipal urbanistic legislation, in the limited financing in places where the real estate dynamics allow it or in the sophisticated tools and human management techniques that cannot offer conditions of contra posing the logics of national elites. Therefore the State surrenders to an uncomfortable and concealed parsimony.

The State sets up physical infrastructure to ensure the reproduction of accumulation according to the dominating elite's convenience. The restricted possibilities the Brazilian municipality has when implementing urbanistic plans deepens the social economic differences instead of placing a desired contraposition to the Brazilian State developing model. According to this evidence, PET does not represent a possibility of execution to this developing model. Therefore the neo-liberal managerial management has assumed business like behavior towards its economic development and attainment of positive goals. Urban administration has taken as reference principles of private economy and their performances has been measured by its capacity of wealth generation and establish competences to obtain goods and services. Thus it has assumed scenographic features to attract new

enterprises and hide existing conflicts in the territory. The municipalities compete to attract new private investment by prioritizing regulatory actions, offering rewards and public funds to development of the necessary infrastructure. In this sense, the partnerships between the public and private power are essential conditions to the urban entrepreneurship. The logics of providing infrastructure through partnerships can only be made true in case it guarantees profitability to private initiative as well as the preservation of political supremacy. Such effective possibility in the bourgeois state becomes perverse in a context that limits expansion of productive forces, which is composed by extremely needy population. That being so, the public-private partnership model in a reality of restrictive accumulation gives ground to the unremitting reproduction of capitalist relations that remain.

To reflect over the reach of urban revitalization municipal plans as inducers of urban growth and social equity means to think in a unified national market – urbanism is one of its faces – that supports an unopposed accumulation process under the light of a state that may intervene in the organization of production and render infrastructure. This context of free development of productive forces takes us back to the need of an increase in work productivity and in the level of sustainability of its population. The possible actions to the Brazilian municipality, in present conditions, do not present political density to question the reproduction of capitalist relations in Brazil as well as its inferences concerning the production of space.

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Table 1: Brazil at a glance - 1994-04

<i>Average growth per year</i>	%
GNP	2,1
GNP per capita	0,8
Population	1,2
Population under poverty line (<i>in 2004</i>)	22
Urban Population (<i>in 2004</i>)	83

Source: From The World Bank Group, 2005;

Table 2: Brazil: Regional distribution, geographic area, GNP, population (in %)

Regions	Área	GNP (1996)	Population
North	41,8	5,1	6,3
Northeast	18,5	13,5	28,9
Southeast	10,8	58,0	42,7
South	6,7	15,8	15,1
Middle East	22,2	7,3	7,0

Source: apud Abrúcio, Soares (2001);

Traffic or Glory: Cross National Transfer of Capital City Planning Ideas in the Twentieth Century

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The design and development of new capital cities was a significant task in twentieth century urban planning. New capital cities were often 'big plans' that required mobilization of political support, vast financial resources and urban design talent (Gottmann 1983; Vale 1993; van Schouten 1993; Hall 1997; *GeoJournal* 2000; Dubé and Gordon 2000; Almandoz 2002; Hein 2004). Capital city planning has gradually emerged as a distinct type of planning activity, and has begun to attract scholarly attention (Taylor et al 1993; IPHS 1996).

This article reviews the cross-national transfer of planning ideas for capital cities during the twentieth century. The research method for this study was a comparison of sixteen longitudinal case studies of the planning and development of capital cities, prepared by an international team of scholars (Gordon 2006). A capital city was defined as the seat of government for a nation-state, province or supra-national organization like the United Nations or the European Union. A typological framework developed by Sir Peter Hall was used to select and classify the sixteen cases, which included Berlin, Brasilia, Brussels, Canberra, Chandigarh, Dodoma, Helsinki, London, Moscow, New Delhi, New York, Ottawa, Paris, Rome, Tokyo and Washington. Hall's framework was especially useful since it compared the planning histories of the capitals, rather than their urban histories (Hall 2000).

Several of the ancient capitals reviewed in the research represent hundreds of years of incremental urban growth (London, Paris, Rome, Delhi) but most current capital cities became the seat of government of a nation-state during the twentieth century. The development of many of these capitals was influenced by modern planning ideas that began to blossom in a burst of ideas from 1890 to 1914 (Sutcliffe 1984; 1981; 1979; Hall 2002; 1998) and crossed the Atlantic as part of the general transfer of social reform ideas in that period (Rodgers 1998: ch.1). Stephen Ward has provided a thorough description of how these planning traditions diffused through the advanced capitalist world in the twentieth century (Ward 2002).

Ward's model of the diffusion of planning (see Table 1) differentiates between types of "borrowing" (synthetic; selective; undiluted) and plans that were forms of "imposition" (negotiated; contested; authoritarian). In synthetic borrowing, the role of indigenous planners is very high and the external role is minimal. The 1944 Greater London Plan, the 1956 Brasilia plan or the 1965 Paris SDAURP regional plan are examples where indigenous planners played dominant roles in creating and implementing innovative capital city plans. New Delhi's 1913 plan would be at the other extreme, as an example of authoritarian imposition of an external planning tradition by an imperial power (Irving 1981; Joardar 2006).

Most twentieth century capital city planning could be classified as some form of undiluted or selective borrowing, using Ward's framework. Since most new capitals were created by the formation of a new nation-state, these cities had somewhat more choice of

planning models than previous colonial settlements. Yet even relatively developed countries like Australia and Canada often lacked the specialised urban design and planning expertise to create a memorable capital city during the early twentieth century, so some borrowing was common. But there was wider variation in the implementation of the plans, and this is where the foreign models often ran into trouble, especially if they were far from their cultural homes. Although the smaller European countries and the British dominions engaged in selective or undiluted borrowing for their preparation of their plans, they retained control over implementation, smoothing the fit of the foreign models into the local context. In contrast, Le Corbusier and his cousin Pierre Jeanneret were intimately involved in the implementation of Chandigarh's government and residential development, and permitted little deviation from their Modernist vision (Evenson 1966; Kalia 1999; Perera 2006).

European Urbanism as a model

As several observers have noted, most countries have borrowed a limited range of options for capital city planning, with Beaux Arts Paris, garden cities and Modernist Brasilia as archetypes (Rapoport 1993; Vale 2006; Taylor and Andrew 2006). The unusual requirements of symbolic content and representation in capital city planning gave some early priority to the urban design innovations from the Beaux Arts tradition. But the dominance of *urbanisme* as a model for early twentieth century capital planning was sealed by Paris' position as the epitome of urban sophistication in 1900 (Sutcliffe 1970; 1993; Hall 1998 ch. 6 & 24). Although Haussmann had resigned some thirty years previously, the transformation of Paris remained the paradigm in capital city planning for the first half of the twentieth century.¹ Many plans for other national capitals followed its traditions (see figure 1) and some were prepared by graduates of the Ecole de Beaux Arts itself (Gournay 1999).

Beaux Arts influence upon Washington's 1902 McMillan Commission plan occurred both directly and indirectly. Of course, L'Enfant's original 1792 plan was influenced by the capital of his homeland, but his Washington plan had almost been abandoned a century later (Gournay 2006). In the late 19th century, an influential group of American-born designers rediscovered European urbanism, first coming to prominence as the designers of Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition (WCE). Although the fair's chief planner, Daniel Burnham, was not a graduate of the Ecole de Beaux Arts, he associated with several graduates of the famous Parisien school for most of his urban design projects.² After their appointment to the Senate Parks Commission for Washington, Burnham led Charles McKim and F.L. Olmsted Jr. on a whirlwind tour of Paris and Rome. Many photographs of European precedents illustrated their 1902 report (Moore 1902).

Paris and Washington certainly influenced the pre-World War I capital city plans for Canberra, New Delhi and Ottawa. The 1902 Washington plan and Burnham and Bennett's 1908 *Plan of Chicago* were heavily promoted within the US, and well-known abroad (RIBA 1911). Christopher Vernon has noted the influence of Washington and Chicago on Walter

¹ In addition to the cities studied in this research, Paris was also the most important precedent for the planning of Latin American capitals in the early twentieth century. Arturo Almandoz reports that several prominent French urbanistes contributed to the planning of Buenos Aires (Bouvard 1907), Rio (Agache 1926), Havana (Forestier 1926) and Caracas (Rotival 1930s); see Almandoz (2002), Ch. 1. The book was originally sub-titled "Paris Goes West"; see Sutcliffe's foreword, pp. vii-viii; for Rotival, see Hein (2002).

² Richard Morris Hunt and Charles F. McKim of the WCE Board attended the Ecole, and Burnham hired Edward H. Bennett as a collaborator for his San Francisco and Chicago plans. See Hines (1974); Moore (1921). For the influence of Ecole de Beaux Arts in America, see Gournay (1999).

Burley Griffin's 1912 Canberra plan (Vernon 2006: 133-5). Edwin Lutyens brought plans of Paris and Washington to Delhi to assist in the 1913 designs of the imperial capital (Irving 1981). The first two plans for Canada's capital were prepared by Frederick Todd, who trained in Olmsted's office and by Burnham's associate, Edward H. Bennett Both used Paris and Washington precedents in their reports (Todd 1903; Canada FPC 1916; Gordon 1998; 2002). Bennett later chaired the design committee for Washington's Federal Triangle (Tompkins 1992).

Other capital cities were influenced by different varieties of European urban design. Ende and Böekmann's 1886 plan for Tokyo's Government Quarter appears to combine German and French design elements (Watanabe 2006:102-3). The 1908-1910 Berlin planning competition and exhibition attracted leading European urban designers, like France's Jaussey, and further publicised the work of German urbanists (Sonne 2000).³ Helsinki's 1915 (Jung) and 1918 (Saarinen) plans extended the city's nineteenth century traditions with a sophisticated awareness of other European precedents (Klinge and Kolbe 1999; Kolbe 2006).

Perhaps the last of the capital city plans to be directly influenced by the urbanist tradition was the 1950 *Plan for Canada's Capital* prepared by Ecole des Beaux Arts graduate Jacques Gréber and Canadian associates. The urban design proposals in the plan were classically composed, but this was a transitional plan, promiscuously borrowing from American parks system planning, CIAM and City Efficient functional planning, and from the 1944 *Greater London Plan* for its greenbelt (Gréber 1950; Gordon 2001; Gournay 2001).

The Beaux Arts/City Beautiful tradition influenced capital city planning throughout the first half of the twentieth century because it was a proven model for dealing with capital city elements like a capitol complex, monuments and public spaces (Vale 2006:36). But the model was a bit tired by mid-century and severely tainted by its association with totalitarian regimes in Germany, Italy and Russia. It was largely replaced by plans based upon ideas from the Garden City movement and Modern architecture.

The Garden City Model

The British garden city/garden suburb tradition played a major role in the metropolitan regional planning of many capital cities. The international influence of this model is well documented (Stein 1951; Watanabe 1992; Ward 1994; Hall 2003:ch 4). Letchworth, Welwyn Garden City and Hampstead Garden Suburb were followed by the Parisien cité-jardins (garden suburbs), Ottawa's Lindenlea (1919)⁴ and the garden city elements of Semionov's 1935 Moscow plan (Lang and Rapoutov 1996; Ward 2002: 96-7). Early American variations included important New York precedents from Olmsted and Atterbury's 1911 Forest Hills Gardens (Klaus 2002) and Stein and Wright's 1926 Radburn (Stein 1951:ch. II). These projects influenced the 1926-30 *Regional Plan for New York* and the Greenbelt new towns, but more importantly, they developed Clarence Perry's

³ Karl Brunner later prepared plans for Santiago (1933), Panama City (1941) and Bogotá (1940s), see Almandoz (2002), pp. 37-38; while Hermann Jansen was consultant to Madrid (1930) and Ankara (1932), see Ward (2000) p. 5.

⁴ Lindenlea garden suburb was designed by Thomas Adams, former corporate secretary of Letchworth Garden City; see Simpson (1985); Delaney (1991).

neighbourhood unit concept, which quickly spread to the residential plans of most national capitals and many other city plans (Perry 1929).

The most influential version of the garden city model was Patrick Abercrombie's (1945) *Greater London Plan*. This was a full realisation of Ebenezer Howard's "Social Cities" regional scheme with a greenbelt and satellite new towns (Howard 1898; Hall and Ward 1998). Stein took the neighbourhood unit back across the Atlantic to Stevenage new town (Parsons 1992) and a powerful regional planning paradigm was complete: greenbelts, radial transportation corridors and new towns with residential areas developed in neighbourhood units. The new town designed with neighbourhood units became a common theme for greenfield political capitals like Chandigarh (1950), Brasilia (1956), Canberra (1970) and Dodoma (1976) (figure 1).

Important metropolitan-scale planning variations on garden city / new town themes quickly emerged in capital cities such as Helsinki (1946), Ottawa (1950), Washington (1961), and Paris (1965).⁵ Most of these plans appear to be undiluted or selective borrowing, according to Ward's classification, but the 1965 Paris SDAURP plan was a distinctive synthesis of international regional planning theory and practice (Ward 2002: ch. 12; Hall 2003: 344-7).⁶

The garden city/new town tradition provided a template for mid-twentieth century metropolitan planning that was useful in capital city planning. The model provided important precedents for dealing with the everyday lives of urban dwellers – residential areas, greenbelts and open space, transportation and service centres. But these are the elements of cities that are found in every urban area and the garden city model gives little guidance on the planning of the symbolic elements that are required for most capital cities. The garden city model was appealing as the major planning approach when the sponsoring political regime wishes to showcase planning for working class communities like communist Moscow in 1935 (Lang. and Rapoutov 1996; Lang 2006) and socialist Dodoma (Tanzania 1976). But even within these contexts, more attention to symbolic content was added to the plans. Stalin commissioned many monumental structures and new urban designers were commissioned to plan Dodoma's National Capital Centre and hilltop parliament (Rossant 1996). Setting a good example in planning the vernacular city is a laudable objective, but it appears that governments also want more visible and inspirational results if significant funds drawn from across the country are invested in the national capital.

The Modernist Model

In mid-century, the ideas of the Congrès Internationaux d' Architecture Moderne (CIAM) appeared to be fresh and democratic, especially compared to the excesses of the Beaux Arts tradition. Although the avant-garde Modern architects had built few major projects between the wars, they elaborated an urban planning model (the Athens Charter) that

⁵ Doxiadis' Islamabad plan would also appear to fit the new town /political capital mode, see Doxiadis (1965) ; Stockholm (1952) also appears to have been influenced by this metropolitan development model; see Hall (1998): ch. 27; A second generation of diffusion included the participation of Milton Keynes' planners in Nigeria's Abuja (1970s) and Australian planners in revising Dodoma's plan (1988); see Ward (2002) op. cit. and Overall (1995).

⁶ The Parisien planners later acted as consultants for the 1969 Buenos Aires plan and 1970s plans for Beirut, Tunis, Cairo and Phnom Penh; see Ward (2000) p. 10.

was intended to be widely applicable (Sert 1947; Mumford 2002). The CIAM's leader, Le Corbusier, had travelled widely and proposed visionary schemes for capital cities in Paris (1925), Buenos Aires (1929), Rio (1929) Algiers (1933) and Barcelona (1934). But all that came out of these efforts were some drawings admired in intellectual circles and collaboration on the design of Rio's 1936 Ministry of Education building with Lucio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer (Evenson 1973; Almandoz 2002).

Le Corbusier got his big break in capital city planning in 1947 when he was appointed to the Board of Design for New York's UN Headquarters, chaired by Wallace Harrison. Le Corbusier influenced the design process and developed a super-block plan with Brazil's Oscar Niemeyer (Dudley 1994; Birch 2006). Construction of the high profile project was complete by 1951, by which time Le Corbusier had already been appointed to replace Albert Mayer and the late Mathew Nowicki at Chandigarh. Le Corbusier quickly seized control of the Chandigarh planning process, changed the scale of Mayer's plan, and kept the design of the capital complex ("*la tête*") for himself (Perera 2004). The buildings were designed using the *modulor*, a system of proportions based upon the height of a European male, which had little to do with the women, or men, of India (Le Corbusier 1958:210-38; Evenson 1966). The dramatic design of the monumental complex attracted praise at first, but eventually the cultural and technical failings of the other elements of the plan drew strong criticism. But while Chandigarh's star was still bright, the Modern approach influenced other capitals in the sub-continent including Bhubaneswar and Gandhinagar in India (Kalia 1999:156-7), Doxiadis' Islamabad (Doxiadis 1966) and Kahn's Dhaka plans (Ahmed 1986; Goldhagen 2001).

Le Corbusier's Brazilian collaborators from Rio and the UN outshone their mentor. Niemeyer and Costa's Brasilia is the most influential Modern capital, and the only twentieth century plan on UNESCO's list of World Heritage sites. The monumental axis of the Pilot plan draws upon Beaux Arts planning principles, but the building and public spaces are thoroughly Modern (Evenson 1973; Bacon 1976; Vale 1993:155-7; Batista et al 2006). Brazil's new capital is a fine example of 'synthetic' borrowing within Ward's typology, with a dominant indigenous role in planning and implementation, based upon the country's well-developed traditions in Modern architecture.

Lawrence Vale (1993) describes several other Modern capital-capitol complexes in his book *Architecture, Power and National Identity*. The Modernist approach was the dominant design model for the monumental core of capital cities after 1950, but later examples began to attract criticism for their bombastic style, especially Wallace Harrison's Nelson Rockefeller Plaza for the New York state capital in Albany.

Traffic or Glory?

Another pattern in the evolution of plans for capital cities is the change in focus from symbolic content in the early phases to functional concerns, or from 'glory' to 'traffic' in Spiro Kostof's (1973) terms.⁷ The early plans for capital cities often emphasized elements with symbolic connections to the nation-state, such as parliament houses, official residences, memorials, monuments and cultural institutions. These concerns were often particularly

⁷ The author is indebted to Lawrence Vale for suggesting Kostof's dichotomy to organise this section and Figure 1.

evident in political capitals, where the city was founded to be the seat of government, such as Canberra or Brasilia.

As the new capital cities matured, their plans became less focused on ‘glory’ and more centred on solving the functional problems of a growing metropolis (see Figure 1). Efficient infrastructure was an important theme in later metropolitan planning schemes like Brasilia’s metropolitan planning (Batista et al 2006: 172-6); Brussels’ regional plans (Hein 2004; 2006:250); and Canberra’s 1970 ‘Y’ plan, which imported American transportation planning expertise (Australia 1970; Freestone 2004). And Delhi’s planning in the second half of the twentieth century has necessarily focused upon the problems caused by its explosive growth (Delhi 1990; Joardar 2006:189-92).

In comparison, the global capitals like London, Tokyo, New York and Paris, appear to have been out of the ‘glory’ business during the twentieth century, placing more emphasis on maintaining their dominance of advanced services that handle information and finance (Hall 2006). Planning in these cities often focused on regional infrastructure systems and specialized finance districts such as the City of London, Canary Wharf, the Rockefeller Center, Battery Park City and La Défense. Paris may have been a partial exception to this trend, as it also continued to emphasize its global role in culture, as symbolized by the *grand projets* (White 2006:50-55).

After metropolitan planning in capital cities devolved to regional and local governments, some political capitals once again focused upon symbolic content, especially for the districts near the capitol complexes. As the twentieth century closed, the ghost of Hitler’s Germania seems more faint in Washington, Ottawa and Canberra, which are re-planning the monumental cores of their capitals with selective borrowing from their Beaux Arts and City Beautiful past. Washington’s *Extending the Legacy* plan (US NCPC 1997) specifically recalls the 1902 McMillan Commission, Canberra’s National Capital Authority is focusing attention on Griffin’s Parliamentary Triangle and the *Plan for Canada’s Capital* (Canada 1999) contains several major projects near Parliament Hill.

Berlin, of course, must tread more carefully. It developed a practice of “critical reconstruction” – Modern buildings within a traditional framework of streets, blocks and public spaces. But for the government precinct, great care was taken not to invoke the ghosts of the past: the new buildings are Modern and the main axis runs east-west, rather than Speer’s 1940 over-scaled north-south plan (Sonne 2004; 2006). It is a bit early to tell, but Berlin’s careful reconstruction may also be an example of a distinctive plan produced by synthetic borrowing from a wide range of sources.

Avenues for diffusion of planning ideas

Diffusion of capital city planning ideas accelerated during the twentieth century, especially when compared to the sedate pace of change noted by Thomas Hall (1997) for European capitals in the 1800s. International competitions continued to be a useful method to import new planning ideas and foreign planners at the turn of the century, as seen in 1908 Berlin (Sonne 2000), 1912 Canberra (Reps 1997), 1915-18 Helsinki (Kolbe 2006) and other capital cities (Vacher 2004).

The early planners of Canberra, New Delhi and Ottawa were influenced by other precedents that were less than a decade old because new diffusion mechanisms emerged early

in the new century, with specialized international conferences and journals for planning. For example, the new journal *Town Planning Review* published many interesting designs from the 1910 RIBA international planning conference within the year and the instructions for the 1912 Canberra competition referred designers to the proceedings of that conference (Australia 1911: 9). And the new practice of presenting comprehensive plans as monographs, rather than exhibitions, meant that detailed information could be quickly disseminated to a wider global audience.⁸ Finally, the rise of international planning consultants (Agache; Le Corbusier; Doxiadis, Gréber; Holford; Mayer; Prost) accelerated the pace of diffusion by mid-century (Ward 2000). Abercrombie's 1944 *Greater London Plan* was influencing new capital city plans in Scandinavia and Canada even before its British implementation began in earnest.

By the end of the century, jet travel and advanced communications technology made international collaboration easier than ever before. Capital city planners can monitor the latest plan proposals in London, Lower Manhattan, and Canberra almost in real time. Reports, precedents, images and critiques that would have taken Walter Burley Griffin years to assemble tumble off a high-speed Internet connection.

And yet, although we are now buried in information, it seems like the pace of real innovation in capital city planning remains remarkably slow. The new Berlin is emerging from over a decade of national debate, local agitation, international competitions and adjustments during implementation. Its potential for a distinctive contribution to capital city planning rests on decades of post-war experiments, some distinguished competitions, and contributions from an engaged citizenry and a strong planning academy. In other words, its planning history contributes to its planning practice.

⁸ The 1908 Chicago plan may have been an early example of this trend, see Schlereth (1981); also, the 1944 *County of London Plan* was smuggled into Germany before the end of the war, to help guide reconstruction planning. See Ward (2002:160).

ANALYSIS ON THE CITYSCAPE STRUCTURE IN OSAKA ASSISTED BY GIS

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Keyword: GIS, Three Dimension, CG, Time-Space, Osaka

1. Introduction

It is considerable as a new method to analyze urban landscapes to use Geographic Information System; GIS on the huge data of real space. With the high spec machine, we can deal with huge database, which includes historical data, serial data and current data. In the future, it can be developed to deal with large database on normal machine. Meanwhile, it will be necessary the system to analyze on mainframe computer at the present day. It has to adapt the system for many places.

The method to extract the necessary data from large database has been analyzed, which is partitioned large database, and which is gathered the data for same scale. In this study, it clarifies the method to divide urban space quantitatively through analyzing the landscape is the ultimate purpose.

In the series of the studies, regarding the spatial characters influenced by the quantity and by the types of change, which is named the 'Nature of Time'; by analyzing the relationship between the change of space and image of residents has been clearly found. To find the method dividing the Time-Space, which is based on the human science and on the recognition science, will largely influence demonstrative studies.

The purpose of this study that is been basic technology to analyze the special quality, is as follows:

- To construct the database about real urban landscape
- To develop the system to divide the cityscape into structural layers

The study on the GIS is in progress taking the two dimensional space as an object. This study has two important points. One is the change of space, which means the four-dimensional space, will be determined. The other is the theory based on the edge of previous studies, as a part of studies by new conception called the 'Nature of Time', in which the many method has been used to analyze. This study is important to create new theory.

The four-dimensional space, which is described by the image of the residence, has not been studied without first author's studies 1. The technology of the GIS to analyze three-dimensional space has been also used in second author's papers, one of them is about historical space of Osaka City 2, and in which the view from moving train has been analyzed 3.

In this paper, the relationship between the eyesight and the angle of gaze are analyzed as an initial study. Secondly, the continuity of the figure from viewpoint is measured. As a hypothesis, it proved that three scale of view, which is as the method to extract the structural strata. Preliminary, the method is applied to Osaka City for further analysis.

2. Fundamentals

The angle of eyesight from viewpoint, based on human engineering, the heights of layers are examined in this chapter. The relationship between the angle of eyesight and the distance by medical science are analyzed. Based on these analyses, the quantities of distance are found as a hypothesis.

The method is based on the theory that has been studied previous studies 4, in which ordered the concepts of the sense, of the perception and of the cognition. Especially, the human eyesight is focused, about the view, the horizon and the distance.

2.1 The Angle of Eyesight

There are many unknown things about human sense, perception, and cognition in many study fields. It

is important that we have to clarify the position of study that the definition of word will be comes out. The word of 'eyesight' has many means, as a sense primitive, and as a physical phenomenon, absolutely, even the darkness and the colors that are related human perception. However there is no sufficient answer even how three-dimensional space could be perceived, it is necessary to use in this study as a system. One hypothesis on previous studies of many fields will be used to relate real urban space.

As an initial analysis, the angle of gaze from viewpoint, based on human engineering, the heights of the layers will be examined. In the analysis, not only the 'sense' based the single sensory organ, but also the process from 'perception' onwards 'recognition' will be dealt with.

Firstly, the theories about the system of an angle of view are gathered based on previous studies. Specially, the angles defined by the experiment in the previous studies are sorted (Fig. 1). The general sight, called the white sight is between fifty to sixty degrees in upper visual field, between seventy to eighty degrees in lower, and between one hundred to one hundred twenty-four degrees in horizontal. Meanwhile, as a perceptual field, an angle of depression as either forty or thirty-five degrees, and an angle of horizon as either ten to thirty or sixty degrees.

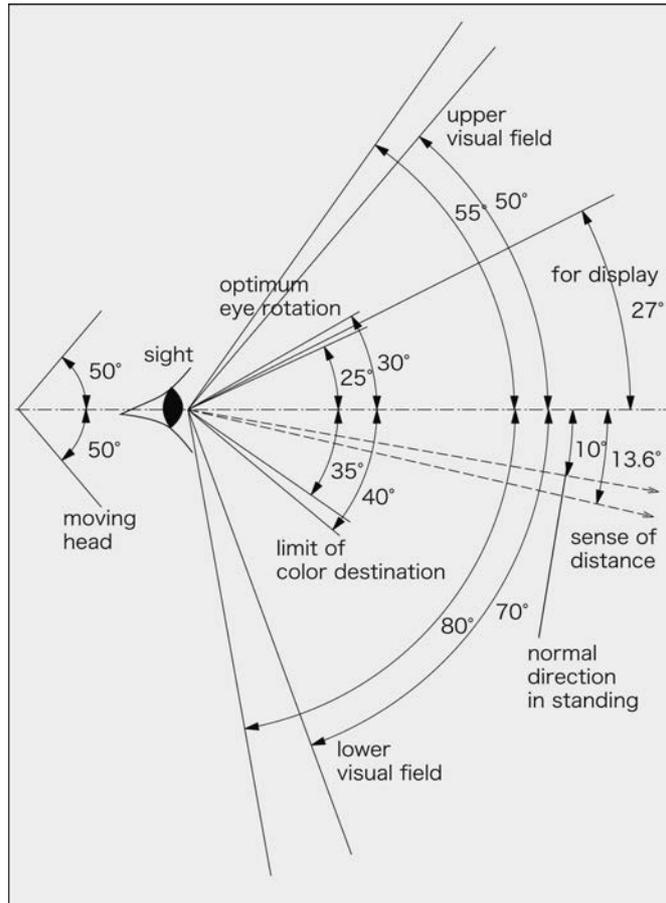


Fig.1 Angles of View

The ten degrees is as the normal direction in standing position for human (Fig. 1). It has been as the result of the experiments, exactly nine point four err one point five by Higuchi 5. The thirteen point six in the figure is interesting result of experiments, which are felt the same distance of the real and the feeling.

These results are based on the various experiments as well as theories established by the predecessors

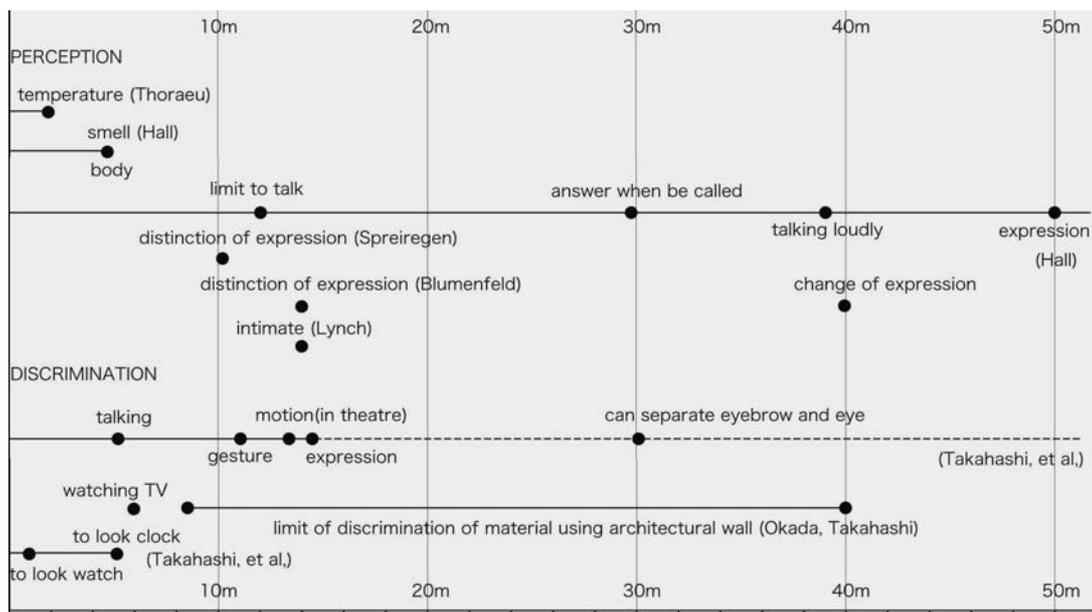


Fig.2 Perceptual Distances of Recognition

theories rested on the experiment 6. There are little differences among individuals' eyesight. We can just interpret the degrees of eyesight are almost same to presuppose in the study. In this study, the thirty degrees in upper visual field will use to make the layers, which is the degree by perception that has the relationship with the viewpoint of the series of studies.

2.2 Distance by Medical Science

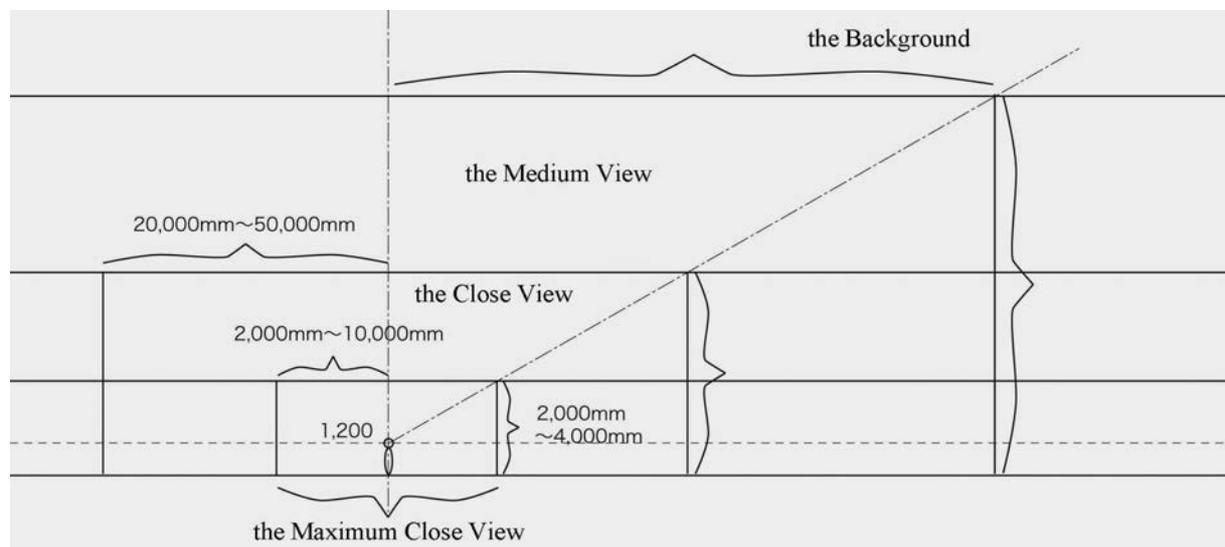
Secondly, the perceptual distances of recognition mentioned in the previous studies are summarized in figure (Fig. 2). The distances showed in the table are the results of experiments done in the previous studies. Not only the visual organ but also other senses such as auditory and smell are examined to define the perceptual distance. They are also showed in the table. Furthermore, psychological factor over the perceptual distances is regarded that this shall be taken into consideration when carrying out the further analysis.

Some significant numbers in the figure are approximately five meters for sensing smells, between ten to fifteen meters for regular conversation including expression notice, and watching images such as TV and clock, and over thirty meters for shouting.

2.3 Hypothesis

In this study, the hypothesis is set as in the figure based on the visual, the auditory and the smell as main organs (Fig.3). This tries to divide space into four layers considering both the three senses and background of human being. The first layer called 'maximum close view' with a height of four meters defined by the radius of five meters of perceptual distance circle with thirty degrees of angle of elevation from where human stands. The same procedure applied to define the second layer called 'close view', which has the height eighteen point five meters within the radius of thirty meters. The thousand meters is used to divide 'medium view' and 'background' since, the thousand meters is considered as the limit to recognize human existence by eye. The height is set as the five hundred and eighty meters for the 'medium view'. The last layer 'background' covers beyond the 'medium view'.

Based on the above-mentioned four hypothetical layers, the analysis will be undertaken as an example to extract the structural strata.

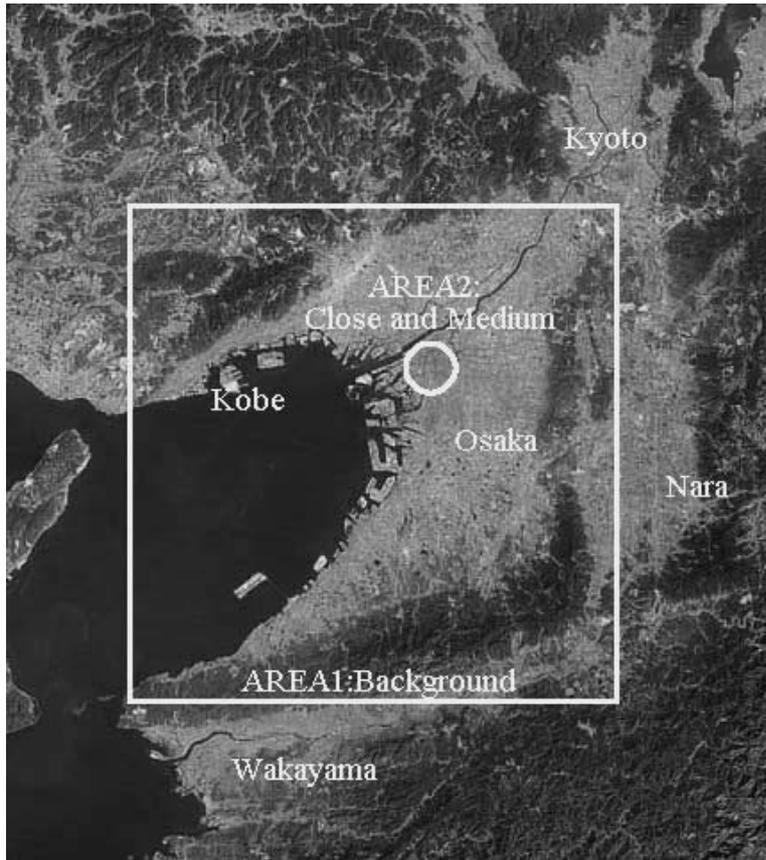


3. Osaka City: the Case Study Area

3.1 Sketch of Osaka City

Based on the hypothesis, the case study of Osaka City is analyzed (Fig. 4). Osaka City locates on the center of the Osaka Plain. The city has huge elements within the radius of the close view, and of the medium view. As the background, the city has mountains around. Moreover, it is important that the data could be obtained by field works, because of immediate area of us. On same reason, the ordinal data and the materials to make data can be obtained.

As shown in the figure, the small area (Area 2) to analyze the close view and the medium view are set



in the center of Osaka City. The data is set into particulars in this small area.

The background area (Area 1), which includes the Area2, has one thousand and eighty-eight square kilometers. The area sizes thirty-four kilometers from north to south and thirty-two kilometers from east to west. The population of Osaka Province, includes almost the area, is about eight million and eight hundred and seventeen thousand in 2005. In addition, there are three million and six hundred and fifty-two thousand households.

3.2 Construction of the Database

There are huge data available about Osaka after the modern times, which are the hardware like the geography and the software like the population. The basic data are the 'Geographic Information Map 25000' and the 'Geographic Information Map 2500' of the Geographical Survey Institute of Japan. Especially of the topography, the altitude data of fifty meters mesh

and of two hundred fifty meters mesh are used. They are made as the Digital Elevation Model: DEM. The population, the households, the workers, the earnings are also used based on the census and the research.

The problem of the database formulation is its cost. Especially the three dimensional data of, architecture and structure are costly in the ordinal condition. On the analysis in this paper, the data original made by authors is used. There is a problem to express the detail. To analysis as the maximum close view, it has to be made precisely in future. The transformation of the data is a problem on the software data. Because they are the attribution of the different form, it is necessary to transform for analysis. Especially on the historical analysis, due to the boundary of town and of street has been changed, the basic form to pile is important. The data of the green size and the variety of the tree, the data of small or temporary shops, the land use before 1974, the years of built up, and the repair of road are run short to construct the database. The above will be the assignment of next stage.

In this study, the information of the area is made as the database on GIS system. The figures (Fig. 5-10) are pictures taken in the small area of Osaka City on ground level. It is clear that the background is not seen from the ground. The analysis on different scale of view should firstly be separated.

4. Analysis

4.1 Method

The method to verify the hypothesis is used the visible and no visible analysis on GIS. By the categorizing the geographic and the constructive elements by the visibility, the clues to layer have to be found.

On the GIS system, used tools are the SIS, the Arc GIS and the 3D Analyst, the surface analysis are done to the DTM: Digital Terrain Model, and to the DSM: Digital Surface Model. The models are theoretical three-dimensional space, called two point five dimension. That is consisted by the two analyses, which are the large area as the background and the small area as the maximum close view to medium view. The viewpoints in the analysis are always the eye level on the ground, one point five meters.

In this paper, two kinds of data are used as mentioned. In the large area, the DTM data is used. The DSM data include the architecture is used in the small area. Finally, to combine the two results, the relationship between the close spaces and the background will be clear.



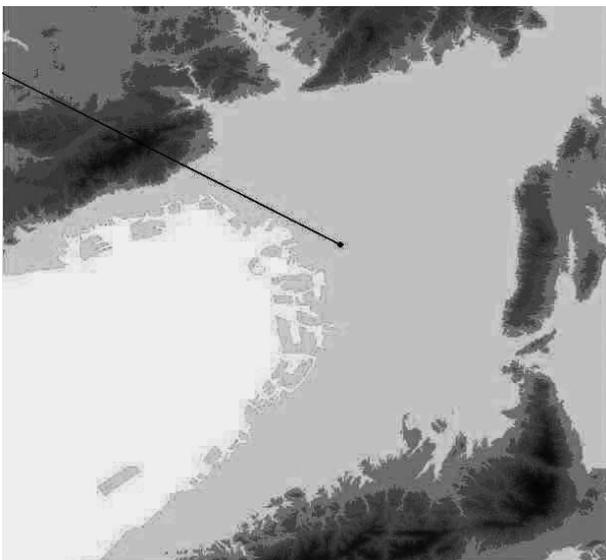
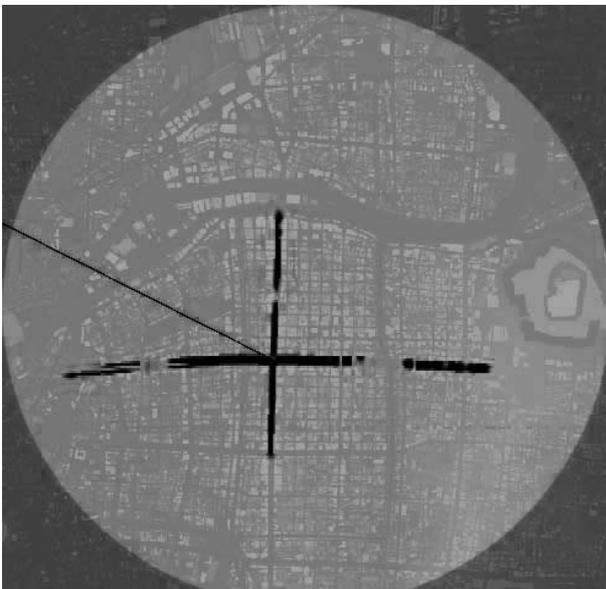
Fig.5 - 10 Photos of Osaka City Area

4.2 Background: Analysis on the Large Area

The figure expresses one of the visible areas (Fig. 11). The viewpoint of this figure is the same as the later analysis. The angle on plan is circumferential. The analyzing points are on one meters mesh. The point in the figure is the viewpoint. The area colored black is visible and the gray is non-visible. It is clear to be seen the mountains from center of the city, if the architectures are not. On the direction to east, there is the inclination near the viewpoint. In the north, about from twenty to thirty meters, about ten meters in the south, the landform has the leans. However the north and the south parts are straight, the east part is separated from the near to the background.



Fig.14 Section from Close to Background



4.3 Close View and Medium View

The example of the analysis is on figure (Fig. 12). There are many types of the viewpoint in the urban area. In this case, the point exists on the intersection of the large roads. The white color expresses the visible area, which is comparatively the large size, about two kilometers. The point on the figure is the one of the largest visible area in the analysis, however, which does not reach the background area.

4.4 The Layers

The figure (Fig. 14) is the section on the line of the figure (Fig. 13). The line on the figure of the analysis of the close view (Fig. 12) is the same. The two sections are put together.

On the original of the graph, the point of view exists. It seems that the buildings screens from the background. If the buildings are not being, the mountains can be seen from the viewpoint.

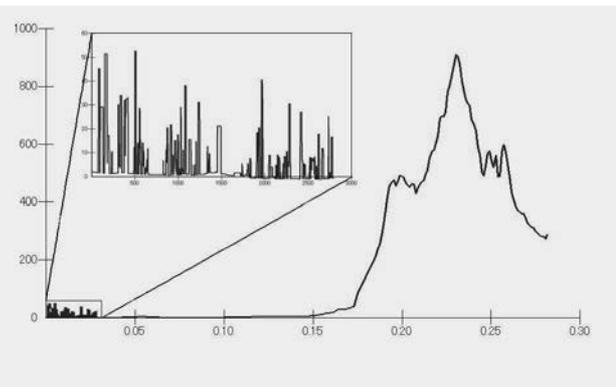
It is clear that the possibility of seeing the medium view and the background, to analyze the several calculated sections.

5. Conclusion

In this study, we have researched the huge data on the real urban landscape of case study area. It is based on the basic theory, as a hypothesis by arranging the results of the previous studies. The original data of Osaka City has gathered. In addition, the original database has been constructed.

The landscape of Osaka City has been analyzed by the hypothesis of constructing layers. The issues for the future are clearly found.

The useful knowledge and the basic technology are gained to make the four-dimensional database and to produce the data from the database to analyze. The viewpoint to layer the real space should be an interesting theory. It is necessary to analyze many spaces on the precise scales, which is to clear the number statistically to separate the real continuous space.



Acknowledgment

We thank the Konoike Fellowship Foundation for financial assistance throughout this investigation.

NOTES:

1. The studies about the 'Time-Space', about the changing of space and about the 'Nature of Time' have been proved the relationship between the image and the elements by time (see references 1st, 2nd and 3rd).
2. The simulated three-dimensional spaces have been analyzed. The recent representative study is seen in reference paper of Yoshikawa (2001).
3. See reference by Kusumoto (2002).
4. There are the previous studies close to the purpose on the several field of science. The representative studies are the references: Bollnow (1977) and Hall (1966).
5. There are huge basic theories about landscape on his book. See reference of Higuchi (1975).
6. In the science of the human engineering, there is being found the new facts. See the book by EBDH (1988).

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STUDY ON TRADITIONAL VILLAGE CENTER

A case study of Tu Liem Suburban District, Hanoi, VIETNAM.

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Vietnam traditional village center is cultural heritage needed to be conserved. Nowadays, there has been a conflict between retaining traditions of physical form with inevitable social, economic, and technological changes. However, still there is limited knowledge on this matter in Vietnam. Therefore, the paper's main objectives are to understand the mechanism of transformation of traditional village center through time and to propose guidelines for conservation work.

The paper includes 3 main parts (1) Background, providing general information on Vietnam traditional village, traditional village center, current status of traditional village center, and legislation system (2) Analysis on transformation process (3) Conclusion.

I. Background

1.1. Vietnam traditional village

Vietnam traditional village is a rural residential unit including many households with or without blooding relationship, living in a defined geographic area, most people working in agriculture field; an economic, faith, and culture community; directly under the administrative management of commune (Ngo.Q.H, 2002).

The average area, including farm land, of authentic village was more or less 200ha. The small one occupied only 50ha while big one up to 500ha. The average population was around 1,000. In some cases, it reached up to 5,000 or even 10,000 (Pham.H.C, 2001).

In term of physical, authentic village had closeness structure demonstrating a character of self-support economic system. Village is used to be surrounded by bamboo fence and controlled by gate at main access. Inside village contained houses, religious buildings, and market. The outside was farmland and cemetery. (Figure1)

In term of social structure, it had highly-tightened knit community with overlapped relationships of neighborhood, blooding, religious, career, and aging one.

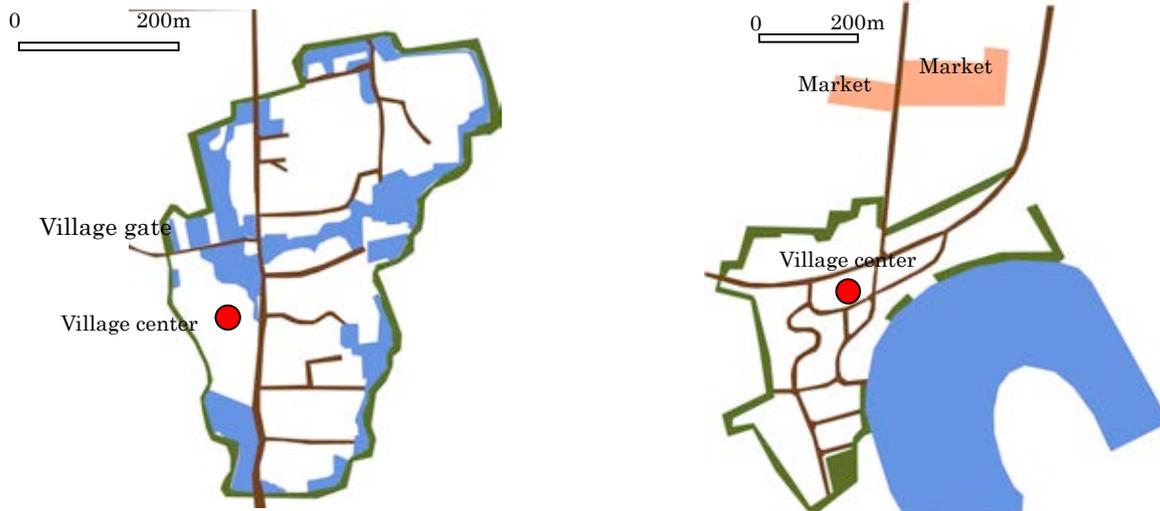


Fig.1: Village map before 1945 - Left: Dan Loan Village. Right: Phu Luu village
(Source: *Nguyen.Q.H, 2002*)

Bamboo fence
 Road
 Lake, pond, river

1.2. Traditional village center

Traditional village center (TVC) had been the only center of authentic village. It is an architecture complex called *đình* (亭) in Vietnamese language. Originally, three functions had been activated in TVC, including administration, religion, and culture.

With regard to administrative function, TVC was the place to meet and discuss all village affairs, to judge lawsuit, to impose fines, etc, in accordance with village norms. Concerning religious function, TVC was the place to worship village tutelary deity, usually one but in some cases many deities. As for cultural function, TVC was the place to perform all kinds of theater and song, to observe ritual, festival, games, etc.

In another word, TVC used to be the multi-purpose hall for local administration, worship and cultural events. (Ha.V.T et al, 1998)



Fig.2: Traditional Village Center – Left: Tay Dang Village ; Right: Chu Quyen Village
(Source: *Ha.V.T et al, 1998*)



Fig.3: Activities in Traditional Village Center - Left: Village meeting in Yen So Village.
Right: Village Festival in Le Mat Village (*Source: Ha.V.T et al, 1998*)

1.3.Characteristics of authentic traditional village center.

The characteristics of authentic TVC will be depicted in three aspects, including activity, form, and image, in 2 scales, whole village and TVC itself.

With regard to activity, TVC was the node of activities in authentic village. As the only center, TVC had been the main place for holding traditional events, keeping community activities lively and diversity. As presented above, it fulfilled multi-function of administrative meeting, religious customs, and culture activities.

In concern with form, TVC placed in prominent position in village, i.e. locating in start or center in village, accessing by main road (Figure 1). Moreover, TVC itself has singularity form with typical setting and unique architecture style. Firstly, TVC was built base on Feng Shui regulation (Figure 4). The Feng Shui regulated that behind or on the two sides of TVC should have elevated terrain in order to serve as "throne arm", and in front of TVC there must be water. The water element here is terrain for "accumulating water", meaning in "accumulating divine favors", "accumulating happiness", and accumulating all kinds of good fortune (Ha.V.T et al, 1998). Secondly, the main building has special exterior demonstrating in roof, including "dao mái", the curved ending (Figure 5), and size. In term of size, the roof is very big, so that the height is high (nearly 6.0m), but the veranda roof is low enough to protect the building from raining and sunning (approximately 1.8m). (Figure 2) (Architecture Research Institute, 1998)

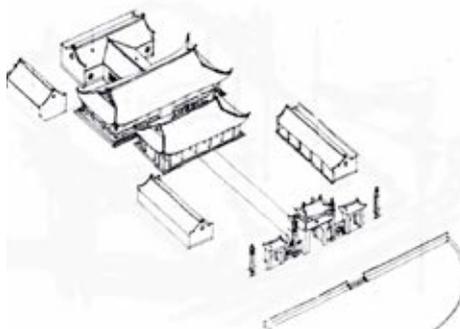


Fig.4: Typical setting of traditional village center (*Draw by author, 2006*)



Fig.5: The curve ending of roof (*Source: Ha.V.T et al, 1998*)

To the image, TVC presents various symbolic signs. First of all, it was the village center in local people's mind. Secondly, it is the office of Village God. Village Tutelary God is symbol of history, custom, morals, law, as well as the desires of whole village. He has superhuman power, an invisible connection which makes village a systematic organization (Dao.D.A, 1961). What is more, `` spiritual world is the holy one, in which only has loft and beautiful things; the whole community adore it and is tightened by it`` (Vu.T.L et al, 1991). Last but not least, there was a belief that TVC's position and direction has decisive power on village destiny. If it was chosen incorrectly, the villagers were believed to be suffering.

Rheumy eyes are due to the orientation of the *dình*
The whole village will have rheumy eyes, not just me
(Traditional six-eight foot distich)

There were cases that villager had to turn the orientation of the TVC or even move it to another place when villagers thought that it had bad influence on livelihood. (Ha.V.T, 1998)

The transformation of these characteristics will be discussed in part II.

1.4.Current situation

To get understand on current status of TVC, a survey was done in 17 villages in Tu Liem Suburban District located in West side of Hanoi city. On the one hand, this district is land of tradition, containing 83 TVCs (Tu Liem District People's Committee, 2006). On the other hand, this district has been under strong development. According to Hanoi Master Plan issued in 1998, more than half of this district will be inside urban area in 2020 (4016.75 ha out of 7515.25 ha). As a result of this, the construction work blossoms, i.e. the construction area reach 15%. Moreover, there is a trend of job transformation, moving from agriculture to industry and small business. To be specific, only 50% of its population nowadays does the farm work (Hanoi GIS Atlas, 2002). Therefore, it presents a complicate situation.

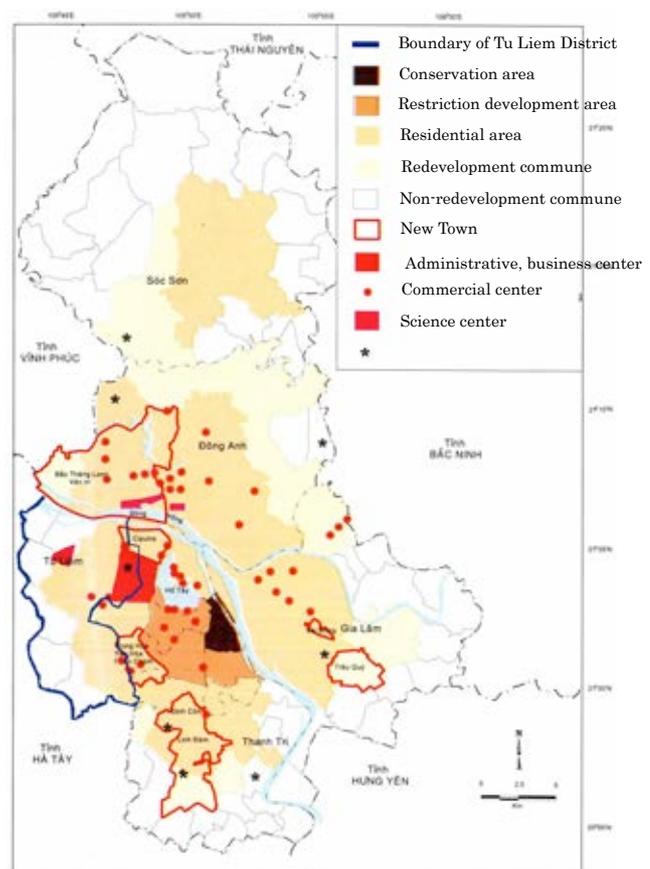


Fig.6: Hanoi Master Plan
(Source: Hanoi GIS Atlas, 2002)

The survey points out 2 main results as following:

To the TVC itself, the statistical work shows that nearly half of number of surveyed TVC has been renovated. It is interesting enough to mention most renovation work is done by inserting new construction, while the secondary buildings left vacant. Main buildings have been preserved well.

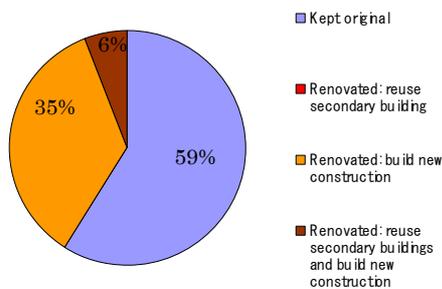


Fig.7:Chart on current status of TVC(Constructed by author, 2006)

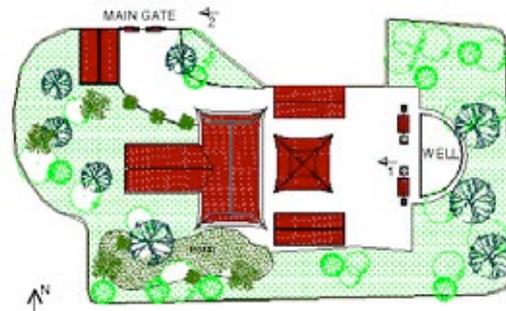


Fig.8:Example of TVC with no new element-Tu Hoang Village (Personal survey, 2006)



Fig.9: Example of renovated TVC-Left side: Hoe thi Village. Right side: Me tri Thuong Village (Personal Survey, 2006)

To the proximity of TVC, the physical appearance is under great influence of urbanization. The landscape of surrounding of TVC in non-urbanized villages still keeps rural character. At the same time, in villages which is planned to be inside urban area in 2020, rising in construction density and height of individual house has negative affect on the appearance of TVC.

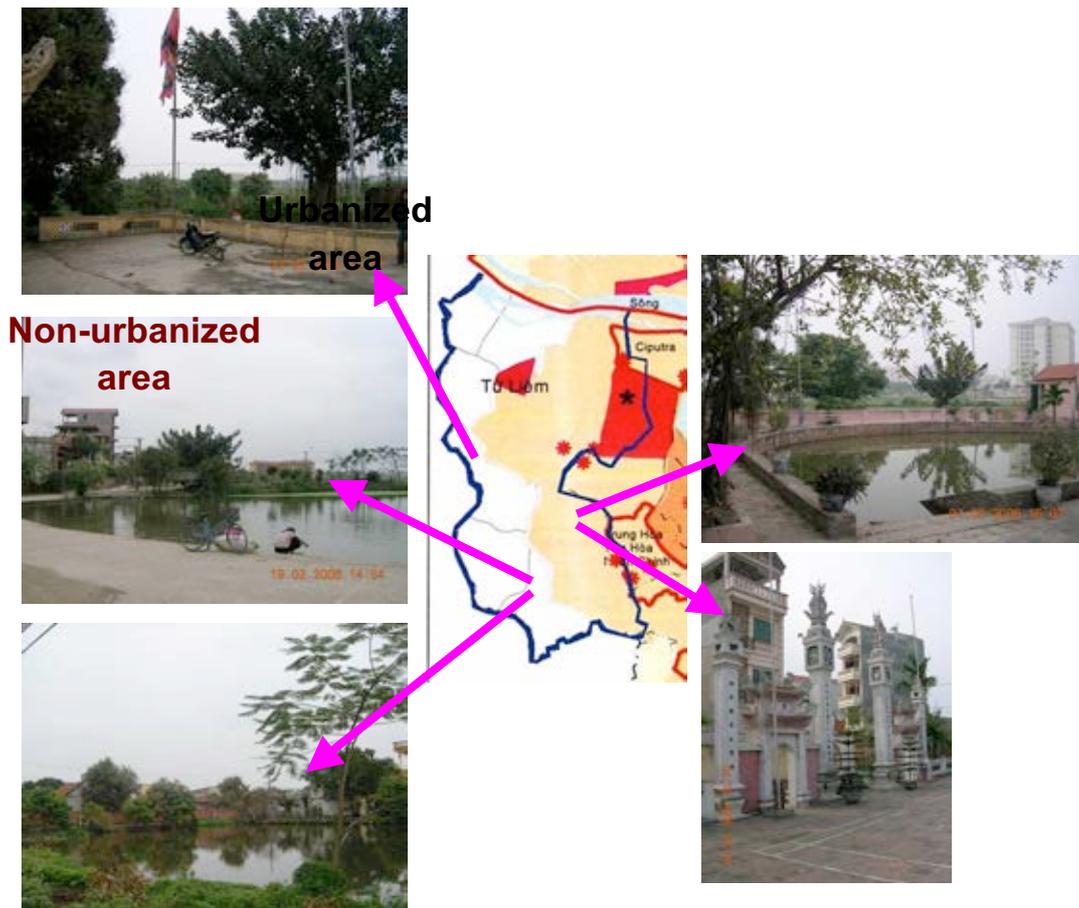


Fig.10: Physical appearance on TVC's surrounding (*Photos by author, 2006*)

To get a comprehensive knowledge on transformation process, 4 representative villages, namely Hoe Thi, Thi Cam, Phung Khoang, and Me tri Thuong, were chosen because they have different status on TVC itself, original or renovated one, and village, urbanized or non-urbanized one.

1.5.Legislation system

The legislation documents related to conservation work of TVC is reviewed through The Law on Cultural Heritage, the Law on Land, the Law on Building and District Plan.

Conservation was paid attention in Vietnam right after national liberation by Decree No.65/sl (1945). However, not until 2001 the first Law was approved by Vietnam National Assembly. The Law on Cultural Heritage, supplemented by the Decree on implement, regulates that protection area of cultural heritage includes:

- Protection area I: the area inside original boundary of heritage has to be preserved status quo
- Protection area II: in the area surrounding Protection area I, it is allowed to build buildings that help to improve the site's value, without harmful effect to architecture, natural landscape, and ecological environment of the site.

ig.11: Tu Liem District Plan

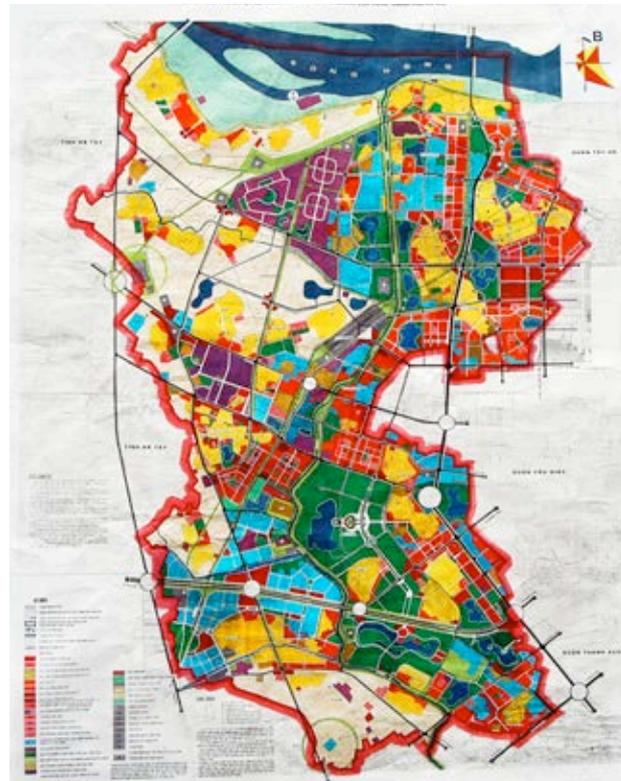
Source: National Institute for Urban and Rural Planning (2005)

Specifically, for relic located in residential area or next to immovable buildings, it is conserved by Protection Area I only.

According to the latest Law on Land passed on 2003, the TVC's land right certificate is grant to local community. The responsibility of management of TVC is in charge of Manager chosen by local people. Local Government interferes just in case of trespass or illegal use.

According to the Law on Building passed on 2003, the development control on construction work bases on (1) Planning certificate (2) Building permission. These two documents will be issued base on detail plan (scale 1/2,000 or 1/500). However, for Tu Liem District, only District Plan (scale 1/5,000) was approved by Hanoi People's Committee in 2000. The District Plan just gives general guidelines on village redevelopment work. It classifies villages into 2 categories: inside and outside urbanized area. Both will be remained and upgraded by improving infrastructure system. The average height is regulated 2 and 1.5, the building coverage 30% and 40-45%, the FAR 0.6 and 0.6-0.7, for village inside and outside urbanized area accordingly. (Figure 11)

In short, it is worth to mention that conservation work of TVC nowadays is in charge of local people. However, detail regulation or guideline to conduct this work is in lack. For TVC itself, except TVC recognized as national heritage which is conserved status quo, no preventive measure has been given to protect the rest account for more than 1/2 of total (46 out of 83). For the TVC's surrounding, because of lacking detail plan, spontaneous construction work of individual threatens to have bad influence on TVC.



II. Analysis transformation process

Four villages and its TVC are chosen as case studies namely Thi Cam, Hoe Thi, Me tri Thuong, and Phung Khoang.

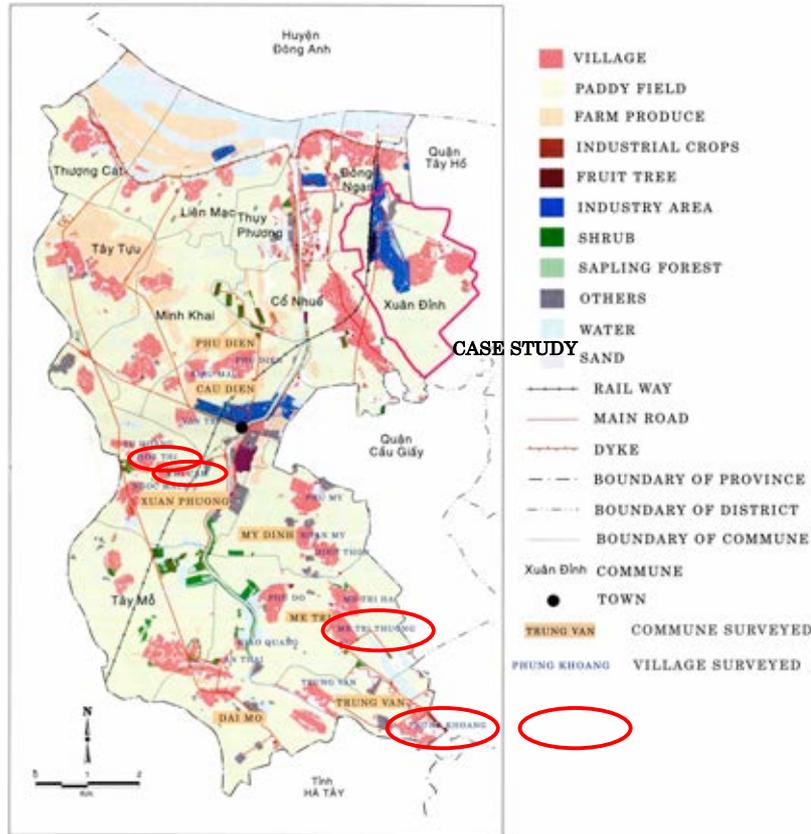


Fig.12: The position of case studies – Tu Liem District Map
(Source: Hanoi GIS Atlas, 2002)

The main characteristics of 4 case studies are summarized as following table:

	Traditional village center		Village	
	Original	Renovated	Urbanized	Non-urbanized
Thi Cam	O			O
Hoe Thi		O		O
Me tri Thuong		O	O	
Phung Khoang	O		O	

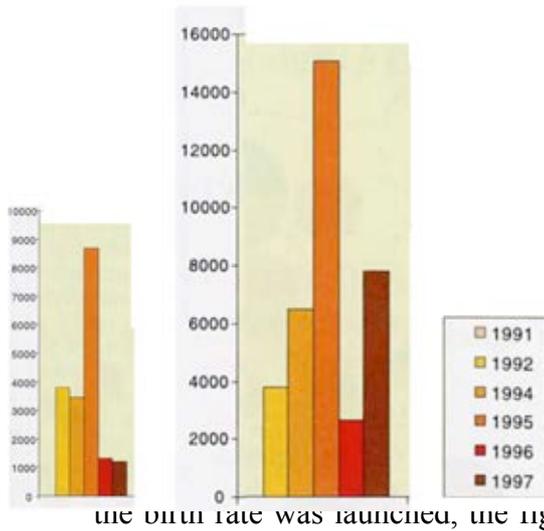
Table 1: The characteristics of 4 case studies

The area of Hoe Thi Village and Me tri Thuong Village is 38ha approximately, the population is more or less 4500. Thi Cam Village and Phung Khoang Village are much smaller, i.e. 18ha and 17.1ha correspondingly. However, the number of population in 2 latter villages is so different from each other. While the number of resident in Thi Cam Village is about 4000, this figure in Phung Khoang Village reaches 7000 in which 3000 is the number of people renting house here.

Phung Khoang Village and Me tri Thuong Village now are under strong pressure of urbanization because of being surrounded by new developments such as National Sport Center, National Conference Center (Me Tri Thuong case), New Towns (Phung Khoang case).

The transformation mechanism will be analyzed by comparative study on land use maps of villages and plans of TVCs in 3 times, including 1960, 1994-1998, and 2003-2005. 1960s was the time of subsidized economic system and agriculture co-operative movement.

Policy issued in 1986, 1990s saw the strong development in . With the introduction of Hanoi Master Plan in 1998, Tu Liem suburban district has witnessed the profound



the birth rate was launched, the figure on birth rate remained high. To be detail, in the early

Fig.13: Number of people has, this figure was 3.5%, and at the end of 1970s, 2.3%. In the second phase,

Tu Liem suburban district from 1990-1998

(Source: Hanoi GIS Atlas, 2002)

birth rate and flow of migration (Hanoi GIS Atlas, 2002). After 1990, there have been 2 trends. For the village located further from Hanoi Center City, the number of population has increased slightly. To be specific, in Xuan Phuong Commune, where Thi Cam Village and

age physical structure and its influence on traditional

change in number of population of Tu Liem Suburban ; period could be divided into 3 phases: 1960-1979, ery first phase, although a national program to decrease

Hoe Thi Village locate, the population rose only 3.069 in 8 years from 1995 to 2003 (Xuan Phuong People's Committee, 2003). However, for the village located next to center city, the situation is in contrast. Although the index on natural increase has declined, its population rises rapidly due to urban-rural migration. Because of low-income in agriculture field, farmers leave their hometown and move to Hanoi. However, they cannot afford price in inner city, and tried to find a living place in the boundary. At the same time, the living area inside

inner city is so limited that could not satisfy demand, so people want to buy land in the urban periphery. What is more, Hanoi Master Plan issued in 1998 push up the price here.

Consequently, more and more people move in to these villages (Hanoi GIS Atlas, 2002). To be detail, in Me Tri Commune where Me tri Thuong Village locates, the increase in population accounts for 20% per year (Me Tri Commune People’s Committee, 2005)

Correspondingly, there are two main phases in the transformation process of village physical structure. Before 1990, four villages chosen had witnessed the expansion in village’s area. Particularly, the area of Hoe Thi Village and Me tri Thuong Village climbed nearly double, saying from around 20ha in 1960 to more or less 40 ha in 1994-1998. This trend was halted since 1993 due to the strict control of conversion form agriculture land to residential land regulated by the Law on Land. However, the rapid increase in population in urbanized village as discussed above leads to infill development. The result is rising in building coverage and FAR. It has bad influence on TVC’s physical appearance, especially in the village where TVC’s surrounding has been developed mainly by private sector.

Interestingly enough, a comparative study on land use maps in different period shows that the main structure of village has relatively unchanged from 1960. Therefore, in term of physical, the TVC’s prominence position, locating in the start or center of village and accessing by main road, has been kept.

In term of function, the authentic role as concentration point of activities inside village of TVC has been declined due to rising in number of new public facilities.

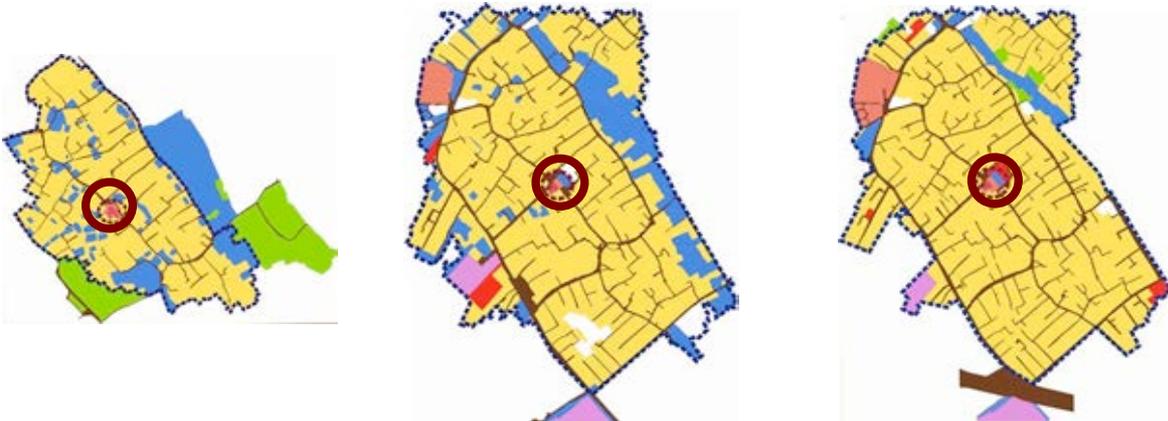


Fig.14: The transformation process of village physical structure – From left to right: Me tri Thuong land use map in 1960, 1994, 2003 (*MetriThuong People`s Committee, 2006*)



2.2.The transformation process of traditional village center itself

The transformation process of TVC itself will be studied in 2 aspects, physical and functional one.

In term of physical, the plans of four case studies in 1960, 1994-1998, 2003-2005 show that while the main building has been maintained well, the rest of TVC has changed. Its

Monument

Culture center

transformation process is depicted through 2 stages, 1960 to 1990s and 1990s to 2000s.

The time 1960-1990s witnessed the destruction in physical setting. There was a sad fact of losing nature element, i.e. garden and pond, destroying secondary building, and starting to insert new structure inside the original boundary with inappropriate architecture style. The main reason is that protection cultural heritage did not draw proper attention because this period was the time right after war, government effort mainly put on economic development..

The time 1990s-2000s has seen positive trend thanks to The Decree on Culture Heritage issued in 1991, and then The Law on Cultural Heritage 2001. TVC has been restored as sacred space. What is more, in an effort to making TVC and surrounding as center for culture activities, new buildings serving for this purpose has been attached. However, without guidelines, these buildings have bad influence on TVC because of blocking view toward TVC and unfit architecture style.



Fig.15: New construction attached to TVC-Left to right: New building in Hoe Thi built in 1990s; Culture Center in Me tri Thuong built in 2000s; Monument in Me Tri Thuong built in 2000s (*Photos by author, 2006*)

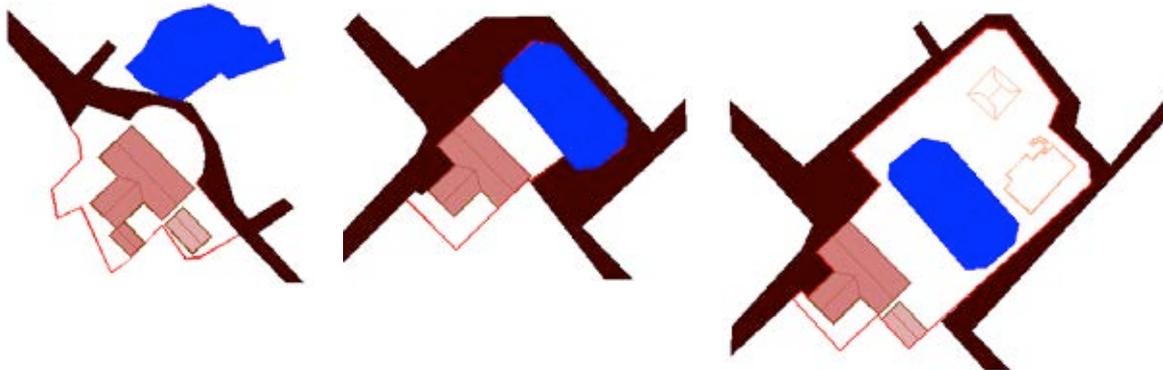


Fig.16: Transformation process traditional village center –Plan of Me tri Thuong traditional village center in 1960, 1994, 2003 (*MetriThuong People`s Committee, 2006*)

In order to get knowledge on the transformation of activities in TVC, an interview with local people was conducted in Phung Khoang Village. The result is summarized in table 2. The change in activities of TVC is demonstrated in 3 periods, including before 1930, from 1930 to 1991, and after 1991. 1930 is the time of starting war. 1991 is the time of recognizing Phung Khoang TVC as national heritage and establishing local organization (Festival Board) to protect village's culture property.

	<i>Activities</i>	<i>Before 1930</i>	<i>1930-1991</i>	<i>After 1991</i>
1	Five-village Festival	O	X	O
2	Village Festival	O	X	O
3	Agriculture Festival	O	X	X
4	Raining Festival	O	X	X
5	Summer start festival	O	X	X
6	Summer end festival	O	X	X
7	Village God Birthday	O	X	O
8	The starting day for Village God's holiday	O	X	O
9	January 1 st in moon calendar	O	X	O
10	15 th of every month (moon calendar)	O	X	O
11	1 st of every month (moon calendar)	O	X	O
12	Wedding	O	X	X
13	Meeting	O	O	X
<i>Note:</i> O: being held X: not being held				

Table 2: The transformation of activities of Phung Khoang traditional village center (Source: Personal survey, 2006)

As can be seen, the time 1930-1991 had seen the frozen in activities of TVC. Nowadays, thanks to effort of local organization, many traditional events have been recovered. However, its number drops in compare with the time before 1930, accounts for nearly 50%.

In term of participants, the result of survey points out that most participant is older than 50 years old. The young generation seldom attends traditional events except being asked. It put the challenge for the year ahead because the link between TVC and modern generation is weak.

2.3.Future prospect

Base on the analysis of transformation process, future prospect of tradition village center will be given in 3 aspects, including activity, form, and image, in 3 scales, whole village scale, proximity of TVC, and TVC itself. Its result is summarized as following table:

	Activity	Form	Image
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	Original	Trend	Original	Trend	Original	Trend
Village scale	Node	Decrease	Prominence location	Kept	Center of village	Gone
Proximity				The physical appearance has bad influence on TVC		
Traditional village center itself	Three function	Decrease, only religious function maintained	Unique architecture style	Kept	Office of Village God	Kept
			Traditional setting		Decisive power on village destiny	Gone

Table 3: Future prospect of traditional village center (*Constructed by author, 2006*)

Therefore, it is in need to enhance the activity in TVC and develop the control on the physical appearance in its surrounding

III. Conclusion

Base on these findings, the most urgent needs for traditional village center is (1) controlling the construction work in surrounding (2) revitalization the activities (3) encourage the role of local people, in order to conserve the traditional environment and enhance the link between villagers and traditional center.

The local organization namely Festival Board has been established in village and achieves some success. However, this organization needs support in both administrative term and profession term. Therefore, an Advisory Board should be established including:

- Local organization (Festival Board)
- Government sector
- Academic sector

The Board should aim to implement the following objectives:

1. To revitalize historical environment
2. To nurture continued activities vitality

What is more, village code has long history in Vietnam village. In the nature, it contains the general rules of conducting voluntarily agreed upon by population communities. It is not

law but only support and complement law in the social management among the population communities and localities. It includes the rules and norms expressed in documents reflecting fine customs, practices, and cultural traditions of localities (Son.L.H, 2004). Since the Village Code had great influence on village in the past and is in process to recover now, two above mentioned objectives can be realized through Village Code that would be revised by the Board. The revising item should comprise as follows:

1. Physical Planning Item:

Since the existing development control is too board to perfectly ensure future construction that may be harmful to the landscape. Physical Planning Item is proposed to revitalize historical environment. The Physical Planning Item should concern:

- The proximity of traditional center: developing urban design guidelines: managing height, improvement programs including architecture element, colors.
- Inside the boundary of traditional center: prohibition of constructing new structure.

2. Activities Item

Due to the lack of proper activities, the link between modern generation and traditional village center is weak. The Activities Item should be:

- Regulate the duty of villager in conserving traditional center
- Revitalize traditional events
- Organize new events which adapt with modern life

The revising Village Code should be submitted by working committee to the local government (Commune People's Committee) for approval.

Concluding remarks

One lesson from this study is that while conservation work is more and more drawn attention, the lack of careful planning, improper activity and weak role of local people have led undesirable transformation. In order to protect the culture property, future conservation planning of Vietnam should aware of impacts from urbanization in both physical and social aspect, role of local people and comply with recommendation.

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The Birth of Architectural Control in Santa Barbara

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Abstract

Architectural control regulates the quality of design of buildings. Santa Barbara, California, was the first city in the USA to adopt a city ordinance to establish mandatory municipal architectural control after the earthquake in 1925. In 1927 John Nolen called it one of the landmarks of city planning history in the USA. David Gebhard referred to the architectural control in Santa Barbara, in his analysis of Spanish Colonial Revival movement in Santa Barbara, which was lead by a citizen leader Bernard Hoffmann, architects Carlton Winslow and George Washington Smith, and a city planner Charles H. Cheney. However, it is not still clear how the ideas and systems of architectural control were evolved and formulated. The purpose of this paper is to examine how the ideas of architectural control were developed in Southern California.

Key words

Spanish Colonial Revival, Santa Barbara, Charles H. Cheney, Architectural Control

1. Introduction

Architectural control regulates the quality of design of buildings. There are two legal methods for architectural control in America: private control by protective covenants based upon contract and public control by municipal ordinances based upon police power.

Private control by protective covenants has a long history in the USA. Llewellyn Park, New Jersey, the first picturesque suburban development, which was designed by Alexander Jackson Davis in the 1850s, had introduced a covenant to prohibit commercial land use (Hayden 2003).

In contrast public control by municipal ordinances emerged when in 1925 the City of Santa Barbara, California, adopted the first ordinance to establish mandatory municipal architectural control of private properties. Charles H. Cheney, a California planner, drafted this ordinance based upon his experience of drafting protective covenants in Palos Verdes (Crawford 1922; Akimoto 2003). Cheney invented Palos Verdes covenants modeled after municipal art commissions that emerged during the "City Beautiful" era in late nineteenth century. In 1927 John Nolen called the ordinance of Santa Barbara of 1925 one of the landmarks of city planning history in the USA. Thereafter Cheney became a leading advocate of architectural control and the term "architectural control" gained popularity.

So far a number of studies have been made on private control by protective covenants of residential developments in the USA (Monchow 1928). However, little attention has been given to art commissions (Wilson 1989; Peterson 2003). And the early stage of architectural control by municipal ordinances that emerged in the 1920s has never been fully examined. David Gebhard, in his analysis of Spanish Colonial Revival movement in Southern California, referred to the architectural control in Santa Barbara. However, it is not still clear how the ideas of architectural control were evolved in Santa Barbara (Gebhard 1982). The purpose of this paper is to examine how the ideas of architectural control were evolved from the experiences of protective covenants and of municipal art commissions during the "City Beautiful" era, and to show how the ideas of architectural control were developed under the influence of the Spanish

Colonial Revival movement in the 1920s.

2. Palos Verdes Art Jury

After the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, the first art commissions in the USA were established in Boston and New York in 1898. In 1922 about thirty cities, three states and Washington, D.C. had art commissions (Crawford 1922)¹. On the average, they had one to four ex officio members and three to nine appointed members with a term of three to five years. Ex officio members usually included mayor, while appointed members consisted of professionals such as architects, painters, and sculptors, and lay person. In Boston and New York, professional members were appointed from lists of nominees named by art organizations.

They concerned with fine arts including paintings, mural decorations, stained glass, statues, fountains, lighting fixtures (Menhinick 1930). Basically, they passed on the characters, designs, and locations of work of art before those materials became public property (Crawford 1922). The stronger commissions had authority to pass upon all public buildings including bridges "to be erected by the city or with the help of city funds, or for which the city is to furnish a site" (Crawford 1922). Furthermore, in New York and Philadelphia, they dealt with the designs of private properties to be erected upon or extended over public land. While in Detroit and Milwaukee their powers were only advisory except for fine arts, in New York, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles, they had veto powers (Art Commission of New 1917).

Charles H. Cheney, a California planner and a leading advocate of architectural control in the 1920s, had already expressed considerable interests in art commissions early in the 1910s (Cheney 1914). In June 1921, after visiting New York and Philadelphia, he proposed an unpaid art jury as an element of master plan, consisting of an architect, a sculptor and a painter, which were to pass on the designs of public buildings with veto power (Cheney 1921).

In December of that year, Cheney drafted the outline of protective covenants for Palos Verdes Estates, a new city near Los Angeles. Finally the protective covenants were registered on June 23, 1923. Cheney made a couple of innovations. First he introduced an art commission. Article III of the covenants provided that "without the approval of the Palos Verdes Art Jury,

no lands shall be subdivided; no buildings shall be erected or altered; no work of art shall become the property of the Palos Verdes Homes Association; and no work of art shall be erected within Palos Verdes". The Art Jury consisted of three architects, one city planner, and three laymen, with veto powers and an endowment of three hundred thousands dollars. Professional members were appointed from lists of nominees proposed by professional organizations.

Helen Monchow's research on suburban residential developments in the USA and Canada in the 1920s showed that only the deeds of Palos Verdes Estates required the approval of building plans by an Art Jury. The term "art jury" was obviously borrowed from Philadelphia Art Jury and the way to appoint professional members from lists proposed by professional organizations was modeled after New York Art Commission. Furthermore, Cheney strengthened the financial base of the Art Jury by providing it with a fund, after consulting with architect Myron Hunt.

Second, Cheney introduced a zoning system that included architectural style districts to control the appearance of buildings. Architecture districts regulated color, material, and pitch of roof of buildings, and were divided into four districts based upon latitude of regulation. Type I district shall be "the distinct type of architecture which for two decades or more has been successfully developing in California, deriving its chief inspiration directly or indirectly from Latin types, which developed under similar climatic conditions along the Mediterranean (Sec.35)." Later in 1928 the Art Jury officially named this style "California Architecture" (1928). Obviously, the Art Jury invented the architecture districts under the influence of Spanish Colonial Revival movement in Southern California.

Palos Verdes Estsates mirrored Cheney's image of an ideal city. It was a combination of "City Beautiful" centers and "Garden Suburbs" connected by streetcar lines, boulevards and parkways. And for a City Beautiful Center, Cheney placed an arcaded plaza (Akimoto 2003).

After completing the protective covenants of Palos Verdes Estates, it was now time for Cheney to emphasize the necessity to expand the principles of the protective covenants of Palos Verdes into public control of private buildings by municipal ordinances. In April 1924, at the meeting of the National Conference on City Planning in Los Angeles, Cheney proposed to establish a municipal art jury by an ordinance to control

the design of private buildings and arrangements of lots (Cheney 1924).

3. Bernard Hoffmann and the Community Arts Association

(1) A Health Resort: Santa Barbara

In the 1760s, as the Russians settled in Alaska and along the northern shore of California, King Carlos III of Spain ordered that four forts be built in Alta California, to be followed by a chain of Franciscan missions to Christianize the Indians (Tompkins 1975). In April 1782 soldiers led by Lieutenant Jose Francisco de Ortega arrived in Santa Barbara to establish the last of these presidios on the flat land near the sea. Padre Junipero Serra accompanied them. Mission Santa Barbara was founded on high ground three miles from the beach in 1786. Chumash Indian people moved from brush houses on the coast to adobe shelters near the Mission. The Mission was completed in 1820 and later became a model of "Mission Architecture" in California (Cheney 1929).

In the presidio, soldiers' families were allowed to build homes outside the Presidio walls. In 1806 Don Jose De la Guerra y Noriega became a lieutenant at the Presidio and later became the Commander. He and his family built a home, De la Guerra Adobe. This home became the center of the town's political and social life (Baker 2003). As the population increased, a small settlement of adobe dwellings grew within and around the presidio, and formed a presidial pueblo. While pueblos were deliberately planned in San Jose and Los Angeles under the guidance of the city planning ordinances of the Laws of the Indies, the pueblo of Santa Barbara was totally unplanned (Crouch, Garr et al. 1982; Conard and Nelson 1986).

Newcomb describes the characteristics of Spanish-Colonial Architecture in California as follows.

- A. Plans: the structures were disposed around a patio with garden and fountain.
- B. Arcaded, cloister-like corridors surrounding patios or across the front of building
- C. Solid massive walls, piers and buttresses.
- D. Roofs with wide, projecting eaves, and low-sloping, red-tile coverings.
- E. Curbed, pedimented gables.

F. Terraced bell-towers with dome and lantern were used on the more important churches (Newcomb 1937).

In 1821, Mexico announced independence from Spain and in 1848 California became part of American territory. In winter of 1872, Charles Nordhoff, a New York journalist, visited Santa Barbara and wrote a book titled "California for Health, Pleasure and Residence", in which he praised the Mediterranean climate of California and recommended Santa Barbara as one of the most comfortable cities (Nordhoff 1872). Next winter in 1873, tourists came to Santa Barbara from all over the country. Tourism became a key industry of Santa Barbara, because of the lack of a large natural harbor, its location on a narrow strip of land between the coast and the mountain range, and the relatively late arrival of the railroad, industrialization delayed in the city².

In the 1880s "the Montecito Land Company began to subdivide its holdings, and small and large estates began to emerge, first on the coast and then higher up in the foothills"(Gebhard 1995). Most of people who decided to live in Montecito were rich, and had traveled around the world to touch the beauty of architecture and garden in Europe and Middle East. They hired leading architects and landscape architects. Montecito became a Santa Barbara's suburban neighborhood of attractive homes and exquisite gardens (Baker 2003). Santa Barbara established the status as a winter resort, a sightseeing area, and a health resort in the early 1890s.

Around the same time, California experienced an awakening of interest in its Hispanic past, in southern California, because there the gold rush had not meant "sudden death for the Hispanic culture" (Crouch, Garr et al. 1982). The first movement toward the Hispanic was that of the Mission Revival. A. Page Brown designed California Building at the Chicago World Exposition in 1893 and Arthur Benton planned Mission Inn in Riverside, California between the years 1890 and 1891. By 1910, a number of large resort hotels of Mission style appeared in Southern California (Gebhard 1995). However, from the early 1900s on, more learned and sophisticated exercises in the Spanish Colonial revival began to emerge, and the Mission Revival style almost ceased to exist in the 1920s.

In 1910 Myron Hunt designed the Congregational Church in Riverside, California, in Spanish Churrigueresque mode. Churrigueresque refers to a Spanish Baroque style of elaborate sculptural architectural ornament³. A landmark of the Spanish Colonial Revival was the Panama-California Exposition that was held in San Diego in 1915. Bertram G. Goodhue (1869-1924) and his associates, Carlton M. Winslow and Clarence S. Stein, designed many of the buildings on the site in Spanish Churrigueresque style. They created a Spanish City in Balboa Park, the site of the Exposition. Those buildings were set back of the street line, and had patios, corridors, and arcaded sidewalks, and were located along the main streets and around the main plazas. Gebhard wrote, "The San Diego Exposition served the same purpose for the Spanish Colonial Revival as did the earlier World Columbian Exposition of 1893 at Chicago for the development of Neo-Classicism in America (Gebhard 1964)."

The more typical Spanish Colonial style was the Provincial or Andalusian mode. Its architectural characteristics were "a most pleasing simplicity, a lack of ostentation and display (Cheney 1929)." In 1916, George Washington Smith designed his house "El Hogar" in Provincial Spanish mode in Montecito. By the end of the 1920s the Spanish Colonial Revival had become the architecture of Southern California.

(2) Bernard Hoffmann and the Community Arts Association

Early in the 1900s, in downtown Santa Barbara, in contrast with Montecito, wooden buildings with mixed architectural styles formed shopping streets, which showed no difference from other American cities. Business people drove forward beautification of downtown. And those wealthy people who decided to live in the Santa Barbara area supported city beautification efforts and the financial power to implement them (Zarakov 1977; Hugie 1982). In 1909, the Chamber of Commerce invited Charles Mulford Robinson, a leader of the "City Beautiful" movement. Robinson recommended street improvement including "an old-world touch" "colonnaded sidewalks" in State Street and beautification of Ocean Boulevard; establishment of a park system; and development of centers including Mission, Plaza De la Guerra, and Civic Center. His image of the city was a combination of historical, cultural, and administrative

centers connected by an improved street system and a park system. However, nothing happened (Robinson 1909).

In 1912, landscape architect Stephen Child presented a brief report to the Chamber of Commerce reviving Robinson's ideas, and proposed to form a city planning commission. A citizen's committee was organized to consider the possibilities of a city planning. However, Child's proposals were never realized (Zarakov 1977).

In 1919, Bertram G. Goodhue proposed to rebuild a commercial block in downtown Santa Barbara. These buildings should be set back of the street line and would have patios, corridors and arcaded sidewalks (1919). Obviously, Goodhue proposed an image of a Spanish city, first in Santa Barbara. However, his plan remained on paper.

In August 1920, artists, writers, and friends of arts in Santa Barbara formed an amateur dramatic club and a small art school separately. Soon, the two groups decided to combine, and further reinforced by a small orchestra, they decided to call themselves the Community Arts Association (Adorada 1930)⁴. In February 1922, the Association organized a Plans and Planting Division to promote the beautification of Santa Barbara with Bernard Hoffmann (1874-1949) as chairman and Pearl Chase (1888-1979) as secretary⁵. The Plan section created an Architectural Advisory Committee for promoting Spanish Colonial Revival, which offered suggestions for improvement of home and commercial structures in the city. Later, Hoffmann became President of the Community Art Association and Chase served as Association secretary⁶.

Bernard Hoffmann was born in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, in 1874. In 1891 he entered Cornell University, where he was graduated in electrical engineering in 1895. He then entered the New York Telephone Company. Later He became a consulting engineer and in 1913 established an office in New York City (Philips 1927). He got married to a daughter of a Chicago millionaire, Irene. In August 1920 they moved to Santa Barbara for treatment of his twelve-year-old daughter's diabetes, from Stockbridge. The Laurel Hill Association of Stockbridge was one of the oldest the village improvement associations of New England (Peterson 2003). Hoffmann, a dedicated activist, planted elm trees for village beautification and preserved the village's historic character in

Stockbridge (Helfrich 2002). Hoffmann invested his experiences of village beautification and his wife's wealth into city beautification efforts in Santa Barbara.

First, Hoffmann, in September 1921, purchased the historic De la Guerra Adobe. He wanted to demonstrate that it was possible to alternate downtown Santa Barbara into a "New Spain in America". He hired James Osborne Craig (1888-1922) to renovate it and to design a new pedestrian shopping center around the house. It was a miniature of "a city of Spain" composed of a court, a patio, restaurants, and an alley⁷. The open patio formed the dining room for El Paseo Restaurant, which eventually gave its name to the entire complex, shortened from El Paseo de la Guerra (Helfrich 2002). Though Craig died in 1922, his wife Mary McLaughlin Craig and Carleton M. Winslow succeeded his work, and El Paseo was completed in May 1923 (Fig. 1). Craig designed a passageway called a "Street in Spain," running along the eastern side of the house and leading to an inner central fountained courtyard and a separate open-air patio of El Paseo (Helfrich 2002). The passageway would communicate through to the street at the rear, where it would open upon the old Lobero Theater, which was secured by the Community Arts Association, later renovated by George Washington Smith and completed in 1924.

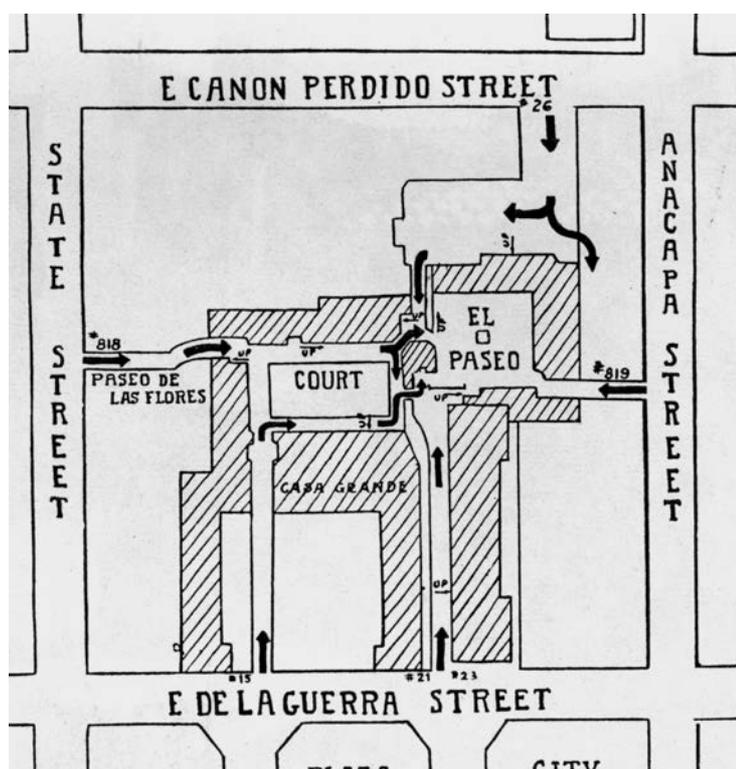


Fig. 1 The Plan of El Paseo

Source: Pacific Coast Architect, vol.27, no.3 (March 1925): p. 23

During these years, Hoffman built the Meridian Studios designed by George Washington Smith in 1923, and the Community Arts Association established The new Lobero Theater also design by Smith in 1924⁸. The Meridian Studios was originally constructed by a Presidio soldier, and was purchased by Hoffmann in 1922 and renovated as a grouping of five buildings. Later several well-known artists and architects lived here. The Lobero Theater was originally opened in 1873 as an opera house, was purchased by the Community Arts Association and they constructed a new theater. It had a patio in its north side and a passageway leading to El Paseo (Conard and Nelson 1986).

Craig and Smith showed an image of a Spanish city following after Goodhue. Gebhard described the design philosophy of George Washington Smith as follows:

His performance in city planning was ... toward a series of contained spaces in the form of public plazas and private courtyards. ... One can gain a glimmer of what his approach would have been to large planning problems in his Meridian Studios, where six structures were arranged in an angled zigzag pattern, each obtaining north light, a small garden and opening onto a central courtyard (Gebhard 1964).

Second, through the guidance of the Architectural Advisory Committee, Hoffmann gave influence on the designs of public buildings. In March 1922, the City of Santa Barbara sought to the Community Arts Association for ideas on renovation of the De la Guerra Plaza, which is located just south of the De la Guerra house. Craig had already prepared a sketch for the De la Guerra Plaza, because the De la Guerra House and Plaza would make up "essentially one co-ordinated scheme, a part of which is to be municipally executed and a part carried out by private enterprise" (Morrow 1922).

The Association asked George Washington Smith to furnish designs for the Plaza, for the adjoining buildings, and for a new City Hall (Gebhard 1986)⁹. Smith called for a unification of structures on the west side

of the plaza by a continuous arcade across from which would be the new City Hall, also of a Mediterranean architectural style. The center of the plaza was to be formally laid by a garden and central fountain. However, their plans (with the exception of the Daily News Building [1922-24] by George Washington Smith) were never realized (Zarakov 1977).

The new City Hall facing the De la Guerra Plaza was designed by Sauter & Lockard, but the contract mandated that the design should be reviewed by the Architectural Advisory Committee. The Committee also dealt with a crematorium in 1924, Santa Barbara High School in 1923, Santa Fe offices in 1923-24, University Club in 1923, and Little Town Club in 1924-26.

Third, in order to aid small homes building, Hoffman arranged exhibits, published leaflets, and awarded building prizes to good designed buildings in the Spanish Colonial mode including remodeled commercial buildings, new commercial buildings, and small homes. The Rogers Furniture Company was awarded the Community Arts prize for the best business building altered during the year 1922, because it altered the two fronts to form a single façade and to make the two buildings look as if one (McFadden 1924). The Plans Division also held a competition for the best design of a house to cost not more than \$5000 in 1923. Ninety-two designs were submitted and were placed on exhibition at the Paseo De la Guerra in 1923 (Winslow and Brown 1924). In 1924, a book titled "Small House Design" was published from the Community Arts Association.

(3) Charles H. Cheney and Zoning

Hoffmann and the Plan and Planting Division were also aware of the importance of city planning. They devoted a great deal of attention, time and money to city planning problems and to support the establishment of the City Planning Commission (Chase 1959). On August 27, 1923, the ordinance 1169, establishing a city planning commission, was adopted. Mayor appointed five members and Bernard Hoffmann as its secretary on September 20 (Planning Commission City of Santa Barbara). At the first meeting of the City Planning Commission on September 28, Charles H. Cheney was engaged as City Planning Consultant with annual salary of four thousand and two hundred dollars for a period of two years.

Cheney presented a two-year program outlining his roles for the City

Planning Commission, which included the preparation of (1) a comprehensive zoning ordinance, (2) a comprehensive Major Traffic Street Plan, (3) a comprehensive program for school playgrounds and park facilities, and (4) plans for the general improvement of the architecture and of the general attractiveness of the city (Planning Commission City of Santa Barbara). The fourth program later lead to establishment of an architectural board of review.

Thereafter Cheney prepared elements of master plan¹⁰. First, he drafted Subdivision Map Filing Rules, which the City Planning Commission adopted on October 18 in 1923. Then he prepared the major street plan, which was submitted to the Planning Commission in June 1924 and was adopted in September in the same year. Meanwhile, the Olmsted Brothers, hired by the Park Board in November 1923, drafted the boulevards and park system plan, which was adopted by the Park Board in November 1924. In 1924 the Plans and Planting Division published a booklet titled "Major Traffic Street Plan Boulevard and Park System" (Cheney and Olmsted 1924). It consisted of (1) a Major Street Plan, (2) an outline of the Traffic Street Plan, (3) the Boulevard System Plan that included boulevards and parkways for passenger vehivles only, (4) a Comprehensive Recreation System that included school playgrounds and park facilities, (5) a Park System, and (6) Subdivision Map Filing Rules.

The problem was zoning. Cheney completed a draft of zoning ordinance (no.1203) in February 1924, after a number of neighborhood meetings and the public hearings required by state law, which the City Council adopted on May 15, 1924 (City Council City of Santa Barbara). On the day the zoning ordinance was adopted, Howard L. Sweeney, a local plumbing contractor, organized zoning opponents into the Citizen's and Property Owners' League, and launched a signature-gathering campaign calling for a referendum to repeal the zoning ordinance. They collected the 900 necessary signatures for a referendum by June 3, 1924. On June 5, the City Planning Commission and the Better Santa Barbara Committee, a pro-zoning group, in order to avoid the proposed referendum, requested the City Council to repeal the ordinance 1203 and to appoint an independent committee of fifteen members to prepare another zoning ordinance for the city. The City Council adopted the ordinance no. 1234 to repeal the zoning ordinance on the same day. Thereafter the members of the citizen committee, including H. L. Sweeney,

were appointed. The committee held their first meeting on June 25 and drafted a new zoning ordinance on October 31, 1924. The new zoning ordinance (no.1240) was adopted by the City Council on June 11, 1925. However, Cheney’s contract for the City Planning Commission that had been scheduled for two years was ended October 2, 1924¹¹.

4. Earthquake and Architectural Control

(1) Earthquake and the Architectural Advisory Board

At 6:44 in the morning of June 29, 1925, a 6.8 magnitude earthquake struck Santa Barbara, severely damaging many structures in the city and causing eleven dead and 25 injured (Willis 1925; Ford 1927). On the blocks along the State Street in the business district, only a few buildings escaped without serious damage, while there were very few complete collapses (See, Table 1) (Nunn 1925)¹².

Table 1. Condition of buildings in assigned districts, including 14 blocks State Street and side streets, also all hotels and semi-public buildings from Preliminary Report Engineers’ Committee, July 3

Totally destroyed or to be demolished Buildings Shacks	0 4
Requiring further inspection before condemnation	1
Unsafe until repaired	2
Safe "as it is"	4
Repairs needed, but safe for immediate use	2
Damaged, to be open for use when repaired	02
Safe for use when chimneys are inspected	
Locked up, not inspected	0
Number of premises inspected	11

Source: "Report of the Engineering Committee on the Santa Barbara Earthquake." (1925) The Bulletin of the Seismological Society of America 15(4): 302-304.

The Emergency Engineering Committee (10 men from north and south)

recommended on July 3 that "no major program of reconstruction should be undertaken without first being considered by a group which should consist of: (a) architects of Santa Barbara, (b) City Planning Commission, (c) a group of representative business men and property owners"(Chase 1959). On the same day, the city government appointed an Architectural Advisory Committee, through which the three groups should act. Bernard Hoffmann was named Chairman; and with him T. Mitchell Hastings, architect; and John M. Curran, attorney (Chase 1959). Its duty was "to provide with private funds the advice of experts, the services of trained men, and the aid of special equipment to expedite and supplement the work of the city government". The Architectural Advisory Committee chose an Advisory Board of 42 citizens with diversified interests and experience in community organization, law, business, and property management (Chase 1959).

On July 7, a general meeting of the Architectural Advisory Committee was held. Charles H. Cheney joined as a temporary secretary . The agenda obviously showed Cheney's influence. First, the meeting passed a resolution urging the city to establish the Architectural Board of Review consisting of three architects and two laymen. David Gebhard wrote that "it was Cheney working with Hoffmann, T. Mitchell Hastings, Winsor Soule and George Washington Smith who, in 1924, drew up a proposed Architectural Board of Review"(Gebhard 1982). On July 9, 1925, the City Council appointed the members of the Architectural Board of Review from lists of nominees named by professional organizations. J. E. White, a member of City Planning Commission, was president; Hoffmann was secretary; and others were architects: William A. Edwards (1886-1976), George Washington Smith, and Carlton M. Winslow (1876-1946).

On July 16, the City Council adopted an emergency ordinance (no.1256), officially establishing the Architectural Board of Review. It had the power to review and hold up every building permit issued by the city for 20 days, raising the question with owners as to the style of architecture and quality of design. And if the owner failed to agree with its recommendation by the end of that time, a public hearing on the disagreement had to be held before the city council before a permit could be issued by the city building inspector¹³. The Architectural Board of

Review of Santa Barbara was similar to Palos Verdes Art Jury, in the sense that both members were appointed from lists of nominees submitted by professional organizations, and both had veto power.

Second, the meeting of the Architectural Advisory Committee on July 7 passed a resolution authorizing the establishment of an architectural drafting room. Immediately after the earthquake, technical support offers came from outside of the city. With the \$ 17,000 of donations from Mr. and Mrs. Hoffmann and others, the Architectural Advisory Committee kept a space for the Community Drafting Room in a newly built high school, and employed, one architect and four to six draftsmen from the Southern California Chapter of the American Institute of Architects and the Allied Architects Association of Los Angeles (1933; Chase 1971).

The Community Drafting Room played three roles. First, they took on overflow work of local architects at cost. Second, they offered technical assistance for the small property and shop owners who could not afford to retain an architect (Hastings 1925). Third, the Community Drafting Room provided the desirable changes in plans referred to it by the Architectural Board of Review. Irving F. Morrow wrote as follows:

The most original inspiration ... was the Community Drafting Room. A going architectural office, manned by competent designers, devoted to showing people that art is neither irrelevant nor necessarily costly, and that in the long run the solutions of their problems most satisfactory to themselves and to the public good are one and the same. I know of no other instance where a completely equipped office has been opened to demonstrate them (Morrow 1926).

Third, the Architectural Advisory Committee on July 7 decided that the predominant style of façade treatment for business property should be California Style of Architecture. This term obviously followed Palos Verdes covenants of 1923. The July 7 meeting also passed a resolution that suggested organizing State Street Block Committees of Property Owners in order to promote harmonized architecture in State Street. And Hoffmann requested architects and designers to submit, until July 17, sketches of alternation plans based on California style for typical blocks along State Street. Around thirty of interesting schemes were developed

and exhibited at the meeting of the Architectural Advisory Committee to illustrate what can be done on State Street, in typical city blocks and in the case of isolated buildings (Fig. 2) (Nickerson 1925).

The widening of State Street was of great importance to the city¹⁴. As a solution of this problem, it has been suggested that the existing sidewalks be made to serve the purpose of a wider street; and that new sidewalks be placed just within the present building line forming an arcade for the pedestrian traffic.

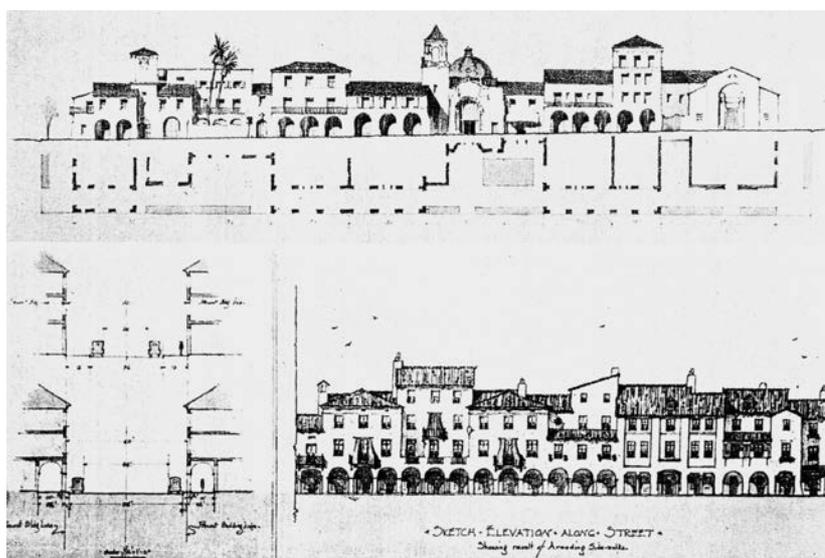


Figure 2. A Sketch of a block in State Street (above, below right) and a section plan of arcading State Street (below left)

Source: Pacific Coast Architect, vol.28, no.5, (Nov. 1925): p.36

On July 8, the City Planning Commission employed Cheney again as consultant¹⁵. On the meeting of the commission on July 10, Cheney proposed the widening of State Street by arcading under the buildings in block-by-block units. Early in 1918, Cheney had already proposed in a master plan for the City of Fresno, California, a way to create the 'Great Arcade' that followed the method of building the Rue de Rivoli in Paris – that is, by imposing restrictions on the architecture of abutting buildings facing the plaza, in return for allowing the property owners to build out over the sidewalk (Cheney 1918). The method of widening State Street was similar to that of Fresno. It would give property owners the right to extend their arcades beyond the front property line exchange for sidewalk easement. The Planning Commission approved Cheney's proposal with minor alternation.

Thereafter the firm of Soule, Murphy and Hastings drafted a couple

of schemes for the widening of State Street for the Planning Commission. And the City Planning Commission recommended the City Council the widening of the State Street by four feet on both sides by means of arcadening to the City Council on July 13, 1925 (Fig. 2) (City Council City of Santa Barbara).

(2) The Architectural Board of Review

From July 11, 1925 through February 24, 1926, the Architectural Board of Review held a meeting every two or three days and referred thirty three percent of applications they received to the Community Drafting Room (Table 2). The Board provided applicants with drawings of their neighboring buildings and to ask consideration to the unity of city blocks, while the Community Drafting Room provided plans for entire block of business districts and prepared suggestions for the harmonious treatment of whole block fronts. The Community Drafting Room "did a tremendous amount of work of unusual and varied character"(Chase 1959). They recommended that some buildings should be set back to create patios and that others have projecting patios instead of a uniform façade line abutting the sidewalk (Conard and Nelson 1986). Major examples of desirable changes proposed by the Community Drafting Room were as follows: Dry Goods Store (a projecting wooden balcony in the Monterey Revival style of architecture); Copper Coffee Pot (an outdoor patio); Hotel California, Hitchcock Motor Company, Rogers Furniture Building (arcades)(Conard and Nelson 1986).

Table 2. Achievements of the Architectural Board of Review of Santa Barbara, California (from July 11, 1925 through February 24, 1926)

	Total Number	Break Down
Meetings	101	Regular Meetings 96 Special Meetings 5
Consideration	928	New application 491, Preliminary presented 43 Pending mattered cleared 305 Other pending consideration 89
Action Taken	504	Final Approval 444 Withdrawn 19 Tentative Approval 40 Default 1
Application given further consideration	430	Referred to Secretary 56 Referred to Building Department 28 Referred to Drafting Room 315 More data 31

Source: Community Development and Conservation Collection, SBHC Mss 1.
Santa Barbara, CA, Department of Special Collections, Donald C.
Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Arcading sidewalks behind property lines was accepted on the blocks on the north side of the City Hall, on the Anacapa Street side of El Paseo, and on the State Street in the one through 300 blocks and the 1000 block. However, property owners on other blocks hastened to rehab their buildings, feared to lose individual character, and would not accept arcading. Later the removal of two lines of streetcar tracks made the widening of the street unnecessary (Chase 1989).

People were sharply divided on the Architectural Board of Review. Sometimes conflicts arose because the Board requirements imposed high costs and often hardship on property owners. On August 7, 1925, Howard Sweeney, who had previously organized the Citizen's and Property Owners' League, announced to the public that he would run for the municipal election to be held on December 1, warning against the "selfish greed, thirst for power, and the disregard of citizenship and property right" of certain members of the community and city government (Hermann, Lord et al. 1977). Oppositions against zoning and the Architectural Board of Review developed into a movement to demolish the City Planning Commission and the Architectural Board of Review, and even further to replace the council-manager form of government with the council-mayor form¹⁶.

In elections on December 1, the opponents got two positions on the City Council, while three out of the five city council positions were being contested. And the charter amendment was approved in the election, the City of Santa Barbara returned to the council-mayor form of government. On January 4, 1926, Henry Adrian, a new city councilman, was elected as a mayor. He introduced a new ordinance no. 1286 on January 7, repealing Ordinance 1256 which had established the Architectural Review Board. The City Council passed the ordinance on February 4. Thus, on March 6, 1926, the Architectural Board of Review ceased to exist¹⁷.

Although the Architectural Board of Review was abolished in eight months, there appeared a number of new or renovated buildings in Spanish

Colonial Revival mode with patios, corridors and arcaded sidewalks in commercial districts. State Street was rebuilt into "the most beautiful and distinctive business street in Southern California" (Adorada 1930). Typical examples were La Arcada (1926) and San Marcos Building (1925-26), both of which were designed by Myron Hunt and have patios. Irving F. Morrow later wrote:

There seems to be no question that the southern city has shown itself more alert to take advantage of the opportunities opened by the misfortune. ... The fact remains that within a few months after the event Santa Barbara was putting into effect public improvements of a kind which in San Francisco never emerged from the phase of edifying discussion" (Morrow 1926).

In 1929 the Santa Barbara County Courthouse, "the culmination" of Spanish Colonial Revival style, designed by William Mooser, was completed through the efforts and advices of the Architectural Advisory Committee, and Henry Philip Staats' California Architecture in Santa Barbara, summarizing "a decade of effort to redesign an entire community," was published (Gebhard 1990).

However, Bernard Hoffmann was "deeply grieved" by the abolishment of the Architectural Board of Review and resigned from the Community Arts Association in the spring of 1927 (Chase 1971). Pearl Chase became chairman of the Plans and Planting Division, and led it until shortly before her death in 1979 (LaBrie 1993).

(3) The Birth of the term "Architectural Control"

In April 1926, at the first statewide "City Plan Conference" in Los Angeles, which was called by the California Real Estate Association, Carlton Winslow, a former member of the Architectural Board of Review, made an address named "the Principle of Architectural Control and reported on his experiences in Santa Barbara (Winslow 1926). Winslow joined the committee on resolutions to draft the resolutions and the conference adopted the resolutions, No. 9 of which stated that "this conference recommend that the California Real Estate Association encourage the establishment of the principle of architectural control both through public art juries and through advisory and architectural

commissions"(1926). It emphasized the role of advisory commissions such as the Architectural Advisory Committee in Santa Barbara, as well as public art juries such as the Architectural Board of Review in Santa Barbara. In my view this was the first appearance of the term "architectural control" used by American planners¹⁸.

In February 1927, "Pacific Municipalities", a periodical of the League of California Municipalities, announced that in March at the second annual City Plan Conference in Oakland, Charles H. Cheney would make a report titled "Architectural Control and Art Juries." This was the first record that Cheney used this term. While the resolution of the first City Plan Conference valued the Architectural Advisory Committee as well as the Architectural Board of Review in Santa Barbara, Cheney emphasized the importance of Architectural Board of Review.

In April of the same year, the bulletin of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning placed articles about "architectural control" in Sweden and Germany provided in English, French and German, and in November the bulletin carried Cheney's article "Architectural Control over Town Development in the United States of America"(Cheney 1927).

In May 1927, at the nineteenth National Conference on City Planning that was held in Washington, D. C., John Nolen, president of the conference, looking back on "the twenty years of city planning progress in the United States", praised the establishment of the Architectural Board of Review of Santa Barbara as one of the landmarks of 1925(Nolen 1927). At this conference, Cheney made an address titled "Progress in Architectural Control"(Cheney 1927). His point did not differ from his earlier address in April 1924, reporting the achievements of the Santa Barbara Architectural Board of Review. However, Cheney used the term "architectural control" this time. Since then Cheney became a leading advocate of architectural control in the country and the term "architectural control" became widely used.

5. Rebirth of Architectural Control in Santa Barbara

The Depression and World War II severely restricted new construction in Santa Barbara (Conard and Nelson 1986). However, between 1940 and 1950,

Santa Barbara's population grew by 10,000 and construction activities gained momentum (Baker 2003). Yet, educational efforts of the Plans and Planting Committee could not prevent State Street from becoming just another "Main Street". The business section of the city seemed fated to lose the architectural harmony which had attracted visitors and residents to the community. Young businessmen who have traveled widely and returned from various war theaters, were enthusiastic about retaining the unique values in architecture established in Santa Barbara .

In 1946 the Santa Barbara Chamber of Commerce decided that "architectural harmony was desirable, even essential in Santa Barbara business areas to promote the economic and cultural welfare of the community, and a return to community architectural supervision of the business district would be desirable and beneficial". They polled its members and found that "95% of its voting members and 15 Civic Organizations were favorable both to return to appropriate regional type of architecture and the adoption of an ordinance as one securing architectural supervision of the business area .

On January 9, 1947, the City Council adopted Ordinance 2121 establishing the Architectural Board of Review. It modeled after the ordinance of 1925, but the new board was to review the designs of buildings to be constructed only in the C1-Commercial District. Later it was expanded to M1-Industrial District, and to R-3 Multiple Dwelling Districts. On August 4, 1958, the Architectural Board of Review adopted "Policy for Architectural Control", emphasizing the importance of harmony with nearby existing public or historic buildings, and defined the policies for choices of materials, forms, signs, and colors. It also designated the area of historic importance.

6. Conclusion

From what has been said above, it should be concluded as follow:

1. The "City Beautiful" movement created municipal art commissions to control the designs of public buildings in the late 1890s. Cheney introduced an art commission into the protective covenants of Palos Verdes Estates in 1921, to put on the designs of private properties based upon contract. Based upon this experience, he drafted the first

- ordinance to establish mandatory municipal architectural control of private properties based upon police power in Santa Barbara in the 1924.
2. The City Council of Santa Barbara adopted the first mandatory municipal architectural control ordinance in 1925, persuaded by the Plans Division of the Community Arts Association that was lead by Bernard Hoffmann. The Architectural Board of Review, supported by the Community Drafting Room, rebuilt the city in the Spanish Colonial Revival mode. They were toward a city of Spain, with a series of contained spaces in the form of public plazas and private courtyards, following after the general plan of the Panama–California Exposition of San Diego in 1915. This was unprecedented in the USA.
 3. Carlton Winslow used the term “architectural control” in 1926, and Cheney pushed it on the public. While Winslow emphasized both of the Architectural Advisory Committee and the Architectural Board of Review, Cheney stressed the importance of the Architectural Board of Review.
 4. Property owners opposed against the Architectural Board of Review and finally abolished it. However, after World War II, people of Santa Barbara re-established the Architectural Board of Review in 1947.

Notes

- 1 Only a few art commissions were still active during the Great Depression in the 1930s. Menhinick wrote that “the active and effectively functioning commissions today can almost be counted on one’s fingers”(Menhinick 1930).
- 2 Santa Barbara was connected to Los Angeles along the coast by rail in 1887, and to San Francisco in 1901(Gebhard 1995).
- 3 See “<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Churriqueresque>”
- 4 Eventually the Association had four divisions: Drama, Music, the School of Arts, and Plans and Planting. For the Community Arts Association, see (McFadden 1924; McFadden 1924; Seares 1924; 1925)
- 5 For Pearl Chase, see (Chase 1971; Farley 1988; Barker 1994).
- 6 In October 1922, the Carnegie Foundation selected the Association as an example of the working out of a program of the arts in American life and decided to give a grant of \$25,000.00 annually for five year (1925). Nearly \$1,300,000 was spent on cultural activities during a period of ten years (The Southern California Writers' Project of the Work Projects 1941).
- 7 For “Floor Plan of El Paseo”, see p. 14, Fig. 14, (Gebhard 1982)
- 8 For George Washington Smith, see (Gebhard 1964).
- 9 See pp. 43–48, (Gebhard 1982)
- 10 For Cheney’s ideas on master plan, see (Akimoto 2003).
- 11 See, Santa Barbara Morning Press, October 23, 1924.
- 12 For quake damage of Santa Barbara, see (1925; Chase 1959)
- 13 The ordinance defined as follows:
 “One copy of all applications for building permits shall be delivered to the Architectural Board of Review by the Inspector of Building, for written reports as to the character of design, appropriateness, safety, sanitary arrangement and general construction thereof. ...If the Architectural Board of Review present a written report thereon to the Inspector of Building recommending changes in design, construction, alternation, which after conference with applicant for the permit the said applicant

refuses to make or accept, said report and application for permit shall referred to the City Council, and a public hearing held thereon before issuance of a building permit by the Inspector of Building. No public building or structure, fountain, monument, wall, arch or other structures shall be erected, placed on or upon or removed from or re-located or altered on or upon any public land or allowed to extend over or upon and street, avenue, square, park, recreation ground, beach or other public property unless plans for same and the location thereof shall first have been approved in writing by the Architectural Board of Review" (City of Santa Barbara 1925).

- 14 Around this time, an 1855 map of Santa Barbara was discovered which revealed State Street being called "Estaso". The city council adopted "Calle del Estado" as the new name. This was used until after the election in December of 1925(Tracy 1970).
- 15 Cheney was on the City Planning Commission as consultant until November 5, 1925.
- 16 The 1915 charter amendment transformed the city into the city manager form of government, and it introduced citizen initiatives, referendums and recall. The 1926 charter turned the city back to the weak mayor and city council form of government until a charter amendment in 1953 brought back the city manager form of government(Russell 1982).
- 17 The City Planning Commission of Santa Barbara reported on June 1926, that "misunderstandings of the purposes of the Commission led to bitter oppositions to the recommendations of the Commission. For several months the Commission was more or less inactive except for routine work in revising the Zoning Ordinance." (City of Santa Barbara 1926). The City Planning Commission stopped functioning on May 31, 1927 and was reorganized on Decemeber 19, 1928(Planning Commission City of Santa Barbara).
- 18 Thomas Adams, a British planner, used the term "architectural control" in 1924, first in the USA. See, (Adams 1924)

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THE IMPLEMENTATION OF CONSERVATION PLANS OF THE RATTANAKOSIN AREA, BANGKOK

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Introduction

Forced by the Rattanakosin Committee, the Master plan for Conservation and Development of Krung Rattanakosin was created in 1982. The master plan is the foremost plan of which 20 conservation programmes were applied to be the action plans and studies. Due to the revision of the master plan of 1994, less than 40 per cent of activities in conservation programmes have been applied during two decade of plan implementation. Hence, the question of why the plans cannot gain a success will be addressed in this study.

The study comprise of three main parts. First part is to investigate the roles of the Rattanakosin Committee that pays an important part in the conservation bodies and the conservation plans in the Rattanakosin area, including the master plan and action plans. Second part is to evaluate the implementation of conservation plans based on the revise plan of 1994. Final part is to discover of the obstructions and provide the suggestions for attaining a success in plan implementations.

The Rattanakosin Area: the Historic Core of Bangkok

Bangkok, the official name of which is *Krung Thep Maha Nakhon*, has been the capital of Thailand since 1782. The city has served as the centre of the government administration, economy, social, and culture. The *Rattanakosin* area is a historic core of Bangkok with its high values national monuments. Since the Rattanakosin area is the first settlement of Bangkok before it has been gradually growth covering the area of Bangkok Metropolitan as in nowadays, a number of governmental offices, academic institutes, commercial areas and also residential areas of various ethnic groups have been still located in the Rattanakosin area. (Naengnoi Saksri 1991: 336) The Rattanakosin area has been characterised as comprising three concentric rings of settlement, which are the Inner Rattanakosin, the Outer Rattanakosin, and *Krung Thonburi*.¹ (Fig. 1)

1 The first is the Inner Rattanakosin, the area from the Chao Phraya River to the inner original city canal (Khlong Ku Muang Derm), covering the area of 1.8 square kilometres or 1,125 Rai. (1 Rai equals as 0.0016 square kilometre.) The second is the Outer Rattanakosin, the area in between the original city canal and the outer city canal (Khlong Ong Ang and Khlong Bang Lamphu). It covers the area of 2.3 square kilometres or 1,413 Rai. The third ring is the old capital of Krung Thonburi, the area on the opposite site of the Chao Phraya River covering the area of 1.74 square kilometres or 1,088 Rai.

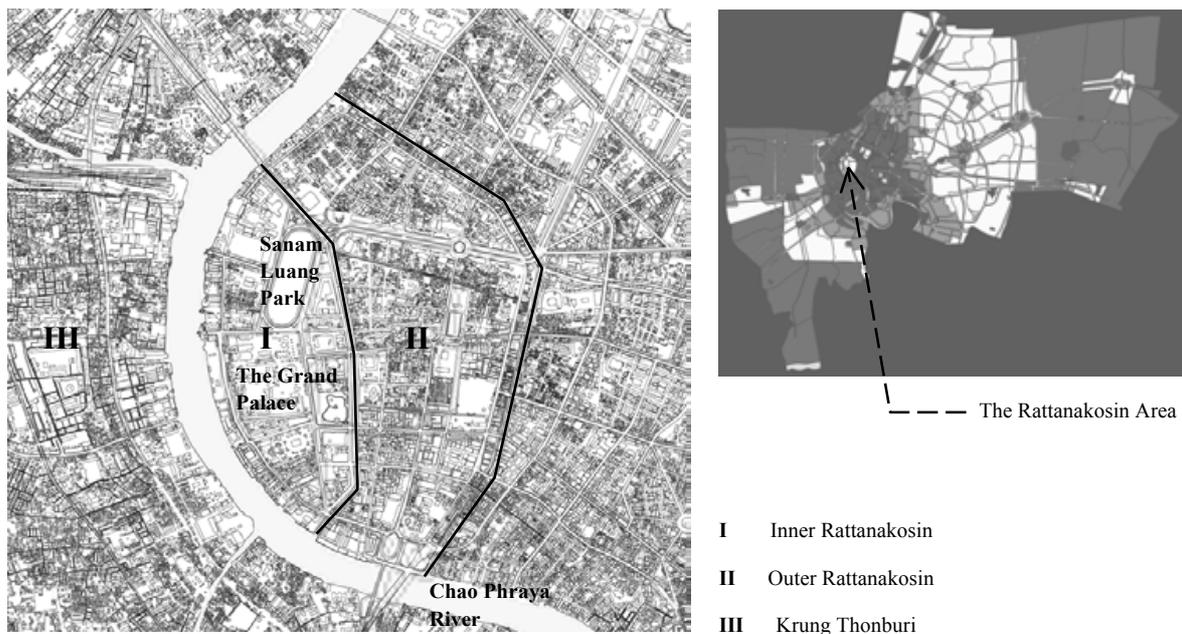


Figure 1: The location of the Rattanakosin Area

The Rattanakosin Committee: the Main Actor of Conservation Bodies

Faced with the dramatic situations, which lead to cultural, social and economic losses, the conservation in the Rattanakosin was initiated in the early 1970s by concerned academics and architects, who were the leaders of conservation movements for opposing the destruction of historic monuments during the high economy growth period. Significantly, the first conservation project was started in 1972 when the Arts and Environmental Protection Association created the project for improvement and conservation in the Rattanakosin area and proposed it to the government. Later, this conservation project was approved by the government and it was one in the Fourth National Economic and Social Development Plan (1977-1981).

By 1970s, government authorities established two committees responsible for conservation projects. Firstly, “the committee of conservation in valuable buildings in Bangkok” was established by the Ministry of Interior in 1976. This committee had a responsibility to lay down policies and measures for conservation of the Rattanakosin area in order to prepare for the bicentenary celebrations of Bangkok in 1982. Secondly, “the committee of conservation improvement and restoration historical monuments in the Rattanakosin” was established by the Ministry of Education established in 1979. Main tasks of the committee are to designate areas of historical monuments for the urgency registration and to regulate the boundary of conservation district. In 1979, to avoid duplication of efforts between the committees, the National Environment Board, under the Ministry of Science, Technology and Environment, combined both committees to be “the committee for Rattanakosin Island project”, later named “the Rattanakosin Committee”.

The Rattanakosin Committee hands over a great responsibility in conservation practices in the Rattanakosin area. The tasks of the committee include stating policies; conservation plans, building guidelines, infrastructures and services in the area. Besides, the

committee is responsible for stating implementation agencies, and controlling plan implementation. (Synchron Group Co. Ltd. 1994: 7-8) Due to the main task of the committee in creating the master plan for conservation in the Inner Rattanakosin, a design competition was held. Awarded proposals purposed by six design companies were adopted to be “the Master Plan for the Conservation and Development of Krung Rattanakosin” in 1982. Apart from creating the plans, the committee has a responsibility to implement conservation programmes. Moreover, it works with the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (the BMA) to approve all the blueprints of the buildings constructed in the Rattanakosin Area.

The committee comprise of the representative members from various government authorities that have accountability of conservation in the area. The head of the committee is the Deputy Prime Minister and the secretary of the committee is the Office of Environmental Policy and Planning. In 1997, the Rattanakosin committee was changed the name again to be “the Committee for development and conservation of the Rattanakosin and old towns”. From that period until the present days, its responsibilities were expanded to cover not only the Rattanakosin area but also old towns all over Thailand. (Fig. 2)

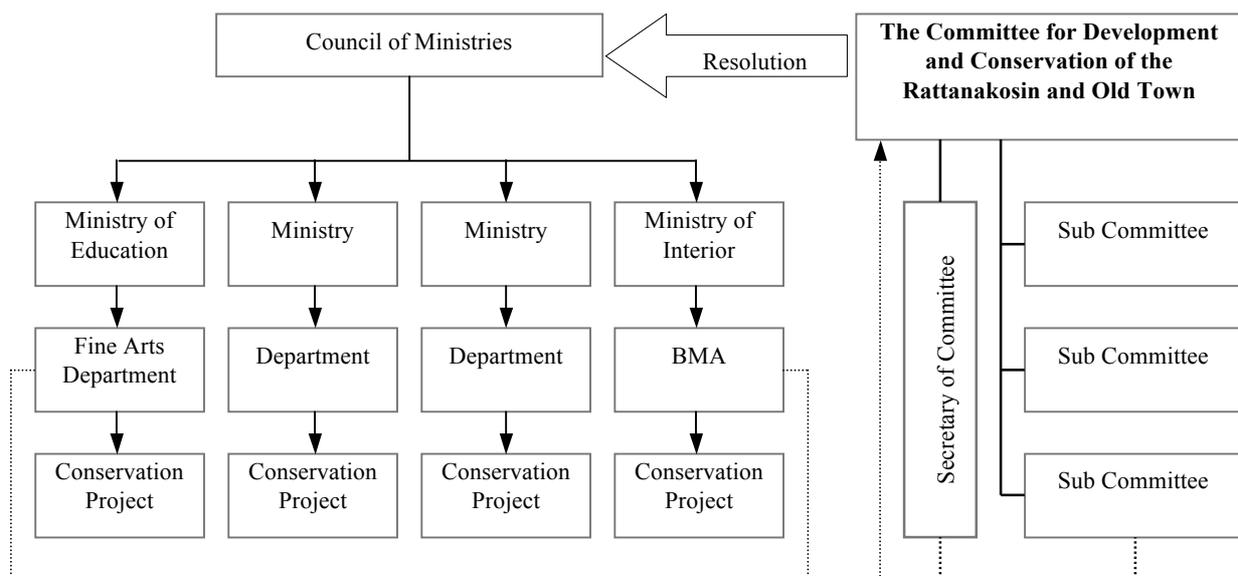


Figure 2: The conservation bodies of the Rattnakosin Area

Source: Team Consulting Engineering and Management, Co. Ltd. 2004.

The Master Plan of the Rattanakosin Area: the Foremost Policy Plan

The Master Plan of the Rattanakosin Area is a comprehensive plan that affects all district plans and local ordinances. The plan contains 20 conservation programmes². Each programme comprise of a) design concepts with rough images of the programmes, b) methods for plan implementation and responsible organisations, and c) terms of implementation and budgets.

² This study will evaluate the implementation of the conservation programmes of the Inner Rattanakosin, the Outer Rattanakosin. The programmes of Krung Thonburi are not included in the study.

The Master Plan of the Rattanakosin Area covers “a conservation area for enhancing Thai arts and culture” controlled by the Bangkok Comprehensive Plan³. (The BMA, 2006) It is important to note that the master plan protects “an urban conservation area”, which is “space” rather than “historic buildings”, which were what the conservation practices were former protects. Nonetheless, conservation concepts of the master plan still focus on restoring old valuable buildings, preserving areas around valuable buildings as green open spaces, and controlling the uses in the conservation areas. (Office of Environmental Policy and Planning. 2006:5).

Within the master plan, the conservation concepts follow the Regulations for Monument Conservation of 1985. “Conservation” was referred to the act of keeping and maintaining a monument in order no retain its values. This comprises protection, maintenance, preservation, restoration and repair. “Monument” was referred to immovable property whose age, architectural styles and historical evidence can be of value to arts, archaeology and history. This includes all antiques attached to the monument and site” (Dhanakoses, Ronarit 2003: 188).

Results from conservation concept appear in conservation programmes including clearance the areas for creating visual vistas to the monuments and preserving and restoring of the monuments that are registered as “national heritage”. Due to the control as “a conservation area”, the Master Plan of the Rattanakosin Area aim towards preserving the area only for the conservation function followed a modern zonal-planning concept. (Askew, Masc. 2002: 305) Traditional practices of land use banned caused the market places and local communities are purposed to demolish. (Fig. 3)



Figure 3: The conceptual images of the conservation programmes

Source: Office of Environmental Policy and Planning 2004a.

³ The Rattanakosin area has been identified as conservation area from the first comprehensive plan in 1960s when the BMA hire the foreign consultants created the plan.

Because of this concept, the master plan uses a comprehensive redevelopment and large-scale clearance scheme. It restricts to the preservation of a limited number of main buildings and monuments.

Although the master plan was created as a policy plan since the early 1980s; the plan was published in 1994 and presented at a public hearing in 1995. Later, the master plan was passed by the Council of Ministries in 1997. Its condition was changed to be a law that can legally force the local government to put into action. (Fig. 4)

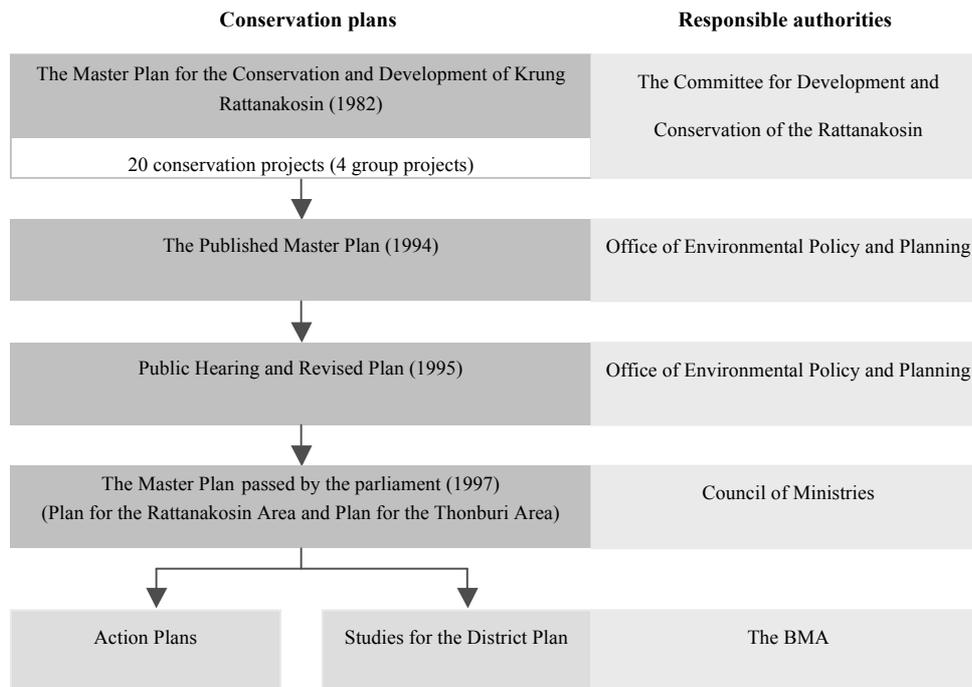


Figure 4: The conservation plans of the Rattanakosin area and responsible authorities

In 1994, the National Environment Board conducted the revise master plan. The revise plan shows the plan implementation during 1987-1992 and divides the plans into two groups. Group 1 includes programmes that are completely implemented (nine programmes). Group 2 contains programmes that are in an on-going process (five programmes) and programme those are included in the master plan (20 programmes) (Synchron Group Co. Ltd. 1994: 18-19).

Twenty programmes in the master plan are divided into three groups. Group 1 Group projects in the area of *Mahakan Fort*, *Wat Deptidaram*, *Wat Ratchanaddaram* and *Chedi Phukhao Thong* (the Golden Mount Stupa), Group 2 Group projects of water and street transportation in Inner *Rattankosin* and Outer *Rattanakosin*, and Group 3 Group projects in the areas nearby the *Chao Phraya River*. Along the plan implementation, some programmes can be applied to be action plans or studies. Currently, there are three action plans and three studies for district plans. (Fig. 5)

Figure 5: 20 programmes in the Master plan of the Rattanakosin Area		
Group 1: Group projects in the area of Mahakan Fort, Wat Depthidaram, Wat Raichanaddaram and Chedi Phukhao Thong (the Golden Mount Stupa)	1.1 Preserving and Improving the Mahakan Fort	The Action plan of conservation and development of the Mahakan Fort area
	1.2 Improving Wat Depthidaram and Wat Raichanaddaram Area	-
	1.3 Creating the Golden Mount Public Park	-
Group 2: Group projects of water and street transportation in Inner Rattanakosin and Outer Rattanakosin	2.1 Improving the Canals and Bridges for Water Transportation	-
	2.2 Provision Patis along the Canals: the Klong Ku Muang Derm, Klong Rob Krung, Klong Lod (North and South)	-
	2.3 Preserving and Improving the City Gates, City walls and City Forts	-
	2.4 Managing Orderliness of activities in the Klong Ong Ang, Mouth of a Canal Area	-
Group 3: Group projects in the areas nearby the Chao Phraya River	3.1 Improving the Phra Athit Road Area	The Action plan of conservation and development of the Phra Athit and Pra Sumane Area
	3.2 Creating Visual Vistas of Wat Bovorn Sathan Sutthavat	The Action plan of conservation and development of the Rachanavee Samosorn and Wat Bovorn Sathan Sutthavat
	3.3 Improving the Tha Phrachan Area	A study for district plan of Tha Chang - Tha Phrachan
	3.4 Improving the Ratchanavee Samosorn Area	-
	3.5 Improving the Department of Internal Trade area	-
	3.6 Creating Visual Vistas of Wat Phra Chetuphon Vinommongkalam	A study for district plan of Tha Tian – Phak Khlong Thalad
	3.7 Improving the Tha Tien Area	-
	3.8 Improving the Phak Khlong Thalad Area	-
Group 4: The other projects	4.1 Improving the Prang Nara, Prang Phuthorn and Prang Sanphasart Area	A study for district plan of Prang Nara, Prang Phuthorn and Prang Sanphasart
	4.2 Managing Orderliness of the Backward Areas of Rajadamnoen Avenue	-
	4.3 Creating Cultural Plaza at Wat Suthat Depvararam and the Bangkok City Hall	-
	4.4 Improving the Bang Lamphu Commercial Area	-
	4.5 Providing Infrastructures for the Rattanakosin Area	-

Figure 4: 20 programmes in the Master plan of the Rattanakosin Area

- Projects with in a progress,
- Projects with implemented activities,
- Projects with no implemented

The Evaluation of Conservation Plans

In this study, evaluation of conservation plans is divided into two periods. First is the evaluation of conservation practices during the plan-making period (1970s-80s). Second is the evaluation of the implementation of the master plan (1980s to the present).

The Evaluation of Conservation Practices during Plan Making Period

During conservation movements and creation of the master plan from the late 1970s to the early of 1980s, early accomplishments were projects of preservation and restoration the high value historic monuments. Nine programmes of preservation and repair monuments -- such as buildings in the Grand Palace, *Wat Phra Si Rattana Sasdaram*, *Wat Arun Ratchavararam*, and two programmes of reconstruction monuments, were carried out in the time of the Bangkok bicentennial celebrations in 1982. The other achievement was a programme of improving *Sanam Laung*, a major public park including relocation a weekend market to the northern suburb area of Bangkok in 1981. One of the effective tasks was to passage decrees on land-use regulation. In 1984 and 1987 the Ministry of Interior issued the Decree on land-use regulations of the Inner Rattanakosin zone, the Outer Rattanakosin zone. In 1992 a zone on the opposite site of *Chao Phraya River*, *Krung Thonburi* was issued a decree on land-use regulation.

Even though the conservation tasks brought about the earlier achievements, oppositions to the Rattanakosin Master Plan from the citizens and professionals have been occurred. There are numerous conservation plans that caused negative consequences to the local residents' ways of life. The effects have not take place only in the earlier of the conservation tasks, but also until the present days. In 1990, architectural professionals opposed a demolition of *Chalermthai* Theatre for creating a scenic vista of *Wat Ratchanadda*. As following the land-use regulations, markets and commercial areas are controlled and some of them were demolished.

In sum, conservation activities during the plan-making period focused on the activities of building restoration of historic monuments, the landscape improvement for creating open spaces, and the provision of regulatory measures for the conservation areas.

The Evaluation of the Implementation of the Master Plan

Since the period of plan making until the revision of the master plan in 1994, the plan assessment report shows that conservation programmes under the master plan have not been success. Less than 40 per cent of activities have been implemented. (Team Consulting Engineering and Management, Co. Ltd. 2004: 103) Along two decades of operation, it is significant that only three of 20 conservation programmes in the master plan shown good results. The successful programmes include: Creating Cultural Plaza at *Wat Suthat Depvararam* and the Bangkok City Hall; Improving the *Phra Athit* Road Area; and Improving *Wat Depthidaram* and *Wat Ratchanaddaram* Area. Conversely, nine programmes have not be

seen the implementation.⁴ Based on the plan assessment report, progressive conservation activities comprise of the governmental office relocation; the building restoration and construction; and the landscape improvement. On the contrary, three unprogressive activities comprise of the regulatory measures, the building demolition, and the community orderliness. This following shows details of the evaluation of each activity.

Progressive Activities:

1. Governmental Office Relocation is one of activities that gain a completion. The programme that gains an achievement is a relocation of the Department of Internal Trade in order to use the area as recreation open spaces. To move governmental offices out of the Rattanakosin area is not only included in 20 programmes under the master plan, but it also involved in other conservation plans – such as the relocating offices of the Ministry of Defence, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of Commerce.

A key reason for completion for this activity is a forceful decision of the government to move out governmental offices from conservation zones. However, there are many programmes that have not been in a success. Some relocation plans brought about conflicts with plans of governmental sectors. While conservation plans purpose to move out the offices, governmental office's plans still insist to use their areas. Examples of conflicts involve Office of the Council State and Office of the Maritime Promotion Commission. In some cases, although governmental offices have already moved out, the buildings have not been torn down; therefore, the following tasks, such as the landscape improvement cannot be implemented.

2. Building Restoration and Construction is an activity involved in almost all of programmes (17 of 20 programmes) and gain good results. In seven programmes, restoring and constructing buildings can be applied. The success depends on strong protection under the regulatory measures. During 1978-1982, 133 items of high value monuments including the city fort, city walls and city gates, high valuable buildings of temples, palaces and traditional shop-houses were registered by the Fine Arts Department (FAD) under the Ancient Monuments Act of 1961. Because almost buildings are belonging to the government, temples and the crown properties, the governmental authorities can carry out the programmes forcefully. Restoration programmes comprise of *Mahakan Fort* and *Pra Sumane Fort*. These programmes are under the responsibility of the BMA and the Fine Arts Department. Repainting shop-houses in areas of *Pra Athit*, *Tha Tien*, *Tha Phrachan*, *Prang Phuthorn*, and *Wat Su-that Depvararam*, were under the collaboration between the BMA, the crown properties (the land owner), local residents, and private sectors. Complete construction work is the construction of Cultural Plaza and underground parking in the area nearby *Wat Su-that*

⁴ Nine programmes that have not be seen the implementation include: Creating the Golden Mount Public Park; four Projects of Water and Street Transportation in the Inner and Outer Rattanakosin Zone; Creating Visual Vistas of *Wat Phra Chetuphon Vimolmongalaram*; Improving the *Phak Khlong Thalad* Area, Improving the *Prang Nara*, *Prang Phuthorn* and *Prang Sanphasart* Area; Managing Orderliness of the Backward Areas of *Rajadamnoen* Avaneue; and Providing Infrastructures for the Rattanakosin Area.



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3. Landscape Improvement including the improvement of infrastructure, services and pavements, is involved in every programme. The assessment shows that almost successful programmes in landscape improvement are placed in public areas -- for instance, creating walkways along the *Chao Phraya* River in the *Pra Athit* Road Area, creating footpaths in *Tha Tien* and *Tha Chang* Areas. (Fig. 7) A public park in the *Pra Sumane* Fort is one of good practices in landscape improvement. It has been in negotiation between the FAD who takes a duty in reconstruction of the fort and the BMA who responsible for creating a park. (Fig. 8)

Figure 9: The programme of demolishing buildings in the Mahakan Fort Area



ways can not been appned.

Unprogressive activities:

1. Regulatory Measures include environmental controls, activity and building construction controls, and traffic controls. In the conservation programmes, few regulation measures are included. Moreover, they have not achieved a success. Main factors caused ineffective in the regulatory measures are that to put controls to action need long-term period and good relation to other regulations.

2. Building Demolition is involved in almost all of conservation programmes but it has been rarely put into action. Main obstructions are that to demolish buildings depends on the collaboration between various actors, which are landowners, local communities, public sectors, and government authorities. Nowadays, numerous programmes involve the building demolition are opposed by the local residents. The revise plan reports that the governmental sectors try not to come into conflicts with the residents by applying the building demolition. (Team Consulting Engineering and Management, Co. Ltd. 2004: 104)

Consistent with conservation programmes, there are two main goals of the building demolition. First is to demolish buildings and communities that encroach on the historic monuments and sites -- for instances, areas of the city motes, walls, gates and forts. For example, the demolishing buildings in *Mahakan Fort*, *Wat Depthidaram* and *Wat Ratchanaddaram*, and the Golden Mount Stupa. (Fig. 9) The second goal is to clear buildings that obstruct visual vistas of the monuments and replace by open spaces. From this goal, a good implementation is the programme in the area of Department of Internal Trade, replacing by a public park and underground museum. Ineffective programmes include two areas nearby *Chao Phraya River* -- the Tourist Center of the BMA the *Bang Lamphu* area, and the *Ratchanavee Samosorn* belonging to Royal Thai Navy, in *Tha Chang Pier*. Some programmes brought about critics from the local residents. For example, the programme of *Wat Bovorn Satharn Sutthavat*, this involves the demolishing of the National Theatre.

3. Community Orderliness is included in few programmes in the master plan. In practice, to move local communities out of historic areas cannot be implemented effectively because of the opposition from the residents and professionals.

The community orderliness has been initiated when programmes in the master plan were applied to action plans and studies for district plans. When the programmes of the areas nearby the *Chao Phraya* River, which are A Study for District Plan of *Tha Chang - Tha Prachan*, and A Study for District Plan of *Tha Tien - Phak Khlong Thalad*, were applied to studies for district plans, several methods to persuade people to join conservation process were used. Within the studies, numerous buildings and local communities that purposed to be torn down under the master plan are lessened. Instead, the buildings purposed to be revitalised by programmes of community under the encouragement of the BMA.

In summary, for the evaluation of the implementation of the conservation programmes in the master plan, the activities involved in almost programmes and they can be implemented are the building restoration and construction and the landscape improvement. Activities involved in almost all of programmes but it cannot be unsuccessfully put into action is the building demolition. Activities involved in few programmes are the governmental office relocation, the regulatory measures, and the community orderliness. The governmental office relocation gains a completion while the regulatory measures and the community orderliness are not gain a success.

Obstructions and suggestions for Plan Implementation

In accordance with the study of the roles of the Rattanakosin Committee and the master plan of the Rattanakosin area, and results of the assessment of the plans as mentioned above, this following will show the obstacles in plan implementation including three main issues.

1. The governmental authorities are duplicating in the effort of when it comes to conservation.

The duplication in efforts of various authorities that work for the conservation plans, is mainly cause makes the plan's failure. According to the conservation bodies, it is a centralisation system that gathers many authorities working together, and the Rattanakosin Committee takes a duty as a collaborating agency. From the chart, it can be seen that the bodies are too board; consequently, the committee cannot hand over all task covering the conservation area.

Within the conservation programmes, there are much more than 15 governmental authorities involved in the implementation. Thus, the authorities have not been working together consistently. The authorities that take part in every programme are the Office of Environmental Policy and Planning, which is the secretary of the Rattanakosin Committee,

and the BMA (the Land Readjustment and Urban Renewal Planning Division, Department of City Planning), which is a host in putting plans into action⁵.

To reduce the duplicating of the implementation, these two main authorities should be improved their collaborations with other sectors. Alternatively, the establishment of community-based organisation (CBO) will be a good new actor in the conservation bodies. (Yongthanit 2000) The CBO will be assigned as a co-worker to provide information and consultations of the plans to local people and also bring back the needs of the residents to the local government.

2. Public participation is included in few parts of the plans.

Since public participation includes in few parts of the plans, to apply conservation activities dealt with local communities has not been in a success. Without public participation the plans cannot be applied and be opposed by the residents. For solving this problem, the conservation in the Rattanakosin ought to follow the international conservation concept in historic towns and urban areas -- the Washington Charter⁶ to encourage the participant and the involvement of the residents. (ICOMOS 2006)

More recently, the Rattanakosin Committee and the BMA pay increasing attention to public participation. In the current plans, public participation methods are added as a new tool in order to solve problems in plan implementation. In the Strategic Plan for Conservation and Development of Krung Rattanakosin and the Old Towns (2004-2008), a public participation plan was included as one of the three main plans. (Office of Environmental Policy and Planning 2004b: 28) In 2004 the Draft Plan of Public Participation for Conservation and Development of Krung Rattanakosin (2004-2006) was created (Office of Environmental Policy and Planning 2004c). Furthermore, Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand of 1997 contains policy on arts and culture. It encourages the participation of Thai people in preserving and managing the cultural properties. From this law, a traditional community shall have the right to conserve or restore their customs, local knowledge, arts or good culture of their community and of the nation and participate in the management, maintenance, preservation and exploitation of national resources.(Office of the Council of the State 2006)

Even though there are numerous laws and measures that give the rights to Thai people in preserving and managing the cultural properties, the problems of the residents in the Rattanakosin area to take part in conservation are still remain. In many cases, the local residents in the Rattanakosin area have no property rights in lands or buildings; thus, they have few rights in the decision-making processes of preserving or enhancing the properties.

5 The authorities that frequency take part in the plans are the Treasury Department, Ministry of Finance, which takes a duty as a land owner in almost all of governmental areas and the Fine Arts Department, Ministry of Education, which takes a duty in preservation programmes. Other authorities are National Housing authority, Department of Lands, Department of Religious Affairs, Marine Department, Bureau of the Royal House Hold, Royal Thai Navy, Ministry of Finance, Department Operation Centre the Marketing Organisation, and The Crown properties.

6 International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, 1987

For this reason, the proper methods for the residents who have no property rights should be set up.

3. Conservation plans comprise less incentive for the residents. Instead, conservation tasks exerted significant effects of the residents' way of life.

As mentioned, conservation plans of the Rattanakosin area include less persuasion for the residents to follow the plans; on the other hand, the plans cause negative consequences to their living. Likewise, conservation programmes in the master plan focus on the preservation of historical monuments, townscape and controls of land use. The local residents take few chances to involve in conservation and gain less economic and social advantage.

At the present time, the concepts of “conservation” and “monument” are broadening. The rigid interpretation of cultural values has been changed. Social values and functional values –new functions or activities, such as tourism⁷, should be realised as well as architectural and historical values. In the change of conservation focus, the importance of management of heritage is currently high lighted and a broad consensus is being established that heritage belongs to the members of society. (ICCROM 2003: 2)

Thus, for revitalising the Rattanakosin area, which can be identified as “a living heritage” with increasing attention in “living” dimension, the traditional conservation efforts that brought negative impacts to the residents should be revised. Moreover, financial incentives to revitalise the investment of old communities, such as tax incentives, grants and public-private partnerships investment should be created.

Conclusion

From 1980s until now, the implementation of conservation plans of the Rattanakosin area has been applied; however, the assessment of the plans shows that some implementation has not been in a success. According to this study, the suggestions for solving the obstacles in plan implementation include: first, the collaboration between governmental authorities to undertake the plans should be improved. Second, the conservation plans should support every part in conservation bodies, which are the government sector, the local sector, the non-profit sector, the public sector, and the owner and stakeholder sector, to take part in all processes of the plans. Finally, conservation plans should pay more important parts in revitalising contemporary uses in the conservation areas.

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⁷ In the Rattanakosin area, the tourism is a growth industry. In order to serve tourism industry, there are a number of services and accommodation business in the area. (BMA 2005)

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**STUDY OF COMMERCIAL CONFIGURATION OF
HUBIN TOURISM & BUSINESS SPECIALTY DISTRICT OF
HANGZHOU IN CHINA TO PRESERVE CITY IDENTITY**

**--Introduce Commerce Admittance Mechanism to Adjust
And Balance between Foreign Culture and Local Characteristic**

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PREFACE

These days, there are propelling incentives of urban tourism blossom inspired by development of Chinese life quality, whilst execution of 5-day week, National holidays (Oct 1st –Oct 7th) and Labor festival (May 1st –May 7th) is processing prevalently in long-term leisure recently. Meanwhile, combo of recreational tourism and experiencing tourism provoke a backlash of evolution in certain scenic spots, referring to a brand new functional area—RBD (Recreational Business District). Sophisticated ingredients in RBD properties (Detailed on Tab.1) are not only obligated to meet basic demand of business, but also revealing characteristics of local landscape and background of historical culture in exploitation procedure to enforce synergistic interaction between business development and local features.

Tab.1, Description of RBD (Recreational Business District)

PROPERTIES	1, The shape of the district is generally line tape or “T” tape
	2, There always be some traditional and local commerce in the district
	3, Most of the users in this district is mainly travelers.
	4, There exist some scenic spots or blocks which could represent the historical culture or identity of the city
	5, It consists of shopping, catering, recreation and sport, culture, souvenir, receptions facilities and other functions in common
	6, Regional culture always be integrated with the image of the district

Sources from: PRINCIPLE OF REGIONAL TOURISM PLANNING, Bihu Wu

Nevertheless, amounts of Chinese urban planners and architects commence on these districts which function as exhibition of a city and drum for flows of people with the attraction of local features. In new planning trend, they make urban design to these districts, with architecture and landscape consorting with local characteristic and hence thrive to outstanding the local culture as distinguishing feature to attract more visitors. Otherwise aspect, commercial configuration is tuned in and settled down with bringing in international brands and foreign culture, which usually being located vividly to achieve domino effect in order to drum up population flow, further gearing with the international standard to improve the class and exhibit the international image of this district. However, at odds with former improvement, traditional business and old fashion of leisure under plausible principles of commerce-configuration are dwarfed by prevalent planning and tarnished beyond filthy appearance and inconspicuous location.

Prior to side impact in ascendant, Hubin Tourism & Business Specialty District which is lately reformed and by the side of the West Lake--Chinese renowned scenic spot for travelers is being introduced to be a subject investigated. From the aspect of users' perspectives, we are hoping to investigate whether the interaction between commerce configuration of this district and legacy of the lakescape process harmoniously, for deeper level, planners are expected to pay more attention to the commerce-configuration planning in some similar notable stretch of significant districts.

1 HANGZHOU, A TOURISM CITY OF HISTORY AND NATURE

Hangzhou, an important tourist destination in China, is located at the south end of the historic Beijing-Hangzhou Grand Canal and 150 kilometers southwest of Shanghai. It is one of the seven ancient capitals of China. It has a history of over 2,200 years since the county administration was established in Qin Dynasty and was the capital in Wuyue State of the Five Dynasties (893 AD) and the Southern Song Dynasty (1138 AD). In 1982, Hangzhou was announced as one of the first batch cultural and historical cities of China by the Chinese Government.

Opting out of centuries-old history, Hangzhou is more prominently renowned with its natural and vigorous lakescape. Its famous scenic spot, West Lake, surrounded by more than 60 cultural heritage sites, is as familiar an icon as the Great Wall or the Forbidden City of Beijing to the Chinese. The West Lake scenic area with an area of 6 km² embraced in abundant vegetation diffused with countless of pavilions, terraces, pagodas, towers, grottoes and temples. With trihedral hillside surrounded, the West Lake straightly faces toward town hall. There is West Lake Scenic Area as a national scenic spot within an area of 59km². In all the eras, literators, troubadour and poets inherited elegant poetry and literature and hung over generations over and over and again. Beauty of the West Lake subtly integrates human culture and nature landscape, relying to harmonious unity of nature and life of leisure. In the 13th century, Italian traveler Macro Polo visited Hangzhou in the late 13th century and called the city “beyond dispute the finest and the noblest in the world.” The beautiful natural landscape of West Lake and the local life style of leisure bring forth the names of “Heaven on the Earth”, “international Garden City” and “Oriental Capital of Leisure” to Hangzhou. Thus, together with Beijing 2008 Olympic Games and Shanghai 2010 World Expo, the Hangzhou 2006 World Leisure Expo is the three major international events in China at the beginning of this century. Tourists are sheer conquered by the view of the West Lake. To the Chinese, a pilgrimage to Hangzhou is an essential experience in ones life. Last year, 34 million domestic and foreign tourists were attracted to experience Hangzhou and had wonderful memories here.

In addition, with long history abundant products clinch with Hangzhou, it has the reputation of “City of silk” due to its 5000 years of silk weaving. Besides, as habitat to Dragon Well tea, which is on top of the ten renowned tea in China, Hangzhou is awarded the name “China Tea City” in 2005. What is more, Dujinsheng Brocade, Wangxingji fans, West Lake Silk Parasols, Hangzhou Embroidery, color-glazed porcelain are all special local-made products which all have long history and gain abroad and domestic public praise.

2 NEW RBD OF HANGZHOU--HUBIN TOURISM & BUSINESS SPECIALTY DISTRICT

2.1 Crucial Location and Layout of Hubin Tourism & Business Specialty District

Hangzhou Hubin Tourism & Business Specialty District, which is the object of our study, locates approximately 50 meters away from the most famous shoreline of West Lake in the northeast. This district is a significant section in the West Lake encircling tour. It is also the

transition from the city to the scenic area. Thus, the crucial location in sense of tourism importance obtains the emphasis from the government of Hangzhou. The relative administrations play rule as sword smith with attention to create the district as one of the Hangzhou specialty districts and streets these days (Embodied Location in Fig. 1).



Before the year 2004, Hubin Road left only a narrow strip of lakefront land available for public use and benefited only the owners of property facing West lake. Therefore, the Hangzhou government formed a public/private partnership, the Hangzhou Hubin Commerce & Tourism Company, tasked with making the lakefront more of a tourist amenity. The SWA Group of Houston and a local firm, the Zhejiang South Architecture Design Company, were invited to produce a master plan. In the plan, Hangzhou Hubin Tourism & Business Specialty District is purposed to be a significant RBD (Recreational Business District) of Hangzhou by

regenerating the lakefront's buildings, landscapes, transportation and reforming the commercial configuration in order to brighten the image of historic cultural city of leisure. Planners are commissioned to reform layout of the whole Hubin district, through reestablishing the original lakefront area and combining with historical cultural tourism. With the procedure of compromising modern architect/landscape and historical features, a new Hubin Tourism & Business Specialty District was erected at the late 2004, and one of the main destinations to fulfill commerce configuration is propelling commerce of tourism. Therefore, at the beginning of 2005, according to main plan of commerce configuration, district based on completion of attracting investment reopened to the public. The brand new Hangzhou Hubin Tourism & Business Specialty District including Hyatt Hotel, Overseas Chinese Hotel, Hubin International Boutique Compound and other several blocks, stretches for over 1300 meters and covers an area of about 250000 m².

2.2 Problem of Inner Commercial Distribution after Reform.

From the scene survey, we discovered the commercial configuration reform result is those occupying the prime location of this district are major foreign brands or style, instead of the traditional ones. These affect in hotels, shops, and catering. On the other hand, exclusive stores for selling local special products and traditional restaurants or tea house are prevalently distributed across spur tracks instead the mainstream roads which can definitely represent own identities to the pedestrians. Even with the exception of foreign brands locating by the

lakeside, restaurants and pharmacy from Hong Kong, Macao and Beijing are occupying the finite store-front. It seems the local ones performed weak and powerless in striving for better positions. To sum up, it is hard to figure out the commerce belonging to Hangzhou itself in the vertical plane along the lakeside (Detail distribution in Fig. 4 in next paragraph).

What is worth mentioning is the Hubin International Boutique Compound, which features to be an international street of the highest quality in Hangzhou. Its buildings are newly designed and constructed, retaining the building style which is combination of the eastern and western architectures. Moreover, designers deliberate architecture style of southern watery region of China and preserve it in master plan. According to coincident landscape, influents are educed from the West Lake are distributed amidst grips of streets to lead the population flow, propelling integrated waterscape in overall district. Over 30 international big-brands including HERMES, ARMANI CASA, FERRARI, DOLCE&GABBANA have been set down here. However, relying to the scene observation, though the Hubin International Boutique Compound has opened for more than one year, it seldom gains patronages or concerns. The unique architecture and waterscape seems not meet the prediction expected before to induce the flow of tourists into the blocks of streets. Its dull is in great contrast with the crowded and busy lakeshore 50 meters away, no matter on weekdays or weekend or even public holidays. The photos below were pictured on Labor Day holiday (Fig. 2). What exactly we can find out from it is the fact that there were rarely concern by people to the Hubin International Boutique Compound .By the contrast to the luxury commodity and deserted atmosphere in the Compound, on the other side of it, tourism is thriving with large population who is enjoying tremendous and fabulous lakescape and historical legacy along the lakefront but rarely interest at the shopping mall with International Boutique Compound.

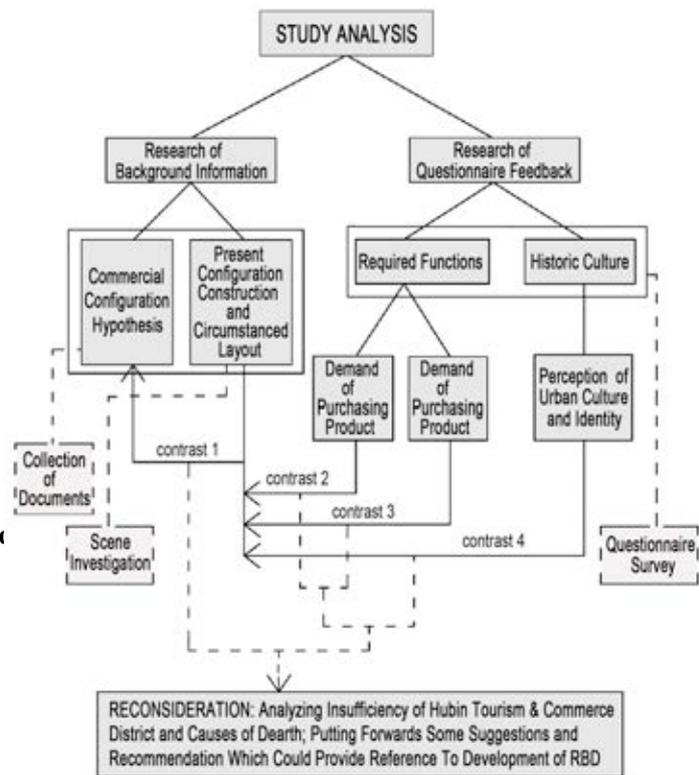
Fig. 2 Photos taken on public holiday-Labor Day (2006-5-1)

- ①&②: A corner of Hubin Boutique Compound with luxury exterior decoration including HERMES, ARMANI CASA, FERRARI, DOLCE&GABBANA
- ③&⑤: Even on holiday, little people paid interests at Compound, engendering "vacuum strip" down here. However, relying to the scene observation, though the Hubin International Boutique Compound has opened for more than one year, it seldom gains patronages or concerns.
- ④&⑥: At the same time and in the other side, numerous people promenaded around the West Lake.



3 STUDY OF COMMERCIAL CONFIGURATION OF HUBIN TOURISM & BUSINESS SPECIALTY DISTRICT OF HANGZHOU

There still seems a distance to approach the destination of RBD proposed on the blueprint, despite reform of this district costs huge investment and well achieves consensus. In our consideration to the position of users in the district, hardware in field of architecture and customer service facilities is advisably provided, however setup of commercial configuration is inevitable to deliberate. In this case, we work on commercial configuration study of Hubin Tourism & Business Specialty District. The boundary of this survey is revealed on Fig.4 below, including lakefront main pedestrian street (roughly 1.3km) and nine blocks semi-embraced by: from block ‘A’ to block ‘I’. The construction and the route of the whole study are shown on the right (Fig. 3).



3.1 Planners’ Perception & Its Side Effect

HANGZHOU HUBIN DISTRICT COMMERCIAL CONFIGURATION PLAN is made by the Shangcheng District Planning Bureau of Hangzhou, and we undertake information gathering from the Planning Bureau firstly, afterwards analyzing its commercial configuration in the plan to realize the information as Tab. 2 below:

Tab. 2

BLOCKS	MAIN BODIES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE BLOCK
Block ‘A’	West Lake International Trade Center is the center of t Block ‘A’, simultaneously combining with entertainment
Block ‘B’	Overseas Chinese Hotel is the main body of Block ‘B’
Block ‘C’	Block ‘C’ remains its original inhabitation as key element dotted with small scale store and catering
Block ‘D’	In Block ‘D’, Hyatt Hotel is the pivot, offering hotel service as main body, and there are also other commercial configurations to cooperate with it, such as entertainment, catering, accommodation, dressing and cosmetic
Block ‘E’	Block ‘E’ on plan is reconstructing to achieve the reign of Asian branch

	stores of international top toggery bands in Hubin International Boutique Compound
Block ‘G’	As the extension of Block ‘E’, the triangle block ‘G’ is merged with mainly International brands of unique catering and boutiques.
Block ‘F’ ‘H’ ‘I’	The street shops of Block ‘F’, ‘H’, ‘I’ will be drummed up with tourist souvenir shops, local product stores, tourist service center, tea houses, and restaurants of specialties.

Taking former features into account, the planning seems to respect the principle of configuration of native commodities and catering. Afterwards, we got reach to the scene adjacently, accounting the statistic of shops types and classifying them. The left graph indicates the details of distribution surveyed by commercial scene. There are 119 business individuals in scope, relatively local products shops occupying 11.8%, foreign brands for shopping occupying 29.4%, Chinese catering including tea house occupying 12.6% while foreign ones with 16.1%. (Detail Distribution on Fig. 4)



ig. 4 Research

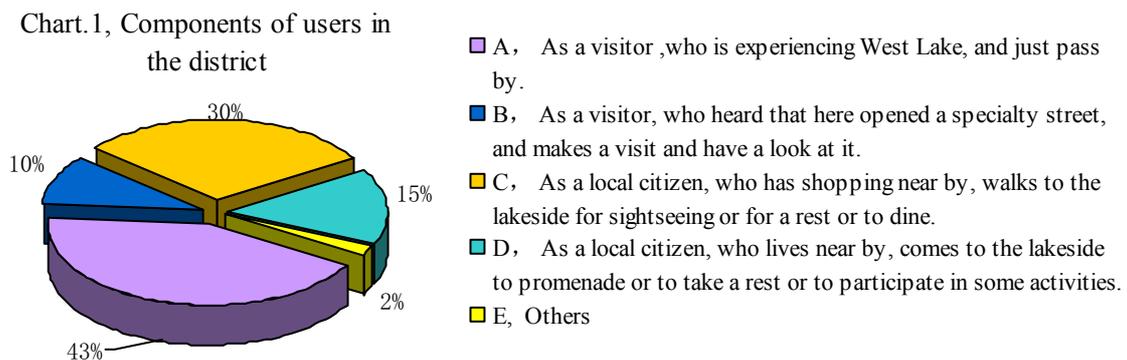
The result of survey tells the truth. Comparing to the original plan, we dug out the difference. To the overall Block, factual commercial configuration is not far apart to the original plan. However, to the individual, we take Block ‘F’. ‘H’. ‘I’ for examples, there ironically appears the phenomenon which mentioned before—the important lakefront shops with commercial value are occupied by the foreign brands or other domestic specialties restaurants and stores, whereas native specialties shops located on the spur tracks.

3.2 Users' Perspectives & Subjections

Therefore, for a deeper level study of this phenomenon, not only gathering planning statistics of this district from the government, we also pursue an investigation of domestic and foreign tourists, citizens, shop assistants and customers, with the purpose of their feedbacks in such an important tourism district. Then we can see how is the compatibility and harmony between the commercial configuration settings and the user's expectations and demand. Thus, this investigation involves in their use-objective, complaints, demand, expectations and suggestions to the commercial configuration. Feedback could not be neglected and meanwhile it is upheld by questionnaire survey and spot observation. Tuesday and Sunday and Labor Day in the same week are right on the schedule to circularize total 250 shares of questionnaire within 240 shares in availability.

Within the questionnaire survey and proper communication between relative public bodies, data and conclusion of eventual survey indicates several points as following:

1. First of all, through random picking survey objects to analyze component of people confluence, the data indicates that 53% of the investigated people in the study lakefront area are tourists (the proportion reaches 80% in the Labor Day), and 81.1% of tourists promenade along the lakeside and reach here (Chart. 1). Obvious dominance of the West Lake encircling tour is in geographical advantage to tune in consumption and leisure around this site. While the ascent of tourist population visiting Hangzhou is accelerating, there is no doubt that the number of visitors to Hubin Tourism & Business Specialty District would increase in the future. In other words, Hubin Tourism & Business Specialty District will be a more and more important part in tasting West Lake. Therefore, the image of this district is critical to judge the West Lake or Hangzhou whether attractive enough or not.



2. Taking reference from survey of requirement in Hangzhou, 69.13% of people generally prefer the existence of traditional products which could represent local identities in the commercial configuration in the lakeside business area, for example, Dragon Well Tea, hand-craft textile, and antique are popular around site. Rather than local inhabitants, ratio in groups of tourists is even higher (Chart. 2). In the aftermath of distribution of local stores around the lakeside, much greater exposure to native customs and product and life style is unveiled by foreigners who might dislike international brands or catering. Amidst tourists, roughly 77% keen for purchasing native product as souvenir to experience

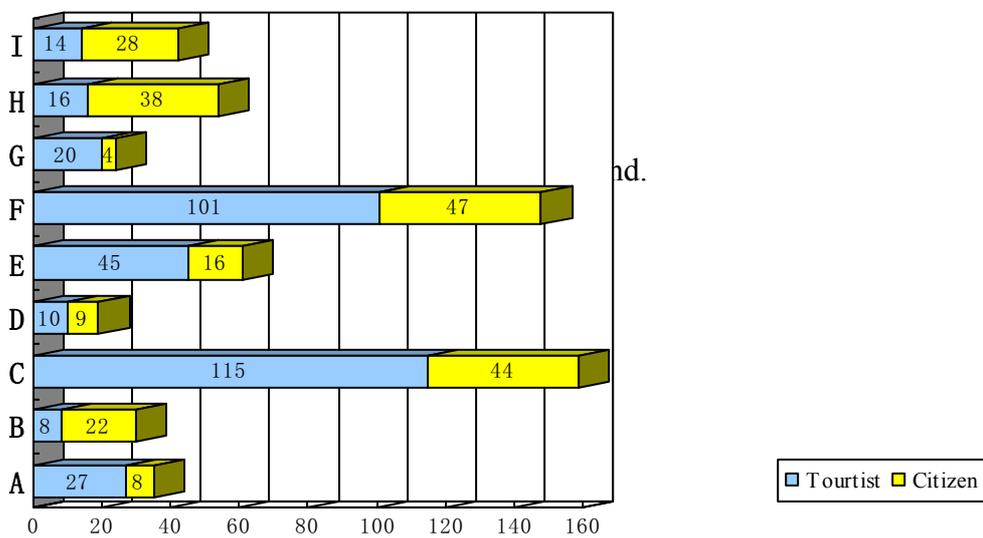
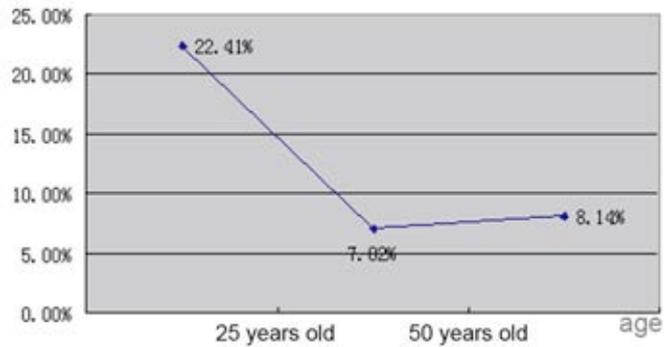


Chart. 2, Survey of requirements of users

3. According to citizens' perspectives, the reform of Hangzhou Hubin Tourism & Business Specialty District which is supposed to be distinctive street district with government investment provides them more public space and better facilities. Dramatically, as a local inhabitant in Hangzhou, partly recommending long-term profit has to be obtained by conducting native business and fostering native brands. For sustainable development and the forming of sense of pride for citizen, for instance, setting more textile boutique, tea shops and others commerce and catering with local features, hastening unique culture to crack a smile as inhabitants to tourists.
4. Despite traditional specialties shops are distributed amidst in variant blocks, and that is what we can clearly see from the reality. From the interviewees we also notice that--obsession of traditional commerce sticks in the difficulties of delusive location as they are prevalently allocated across the spur tracks and insufficient leading marks to indicate proper routes. Thus, in travelers' views, it is not enough advisable to allocate the location of native business to inconspicuous lanes or narrow pathway. Besides, from the experience of the local shops operators, the exorbitant rate of annual rent for shops facing the West Lake is one of the most underlying causes for impractical location of local shops and catering, which oblige them to locate at spur tracks. Basically, in terms of scene survey, there is undisputable attraction of the West Lake which could not be resisted, and hence people usually addict the view of the lakefront. Incidentally, convention of promenading round the lakeside does not ease to convert people especially foreigners to experience inner lanes beyond the lakefront. Whereas there are stars hotel, luxury restaurants and retail shops by the lakeside, seldom people settle in and inquire, engendering a "vacuum strip" between the West Lake and local shops--even less than 100 meters interval. Local shops are barely benefited from this sort of isolation of people flow. What is worse, it results in the complaints from the tourists that they have difficulties in finding the local product shops or tea houses which made them disappointed.

5. There is no longer a debate about commercial configuration, but the most controversial issue still exist-- Hubin International Boutique Compound. Alternatively, under 25-year-old, about 22.4% agree in this group conceive that fashion brands imported from oversea is a reflection of Hangzhou's development, gearing with international trend and embody internationalization in Hangzhou



(Demonstrated by figure Chart. 3). With top brands in international market in Hangzhou, 59% population prefer promenade by the West Lake rather than paying any interest on them, moreover 31% population just intend to window shopping, with the rest 10% would like to walk in and consume. Simultaneously, there is a research on monthly income to average families, and results depict 78.2% family monthly income between 1000RMB-6000 RMB, referring to 3.5% below 1000RMB and 18.3% above 6000RMB as well. Budget of consumption would attempt to depend on monthly income for each family. Conspicuously, Far from being parasite on the city, Hubin International Boutique Compound as the most fashionable and luxury paradise in expectation overweigh its capacity and oppose orientation of public leisure.

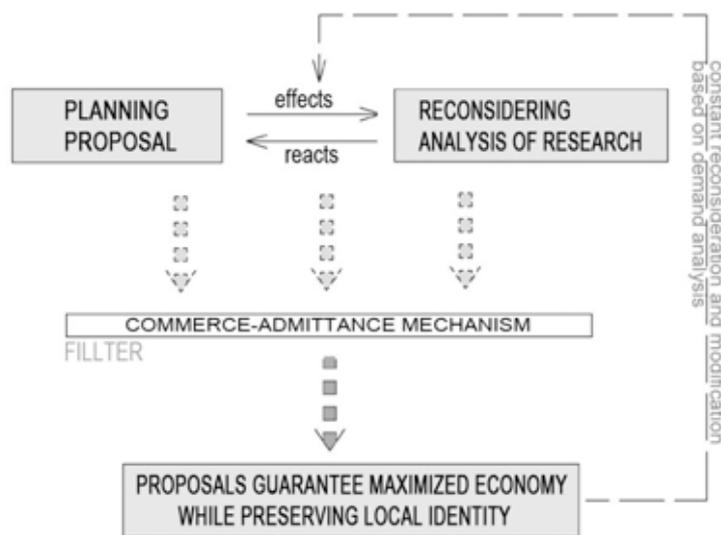
4 COMMERCE ADMITTANCE MECHANISM—A FILLTER TO PRESERVE URBAN IDENTITY

From former survey results, there still exists distortion between planning destination from planners and users' practical usage. It interprets a common problem—cities have never grown in the way that urban planners imagined, says Michal Batty of University College London, which is why the plan rarely successful. The best planners can hope for is to regard users' feedback through public participation and intervene at the decisive points and let the human nature and market forces do the rest. Within the premises of sufficient consultation, avoidance of none profit of large investment in the significant districts is possible to halt the low operating factor in practical usage. It would be a waste of preciously historical and cultural sources if important districts with worthy location contribute little. Therefore, in our point of view, at the pivotal moment of planning functional district in the window-effect cities, planning conception would be decisively devoted into native cultural characteristics with enthusiasm not only on external design of structures but also on the content of cultural comprehension. Commerce-admittance mechanism, on its own is sufficiently needed to ensure decent image of cities' promotion to the visitors, which is being pound by the citizens as well.

Therefore, conduct of commerce-admittance mechanism is not just referring to fixed

standards, like government most concern—economic benefit; more significant as flexible standards: identities of cities, promotion of cultural characteristics and demand required by users. Prior to commercial configuration planning, setup of commerce-admittance mechanism has been implemented to restrict certain districts and foster proper commerce by defining location and significance of planning district, and predicting what sorts of demand might be required by users. In our motif, Hangzhou is set position as international city of leisure, and the prospective mainstream of mastering planning, which Hang Zhou government should respond for is to regard picturesque image of ancient city, cultural legacy, and the fabulous beauty of the West Lake. As analogy of the renowned image implanted in people's mind, such as "Heaven on earth", "Mother land of silk", and "Hometown of Tea leaf", resembled criteria and guild lines in commerce configuration should be imposed in the key district. Considering commerce with disadvantages, which if represent local culture, preferential policies should be adopted to warrant its sustainable development. At the same time, feedbacks from users after execution of commerce-admittance mechanism should be reference to side-effect evaluation and proper adjustment.

Fig. 5, Illustration of Commerce admittance mechanism



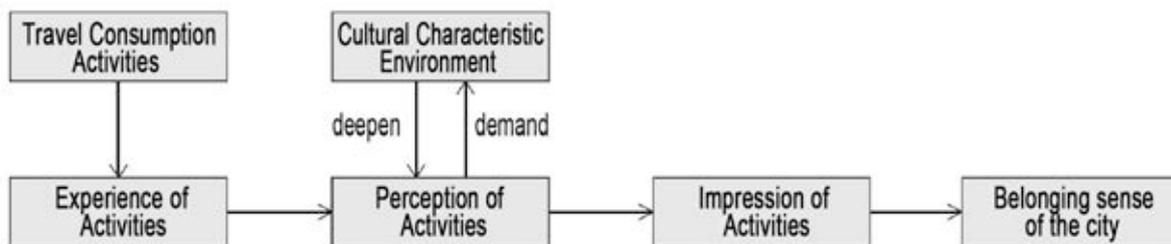
multiple commerce configurations could not be achieved, resulting to prejudice of life quality improvement of citizens and tourists. The main purpose of implementing of commerce admittance mechanism is controlling and monitoring commercial configuration in some significant district to ensure economic profit maximized whilst it harmoniously consorts with the maintenance and promotion of local culture and characteristics, upholding district within tourism economy sustainable development. In this

way, the identity of the city is preserved and enhances (Illustrated by Fig. 5).

CONCLUSION

A dearth of local characteristic is flattering reference to developing countries which determined to protrude international criterion without deliberate planning. By contrast, convex of local cultural and historical conservation is far more lucidly wealthy, precisely concerning to leisure tourism in Hangzhou, local features are foundational to properly evoke image of city conceived as international leisure polis.

Far more than Hangzhou Hubin Tourism & Business Specialty District, there are many scenic areas or tourism districts of characteristic in other cities in China which can reflect its own city's identity, for example, President Palace District in Nanjing, and Water lily Market District in Qian Hou Hai Area of Beijing etc. Some of them are essential for tourists. These districts are undergoing a similar regeneration mode—by rebuilding architectures combining traditional and modern style and being eager to adopt foreign characteristics as night clubs, pubs, café. Definitely, we are greeting to import of foreign culture and not hoping appearance of regional protectionism. By exerting local reputation and wealth of landscape, there would be a reluctance to develop local features if planners still worship at the altar of “Paradigm” in mindless and idealized attraction of international brands to promote internationalized image of the city in these districts, prejudicing dominance of original identities. An experience of cultural features eventually influences the city's image and attraction to users, especially for tourists. It can also affect the forming of the sense of belonging and pride for the city for the citizen (Illustrated by Fig. 6). Therefore, in our perception, some districts with important function should be pay more attention to in the respects of commercial modus deliberation comes up significantly. Envisages attraction of commerce-admittance mechanism which following the guidance by the government should be implemented to thrive to make good use of local tourism resources resulting from fostering domestic brands and revealing potential features. In this way, an incised impression of city is inspired a lot to people by compromising of commercial configuration and local features that the impressive image is eventually erected.



Teeming with historic cultural and leisure cities as Hangzhou, the conservation of unity and identities is the top priority to be concerned, and hence abundant and luxurious commercial substance should not be dominant to prejudice harmony.

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**Early 16th century Portuguese gridplanning in Northern Africa: from Arzila and
Azamor to Mazagão**

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Paper

In 1415 Portugal initiated its Overseas Expansion. The conquest of Ceuta began a settling process that comprised several towns in Northern Africa which would last until 1769, date of the evacuation of the last possession: Mazagão (Fig. 1). The time frame extends mainly until the mid-1500's, when most Portuguese possessions in the region were abandoned. However, the beginning of the 16th century stands out the most important period of urban and military activity.

These establishments undertook an occupational *praxis* over pre-existent Islamic fabrics and implied a re-dimensioning and street layout revision. In fact, in the cities the Portuguese conquered in Northern Africa a pragmatic attitude was the rule, oriented towards the fortresses' sustainability in a hostile environment. Significant reductions in their perimeter and in the occupied area's surface were made, in a procedure known as *atalho* (downsizing)¹. Showing a deeply rational spirit, this technique led to a radical analysis of the appropriated cities, regularizing them geometrically, putting them closer to the maritime channel and re-evaluating their internal disposition.

Among all major examples, Arzila (Asyilah) and Azamor (Azemmour) can be pointed out as particular case-studies since they benefited from considerable empty surfaces either by heritage or destruction of the previous Muslim *stratum*. Therefore, the Portuguese were able to launch urban strategies here that would allow principles of gridplanning to flourish, mainly through the establishment of long rectangular shape built units or blocks with similar proportions in both towns. This paper thoroughly analyses and compares Arzila and Azamor in order to provide new

erudition on the field, seeking in the ideas and plans of both towns - dimensions, metrics and regulations.

These two towns took advantage from completely or almost empty areas for the establishment of a global plan. On the one hand, the castle/town of Azamor, which resulted from the process of downsizing, encountered in the former *kasbah* and mosque the only landmarks for a renovation thought to be the most adaptable possible, as usual in the Portuguese appropriations by conquest in North Africa. On the other hand, manueline Arzila would reborn from the ashes of the destruction caused by the Arab assault in 1508.

Occupied in 1471, Arzila benefited from a peace pact of thirty years established between the king of Portugal and the Merinid sultan. Therefore, only by the turning of the century did Manuel I feel the need of implementing defensive measures and agreed on cutting short the inherited surface. The 1508 siege accelerated the process of building up a serrated *atalho*, which reduced the town to 45%. The new Portuguese shape was composed by the castle (in which it was located the church over the former mosque, as usual) and the *vila* (town) itself, with its axis on the *rua Direita*² (Fig. 2).

Arzila plan shows clearly a geometric pattern based on long quadrangular figures, mainly in the central area, between the town, sea and castle gates, the most affected area by the incursion of the army of Fez. This central group of blocks can be decomposed in three assemblages formed by two, three and then again two blocks, counting from northeast to southwest. Altogether, there are seven units whose length varies from 62 to 66 meters, if one excludes the southernmost block, cut in order to define the inflexion on the wall. This series of blocks display a diversity of widths

directly related to the number of units in each assemblage. So, those measurements consist on regular fractions of $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ or even $\frac{1}{8}$ of the bases of the rectangles.

Because Arzila encloses a more regular street layout, it is possible to execute the necessary deductions for the reading of its urban drawing, whereas Azamor requires a more thorough analysis of the parcelling of each unit, apprehended as block nowadays, in order to stress out which could have been the alignments proposed by the master builders Diogo and Francisco de Arruda.

On the left bank of river Oum er Rebia, close to its mouth, Azamor soon suffered from accessibility problems during the dry season. The need of getting a sustainable place quickly came into mind after the 1513 conquest. The decision and building of the *atalho* is well documented since the earliest years of Portuguese presence³. Sustained by new bastions, the reduced area, called *castelo* (castle) covered just 29% of the Muslim medina. It remained large enough and the king ordered that the whole population should be established there, houses should be built for that purpose and streets drawn. The stretched figure along the river was shortened to a northern quadrangular by a new curtain of wall divided by the main gate. To the interior, next to it, the church was settled over the former mosque and a fresh captain house was erected. From the in between square, *rua Direita* lead to the river gate (*Porta da Ribeira*), sided by the customs and the factory, emerging as the main distributive access between the commercial and administrative centres.

First impressions on Azamor present neighbourhood of *kasbah*, the former Portuguese town inside the castle, reveal huge housing jams organized around patios. The Portuguese main street and axis, then *Rua Direita* and now *Derb Kasbah* and *Derb Touamia*, still assures the accessibilities to those agglomerations.

However, taking into account the changes caused by centuries of Islamic occupation that followed the Portuguese presence meanwhile, an attentive examination of the fabric plots can point other directions (Fig. 3). In fact, the remaining of some empty canals among houses, as well as the obstruction of passages by long shaped constructions, indicate traces of former streets. By cleaning the plan of those obstacles, it is possible to recover the original town planning and, therefore, a series of long rectangular shaped blocks.

This urban stratum enlightens the intentions of 1516 which would establish six quadrangular blocks in Azamor. The imposed rationality finds similarities with Arzila as far as the two central units are concerned, where length measures are also close to 66 meters. The particularity here rests upon the shortening of the remaining blocks to $\frac{2}{3}$ of the central ones.

From the resemblances between from Arzila and Azamor, it is possible to point out logics of intervention that surpass, not only the geographical field of each action, but also the agents concerned. Therefore, the concepts involved in both towns walk along the tradition of drawing and building *bastides* in late medieval Europe.

Nevertheless, Portuguese presence in Northern Africa wasn't just made by conquest. A brief look into the other paradigm in the strategy of implantation of the Portuguese city in this portion of the Atlantic coast, although less frequent - the founding of new towns - is mainly reduced to the study to the fortress-city of Mazagão, from the modern fortification and urban investment of 1541 onwards (Fig.4). Due to the presence of a large team of architects and engineers, including the Italian Benedetto da Ravenna, many have seen Mazagão as the experiment of a

Renaissance ideal city plan, along with the contemporary creations of Bassein and Daman in India or the foundation of Salvador in Brazil.

After the conquest of the neighbour town of Azamor (15km north) in 1513, the Portuguese established a castle the following year. The brothers Diogo and Francisco de Arruda⁴ composed a quadrangular plan with wall curtains linking four cylindrical towers. The subsequent decades are quite uncertain though the existence of some works in the interior of this castle, willing to respond to a each day more demanding pressure from a spontaneous growing urban assemblage around it, is predictable.

In 1541, the loss of Santa Cruz do Cabo de Guer to the hands of the Berber conquerors questioned and pushed the abandonment of several cities. On the same year, the Portuguese decided to build a modern bastioned fortification with the foundation of a town in its interior, submitted to a grid project. Mazagão appeared as the solution not to give up the whole south. The royal initiative was managed by a team of architects lead by Benedetto da Ravenna, Diogo de Torralva and Miguel de Arruda and put into practise *in loco* by João de Castilho⁵. For more than two centuries and a half, the inexpugnable Mazagão stood in the hand of the Portuguese crown. Until 1769, we assisted to the consolidation of this project: the fortified perimeter was defined by five big bastions, long inflected wall curtains and a surrounding moat.

The localisation of the previous 1514 castle seems to have worked as a generatrix of all the built and open spaces of the projected town in 1541. To the west, a big public square is also defined by the Governor's palace, the town gate and Carreira street. It represents the negative of the surface occupied by the former

castle, now transformed into central headquarters, housing several storage halls, a hospital and a cistern, among other equipments (Fig. 5). This quadrilateral structure, measuring between 53 and 57 meters, launches the diagonals that define the position of the new fortified bastions with the exception of S. Sebastião. It also provides the metrical base for the gridplanning of Mazagão since the regular blocks registered in its plan derive from the subdivision of the central square model in half portions. So, each unit is identified as the juxtaposition of two smaller squares, being result of the subdivision of the primitive castle, meanwhile renovated, in four parts. The model is close to the one applied to the Portuguese city of Daman years later, after the definitive conquest of 1559⁶. However, its application is focused on rectangles and not squares and used with less inflexibility. In both cases, the system is perverted whenever it encounters the fortified contour. More, in Mazagão, the lack of perfection of its orthogonality shows a sort of difficulty in wiping off the slate some evidence from the past or forgetting the whole process of adaptation endured by its Arab successors.

This logical explanation suggests that the urban plan of Mazagão was conditioned by the physical pre-existence of the 1514 castle. Joining a pioneer project on the field of military architecture, the limits of the urbanizing action are undoubtedly defined. However, till now, it has been unclear how far Benedetto da Ravena or any other intervenient in the team has contributed to such a rational programme of street sketching. Invited to the project for his military skills, the Italian engineer *curriculum* does not provide important urban contributions.

Therefore, we believe that Mazagão must be read as the summit of an urban tradition centred in the first half of the 16th century. The closest examples of settlement of new towns over almost virgin territories occurred in Azamor and Arzila,

directly related to the late-medieval construction of *vilas novas* (new settlements), as suggested previously. Though already built in the beginning of the 1500's, both towns unfold formal resemblance of a more regular and geometrical urbanism, less attached to the Islamic heritage. The propensity for rectangular blocks is present in all three towns, even though those of Arzila are a bit bigger. Due to its vicinity, the relation established with Azamor metrics is closer.

Although Mazagão represents an epistemological severance with the preceding military architecture, one remarks that the motivation for its layout is a compromise with (still) the urban tradition developed in the previous examples of occupation by conquest. Arzila and Azamor become pertinent because of their location both in the northern and southern groups of Portuguese settlements in present Morocco, thus indicating that neither the proximity of other experiences, nor the presence of different master-builders, prevented the emergence of urban concepts and models from evolving and circulating.

In fact, Arzila, being much closer to the other cities and towns near the Strait of Gibraltar and the metropolis, had participated in the construction campaigns managed by the master-builders Boytac and Danzilho, while Azamor was integrated on the Arruda brothers building programme in more southerly latitudes. Different agents worked in different and distant places at the same time. The results met and anticipated some of the contents expressed in Mazagão city plan. Since both Arzila and Azamor had not been included on Benedetto's itinerary from Ceuta to Mazagão by sea, the effective builder of the city, João de Castilho, emerges as the most informed person of the Portuguese urban experiences in North Africa. His expertise was certainly acquired when inspecting the state of defence of all possessions back in 1529.

Meanwhile, once in Mazagão, Benedetto da Ravena is asked by king João III to advise the crown on neighbouring towns of Safim and, apparently, Azamor condition for military sustainability. From the exchange of ideas between both masters must have resulted more than a simply chain from project to task work, once we believe that Castilho's role and authorship on Mazagão plan was more significative. As always in North Africa, and after the fortified perimeter was achieved in 1542, the urban process was slow. Nevertheless, its regularity that still characterizes the singularity of present *Cité Portugaise* when compared to the dense and sprawling medina outside the city walls, implied a deeply operational and pragmatic attitude.

The year of 1541 would mark the summit of Portuguese knowledge and proficiency, as far as gridplanning and construction is concerned, rejecting the idea of an imported model put to test in Northern Africa. Compared to the previous experimental cases, this neighbouring town is probably the climax of all the learning and knowledge acquired in this territory. In Mazagão, there were architects, plans, sketches and builders that enabled the construction of a modern fortress, the first in Africa continent, with a regular town in its interior. The concepts involved strongly reinforce a European traditional knowledge of expansion regularity, clearly identified by the late medieval new towns, "exported" to Magrebe by the pursuing of a late Christian Reconquest beyond the Mediterranean. Northern Africa experiences in this period contributed definitely to a deeper military and urban knowledge and to "vulgarise" a routine of rational attitudes.

¹ In this context, *atalho* means a specific surface reduction by new curtains of wall that shrank the previous perimeter and surface.

² *Rua Direita* means literally “straight street” but its most accurate meaning is “direct street” once it was often winding and marked by torsions. Nevertheless, it was surely the main connection between some of the most important points of the city: the main square, a wall gate, the administrative headquarters, a church, a commercial area or the port.

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Case Study Of Hangzhou City: The Protection Of Historical Cultural Heritage And Urban Construction

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**CASE STUDY OF HANGZHOU CITY: THE PROTECTION OF
HISTORICAL CULTURAL HERITAGE AND URBAN CONSTRUCTION**

KEY WORDS :

Historical city, Protection and development, Constructive destruction, Destructive protection, Achievements project

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CASE STUDY OF HANGZHOU CITY: THE PROTECTION OF HISTORICAL CULTURAL HERITAGE AND URBAN CONSTRUCTION

Abstract: Hangzhou is one of the seven ancient capitals in China, and also a famous historical city. As early as in the tenth century, it has become one of the biggest cities in the world. Over two thousand years urban development history leaves behind many historical vestiges in Hangzhou. But following about 20 years high speed development, many of them had been eliminated. How to protect and make use of the original historical cultural heritage, to provide variety and contrast in the modern city, and make it the positive factor in the city's modernization advancement is a universal task which many developing countries and areas meet. The paper will focus on Hangzhou's practice and experience to carry on the elaboration.

Keywords: Historical city; Protection and development; Constructive destruction; Destructive protection; Achievements project

PREFACE

The 21st century is the “city century”. Following the expansion of city function and scale, rapid economy, large scale represented the direction of city’s development, and the city modernization will accelerate unceasingly. The inevitability of urban development and the necessity of protection become a pair of incisive contradiction. The problems of how to protect and make use of the original historical cultural heritage, and make it the positive factor in the city's modernization; how to deal with the relation between historical cultural heritage protection and modern city construction, and avoid destruction, have confronted many developing countries and areas. Those questions appear to be outstanding in current urban development in China, and are worthwhile to be discussed.

THE RELATION OF HISTORICAL CITY PROTECTION AND URBAN CONSTRUCTION

The construction of modernization is a universal goal of many cities. The protection of historical city and the modernization of urban construction do not oppose completely, which has been approved by decades of years research all over the world time and time again. Rome, Paris, Kyoto, Nara are the successful models. As wholly protected historical cities in China and firstly being declared by the United Nations as the world culture heritage, Lijiang and Pingyao developed urban construction rapidly rather than being hindered. The protection of the city history in the modernization means the holding of city historical culture continuity, the keeping

of city memory and inheritance, the conservation of nationality's origin and vessels as well as deep cultural tradition. City modernization and historical city protection are interdependent. The city culture is the foundation of modernization, the temperament of a city. Every era generates and leaves its own trace in the city. To protect the history continuity, retains the city's memory, and preserves the valuable historic cultural heritage are inevitable requests of the humanity modern civilization development.

THE ISSUE APPEARS IN THE URBAN CONSTRUCTION IN CHINA

In the recent 20 years, the cities in China have been changed greatly and grown rapidly. The achievement is magnificent, but it should also be noticed that many cities and areas consider only economic development and scale of expansion, neglecting the protection of cultural heritage and city characteristics. Historical culture in those cities is suffering from serious destruction, and the protection has become nominal although historic protection has been written in some local regulations.

Constructive destruction

In the projects of urban renewal and property development in some cities, there are great demolition, great construction, and overdevelopment, whose essence is to carries on big destruction of history in the name of construction and development. It results in the historical city changing beyond all recognition, losing its original cultural charm. It may necessary to relocate some residents and old valueless ancient architectural structures, but it is regrettable that those precious historic constructions, historical vestiges and historical blocks ruined in front of the bulldozer in order to sell the land, to collect the land for fund, or to satisfy the developer's need. An ancient street in Dinghai had not been razed in the Opium War, but was ravaged upon the order of a mayor. This kind of news is by no means few in China.

Destructive protection

Although the "spot-line- surface" protection mode has been established in some cities, it is often a form without principles when it concerns with some measurements. Take the phenomenon of cultural isolated island for example: only those historic constructions included in the list of protection plans have been preserved, around which are modernized skyscrapers. And what is more, when these cultural relics lost its original surroundings it used to depend on, some leaders and developers even try to "revive" them through antiquity-style constructions, resulting in the lose of their original appearance. There are also some cultural relics which have been retained, but entitled with some ridiculous functions, for instance, the famous world cultural relics "Fu Zhen Guan" has been changed to a hotel. Some relics have been developed for tourism, but lack of reasonable control of tourist volume, thus new destruction appeared, such as the local collapse of Shanxi Pingyao.ancient rampart of world

cultural heritage.

New achievements project

“Achievements project” in China is associated with ultra big square, ultra wide landscape main road and super lofty symbolic construction which are pursued ignorant of local economy development level. Many experts have proposed that we should put limited capital resource and vigor into which is urgently needed in city, such as squatter settlement reconstruction, transportation congestion management, ecological environment improvement and so on. Under this background, some cities start to adjust the orientation and make some adjustment to the achievements projects. We call it “The new achievements project”. Its NEW lies in municipal transportation improvement, communication line environment amendment, road surface maintenance, characteristic historical culture theme design for streets and alleys.....some of those contents are directly in relate to ordinary people's life, and manifest new atmosphere.

THE ANALYSIS OF THE CHARACTERISTIC OF THE CHANGE IN RAPID DEVELOPMENT PERIOD

Summarizing those issues above, we found that they have some characteristics in different periods of time, and may fall into several kinds as the followings. We list them according to the time order:

Urban scene destruction

Since the early 1980s, many cities experienced the changing process from great demolition and great construction to unprecedented protection. The initial large-scale construction causes numerous historical cities to change beyond all recognition. The widespread European-style in architectural design also leads to the undesirable consequence that thousands of cities lose their individuality, and become mediocrity. When people began to realize the urgency of the protection of historical cultural heritage, the majority of historical heritage have already vanished. Although the remained part of them obtained the thorough protection, they actually become the cultural isolated island in the city. For instance, the “98 Hai'er Xiang Lane house^①” in Hangzhou city, which has been renovated recently, is an exceptional case in the street. The other latter Qing dynasty residences which used to be common in this street have all vanished. Although the house restored the original condition after the restoration, it appears lonely in the surrounding of modernistic constructions.

People can only seek the memory of the lost city from ancient books in the library now. But the lost vestige is eventually lost, the attempt to recover them is wrong,

① The 98 Hai'er Xiang Lane house is a latter Qing dynasty residence which is more than 150 years old.

which conflicts with the world culture heritage protection principles, equating to the city scene destruction.

The spatial variation and the society influence

The constructive destruction causes the vanishing of large areas of old city zones and historic buildings, and the original inhabitant's draining is inevitable. The great demolition and great construction not only destroyed the old buildings and culture vein in the city, but also crabbled the original neighborhood relation and the community link between the city and inhabitants. The massive inhabitants moved, the original inhabitants' dissipated, thus it demolished long existed habitation pattern and habitation culture. Even if these inhabitants return to the tall buildings constructed in the original resident place, the original habitation mold will fade away without those old houses and habitation patterns.

After the establishment of protection policy, more and more old neighboring districts are retained as a whole in the city such as Xin Tian Di in Shanghai^②. But the original inhabitants' will to be back to their old home is still beset with difficulties. Compared with the situations before the reconstruction, the recent historical district protection mode stresses on the commercialization operation, the historical buildings are often retained, renovated and then auctioned or rented. The original residents primarily move outside, the historical authenticity and living continuity are weakened. "On the one hand they are unable to bear the soaring cost the protection project brings, on the other hand even if the old houses being restored, they still could not undertake the demand of modern daily life very well." An inhabitant says. The traditional living environment often changed beyond all recognition after the protection process.

The vicissitude of city history and city culture

On the perspective of city history and culture, no matter constructive destruction or destructive protection, the essence is the destruction to historical cultural heritage. The only difference is their extent. The constructive destruction causes a city's history cultureless and meaningless, and the history becomes a glorious memory behind us which could only be grieved in the library. Destructive protection keeps only fragment of the city historical culture, leaving out panorama. Such behavior is penny wise, pound foolish. The very culture becomes isolated island in the city and the replica floods the street. The Hefangjie street^③ project in Hangzhou is typical instance: the

② As a re-creation born out of the sprawls of Shikumen housing, which is the architectural symbol of Shanghai in the 20th century, Shanghai Xintiandi is an urban tourist attraction imbued with the city's historical and cultural legacies. Shanghai Xintiandi's Shikumen attraction was created by converting residential blocks into a multifunctional dining, retail and entertainment center flowing with restaurants, boutiques, cafes and bars of an international standard.
(From: <http://www.xintiandi.com/site/Default.aspx?=&=&tabid=173>).

③ The Hefangjie street is a latter Ming/former Qing dynasty resident district which is more than 300 years old.



pic1: The decline of



pic2: Old house in the crevice

original pattern of the commixture of stores and residences in this district has been destroyed, and a row of European-style street lamps is arranged in the center of the street -- the style of the street became a mixture of domestic and foreign, ancient and modern.

The recollection of city history and culture is an important aspect of the work of new achievements project. This is an encouraging change. The multitudinously scattered historical heritage in the city has the chance to be thoroughly examined and surveyed. Not only the problem of protection and restoration of historical heritage is considered here, but also the urban environment control where the historical cultural heritage located is brought into line. Meanwhile, the original reality of heritage protection should also be taken into consideration. To further the protection only from the city image view may cause the work to fall into error.

HANGZHOU'S EXAMPLE

Along with time lapse, the millennium old city Hangzhou has experienced many great changes. "Beautiful West Lake, tattered city" once became the ridicule people described Hangzhou. Such taunt deeply stabbed Hangzhouees' heart. The great old city reconstruction started while Hangzhou became one of the nation's first batch historical cultural cities. In the bulldozer's bellow, the alley turned to the main road, the tall building substituted for the short old residence, and the modern constructions crushed into the West Lake beauty spot. When the urbanized advancement speed up its footsteps, the old city, which have harvested tall buildings standing in great numbers, has to suffer "the constructive destruction" actually. Hangzhou's historical culture style has faded away unconsciously. It is said that Hangzhou has no longer looked like what was considered to be Hangzhou..

In the 1990s, the municipal government realizes soberly that inheriting and protecting the cultural heritage are historical responsibility. The integrated cultural heritage preservation system has established primarily, but there are many problems and challenges in the protection process. In the following article we take the Wulin street historical district as the example and analyze one by one.

ic3: The Zhongda Hotel



Pic5: The invasion o



ic4: The historical district is stranding by all buildings



(Pic1 & Pic2) The Wulin street historical district is situated in the eastside of the West Lake, and just a stone's throw from the Lake. Five traditional constructions built during Min Guo era are located in this area. Two of them are foreign-style buildings with garden, and three are Shi Ku Men neighborhood residences. Compared with the other districts in the city, the Wulin street historical district is in gradually decline both in social function and environment quality.

The invasion of constructive destruction

From the 1940s to 1980s, the Wulin street historical district is in the period of spontaneous renewal and construction, but the value of the historical buildings has not been recognized yet. The enchantment of the old architectures still retained, and the texture of the layout of Shi Ku Men neighborhood still preserved. But the construction quality was unceasingly ruined and the functions degraded day by day. Some courtyards seriously suffered from violated constructions, and the construction style became atypical.

(Pic3 & Pic4) At the same time, many new constructions were put up in the surrounding, whose mass and style did not in harmony with the historical buildings. For instance: the logistic division of Wanghu Hotel in the west of the district, a



Pic6: The 131 Wulin street house view from the street



Pic7: The 30 Jiaochang street house

three-storey gigantic construction, with its length extending more than 80 meters, is greatly uncoordinated with the historical district in style. The six-storey Zhongda hotel is another example. Its wall is decorated by red bricks. Although architecture is western styled, it is extremely uncoordinated with the historical construction in color.

(Pic5) In the early 1990s, the neighboring Yan'anlu Business Street and Wulinlu Female Attire Characteristic Street formed gradually, the special demand of business activity made it a common phenomenon to reconstruct at will, and a new wave has struck the historical architecture structures.

The coexisting of protection and destruction

Following the advancement of the cultural relic preservation, the protection work of the Wulin street historical district has also progressed continually. Part of the well preserved modern constructions have been listed as cultural relic protection spots, then the conservation plan of the Wulin street historical district has also been put into plan, which was completed in 2004. The whole protection program is carried out, but many problems still exist in the protection.

(Pic6) Although some constructions are protected, due to limited financial resource, reception and restoration to the buildings have not been executed. Government only prohibits the transformation of the present status on those protected architectures. But the inhabitants are incapable of carrying on the restoration, and the cultural relic prospect is unoptimistic. The 131 Wulin street house in pic6 shows that. Because of lacking maintenance, the walls are broken partially, the paint fell off the wooden windows and doors, and the limited outer space is occupied by hanging clothing and parking vehicles.

(Pic7) Some valuable houses have been completely renovated, but the residential function is changed. Thus there is another question: how should the construction adapt to the function transition from accommodation to business service while being

ic8: The invasion of



ic9: The alley in



protected? The 30 Jiaochang street house is a vivid example: its original courtyard space is recovered, but the newly opened shops still destroyed the style of the architecture.

(Pic8) Faced with the ubiquitous public opinion pressure and the influence of tax revenue dividend, the government will not repeat the route of “constructive destruction”, but it is inevitable to pursue the economic interest through the construction of various tourism and trading cultural blocks on the base of historic relics, and so does the north part of the Wulin street historical district. The entire street is occupied by shops and restaurants, in which people are crowded in the day time, and at night the sky is dyed red by neon light of the large-scale signboard. Not only has the historical construction inundated completely in the commercial environment, but some architecture has already corroded by business activity.

The fresh idea of new achievements project

There came the upsurge of alley improvement project in 2005. The total improved streets and alleys amount approximately 135 kilometers, and about 1,000,000 square

meters. The involved streets and alleys account for the 15% of the city's total number, and 30 streets, 10 towns, 208 communities, 16 villages, 15 economic cooperative associations are included. There are 4 streets and alleys from the Wulin street historical district: one is of normal standard (requesting road surface smooth, street light in good condition, rain and dirt diverged, streets kept clean). Three are of characteristic standard (In addition of normal standard, build extra city furniture, move spatial frame electric wire underground, construct vertical plane along the alley, control advertisement, strengthen the history, scenery and service function of alley, provide fresh feelings to people.)(Pic9) The Wulin street historical district renovation project was also completed in the same year. The overall urban image in this area had an obvious improvement after the two reconstructions finished.

Through the improvement, the Wulin street has become fashion area combined with historical blocks and modern leisure style. By means of protection, transformation and reasonable utilization, establishing a small square, and increasing a lot of leisure elements, the district has become a "Xin Tian Di" style leisure area. The historical district has taken the responsibility to form a complete set with the Wulin Female Attire Street. Contrast with the over demolition, over construction in the past, improvement project requests the retaining of original appearance, taking an overall evaluation of the historical culture elements such as life texture, spatial layout, streets and alleys dimensions, and cultural heritage, etc. After the improvement, the streets not only have realized the modernized function requests, met the inhabitant's life needs, but also maintained the original appearance. However, the process should also avoid exploiting the characteristics blindly, or attempting to restore the historical vestiges which already no longer exist.

CONCLUSION

We find that following the economic development, the historical cultural heritage protection is taken gradually and the constructive destruction is suppressed gently. But the protection process is urged more and more by the economic motivation. It could not meet the need merely by the protection of the facades of buildings. The adjustment and adaptation of urban heritage conservation is a relentless work and should be an important part of urban economy and social development policy.

FURTHER STUDY

In our research, much evidence had demonstrated that as if the coexistence of the economical development and historical cultural heritage destruction is inevitable. Nearly all cities were experienced a process of destruction and corrosion of historical cultural heritage in its economical development. The degree of destruction is their mere difference. The attitude of the government and the demos to treat the inheritance may lengthen or reduce this process, but the choice between economy and protection is in a dilemma, whether has the third path?

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Blogosphere Urbanism
Online Spatiality and Virtual Cyber Diffusion

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Wael Fahmi was trained as an architect at Cairo University and received his PhD in Planning and Landscape from the University of Manchester (UK). He teaches architecture and urban design as an Associate Professor of Urbanism at the Architecture Department- Helwan University in Cairo.

On the one hand , through his studio Urban Design Experimental Research Studio (UDERS) he explores deconstructive experimentation within urban spaces, postmodern spatiality and representation of city imaging employing narratives, digital photo imaging, video stills and architectural diagrams.

On the other hand as a visiting academic at University of Manchester, he has been working collaboratively on Greater Cairo's housing crisis (*forthcoming*) and urban growth problems (published in journal *Cities*), focusing on the rehabilitation of areas of historical Cairo (published in journals *Habitat International* and *International Development Planning Review*) and on the development of urban poverty areas, population eviction and resettlement within cemetery informal areas known as 'Cities of the Dead' (published in journal *Arab World Geographer*) and Garbage Collectors settlement 'Zabaleen City' (published in journal *Environment and Urbanization and Habitat International*).

Introduction

The recent use of the Internet as a radical, socio-technical paradigm challenged the dominant, neoliberal and technologically determinist model of information and communication technologies (ICTs). The efficacy of techno-culture and media reform initiatives have led to the emergence of virtual public spheres and, in turn, to new forms of cyber-activist empowered identities (*bloggers' movement*) which are fostered and negotiated. The *bloggers'* liquid identity, freed from the bonds of the autonomous subject, elaborates the metaphor of virtual space, eliding the distinction between the screen and viewer, signifier and signified, real and representation. This provides the possibility of what might be referred to as a more situational or flexible location of the self within the emerging meta-spaces of globalisation. The fluidity of social roles and discursive practices of identity enabled by the primacy of the *blog*¹ over the *blogger* (blog author) produces *blogging*² as a communicative practice transcending many offline barriers and borders. The hyper-commercialised *bloggers' movement*, within digital communication network platforms, are forced to develop new virtual strategies in response to political pressures, whilst constructing relational networks with extensive geographical reach. The emergence of *bloggers' movement* has contributed to a widespread notion of trans-national *blogging* community with intra- and inter-group processes determining how collective identity boundaries extend to include a broader (virtual) community of 'Cairnes' who perceive themselves as part of wider online global-local (glocal) social forces of resistance .

Moreover the process of *blogging* has a democratising effect that can evoke feelings of shared experience, with *blogosphere* actively contributing to the global mediascape. The emergence of a transnational *blogging* community and CMC-based virtual settlements (computer-mediated communication (CMC) can increase involvement within people's face-to-face communities by encouraging civil participation and other community activism. As *bloggers* seem to increasingly inhabit the dematerialised world that technology creates, the screen becomes a permeable surface, adorned with signs and riddled with inscriptions and prescriptions of culture. However, the exchange between the individual *blogger* and the electronic media (*blogosphere*) is discursively represented as a new kind of text dominated by the mediated image and unmediated experience of immersion. Ecologies of the *blogosphere* are inextricably interpolated into practices of social space and place in offline environments, in which new and unique trans-national and trans-cultural relationships emerge. *Blogosphere* is also made up of neighborhoods of *bloggers* whose relationships echo the need for mediating systems of exchange and maintaining ongoing channels of communication similar to offline human communities.

Furthermore visual weblogs (*Vlogs*) present a new aspect of visual literacy grammar, where images must be read in direct relation to the passage of time whilst becoming a tool for examining how images operate online and how they interact with text. *Vlogs* are hovering on the border between public and private whilst helping to re-establish the connection between image and place and whilst bringing with digital material the implicit understanding that images are read as a deliberately constructed time-lapse sequence, with multi-level narratives. *Vlogs* have been heralded as a new space for collaborative creativity, inhabiting the field of vision, which is much wider arena than a sphere for the circulation of images or question regarding the nature of representation. *Vlogs* may be thought of as nodal points within the broader system of spatial flow that makes up the *blogosphere* . With the move beyond the metaphor of maps and cartographies and into metaphors that better encompass

systems and relationships, *Vlogs*' representation of particular places and social spaces has influenced actual and virtual communities through a nervous high-speed tectonic process, articulated at the local level of communication, where human agency is concerned

The paper attempts to suture elements of the splintered online urban conceptualising (*Vlogs*) as conflation of virtual images remapped and re-presented as fragments in cyberspace . Through a space of 'total flow', the paper records the experience of *Egyptian bloggers' movement*, represented as sequential images and narratives within overlapping layers of spatiality and imaginary cyberspace. By splashing virtuality onto the real world, (*Vlogs*) aim to capture the urban, into a space of 'total flow', with the juxtaposition of images de-solidifying the physical and dissolving spatial distinctions, shifting between reality and mythical spaces, and between the screen, and imagination. *Vlogs* are established as other places; heterotopias, in_ between spaces of contestation, whilst having a phantasmagoric character, wherein the global and local, the familiar and strange, the real and the virtual become inextricably intertwined. The production of *Vlogs* as aggregations, accumulations of patched up, overlapping forms of mediascape, creates a 'transnational imaginary experience' as the ideal of boundless and undefined spatiality predominates a digital age of fragmented post modernity.

Key Words : bloggers' movement- online cyber-activism - virtual spatiality- representation

Virtual Cyber Diffusion

With increased hypermobility mobility and telecommunications, with the rise of new media, and with the emergence of cyberspace, the experience of time, space and place identity has changed (Auge 1995). As information technologies continue to develop, we attend to a process of cultural change and emergence of spaces of identity with heterotopias of mobile communications. The proliferation of virtuality through information communication technologies have transformed the experience of place identity; with collision of signs and images, wherein the global and local become inextricably intertwined, and with the emergence of 'multi-local' (glocal) spatiality (Dovey 1999) . Nevertheless the mediations of virtual space and telepresence does not signal a loss of 'place' any more than it is a loss of self-identity. Media culture has put people into a space of total flow, with juxtapositioning of their mental images . Spaces emerge and disappear, they overlap and interpenetrate one another, with virtual space being a transmutation of the known, whilst standing alongside and being interwoven into real urban life. However spaces constantly juxtapose themselves one against the other, with information technology bringing various areas into proximity of one another.

After the explicitly defined spatiality of postmodernism, it seems like the ideal of boundless and undefined space is predominating an age of information and technology, a kind of supermodernity (Ibelings 1998). Auge (1995) portrays the increasingly fleeting and fragmented nature of 'supermodernity' as a disappearance of place, suggesting that non-places are the real measure of our time, with these including spaces of transit and temporal occupation as well as the informational spaces of telepresence. While such sites and their placeless experiences proliferate, they surely cannot be defined as outside social relations, history or identity. Auge's (1995) non-places which are identified as the placelessness of the modern urban landscape., are those places to which nobody feels any special attachment. Alongside the built environment, the global reach of television networks saturates world screens with a homogenous stream of images, sounds, rhythms, flows , lights and colours.

Sassen (2003) focused on digital information and communication structures that arise out of the intersection of technology and society, whilst using the construct "digital formation" shaped by endogenous technical properties and social logics.

In the familiar characterisations of cultural discourse, screen culture inhabits neither place nor ground: it is fragmented and dislocated, operating on a surface that is ephemeral and mediated. These tendencies are amplified with the accouterments of telecommunications; faxes, modems, mobile phones, beepers. The ever-expanding, continuously on-call individual, becomes another kind of interface, for ever screening, filtering, ignoring, accepting, and repressing the plethora of inputs, information and demands for action that absorb his or her private space and individual time. Closely relevant is the debate between poststructuralists and critical theorists which raises the ontological and epistemological question of being and becoming in a matter of individualism versus collectivism and localism versus globalism (Lash 1990). With the exchange between the individual and the electronic media and telecommunications, environment is discursively represented as the achievement of a polymorphous, heterogeneous subjectivity, a 'liquid identity', a 'post-human' freed from the bonds of the autonomous subject. In this context, the hinge between cyber and space conveniently slides between ontology and postmodern 'body-as-text'. Cyberspace is established as an 'other' place to enact the fragmented self, as the body seems to increasingly inhabit the de-materialised world that technology creates. In the high modernism of virtual rhetoric this ambition travels with its own ideology, the "*being-in*" of cyberspace which does not allow the subject-object distinction to interfere with the cybernaut's immersion. Despite the fact that cyber experience occurs via the screen, or more contemporaneously, as flows of data, the body-as-text elides the distinction between the screen and its viewer by ignoring the actuality of the screen and elaborating instead the metaphor of virtual space. The "*as if you are there*" is truncated to a "*you are there*." One is in cyberspace, as a navigator and not a viewer, with this shift being in line with modernist ambitions of eliding the gap between signifier and signified, viewer and viewed, real and representation.

Contemporary technologies are expanding space horizontally through new systems of digital and physical infrastructure. Beckman (1998) argued that globalised liquid 'soft architectures' of digital media flow over, under and through the local concrete and 'hard architectures' of our contemporary cities, creating an indeterminate, 'floating environment', an interface between public and private, collective and subjective, provincial and planetary. The icons that comprise this new landscape of difference are essentially mediated reflexes of similarity and diversification, constructs that are mirrored endlessly over computer networks, home pages, televised imagery, advertising campaigns. According to Castells (1996) such emergent dimensions and new communication system radically transforms space and time. Localities become disembodied from their cultural, historical, geographic meaning, and reintegrated into functional networks, or into image collages inducing a space of flows that substitutes for a space of places. In the information society the dominant form of social time is what Castells (1996) calls timeless time, "the annihilation and manipulation of time by electronically managed global capital markets". The reactions to this globalisation, this seeming tyranny of flows is manifested in many people's desires for neo-traditional places (Blogoshers).

Today, in a post-industrial age, technologies of communication and computation, real-time connectivity and interface, represent an ever-accelerating world (Beckman 1998). As the post-physical city represents interfaces to the net, the appearance of solid permanent buildings is challenged by virtual representation of abstract systems (electronic images). The virtual city will not be the post-physical city, but a transmutation and a transgression of the

known, interwoven into real urban life, as we tend to operate in topographies that weave between actual and digital space, whilst increasingly relocating activities to digital spaces and locating digital capacities in the human body (Sassen 2003) .

Modes of communication and interaction from real space are reinvented for virtual text-based web communication. In conjunction with various kinds of social interactions, intensive interaction is conducted simultaneously in workspaces and chat rooms, whilst producing a closeness that is nearly indistinguishable from face-to-face encounters in its intensity. (Hamm 2003) . Negroponte (1996) forecasted a phenomenon which he called the Daily Me, by which people no longer need to consume mass-produced media content. Everyone, he predicted, would be able to program the specific content he or she wished delivered electronically. RSS (Really Simple Syndication), a relatively new web technology that allows users to subscribe to feeds from blogs and other websites, is the most obvious example of technology that allows internet users to tailor the content they want to read.

Blogosphere and Online Spatiality

A weblog is a website which contains periodic, chronologically ordered posts on a common webpage (Blood 2000). Although not primarily intended for use as an intranet-based collaborative knowledge warehouse, blogs have the potential to offer all the features of complex IT solutions and to enable people to share knowledge simply and quickly³. As a result the collective knowledge base of the group can be efficiently managed and navigated. The importance of representations of the author-function, narrative coherence or even brand identity of a blog demonstrates the continuing importance of local particularities and identities that make the weblogs relevant in global and local contexts. Ecologies of the blogosphere are in this way inextricably interpolated into practices of space and place in offline environments. One point of ongoing attraction to blog readers lies precisely in the expression of difference in particular places and social spaces, articulated and communicated by people from other parts of the “real” world.

According to Packwood (2005), blogs and bloggers are both elements that make up the blogosphere, where a system of blogs are often functionally interchangeable categories. It is noteworthy to mention that the blog is not only a signifier for the blogger as signified. The non-local presence of the blog as sign allows the blogger to be inferred as a connotative signified of the blog as denotative sign (Packwood 2005). The blog is concrete where the blogger is an hypothetical reification of the blog as an enactment, an “actually-existing” sign. Energy in the blogosphere is expressed in terms of a primary unit of exchange the “link” whether in the form of a referral to a specific blog entry or a coveted permalink connecting one blog to another in its entirety. Links may be incoming or outgoing and make up the central distinction of blog writing as hypertext . There is a metaphysics of presence at play where we pretend other bloggers are actually there, although our system of exchange is confined largely to text and hypertext. The voice of the blogger and its textual articulation as blog are placeholders for each other (Packwood 2005).

There are, however, two less discussed aspects of weblogs that are also very important in shaping what a weblog is: everyday practice and presentation. When considering the presentation of self on weblogs, Schaap (2005) argues that approaching identity as performance allows one to focus on the everyday practices that make up identity in social contexts, whether they are electronically mediated or not. The presentation of self on lifelogs with an "about me" page, happens primarily through the articulation of mundane, everyday

qualities and categorisations. The format of the weblog implies regular updates becoming much more embedded in the everyday offline and online life of the weblogger. Nevertheless postmodern and psychological notions of identity are initially extended to the web, representing the self as fragmented, networked, and fluid (Turkle 1995; Wynn and Katz 1997).

The study of IRC (Internet Relay Chat) and MUDs (Multi-User Domains) contributed much to theories of identity on the Internet (Bruckman 1993; Reid 1993; Turkle 1995). The synchronous and playful environments of IRC and MUDs, the role-playing and use of pseudonymous names, in combination with a postmodern sentiment in the social sciences, lead to a conceptualisation of online or virtual identity as performative, fragmented, multiple, and often subversive. The textual Internet offered a sense of anonymity and pseudonymity, where one presents a persona or a character (Schaap 2002: 41-42), constructing any imaginable identity with any sort of virtual embodiment. The conceptualisation of the Internet as "virtual," and opposed to "real" reality, sets it up as a radically different space and obscures the importance of the everyday social and cultural practices in which online interaction and presentation of the self is embedded. Internet researchers explored this perceived absence of the physical body and the importance of the construction of, and experimentation with, the virtual body in the online realm of weblogs..

Instead of many-to-many communication found in group computer-mediated communication (CMC), there tends to be a one-to-many form of communication from the blogger to the readers, especially on the main blog page. Readers who wish to read the comments or to comment themselves may have to move off the main page onto a separate space for comments. On the one hand , from Jones's (1997) perspective, the lack of public interaction would preclude a blog from being a virtual settlement and, thus, from being a virtual community. On the other hand, Blanchard (2005) might argue that at least some blogs could be virtual settlements, offering interactivity in terms of bloggers' updates, audience comments, private email and online interactions between the bloggers and readers and number of "hits" or visits to their blog site as reported through their blog software. Whilst blogs with active comments can have public space for many-to-many communication, interactive blogrolls between blogs authors (lists of other blogs that the blogger reads and refers to in their posts), creates a social network within blogosphere .

Therefore active, popular and highly referenced blogs with a minimal level of public interactions, may fit Jones's (1997) definition of a virtual settlement. Accordingly such blogs will have the potential to evolve into socially beneficial, self-sustaining virtual communities if participants express a strong sense of community whilst modifying the CMC technology to meet their needs in developing a vibrant virtual community (Blanchard 2005) . As the blogosphere grows and adapts to new demographics, the continued coherence of this online community is dependent upon the strengthening of shared experience and a fortification of what it means to be a blogger (Lampa 2005). Though the active core of the blogosphere has received most attention for its effects on global mediascape, much larger periphery of diarist bloggers represents a vital part of this online community. The blogging community has been able develop into a transnational imagined community, created by the mass ceremony of instant publishing, whilst continuing to produce unimaginable quantities of indexed, archived, and hyperlinked material that impacts people's every day lives.

The process of blogging has a democratising effect that can evoke feelings of shared experience. Weblogs (blogs) have been heralded as a new space for collaborative creativity, a

medium for breaking free of the constraints of previous forms and allowing authors' greater access to flexible publishing methods. Weblogs are evolutionary descendents of other visual media, such as newspapers and pamphlets. Blogs may be thought of as nodal points within the broader system of energy flow that makes up the blogosphere. It is among these small, tightly knit bundles of blogs where a kernel of real interactive community lies. However, this is the point of departure from which the blogosphere's wider community must be imagined in the mind of the individual. The blogosphere is an environment in which new and unique trans-national and trans-cultural conversations and relationships emerge that are neither particular to locale, nor generalisable to commonplace abstractions of globalisation. The fluidity of social roles and discursive practices of identity enabled by the primacy of the blog over the blogger produces blogging as a communicative practice, transcending many offline barriers and borders. The sheer complexity of the blogosphere's interconnectedness and rapidity of its growth presents a challenge for understanding it in terms of social space. It is also made up of neighborhoods of bloggers whose relationships echo the need for establishing trust, mediating systems of exchange and maintaining ongoing channels of communication similar to offline human communities.

Moreover we explore Blogosphere's capacity for refreshing our ways of seeing through the design of imaginative virtual environments. Blogosphere is an interactive, imaginative and immersive virtual environment with metaphorical reconstructions of anecdotal texts and cognitive codes. The visual elements within these realms are semi-transparent and translucent. The experience of seeing and floating through cyberspace, along with the Blogosphere's reliance on cognition and perception as well as on imaginative immersion, causes many bloggers to relinquish desire for active doing in favour of contemplative being. According to Deikman's (1990), the psychological conditions fostered by such practices involve a dehabituating or de-automatising of perception which tends to occur during individuals' immersion into cyber space .

Visual Logs

By splashing virtuality onto the real world, blogosphere imageries would emphasise the power of information and cyberspace over matter and reality and personal lives. Blogosphere imageries can be seen as both the celebration and the natural symbiotic result of the media/information society, a kind of hybrid interface between electronic media (broadcast or wired) and built media (encoded in the urban environment). Blogosphere virtual imageries can only displace but not replace the real, whilst seeking to reaffirm the true meaning of being embodied. With the rapid development of mobile technology, blogging from a mobile or portable device, also called "moblogging", "mobile blogging", or "photoblogging" has affected many users' personal communications (Wang et al 2005). If blogging continues to develop as it currently is, with images becoming an increasingly common element, it seems reasonable to expect that visual blogging will evolve from being a subset of the phenomenon to a medium in its own right. It is already possible to see this happening with the development of the video weblog, or "vlog." (Badger 2005), which may require the viewer to get plug-ins and which work best with fast connections, thus moving away from the simplicity and accessibility that underpins the blogging ethos.

Visual weblogs present a new aspect of visual literacy grammar, where images must be read in direct relation to the passage of time and as indivisible from bloggers' personality (Badger 2005). Visual blogs show the process; *how I got there* rather than *what I saw once I arrived*. It is this aspect of visual blogs that make them a useful tool for pedagogy; they become a tool

for examining how images operate online and how they interact with text. The use of figurative photography and illustration within the blogging medium was explored by Badger (2005), examining the ways images shape and alter how we view blogs and how blogs shape and alter the way we react to images placed within them. Viewed over time, photographs in weblogs are not as high-art objects but represent the unadorned evidence of every day events, whilst creating a composite image of the blogger, a portrait that builds incrementally (Badger 2005).

Prior to the invention of mechanical reproduction, images were strongly linked to a sense of place. Photographic reproduction allowed artwork to be removed from its original context, as in the case of images on the Internet, where a single photograph can be simultaneously viewed by many people all over the world. Nevertheless Benjamin (1935) writes that the, “aura” of a work of art withers when its ties to “place” are severed and it becomes detached from “the domain of tradition.” In addition to this, as Darley (2000) points out, the ability to easily reproduce images can make the work seem less precious, its status as “unique” is called into question by the presence of the reproduction. According to Badger (2005), weblogs could help to re-establish the connection between image and place. The images become linked in the mind of the audience to the circumstances surrounding its creation and as such, intrinsically linked to the blog design itself.

Images appear in blogs in conjunction with some form of text; with various weblogs exemplifying different ways through which this interaction can occur. Some weblogs use words minimally, as captions for images or links to other sites, others describe photographs. More significantly is word/image/blog combination, where narratives are intrinsically linked to the images. When an image from one blog is sometimes displayed or “quoted” within the body of another, this may initially appear to threaten the image’s ties with place as it has been removed from its intended context and is now being associated with another URL. Quotation can in fact strengthen an image’s bond with its place of origin when it occurs in conjunction with linking. The quoted image within the weblog context is therefore not just a way to attract attention to a webpage but is symbolic of the way blogs continually glance around blogosphere, forming connections with others while progressing along their own paths.

Blogs not only shape the way we view individual images but they also influence how we read one image in relation to others within the blog context. Images on the Internet are further destabilised as their appearance changes depending on the browser, platform or monitor on which they are viewed. Images within weblogs become stable when we think of them as being part of a series. The format provides more than just a convenient repository for digital material as weblogs bring with them the implicit understanding that images are not viewed alone, but considered in relation to what has come before and what follows. Thus the emphasis in weblogs is less on individual images and more about series which read like a time-lapse sequence and multi-level narratives which show the passage of time. It is the space between images where things start to happen, where the viewer constructs bridges between one image and the next, filling the gaps, making the connections (Badger 2005).

Online Activism

Since its emergence during the early 1990s, there was the idea that the Internet was inherently egalitarian and presented a unique many-to-many public sphere from which a truly deliberative democracy could form, as Internet brought the notion of individual freedom from the social and physiological constraints of the body. The 1999 protests in Seattle against the

World Trade Organization talks experienced the launching of Indymedia, (the Internet-based network of Independent Media Centres (IMCs) which emerged as the backbone of sustainable communication for the broad coalition of activist anti-capitalism movement groups. In the spring of 2003, Indymedia, which attracted anarchists, libertarians and technotopians hoping to act out frontier freedoms, was affiliated with 600 to 700 electronic mailing lists, over 600 users gather around the 2723 pages of the collective content management tool Twiki, not to mention the rarely less than 60 IRC chatrooms. Innumerable media groups are becoming more self-confident in dealing with radio and video streams, the RSS syndication of web sites, satellite dishes, wireless connections and the use of the non-commercial open source operating system Linux. This practice is not a virtual reality as imagined in the eighties, but is rather regarded as a graphical simulation of reality. It takes place at the keyboard just as much as in the technicians' workshops, on the streets and in the temporary media centers, in tents, in socio-cultural centers and squatted houses.

Those years were followed quickly thereafter by anxieties at the encroachment of corporate exploitation of the Web. This suggests the possibility not only that the map of the Internet has changed, as the geography of the Internet grows through a nervous high-speed tectonic process, but that the territory itself has expanded in a virtual analogue of '50s suburbia. The visualisation of spatial and communicative relationships appeals to a mute fascination with the scope and complexity of the Internet alongside the speed of its emergence and consequent ongoing effects on actual and virtual communities. This is further explored in relation to the case of Egyptian Blogosphere..

Egyptian Blogosphere ⁴

All new posts published on any of the Egyptian blogs are aggregated and an index that points to those posts along with an excerpt of them are displayed at the Egyptian blog aggregator. This aggregator enables readers to follow any new posts on any of the Egyptian blogs a few minutes after the bloggers have published their posts instead of moving around all Egyptian blogs to check for new posts. This multi-faceted Web hub provided open source Web development. (TABLE 1).

"We also offer Drupal-based free hosting space and free aid developing a Web site for any cause we find worthy or interesting and for any speech that is censored or prosecuted in Egypt," says a passage at the top of the main blog. The blog has posts in both Arabic and English, and the site includes an Egyptian blog aggregator also in both languages, photo galleries, database and video documentaries." (*informal discussion with a blogger*)

"The Internet, and the rise of blogs in particular, have afforded Egyptians an unprecedented opportunity to make their voices heard, to exchange ideas, and to communicate across borders. Where the press is tightly controlled, human rights activists, journalists, and opinionated citizens can now set up their own blogs free of charge. Pro-democracy and human-rights activists, shut out from the mainstream media, have taken to the Web to disseminate information." (*informal discussion with a blogger*)

But blog readership remains limited in Egypt. Most popular blogs get 1,000 to 2,000 visits per day, while the smaller ones get hundreds of visitors. This is attributed to language barrier with English-language blogs and to the expenses of owning a computer. But Net access is subsidised by the government and cheap Net cafes are widespread, leading to 4.2 million Internet users in a country of 77 million people. Recent figures showed a total number of 1417 blogs as listed on The Egyptian Blog Ring (August 2006 Figures) (TABLE 2).

TABLE 1- Egyptian blog aggregator

<p>CREATE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Blogs • Image galleries • Discussion forums • Polls • Surveys • Event calendar and send invitations • Create your own content types and forms (book or movie reviews) • Books with hierarchical organisation <p>CONTROL</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Categorise your content (unlimited categories and hierarchies) • Selective unpublishing of contents • Schedule automatic publishing or unpublishing of content • Advanced logging and statistics of traffic and visitors • Extend the features by third party modules <p>SHARE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Invite your friends to blog with you (multiuser blogs) • Collaborative editing and authoring • Create different roles for your blogging partners • Upload files <p>Engage your visitors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Comments • Threaded comments • Advanced comment control • Chatbox • Send mail to subscribers • Automatic highlight of difficult words and abbreviations • Contact and feedback forms • Syndicate your content with RSS • Track new content and changes easily 	<p>Drupal-based free Open Source hosting space</p> <p>Is easy and convenient to use</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Easy interface for visitors • Easy administration interface • Publish content using desktop blogging software • Easily create navigation menus • Easily compose posts, no need to learn HTML (wiki syntax or rich editors) • Get notified (you and your members) of new posts and comments • Detailed documentation and help system • Appears quickly in search engines (directory services automatically) • Can sustain high loads (caching and throttling) <p>Looks good</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Smilies and avatars (user pictures) • Choose from several themes and edit them • Customised sidebars • Friendly URLs that are easy to remember • Printer friendly format for books <p>Speaks your Language</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • automatically switches line direction according to language • choose from lots of interface languages including Arabic
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TABLE 2- The Egyptian Blog Ring

		Number	Percentage
Languages	English	572	40.4%
	Arabic	828	58.4%
	French	8	0.6%
Categories:	Personal	679	47.9%
	Politics	304	21.5%
	Art & Culture	200	14.1%
	Photologs	34	2.4%
	Entertainment	23	1.6%
	Society	99	7.0%
	Technology	72	5.1%

August 2006 Figures

"Blogs are being read by the elite who have access to computers and high-speed Internet and have the luxury of time to sit around and talk about these things. Most bloggers have been infused by politics rather than having driven the political movement. Maybe in few years when we see thousands of blogs we can claim that blogs affected politics. Right now I think it's the other way around: The political climate has affected bloggers.." (*informal discussion with a blogger*)

Despite lack of blogs censorship, almost all Egyptian bloggers use pseudonyms, as some anonymous bloggers feel it gives them more freedom to write about politics. Others do not want their work colleagues or family members to associate them with their writings. Despite the establishment of the General Administration for Information and Documentation and the Department for Confronting Computer and Internet Crime, two security units in charge of online surveillance and monitoring, so far, the government has not shown an interest in shutting down blogs or arresting bloggers. Most bloggers believe the government knows about their blogs, but because their readership and protests have remained relatively small, authorities have not taken action yet. However the internet is regularly being subjected to online surveillance, very few sites have been blocked by authorities..

Methodology

The current study regards participant observation as providing an optional means to understand the sheer complexity of blogosphere's interconnectedness and rapidity of its growth in terms of social space. Purely quantitative research methods employed in studying systems of communicative relationship might risk reifying data at the expense of understanding a context in its own frame of reference. Accordingly the following section provides a qualitative in-depth ethnographic analysis of Egyptian bloggers' experiences and narratives concerning their Weblogs and blogosphere experience . An inquiry was conducted to highlight users' blogging activities in terms of personal identity and self expression, social interaction, and political activism . Narratives were gathered employing unstructured interviews during online discussions and face to face communication over a period of six months (March-August 2006) . Blogging activity could provide insights into users' personal needs and expectations, and suggest new directions for future mobile communication . Initial investigations however revealed that a Blog was an alternative way

to construct an online personal space and to exchange socio-political ideas as indicated in the following narratives expressed by various bloggers:

Personal Space

"My blog is a personal space which reflected my personality on the internet. This medium provided me with space to express freedom of expression and thoughts".

"All I want is to record. I am a nostalgic person who preserves old memories...I share not only content but also my emotion and attitude about this world" .:

"Now, I write my diary on the internet because I want my friends to take part in my life".

Social Interaction

" Maybe I want to inspire my readers to take actions, become concerned about socio-political issues and encourage them to make an effort to change their surrounding domain".

"Audience's comments and feedback are the motive which makes me keep updating my blogs content.".

"Blogging helps me connect with different social circles and establish acquaintances with various people".

Socio-Political Events

"On the one hand usually mainstream media would report a protest through a short clip on TV or a photo in a newspaper . On the other hand Bloggers give a very detailed description of street protests, with many photos, and personal side of stories as compared to the official media."

" My blog it is not a political nor an activist one, but rather more cultural and humane than anything else...Blogs have been a good means in providing accounts of recent street protests, and yes, they are much better than mainstream media. They are not regulated by censorship nor by any political affiliations . Each blogger just captures his or her experience."

" Mailing lists, online forums, e-mails and SMS messages could provide forms of citizen journalism and are effective ways of delivering information and mobilising people who already belong to your network . "

Bloggers' Case Histories

In-depth interviews were administered with twelve bloggers ranging from mid twenties to mid thirties, providing case histories. Most respondents had at least over two years blogging experience. Interviews were conducted by emails and in person at the place of their frequent blogging, such as their studios and internet cafes. The main inquiry focused on the bloggers' reasons behind blogging, opinions regarding Egyptian blogosphere and their attitudes towards blogging and internet online activism.. The bloggers were selected for interviews based on their personal characteristics and profiles such as age, gender, profession, location , and history of blogging (TABLE 3). The author's participant

observations and direct communication with the twelve bloggers have provided in-depth anecdotal notes about their blogging experiences which are presented in BOX 1 .

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**The role of Public Art in 'Lisbon 1994':
an improvement to this city's future.**

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The interest in working a casual matter of a theme of Public Art in Lisbon in the 90s resulted mainly from the awareness of internationalization and mutation of the perception and of the life interest of this city, related to the increasing number of interventions that reach their highest point with the Expo'98.

The majority part of "Public Art" in *Lisboa 94* had an ephemeral character. The confrontation with the ephemeral arts needed retrieval at risk of scattering, but due to the lack of bibliographic sources, the best choice was to read thoroughly the events of 1994 written down in the press of that same year. The purpose was to understand why 1994 is quoted as a boosting example of Public Art in the 90s and to answer the question: **What happened in 1994?**

Goals and methodology

The main objectives were:

- to supply with documents Lisbon's Public Art of 1994, mainly through the influence of the event of Lisbon European Capital of Culture
- to relate the impact of Public Art in Urban Design under a reflexive point of view which expresses future connections of this theme with the city. In spite of the importance of the historical retrieval, that data will not be analyzed in a historical approach

This case study is composed of three parts:

1. The purpose of the first part of "*Public Art in 1994*" was to describe the main goals, organization and the relationship between cultural entities that promoted the event of Lisbon 94; to identify in that experience the key points to the understanding of the uniqueness of eclectic cultural performances of 1994; in order to reach in advance to a clear impetus for the huge event of Expo 98.

2. The second part "*press data*" was a foray into compiled articles, read and commented according to its topics, so as to filter a convergence of reasons related to the goals of this case study and to discuss the conclusions. This process allowed the retrieval of each project's data and gave specific grounds for the study of the project "*As Cores da Sétima Colina*" (*The colours of the Seventh Hill*), as we shall see.

3. The third part, "*analyses and conclusions*", as the title indicates, it examines the implications of the contents previously retrieved. The conclusions of this study are summed up, highlighting the impact and influence of the analyzed data and articulating them with the overall meaning of Public Art in the city's legacy.

Background notes

The decision of naming a European capital “European City of Culture” every year came up at the first meeting of Ministers of Culture of the European Community (EC) in November 1983.

Of particular interest in this paper is Lisbon European Capital of Culture in 1994 (check tables), which took time on the ascending period of the implementation of the Event European “City of Culture”.

It is important to notice that in European studies about cultural events, artistic elements are always pondered. The majority of “cities of culture” (defined as such by the EC), avoids the excess of star-system and tries to pinpoint a symbolic local identity.

Portuguese context

Particular circumstances in Portugal shaped Public Art features related to:

- national political changes and subsequently a mass consumption society;
- from a national cultural image to a international cultural image.

In the aftermath of the revolution of April 1974, a set of symbolic actions and performances took place and its greatness is here assessed on the grounds, on the one hand, the attempt to eradicate the symbols of the defeated dictatorship, for example, the renaming of the bridge on the river Tagus from *Ponte Salazar* (the name of the dictator) to *Ponte 25 de Abril* (the date of the revolution). On the other hand, the fostering of city’s artistic life through many spontaneous and ephemeral events or performances of public art shaped public spaces and opinion.

In 1994 the main objectives were to prevent the centres’ degradation, by alluring and creating different cultural publics. It was set up an association, organised in several departments, which was responsible for the development of the event European Capital of Culture, the society of Lisbon 94.

The Public Art of Lisbon 94

The “Sétima Colina” (7th Hill) was the most highlighted project in the press, and because it includes a “romantic itinerary” of the city, we came across an organic blend of different small themes that oppose to a clear-cut classification of the events. It is precisely this singular mixture present in each project that we commit ourselves to identify and ascertain in this study, bearing in mind that it can not be based towards the understanding of 94.

The *Sétima Colina* included themes from several areas. From the area of Public Art from the Department of Urban Intervention it was taken into consideration a program with the following projects:

- **“E outras senhoras de forte carácter cultivam as ervas silvestres”** by Catarina Baleiras, in Chiado Square – under the statue of the poet “Chiado”.
- **“Alba Mutabilis”** by Sebastião Resende, Garden of S. Pedro de Alcântara
- **“Atelier voltado para a Rua”** by Guilherme Parente, next to the lift of Bica
- **“Fotografias de Grandes Dimensões** by Mário Cabrita Gil, through the itinerary of the 7th Hill.
- **“Painel Cerâmico”** by Eduardo Nery, Avenue Infante Santo.
- **“Azulejos da Mãe de Água”**, by Luís Camacho in Mãe de Água Street
- **“Lisboa Nova Vida”** by Ranieri di Bernardo, golden-slade in public street lamps of *Sétima Colina*
- **“A Cara de Cultura”** by Ramos de Carvalho and Leonor Picão in Escola Politécnica Street
- **“Engenho”** by Miguel Palma in Século Street

Besides these projects that were carried out, the program also included:

“**Glória Glória**” by Carlos Rocha Pinto and Alberto Oliveira in Calçada da Glória (which didn’t take place), “**Iluminações Especiais**” (Special Public Illuminations) and “**Limpeza e recuperação de painéis de Azulejos**” (recovering urban tiles), both by the Department of Urban Intervention.

All these ephemeral projects (i.e., the Installation Art), perennial (i.e., the tiles), of original intervention or stressing other existent interventions (i.e., Special Public Illuminations) we can see that in 1994 they were all attached to the same topic, thus we can **identify several types of project of Public Art that correspond to different processes of productions and implementation, and different qualities and scales of physical and social impact.**

At the final report of the Department of Urban Intervention, where the mentioned projects were classified, we considerer that by including different projects under the same topic (Public Art), questions of classification and analyse **among the different elements** of the list must be posed because they refer to different types or Artistic intervention. Therefore, we also raised questions about **the relation of these elements with other exteriors**, from other areas and other departments that could be linked to them because they match the same type of Artistic intervention.

In the program of Public Art of the Department of Urban Intervention, we began by identifying mainly two distinct “temporal” classifications either from ante-project, conception, implementation, budget or different temporal distance that define an accurate review:

- Permanent Public Art
- Ephemeral Public Art

The project: “*As Cores da Sétima Colina*” (the colours of the 7th hill)

It is important to notice under this issue the contribution that another project from the area of Patrimony and restoring gave to the memory of this city in 1994, and even more imperative, to clarify along this study, the role it played in the theme of Public Art. It is called “*As Cores da Sétima Colina*”, with painted façades, renewing the itinerary through colour. The press drew a close attention to “*As Cores da Sétima Colina*”. The sculptor Lagoa Henriques, the architect Troufa Real and the Lisbon historian José Augusto França participated in this project.

Firstly, it was made a research about the original colours of each building and in specific situations other colours were chosen because they fitted in the bright-coloured palette desired to make downtown less “dirty” and nostalgic. This leads to a situation where, beyond restoration or original recovery of the façade, a contemporary action of intervention in the city occurs, setting an interpretative position for the benefit of specific objectives for the future’s place.

The project: “*Encenar a Cidade*” (staging the city)

The project “*Encenar a Cidade*”, as an ephemeral project, takes place during the repairs of the tube in 1994 and, more than ornament, it was a strategy to minimize the urban impact of those repairs in vital city zones. Plastic artists, together with enterprises such as Metropolitano de Lisboa and Sociedade de Lisboa 94, were invited to work on the hedges of the tube station.

Facing the interventions on this project, we are able to understand the way how it is bounded to a strategy of art and urban regeneration, despite the lack of perennality’s features regarding the building of the city. It is an example of how it is possible to consider the *Ephemeral* a kind of Public Art and also to distinguish it of any open air artistic ephemeral which doesn’t contemplate both physical and visual buildings of the city. (For instance concerts, theatres open air activities)

Some other exterior interventions on the year 1994 in Lisbon

Beyond the *Sociedade de Lisboa 94*, the metropolitan presented itself as a public art promoter, due to the plastic works on its stations. In 1994 - in terms of plastic works - some stations were renewed:

- **Campo Pequeno** was, in 1994, completely remodelled with plastic works by Francisco Simões. The themes were connected with the place or local where the station was, i.e. “Praça de Toiros do Campo Pequeno”. So it was related with items such as bullfight and the rural commercial relations in the city during the first half of the 20th century.
- **Parque** station was also remodelled in 94 by Françoise Schein and Federica Matta. The most part of the station is covered by cobalt blue; it is the background of glazed tiles with inscriptions, iconographic and cartographic drawings which, together with the theme Civil Rights, play with matters such as the Portuguese Expansion.
- In the **Restauradores** station, Luís Ventura’s panel “A Chegança” was inaugurated. It was an offer of the S. Paulo Metropolitan.
- Because of the **Campo Grande** station, Lisbon’s Metropolitan won a prize – Prémio Municipal Jorge Colaço de Azulejaria 1992 – based on the work of Eduardo Nery. The work extends itself from the interior to the exterior part of the station.
- In 1993, the first phase of the second **Parque de Material e Oficinas (PMOII)** was also inaugurated. In 1994, some sculptures by Dimas Macedo were placed in the exterior.

At last and besides all the interventions on the metropolitan, some other works were done: on the west side of the *Torre de Belém*, on the gates of the *Forte do Bom Sucesso*, on the monument *Combatentes Mortos na Guerra do Ultramar* by João Antero. *The*

Castle of Eye, by the Japanese sculptor Minoru Niizuma, does also frame (1994) a hidden place in the *Jardins de Belém*, on the east side of the Mosteiro dos Jerónimos.

Consequences and implications of this approach:

In this type of approach, the Public Art was, first of all, connected with the sum of events. But, according to a deep analysis to every reports and documents about the interventions during that period of time, it is possible to consider certain Public Art's programmes as a basic strategy to solve problems as the "public areas"; for example the project: "*Encenar a Cidade*".

In 1994, the *Lisboa 94* partnership had the mission to internationalize the portrait of a cultural Lisbon, or to support that possibility. After entering in the phenomenon of the European Union, the main aims of the event, definitely surpassed the "ancient regime's ghost" and the convolutions of the 1974's revolution. Also, a Universal Exposition for the year of 1998 was being announced.

People looked for the impetus of cultural development in the diversity of bets in different areas. These areas gain shape in the cultural sphere of the country and it was intended to expand them, directly or not, waiting for and expecting for what could happen in the future.

The Concept of Public Art in LISBOA 94

In a contemporaneous perspective, The Public Art cannot be considered a Portuguese cultural area grounded in 1994 or on the definition lines of some departments for *Lisboa 94*; It is generated in different ramifications: the genesis are in the expositions department, urban intervention department and, besides, the exterior dynamics in the city – promoted by the metropolitan and by associations - consolidate its perennality.

In order to fulfil its objectives, *Lisboa 94* wanted, clearly, to stimulate the audiences:

- Attention was given to cultural areas with definite audiences (music, cinema, theatre, literature, etc...), with an exponential, programmatically and international development, cultural equipments were refreshed, despite being museums, cultural centres, etc, together with some improvements on fountains, cleaning monuments and new lightning.
- People wanted to understand those cultural areas which were “ramified” into new ones or, in association, revealed a strong possibility to turn themselves visible among the Portuguese Culture. One of those “ramifications” was the Public Art.

Make-up vs Illustration

At a first sight, every projects that “camouflage” vacant buildings, light abandoned gardens or cheer the streets out, can be interpreted as a makeover solution – to be understood as Public Art, people had to go beyond “restoring façades”. They have to context both urban and cultural landscape in the reality: to illustrate and not to “camouflage” reality.

Considering a better option the visual inheritance of the city, a numbered paragraph of the Siah Armanjani manifesto will be quoted. In spite of making reference to the North American context, it is of great importance in this case:

«The public sculpture believes that culture should possess geographical identity and the concept of region should be understood as a valuable term. This is what happens in Politics. Why not in culture?» (ARMANJANI, 1995).

The intervenients role

There is a degree of responsibility on the actual Public Art and the artist’s deontology is now emerging. Not only the artists, but citizens and promoters do influence the path things can lead. One of the already mentioned examples was the

relation with the metropolitan where, in 1994, a definite way for a responsibility presented by promoters, were found.

From the experience of *Lisboa 94*

It is well known the evolution of the concept of Public Art within such wide fields as the interactive processes that appeared on the European new millennium or the tendency to the dematerialization of the artistic object.

As far as interpreting mutations as a result of these phenomena are concerned, and quoting Ignasi De Lecea (DE LECEA, 2000): «*O campo abre-se se diferenciarmos as obras com vocação temporal daquelas que descem ao próprio terreno da publicidade, adoptando o seu formato e suporte para transmitir mensagens novas, [...]. Uma vista contemporânea de muitos monumentos antigos permite-nos reinterpretá-los hoje sob o ponto de vista de algumas destas novas abordagens.*» (the fields opens itself when establishing the difference between the pieces with a temporal vocation from those that come down to the publicity ground, adopting its format and support to convey new messages [...]. Contemporaneous views of many ancient monuments allow us to reinterpret them today having in mind some of these new approaches.)

The context regarding the relation between objects becomes different and the concept of Public Art raises new perspectives: beyond the artistic object (volumetric), it centres itself on the space and on people. **So it is relevant to considerer the painting of the façades as a vast process of Perennial Public Art: and we are talking about a project where any object was created (in volume), but instead the centre of the city was emphasized.**

We came across the meaning of the tension of distinct trends of the several projects of Public Art from 1994, and quoting Oriol Bohigas: «reinforcing the centre, monumentalize the outskirts»: the centre is emphasized in activity and renewal of the existent, whereas the projects about the new underground stations, and the stations themselves, implement a new symbolic burden in the outskirt areas, through interventions that intend to monumentalize and give meaning to those spaces. The

experience of *Lisboa 94* worked also as a preface of Expo 98, which monumentalized the oriental outskirts of the city four years later.

“Depois de Amanhã” (After tomorrow)

The concerns about the “Depois de Amanhã” figured all the projects of the *Lisboa 94*, and as we can see along this paper, as well as in the projects of Art and Public Space. *Lisboa 94* chose not to point tendencies, announce futures, nor “saying that the art is flowing here and there”.

Despite some of the identified patterns of action, the reflexions here mentioned spotlight, the importance of Public Art on drawing and understanding of the city, without draining them, because although there are no formula, it becomes essential to tap the perception of the meaning of Public Art at several levels:

Significance in the city structure, Public Art illustrates the city and not itself, from the “city marketing” to the every day life of those who live in it; Public Art depends on the city and there stands its perennial, its media effect should be used as a way and not as the end.

Social significance, the civic development turns possible the activity and the life interest of the public space, though sometimes there are “misunderstandings” in the acceptance of the cultural meaning. As Pedro Brandão says, they are misunderstandings of the maximization of creativity value, of the quest of the global as an essential thinking (the city’s not “a blank page”) and the search for a stylistic identity.

Political significance, Art has always contributed for the state empowerment, through visibility, through the construction of landmarks for the future, through its relation with the dynamic of important events, such as creating new job posts. The 7th hill in this sense was also a landmark.

Economical significance, because the arts represent a tactical investment in creativity, in supplying new ideas and handwork to other industries, they give birth to a support for

“cultural industries”. Arts are a powerful visitor’s attraction, stimulate the consumption, and directly maximize the quality of the consumption services; they can catalyse the regeneration processes. A strong cultural structure attracts commerce, industry and tourism for the area. They also value the place as the space where they can live and work. Lisbon had a positive balance in this matter.

Artistic significance, for the way it is carried out, for public welfare, for the timeless of human activity. The Public Art, after the 60s, it starts to assume itself as a new concept of performing and understanding the past. At the same time, a phenomenon emerges: the return of sculpture to its primeval place, out of the galleries range. In the public space, Art is there for everybody, for the ones that want to observe it and for those who bear it along with their daily dynamic. As the art stand for everybody and not for itself, the public space brought an important critical frame regarding the artistic meaning, from which the new artistic projects can not step aside, from its conception, to its implementation and maintenance.

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Planning the Most Visited Place on Earth: Las Vegas and Planning History

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Introduction

For scholars of planning history, Las Vegas has long been the marginalized child of American urbanism. The study of the American urban experience has focused on cities such as New York, Chicago, and more recently, Los Angeles and Portland, as we have sought to understand patterns and influences of urban development. Surely, Las Vegas has little to teach us, other than on how not to plan a city?

I argue, on the contrary, that in many ways, Las Vegas is the quintessential American city. By studying its history over the past two decades, one finds the same elements that are transforming other American cities: technology, consumerism, mobility, a rising post-industrial service economy, the labor movement, a reinterpretation of American values and mores, immigration, the evolution of niche markets, and the development of a commodified global economy. One also finds the underbelly of contemporary American urban development in Las Vegas: issues of social isolation, environmental abuse, and the more or less open collusion of government, business, and often criminal commerce that has become a governing force in the American system. How is a city such as Las Vegas planned, by whom, and for what purposes?

The paper argues for a re-conceptualization of Las Vegas as a significant subject of study in contemporary planning history. This re-conceptualization is based on a number of recent trends: its emergence as the fastest growing metropolitan region in the United States, the rapidly increasing presence of immigrants who service the leisure and entertainment industries, the city's emergence as an extreme example of the "touristage/backstage" neighborhood dichotomy of the urban environment, and its embodiment of urban development driven by shifting commodification: most dramatically seen in the constant demolition/building of casinos and hotels. The paper summarizes an examination of the issues of urban change over the past several decades to demonstrate that the recent history of Las Vegas serves as a prism, breaking out and differentiating key movements in how cities are planned in an increasingly globalized and commodified world.

The paper elaborates this argument by first discussing Las Vegas as a city of extremes, and briefly describing its historical evolution towards this exceptional status. However, it is more than just a city of superlatives, and the next section of the paper reveals its more mundane aspects: that is, aspects which are emblematic of phenomena in most American cities. The implications of the city's phenomenal growth for urban development and planning are then considered before concluding with recommendations for revisiting planning history in Las Vegas with the aid of critical urban theory.

City of Superlatives

Is Las Vegas an archetype, stereotype, or a prototype of an American city? Whatever it may be, it is clearly a city of superlatives.

In 1999, Las Vegas surpassed Mecca as the most visited place on earth (Rothman 2003, 28).

Nearly half of America has been to Las Vegas, more than any other locale in the country (Denton and Morris 2001, 7).

In 2003, Las Vegas received an astounding 35.5 million visitors (Stein 2004, 23). In the second quarter of 2003, revenue per available room in top hotels along the Strip—Las Vegas Boulevard, where the largest casinos and hotels are located—rose to \$190 a day, and room rates are up 40% from the same period between 2004 and 2003, but the increase did not stop occupancy rates from rising to 95%. The city's casinos, hotels, restaurants, shops and clubs took in a record \$32.8 billion in 2003. Las Vegas is the fastest growing major city in the United States; 7,000 people move to Clark County—which is the Las Vegas metropolitan region—each month, bulging the population to 1.6 million and overwhelming the police, fire fighters, hospitals and schools. The unemployment rate is more than a third below the national average, and there is more construction than in any other city in the U.S. The city is the country's top tourist and convention destination, with more revenues from conventions (\$6.5 billion) than gambling (\$6.1 billion).

Las Vegas leads in other ways (Rothman 2003, xxvii-xxviii). It offers the most fully developed version of a low-skilled, high-wage service economy in the United States. The power of unions in southern Nevada has made Las Vegas the "last Detroit" one of the last places in the world after the North American Free Trade Agreement where unskilled workers can make a middle-class wage and claw their way toward the American dream. With one-quarter of its population retired, Las Vegas already grapples with the future of the nation, and almost perfectly represents one of the most socially complicated features of the coming decades in the U.S.: an older, mostly white, affluent population being served by a younger, increasingly non-white, far less affluent population with fewer options. With 20 percent of the population retired and 20 percent Latino in 2001, Las Vegas foreshadows the coming retirement of the baby boomers and the native non-white and the immigrants who will likely provide the bulk of their care.

To generations of Americans, Las Vegas is a code for self-indulgence and sanctioned lechery: a city of fun, of excess, and where supposedly anything and everything is possible and for sale (Rothman 2003, xviii-xix). But there is another Las Vegas, a real place found low on the business pages of the *Wall Street Journal* newspaper instead of only in the scandal-mongering tabloid newspapers. For almost fifteen years, this Las Vegas has been the fastest growing city in the United States. In the process, Las Vegas's population doubled and has nearly doubled again as its physical expanse exploded all over the desert. Rapid growth obliterated the old company town and replaced it with the postmodern metropolis, the leading resort destination in the world and the only city in the world devoted to the consumption of entertainment. This Las Vegas is featured in *Wired* magazine, and is considered by many to be the best city in America to start a business, where despite actual exploitation in the case of its economy, a phenomenal number of women open their own businesses and succeed.

Las Vegas is a city full of contradictions (Denton and Morris 2001, 9). It is a city in the middle of nowhere that is the world's most popular destination. It is a forest of enormous wealth that produces nothing. Far from the traditional centers of commerce, it is a model for much of the nation's economy. It is a provincial outpost that has become an arbiter of national power. Once thought the society's most aberrant city, it is not just newly respectable but proves to have been an archetype all along. Does Las Vegas, then, somehow provide an insight into the evolution of other similarly complex and contradictory cities that defy scholars' attempts to categorize into simplistic narratives? I begin this inquiry by understanding how the city became what it is today; that is, by examining its history.

How the Past Points to the Present

One can see traces of contemporary trends in Las Vegas's origins and early history, such as the prominent presence of society's scoundrels, gambling as a source of private profit and public revenue, collusion between criminals, politicians and businessmen, the city as a source of pleasure, and the frontage/backstage—or seen/unseen—aspect of its existence. All these are hallmarks of Las Vegas's 150-year history, and of so many other American cities.

In search of a trading route from Santa Fe to Los Angeles, the Spanish came early in the 17th century (Denton and Morris 2001, 92). When a young outsider, Rafael Rivera, separated from the main expedition, arrived Christmas 1829, he rook unexpectedly onto a panoramic view of the seductive valley in the desert. He christened it "Las Vegas"—the Meadows—for the rare lush greenery thrown in by artesian wells. It would become a way station on the Old Spanish Trail, what the traders called "the Diamond of the Desert." From the beginning, the area held some special attraction for criminals, hypocrites, and political fixers, scoundrels whose methods were as extreme as the elements. One of them was Bill Williams, the head of a band of horse thieves who plundered California and Arizona ranches in the early 1940s.

In 1855, 30 Mormons sent by their spiritual leader Brigham Young established a small mud fort and farm, becoming the first white settlers in the valley (Denton and Morris 2001, 9). Their purpose was more military than spiritual, only incidentally to convert the local Paiute people, but principally to mine local metals for bullets and weapons needed for their growing resistance to U.S. rule. By 1900, only 30 homesteaders dotted the valley, surviving in the prehistoric pools beneath the desert. The water now made the site a key point for a new railroad built by Montana contractor William Clark. By the time the inaugural locomotive rolled up in 1905, the senator had purchased and subdivided the choice lots beforehand, and succeeded to auction them off, making more than a quarter million dollars in 2 days—the first man to make a fortune in Las Vegas.

The flourishing traffic in contraband alcohol, beginning with the advent of Prohibition in 1920, created immense fortunes that would found an unrivaled criminal ascendancy in the United States (Denton and Morris 2001, 94). In 1927, the Nevada state legislature legalized a limited divorce, hoping to fill its hotels with escaping wives and husbands of sufficient means. Four years later, lawmakers further reduced the waiting period to 6 weeks, the fastest divorce in the country. Less noted, but equally significant, they also passed special fiscal measures to render the state an all purpose shelter for private wealth, eliminating state sales, income, inheritance or corporate franchise taxes. In 1931, Nevada's business leaders and politicians took a final recourse to pack hotels and increase state revenues, as would much of the country half a century later. Gambling was once again a legal activity and a legitimate business.

At the same moment, in the worst of the Depression when Las Vegas needed it most, here was a boom with the building of nearby Boulder Dam (Denton and Morris 2001, 96), set \$80 million, the largest contract ever offered at the time by the U.S. government, the Six Companies Consortium heaved tons of rock to raise the Colorado River towards its new milestone, pouring concrete 24 hours a day for more than two years. Like the construction statistics, corporate profits were astronomical, with workers paying the price. Flooded gorges hid an annuity company town led to more than a hundred dead, violent labor wars, and bloody racial bigotry. In an almost frantic release from the enforced intensity and danger of her work, the men building the dam swarmed into the 2-block area of downtown Las Vegas,

where bars and casinos began to prosper. Around the same time, in the early 1930s, local businessmen planned the first resort hotels of the area, and celebrities came not only for divorces or gambling but also to watch majestic Lake Mead—created by Boulder Dam holding the Colorado River—claim the desert canyons. What they saw booming in the water and power of the river would make possible not only the vast growth and wealth of southern California, but also the unimaginable spread and excess of Las Vegas itself 60 years later.

Also in the early 1930s, organized crime controlled most of the lucrative gambling throughout the state (Denton and Morris 2001, 97). Collusion was classic, linking directly and indirectly gangsters, gamblers, politicians, and businessmen in dynamic of exploitation and profit and that became a prototype for Las Vegas. Later the same decade, a new wave of southern immigrants arrived from the west coast in the wake of the Los Angeles gang wars (Denton and Morris 2001, 98). Typical of the migration was Captain Guy McAfee, a Los Angeles police vice squad commander and secret owner of illegal casinos in southern California. McAfee moved to Las Vegas to open his Pair-O-Dice Club on lonely Highway 91, and liked to called the forsaken road outside his joint “the Strip”, after the bustling Sunset Strip in Los Angeles, his optimism handing down one of the most famous place names in American history.

By 1947, the city’s prewar population had nearly tripled to 23,000 (Denton and Morris 2001, 99). With the first suburban settlement, the census of the valley overall rose to 48,000 in 1950. An influx of workers had come with new military installations nearby, as well as the wartime magnesium plant in neighboring Henderson. Two of the most important developments in Las Vegas history the 1950s were air-conditioning technology for large indoor spaces and direct flights from Los Angeles. A few arrived by plane at the small municipal airport, but most drove in from California, as many as 20,000 a weekend from Los Angeles alone (Denton and Morris 2001, 100-101). The visitors came for the 2-minute marriages or 6-week divorces, luxury hotels at \$4 a night, famous floor shows with fine aqua and inexpensive prime rib dinners, all night drinking, prostitution, rubbing shoulders with celebrities, and above all, for the gambling.

From this era onwards, the unseemly Las Vegas would always be more important than its glittering, slightly naughty surface. It was city of fronts, like most large cities are. For example, in 1950, visitors to Wilbur Clark’s luxurious new Desert Inn would be impressed by the first individual thermoses in guestrooms and by Clark himself moving ritidly from table to table (Denton and Morris 2001, 101-103). What they would not see what that the controlling owner, Mike Dallas—known as the toughest Jewish mobster in Vegas—carried a long history of ruthless beatings, unsolved murders, extortion, and bribery. There was also the financial front, the visible money at play on the casino’s gambling tables, the reported profits, losses, bank deposits, and taxes, the set of accounts for the government. Behind these were a second or even a third set of accounts recording the millions being skimmed off by top licensed or secret owners, and the tens of millions more in criminal money from around the country and the world being laundered and redistributed. Even the city’s visible sweet was a cover. There was its obvious success as a wide-open boomtown with growing influence in Nevada politics and business, though to all appearances it was still a provincial outpost in the desert, far removed from national or international events.

The Emblematic City

The transformation of Las Vegas in recent decades created a city that was much like other American cities, and simultaneously apart (Rothman 2003, xiv-xv). Las Vegas seemed equal parts Washington DC, a transient place with constant hints of corruption, Los Angeles and Miami, a more and more conversations were held in Spanish, and restaurant and grocery store signs advertised "pollo" and "carne asada". Phoenix, as almost 20 percent of the population was retired and medical care became a huge industry. Detroit of the early 20th century, with vocal and powerful semi-skilled unionized workforce; and New Orleans, the city that had the reputation of being carefree and the place for parties.

Las Vegas has become a lot more like the rest of America in other ways—in where its financial capital came from and who held it, in the distribution of its demography, in who lived here and what they did, in its residents' levels of education, in the businesses that catered to the community, and in countless other ways (Rothman 2003, xiv). Like most other large cities, Las Vegas is in fact an urban region, with strong economic, social, and even entertainment ties to Los Angeles and southern California.

Las Vegas is not only growing but also diversifying by moving away from its traditional economic base of gambling revenue. In 1970, 70 percent of Las Vegas's income came from gambling, while in 2004, the figure was 49 percent (Wood 2005). Along with the growth of gambling have come pharmaceuticals, telecommunications, Internet development, computers, alternative power, and aerospace. Many of those businesses were enticed to the area from neighboring states such as California with the incentive of no state corporate income tax or personal income tax. In 2005, just 22 percent of the state of Nevada's workforce is tied to such, gambling, and recreation compared with 29 percent in 1995.

At the same time, Las Vegas was different never, less structured, more vital, with fewer rules and wider degrees of what constituted normal. In many ways, Las Vegas now symbolizes the new America, the latest in dream capitals (Rothman 2003, xvii). As New York once defined the commercial economy and Chicago, the city of big shoulders, symbolized the industrial city, Las Vegas illustrates one of the pillars of the post-industrial, postmodern future. Not only in its economy, but also in every other aspect of its development, Las Vegas has become an icon. It is the place to be as the new century takes shape, for in its ability to simultaneously attract and repel it, it characterizes American hopes and fears.

The city has been the quintessential crossroads and end result of the now furtive, now open, collusion of government, business, and criminal commerce that has become—on so much implacable but undeniable evidence—a governing force in the American system (Dennis and Morris 2001, 12, 15). In that, Las Vegas was never the exception it seemed. The city was simply less covert than the country it mirrored. For all its apparent uniqueness, the garish place in the southern Nevada desert has always been more representative of America than either wants to admit. At the same time, the country came around more openly to what the city represented, while ignoring or denying its own emerging reality, much as it remained blind to the larger meaning of Las Vegas.

Out of this confluence of people, ideas, and money came something remarkable: an index of the economy, social mores, and culture of a changing society (Rothman 2003, xiv). As *Time* magazine announced in 1994, the nation had become more like Las Vegas. Now that casinos

as a legitimate recreation and entertainment choice. Sin City is mainstream. Las Vegas is still socially sanctioned deviance, its brand is just more comfortable to more Americans than it used to be. The change to the individual-oriented culture of personal choice on the cusp of the new century included the rise of leisure, and the transformation of socially unacceptable gambling into the recreational "gaming". Las Vegas had perfected the service economy long before the rest of the nation encountered it. The rise of entertainment as a commodity increased the cachet of the city.

Part of Las Vegas's emblematic status arises from the status of entertainment and casino—including gambling—in mainstream American culture. The spread of gambling has only helped to secure the Las Vegas story as an entertainment destination, while simultaneously benefiting from the normalization of leisure and gambling as economic forces in American society. Thus, in order to understand the place of Las Vegas in contemporary gaming history, one has to understand one of the most significant elements of the fabricating world—American culture. Americans crave experience as affirmation of themselves; the packages of experience they buy in all its forms sets them apart from one another and grant them their claim that they are unique (Rothman 2003, xix). In an age when goods alone no longer offer true distinction, they use experience to prove that they are special, to set themselves apart from others, to win the ultimate battle of the party or social gathering by having the most interesting story to tell. Postmodern, post-industrial capitalism is about consuming experience, not goods, about creating inimitable desire that must be fulfilled in front of an approving audience. Las Vegas blends entertainment, experience, and opportunity for a broad swath of the American (and indeed, world) public.

Capitalist Development and Planning Challenges

In a city lacking internal capital, in the middle of substantial growth, and dominated by an industry that the mainstream would not fund, Las Vegas hungered for fresh capital, so much that its origins. Largely invisible to the public, unconventional financing helped shape the direction of the city. The Teamsters labor union pension fund money invested in social projects, albeit profitable ones like the 1959 Santez Hospital and 1967 Boulevard Shopping Mall, made that capital even more palatable. The Teamsters' Central States, Southeast, and Southwest Area Pension Fund was run by Allen Dorfman, the stepson of a mobster and an associate of the Chicago mob (Rothman 2003, 16-17). To most of greater Las Vegas, which had grown from roughly 8,000 in 1940 to 200,000 in 1967 and was comprised of casino workers who regarded legalized gambling as the solution to legal woes they experienced elsewhere, the hospital and mall were community assets.

The transformation of Las Vegas from a mob-dominated gambling town to corporate-minded modern resort began with two related events (Rothman 2003, 25-28). The first was the arrival of exclusive billionaire Howard Hughes at a suite atop the Desert Inn in 1966. He increased the hotel for about \$13 million, the first in a buying spree that included hotels and casinos such as the Frontier, Sands, Caesars, Landmark, and the Silver Slipper. Hughes added a television station, offices, small airport facilities, 100 residential lots at the Desert Inn Country Club, and thousands of acres of undeveloped land. The second change occurred in 1967 when the state of Nevada passed the Corporate Gaming Act, which eliminated the previous requirement that each stockholder of a casino had to pass a Gaming Control Board background check. Prior to this act, a single official owner, approved by the Board, would act as a front for the real owners, usually dubious characters, most of whom had run afloat of the law. Passage of this new law opened the door for an infusion of corporate capital because

corporations could now invest, inaugurating a new capital regime that brought Las Vegas closer to the primary avenues of capital formation. The first purchases by major multinational hotel chains quickly followed, with the Hilton Corporation buying the Flamingo and the International, with the Holiday Inn and Ramada hotel corporations making investments in Las Vegas soon thereafter.

Throughout the 1970s, national banks generally shied away from Las Vegas, but large profits in Atlantic City persuaded a few east coast and California banks that Las Vegas might be a legitimate investment (Rothman 2003, 24-25). For example, Actia Insurance Company owned Caesars World, the parent corporation of Caesars Palace, 500 million, and soon after, First Interstate Bank developed a sizeable casino and gambling loan portfolio. By 1980, Nevada's 5 dominant gaming entities, Harrah's, the MGM, Del Webb, the Hilton, and Caesars World, were all publicly traded corporations. In 1980, long-time Las Vegas entrepreneur Steve Wynn opened the \$630 million Mirage resort, including \$535 million borrowed through his cousin's college roommate, financier and later convicted felon Michael Milken and the Wall Street firm of Drexel Burnham Lambert. Soon, Drexel Burnham Lambert became the dominant financial force in Nevada gambling, investing a total of \$2.57 billion and creating 100,000 new jobs during 1980s.

A change in financing regimes, from the criminal mob to the corporate mentality, also accelerated another aspect of capitalistic development – the elimination of old and tired products with new and more profitable ones, in this case, casinos and buildings. The scope of corporate wealth meant that the city could offer a new level of extravagance and fantasy, between 1991 and 1997, in a highly accelerated version of the change in built environment that most American cities experience. Las Vegas demolished most of its recent history. Four streets, the Dunes, the Sands, the Flamingo, and the Aladdin, were all imploded to make room for new construction (Rothman 2003, 28). The Bellagio and the Venetian replaced the Flamingo and the Sands, substituting Italy for the desert and with the construction of an interpretation of Venice at the Venetian, a Paris at Paris Las Vegas, and a New York at New York, New York on the Las Vegas Strip.

The owners of the privately owned casinos are powerful actors in the urban development process by any measure, especially economic ones. In 2004, multimillionaire Kirk Kerkorian merged his MGM Mirage company with the Mandalay Resort Group to form the world's largest gambling company, until a few weeks later, that is, when Harrah's Entertainment bought Caesars Entertainment in a \$9.25 billion deal that created an even larger company (Sica 2004, 24). Later the same year, Steve Wynn, the man who brought renewed glamour to Vegas in the 1990s with the shimmering facades of the Mirage and then the European elegance of the Bellagio, opened the \$2.6 billion Wynn Las Vegas hotel and casino. The project includes a 15-story mountain and lake, 7,200 rooms that are suites, a Ferrari and Maserati dealership, in-house staging of award-winning Broadway musicals, and the only 18-hole golf course on the Strip.

The vision of capitalist development driven by private and corporate investors is seen in such huge casino and hotel projects. Some historians trace the tipping point of the city from a multi-dimensional desert outpost to a corporation-driven entertainment destination to 1988 (Wood 2005). That was the year businessman Steve Wynn invested the unprecedented amount of \$700 million to build the copper-skinned ultra-casino called "Mirage". The Mirage created a model for clearing away old gambling hotels of the post World War II era, and replacing them with casinos the size of small castles on a boulevard stretch out of

known. The Mirage also embodied what Las Vegas could offer a tourist in other terms: an invented reality that only occasionally demanded the suspension of disbelief. Included as part of this ambience was a volcano that erupted hourly and cooled by water (in the middle of an Vegas desert locale), the magicians Siegfried and Roy and their fanned white tigers, a sink of five dolphins, and later, the nouvelle cirque, Cirque du Soleil.

Scholars have often dismissed this invented reality of Las Vegas's built environment because it was less 'real' than other cities. However, it is not quite as simple as that. For example, the hotel and casino New York, New York acquired a deeper meaning in the worst of moments (Koffman 2003, 36). After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001— including on the city of New York—people treated New York, New York in Las Vegas as if it were the real place. It became a shrine: people brought flowers, pictures, remembrances of patriotism and of personal sentiment, and innumerable other expressions of feeling and placed at the base of the faux Statue of Liberty. Part of this was kinship expressed by New Yorkers living in Las Vegas, but another part of clear sentiment, a physical place to express human emotion such that the faux pleasure of the hotel casino became a powerful expression of the real pain of Americans.

There is also a genuine honesty about Las Vegas's fantasy. Nothing is real and you know that. As a visitor or participant on the 'frontstage'—the spectacle of its lights, sounds, and glamour—you are a willing part of the invented reality. After all, that is the whole point of being a part of the spectacle. Every American city has a 'frontstage': the city as theater, the city as spectacle; whether it be slick, corporate show of the central business district, or the suburban feel of the artists' area, or the consumer frenzy of the shopping streets. A lot of financial investment and media attention is focused on these 'frontstages'. However, what of the 'backstage'? In Las Vegas, the employees—the maids, waiters, cooks, gardeners, security guards, dealers, and others so essential to the tourist and service industry—literally stir and stir through the backdrops of the casinos, hotels, restaurants, theaters, and other places of employment. What is this 'backstage' that they inhabit—the housing, transportation system, and civil infrastructure that urban planning is supposedly the steward of?

The driving force on the 'backstage' of Las Vegas has sadly not been the planning function; that is, the planning visions, master plans, planning commissions, land use regulations, professional planners who should have the knowledge, experience, and responsibility of shaping the city. The new Las Vegas is a fast-moving place, through which billions of dollars travel—for land acquisition, for infrastructure development, be it roads, sewer pipes, water and waste water projects, airports, and a plethora of related structures and systems, for hotels, casinos, homes, and the like (Koffman 2003, six). New strip malls and factories office spring up daily, serving the never-ending stream of newcomers. Roads seem to be always under construction, ever longer and wider. By most accounts, local government planning has been either: (a) almost completely absent from the development of Las Vegas during the last few decades, or (b) failed miserably in keeping up with the private-sector-driven growth of the city, and in attending demands on physical and social infrastructure.

The view that planning in Las Vegas has failed to keep up with the radical growth of the city, pervades those who live and experience the city on a daily basis rather than as visitors; many who live there say the soaring billions in wealth generated by the city as an international destination for world travelers has not trickled far beyond the casino floors (Wood 2005). For example, the traffic congestion, smog, crime, and insufficient social

services show little sign of improving. "I dare you to find another community of this size with the kind of transportation, schools, hospitals, and other social services that are as bad as we have here," says Richard Marinetti (cited in Wood 2005), a resident since 1972, adding to the list of problems poor bus service, five-hour waits in hospital emergency rooms, schools with 20 students in a class, limits on watering lawns and car washing—despite the lavish use of fountains and pools in landscapes throughout the strip. The soaring cost of housing is another area of concern. In 1997, residential development cost roughly \$20,000 per acre, and climbed to \$700,000 in 2005 (Wood 2005). The price increase has made Las Vegas increasingly inaccessible to the middle class. In addition, high-rise buildings with condominiums, an extremely popular trend in recent years, are being purchased as second homes by wealthy out-of-town residents.

In the absence of any serious urban planning efforts, it has been the labor unions that have played a powerful role on the city's "backstage." In 1998, after the longest labor action in American history, the Culinary Union, Las Vegas's most powerful, won an enormous victory not only over the Flamingo Hotel, but also in the ongoing contest between labor and management in what has become the most unionized city in the United States (Rothman 2003, 63-68). In the process, the Union consolidated Las Vegas's place as one of the last places in American society where unskilled and semiskilled workers can earn a middle-class wage and be able to create the prosperity that was once the hallmark of the unionized American working class. As much as 30 percent of the workforce in Las Vegas is unionized, providing a remarkable base for economic and workplace security.

The success of the unionized workforce in Las Vegas is an anomaly because to an individual, there is no clear-cut economic benefit from belonging to the union. To want to belong, a worker has to understand the larger picture, to understand that the presence of the union sets the pay even in the non-union places of employment, to know that the union leads to better working conditions in the labor-intensive and physically difficult service industry, to see that the union leads to seniority, consistency in hours per week, and protection from arbitrary workplace rules. Persuading the casinos and hotels to accommodate the union required a different strategy. The union has to show its partners that contented workers were essential to the expansion of leisure and entertainment, and that union employees work better, are more dependable, more professional, and do more to keep customers happy and coming back. A spokesperson for Mirage Resorts acknowledged that the "unions have brought professionalism and stability to the workforce" (cited in Rothman 2003, 66).

While Las Vegas is exceptional in the success of its union organizing, union demographics have changed dramatically over the years and are more emblematic of the country. In 1997, 80 percent of the culinary workers were Anglo or white, 15 percent were Asian, 15 percent African-American, and 12 percent were Asian. The influx of Latinos, as in many other cities, is the most pronounced trend. The increasing diversity results from changing immigration policies after 1965, the changing demographics of the nation as a whole, and the fact that unionized work in among the best opportunities in a post-industrial economy for those without college degrees.

As the 21st century gathers momentum, Las Vegas is sharing greater commonality with the rest of the United States by depending on the same sources of capital that other cities do and has accepted many of the same rules and regulations (Rothman 2003, 31). It's not only that the rest of the nation normalized the behaviors that use to make Las Vegas exceptional, it's its hierarchy, distribution of wealth and status, demography, and stratification of its labor

since, the city has become more like the rest of the nation. Once a pariah, the city became a paradigm of the postindustrial economy. As gambling spreads throughout the country—usually run by Las Vegas companies—the colony is being transformed. Las Vegas has become a colossus, exporting its version of the new economy to New Orleans, Missouri, Detroit, and elsewhere.

Conclusion: Revisiting History via Theory

The paper argues in favor of a serious reconsideration of contemporary planning history in Las Vegas based on a number of critical observations: its exceptional—rather than simply marginal—status as a city in the American context, its relatively young life and extremely rapid growth, its mirroring of similar urban phenomena in other American cities, and the complicated challenges the planning function faces from private-sector driven, indeed controlled, urban development. The picture that emerges is complex and multifaceted. In the conclusion, I suggested theoretical tools to grasp this sometimes-confusing complexity.

The constitutive theme of the book, *Las Vegas: The Social Production of an All-American City* (Gottschaler, Collins, and Dickens 1999), is that Las Vegas is normalizing, that is, it is becoming more like a typical American metropolis, having behind its side reoccupation with casino gambling and tourism. In building this argument, the authors emphasize the phenomenal growth of the city and the metropolitan region and the rise of neighborhoods, community facilities, and non-casino activities that have made Las Vegas similar to other metropolitan areas around the United States. Las Vegas, they conclude, has developed "into a fully fledged metropolitan region with a growing number of permanent residents whose everyday life involves concerns that mirror those of other large Sunbelt sites" (8).

In contrast to the city's metamorphosis from anomaly to typicality, the authors deploy—somewhat contradictorily—a variety of superlatives. They label Las Vegas "the nation's fastest growing metropolitan area" (94), "one of the nation's fastest growing retirement destinations" (108), and "one of the nation's most popular tourist destinations" (191). Between 1984 and 1994, the school district was "the fastest growing" (183) in the United States; the University of Nevada-Las Vegas "one of the nation's fastest growing universities" (188), and the Community College of Southern Nevada the country's "fastest growing community college" (271). Similarly, its suburbs of Las Vegas was "the fastest-selling master-planned community in the United States" (145). Las Vegas is also of course "the entertainment capital of the world" (157).

Normalization also serves to take Las Vegas seriously (Gottschaler, Collins, and Dickens 1999), rather than to treat it as having little relevance for other cities. Once that is accomplished, though, the authors can then reveal the "real" Las Vegas: "the vanguard of an emerging postmodern socio-spatial culture" (256), and "can no longer dismissed as an aberration" (256). Reversing the implied causality in their normalization thesis, the authors end the book by declaring that downturns across America are experiencing "Las Vegasization." Las Vegas also displays the perverseness of income disparities, the mistreatment of immigrants—although associations can serve as model for immigrant workers' rights and middle class life, the crime that harms residents, the stabilizing effects of gated communities, fortress commercial architecture, and privatized security systems on public spaces and democratic practices.

How can theory help us reconcile this apparent contradiction between Las Vegas as an exceptional city (i.e. a city of superlatives) on the one hand and a normal city (i.e. an emblematic city) on the other? A historian's glance requires constant reflection (Benjamin 2003, 195-194). There is no single underlying truth awaiting discovery, and we have no privileged status as value-free observers and commentators. In necessarily questioning our understandings of planning history, to have critical distance is to be skeptical about what we know, and to problematize the connection between who we are and what we study. Social understanding without self-understanding breeds delusion. Critical engagement in this process of constant reflection and self-critique, and encompasses ideas of historical scholarship. This requires that we ask why we have arrived at this conclusion, how it is that our methods produce these results, how language (e.g. a 'normal' city versus a 'abnormal' city) gives meaning to ideas, and what influence the social setting of our work has on the work we do and the understandings we produce.

Thus, a historical discussion of planning in contemporary cities such as Las Vegas begs the question of theory, that is, how and why do we view the history of a city through a particular lens, and what are its implications for the study of planning history? A cross-disciplinary fertilization will benefit our inquiry. Since the few studies on Las Vegas, most notably by investigative journalists (e.g. Denton and Morris 2001), sociologists (e.g. Jendryer, Collins, and Dickers 1999), and only recently by historians (e.g. Rothman 2003), have tended to frame the city in terms of superlatives, it is worth considering this framing device in greater detail.

Neil Brenner (2003, 208-211) suggests three distinct uses of superlatives:

1. A city is stereotypical (i.e. generic). Here the claim is that an existing city contains features that are fundamentally similar to the features of all other cities within a given set of cities. Such a city reveals the present state of urbanism by embodying all of its key elements in exemplary, stereotypical form.
2. A city is atypical (i.e. unique). Here the claim is that an existing city is entirely unique or an extreme case of a more general phenomenon. Such a city reveals the present state of urbanism through its extremity or exceptionality.
3. A city is prototypical. Here the claim is that the city is the first case of a major trend in contemporary urban life. One may thus expect other cities to become more similar to it as they develop. Such a city reveals the future of urbanism due to its trend-setting character.

Brenner further goes on to classify typical claims about Las Vegas under these categories, as seen in the following table:

City	SUPERLATIVES		
	Prototype	Archetype	Stereotype
Las Vegas	Las Vegas is the vanguard of an emerging neo-spatial culture.	Las Vegas is the nation's fastest growing metropolitan area, one of the nation's fastest growing retirement destinations, one of the nation's most popular vacation destinations, and the entertainment capital of the world.	Everyday life in Las Vegas involves consumption that exceeds those of other large Southwestern cities. Las Vegas is the exemplar of the post-racial culture, since the Los Angeles school of urban studies has its mind, and that can no longer be dominated as an aberration. Discretion across America are experiencing Las Vegasization.

source: Brenner 2003, 209

What this suggests is that Las Vegas is significant enough of a city to merit further historical study, and its sometimes-contradictory character challenges a singular historical narrative. Furthermore, there is no tradition of 'great planning' as seen in many historical narratives, usually in the guise of a 'great planner' who is usually male, usually white, and usually fairly advanced in age. Understanding Las Vegas requires that the historian discard the notions of space, order, economy, and standards derived from the industrial economy and replace them with a new kind of intellectual organization that is still being formed. In all of the ways described in this paper and more, the future—both as a subject of history and an approach to history—has arrived in Las Vegas.

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CITY PLANNING IN MEXICO IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBAL ECONOMY

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The recent urban Mexican cities history is closely connected with industrialization. The present urban sprawl in many cities has been the result of the industrial “boom” of years forty's. This process has been related with that of the lack of land and rural poverty which has forced families to leave the village and migrate to cities, but often times they don't find productive employment and they need to find a place to live. As a consequence, in some Mexican cities have been experimented an unprecedented urban growth in recent decades.

As a result of this process in some Mexican cities the administrative areas has bordered the city and now they are socially and economically integrated with it. At the beginning those cities were Mexico and its conurbation, Guadalajara and Monterrey, and now in our point of view, they can also be considerate, Puebla, Querétaro Tlaxcala and Cuernavaca between the cities more representatives of the metropolitan process.

These metropolitan¹ areas have two faces, one is that of the city fully integrated into the global economy and the other is that linked to the economy of poverty, where city planning doesn't exist. The result is territorial segregation with wealthier groups residing in well located and “gated” spaces whilst the impoverished middle and low income gropes are pushed to the periphery, where they compete for space. In that context our work wants to explain the urbanization tendencies without planning and the process of private advantage of public goods in the context of global economic process.

Key words: urban sprawl, urban growth, periphery, city planning

¹ When we talked about the great urban areas, we preferred to use metropolitan or megalopolitan by its concentration of population of more of a million inhabitants. The city of Mexico and its conurbation, with more than 20 million; Guadalajara with near five million, and Monterrey with more than five million inhabitants.

Introduction

Recent tendencies of Mexican economy, essentially, without a doubt, come from international tendencies; nevertheless the capital's different fronts (banking, trade, industrial and services) protected by each governmental period policies and by national companies, are not excluded from them. In the same way, these tendencies derive from the imposed foreign commitments in which Mexico has been ventured, to fulfil the economic lineaments, with intention letters of external debt, which *priistas* governments have signed for more than 70 years and when rendering precise accounts with creditors banks.

The present model of economic development, followed, at least, from the Forties with the impulse of the industrialization in the post-war period, followed later in each governmental period, until the present, has not defended the national nor human interests of the Mexican society. By the contrary, it has given priority at international commitments with creditors organisms, instead of facing the deficiencies and more elementary necessities of the Mexican population.

In the previous context, it is appraised that the urban development, the operation of the natural resources and the dynamism of the growth, without a concerted urban planning, of the cities, could not explain the governmental failures of the policies and actions to face the multiple problems of all the scopes of the active life of Mexico. Mainly, what have been the conditions of impoverishment to which the present model has impelled, in the last three decades, that is to say, the neo-liberal policy, with more than 50 million of poor². In the same way, they deserve to be included and understood in a context of irruption of the present process of economic globalization which it dates from the first years of century XIX.

If we analyzed, by question of explanation method, the industrialization at the beginning, is the result of development of the productive forces that, of unequal way is introduced in the productive branches of the economy. It is here where the production demand based on manufacture, in goods and services, as well as natural resources and in the reduction in price of the work force, without doubt, they were, and continue being the fundamental pillars of the development of the country. The periods that we raised here, by the way, divided in historical cohorts, not are only a exhibition whim, by the contrary, they have the purpose to show, that every historical time passed obeys more to the correlation of forces in contradiction that to the inner policy, whereas, the dynamism of Capitalism prints its ways of production, consumption and distribution of goods in the society. Then, at every moment of crisis the capitalism resorts to its strategies of hardening the market policies and coils to the states nation to impose its logic.

² Data from the National Institute of Statistical Geography and Informatics (INEGI). In spite of the conservative information, it is calculated that they exist, in addition 50 % to the total of poor man, in the extreme misery. This inheritance of poor man in Mexico is due more to questions of structural problems, of the policies that go directed to benefit the national and foreigners companies, combined with the governmental periods that to the aims of the IMF, BM, I.A.D.B., OMC, among other international organisms, that delineate the economic policies of Mexico. Consequently, the strategy of the economic model (between Keynesian model, neoclassic policies, Cepalinas and monetarists, until nowadays, they have structured an economy that bleeds the Mexican population), followed by more than four decades of the *priistas* governments, of course, have indebted the country with more than 100 billion dollars.

From the industrialization process to territorial impacts

Based in the contradictions generated in the development process of post revolutionary Mexico, a sui generis capitalism profile is structured, which succeed consolidating a bourgeoisie for the exploitation of the human and natural resources of Mexico. This process was sustained first on the substitution of imports (1947)³, afterwards, in the "stabilizing development", of the fifty, and later, in named "shared development" (1971-1976); nevertheless, at the end, vanquished the neo-liberal policy, until present time, which ties our towns by a path without alternative for great majorities of Mexico.

From the Seventies, we began to feel the first injurious effects of the industrialization process. One of more demanded powers, by this process was the petroleum: (1.461 million daily barrels to the final of the seventy). Nevertheless it was in the period of the 2000, when sobre-exploitation of the non renewable resources occurs (3,330 million barrels daily and; natural gas 4.5 billion daily of cubical pies in 2003); and the extinction of species: flora and fauna, corroborate it yesterday and today. However, the multinational companies speculate with the nature (this one as a reproducer, of all raw material, where the man does not take part, is in question.); and the degradation of the resources that contribute for the production, also, is into the hands of the transnational companies protected by the neo-liberalism: Osram of Mexico; Unilever of Mexico; Goodyear Oxo; Nestlé, Coca cola, etc.

The previous thing, without a doubt, is an expression of the development of the productive forces out of phase. It is also, the extraordinary advance of the reproduction of the capital, as well as the growth and consolidation of urbanization process; whereas, under the present social conditions of production, environment is not more than an instance interposed between the work and the reproduction of the society. Also, it is the simultaneously result because it measures the level of interchange of the man with the nature, of its dominion and degree of transformation (Muñoz, 2002). Consequently, the environmental impacts, the ecological deterioration and the depredation of the natural resources, are constituent parts of the extensive industrialization that consumes matter, energy and information. Of course, that disparages the development; because production based on the speculative market, waste and destroys the ecosystem, and seriously damages the human species.

In relation to the previous idea, we could retake an exposition of the "present crisis" suffered in Mexico: The dynamics and the form that were adopted by capitalism growth of Mexico, in the Fifties, created the conditions in the present decade for the sprouting of an accomplishment crisis. Nevertheless, given to the predominance of the oligopolical organizations and the compensatory action of the State, this crisis has been expressed not like an overproduction of merchandise, but as an increasing of idle productive capacity, accompanied by an unprecedented inflation (González, Florescano, 1979:63).

³ It is known that in Mexico, model of substitution of imports was based on the development of the internal market. from 1940 to 1970 the substitution of industrial imports it played in our country the role of the strategic sector in the national growth. See, Julio Boltvinik, Enrique See Hernandez Laos: "Origin of the industrial crisis, the exhaustion of the model of substitution of imports, a preliminary analysis"; in Web page: http://mx.geocities.com/gunnm_dream/modelo_sustitucion_y_evolucion_economica.html Also can see the analysis that raises Héctor Blunt Guillén: origins of the crisis in Mexico. CAP I: "monetary and financial evolution of Mexico". Ed. Was Mexico, D.F.

Authors, who talk about contradictions of the policies and the tendencies of the industrialization, say that, the negative about the environment problems that has characterized the productive systems, has been exerted from different ways, for example⁴:

- 1.- Over utilization and exploitation, of the non renewable natural resources, and also renewable, or those whose have tendency to repair itself in prolonged spaces of time, (the nature).
- 2.- Emission of non degraded remainders to the atmosphere (the emissions are so complex that those which are teemed in the city atmosphere, requires treatment and their injurious effects, cannot be measured).
- 3.- Destruction of natural spaces.- (not only the existing natural spaces, but also, Those that exist in the subsoil, the atmosphere and all places inhabited, by any alive being). The great cities and the medium ones, of course, are places that can exemplify the schemes of appropriation and damage to the nature. Mainly the great cities that, by its expansion and absence of integral planning, display a decadent urban design, which borders on the chaos, affecting the different scopes: social, political, economic, territorial, cultural, etc.
- 4.- Accelerated destruction of animal and vegetable species.- (with the singularity that they do not exist more species, whose they could have been playing some important role in the reproduction chain and maintenance of the ecosystem).
- 5.-The manipulated production of seeds and cells, make the ecosystem fragile and insecure and destroy the possibilities which allow being regulated and reproduced by itself to the nature.

In accordance with Cristian Rojas, from the decade of 1970 the ecological conscience was accelerated and the society began to understand that the origin of the environmental problems was in the economic and productive structures of the economy. Of course, if real instances, where the society takes the fundamental paper, do not exist, mainly, in the decision making, the present production and consumption forms, will prevail over the social necessities.

Economic Globalization: A new model of capitalism development

For our analysis, we retook the idea, about what we understand like globalization process, for that, we begin with the idea that Cypher proposes: Globalization is as much a tendency as an ideology. Later he explains that, like objective globalization tendency, implies one commerce fortification, the financial market and the production systems that crossed the national borders. In addition, it implies a greater convergence of markets and institutions, and the homogenization, to a more elevated degree, of malfunctioning movements, like the economic crisis, that quickly move through the national borders (Cypher, 2002:189).

Facts that precede Mexico's development, have a lot of historical processes, that are fused in every period of changes and economic, political and social transformations. From that perspective, present globalization process, without a doubt is an instance of the neo-liberal policies that applies Mexican government. In that sense, the development and economic

⁴ Taken from Cristian Rojas: "Environmental Impact". In page Web: www.monografias.com

impacts that tend towards capital's profitability and reproduction are opposed to universal human rights or, in concrete terms, of the Mexican population. Meanwhile, the Capitalism impacts and neo-liberalism policies, drastically affect the different regions and of course, to rural communities. From the previous exposition, some questions arise to be analyzed: what can we understand by development? Is the development the premise to surpass the contradictions, between the rural, urban and the global processes? Is the development the one that will be able to reduce the social, economic and political contradictions, in the communities?

The Seventies draw the line dividing the capitalism development of twenty century. It is identified like the moment of structural crisis that marks, in one side, the definitive exhaustion of a technological paradigm, an accumulation regime and a way of regulation that had prevailed throughout the world, since the world-wide crisis of '29 and, on the other side, the birth of a technological revolution that it sustains to the new model of informational development (INMD). If we begin from this premise, we will go by good way, otherwise we would only have the way how phenomena at issue look like.

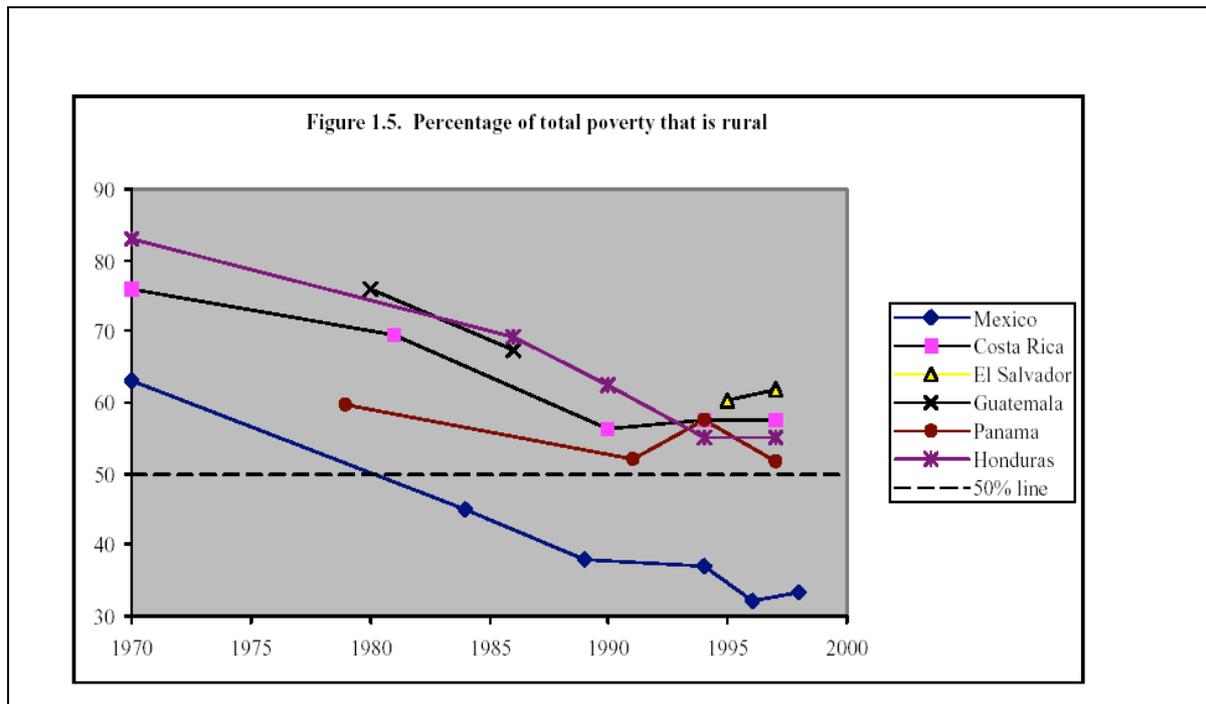
On the base of the different forms that the Capitalism adopts, it is possible to be concluded, that the old model of development (that acquired specific content in the Keynesian's thought), consolidated a regulation way with State strong intervention on the economy and social attendance; a technological electro-mechanical-chemistry paradigm; and an intensive way of accumulation known as fordism.

The rural and/or agrarian structures prevail in the country's backward regions. Nevertheless, it is possible to question, if these economic structures obey to a logic development or are constituent parts of the present social relations of production. In our opinion, this phenomenon can be explained, by pre-capitalism forms that prevail in regions with little or null diversification, in the economy productive branches. By that reason, it will be important to restate the community's demands, to rescue the resources, to restate the democracy concept and to impel their integration for the sake of looking for alternatives for integral, tolerant, democratic and participative development for benefit of communities, mainly the rural ones.

In graph 1, we displayed an approach to the poverty that prevails in the country rural communities. Although it presents a reduction in the ninety, it does not imply that it can be reduced in the following decade. Nevertheless, it would be important to analyze, why some of the regions or whole States, whom suffer of the contradictions of delayed Capitalism in our country, have remained behind.

That contradictory phrasing is a sample of the multiple forms that acquires the economy of the country, on an uncertain direction and without course. Of course, the absence of planning like an instance, more than an administrative action, should suggest a movement of change for the great majorities that suffer the constant crisis of Capitalism.

Graph 1, rural poverty



Source: Alain de Janvry y Elisabeth Sadoulet Universidad of California, Berkeley

In this context of imprecision and irresistible transformations, people that have always lost, in the sphere of the reproduction for the well-being are the people that show, their impotence and its disappointment.

It is the class that has been marginalized, excluded, and exploited by generations, those that do not find an alternative as opposed to the contradictions of which until today it has prevailed. Social Class that has been marginalized, excluded, and exploited through generations, is that who do not find an alternative to the contradictions that have prevailed until today. They are the globalization hegemony, neo-liberal policies and the logics that stop all type of advances in social organization of urban movements, the field and the civil society as a whole, those that have prevailed.

Modernity, the arrangement policies and the globalization are interlaced to stop all significant advance of the urban planning of Mexico. These processes are those that allow infiltrating policies that obstruct all advance of the society for taking class-consciousness.

Urban planning and territorial transformations without results

When the first attempts for economic and regional policy planning of the country were made, in the Thirties, during the period of General "Lazaro Cárdenas", were marked the lines for those first years; whereas in the following years and in the present time, settled lines only have served to fill the spaces in the governmental speeches. The previous thing is due to the planning dynamics that has acted like instrument of insertion, management, and mediation, even as an ideological instance, facing the social movements:

1.- At the end of the Thirties and the beginning of the forty, Mexico, required a period of industrial development that allowed the takeoff of a key sector of the economy, that is to say, it was necessary to impel to the productive apparatus so that it returned to respond to the external demand in progress; It was the important moment for the rural Mexico. Then, it was necessary a process of industrialization based on the manufacture and consumer goods in the production of foods, drinks, furniture, necessary instruments for the field and support for the textile industry, derived from the external demand.

2.- The attempts of the planning in Cardenista period, were characterized by the insertion of a work's force in the productive apparatus to reduce the first buds of displeasure of post-revolutionary stage. At that moment which it was managed to contain the problems of the field, the agrarian reform played an important role with the distribution of thousands of hectares for peasants without lands.

3.- In the period of Lázaro Cárdenas government , 1934-1940, the economic policy and the social answers they were those of a socialist regime towards the equitable distribution of the wealth (Sanchez Zavala, 1998). The electrical industry was nationalized, the state took the control from the railroads and petroleum was expropriated.

4.- In this context of readjustments and readaptations, the territory was transformed, as much by internal influences as an external and by the correlation of forces of different currents in a world-wide scene.

5- The economic planning and its regional, social and political characteristics are political instruments in the urban context. In this time of readjustments, impulses and configuration, the capital looked for their reproduction at the expense of the State in two ways: first, stopping and responding to the demands of the social movements, due to the regional inequalities; second, responding to the exigencies of a bourgeoisie in consolidation, that then was structuring its capital; both processes, was entering in a phase of conformation and consolidation to fortify the State and its policies.

The previous reasoning explains the reason why the urban planning is not applied, in spite of the existence of the development plan, in which the goals and objectives are outlined that must follow, since as it indicates Solarte Pazos, a development plan can establish objectives of general character in the long term, raised in formulations such as: 'to improve the environmental conditions of the locality'; or to raise objectives much more precise and focused. In both cases, the projects have the mission of expressing the objectives, in practical and specific form, to put them in actions that can be tackled in the praxis, 'handled' and programmed in detail (Solarte, 1999, 2).

On the other hand, if we took the Luis J. Castro's reflection, we can say that exists a marked tendency to reduce to the maximum the participation of the federal government in the urban development of the country and to eliminate designed programs that allow in the medium and long term a better distribution of the population in the national territory and a orderly growth to the interior of our cities. This tendency is sustained in the inadequate interpretation that believe that planning of the national urban development is not of federal competition (Castro, 2003). In that way planning is imprisoned and handcuffed by the interests of those who are designing the policies and actions to redistribute the economic resources on the territory.

The results under the schemes of the governmental planning, have appeared in three interrelated instances to each other: first, like an instrument that gives sustenance to ideological actions of the political class who is in power; second, exists the recognition of the differentiation and in some cases contrast of the concepts, methods and conventional techniques of planning, it has a direct relation with the neo-liberal expositions; third, the substitution of schemes of enterprise decision, by those developed by the Mexican traditional policy (Iracheta, 2000).

Governmental actors, from an exposition of which rolls exist, will see their fractured legitimacy, since crisis of the State planning is conceived like loss of collective directionality; incapacity is even perceived to integrate or modernize the society from the state action. By all means, like incapacity to rationally assign the resources between the different social sectors, or like conflict between the technical rationalization imposed by the planning and the social demands and vindications that emerge from the civil society towards the State (Haefner, 2000).

Changes in the international scene, and regional development objectives, do essential the changes in the regional handling topic, by means of the elaboration of regional plans (Palomares, 2000). The essence of these expositions, is based in which by more adjectives and platitude than it seems, the planning, does not have possibilities of obtaining its objectives, in spite of the attempts of those who tend towards a greater social participation in the decision making. Reality is contradictory is neither in favor of moral voluntarism nor to decree; is the dominant production form the one that dominate: of a value of space use to a value of change of the soil.

The urban space and the planning

If we continue with the type of development based on the privatization, the hegemony of the market and the disintegration of regions within the framework of the geography of the country, necessarily we will go towards a greater social, economic and territorial segregation of the inhabitants who live in most of the cities. On the matter We retook the idea of Ulli Vilsmaier when raising: “the urban space, in the context of the relations that produces it, is merchandise of high cost, and therefore its appropriation occurs in the middle of contradictory interests of companies, land proprietors and the other inhabitants”(Vilsmaier 2001).

Based on the mentioned idea, the planning as nowadays has been applied, by the way, as an indicative form for those who try to formulate plans, won't allow a real planning. That is to say integral, democratic, tolerant and diverse, that be able to include the different collective options over the particular ones. The previous thing, because the particular interests are closer to the market of the resources and the speculation, actions with which is given the priority to the interests of the capital. In addition, planning for the Latin American case is less dynamic than the social and physical processes of change that are occurring at the present time.

From This way, when planning is raising from the cupola, a false exit is anticipated, that do more complicated the intervention of the collective interests. In this sense the planning no longer plans for the city, but it is the city of the capital the one that is planned by the capital for its reproduction, in the present social relations of production. Nevertheless, in this process the formal and official planning system, the same one that is part of the administration, even, manages the process to maintain the relations of capitalist production is destroyed. On the

other hand, the plans, programs and policies of planning for the city and/or the city are extinguished; consequently the institutes of planning, secretariats, seminaries, congresses and other academic scopes will only serve to give form, ideological sustenance and pragmatic justification to the speeches of the administrations in charge of the planning. It is here where the functional city is distanced more and more of a sustainable city.

The city, the planning and the spaces in transition, show a triad, which is not compatible in the facts, with the demands of the society. By the contrary, they becoming in allies of speculative market and the flows of investment, which affect the appropriation of the land, in the city of Mexico: Santa Fe, Reforma Avenue (with the named new icon the great tower) and the historical center, among other zones give support, to the new forms from constructing the city. The same it happens in the historical centers of Buenos Aires, Bogotá, Sao Pablo, Santiago of Chile, Quito, Caracas, etc..

Nevertheless, an analysis tendency of the same fact of the planning and its special aspect exists. According to Luis Marcelo, from the market perspective, this tendency goes beyond the own planning, from this he proposes: "Planning, then, it would mean, in this logic, to take measures so that everything what it is necessary to produce can be sold quickly. Therefore, that who would be against the planning would be the anarchical competition and production, product of the extended private property,..." Based on the triad exposed in the previous paragraph, some elements are given off which they are interrelated to each other, that is to say:

- 1.- The urban space in contradiction is in speculation.
- 2.- The real estate market orients the demand towards areas that has a high value of change, contrasting with precariousness zones.
- 3.- The land's use and social demands enter in contradiction, as a result of the new form to construct and to consume the city.
- 4.- The local governments are subordinated to the logic of the speculation. The efforts to disperse for the centralization lead towards the conformation of new centralities framed in the globalization process.
- 5.- The cities enter in diffusion phase, the peripheries, "the empty" spaces of the interior of the cities are lost between constructed space and the one appropriate by the market; The space transformations and the territory expand, they are polarized and they are secreted to become ghettos of high income.
- 6.- The planning is an element, that only acts of passive form, face to new changes of the land uses and the regional and territorial transformation. Today more is subordinated to the tendencies of the real estate market, which opens the doors to the external investment, where the planning practically, is ignored by the political actions of the administrations that are on duty.

Some Elements of integral Territorial Planning

In the present terms, policies concerning to environmental planning and their relation with the space's scope, they must be complemented with the sustainable social economic mechanisms, greater respect to the environment and to reconsider the demands of the local communities, thinking about global impacts. Agreeing with Jiménez (1992), when he mentions two categories of reference to carry out the insertion of the environmental planning, we would add to the previous thing: integral territorial planning and a democratic administrative agency:

Consequently, to get an integral territorial planning it is necessary to count with: a) directed methods to modify the conduct of the contaminating agent (moral persuasion, direct controls and system of prices). b) Public investment in protection projects and improvement of the environment. c) Greater inclination towards the decentralization and development of the environmental policy in concomitance to the territorial planning. d) An agreed democratic administrative agency with the necessities of the organization of the territorial space, in which communities be involved collectively. It is necessary in addition, to consider planning within a totality of processes that tie the necessities of the present, anticipating the future in all the local levels, regional, national and international without exclusion. In summary, two conditions are urgent for the sustainable territory planning:

1.- Having Methods and instruments of management of sustainable development, those which must allow handling the planning systems, diminishing negative effects through a set of procedures: scientist-technical-administrative that goes from the implantation of environmental norms to arriving at the integral planning (the preservation of all and for all), happening through evaluation methods of environmental impact, viable ecological-economic models, analysis of investment projects, territorial development, to preserve the resources of the present and to face the speculation.

2.- . In order to obtain the previous thing, it is necessary to change the patterns of consumption, being alternative and ecologically rational. Thus, integral territorial planning, is considered so much a new style of production, consumption and distribution based on sustainable development, shared, tolerant and anti speculative, like a methodology of the planning in itself, that regulates international rights and duties without power supremacies and damage of the poorest.

Starting up a planning as the alluded one, would depend essentially on political will, enough resources (economic, technical, human, etc.), to carrying out its execution and a change in the relations of wasteful production of resources. It is possible, while the utopia do not be being vanished in the environment.

As a conclusion

1.- Global city, no longer must be conceived, like a fraction of a geography related to a national region, but that, already overflows its marks in the revaluation outside the Nation-State. It is necessary to draw a new conception of the space, the territory, the medium and great cities, but not from the perspective of physical space character, but of its social impacts; in addition, to explain the form specifics of the space, not only like container or material support of the social processes, but like element that influences in the reconstruction.

2.- The forms to construct and to live the city, no longer are an act of simple relations of coexistence; today, it is the space reconstruction the one that is tie to the conformation of the international division of the work and the markets. The globalization has come to transform what it was hidden under the influence of the urban policies that, next to the planning, was mediatized the vindicative movements.

3.- The city must be transformed into a social space, where the individual and collective freedom is expressed, and the management by itself, exist to allow the man breaking with the world of the alignment that sustains the capitalist reproduction.

4.- Uncertainty always exists in the social processes and therefore in the development of the city, but It is necessary to fix future scenes desirable, through a process of citizen debate between many actors. It is to indicate towards where we want to go, to fix the functions of the city. Thinking about how we want that it is the city of year 2010 or 2020, mainly, to make specific projects important and criteria to advance in that direction (Borja, 2004).

5.- The methodology of the planning, its political lineaments must be rescued, but, subordinating the ideology of which they vindicate it. By more adjectives that are given to the planning, it will not be able to conclude his objectives while the logic of the gain, the merchandise and the reproduction of the capital is in the first scene of the fight of the city constructors, the space and the transformation of the territory.

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**1774-1776: The Plans For Vila Real De Santo António And Nova Goa, The (Non)
Circulation Of The Cemeterial Model**

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With reference to a case study which verified the non-circulation of the cemetery model, this paper aims to focus on a subject that could constitute an area of research into sanitary policy - in particular, the thanatological aspect - in Catholic dominated colonial settlements. It is a theme under study in areas occupied by people of Protestant origin, but remains to be studied systematically in the colonies of the Counter-Reformation, where resistance by Europeans to the change in a millenary funerary custom might have been linked to vigorous religious proselytism.

Between 1774 and 1776, under the direction of the *Casa do Risco*, plans were drawn up and works executed for *Vila Real de Santo António*, a small foundation town near the Guadiana River in the South East of Portugal.

Almost totally forgotten thereafter by policies of the Crown and overlooked as well by urbanists - it was not until 1984 that an in-depth academic study recognised the town's enormous importance as an example of Catholic Enlightenment (Correia, 1997:107) - the *vila nova* developed slowly, reaching modern times in rather exemplary condition. The cemetery of Vila Real de Santo António was built in this short window of time and parallels the reconstruction of Lisbon, destroyed by the earthquake of 1755.

In the capital, although the rebuilding plan of 1756 (which called for the complete reconstruction of the city centre, with the exception of a few churches which had not collapsed) showed clear public health concerns (França, 1977:88), there emerged no hygienist strategy related to the new burial policy. To deal with the vast number of victims of the catastrophe, the Dissertation of the Court Engineer Manuel da Maia who orientated the reconstruction policies, merely recommended waiting

some time before starting the rebuilding, in order to ensure that the removal of the rubble would not cause the outbreak of disease epidemics (França, 1977:82).

The plans for Vila Real de Santo António were drawn up by the *Real Casa de Risco* - an office created in 1756 to design and manage the reconstruction of Lisbon – and its abstract open grid design reflects the Catholic Enlightenment alive in Portugal at the time.

The total absence of prior policies for burial practices in the capital meant that the cemetery in Vila Real de Santo António, inaugurated in 1776, emerged as a completely unexpected event in the Portuguese urbanist discourse of that time. Instructions related to this cemetery coming from the same *Casa* responsible for the reconstruction of Lisbon – where simultaneously, no interest was shown in altering traditional cemetery policy – were accompanied by the prohibition on burial inside a church, an attitude described as “a reproachable and dangerous abuse” (Correia, 1997:107). Such an assertive statement might be interpreted as a firm stance regarding the practice of *ad sanctos* burial, but in fact, this is the interdiction’s first (and only) occurrence in official Pombaline records.

This phenomenon is even more interesting if we consider the fact that this area is not only the first “modern”¹ Portuguese cemetery (Correia, 1997:107), but perhaps the first modern European cemetery – only later do we reencounter the identical situation in the construction of the Calabrese *città nuove* following the

¹ “Modern” is the term for an autonomous cemetery built outside the urban core in a place chosen for its hygienist features and of mandatory use for the whole population. This last condition does away with the connotations of poverty and suffering (inherent in hospital or plague cemeteries) or condemnation (inherent in cemeteries destined for criminals or others excluded for religious reasons) which had been associated until then with those burial sites removed from *ad sanctos* protection.

earthquake of 1783, for which the *Istruzioni* contain norms stipulating the building of cemeteries outside the city (Migliorini, 2001:347).

The cemetery of Vila Real de Santo António presents yet another absolutely exceptional feature in the urbanistic sphere: its placement is conceived in terms of the design that the plan imposes on the site, incorporating an overall vision that is singular and unique – in particular throughout most of the next century, when the placement of the public necropolis (while considered indispensable to the urban condition) was decided based on sanitary and financial criteria, demonstrating concerns with mere accessibility rather than articulation with urban design.

In the *vila nova*, the urbanist has combined hygienist recommendations and the articulation with the city, and has integrated the cemetery into its urban and conceptual structure, placing the cemetery longitudinally over an alignment that links it to the parish church (situated in the town centre), and creates a “spiritual axis” perpendicular to the “axis of power” (the Garrison, the Obelisk, the City Hall and the Customs House). These axes structure the urban composition and are intersected by the Obelisk, symbol of Royal Authority and expression of royalist policies espoused by Pombal (Correia, 1997:126).

In this context, the “impure” site loses its negative connotation and yet, despite the physical distancing from the town, continues to participate in and integrate the symbolic system of the city, thus comprising an indispensable part of the *polis*.

With such an innovative and revolutionary gesture, secular power is affirmed over the province of the dead and the hygienist question is resolved, aiding in dismantling the popular notion of the *exile of the dead*.

Given the singularity of this situation in Vila Real de Santo António (and the inexistence of similar hygienist solutions in other *vila nova* settlements from that era), it becomes interesting to investigate whether the placement of the cemetery was part of an experiment in the metropole – taking advantage of an exceptional set of circumstances, in which the design and construction time were controllable – to establish a sanitary and urbanistic policy for the colonial settlements.

If this conjecture is accurate, the same choice regarding cemeteries would be made in the urban plans carried out contemporaneously for the new towns and settlements overseas which were the object of intense development in the middle of the 18th century.

In this way, an attempt has been made to verify if in India and Brazil (territories of great importance to the Portuguese colonial power during this period), whether in situations of settlements founded *ex novo* or subject to regulated intervention, the cemetery would have emerged as a specialized place in an autonomous site outside the settlement or if burial continued to take place inside the church or adjacent to it.

However, since there are no specific studies on cemetery and hygienist problems in colonial urbanism, this paper serves more to raise the question than to offer an in-depth investigation of the topic.

In Brazil, the second half of the 18th century corresponded to a period of vigorous investment in the effective occupation of the territory, a colonising policy in which the Marquês de Pombal invested seriously. Hypothesizing that the hygienist policy adopted in Vila Real de Santo António represented an experimental exercise, it would be natural to find it applied to projects undertaken in colonial towns of that time, especially given the close relationship of the Brazilian *Aulas* - the schools that

educated the *engenheiros fortificadores* (the great producers of design in the colonial settlements) from the last decade of the previous century (Araújo, 1998:33) - and the *Casa do Risco* in Lisbon.

The research carried out has not uncovered any systematic scheme in the establishment of cemeteries in urban projects in Brazil. Examples from the second half of the 18th century which are depicted graphically include all types of situations: if the majority of maps do not refer to a cemetery in the Key (which allows for the supposition that the deceased were still being buried in the church), there nevertheless do exist very few designs that indicate an open-air cemetery located next to the church (Aldeya Maria, 1782) and others that already indicate its placement outside the urban centre (namely Casal Vasco, 1782; Belém do Pará, 1791; Linhares, 1819).

However, these situations are so unlike and so reduced in number that they should be considered more as casuistic and isolated solutions than as the fruit of urbanist norms that oriented the design of these settlements. Apparently, the experience of Vila Real de Santo António did not have consequences in terms of cemetery policy in the plans for the Brazilian colonial towns of this period.

Goa, the capital of the Portuguese State in India, was taken in conquest in 1510 from the Sultan of the kingdom of Bijapur, Adhil-Shah; but from the 18th century, the monumental city that was then built was gradually abandoned by the non-religious population, in particular owing to the unsalubriousness of the area where it was located. The great epidemic of 1695 accentuated the already profound decadence of the city and triggered the transfer of its main organisms to places with better sanitary conditions. (Rege, 1998:458)

Various plans were drawn up in Pangim (and sent to Lisbon for approval), practically simultaneously and by the same individuals, reflecting contradictory intentions, namely to rebuild Old Goa that was already in a deplorable state or to abandon the city for a more salubrious capital. Apparently the government of Lisbon, the long distance decision-making political centre, supported the first possibility, whereas the local administration - more pragmatic and aware of the real problems in Old Goa - advocated the transfer of the capital (Fernandes, 1998:251).

In the exact period in which the plans and building of Vila Real de Santo António were carried out, between 1774 and 1777, four plans related to Goa were drawn up: three referring to the rebuilding of the urban centre (1775, 1776, 1777) and a fourth which delineated a foundation town to be erected in the small settlement of Pangim (1776), seven kilometres away on the south bank of the Mandovi River.

All of the plans involved intense reconstruction of the existing fabric, with a view to integrating the most important buildings into the geometric pattern proposed in the plan, and establishing town squares as structuring events in the public urban space. The design of these plans harkens back to those adopted for the Baixa area in Lisbon about twenty years earlier - not exactly in terms of urbanist quality which was clearly inferior, but rather the methodology adopted - more than the contemporary conceptual matrix of Vila Real de Santo António.

In spite of evident concerns of a hygienist nature (Rossa, 1997:109), we find no reference in any of these plans - yet another similarity to the plans for Lisbon - to the location of any cemetery site, which leads to the supposition that traditional Christian practice of *ad sanctos apud ecclesiam* burial was still maintained.

Bearing in mind that at this time the urbanist experiment in Vila Real de Santo António was underway which included the building of an *extramuros* cemetery, and

considering the difficult health conditions that were endured in Old Goa - which were recognised at the time as one of the reasons for its eventual abandonment - it is very surprising that a hygienist vision of urban burial had not manifested in these plans.

This is especially unusual as the case of the *Projecto para Nova Cidade de Goa se erigir no sitio de Pangim* (*Plan for the New Town of Goa to Be Erected on the Site of Pangim*) certainly represented an ideal opportunity to put into practice the solution undertaken in Vila Real de Santo António, where the *reproachable and dangerous abuse* of burial in the church had been forbidden the year before by the same political administration that was supervising the plans. It was ideal opportunity in terms of scale, “with truly humble dimensions, of the little coastal town” (Fernandes, 1998:251); in time, given that it coincided with the *vila nova* in the Algarve; and in circumstance, because it deals with plans for a town that can be considered a foundation town.

More surprising still is the lack of receptivity toward autonomy for the cemetery, when compared with the way other people (of Protestant origin) dealt with the question, resulting in the phenomenon of *indigenisation* of their imperial culture’s practices: under pressure owing to the extreme heat and impressed by the great Hindu cenotaphs and Muslim mausoleums, the Dutch and English colonists in India built the first autonomous necropolises in western culture (Surat, 17th century; Calcutta 18th century), adopting grandiose funerary architecture dedicated to individual and family memory that would later be transferred to Europe and that had not been seen since Classical Antiquity (Curl, 2002:141).

This cultural miscegenation would not have taken place at any time during Portuguese Catholic occupation, and the cemeteries of Goa, Daman and Diu even

today do not demonstrate any kind of permeability (except for superficial decorative aspects) in relation to the cemetery aesthetic that people of Protestant origin adopted or the autochthonous forms of commemoration of the dead. The architectural and iconographic non-contamination seems to reveal a strong resistance to local acculturation, apparently rooted in socio-cultural traditions that are derived from a profound though minority establishment of the Catholic faith in territories where Portuguese colonisation was more influential.

These findings reveal an area of research that is still in its infancy, and it is hoped that they will stimulate an interest in extending research in this area, exploring further the causes of Catholic resistance to funerary acculturation, and clarifying the circumstances and models that determined urbanist and architectural cemetery policy led by the Portuguese in Indian territory.

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**THE CHANGING APPRECIATION OF PATRICK GEDDES:
A CRITICAL HISTORIOGRAPHY OF TOWN-PLANNING**

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The story of Geddes as a town planner is intertwined in the exciting tale of modern town planning and constitutes an important chapter in its history. Geddes today is considered to be one of the forefathers of town planning, his place as one of its pioneers guaranteed. (Ashworth 1954; Cherry 1981; Hall 1988; Meller 1981, 1990, 2000). Yet in spite of Geddes' recognition as an important member of the Town Planning Movement and as a great influence upon it, he has always been somewhat left outside of its scope. This fact has been given diverse justification, as Geddes' marginality is explained by the incomprehensiveness of his vast writings, by his absence from Europe during the critical years of the formation of Town Planning, or simply by his theory being ahead of its time and only suitable, or more easily comprehended, at later periods (Simmons 1976; Meller 1990; Ferraro 1998; Whyte 2000; Leonard 2004).

Still within Geddes' enduring dissociation from town planning there have been variations in his appreciation as a planner. In general, four major periods of appreciating Geddes can be detected, in which his appreciation and discussion changed considerably. This analysis reflects an agreed periodisation of modern urban planning which could be categorized generally as the Evolution of Town Planning, a Modernist highpoint and the Humanist revolt (Hall, 1998). It is here argued that the appreciation of Geddes reflected the general notion of planning at the time – or rather that of the notions opposing it. The changing status of Geddes as a town planner will be shown to be a function of the general status of town planning, its perceived strengths and its weaknesses, calling for contemporary critical readings of planning history.

The Town Planner as a Miracle Worker: Patrick Geddes, 1854-1932

Three biographical sketches of Geddes were published during his lifetime, all relating to his role as a town planner or at least a re-maker of the environment. But during this time Geddes' role as a planner was not clear at all. Geddes' early urban work and related activities in Edinburgh were described mainly by his colleagues and friends as part of its

overall social and cultural (Zangwill 1895; Mavor 1923). Geddes' early work in London too was reported by his supporters (Gardiner 1913; Carter 1915).

The Dunfermline report, a turning point in Geddes' professional recognition was ambivalently received (Meller 1990). Geddes' exhibition at the first International Town Planning Conference held by RIBA in 1910 was marked out as a unique contribution; yet here again Geddes' approach was problematic. In a well-quoted passage Patrick Abercrombie accuses Geddes of torturing his crowds (Abercrombie 1927). When the exhibition was lost in sea, Amelia Defries wrote: '*Many of us considered that his would be the end of Patrick Geddes. His name was so little known to the general public.*' (Defries 1927, 87).

Following the Conference, Geddes had secured support from the leaders of the British Town-Planning Movement for his exhibition; but invitations from large cities were not forthcoming. It was only displayed in Edinburgh, in Dublin and in Belfast. In Dublin, the exhibition was mainly the impetus to the competition of the planning of the city in 1914. The Irish experience, claims Meller, was crucial in establishing Geddes' position in the British town planning movement not the least because of his association with both Raymond Unwin and Patrick Abercrombie (Meller 1990).

Geddes' work in India and in Palestine between 1914 and 1925 was greatly reported by the local press. In India, articles dealt mainly with the town-planning exhibitions and the accompanying series of lectures, calling the public to take advantage of the great and unique occasion. Many articles in the new planning magazines in Britain were devoted to planning in the colonies in general and in India in particular, describing work of local Improvement Trusts and municipal committees; none of these mention Patrick Geddes or his work. In Palestine, Geddes' work was celebrated by Jewish magazines as bringing modern ideas into the building of the new homeland. Unlike his work in India, it also drew attention in Britain, where Geddes was reported as working at the land of milk and honey, introducing the newest innovations in town planning while preserving Palestine's special traits.

Between 1904 and 1906 Geddes introduced his overall theory of Civics which was received with much criticism. The new discipline was claimed not inclusive, ignoring the inequalities of wealth, as well as the rights and duties of citizens; while on the other hand it was criticized as too detailed and burdening the sociologist (Robertson 1905, Barclay 1905, Booth 1906). Some protested against Geddes' implied environmental determinism. When Cities in Evolution was finally published in 1915 it was received as an interesting sample of writing about town planning, yet not necessarily a very useful one (Tyrwhitt 1946). At the same year Geddes also started editing, together with Victor Branford, the series Making of the Future, elaborating many of his ideas as tools for peaceful social reconstruction. It was not considered related to town planning. The Coming Polity (1920) was thus described: '*the authors seem to move in a dream world under the guidance of a science and a history of their own invention.... This is not science. The book might be described as the result of an effort on the part of belated mystics to create a "regionalistic" religion*' (Teggart 1920, 366).

In 1927 Patrick Abercrombie noted that that the leaders of the planning movement base their practice on Geddes, 'the magician of the enchanted Edinburgh Tower'

(Abercrombie 1927). The Regional approach and the Survey are often referred to by the leading planners of the time (Unwin 1913; Abercrombie 1933, 22; 130); the main discussion concerning Geddes' Regionalism and Survey was held by the Regional Survey movement of the 1920s, but, according to Meller, this was not a meaning that was accepted by all (Meller 1990).

Numerous obituaries published after Geddes' death celebrate his personality and his life. Geddes was lamented as a Messiah, a prophet and a social reformer, a dreamer; the true interpreter of his age, a guide, an inspiration, even his physical appearance was that of a spiritual guru. But his extraordinary range of intellect, unfortunately, led Geddes to develop relations and analogies very hard to follow, and he did not have the direct appeal to the public his ideas deserved (for example: Ratcliffe 1932; C.R.A. 1932; Price 1932; McGegan 1932). Indian obituaries were sorry to note that most of work in planning is not widely known even in India, many of his local plans described as magnificent failures. In Palestine, Jewish papers described Geddes' work as being before his time. David Eder, his main local collaborator, hinted at the blame of the short sight of the authorities for Geddes' failed endeavours (Eder, 1932).

1940s-1960s: Geddes' role in Reconstruction

Following Geddes' death, few of his followers, including his son and his son-in-law, tried to keep his memory alive (Geddes, 1933, 1940; McGegan, 1940; Mears, 1940). Yet Geddes' discussion after his death was quite restricted.

In 1947, the Town and Country Planning Acts were published, arousing local debate about regional planning. At the same year Geddes' Cities and Town Planning Exhibition was brought to Britain and the Outlook Tower was revived by his son Arthur. The Outlook Tower Association together with the Association for Planning and Regional Reconstruction published an edited volume of Geddes' Indian reports. The book was considered a helpful contribution to the discussion of Indian social policy 'in these days of hopeful expectancy' (Lasker 1948). Also commissioned was a new edition of Cities in Evolution. 'Perhaps it is only now – in the period following the Second World War – that the time is really ripe for the reprinting of this book' (Tyrwhitt 1947, x).

A centenary symposium conducted in 1954 marked an era of retrospection and a re-evaluation of Geddes and his work. Patrick Abercrombie marked the study of Dunfermline as a fundamental book for teaching (Abercrombie 1954 in Boardman 1978). Yet other contributions read as belated obituaries, as the Lord Provost of the City of Edinburgh commented: 'I am glad to learn that much of his life was spent in this city of Edinburgh... to men of vision and courage such as Geddes... we must express our indebtedness' (in Boardman 1978).

Also in 1954 William Ashworth supplied the first account of the development of modern town planning, describing Geddes as a leading figure with most original and comprehensive approach to the subject. Yet for many years his suggestions remained unfulfilled as they were drastic and his lines of thought less known to others. His influence, claimed Ashworth, was to cause people to think of urban problems and treat them, less to act upon his own suggestions (Ashworth 1954).

A surprising contemporary approach to Geddes was propagated by the Association for Planning and Regional Reconstruction and Jacqueline Tyrwhitt in particular (Mumford 2000) as Geddes' techniques were embraced by the modernist movement. Geddes' diagrams were analyzed along with those of Le Corbusier's, both described as matrices which encompassed the totality for analysis of urban problems and set the framework for new developments (Bell and Tyrwhitt 1972; Whyte 2000).

Under new waves of development, Geddes' plans in India and in Palestine won renewed local appraisal as well. In 1968 the Jerusalem plan was described as determining the major spatial development patterns for the city (Shapiro 1973). Geddes' plans for Lahore and Ahmedabad were considered still relevant for their plea for 'conservative surgery', standing out against grandiose schemes. Geddes' call to protect Ahmedabad's old city walls, reflected, as was claimed, great respect for tradition, for history, and for local customs, which had hitherto been lacking in the improvements carried out in that city and elsewhere in India (Learmonth 1966; Gillion 1968).

The Humanist perspective: Geddes' return, 1970s onwards

Since the 1970s there has been a wealth of diverse material on Patrick Geddes, marking a new and an intense interest in his work. Many biographies of Geddes' were written and various works celebrate personal and professional landmarks, discussing Geddes' theories and their individual components and published in planning journals and as accumulating volumes of planning history, establishing Geddes' place in the discipline. These writings generally present a unified perception of Geddes as a pioneer of town planning and one of its constituting fathers, a displaced prophet whose work was never fully appreciated. Geddes' legacy, it is claimed, has been a shadow of what he aimed for (for example: Green 1973; Goist 1974, Lesser 1975; Stevenson 1975; Robson 1984; Meller 1981, 1990, 2000). This unfortunate fact has been given various explanations, relating to Geddes' incomprehensiveness or to his peers and the public failing to understand (Cowan 1977; Green 1973; Reilly 1972; Searby 1985). But today, as the recent writings claimed, Geddes is considered to be more relevant than ever, dealing with many subjects and raising many questions which are as contemporary today as they were in his own time. His theory and planning are finally being realized and addressed; his legacy greater than might be supposed (Wheeler 1974; Lesser 1975; Boardman 1980; Hasselgren 1982; Searby 1985; Hall 1988; Meller 1990; Ferraro 1998; Stephen 2004).

Helen Meller's cultural analysis of Geddes' theory and her interpretation of his planning have been very influential in further research of Geddes' work in Britain or throughout the Empire, which generally relies heavily on her writings and discusses his work accordingly. Through his cultural interpretation of the city, claims Meller, Geddes offered a philosophical and practical understanding of the totality of modern city life in all its complexity, indicating also the crucial connection between nationalism, cultural identity and social endeavour (Meller 1981; 1987; 1990; 2000).

Both Peter Green and Giovanni Ferraro, relying on Geddes' Indian reports, stress the importance of public participation in planning in Geddes' work. For both, it is the planner's role to arouse the community to cooperate with him in the endless process of

planning their city in a collective action reading his texts as aiming for the active citizen. The planner thus must be flexible, cautious and patient, prepared for the gentle discovery of the citizens' alternatives. The effectiveness of planning techniques is measured by the response of the local population, by gaining its trust and by making them planning allies (Green 1970, Ferraro 1998). Ferraro too displays conservation as the key work for Geddes' experience in India done by reviving traditional customs in a persuasive, non-authoritarian fashion. The planner is thus expected to shed western prejudices and not view locals in terms of backwardness and refusal of modernity (Ferraro 1998).

Additional themes in Geddes' theory as discussed at the time include Geddes' detachment from politics and dislike of administration. Geddes' approach to urban management altogether was claimed to have adopted a completely decentralised standpoint, Geddes described as providing a point of contact between planning as a governmental, technical capacity, and the human sciences. Geddes' various activities were an attempt to create a new sense of community from the particles of a modern society. An 'updated' aspect of Conservative Surgery was suggested, one which would avoid the disintegration of inner city life, the dissolution of many urban communities and the imposition of inhuman planning ideas (Wheeler 1974, Reilly 1978, Robson 1981).

Finally, the starting point for the discussions in 'Think Global, Act Local' compiled upon Geddes' 150 birth centenary in as late as 2004 was an environmental search, Geddes' original phrase used today mainly by those dealing with environmental concerns and sustainable development. Geddes' concern with cities was considered a forerunner of present day activists attempting to cope with ugly and unhealthy environments, emphasising the need for environmental sensitivity through visual awareness. Geddes was apparently concerned 'for what now we would call environmental management' being a precursor 'of our own growing environmental awareness' thus promoted as the intellectual link between Darwin and today's 'green' movement (Goist 1974; Robson 1981; Stephen 2004).

Geddes' work in Dublin was described in a series of works examining the genesis of modern planning in Ireland as 'one of the evangelists of the founding fathers of modern town planning' (Bannon 1978; 1985; 1999). Elsewhere in Britain his work was described at this period as that of a pioneer in modern town planning of special scope and ideals (Pinkerton 1978, Meller 1990, Saint 1991, Leonard 1999).

In India also Geddes is considered as the planner who introduced modern town planning. Yet due to his unique attitude, he was different than all the rest of the planners working there at the time; outside all major trends and concepts. The ideas Geddes incorporated into his work in India were a direct result of his cultural, holistic appreciation of community and environment, assisting him in sensitively and correctly understanding and appreciating the spirit of the place. It is generally agreed that in order to fully appreciate Geddes' work in India it is necessary to compare his approach and his methods with those of others (McGee 1976, Goodriend 1979; Toppin 1982; Meller 1982, 1990; Gupta 2004). Geddes' conservative surgery, conceived and greatly practiced in India, is still celebrated by Indian writers and others as a direct contribution of local pride and traditional enhancement directly contributing to India's rising national sense; (McGee 1976, Gupta 2004).

Geddes' reputation in Israel today too reflects his general appreciation at the time. Geddes' work in Palestine received great attention in the writing of Israeli history and geography, mostly celebrating the planning of the cities of a newly born state (Shapiro 1973, Meller 1987, Biger 1992, Herbert and Sosnovsky 1993, Hyman 1994, Payton 1995, Kallus 1997). Geddes, it was claimed, 'offered clues to the returning Zionists on how to resettle their homeland and to return to the essence of their culture' (Payton 1995, 364). While Geddes' few successful endeavours in Palestine are attributed to his personal and professional traits, his general failure is generally accounted for mainly by objective, technical reasons (Hyman 1994).

Geddes' work in Jerusalem is discussed as part of the overall British effort to conserve the city and develop it (Meller 1987; Efrat 1993). The plan for the Hebrew university was interpreted as a direct outcome of his sensitivity to the place and to the people (Dolev 1997; Shapira 1997).

The planning of Tel Aviv is generally described as the pioneer planning of the first Hebrew city (Biger 1992). The city's plan is celebrated as an adaptation of Geddes' modern garden city idea fitted into existing circumstances (Biger 1992; Payton 1995; Kallus 1997). As such the present outcome is admired for promoting a great sense of community, being a pedestrian-scaled city of neighbourhoods supportive of an active civic life (Payton 1995; Kallus 1997). On the other hand a rising acknowledgment of Tel Aviv as a unique, perhaps the only, Bauhaus city, merits Geddes for the city's growth upon a progressive ideology of the early 20th century, planned at the same time as Le Corbusier was working on the Plan Voisin (Confurius 1994; Weill-Rochant 199; Payton 1995).

Today: The critical cultural turn

Today, as might be expected, the writings about Geddes are starting to draw on contemporary cultural and post-colonial critics, examining his theory and his planning tools on critical basis and shedding a different light altogether on Geddes' accomplishments as a planner.

In this critical intersection between Geography, sociology and urban planning, various works examine the inherent traits of Geddes' Outlook Tower and the Survey as means of recording and ordering landscape and society. The world grasped as a visual archive and the gaze of the detached viewer are described as necessary steps along the path leading toward an instrumental control over the future form of a city or of what was left of its past (Boyer 1994, Söderström 1996). The survey, examined in a pedagogic sense, is described as an important tool in the construction of the modern town planning discourse, portraying a new kind of reconstructing gaze, employed both by planners and citizens and set within a wider culture of landscape and space in a relationship of vision and power (Matless 1990, 1992; Bell 1997; Welter 2000; Dehaene 2002; 2004).

Architects and others highlight the spiritual aspect of Geddes' work. The Outlook Tower is described as a pseudo-religious space, a place of refuge, of possible detachment from daily life and of spiritual retrospection (Whyte 2000, Welter 2002). The Tower was also described as combining physical ascent with spiritual contemplation and descent with

interiorisation, allowing a rethink on the relationship between nature and culture, art and landscape (Abalos 2004). Geddes supplied the connection of the rational out world to the imaginary personal in world, creating a method for classifying knowledge and imbuing it with significance and with meaning (King 1990a; 1990b). A comprehensive discussion in the spiritual elements of Geddes' theory, planning and other, had been supplied by Volker Welter, highlighting Geddes' reliance upon the Greek mythology on one hand and modernist metaphysics and mysticism on the other (Welter 1995a, 1995b, 1999, 2000).

Finally, current postcolonial themes are starting to influence the analysis of Geddes' work throughout the British Empire serving writers across the former empire to criticise his work as part of the ruling hegemony. Thus, Nihal Perera described Geddes' planning in Ceylon as part of its British project of modernization and internationalization (Perera 2002). Martin Beattie Described Geddes' proposals for Barra Bazaar in Calcutta as 'hybrid visions of health and hygiene', criticizing his outlook on the competing visions of city space for being ambivalent and often contradictory (Beattie 2004). Mark LeVine described Geddes' part in the local cooperation towards colonization between the British and the Zionists in Palestine as was implied in his plan for Tel Aviv, facilitating the purchase and parcelization of adjacent Arab lands (LeVine 1998, 2005). Also in Palestine, Ron Fuchs and Gilbert Herbert describe Geddes' work as part of the overall British project of defining Palestinianity - a pan of Colonial Regionalism celebrating the indigenous, the traditional and the Oriental out of a paternalistic conception of the role of the colonial power (Fuchs and Herbert, 2001).

Conclusion

Reviewing the writing about Geddes as a planner over more than a century yields an uneven picture of the appreciation of his work and his legacy. In general, there seem to have been established several strands of descriptive genealogies, in which Geddes' earlier descriptions and accounts, starting with his obituaries, were repeated in later writings; Helen Meller's convincing interpretation also seems to satisfy many who use it as a handy scheme to explain Geddes' work, almost without any criticism.

Perhaps it should only be expected to find Geddes' appreciation change over the years: the quality and the quantity of material available to his research change from time to time, as do the number and the identity of the writers. Different perspectives rise, as do needs and expectations of the writers, affecting their conclusions. Geddes' biographies tell one story while his plans' analyses tell another; sociologists would emphasize a trend which town planners might overlook. Yet it seems safe to claim that Geddes' perception changes according to the needs and to the prevailing notions of Town Planning in each period and that Geddes' descriptions, more than they tell about Geddes or about his work, tell about their writers (Hasselgren 1982).

In the first period Geddes is generally not referred to as a planner. His theory is only partially reviewed and received, and only clear and straight-forward ideas are commented upon. Even then, criticism soars. At a time when planning searched its way and legitimacy as a discipline, Geddes' ambivalence and diffusion were not suitable and he was generally regarded as eccentric in relation to the mainstream. As Geddes moved

away from Britain he was almost completely forgotten. Geddes' obituaries lament the man rather than his professional legacy.

In the second period, Geddes had largely been forgotten by the world of planning. Geddes' humanist, holist planning premise, which inserted ambiguity and uncertainty into the planning process, was not at all appropriate for an age of modernist and comprehensive reconstruction; the adaptation of Geddes' notations by propogators of the modernist movement is intriguing. Geddes' various endeavours have largely been pushed aside and only resurrected by his supporters or upon occasional events. The Empire and its dismantling provided an influential context for discussion, the scarce examination of his work in India and in Palestine echoes strife for independence and local traditional reclamation.

The third period saw a great revival of Geddes' memory, legacy and research; is Geddes' prophecy finally being realized? Geddes is embraced as a hero forgotten and happily revived as a misinterpreted prophet of the constructive and blissful practice of town planning. Geddes is held to be representing everything which is sensitive and human, bluntly opposing the previous mechanistic and inclusive era in planning. Geddes is held to be the precursor of public participation and alternative planning, the importance of the community and the return of its history as well as of environmental awareness. The description of Geddes' work throughout the empire is that of the representative of the community, disregarding imperial circumstances by turning only to the needs and the aspirations of the local population. Notwithstanding, he is also considered to be representing modernity and all its blessings. Both in India and in Palestine, the selective yet fruitful description highlight Geddes' practice of Conservative Surgery and insistence upon local styles directly promulgating national revival.

Eventually the discussion stagnates into a set framework of prescribed assumptions and popular case-studies, providing a general positive outlook upon Geddes as a planner of good intentions, Geddes' biographies and other works generally adoring, celebrating his life and his achievements as a town planner.

Fourth period: Appropriately for a post-modern period, the discussion of Geddes has become almost limitless, his theory and his various endeavours dealt with through various approaches, possibly only connected by their critical point of view. The represented approaches study Geddes in new contexts, allowing complete deconstruction of his theory and the re-evaluation of its sources and its goals as a planning endeavour and otherwise. These bring in new tools, emanating from various disciplines, to examine components of Geddes' theory which have never been dealt before, either misunderstood or simply found irrelevant to planning. The new examinations allow asking new questions such as Geddes' role as a planner or the definition of the planning altogether.

The post-colonial approach might be the most critical of all, maybe due to its initially critical and aggressive starting point. Geddes is being scrutinized for the first time as an accomplice of the British Administration and not as an individual opposing it, revealing mutual challenges and dilemmas and consequent results in planning. Planning tools are being re-examined, as well as their sources and their applicability. The whole discipline is being questioned on grounds of authority and legitimacy.

The popular vision of Geddes' today resembles that of modern planning as an undisputed hero, its role being unproblematic and its opponents as reactionary. Re-examining the Geddesian myth, either personal or professional, reflects current trends in the historiography of town planning for inquiring into planning as a monolithic, unified and consensual discipline, thus shaking Geddes' place in the 'pantheon of visionaries' (Krueckeberg 1993, Sandercock, 1998, Muller 1999, Freestone, 2000).

Once it is recognized that planning history is re-written periodically, reviewing Geddes as a case study in the history of town planning seems to be mirroring the turbulence of the sub-discipline and reflecting some of its own criticism, allowing a better understanding of the ups and the downs in Geddes' study as well as pointing to new directions for research. The deconstruction of various episodes in Geddes' planning history as well as his biographical myths allows both a better understanding of planning's aspirations at different eras as well as a better exposition of the bare facts of Geddes' work. The consolidated and canonized narrative of Geddes' accomplishments must be penetrated and the omitted parts of the story reclaimed, describing other plans and uncovering failures and hidden ideals (after Krueckeberg 1997, Kramsch 1998, Muller 1999). A contemporary history of Geddes must allow for a renewed reading of his writings, appreciating anew his urban theory, his planning tools and his overall goals as a planner throughout the British Empire and beyond.

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Informal settlements: policies and programs. From eradication to recognition

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Introduction

A significant number of families under the poverty line in Latin America have limited and uncertain access to goods and services. As a result, these families with little or no income create their own strategies to subsist. They settle down in areas of little urban value and generally erect something that acts as a house.

Thus, a series of settlements have been created without conforming to the established mechanisms. For that reason, these settlements are described as marginal, spontaneous, illegal, irregular, clandestine, not controlled and sub-normal or sub-urban¹. We are referring to the settlements called villas miseria in Argentina; favelas in Brazil; ciudades pirata in Bogotá; villas periféricas in Bolivia; callampas in Chile; colonias populares, barriadas or pueblos jóvenes in Mexico; and barrios de ranchos in Peru and Venezuela.

The irruption of the informal settlements in the structure of the Latin American cities was shy. However, these settlements have been forming extensive spots or pockets of poverty. Factors that have fostered this situation include: an increased inequality in the distribution of wealth, the ineffectiveness of housing policies to take care of needed families, and the excluding dynamics of the real estate industry. According to Fernandes (2005), between 40 and 80% of the urban population in Latin America lived in these poverty pockets at the end of the 20th century.

Latin American governments have developed a diverse set of policies and programs to face the excessive growth of informal settlements. These initiatives have been implemented to resolve the problems created by the formation, consolidation and expansion of informal settlements. The objective of this research is to examine these initiatives, with a critical perspective, from the moment when these establishments burst into the context of the Latin American cities to the present time.

We performed an analysis of different bibliographical sources to accomplish this goal. This analysis allowed us to visualize the essence, trends, achievements and errors of the government performances. The purpose of this research was detected through the identification of a series of initiatives put in place in Latin American countries throughout different time periods.

Our findings were grouped into three sections. The first section was called *Irruption and growth of informal settlements. First government actions*. As it can be inferred from this title, we identified the initiatives implemented by Latin American governments during the first half of the twentieth century, a period when deep changes started within the context of the Latin American cities. The purpose of these initiatives was to understand, quantify, and to participate in the type of habitat that these settlements created during the first half of the last century.

The second section, denominated *The achievement of critical mass by informal settlements, and the diversity of government actions*, includes an analysis of the actions taken by Latin American governments from 1950 to today. These government measures were created to solve the proliferation of these settlements in the structure of the cities. As this period advanced, the expansion and the physical and social deficiencies of these informal settlements have created concerns world-wide. For that reason, the Program of the United Nations for Human Settlements encourages governments to combine efforts to improve

substantially the life of the inhabitants of precarious settlements by 2020 (UN-HÁBITAT, 2003).

The third section, called *Eradication, improvement or regulation of informal settlements. Causes, successes and failures*, includes a discussion of the causes that led Latin American governments to implement a given action in a given moment. In addition, this section analyses the implications that these actions have had in different contexts.

Irruption and growth of informal settlements. First government actions.

The presence of informal settlements in the structure of Latin American cities was unnoticeable at the beginning of the 20th century. When these settlements entered the scene, the Latin American urbanization process had just begun. The cities still reflected the characteristic patterns of independence times, which were inherited from the Colonial period.

At the end of the 1940's, the Latin American cities begin their expansion. The informal settlements already contributed to that extension. By that time Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo extended towards the periphery. According to De Oliveira (1993) and Pasternak (1993), this peripheral growth was driven by the proliferation of favelas among other factors.

Due to the qualitative aspects of this type of settlements—a habitat saturated with physical, urban, legal and social deficiencies², and to the surface occupied by these settlements—governments began to implement different actions. Thus, different studies were conducted to assess the reality of these settlements. As a result, a series of initiatives were implemented to approach the situation. At the beginning, the purpose of these initiatives was to achieve the eradication and prohibition of informal settlements.

With these intentions, local and state governments prohibited the construction of *barriadas de ranchos* in hills and river shores in Caracas during 1929 and 1930. In 1940, a study presented by the Comisión de Catastro, Ejidos y Terrenos Municipales raised the issue of land ownership in these settlements. The report indicates the occupation of land owned by the municipality and the state government. In addition, the study identified the existence of doubtful property titles. Two years later, the state government is called to build houses to remove the population living in places such as under a bridge (Frechilla, 1996).

In Rio de Janeiro, the Código de Obras of 1937 included strong measures aimed for the eradication and prohibition of informal settlements. In this legislation, the favelas are defined as an aberration that cannot appear in the official map of the city. With this, it is strongly stated that favelas must be eradicated. In addition, the construction of new settlements should be prohibited. The construction of *parques proletarios* was proposed as a solution. The execution of this initiative became effective in the 1940's (Baumann, 1999).

Latin American cities suffer deep changes during the 1950's. The urbanization process intensifies and the urban character of the region is established. The shady scenario of the poverty begins to take significant presence within those changes. This is proven by the significant increase of informal settlements. These settlements start occupying interstices and other zones more and more distant to the heart of the cities.

In Caracas, the 96 *barriadas de ranchos* registered farms were conformed by 53,360 ranchos in 1951. Their 310,976 inhabitants represented 38.53% of the capital's population (Frechilla, 1996). In Lima, the 39 inventoried *barriadas* were occupied by 119,140 people in 1955. This represented 10% of the population of the Peruvian capital (Riofrío et al, 1973). In the 1950's, Mexico City extends considerably reaching 26,059 hectares. Duhau (1998) indicates that between the factors that contribute to the growth of the city is the continuous development of new *colonias populares* product of the irregular occupation of land. This situation could be extended to the rest of the Latin American context.

For that reason, Latin American governments continue to implement forceful actions to solve this situation. The focus of these actions continues to be the eradication of informal settlements. However, several of these initiatives seem to be aimed at improving these settlements.

Thus, in Venezuela the well-known battle against the ranchos began in 1951. The purpose of this battle was to obtain... *the liquidation of the conditions of the miserable rancho that lodged the more needed social classes...* (Frechilla, 1994: 344). An ambitious housing program was proposed within the postulates of the New National Ideal to achieve this goal³.

In that same year, a report presented to the government of Caracas proposed the following three solutions for the barrios de ranchos: eradication, improvement and re-urbanization. The first measurement is contemplated for those barrios de ranchos that required to be relocated due to their conditions and their inhabitants. The improvement only includes the rehabilitation of the basic public services. The houses would have to be improved by their occupants. The re-urbanization was considered for those barrios de ranchos where ratio of the land value to investments of individuals was not existent (Frechilla, 1996).

Conducive actions to the improvement of the informal settlements had been taken previously in the Latin American context. For example, in Rio de Janeiro the Foundation Leon XIII provided favelas with 34 basic services between 1947 and 1954 (Baumann, 1999)⁴.

The achievement of critical mass by informal settlements, and the diversity of government actions

The changes continue in the urbanization process of Latin American. The borders between the country and the city begin dilute. Hardoy (1997) maintains that transcendental transformations occur in all dimensions, especially in the social dimension and in the conformation of cities. These changes were a consequence of the economic growth, the industrialization and the diversification of exports. However, poverty continued to increase despite these hopeful conditions. As a result, informal settlements become the landscape that characterized Latin America. Fessler (1996) considers these settlements a referential image, a reality that demonstrates the ruling of social and space segregation.

At the end of the 1950's, in Lima the number of *barriadas* reached 154 and their 236,716 inhabitants represented 14% of the population (Riofrío et al, 1973). According to the United Nations Humans Settlements Center (1986), by 1964 the *favelados* ascended to 1,370,000 in Rio de Janeiro which represented one third of the city's population. By 1970, Lima's *barriadas* increased to 237 and their 761,755 occupants accounted for 25% of the total population (Riofrío et al, 1973). These statistics were more elevated in Bogota. 45% of the population lived in the *ciudades pirata*, and occupied 40% of the city's surface (Duhau, 1998). As a result, Morse (1989) indicates that between 1950 and 1970 the marginalization of the Latin American cities occurs. Morse also indicates that the informal settlements became visible in the urban scene during this period.

Under this situation, Latin American governments increase their actions. These actions are contained in multiple of resolutions, laws and programs. These initiatives also include measures aimed to the eradication, prevention and improvement of the informal settlements. The novel thing we found in these initiatives is the implementations of actions to solve the illegal situation of the occupation of the land.

In 1963 several plans and programs were proposed to improve the *ciudades pirata* in Colombia (Clichevsky, 2003). In 1966, the Instituto de Crédito Territorial (ICT) holds a seminary to look for solutions to the irruption *ciudades pirata* in the urban context. The characteristics of the different improvement, rehabilitation and eradication programs

implemented by the ICT and the Caja de Vivienda Popular were presented in this event (Pineda, 1989). In addition, this seminar emphasized the need to visualize these areas as a social problem. Moreover, this event highlighted the necessity to develop preventive actions to stop the growth of these settlements.

In 1961, Law 13.517 makes the Corporación Nacional de la Vivienda responsible for remodeling, cleaning and legalizing the *barriadas* in Peru. This law also included the awarding of land lots and the granting of property titles. This allowed the State to regulate the *barriadas* and to propose policies aimed to provide land with public services. (Riofrío, et al 2002). Furthermore, that same year 139 *barriadas* were recognized (Clichevsky, 2003).

The Venezuelan government created the Departamento de Urbanización y Equipamiento de Barrios in 1969 to fulfill its obligation to provide families with a comfortable house and to improve their living conditions. This government dependency was instituted with the intention of improving houses, promoting the creation of public services and stimulating the inhabitants to reside in communities that contribute to the development of the person. The first actions of this department were implemented in a group of barrios in different cities of the country selected through the use of strategic and tactical variables (Banco Obrero, 1969).

The informal settlements continued to grow despite the set of actions implemented. The economic crisis in Latin America that started in the 70's translated into a high poverty situation that originated the continuous and maintained informal activities. Morse (1989) considers that in this decade the era of the permanent informal sector begins. The informality in an urban and demographic scale is reflected in the amount of land occupied by settlements created in conditions described as informal and by the number of residents in these settlements.

The barrios de ranchos occupied 4,616 hectares of Caracas' metropolitan area in 1994. In addition, 1,106,418 people lived in these settlements which represented 34.3% of Caracas population (Baldó et al, 1998). The number of residents in the *barriadas*, 1,950,000, accounted for 30% of the Limeans in 1995 (Riofrío, 1995). In this year, the *ciudades pirata* extended in roughly one-fourth of the area delimited as Bogota's urban perimeter in 1990. By 1996, the 952,429 residents of favelas in Rio de Janeiro constituted 16.28% of the city's population. Furthermore, the greater population increase was registered in zones of informal production in Mexico City of during the last decade of the 20th century (González, et al 2005).

The areas occupied by precarious settlements in the urban regions of the developing world were significant at the beginning of the 21st century. It was estimated that one third of the world's urban population lived in these settlements. This figure included 128 million residents of Latin America and of the Caribbean. Moreover, this amount included the inhabitants of the informal settlements (UN-HÁBITAT, 2003).

Under this discouraging scenario, Latin American governments once again implemented actions that entail to the eradication, improvement and regularization of the informal settlements. In addition to the policies already mentioned, other initiatives were put in place to substantially improve the habitat and integrate the residents of these settlements to the rest of the city.

In 1977, the ruling conditions forced the city of Buenos Aires to discontinue the use of the actions implemented to alleviate the housing problem. Other actions are taken towards the eradication of informal settlements. The municipal ordinance calls for the compulsive elimination of the *villas de miseria* (Cravino, 2001).

The regulation of informal settlements is contemplated as measurement in a series of policies during the 1970's. In Mexico, the Programa Nacional de Regularización de Zonas Urbanas Ejidales (Pronarzue) was created to regulate the ownership of land for the colonias proletarias in 1971 (Clichevsky, 2003). This program is transformed into the Comité para la

Regularización de la Tenencia de la Tierra (Corett) in 1973. The purpose of this committee was to regulate the ownership of land on a national scale and to foresee spaces for the urban growth (Huamán, 1998)⁵.

In Argentina, a series of mechanisms were created in 1990. These mechanisms allowed the regulation of the ownership of land in settlements implanted in national fiscal property. Resolution 1,001/90 transferred the property to settlements' residents or to the associations that they conformed (Cravino, 2001). Four years later, a similar action is taken for settlements occupying private lands with the implementation of Law 24,374/94. This law adjudicated the ownership of land to those residents that had resided in a settlement for more than three continuous years as of January 1st, 1992. In addition, the Programa de Mejoramiento de Barrios (Promeba) is put in practice in 1997 with the financing of the BID. The main objective of this program is the legalization of the ownership of land. (Clichevsky, 2003).

In Brazil, the Constitution of 1988 initiated the regulation of land ownership with the inclusion of the concept of the social function of property. The 2001 Estatuto de la Ciudad emphasized the situation, when recognizing the social right of the inhabitants of the informal settlements to have proper housing (Clichevsky, 2003). In addition, the legalization of informal settlements is ordered in Colombia during 1996.

In Peru, the supreme resolution 021JUS of 2002 followed the line imposed in 1961 with Law 13,517 regarding the regulation of land ownership. This resolution contemplates that resident of land without value can continue to occupy these properties. In addition, they are to receive the property titles from the Comisión de Formalización de la Propiedad Informal (Riofrío, et al 2002).

During the same year, the Ley de Regularización de la Tenencia de la Tierra was approved in Venezuela as stated in resolution 1,666. This legislation was passed to regulate the ownership of land in barrios and other popular communities. The objective was to accomplish this under a spirit of justice and fairness, with the participation of the communities.

The measures implemented to improve informal settlements initially only included actions aimed to improve the urban aspects of the settlements. However, the scope of these initiatives extended with time. We noticed the first movement towards this goal in Venezuela with the Normas de Operación de la Ley de Política Habitacional of 1989. This legislation, in its article regarding consolidation of barrios, includes a program to obtain the progressive improvement of the barrios de ranchos. However, this program is limited to those settlements located in stable areas. The program includes a series of subprograms that include improvement, substitution and extension of houses, and the creation of parcels with basic services and self-construction.

The second intention was observed in the Plan Director de la Ciudad de Río de Janeiro of 1992. This plan included the favelas to the city planning process. This program also aimed to the structuring and regulation of these settlements. In addition, the purpose of this initiative included the integration of informal settlements to the area of the city considering all social aspects. With this spirit, the Program Favela - Bairro⁶ is formulated in 1993.

Furthermore, Venezuela's Política Habitacional of 1999, created under principles of integral social security, contemplates the development of seven housing programs. Among these programs, the Programa de Habilidadación Física de Zonas de Barrios seeks the progressive improvement of environmental conditions, urban order and regulation of the ownership of land. This program also emphasized the need to integrate the barrios the ranchos to the rest of the city.

Eradication, improvement or regulation of informal settlements. Causes, successes and failures.

As we have seen, governments have implemented a series of actions as the informal settlements have taken control of greater land extensions in Latin American cities. Initially, the bulk of these actions were directed towards the eradication of these settlements. Later on, the government actions tried to obtain their consolidation, and the regulation of their legal, urban and environmental conditions. Lately, the government initiatives are intended to achieve the integration of informal settlements to the city with an ample vision where social aspects prevail.

The application of policies aimed to eradication was caused by three main reasons. The first reason is related to the general conception about this type of settlements, as... *for some planners, the ideal situation would be to eliminate those disordered and battered settlements and to replace them with the inherited order of the urbanism and architectural principles included in the models of the 50's...* (Saldarriaga, 2001:44).

The second reason is related to the characteristics of the places where informal settlements are located. These conditions make the informal settlements zones of natural threats with hydrologic and geologic origin. Furthermore, informal settlements have occupied these areas ignoring norms and regulated techniques. This increases the frequency and intensity of the geographic risk. In addition, these settlements have become areas of social risk as criminal acts, defined by Sperberg (et al, 2000) as criminality driven by poverty, occur frequently.

The final reason is associated with the irregular situation regarding ownership of land in the context of the informal settlements. As we know, the occupation land owned by someone else has been the solution to the housing problem in Latin America.

The eradication as political way of intervention in the informal settlements has been subject of several discussions. One side indicates that this action must be applied only in risky situations where the life of the settlement's residents is in danger (Lovera, 1993). For others, this action must be implemented because the right to the property must be respected. Caldera (Banco Obrero, 1969) maintains that this action must be used if an immediate alternative of house can be provided to the population. Anyone of these statements could be valid. However, it would be more logical to ask why this measure must be taken. Perhaps, because in Latin America we have not been able to eradicate the poverty, and because the ambiguity of the governments decision making—they repress and tolerate the formation of spontaneous settlements—and the political Populisms has prevailed.

The programs conceived for improvement, arise when the governments realize magnitude that the informal settlements have taken and see the impossibility to supply housing solutions to thousands of families. However, the implementation of these programs frequently goes accompanied by legal and physical restrictions. The first limitation, relates to the irregular land occupation. This limitation is caused by issues related to land ownership or to urban regulations. The second limitation is associated with the risky conditions of this type of settlements. The implementation of these programs is often limited to informal settlements that do not have the characteristics mentioned above.

However, the reality presents a different picture. The programs aimed to the improvement of informal settlements have been implemented with serious deficiencies. The execution of some of these actions has been driven by the ignorance of those who are in charge to manage the city. The rest, have been put in place because of prevailing political interests. In addition, some of these programs have been conceived in an isolated way, disarticulated of the different plans from the city, including housing programs.

Perhaps for that reason the informal settlements improvement plans have been criticized. From Riofrío's point of view (1995), these plans try to adapt the informal to what he considers normal in treaties of urbanism. In addition, Riofrío indicates that the implementation of these programs is expensive, as in some cases the execution of these actions requires to start from scratch⁷. Nevertheless, the implementation of some of these improvement plans has been successful. The successful actions have contemplated urban and social aspects. In addition, the decision making process for these actions counted with the active participation of the community.

Initially, the regulations programs only take attend the land ownership situation. However, the scope of these programs extended to include other aspects. This pattern is followed by the improvement programs, but making emphasis in regulation.

The regulation of land ownership has been questioned due to the effects it has generated. According to Clichevsky (2003), these policies have generated unexpected negative impacts. As areas not appropriate for development are regulated, the occupation of vacant lots of land increases. Moreover, this situation creates irregularities in the urban and legal fields. In addition, governments have a misconception of the root causes of the significant amount of land in illegal situation. Furthermore, governments think that solving the irregular problem of ownership will also solve the housing deficiencies.

On the other hand, the regulation of the ownership of land has provided the residents of informal settlements legal status. The lack of ownership has not been an impediment to build more of these deficient habitats. However, the rights achieved through this legal status have allowed the residents of informal settlements to continue fighting for a better habitat and to eliminate the fear of evacuation.

Perhaps for that reason, the regulation of the informal settlements has been taken as the flagship. During the last ten years, the United Nations has expressed clearly in its manifestos the need to implement conducive policies to regulate the depressing conditions of the habitats where the most needed reside. Part A, Chapter III of the Declaration of Istanbul of 1996 regarding human settlements, denominated House for all, declares the following objectives: guarantee the legal security of property; and promote access to basic services for everyone, especially to those who are in poverty situation. In addition, the Guía para el Monitoreo de la Meta 11 establishes "Ciudades sin Asentamientos Precarios" as an objective. This manifest calls for the adoption of coordinated policies conducive to the recovery of the precarious settlements, the environmental management and the reduction of the poverty (UN-HABITAT, 2003). We wish, with deep faith that this goal is reached.

Conclusions

Latin American governments recognize the existence of informal settlements when they implement a set of actions to provide a solution to the problem created by these settlements. Therefore, the barrios de ranchos in Venezuela, the favelas in Brazil, the barriadas in Lima, the callampas in Chile, the ciudades pirata in Colombia ..., are admitted, accepted. That is, they are recognized when some type of intervention is proposed for them.

However, recognizing informal settlements does not imply their eradication or the improvement of the different urban, legal, housing or social aspects related to them. To achieve this, their recognition would have to go beyond to identify the origins and structural causes of these settlements that have allowed them to rise, consolidate and persist during all this time.

In addition, recognizing informal settlements also means accepting that despite of their deficiencies, they are part of the city and that their inhabitants are citizens, with duties and rights.

Their recognition implies to think and to rethink the actions to take. The people in charge to take the difficult task of undertaking these actions and face the problem of the informal settlements should act opportunely with coherence, consistency and continuity. As we have seen, the issue has not been the lack of instruments, neither motivation nor economic resources in some cases. Perhaps, other interests have prevailed.

¹ The Doctoral Thesis: *La dinámica urbana informal: Eje urbano Palmira – San Josecito Área Metropolitana de San Cristóbal*, presented in 2004 by the author of this research at the University of Valladolid, Spain, discerns on these aspects. As a summary, we may comment that this type of settlement is called informal due to the fact that they are a product of activities from the informal sector. These settlements are marginal because they have emerged by the lack of participation of their settlers in functions and values related to the development of the settlements. Spontaneous for the lack of order in which these settlements arise without responding to conventional techniques and mechanisms. Illegal, irregular, clandestine or uncontrolled as these settlements have been originated transgressing norms in different orders. Informal settlements are also subnormal or sub-urban due to the infrahuman conditions that characterizes their habitat.

² These deficiencies are mentioned in the 2005 presentation titled *Los asentamientos informales en las ciudades latinoamericanas. De espacios segregados a factores de crecimiento urbano*, presented by the author of this research in Mexico during the XI Seminario de Arquitectura Latinoamericana. The physical deficiencies are related to the adverse topographic, hydrographic and geologic accidents existing in the areas where informal settlements are located. The urban deficiencies are associated with the scarcity of public services, collective equipment and accessibility. The legal deficiencies are tied to the existing development restrictions of the area that informal settlements occupy, and with the ownership of the land. Finally, the social deficiencies are expressed by the dynamics of the practices their residents use to resolve their deficiencies and improve their living conditions.

³ The actions of the battle against the rancho are centered in Caracas. These actions include a set of housing developments conformed by buildings of up to 15 floors scattered throughout the city. These buildings are used as a sign of modernization. However, one of the most emblematic developments, known as 23 de Enero, was surrounded by ranchos only a few years after its construction. Moreover, these ranchos have remained through time.

⁴ The Foundation Leon XIII was created by initiative of the Arquidiocesis de Rio de Janeiro and the city's government in 1949. The purpose of this foundation is to offer moral assistance to the inhabitants of the favelas. However, the aid soon extended to other aspects.

⁵ The following registries illustrate the land regularization process implemented in Latin America: In 1986, 56 Km² of land were occupied by colonias populares in the Mexican city of Guadalajara. In addition, between 1980 and 1984 14 Km² were legalized (De la Peña et al, 1993). Furthermore, 126 settlements were regularized in Bogota from 1990 to 1995. The number of settlements regularized increased to 665 in the following four years. In addition, there were 508 settlements pending legalization (Rueda, 2000). Larangeira (2005) indicates that the possession of land regularization process has been deficient in Brazil, considering the amount of titles granted as an indicator. Larangeira highlights that in Belo Horizonte only 8,601 were granted out of the 12,303 anticipated titles between 1997 and 2001. In addition, 7,005 out of 18,881 were granted and in Teresina between 1997 and 2002.

⁶ The Favela - Bairro Program, included in the contract with the BID, contemplates the implementation of city-planning work and the supply of social services. It is expected that a project will be crafted for each favela and submitted for the approval of the community. The tasks planned will be proposed in order to obtain the integration of these settlements with the neighborhoods around the favelas. However, the present urban indices in the rest of the city

should be taken into account (Baumann, 1999). This program has had successful results and it has been taken as reference in other countries.

⁷ According to (Clichevsky, 2003), the costs of the construction of public services in informal settlements is 2.7 times more expensive to Bogota's municipality than that of formal settlements.

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Reconstruction planning of Okayama in Japan after World War II

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Introduction

Town planning systems vary depending on their historical and socio-economic backgrounds. Furthermore, they are influenced by various natural and geographical conditions. Therefore, there is a difference in the value, which has been made a goal of the system. For example, in Japan the security against disasters and fire is one of the first targets.

This paper focuses on the features of the Japanese war damage reconstruction plans, which were similar to that of the English planning schemes or outline plans. It also refers to some weak points, which the Japanese reconstruction plans had, in comparison to the English reconstruction plans. One of the most important planning goals was to rebuild disaster prevention performance within urban infrastructures. It was difficult to include buildings in the reconstruction planning, for Japanese cities mainly consisted of wooden buildings prior to the Second World War.

This report examines the experiences of the Japanese pre-war and reconstruction planning, mainly in Okayama, and considers the position and significance of rebuilding plans in the Japanese planning system.

The evolution of urban Japan and modern town planning

The modern town planning started with the first plan for urban improvement in Tokyo in 1889. At that time, the form of main cities in Japan still remained early modern space system. Tokyo, Kyoto and Osaka had several hundred thousands population, main cities in local areas as Kanazawa, Hiroshima and etc. had under one hundred thousands population. Many of them remained urban patterns of early modern castle towns. Okayama, one of traditional castle towns, had just about thirty thousands population.

As a modernizing country, the central government promoted regional and industrial development policies. The growth of main cities changed variously. In 1920, the first census survey was held; Tokyo and Osaka emerged to megalopolises with over one million population. Kyoto, Nagoya, Yokohama and Kobe became

metropolises with over four hundred thousands population. Kanazawa, Hiroshima, Sendai, Nagasaki, Kagoshima and Hakodate developed into regional centers with over one hundred thousands population, Wakayama, Fukuoka, Niigata and Okayama were also developing into regional towns with about one hundred thousands.

In those days, the 1919 Town Planning Act and Urban Building Act were promulgated, and modern town planning system was established in Japan. Until then, main cities as Tokyo and Osaka were preparing to establish modern town planning system through urban improvement planning.

After four years from the promulgation of the 1919 Act, the great Kanto Earthquake occurred around Tokyo and Yokohama. The 1919 Act had some articles on land readjustment method, but they had no large-scale applied example in Japan. So the central government enacted and applied the Special Town Planning Act 1923 to restore and rebuild the damaged areas. The central government hurried to realize important urban facilities aimed in the 1919 Act. Those facilities were urban infrastructures to maintain public peace and order, and to improve civic well-being.

On the other hand, the central government as a modernizing country encouraged the promotion of industries and foreign trades. The policies of the government were reflected growing population in the cities mentioned above. Almost all main cities proposed constructions of industrial areas and port facilities as urban targets. After World War II, Japanese social system changed seriously, but these targets continued to exist. I would like to examine the fact through a study on the Okayama rebuilding planning.

3. Town planning in Okayama before World War II

In several previous years of the 1919 Act, meetings of the city improvement survey committee started in Okayama city assembly. The record of the city assembly meeting dated June 4th 1913 shows a statement on the establishment of the city improvement survey committee and three time meetings. It shows also the names of eight members of the committee. The detail of activities of the committee is not clear. The record dated March 7th 1914 shows that the provisions of the city improvement survey committee consisted of six articles was presented as 27th Bill and decided.

The details of activities of the committee after that are not clear. According to the record dated March 8th 1923, eight town planning survey committee members

were elected. The record dated September 18th same year shows that the abolition of the provision of the town planning survey committee was presented and decided as 70th Bill. A comment describes that Okayama was designated as a registered city at July 1st under the article 2 of the 1919 Act, and the provision of the committee which was announced as 3rd city notice in December 1922, was abolished by the order of the authorities.

According to some records of the city assembly meetings, town-planning areas were decided in 1924, and on August 6th 1925 six local town planning committee members were appointed among the city councilors by the chairman of the city assembly.

According to these records, we can recognize that the Okayama own urban improvement survey committee was abolished by the establishment of the local town planning committee under promulgation and enforcement of the 1919 Act. Thus the town planning in Okayama was situated under the advice and control of the central government through the local town planning committee of Okayama prefecture after the 1920s.

A published document in 1938 showed a road plan, a transport facilities plan and land-use zoning plan. The document was published by the town planning division of Okayama city, but the plans were decided by the local planning committee.

The records of the city assembly have no describes of the activities of the local town planning committee. The records show the promotion of industrial developments, constructions the port of Okayama and main roads as urban policies. Also many records show the promotion and advices of land readjustment projects for construction of important urban infrastructures.

The city administration area of Okayama was 5.77 square kilometers and population was 47,564 when the modern city administration system started in 1889. The area became about 48 square kilometers, and population increased to about 1.6 hundred thousands through the consolidations of neighboring smaller municipalities to form the greater Okayama. Population density decreased from 8,243 per square kilometer to 3,443, but population density in inner built-up area was still high.

4. Reconstruction plans of Okayama and various cities

Okayama, Wakayama, Himeji, Tokushima and Tsu were listed and developed as urban areas under the development policies of industrial cities. Consequently, these cities were seriously damaged during the war. The damage in each city

covered an area of 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 *tsubo* ($1\text{tsubo}=3.3$ square meters) and included some 10,000 to 30,000 houses, and 500 to 1,500 citizens were killed.

Therefore, these cities were included in the 115 cities, which were officially designated as war-damaged cities on October 9th 1946. Each city was considered a full functioning urban area with public health, disaster prevention, and so on, under the basic policies of the previous year. They were also making reconstruction plans, the goal of which was to promote scenic areas, and to establish transportation, industries, and cultural events.

On the other hand, pre-war local committees of town planning continued. In Tokushima the committee decided a reconstruction plan in March 1946, and in Okayama in June in the same year. These reconstruction plans mainly consisted of road plans. The Special City Planning Act of September 1946 was necessary for their implementation.

National land planning after the 1930s stressed the importance on the restraints of metropolises, and the green space plan as a metropolitan area planning. In the 1940's, national and local land plans were supposed to push ahead for the decentralization of industries. This was decided in "the matter related to the dispersion of industries" issued by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in 1939, and was carried out with "provisional measures on industry restricted areas and industry promoted areas" in June 1942.

In Okayama, the Town Planning of Okayama was officially announced in 1938, which was decided already in 1927-29. Meanwhile, Okayama prefecture made rules about the committee on attraction of industrial development according to national policy. In effect, it invited some companies such as Kisha-Seizo Co. Ltd to set up. It also made a start on the construction of the port of Okayama.

Therefore, the construction of transport facilities was required in this area called the Konan Industrial District. Delegates from companies located in the area had a meeting since 1944. In May 1943, the Governor of Okayama Prefecture, Seikichi Hashimoto applied to the Minister of Railway, Yoshiaki Hatta for approval of railway construction survey and planning in the coastal industrial region. Later, the construction of the railway started at Oomoto station on the Uno Line after the war.

On the one hand, the construction project of the Shinkansen, or bullet train, between Tokyo and Shimonoseki was decided in the 75th Imperial Diet in 1940. Moreover, committees involved, decided "the construction standards for the Shinkansen between Tokyo and Shimonoseki". The plans for construction works

were approved from 1940 to 1942. 821 kilometers of the total route were decided, some construction sites were purchased, and the work eventually began. However, the situation in the Pacific War was getting worse, and construction of the Shinkansen halted in 1944.

In Okayama the route of the pre-war planned bullet train was explained in detail in the first war-damage reconstruction plan. The plan included Shin-Okayama station in the neighborhood of Oomoto station on the Uno Line. Eventually, the construction project of Shinkansen as envisaged in the inter-war period was abolished in 1956 and Shin-Okayama station was not developed. New post-war Shinkansen construction work started in 1959.

The new post-war governor, Tomisaburo Hashimoto made a proposal for a reconstruction plan including the construction plans of these railways. He was not only the governor of Okayama at that time, but he was also the president of a local newspaper. He was known as a person who did not follow tradition, but a person representing the rising interests in developing industrial areas located in the southern region of Okayama Prefecture.

The outline of Hashimoto's proposal was presented at the Consultation Committee during the city assembly on January 21st 1946, consisted of a total of sixteen items. Nine of the sixteen items involved proposals on the width of main roads. The other seven involved the relocation of the city hall near Oomoto station, the decision on where to put the city market place, the relocation of the prison, the construction for a new bridge, the construction of the overhead Sanyo Line, and the designation of two green belts. It should be noted that two east-west roads with widths of 70 meters, and three north-south roads with widths of 36-50 meters were outlined in detail within the proposal. If one examined road maps from the outline, one might conclude that the prewar loop road plan had become secondary to the plan of widening main streets in the city center.

The reconstruction plan of Okayama city (No.43 notification of town planning decision by WDRB, June 13th 1946, implementation order by Prime Minister Sept. 3rd 1946) was presented in front of the city assembly in November 1946. However, the plan was trimmed down due to financial difficulties, and the strong objection against burdens from the local landowners (30 percent area reduction or contribution system and relocation of over 10,000 houses), and was changed, according to the 184th Notification of Construction Bureau on May 15th 1948. Moreover, the plan was drastically cut down on project areas, according to the "Fundamental Policy for the Reconsideration of Reconstruction Planning" adopted

by the Japanese Cabinet on June 24th 1949.

Consequently, the reconstruction plan of each city was a construction plan for urban infrastructures, which consisted mainly of green spaces, roads, and bridges under the leadership of the central government. The plan was expected to be materialised through land readjustment projects. The difference among each city's plan was road patterns influenced by hills and rivers, the reconstruction of symbolic castles, and the reuse of castle sites. It was one of the most important planning issues aimed at for the conservation, and the formation of the townscape, that in turn will be important into the future.

In addition, it was written in the history of many cities, that reconstruction activities in local economic communities were established immediately after the end of the war. Reconstruction activities by local citizens were carried out by rebuilding shopping arcades and their own houses. Therefore, to the best of my knowledge, those documents of the reconstruction planning hardly remain as formal records today.

5. Summary and Conclusion

Immediately after the establishment of town planning system in Japan, reconstruction planning and projects were needed for the damaged areas of the great Kanto Earthquake. To build urban infrastructures for facilitating disaster prevention performance, the central government was asked to take rapid measures and leadership.

Formerly, a system of local planning committees leaded by the central government was established to build urban infrastructures for promotions of industrial development and trades. The policies for these promotions were reinforced through the reconstruction projects and planning mentioned above.

The reconstruction planning after the Second World War was also speeded up for rapid rebuilding and the Special City Planning Act was enacted. Measures for the reconstructions were also land readjustment projects.

I described above on these central government-led town planning system and projects through a study on the town planning of Okayama pre- and post-war period.

The main policies of the central government were promotion of industrial developments, trades and infrastructure building for industries. The plan of bullet train was also a central government-led infrastructure building project of national land planning.

The regional and town planning in Japan after the Second World War was preceded to the same direction and measures. We realized a high economic growth through these policies and projects, but faced to many planning issues for improvements. Town planning in today's Japan is developing as follows.

The Landscape Act was promulgated in June 2004 in Japan. In the meantime, the Central City Invigoration Act was already enforced in 1998. The viewpoints of these Acts slipped out from the post-war reconstruction activities and the 1968 City Planning Act, which was the revised version of the 1919 Act, though the points indicate the primary direction of town planning system. The viewpoints are as follows.

The first point is the formation of town centers, based on planning guidelines. The post-war shopping streets were reconstructed through retailing industries, but they have declined amid the change of consumers' behavior from nearby stores to far-off shopping centers. Therefore, it is necessary that local shopping streets should be revived as stages for citizens' community activities and cultural events.

Secondly, reconstruction projects were, for the most part, to rebuild urban infrastructures through the method of land readjustment projects. The promotion of local scenic areas and the shaping of distinguished urban communities in the 1945 Basic Policies have to be reassessed.

Finally, the reconstruction plans were central government-led plans. However, future reconstruction plans have to be drawn up with the participation of local people.

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UZO NISHIYAMA'S PROPOSALS FOR THE URBAN GROWTH OF JAPANESE CITIES WITHIN THE EXPO 70 SITE PLANNING PROCESS.

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I. INTRODUCTION

This paper focuses on the ideas brought by Uzô Nishiyama (1911-1994), professor of Architecture Dep. of Kyoto University, to the Master Plan of the site of the Japan World Exposition – Osaka 1970, currently known as Osaka Expo 70, developed from November 1965 to October 1966. Although his participation in the project took place only in the initial phases of the Site Planning process and most of his ideas were not realized in the final construction, this paper will examine some propositions that have recurred in his previous works.

One important idea is his claim for making the Expo site a “model core of a future city”. As analyzed later in this article, this idea had been present, but in a more inexplicit way, in his previous concept of “Image Planning” (Kôshô Keikaku) of 1960. After the Expo 70, he would further suggest to create a network of compact autonomous unities connected by their central cores through use of efficient traffic systems, as an anticipated solution for the urban growth of Japan. According to this claim, a core system was employed in the initial draft plans of the Expo 70 site. The core system was composed of the Symbol Zone, within which settled a Hiroba or Plaza for 150.000 people, later named as Matsuri Plaza. Moreover, a theoretical model, named the “core-combinator” system, of traffic distribution of people was devised to effect, with the support of the Symbol Zone the distribution of the dense agglomeration of people inside the site.

To reconstruct systematically the evolution process of those ideas, this paper will analyze his proposals for a theory of city form that started to get a sketched form from the beginning of the 60's. Until that period most of his articles about the theme had depicted theoretical and analytical features, usually, of historical approach with occasional propositions materialized in visual images. Since his first announcement of the fundamental need of “Image Planning” for the making of cities, in the World Design Conference in Tokyo 1960, sketched images expressing his general theory of city form started to appear, at first, in the propositions done for the ancient capital cities of Japan. The proactive characteristic of his proposals for the growth of cities of that period lasted short and culminated with the publication of a report about the Japanese land reorganization for the 21st century, originally submitted to the Cabinet's Councillor Office in 1971, with the English translation published in 1973.

I.1 Nishiyama's brief introduction and participation in the project

Nishiyama graduated from the Dep. Of Architecture of Kyoto University in 1933 and is well known for his

research about housing. He is also regarded, for example, by (Hein, 2000, 144) to be an instrumental figure to disseminate and adapt foreign influence to theory and practice of Urban Planning in Japan, comparable in importance to Patrick Geddes, Lewis Mumford or Werner Hegemann in Europe and in USA.

The realization of the Expo 70 project was a challenge not only for its significance but also for the management and execution of such an event of large scale. The high expectations with the benefits that the promotion of the Expo 70 would result, led the whole event to be developed under fiercely disputed circumstances. In (Urushima, 2005a) was analyzed the strategy used by Osaka area to attract the event to the region and decentralize the National Government attention towards Tokyo area. Under this context, the local government insisted to have specialists from the Kansai region (which comprises Osaka) in the Site Planning process. Therefore, Nishiyama, as one of the most prominent theoreticians of urban planning of Kansai region, got to be involved in the project.

He was appointed to be the representative of the “Japan World Exposition Research Group of the Kyoto University”, responsible to proceed a *Basic Survey*¹ conducted in a short term from November 1965 to January 1966. After that he was appointed together with Kenzô Tange (1913-2005) to be Expo 70 Site’s Master Plan Original Creator. The development of the Master Plan was divided into several stages and Nishiyama’s team became responsible for the first and second draft of it, elaborated inside the Kyoto University.²

II. THE BASIC CONCEPTS OF THE EXPO 70’S MODEL CORE OF A FUTURE CITY

In the expo 70 Official Report (Japan Association, 1972:2,164) is recorded that, originally, the Expo Site should be thought as a model future city, to become a pilot project of regional development and nucleus of one satellite city of Osaka. The authorship of this proposal is not clearly stated there, but through analysis of other documents it is possible to realize that Nishiyama was the most enthusiastic supporter of this idea. In the second volume of *Exposition Quarterly*, after the Kyoto University Group had already started to work on the Master Plan, Nishiyama wrote:

The master plan for the 1970 World Exposition seeks to emphasize the need for ‘harmony’ that should go hand in hand with ‘progress’ and to embody this in a ‘model of the core of a future city’ to be built at the exposition site...The core of a city is the central nerve of a society where information necessary for keeping it going is amassed and dispensed quickly....a ‘model core of a future city’ incorporating these and other features will be presented in the Symbol Area situated in the center of the site in the forms of the Festival Plaza, artificial ponds, control center and moving roads. (Japan Association, 1966)

To realize that idea, Nishiyama proposed in the central area of the site the placement of a Symbol Zone with a Plaza for 150.000 people, as shown in the very schematic sketches of the first draft plan (Fig.1). This Plaza, called as Hiroba in Japanese, had no concrete form at the first proposition. But his idea aimed to create a central space inside the site, where people and transportation systems could be at first concentrated, to be later distributed over the whole site area. The idea was accepted in all the instances of decisions of the project and remained until the final construction, however its final design was entirely done by another

team under Tange's supervision. In fact, as originally proposed by Nishiyama, the Symbol Zone became the major spatial element of control of the whole site.

In the second draft plan (Fig.2) a more detailed image was developed. To materialize the idea of a future city from this plan, the Expo 70 "model core city" was placed in parallel to a schematic configuration of how the traffic system of a city should be organized.

The system proposed that the traffic should be relocated through certain means from a main trunk high-speed road to regional access roads, until reaching the narrow residential streets. The transitional element to make the first shift was named "combinator" and had the function to filter the traffic aimed to enter a city itself by changing the velocity of the traffic from high-speed to inner city speed. It should be implemented around the outskirts of a city. At last, the traffic aiming to the interior of the city itself, should be connected from the "combinator" to a "city core" which had the function of distributing the traffic to the various sections of that city's inner urban area (Fig. 3).

To materialize that, in the Expo 70 second draft plan, a huge parking lot took this transitional function of "combinator" and was placed in direct connection with the central axis of the Symbol Zone. Tracing a parallel with the previous described model, the interior of the Expo site would represent the interior of a city, with the central axis of the Symbol Zone as its core. This central axis would concentrate traffic systems of different velocities and distribute them through the entire site. Inside that central axis the Plaza had the function to support this important connector with an open space where people could converge to exchange information. This core composed of the Plaza and this central connection of different traffic systems of varied speed was proposed to be the 'model core of a future city'. (Fig. 4)

III. RECONSTRUCTING THE EVOLUTION PATH OF THE 'MODEL CORE OF A FUTURE CITY'.

III.1 Launching a conceptual basis: the World Design Conference, Tokyo, 1960

Throughout Nishiyama's theoretical articles about urban planning there are two texts collected in (Nishiyama, 1968, 21; 577-596) where he had advocated the importance of the support by ideal references in order to overcome the contradictions and problems of real cities. Although those texts are dated from the post-war period – 1942/ 1948 - it was only in the World Design Conference in Tokyo 1960 that he first clearly formulated a proposition to put his idea in practice.

In the proceedings of the lectures of the conference (The World Design Conference Organization, 1961, 189-192) is documented his proposition of "Image Planning"

...we are required to...undertake a work of presenting a sort of "plan" as one powerful method of bringing about a creative change in the environment. This plan should be one, which, after calculating the contradictions lying among the various conditions and demands of present reality, synthesizes them and completes a Future Image as a spatial plan having a concrete form. This plan will also fulfill the role of causing people to look unflinchingly at the direction in which we are heading and of convincing them, by means of spatial images, of the various principles which must be adopted in reorganizing the land surface and creating a new environment. Let us call this type of planning "Image

Planning". (The World Design Conference, 1961, 191)

In fact, this proposition comes to face his critic that in Japan, master plans were only wishful thinking of either a rough general direction for urban development in terms of roads, zoning etc as defined by the City Planning Law, or, in some cases, a very detailed planning of public facilities leading to a new urban structure to be created under very special conditions. Instead, he proposes that a synthetic master plan with detailed investigations of existing conditions of cities and their formation, backed up by ways to carry it into action, should be put in practice in the shape of "Image Planning".

For the panel presented at that event, published in (Nishiyama et. al, 1960, 50) he began to formulate a diagnosis of the Japanese modern urban growth, where he points the difficulty to adapt the American urban expansion model based upon motorization to the Japanese geography as one of the great issues at that time. Since cities in Japan were densely crowded in areas, which occupy 1/4 of the whole land, it was not possible to forecast free expansion around a city. However, the urban sprawl, then, was reaching the mountain areas of a gradient of less than 15 degrees with the probable highest density in the world of 1,000hab/km². Under such circumstances, he suggested that the peculiar situation of Japan's congested land required a new traffic system, in place of wasting energies for the convenience of cars.

He considered that for American people, cars were like their shoes. Moreover, he compared the city as people's home. By transposing the Japanese tradition of taking off shoes at home to the scale of the cities, he suggested that cars should be left outside a "Home City". By doing this, the traffic of a "Home City" should be limited to walking and mechanized collective transportation.

It is an old custom in Japan to take off shoes before entering a house...The indoor life without footwears has its own atmosphere. Likewise, a Japanese city should be considered as a "home" or a "building" which people enter; taking off their shoes, named motorcars. A promise must be made not to let motorcars enter a "home" Inside the "home", there are to be built high-speed transportation facilities which correspond to elevators and escalators....I think that a city in Japan should be built like a "home" in the future which might be termed as a "home city".(Kindai Kenchiku, 1960, 50-d)

The "Home City" or "Ietoshi" or "Iepolis"³ would become, then, a space of living with high density, composed of different groups of spaces connected by mechanized systems such as elevators, escalators, moving belts or in different scale by trains and buses. In a certain way, the functions of the inner space of a house should be moved to a huge scale of collective use and the city would become the "home" itself. To make the city a comfortable "home", an efficient traffic system should be fundamental. Moreover, the modernist zoning of cities divided by functions, such as residential, commercial, industrial etc., would disappear. The main distinction, then, would consist only in the contrast between the built area and the open spaces.

III.2 Maturation process through precedent projects: the ancient capitals.

To put into practice both ideas of "Image Planning" and "Home City" he proposed a plan for Kyoto city.

The plan consisted of a diagnosis of existing conditions of the city and a search for solutions for a possible expansion of the urban area by means of a synthesized image of the whole city expansion. (Nishiyama's Laboratory, 1965)

The outstanding feature of this plan was a central axis composed of a linear urban area of dense occupation to become the nucleus of the city. Within it, the residential areas called "Iepolis" were placed, together with other important facilities of administrative and public function. It should be built over a 13km long north-south axis line where multi-floor buildings ranging about 100 mts high, were enclosed by a belt-like external road and railway system. This external belt would have a direct connection with National railroads and expressways and also with local ones coming from Osaka and Nara. The people arriving from all over Japan by car, would park it in the underground areas of this axial line with a capacity for about 50 thousand cars. All the area inside this linear axis should have efficient transportation systems of monorail and subways to serve not only the nucleus area but also the rest of the city. It is important to emphasize that this nucleus area should have the function of making the transition from private high-speed traffic of cars coming from expressway roads, to a collective mass-transportation system. Inside this nucleus area an extent open space adjacent to the ancient Imperial Palace was conceived and named as the Citizen's Plaza or Hiroba. (Fig. 5)

As a conclusion to this audacious plan, it was asserted that the plan or the synthesized vision of a future growth of the city is nothing more than a reference to orientate the urban development. The vision proposed had no intention to be concretely materialized until its final form, because time and the social processes that define city development lead the city form to be a matter of difficult manipulation.

The planning of a city, unlike the planning and construction of a building, is not involved with a single fixed moment in form. A city shape develops as a result of the energies of many people and of the reciprocal contradictions of construction and demolition worked out by many people...

Under such a system, a plan for a city form in a fixed moment of time and the notion that such a city could actually be built is meaningless. On the other hand, a city has an existence as a concrete material object, and to design that object vision ...is essential if the city is to grow. This spatial / formal vision and image must above all be significant in forecasting and pointing out the contradictions that guide actual city development under today's system.

Following this same logic, in 1965, a plan for Nara city was proposed (Nishiyama, 1965a). At this time, two main linear axes crossed in perpendicular directions (Fig. 6), and at their crossing point a main Hiroba or Plaza was placed. As a north-south axis was adopted the ancient central axis of the imperial city, Heijō-kyo, that concentrated all the important cultural public facilities of the city. In the west-east direction, another linear axis ran south of the imperial palace. This last axis should concentrate both administrative facilities and transitional traffic control function to connect the city to the rest of the country. While the former, north-south bound ancient Scarlet Phoenix Avenue (Suzaku-Oji) plays a symbolic function of a cultural axis, the latter new created east-west bound axis realized contemporarily fundamental need of

traffic distribution and administrative functions. At its crossing point just in front of the main entrance of the ancient imperial palace a Hiroba/ Plaza was placed .

In this way, in order to make into one this new created Heijokyo and the old/new Nara, one city axis was set up. It is the new main street in Nara and also the center of control of, simultaneously, the city traffic and the sightseeing flow. A maximum of 400 thousand tourists are collected and distributed through here to all the places of the plain, Nara and Heijo. A comprehensive station, lodging/rest facility, shops, workshops of traditional industry, government and municipal offices, urban life facilities, etc. are collected here, and integrate the core function of Nara. It is also the place which creates the vitality of a new life of Nara city (Nishiyama, 1965, 214)

Medium sized parking lots are distributed in the outskirts of the urban area, served by efficient railway systems that first concentrates all the people into the core or main axis of the city, to be, later, distributed to all around the region, by adopting a similar logic shown in the Kyoto Plan and, later, in the Expo 70's core-combinator system. (Fig. 7)

III.3 Reaching complexity: the creation of a network of “Autonomous Zones”

But the most complete and elaborated proposal for the growth of Japanese cities is to be found in the publication of “Concepts of Urban & Regional Development for the Beginning of the 21st Century” produced by the Kansai Group headed by Nishiyama (The 21st Century Kansai Group, 1973). This report was written in response to the request made in 1967 by the Japanese central government to nine groups inside Japan, in order to make a memorial work collection for the 100th anniversary of the Meiji restoration entitled “The future concept of National Land and People's Land at the Beginning of the 21st Century”.

Nishiyama represented a group of more than 160 researchers from varied institutions of the Kansai area. The planning team was composed by 12 people and received the multi-disciplinary support from the different specialists inside the group. The report started with a critic against the way planning was being carried at that moment aiming only at technical innovation or, in either way, full of illusionary optimistic images to appease citizens critics. This last was a direct critic to the New Comprehensive Development Plan (NCDP). In continuation it analyses the function of planning and highlight that the plan which can offer future images with the aim of planning on the basis of a democratic citizen's consensus, is the only one which can solve the nations ever-increasing social and environmental problems (The 21st Century Kansai Group, 1973, 5). As a maturation of the “Image Planning” concept, the report suggests the important role that conceptual planning should have as an active instrument to inform and aid the citizens while it improves itself as time passes. Thus, conceptual planning would not attempt to describe how the land should be organized, but rather, to stress the contradictions brought about by an anti-citizen land development being carried out by the government and monopolized capital. Among the ten basic concepts of organization of the national land and cities, two should be highlighted for the interest of this paper: the division of the National land into “Autonomous Zones” (Jichi Seikatsu Ken) and the essential need of a Plaza for Human relations within the network of cities.

According to the report, planners should consider the order and arrangement of living spaces as a basis for everyday life. Moreover, daily life is mostly confined to rather narrow limits set by home and occupation, which can possibly limit the size of daily use zones to basic units. Such basic units of self-governing living zones are the principle of formation of the “Autonomous Zones” and each unit should comprise both elements of rural and urban with economic stability. (Fig. 8)

As a model structure of an autonomous zone there would be at least one central core city, surrounded by suburban living zone that extends until industrial zones, reaching areas of natural preservation (Fig. 9). Each “Autonomous Zone” would have different features, with some composed of multiple core cities or dispersed core cities of varied density, but as a general rule a maximum limited size and density were defined.

The core city would be the basic unit of space for democratic governing and management of the entire autonomous zone with direct citizen participation. Within the core city will be contained all the facilities for the functioning of the city, and the making possible of life in collective dwellings. Its size will be that of an area with a radius of approximately 2.5km, ...so that it should be easy to walk to the center of the city from the surrounding residential zone...The area covered by the core city should be, at the most, 2000hectares, with a maximum population density of 150 per hectare. Thus the total population will not exceed 300 thousands or be less than 100 thousand. (The 21st Kansai Group, 1973, 68-69)

In general, the “Autonomous Zone” would be separated into high and low densities where in both cases the core city fulfills the role of concentrating the administrative and cultural public facilities and distributing the traffic of people. In few opportunities, exception is done for core cities of super high density. As a schematic proposal, a core city of up to 400 thousand people is envisioned without roads, served by intense mass-transportation systems, where people live on high-rise Iepolis, with all the vehicles transportation running underground or in elevated levels. Moreover, between core-cities a defined green open area should be left and the “Autonomous Zones” would be linked in a network through use of its core-cities (Fig. 10)

In this report the analysis about the growth and organization of cities becomes more complex. It extrapolates the limits of only one city to the relations established between cities in a network and the surrounding areas that compose a core city. However, those ideas that appear in the Expo 70 project are still comprised here with a matured view that points out to the importance of the relation between city form and city management.

CONCLUSIONS

For Nishiyama, the Expo 70 project was the greatest opportunity to concretize his concept of “Image Planning” in a built form or, better to say, in a model form. Because Expo 70 was not a real city, but was an event that would temporarily take functions similar to those of a city and, potentially, could launch the fundamental urban structures for the latter settlement of a real city, it could better fulfill the requirements of

“Image Planning” rather than a sketched plan.

Moreover, it is possible to perceive through the evolution of the “Home City” idea that, in fact, the “home” part of the city concerns to the central area, where public transportation systems and facilities of public use are concentrated. In resume, the “home” part of a city is the core of a city with intense concentration of public institutions and an area of high public interest. Within a broader analysis, the car can be considered as the antithesis of the public or the collective interest, and if the core of the city is the center of public interaction, the car becomes its major annoyance. To realize this ideal for the Japanese urban system, the core of a city should comprehend the main public facilities of institutional and cultural features and depend upon an efficient system of control and distribution of traffic, inside an area of high density of occupation. It is also the fundamental element that connects cities inside an urban network. Those ideas are summarized in the very schematic propositions carried out to the “model core of a future city” inside Expo 70 Site Planning, to be later improved with the complementary function of administrative cores of local power inside the “Autonomous Zones” proposed to the report of 1971. Finally, although this paper did not emphasize much the role of the Hiroba or Plaza in his propositions, it has a detached place in his discourse of “model core of a future city” as an important element of human interaction. It comes as a contrast to his extreme preoccupation with the pragmatic functionalism of the city, to retain inside this mechanized urban core a place for human exchange.

To sum up his propositions for the urban growth of the Japanese cities, rather than a control of an outer expansion of cities, his proposals aimed mostly to the densification of inner city’s areas. At first, a diagnosis of existing conditions of a city would orientate the intervention inside its urban limits and define the core area to be densified and provided with efficient transportation system. In any case, however drastic the propositions may appear they aimed to avoid urban sprawl and had never pointed to the creation of new paradisiacal areas outside established cities for the solution of increasing urbanization rates.

NOTES

¹ The target of the Basic Survey was to make a fundamental database of main physical information related to the site. It also contained conceptual considerations to orientate the final development of the Master Plan and its execution, and proposed questions about the meaning and consequences of holding such an event (Kyoto Daigaku Bankokuhaku Chosa Gurupu, 1966). The fundamental maps elaborated for it are collected in Kyoto Daigaku Bankokuhaku Chosa Gurupu, 1966a)

² For a general view of the whole Site Planning Stages refer to (Urushima, 2005).

³ The original word in Japanese is read as Ietoshi, and comes from the composition of the Chinese characters for “Ie” or “Home/ house”, and “Toshi” or “City”. But later, he also used “Iepolis” written in the syllabic alphabet of katakana, which is the junction of “Ie” or house in Japanese, and “Polis” or city in Greek.

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FIGURES

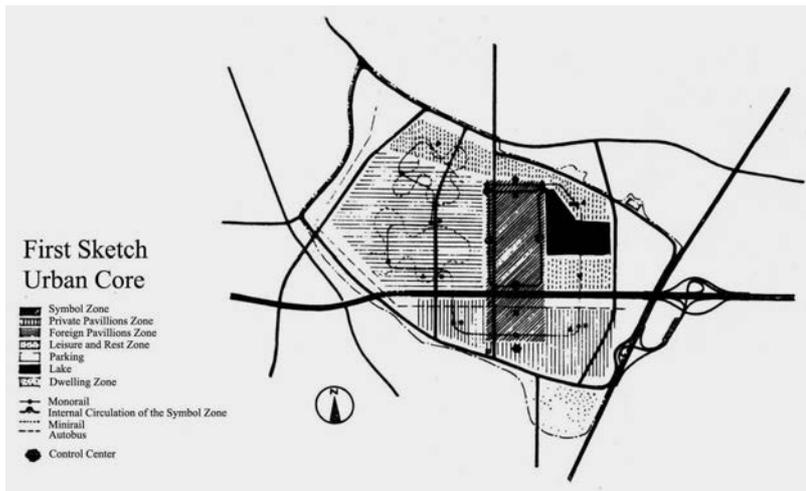


Fig.1 – 1st Draft Plan. Schematic image with the central installation of the Symbol Zone.

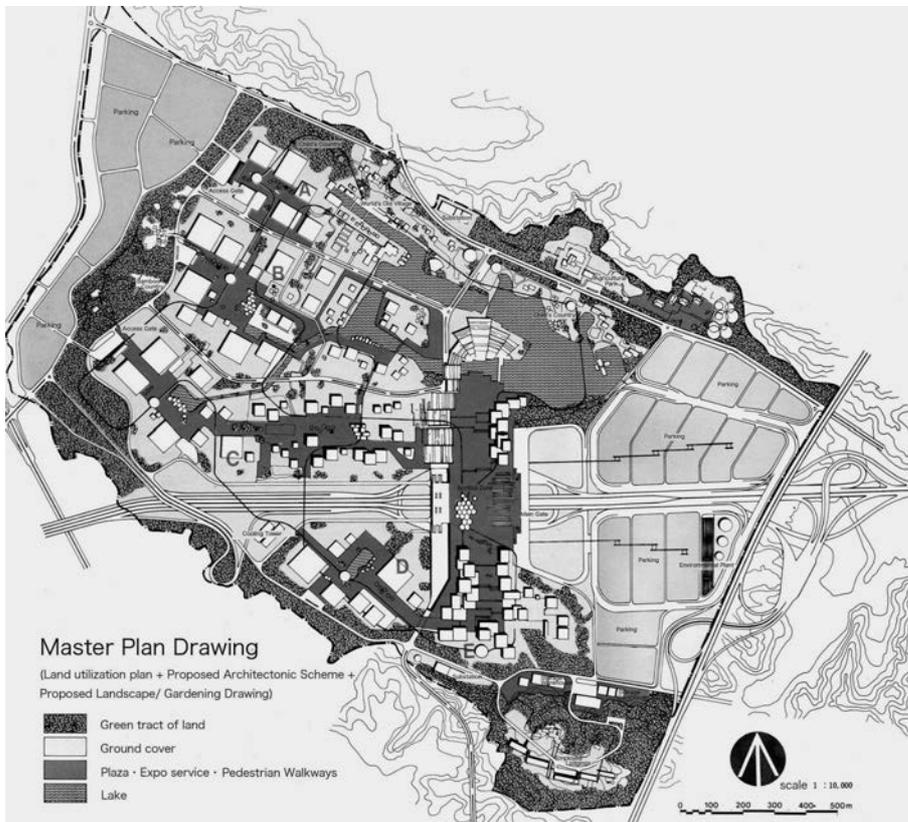


Fig. 2 – 2nd Draft Plan. Central area of Symbol Zone is connected with parking areas.

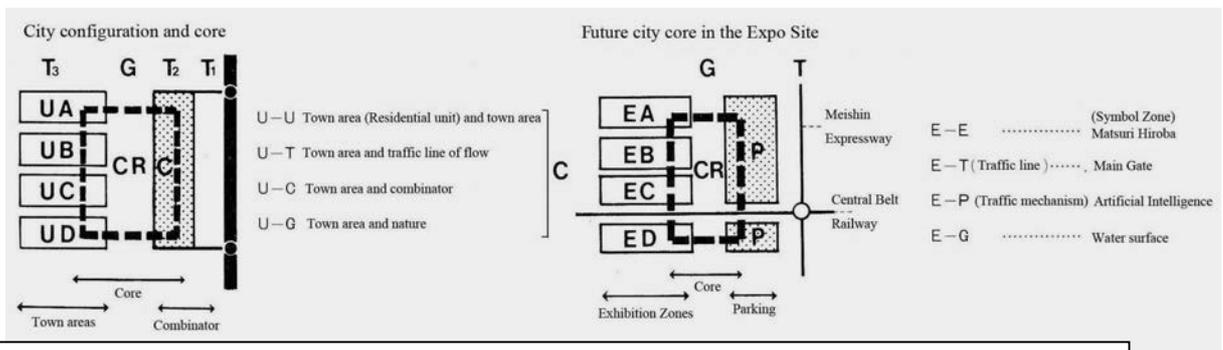


Fig. 3 - 2nd Draft Plan. Core combinator diagrammatic analysis for cities (left) and for Expo site (right)

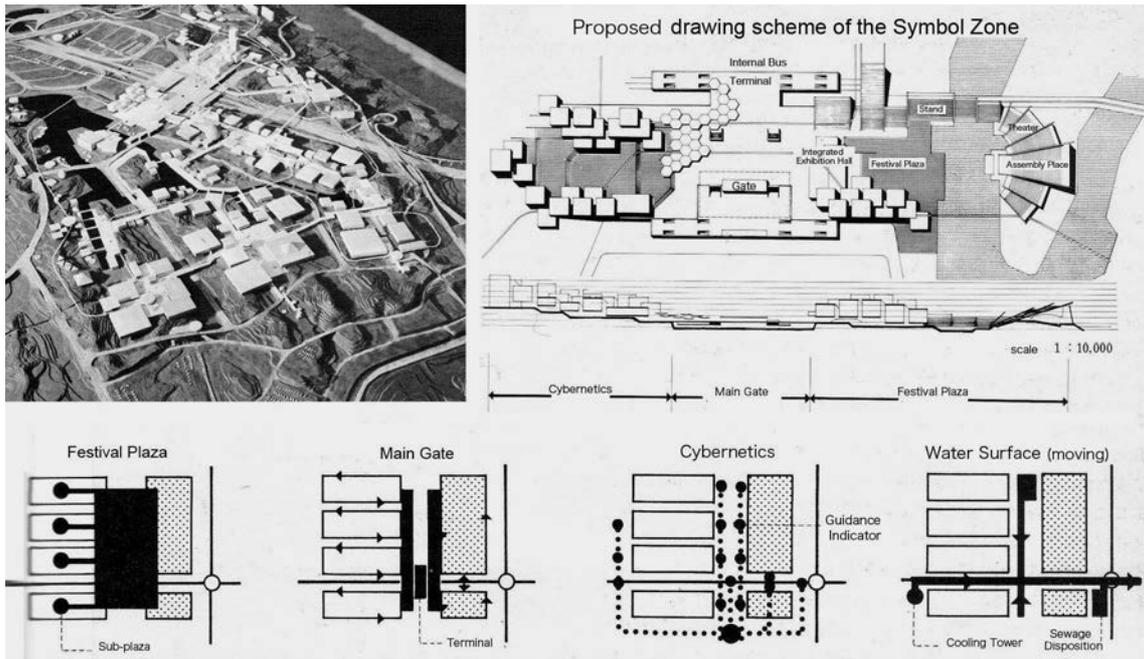


Fig. 4 - 2nd Draft Plan. The Symbol Zone's model core of a future city and its primary functions.

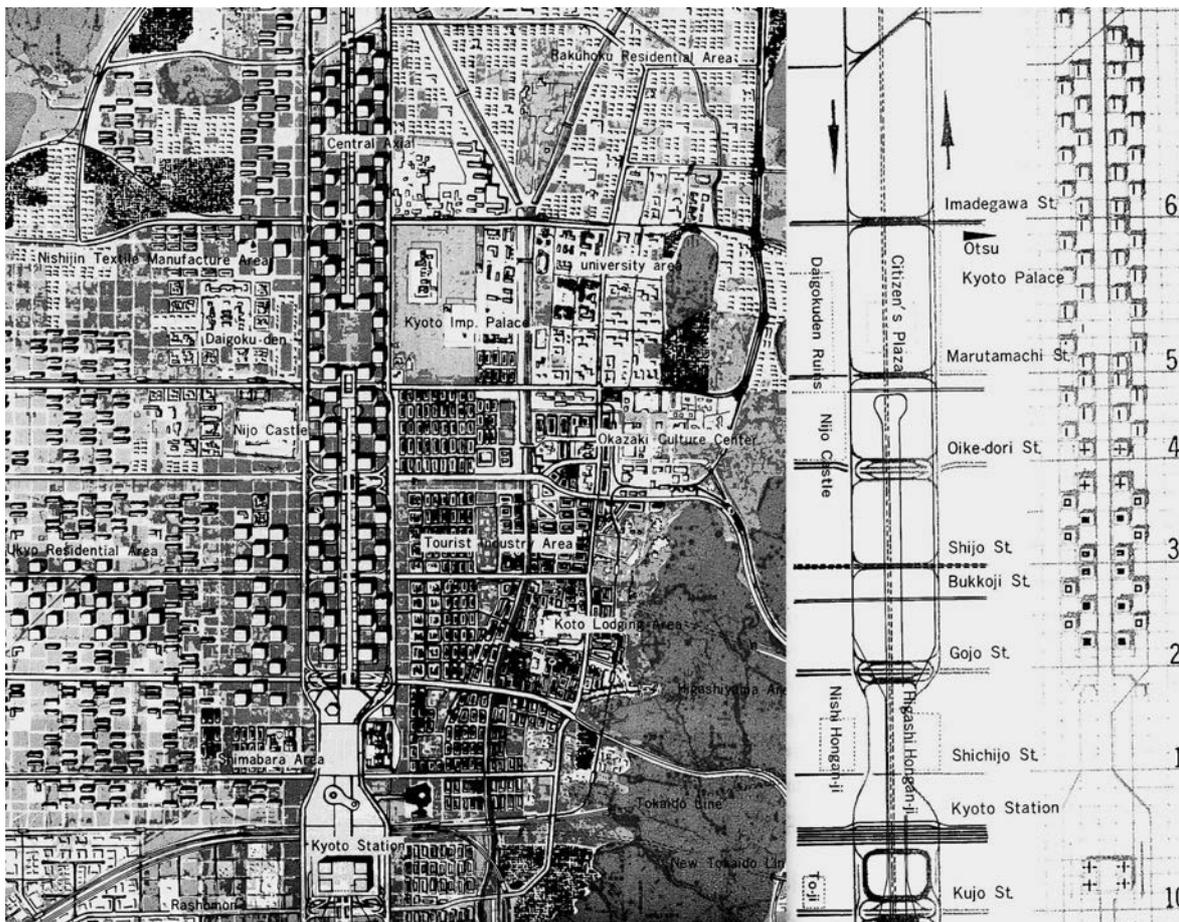


Fig. 5 - Kyoto plan. Zoom of the Citizen's Plaza within central axis in the diagram and the plan .

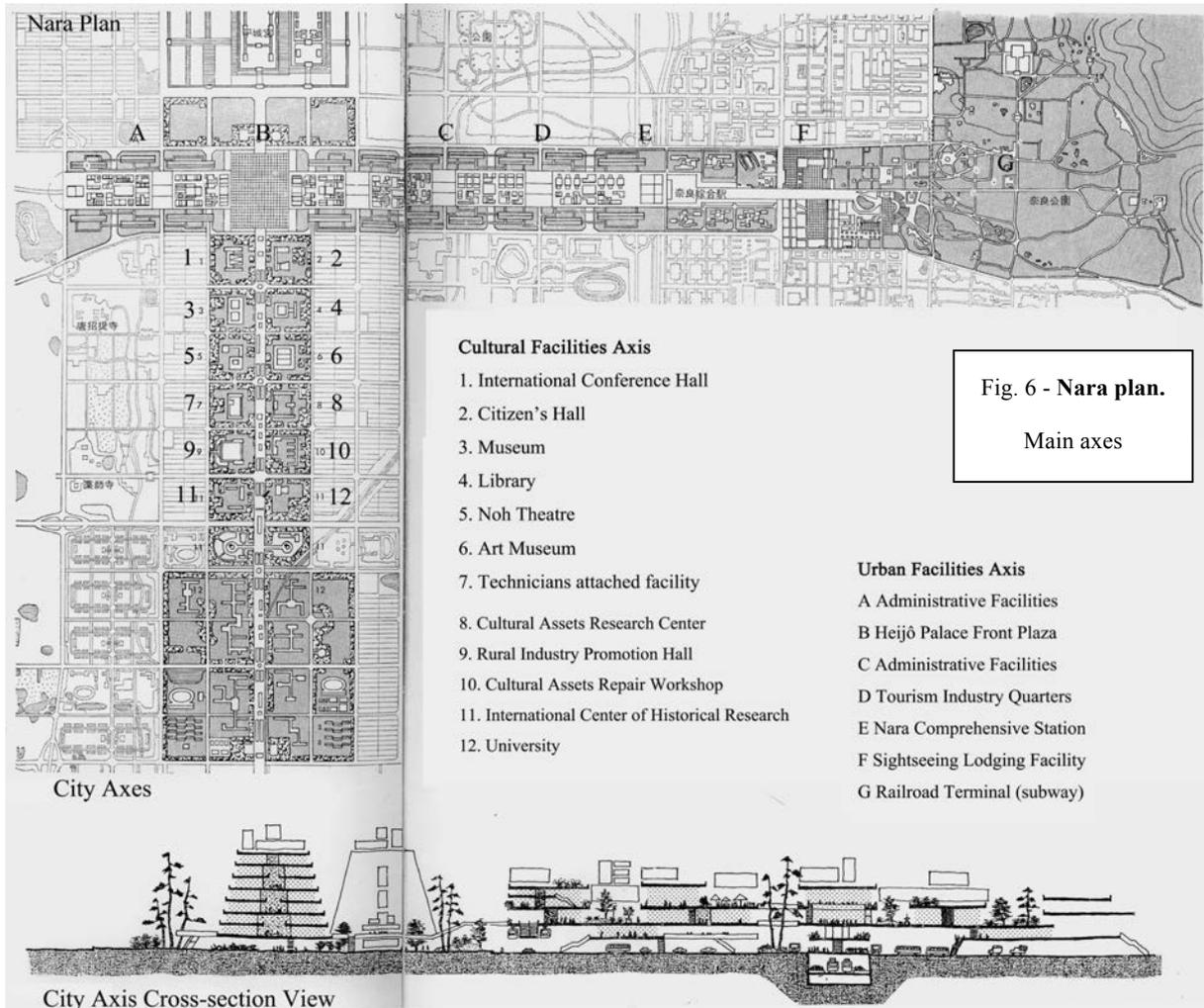


Fig. 6 - Nara plan.
Main axes

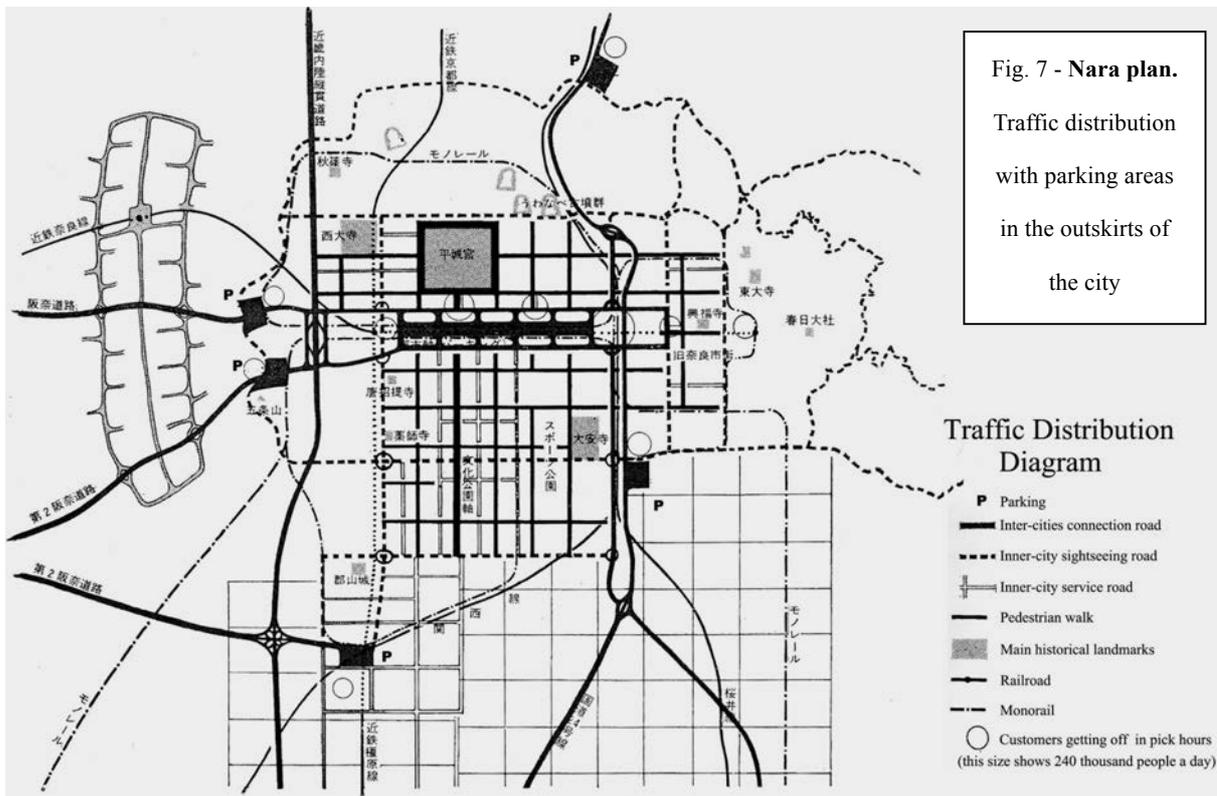


Fig. 7 - Nara plan.
Traffic distribution with parking areas in the outskirts of the city

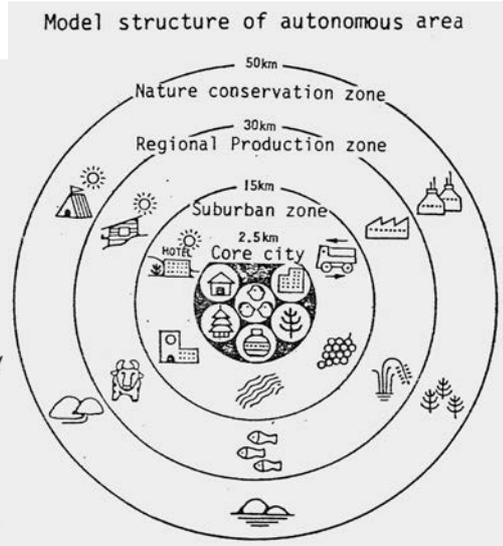
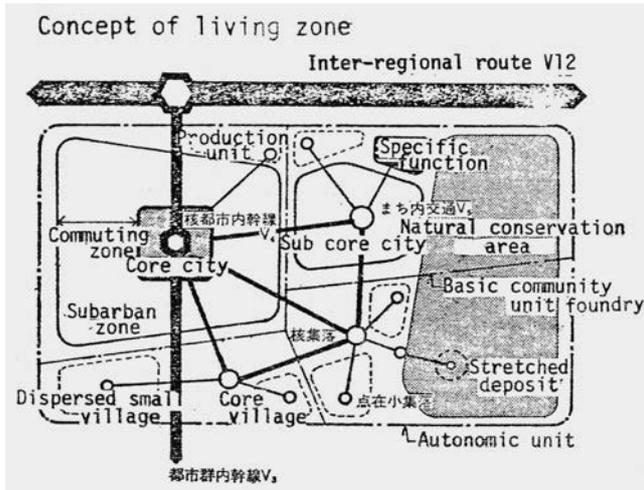


Fig. 8 - 21st Century Report. Concept of living

Fig. 9 - 21st Century Report. Model of autonomous area.

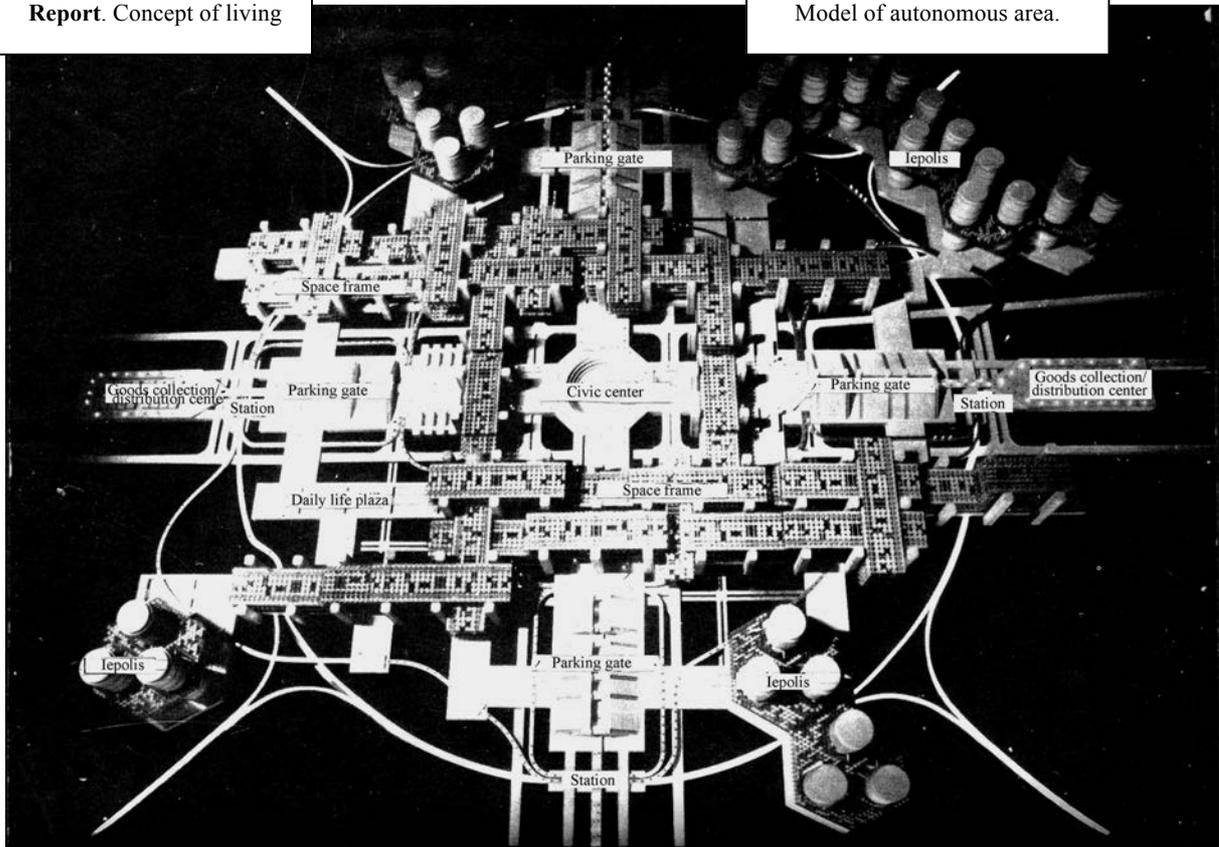


Fig. 10 - 21st Century Report. Model of high density core city.

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(Fig.3) Idem: 218

(Fig.4) Ibidem: 219

(Fig.5) Nishiyama's Lab.: A Plan for Kyoto. The Japan Architect, February: 64,77 (1965)

(Fig.6) Nishiyama's Lab.: Nara Keikaku (Nara Plan). Original booklet from the Uzô Nishiyama Memorial Library, ref. 51396: 220, 221 (1965)

(Fig. 7) Idem: 219

(Fig. 8) The 21st Century Kansai Group: Concepts of Urban & Regional Development for the Beginning of the 21st Century. Document from the Uzô Nishiyama Memorial Library, ref. 050238: 215 (1973)

(Fig. 9) Idem: 68

(Fig. 10) 21 Seiki Kansai Gurupu (The 21st Century Kansai Group): 21 Seiki ni mukau kokudo to toshi no sekkei – kôsô hen (National land and city planning for the 21st century – conceptions compilation). The cabinet office of deliberation of the Cabinet Secretariat, May: 209 (1971)

**12th INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY CONFERENCE
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Alfred Agache and the transformation of Rio de Janeiro during the Vargas period (1930-1945)

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Although a product of European and North American modernization, urbanism had a large impact on places where modernization was not yet realized. In Brazil, these ideas arrived at the same time (or even before) the country's actual modernization. Blueprints for cities were seen as shortcuts to modernity, avoiding the complex steps towards social modernization. Symbols of modernization, such as large avenues and skyscrapers, were easier to create than modernity itself. Therefore, urbanism was stunningly representational in Brazil. Although long politically independent, the country was involved in a process of national affirmation. In Brazil, urbanism encountered a society with different problems and expectations, a society that was no longer a passive receiver of imported ideas. In this society, urbanism was transformed, adapted, and reinterpreted according to local needs

This paper analyses these questions taking into consideration the transformations of the center of Rio de Janeiro during the Vargas period (1930-45), particularly during the *Estado Novo* (1937-1945), the Vargas dictatorship. These works followed the plan of French urban planner Alfred Agache (1875-1959), one of the *Société Française des Urbanistes* (SFU). Elaborated between 1928 and 1930, Agache's plan was a milestone in the evolution of Brazilian urbanism, as well as one of the best examples of the urbanism proposed by the SFU. Its objective was to set principles to solve Rio's functional problems and to provide it with a proper image of a capital. The implementation of the plan, however, had a tortuous path. Virtually abandoned after presentation, its major ideas were recovered and adapted by the Mayor Henrique Dodsworth who assumed power in 1937 with Vargas dictatorship. The plan was finally reduced to the redevelopment of a central district (Castello) and a large boulevard (Presidente Vargas Avenue). Agache's ideas were instrumental in the creation of an image for the Vargas regime, which built large boulevards and impose building codes determining the alignment of the facades, the shape of the blocks and the concordance architectural motifs The first section of the paper will focus on Agache's plan for Rio de Janeiro and the second will discuss the fate of the plan. The Castello District and the Presidente Vargas, will be discussed in the third and fourth sections.

Alfred Agache's plan for Rio de Janeiro

Agache's plan encouraged a new global vision regarding the city and treated different topics, such as habitation, aesthetics, sanitation, transportation and street systems, as a whole. Its objective was to solve the city's functional problems, to provide it with an expression of a capital, and to inculcate Rio's inhabitants with a social ideal of modern life. The two major points in which Agache focused his attention were circulation and zoning. Agache attempted to solve Rio's traffic problems and to facilitate communication between the different districts, which were made even more difficult by the city's topography. He proposed a skeleton (*ossature*) that defined the major lines of the project. In his scheme, a system of expressways, *carrefours*, and crossings, would make the city fluid (fig.1). In his scheme, the future Presidente Vargas Avenue is already proposed.

Regarding zoning, Agache affirmed that the urban life of Rio depended on the proper functioning of its parts (areas or district), each of them with a role to play in the city. It was necessary to identify the elements these parts and to distribute them appropriately in the city, establishing correct relationships between them.¹ For each quarter, Agache fixed heights, types of buildings in order to create different images and urban patterns. This combination of urban morphology, zoning and architectural type would define the appearance of each quarter. For Agache, urbanism was also an art of composition that gives each district an image, different from each other, but combined in a coherent and stable image of a modern city (fig.2).

One of the most meaningful aspects of Agache's plan was the emphasis on the symbolic and aesthetic in the formation of modern urban centers, commonly monumental and uniform. The two most prominent of his proposals the Gateway of Brazil (fig.3) and the Castello Square (fig.4). The Gateway of Brazil was a vast square facing the sea and surrounded by uniform and simplified classical buildings, providing a monumental entrance, a stage for parades and civic commemorations. The Castello Square, located in the business-center, was a hexagon-shaped square in which office towers and shops had an important place in the composition, showing their power in the modern city and emphasizing the need for symbols and form:

“Instead of dispersing the elements of urban modern life throughout the entire city, losing their symbolic expression, why not reunite them in an organic ensemble of building and public spaces, achieving great monumental centers in order to express the social and economic ideals of our time?”

For an architect like Agache, the solution to the artistic problem of the modern city is in the construction of appropriate architectural ensembles. Agache promoted the grouping of buildings as a form of stage:

¹ Alfred Agache, *Cidade do Rio de Janeiro: Remodelação, extensão e embelezamento* (Paris: Foyer Brésilien, 1930), 157-159.

“The buildings, if carefully studied and integrated in the whole, will contribute to the formation of the general ‘decorum’: their position, appearance, perspective are some of the elements contributing to the urban embellishment ... Hence, the urban planner should work not only in the placement of the buildings in plan, but also, imagines their volume.”

Agache mastered classical composition in order to define urban spaces, using the haussmanian-baroque vocabulary (blocks, boulevards, perspectives), and to confer monumentality and majesty to the buildings. Urban design and architecture were unified in a stable and coherent image of city free of contradictions or disorder. The plan was very complete, but only those of his proposals which were partially concretized, the Castello Square and the Presidente Vargas Avenue, will be studied here.

During the 1930s and 1940s, the debate over urbanism thrived in Brazil, with an astounding number of publications and plans. Agache’s plan and his ideas were particularly influential in this debate, especially in the renewal of urban centers during the early 1940s. In the 1930s, a new planning mentality emerged and the profession of urbanist had great prospects, the public administration incorporated many urbanists and a more diverse network of institutions promoting urbanism. A generation of experts in urbanism emerged in the early 1930s, which included many of Agache’s assistants, such as Atílio Corrêa Lima, Arnaldo Gladosch, and Affonso Eduardo Reidy.² Concerns about efficiency, zoning and circulation traffic solutions were introduced and the city was conceived as a system and organism. Urban space started to be seen as a network of men, machines, goods and services that should be regulated and modernized.

The dictatorship inaugurated by Vargas in November 1937 stimulated even more expectations among urbanists. Industrialization, nationalism and a strong state were seen as an inseparable formula to lead the country toward modernization. Urbanism was also seen as an important part of social modernization, since the building of a new man also meant the building of a new city. Modern avenues were seen as important steps in the progress of the country, orienting the new Brazilian man to be part of the masses. Hygienic, functional and beautiful cities were supposed to represent the “national effort” of the regime for the development of the country.³ The governmental approach towards urbanism, however, relied much more on images than on the real construction of modern city. The regime initiated an aggressive propaganda campaign to shape a national identity and to inculcate civic pride and patriotism in the youth. Adopting the theatricality of fascist regimes, the *Estado Novo* promoted parades and civic

² Also during this period, the ideas of Le Corbusier and those from CIAM, began to be introduced to Brazil. Le Corbusier’s visits to Rio de Janeiro largely influenced Brazilian architects. This influence, however, was restricted to a group of architects, which would be known as the Carioca School and developed fruitful interpretations of these ideas taking into account local culture and climate. Although Brazilian architecture was profusely published in the international architectural press between the mid-1940s and mid-1960s, this group did not have experience with urbanism was not yet in the position of having commissions.

³ “Metrópoles do Brasil” *Cultura e Política* 1, n.7 (September, 1941), 192.

commemorations. It was important for the *Estado Novo* to create an image of an urbanized country, but this does not necessarily mean that cities were effectively modern.

Henrique Dodsworth and the The Fate of Agache's Plan

With the 1930 Revolution, Prado Junior, the mayor of Rio de Janeiro who originally commissioned Agache, was toppled, making the future of the plan uncertain. The completeness of the plan, however, inhibited attempts to make new plans and monopolized most of urban discussions of the 1930s. The new mayor, Adolfo Bergamini, invited Armando de Godoy, the foremost urbanist in Rio (and an ally of Agache), to head a commission created to decide about the implementation of Agache's plan.

The *Comissão do Plano da Cidade* (City Planning Commission) accepted Agache's proposals for the road system, for the Castello Hill and for the southern residential districts. They also accepted his proposals for parkways, the system of open spaces, and the building code, all with few changes.⁴

Bergamini stayed in power only for a year and a new Mayor, Pedro Ernesto, assumed power in September 1931. As Ernesto's program did not focus on urbanism or public works, he did not support further developments of Agache's plan, which was virtually forgotten and officially suspended in 1934.⁵

The fate of the Agache plan only changed in November 1937 with the local political rearrangements provoked by the installation of the *Estado Novo*, the Vargas's dictatorship. Henrique Dodsworth (1895-1975), a former deputy from Rio with extensive work in educational activities, was designated by Vargas to the head of Municipality.⁶ Dodsworth governed from July 1937 until November 1945, including the entire period of the *Estado Novo*. The length of his mandate and the full support of Vargas were keys for the success of his program of public works. In his inauguration speech, Dodsworth announced a complete administrative reorganization, including the elimination and creation of departments, the centralization of social assistance, and the promotion of a tax reform.⁷

Dodsworth named as his Secretary of Public Works Edison Passos, an engineer long involved in the local public administration, who stayed in the post for all Dodsworth's tenure. Dodsworth and Passos reestablished the *Comissão do Plano da Cidade* (CPC), whose aim was to "elaborate a general plan for

⁴ Armando de Godoy, *A urbs e seus problemas*, 325-328; Reis, *O Rio e seus prefeitos*, 101-102; Luiz Albuquerque Filho, "A obra do urbanista Agache: sua atuação no Brasil" *Revista do Club de Engenharia*, 276 (August, 1959): 41.

⁵ Reis, *O Rio e seus prefeitos*, 91,106. Lúcia Silva, "O Rio de Janeiro e a reforma urbana da gestão de Dodsworth (1937-1945)" in *Anais do V Encontro Nacional da ANPUR*. (Belo Horizonte: ANPUR, 1993), 46.

⁶ Born in a local aristocratic family, Dodsworth was educated in France and in Rio de Janeiro as a doctor and lawyer, but developed his career assuming posts in the public education system. Roberto Macedo, *Henrique Dodsworth* (Rio de Janeiro: DASP/ Imprensa Nacional, 1955).

⁷ Roberto Macedo, *Henrique Dodsworth*, 40-41; Prefeitura do Distrito Federal, *Prefeito H. Dodsworth, Relatório sobre as atividades da Prefeitura do Distrito Federal, julho de 1937 à julho de 1943*, 14; José de Oliveira Reis, *O Rio de Janeiro e seus prefeitos*, 10-11; "Organização dos Serviços da Secretaria Geral de Viação, Trabalho e Obras Públicas" *Revista Municipal de Engenharia*, (November, 1937) 415-419.

the city,... study all zoning ordinances,...and synchronize all public works towards a more direct goal, organizing a long-term plan of public works”.⁸ This CPC was now more operational and practical than the previous one. The heart of the new CPC was the *Serviço Técnico*, an agency with operational freedom and agility. Dodsworth and Passos attempted to implement Agache’s blueprint, which was praised by them as an important step in the development of urbanism in Brazil.⁹

Dodsworth’s general plan of improvement, the *Plan for the City Extension and Transformation*, followed the guidelines set by Agache, particularly those regarding road system. Dodsworth and his *Serviço Técnico* attempted to adapt Agache’s solutions to the new reality of the city of the late 1930s, particularly after the construction of the new airport in the edge of the Castello Esplanade, which compromised the implementation of some of Agache’s ideas, and the introduction of a large number of automobiles. The Dodsworth program basically consisted of building avenues and tunnels to improve communication within the difficult topography of Rio. The need to solve automobile traffic was always emphasized in the governmental speeches.¹⁰ Dodsworth’s and Passos’s proposals for the center of Rio de Janeiro consisted in the creation of a triangular scheme of perimeter avenues around the center. These avenues, similarly to what Agache had proposed years before, would re-route the major patterns of circulation avoiding heavy traffic in the center (fig.5).¹¹ To enact this program in the center of the city, Dodsworth and Passos focused on two key-aspects, which were emphasized by Agache:

- The building of President Vargas Avenue, the major avenue connecting the center of Rio to the north zone, involved large demolitions and transformed the center of the city.
- The completion of the Castello District, where designed his Castello Square, was still partly unoccupied in the early 1930s

The Castello District and the harmonious skyscrapers

The urbanization of Castello Esplanade was a pivotal piece of Dodsworth’s program. Castello Hill had been razed in 1922, and it remained a valuable tract of vacant land in the core of the city. In the 1930s, it became a disputed topic, particularly by ministries and governmental institutes. Between 1928 and 1938,

⁸ “Comissão do Plano da Cidade, Decreto n. 6022 de 8 Novembro de 1937” *Revista Municipal de Engenharia*, (January, 1938), 22. Lucia Silva, “O Rio de Janeiro e a reforma urbana”, 46-47.

⁹ This CPC comprised architects and engineers from the municipality: José de Oliveira Reis (director), Hermínio de Andrade e Silva, Armando Stamile, Aldo Botelho, Nelson Naves, David Xavier de Azambuja, and Edwaldo Moreira de Vasconcellos. José de Oliveira Reis, *O Rio de Janeiro e seus feitos*, 110.

¹⁰ See for example: “Atividades e realizações da Secretaria Geral de Viação, Trabalhos e Obras Públicas, 1937-1939” *Revista Municipal de Engenharia*, (July, 1939): 385. “Plano de Melhoramentos da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro” *Revista Municipal de Engenharia*, (July, 1941): 224.

¹¹ Oliveira Reis, “Uma síntese sobre as principais vias do plano diretor” *Revista Municipal de Engenharia* (July, 1942): 204-207; “O Plano Diretor” *Revista Municipal de Engenharia* (July, 1943): 157-160. The municipality’s program also included other important thoroughfares connecting to the southern and northern zones to the central perimeter, which included the construction of tunnels under the rocky hills.

impressive boulevards and modern buildings gradually started to be erected in the area, according to Agache's ideas, ratifying its destiny to be the showcase of the modernization of Rio.¹² Despite the bright prospects and the appeal of the municipality, the occupation was too slow, due to the uncertainties of the economy. When Dodsworth assumed power, the municipality decided to take a very active role in the development of the area (fig.6).

Agache's heritage can also be seen in the code regulating building construction that was approved in June 1937. Except for slight differences, the new zoning system was based on Agache's earlier proposal, particularly on the idea of a dense and tall central area sharply contrasting with the a lower and less dense periphery.¹³ The special section of the code dedicated to the Castello District also borrowed heavily from Agache's building guidelines for that area. Taking for granted the role of Castello as a business center, the code stipulated a type of office buildings with shops on the ground floor.

The code incorporated great concern about the appearance of tall buildings in the urban context. According to the code, façades had to be rigidly aligned and no space could be left unoccupied within the block frontage.¹⁴ Although maximum heights were established depending on the width of the streets, the code was permissive regarding the height of the buildings. In fact it established a minimum of six floors for the streets with more than 10 meters of width. The standard building would have 13 floors (around 42 meters): ground and mezzanine (totaling 7,15 meters) and 11 floors (of 3,15 meters) each extending and creating covered sidewalks (galleries).¹⁵ Receding floors over the limit of the building would be allowed if they obeyed a line following an angle of 60°, taken from the opposite sidewalk. On this issue, is it possible to see this preoccupation with the formal aspect of the city:

On the top of the building, above the second receded floor, machinery, water towers and services rooms, will be allowed if they were receded seven meters from the street line and designed in such a way to be integrated in the architectural composition and to compose an adequate *coroamento* (attic or crowning) to the building, aligned with the *coroamento* of the neighboring buildings.¹⁶

¹² See PA 1791 from June 26, 1928; PA 1805 from October 21, 1928; PA 1871, from August 6 1929. These projects for the urbanization of Castello, following Agache's plan, established the first blocks in the eastern edge of the Rio Branco Avenue and in the southern part of Castello around the Avenues President Wilson, Calógeras, Beira Mar. Oliveira Reis, *Rio de Janeiro e seus prefeitos*, 95.

¹³ This code was in fact approved in June 1937, a month before Dodsworth assumed power. There were few zoning differences between this code and Agache's plan.

¹⁴ "Codigo de Obras do Distrito Federal, Decree 6000 of July 1 1937"; title II, section I, Art 10.

¹⁵ Ibid., title III, section II, Art 14, II. As the code admitted a limit of 100 meters, towers were to be surrounded by smaller blocks to make the transition to a standard block of 40 meters facing the street, but this case did not occur in Rio.

¹⁶ Ibid., title III, section II, Art 14, III, n.4 .The word *coroamento* in Portuguese refers not only to attic but also to the act of defining an attic, or better, the "crowning" of a building.

In its quest for a volumetric unity of the blocks, the code required not only the alignment of façades and the unifying of heights and architectural motifs, but also the rhythm of openings and modulation. Façades were rigidly controlled by the municipality. The code even stipulated that if a building had an unusual programmatic demand, the architects had to make it part of the design and integrate it in the context:

If an extraordinary event occur, such a special need of a larger entrance or any other architectural ‘accident’..., the composition of the façade should be done in such a way that the ‘accident’ would be conveniently integrated in the façade and would not disturb the harmony of the buildings of the block.¹⁷

Regarding the galleries, a very convenient device for the tropics, the code established parameters of variation for the heights of the floors, and dimensions of the columns and their intervals. The gallery had to have a unique width, and no projection or recession was permitted. Even the choice of material for the cladding of the columns was limited. The first building erected in a block would serve as a standard for the others. The common areas inside the blocks and passages to them from the street were to be kept open.

The code encouraged tall buildings, but under strict control. An analysis of the arid language of the code reveals a remarkable preoccupation with forcing skyscrapers to adhere to a coherent image. This effort brings to mind another author concerned with tall buildings, Louis Sullivan, who wanted to “impart to this sterile pile the graciousness of those higher forms of sensibility and culture”.¹⁸ According to Sullivan, the natural solution of the problem of design was a tripartite solution, in which a base and an attic, conferring character and weight to the building, would frame between them an indefinite number of offices floors. The attic would create an appropriate image for a tall building.

The construction of the airport and the ministries by the federal government provoked the need to reformulate of Agache’s plan. The first revision was made in 1938 by Affonso Eduardo Reidy, who attempted to introduce principles of urbanism from the CIAM.¹⁹ A second one, however, made by José Oliveira Reis in the following year, returned to the more traditional principles of Agache’s plan. The alterations consisted of the insertion of more blocks, approximating the plan to Agache’s pattern. A perspective published in late 1939 showed a new Castello Square with smaller buildings than in Agache’s plan and less open space than in Reidy’s proposal. Here, the classical aspects of Agache were even more emphasized (fig. 7,8).

¹⁷ Ibid., title III, section II, Art 14, III, n.6.

¹⁸ Louis Sullivan, “The Tall Buildings Artistically Reconsidered, in *Kindergarten Chats and other writings* (New York: Wittenborn, Schultz, 1947), 202.

¹⁹ Affonso Eduardo Reidy, “Urbanização da Esplanada de Castelo” *Revista Municipal de Engenharia*, (September, 1938): 604-607; Oliveira Reis, *Rio de Janeiro e seus prefeitos*, 110-111.

The need of the municipality for more lots, due to the system of financing, provoked these alterations. The implementation of Dodsworth's circulation system demanded the rapid development of the Castello Esplanade. In order to have resources to fuel his program, Dodsworth's strategy was to develop this area as soon as possible, avoiding piecemeal operations and creating more taxable land. Because of the funding system (municipal bonds redeemable after construction), the new lots came into the hands of private investors and the federal government, which had bought most of the titles.²⁰ This initiative had the full support of Vargas's regime, which was attempting to house the growing bureaucracy.

The development of the area consisted of the removal of the remains of Castello Hill, the creation of new blocks, and the building of a road system, notably the Antonio Carlos, Almirante Barroso, and Nilo Peçanha Avenues. These plans were made during the second half of 1940, presented at once and immediately approved in December 1940.²¹

The new block plans provided exact dimensions for the lots, frontages, internal collective areas, galleries, and sidewalks. The new lots were larger than the old ones and were adapted to the new avenues: the sides and corners of parallelograms were cut in round or diagonal lines in order to correspond to certain urban circumstances (such as the need to face another block or square) creating unusual geometrical shapes, such polygons, pentagons, and hexagons. The dimension of the galleries (7 meter deep and 7 meter wide) was generally used as a module in the definition of the lots, indicating that a compromise with an urban condition was the uttermost motif of the new city design. The plans also dictated specific heights and sections of the buildings and the new owners were obliged to build in accordance to these dimensions.

The new block plans curiously showed the present conditions of the site highlighting the contrast between urban forms. In the case of the block C, thirty old, narrow lots of varied sizes vanished to make way to the avenue and to a triangular block occupied by a single building. In block D, some twenty-five lots were reduced to seven larger lots. The plans for C and D also defined a building type with galleries, 17 floors high plus 2 recessed floors (fig.9).²² In blocks I and Z, a long parallelogram (I) had sides cut out diagonally and rounded off in order to create a correspondence with the building (Z) on the other side of the street (fig.10).²³ In order to implement these reforms the municipality entered into negotiation with

²⁰ The funding for this operation was secured through a system called *obrigações urbanísticas (urbanistic bonds)*. Whereby, the municipality issued titles (bonds), guaranteed by the Bank of Brazil, which were sold to businessmen and State organizations. Each title, assigned to a lot, was redeemable after construction. This system helped to launch the ambitious operation and to secure the necessary resources. See "Decree 2722 from October 30, 1940" *Revista Municipal de Engenharia* (July, 1941): 214; See also "Decree 3532 from August 21 1941" *Revista Municipal de Engenharia*, (November, 1941): 329-332

²¹ "Decreto 6898 de 28 de Dezembro de 1940" in *Revista Municipal de Engenharia* (November, 1941): 327-329.

²² See PA 3477 from December 12 1940 (Design for the blocks between the Nilo Peçanha, São José, Bittencourt da Silva, Largo da Carioca and the Assembly streets by José de Oliveira Reis and Edwaldo Vasconcellos. Reis, *O Rio de Janeiro e seus prefeitos*, 195. This PA changed an earlier PA (n. 3340) from March of 1940.

²³ See PA 3414 for the blocks I and Z between the streets São Joaquin, Quitanda, Erasmo Braga México, Chile and Avenue Nilo Peçanha, designed by Oliveira Reis and Andrade e Silva in October 1940.

owners, exchanging lots and redesigning specific blocks. The section of the avenues were designed from the start to incorporate galleries.

The new buildings were very similar, presenting the same galleries, recessed floors, and identical rhythm of openings, being differentiated by details. Corners were also an element of design. There are many example of architectural unity. The buildings at the corner of Mexico Street and Nilo Peçanha Avenue were designed as three independent buildings, by the same architect, Robert Prentice, a fact that contributed to the unified overall image of the ensemble(fig.11). However, this was an exception and does not invalidate my assumption of the active role of the building codes in shaping the city. For example, the blocks facing the bay, at the southern border of the Castello, were designed by four different architects, but the alignment of recessed floors, galleries and openings made them look like a single building. The Andorinha building at the corner of Almirante Barroso and Mexico Streets was similarly inserted in the urban fabric (fig.12). Individual owners were required to build according to the designated rules (fig.13-14).

The Castello area was completed rapidly. A picture taken during construction in 1940 shows the demolition of traditional and the bulky modern ones rapidly advancing towards the void of the Castello Esplanade (fig.15). The emergence of modern boulevards and buildings was widely publicized by the regime and generated euphoria in the city, as a columnist of a semiofficial magazine expressed: “Entering into the Castello Esplanade, a new city rises to our eyes, a city in which all the constructions, almost all of them magnificent and splendid, following previously established rules and directives”.²⁴ The Castello Esplanade was also a reflect of a great of boom of construction which occurred in Brazil in the early 1940s, in which large amounts of capital where invested into real estate, due to the economic circumstances dictated by World War II.²⁵

The Building of Presidente Vargas Avenue

The most impressive of Dodsworth’s works was the Presidente Vargas Avenue, an almost four-kilometer long boulevard crossing the center of the city and linking it to the north zone. The idea of the Avenue had been object of proposals since mid-nineteenth century. Agache also developed the proposal in his plan, which was reevaluated and finally implemented by Dodsworth’s administration.

The boulevard was 80 meters wide throughout, crossing the more dense parts of the center and causing extensive demolition. The ambitious first design made in 1938 by the City Planning Commission was

²⁴ *Revista do Serviço Público*,n.1 (October, 1939).

²⁵ About the *building boom see*: Marcus André B.C. de Melo, “O Estado, o boom do século e a crise de habitação” in *Cidade e História*, Marco A. Gomes, Ana Fernandes, editors (Salvador: UFBA, 1991), 153-154.

divided in four sections punctuated by squares(fig.16-17).²⁶ Starting from the eastern extremity in Bandeira Square, the first section began flanked by open isolated blocks. The first stop was at Onze Square, which was reorganized to give place to a bypass (the Diagonal Avenue) and a huge obelisk. The second section, spanning from Onze Square to Republica Square, was also designed with isolated blocks. The ensemble formed by Republica Square and Santanna Park became another focal point. The third section, in the center, was long, stretching from Republica Square to the Candelária Church, which was preserved in the middle of the avenue. The fourth section spanned from the Candelária Church to the sea. The design of the first and second sections (from Bandeira Square to Onze Square) was credited to Hermínio de Andrade e Silva, who attempted to incorporate CIAM principles, designing a long line of interconnected blocks in *redent* and supported by *pilotis* with open spaces between them (fig.18). The avenue partially existed, but it was sided with warehouses, factories and working class residences. These sections of the avenue were realized, but never filled with buildings.²⁷

Section three and four was made by the whole team, under the direction of Hélio Britto. The new avenue replaced a straight line of blocks, which existed between São Pedro and General Câmara Streets, two narrow but very long streets which crossed the entire center from east to west (fig.19). The buildings were designed as walls facing the avenue, providing it with a strong directionality and carrying the eye to the focal points, Republica Square and the arrangement for the Candelária Church. The heights of the buildings were 24 floors (including the two floors of the galleries), totaling 75 meters. The buildings had to strictly follow the building codes approved for the Avenue in December 1940 (fig.20). The dimensions of galleries were similar to those stipulated for the Castello. These regulations led to the creation of a harmonious ensemble in which monumentality was a key characteristic.²⁸

The municipality decided to begin the building of all sections of the Avenue simultaneously. The final plan was presented and quickly approved in December 1940.²⁹ Construction officially began in April 1941, and was followed by the newspapers, which incessantly publicized the progress. Sections one and

²⁶ The team was headed by Oliveira Reis and Hélio de Alves Brito (technical direction). In addition, the team also included Nelson Nevaes, Hermínio Andrade Silva, Armando Stamile, Edvaldo Vasconcellos, Aldo Botelho, Helio Mamede, and Domingos Paula Aguiar. Oliveira Reis, *O Rio de Janeiro e seus feitos*, 111-2.

²⁷ Andrade e Silva advocated a new way of occupying urban land, replacing blocks with new isolated towers and leaving open green areas. Hermínio Andrade e Silva, Rosário Fusco, “Redivisão de quadras, condomínios e espaços livres” *Revista Municipal de Engenharia*, (November, 1942), 12-20.

²⁸ In the few official accounts of the avenue, after stressing the vital need for the avenue, the reports shifted to its grandiosity and then proceeded directly to dry and long explanations of technical details, such as stone-cutting and paving. José de Oliveira Reis, “50 anos da Avenida Presidente Vargas” *Revista Municipal de Engenharia*, (December, 1994); Hélio Alves de Brito, “Obras da Avenida Presidente Vargas” *Revista Municipal de Engenharia*, 3-4, (July/October, 1944); “Obras da Presidente Vargas” *Revista Municipal de Engenharia* (Abril, 1945), 54-69.

²⁹ The project was approved by the decree 6897 from December 8, 1940. Before that, the decree 6747 of August 7 1940 established the expropriations to the construction of the Avenue. The values to be paid for dispossessed buildings were stipulated by decree as 13 times the annual value of the rent. Sections of the avenue were dispossessed earlier by the decrees 6368 and 6368 in December 1938, and 6630 of November 29 1940.

two (the modernist sections designed by Andrade e Silva), were soon completed, since they did not involve large expropriations and demolitions. These sections were inaugurated on November 10 1941, but neither the buildings nor the reorganization of the Onze Square with the obelisk and the bypass was ever realized. The third section (from Republica Square to Candelaria Church) and the fourth section (From the Church to the Sea), were inaugurated on November, 10 of 1942 and 1943, respectively. All the works of the avenue completed in September 1944.³⁰

Sections three and four, cutting through the dense core of the city, were the most challenging to implement, since they involved large demolition of urban fabric, including historic religious buildings. Intimate squares and courtyards and the old Town Hall Square, disappeared. Among the many buildings demolished, were jewels of colonial religious architecture like *São Pedro dos Clérigos* and *Bom Jesus*. These demolitions provoked protests from shop owners, workers and intellectuals, but the municipality had the full support of Vargas for the enterprise. The numbers offer an idea of the magnitude of the intervention: of the 43 blocks that entirely disappeared, only 16 were replaced, of the 1225 buildings demolished (525 of them stood in the way of the avenue) only 179 new lots were made available. This great operation substantially transformed the cityscape and forced thousands of people to move (without a resettlement program) to the periphery of the city.³¹

The financial resources for this venture were obtained through the same system of bonds, *obrigações urbaníticas*, used for Castello. Every bond was assigned to a new lot and many of them were bought by the federal bureaucracy.³² The central area around Rio Branco Avenue and Candelária Church attracted more investors. Despite Edison Passos's affirmations that the project was feasible, the enterprise was not as successful as the Castello district. The selling of bonds did not occur as expected and the municipality had to take a loan from the Bank of Brazil in 1941, with Vargas's timely intervention.³³

The new Presidente Vargas Avenue radically altered Rio's cityscape. Aerial photos taken after the construction of the Avenue dramatically show the immense clear cutting through the center (fig.21). The traditional relationship between streets and buildings was lost, since two-story buildings now faced the 80 meter-wide avenue. Some views are particularly disturbing, such as the one portraying the Candelária Church standing isolated and people wandering in the vastness of the avenue, without cars or surrounding buildings (fig.22). This transformation even also be experienced today, particularly the break of scale in the urban fabric between the traditional two-story buildings and the twenty story buildings. The

³⁰ November 10 was the day which the Estado Novo coup happened. "Obras da Avenida Presidente Vargas" *Revista Municipal de Engenharia* (July, 1941): 221.

³¹ Hélio Alves Brito, "Obras da Avenida Presidente Vargas", 100-111; "Obras da Presidente Vargas", 63.

³² This guarantee was introduced by the Law-Decree 2722/1940 and by the Municipal Decree n. 6896/1940. Oliveira Reis, *O Rio de Janeiro e seus feitos*, 112.

³³ Edison Passos, "Plano de Melhoramentos da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro" *Revista Municipal de Engenharia* (July, 1941): 221.

monumentality of the setting, and the openness and the suggestion of velocity provide another set of perceptions.

The two focal points of the avenue were the setting for the Candelária Church and the enlargement of Republica Square. Like Agache before, the CPC realized the potential of creating a majestic space using the Candelária Church, a monumental classical church began in 1775, as a major element. The Church was liberated from the twenty old building encroaching upon her walls and acquired the role of a monument. The avenue provided a dramatic reappraisal of the church, which now stood in the great *croissée*. The width of the new avenues surrounding the Church had approximately equaled the church's height. The new blocks and buildings were clearly designed to create a background for the church. While the height limit for the Avenue was twenty-two floors, the new buildings surrounding the church were limited to fourteen floors plus two receded floors, in order to prevent them from overwhelming the church.

Two renderings of the project clearly demonstrated the effects pursued by the team of designers (fig.23, 24). In the bird-eye view, the church appears encased by the nearby building blocks whose forms were shaped to fit the setting. In the other rendering, the church stands on a plateau flanked by groups of tall Brazilian palm trees, which were intentionally depicted to enhance its grandeur, making the rigorous classical lines of the façade expand into the site. The façades of nearby buildings were portrayed as blank and anonymous masses providing a theatrical setting. The entire space is governed by the rules of perspective and every plane or surface is flattened to enhance the effect of the Church. The Church façade assumed a new role, rediscovered as an independent object and an instrument of rhetoric. Even from the farthest point of the Avenue, the Church ends the perspective, but it was not only made to be admired as a fixed space, but to be appreciated from a moving vehicle. As Carl Schorske noted in the case of Vienna's Ringstrasse, the perspective of the Baroque was updated with a more dynamic dimension of perceiving space by the rapid circular movement around it.

The built ensemble reproduced entirely the sensations expressed by these renderings. The free standing Church reorganized the surroundings, making each neighboring building to form a background, providing theatricality and leading the eye to center on the church façade. They form repetitive and uniform patterns, almost emulating the openings, pediments, niches, and columns of the church. The buildings on the northern side were more anonymously inserted in the fabric. On the south side, the time-span to erect the buildings led to different responses, with buildings representing their different decades. This preoccupation with the creation of settings in the midst of the avenue was also present in the remodeling of Republica Square.

The Avenue clearly expressed the intention of the regime to exalt its power, exposing a conflict between technical and rational discourse and monumental and symbolic aspirations. Although the authors constantly affirmed that the only aspect taken into account was a rational traffic system, it is impossible to dissociate this intervention from aesthetic intentions. The creation of scenery for the regime was the main objective. Any reasonable appreciation of the enterprise would reveal its inadequacies for Rio de Janeiro, but these aspects were forgotten in face of the possibilities of creating scenic spaces. A close look between the lines of the documentation available reveal these intentions. The model first exhibited in 1938, rapidly convinced Vargas, as Oliveira Reis later confessed: “Visiting the inauguration of the Exhibition, President Vargas was impressed by the model of the Avenue. Smiling, he glanced at Dodsworth and Passos and just exclaimed: ‘Let’s make it!’³⁴

Only an authoritarian government could make these reforms, since “..there were not politicians to disturb us and people knew that we were making the best for them”³⁵ Critiques of the enterprise were silenced, protests of those expropriated were barely publicized, and few professionals risked expressing their opinions if not favorable to the venture. The personal involvement of Vargas was crucial for the silencing of the opposition.³⁶ Critiques, however, started to emerge during 1945, when Vargas’s position was becoming fragile. When he, Dodsworth, and Passos were leaving office and the political climate was being softened, Adalberto Szilard harshly criticized Vargas and Dodsworth as megalomaniacs for creating a monumental avenue to which there were not enough vehicles or buildings to fill it up, leaving exposed immense surfaces of concrete without any use except for heating up the city.³⁷ The disturbing vastness of the space, depicted in the first photos after the construction, did not disappear in a few years. Photos of the avenue, even in the 1950s and early 1960s showed it was used as a huge parking lot.

The President Vargas Avenue was inaugurated on September 7 1944, the holiday when Brazilian Independence is commemorated. The Avenue was completed in the short period of three years and became the most perfect setting for Vargas. Although most of the buildings were offices for private business and state institutes, the avenue had a more powerful ceremonial character than the Castello District. While the Castello, albeit holding ministerial headquarters, reconciled different interests and was more integrated into the city, the President Vargas Avenue, became the uttermost locus of power. Vargas attempted to symbolize the advent of a New Brazil and mark the *Estado Novo* as a crucial milestone. His

³⁴ Oliveira Reis, *O Rio de Janeiro e seus prefeitos*, 111. Interview from Jose de Oliveira Reis to Lucia Silva in May 13 1992, Quoted in Lucia Silva, *O Rio de Janeiro e a reforma urbana*, 48.

³⁵ José de Oliveira Reis, Interview in July 7 1992, in Lúcia Silva, *Engenheiros, arquitetos*, 142.

³⁶ As Oliveira Reis confessed: “The pressure on Dodsworth was tough, but with the support of the President these obstacles were removed and the conclusion guaranteed.”Oliveira Reis, *O Rio de Janeiro e seus prefeitos*, 111.

³⁷ Adalberto Szilard, *Urbanismo no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: O Constructor, 1950), 65-67.

ambitions, however, were short-lived. In the following year he was forced to resign and the country returned to democracy.

Conclusions

The modernization of a city is characterized not only by the introduction of new networks of traffic and services, but also by the insertion of new urban elements such as buildings, streets, and squares into the existing urban fabric. In the case of Rio de Janeiro, these new elements were imposed on urban fabric, sometimes disrupting it and at times compromising with it. In any case, they were later digested and assimilated into the urban fabric and the city's daily life. What is interesting in Rio's case is the role of the building codes which attempted to govern this weaving of urban elements, directing these dynamic forces and the desires of patrons, bureaucrats, and architects towards the creation of a city. Although buildings were designed by individual architects, the sense of the 'whole' was given by the CPC. In sum, the study of Castello Esplanade and the Presidente Vargas Avenue were unique opportunities to understand the complex making of a modern city.

The building of a modern city is a complex mosaic in which actors interacted, conflicts took place, and different interests were reconciled. The construction of modern Rio exposed multiple levels of mediation and negotiation among different world views, professions (architects, engineers, urbanists), and levels of power (federal and local). The interpretation that totalitarian regimes simply favored classical buildings cannot be sustained in the Rio case. Accordingly, the idea that Brazil, promoting modern architecture exclusively, was an exception in the world totalitarian ambience of the 1930s and 1940s, should be reevaluated.

Dodsworth's reforms materialize the Vargas' *Estado Novo* ideal for the city. The passage of Brazil into modernity was represented in architectural and urban forms. Deeming that social order could be shaped by spatial order, urbanists redesigned the center of Rio, laying new avenues and buildings and creating new urban settings to enforce values, such as discipline and efficiency. These urbanists clearly drew on Agache's ideas, including the galleries, buildings patterns, and features of his plans. However, Agache's ideas were reinterpreted in a particular way, in which only features of his plan were implemented. The transformation of Rio de Janeiro, however, relied much more on fragmentary images of a supposed modern city than on the modernization of the actual city with its networks of infrastructure, social rights, and services. Blueprints for the city summarized the major aspirations of the elite, symbolizing the passage from a rural and archaic country to one that is modern and cosmopolitan. Settings for modernity were easier to create than modernity itself.

Modern Urbanism, Rio de Janeiro, Nation-Building

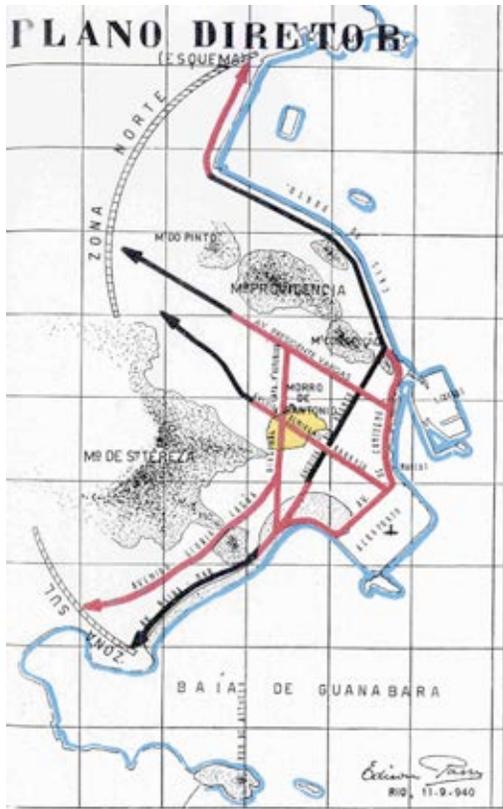


Fig 5 Comissão do Plano da Cidade (CPC), General Plan of Improvements
Revista Municipal de Engenharia RME (September, 1939)



Fig 6 Lot Advertisement, Castello District
O Paiz, 17 November 1929.

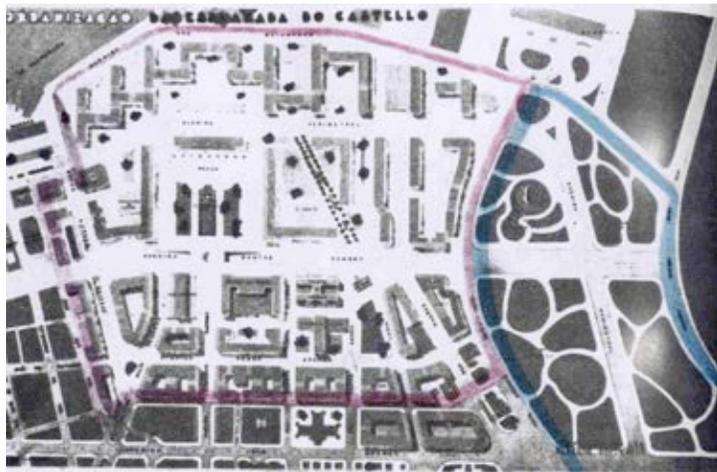


Fig 7 CPC, Castello District Plan, Plan by Oliveira Reis, 1939
RME, jul 1941, p.250

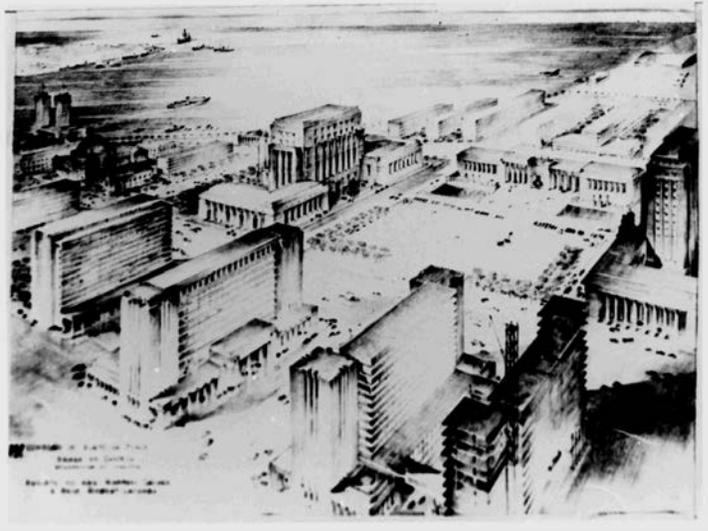


Fig 8. CPC, Perspective Castelo Square (1939)
General Archive of the City of Rio de Janeiro Photo R4166



Fig 9. CPC, Castelo Urbanization, (by Oliveira Reis),
General Archive of the City of Rio de Janeiro, Project 3340
 Blocks C and D



Fig 10. CPC, Castelo Urbanization, (Oliveira Reis)
Ibdi., Project 3414
 Blocks I and Z



Fig. 11. Nilomex building
 RME (Jan, 1936)



Fig 12. Andorinha Building (Almte Barroso Avenue)
 RME (Jan 1939) p.16



fig 13 Block in the Castelo District
General Archive of Rio de Janeiro, Photo 1616/02



Fig 14. Nilo Peçanha Avenue, Galleries
Photo Author



Fig 15. Castelo Esplanade (panoramic)
General Archive of the City of Rio de Janeiro, Photos 729/22 and 729/06

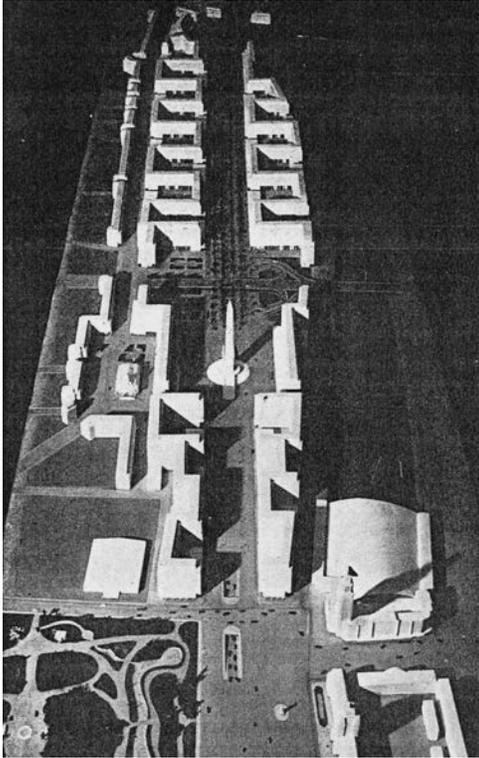


Fig 16 CPC, Presidente Vargas Avenue, Model, *RME (January 1943), p.17*



Fig 17 CPC, Presidente Vargas Avenue, Model, *General Archive of the City of Rio de Janeiro, Photo NV 145*

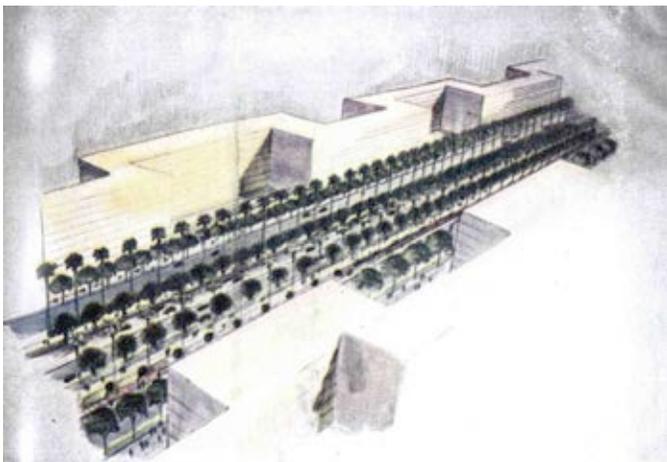


Fig 18. CPC, Presidente Vargas Avenue, Section 1 *RME (July, 1941) p.259*



Fig 19. Photo, blocks to be demolished *RME (November, 1938), p.28*

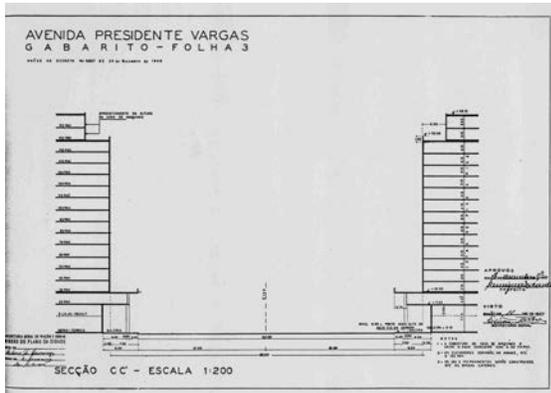


Fig 20. CPC, Building codes for the Presidente Vargas Av. *RME (November, 1941) p.325*



Fig 21. Rio de Janeiro, Aerial view with the Presidente Vargas Av
General Archive of Rio de Janeiro, Photo R127/24



Fig 22. Rio de Janeiro, Pedestrians wandering at recently inaugurated Avenue
General Archive of the City of Rio de Janeiro, Photo R127/12

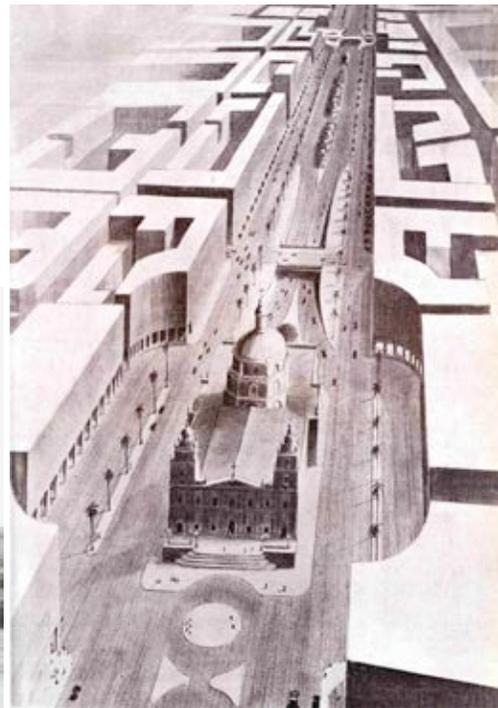


Fig 23 Perspective of the new arrangement the for the Candelária Church and the Avenue
RME, (November, 1938) p.29



Fig 24. Perspective Candelária Church and the new arrangement
RME, (July, 1941), p.263

Seeking Standard for Public Park in Middling and Small Cities in Hot-summer and Cold-winter Zone

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A comprehensive concept of green system was advanced in urban planning in China during the period of the “First Five-year Program” (1953~1958). Accompanying with the cities evolvement and construction, many parks and open spaces were built. The urban green system was popularized in all cities’ planning in 1990’s. After entering the 21st century, the *Standard for Classification of Urban Green Space* (CJJ/T85-2002) and new target about the green space were drawn up. A *Notice about Strengthening the Construction of Urban Green Space* from the State Council pointed out that the public park per capitation should be reached 10m² at the end of the year 2010.

Although these works has guided well for most metropolises, especially for the new districts in them, they hasn’t directed well for the middling and small cities whose population were under 500,000, especially for the cities in hot-summer and cold-winter zone. The effect not only has not achieved the level which was expected, hut also, to a degree, brought unexpectedly some negative influences. The green land in urban planning, for instance, always didn’t carry out, and the construction fund was always limited. And there is a lot of other problems such as the low quality of design

and construction, the unitary of plant's variety, and the problems of inconvenience, maintenance and management and so on. Many public park were occupied by some temporary markets, some were even reduced to rubbish heaps.

We have to think: does the active standard of urban green space system fit for all kinds of cities? Have the middling and small cities in hot-summer and cold-winter zone any different requirements from the bigger cities?



Figure 1: The Hot-summer and Cold-winter Zone in China

We know that Chinese territory covers from two degree to fifty two degree north latitude. According to the *Code of Thermal Performance Design in Architecture* (JGJ24-86), China is divided into four thermal performance design zones. They are severe cold zone, Frigid zone, warming zone and blazing zone. While there exists a large area called hot-summer and cold-winter zone where its monthly average temperature in the most hot month is higher than 28°C and in the most cold month is between 0°C and -10°C(as Figure 1). The Figure 1 shows that the area of the hot-summer and cold-winter zone in China constitutes about half of the Chinese land area. It is the most active zone of China both in agriculture and industry. And there are more than 85% cities and population located and lived there. Therefore, establishing a suitable urban green space standard for them can not only bring efficiently into play the function of the green space, but also save enormous land resource.

1. Analysis of the function of green space system in middling and small cities in hot-summer and cold-winter zone

Different from bigger cities, the middling and small cities in hot-summer and cold-winter zone have their own characters. Firstly, they have less population. The population is normally between 200,000 and 500,000 in middling cities, and less than 200,000 in small cities. Secondly, except the sea-coast areas, the economies of the cities located inland don't develop yet. Their governments can't invest a large sum of money to construct and maintain high quality level public parks. Thirdly, the cities themselves normally cover less land than the bigger cities. The radiuses of them are about from 2.5km to 5.0km. it is much more closer than the bigger cities to get reach the edges from the centers. When there is a good city form and road system, wind can easily blow through out the whole city, and the hot-island effect can't form. Lastly, as one of the functions, it is necessary for the urban green space system to consider the ventilation and reducing temperature in summer and prevent cold wind and keep warm in winter.

Therefore, it is necessary to understand how the urban green space system works in city.

Actually, as one part of natural environment, urban green space system has been playing more and more important role in preserving the ecological balance, improving the living quality, raising the capacity of self-purification, protecting the biological diversity, reducing the hot-island effect, and cultural, historical, educational and other social functions and so on (Sheng-quan Che, 2003,pp4~5).

A recent research shows that one hectare of woods each day can evaporate 1800t of moisture content, absorb 18.9×10^8 J of thermal, breath 1005kg of carbonic dioxide and release 735kg of oxygen, and also draws more than 300t of dusts per year, and secretes 30kg of bactericide (Xinhua daily, 2001).

However, the suitable range of the research is open to doubt. First, does the "one hectare of woods" in the research located in city or in natural environment? Has it comprehensive composition (mixed with arbors, shrubs and herbaceous plants) or single composition? This is because woods could work efficiently only when they are in comprehensive composition and in nature. Next, because of the active accumulative temperature^[1] in each climate zone is quite different; the productivity of the plants in different zones is corresponding different whatever in time or in quality. Moreover, the capacity of drawing dusts is closely related with climate. Even if the compositions of the woods are same, the capacity of drawing dusts is obviously stronger for the woods in rainy areas than one in windy areas. It is mostly because that instead the dusts drawn by the leaves could be rushed away by rain in rainy areas, the dusts drawn by the leaves in windy areas could be blown again, and forms second-hand dusts in the air. Thus fuels the dusts content of the air. And in arid areas, the longer the dusts stayed on leaves, the less the plants work. For the dusts on the leaves can block the tiny holes through which the plants breath. It'll endanger the plants' life when this phenomenon turns serious. While the hot-summer and cold-winter zone shown in Figure 1 includes both rainy and windy areas.

Another report goes,"generally speaking, each person in city should at least need 10m² of woods or 25m² of grassland to maintain the balance of oxygen and carbonic dioxide and keep air fresh."(Sheng-quan Che, 2003. p.4). By the end of 1999,

however, the area of the public park per capita in built districts in China is 6.52m^2 , and the area is going to 7.38m^2 till the end of 2004 (The State Static Bureau, 2000 and 2005 Yearbooks). The growing in quantity is less than $1\text{m}^2(0.86\text{m}^2)$ in five years. According to this pace, we have hard works to go to get reach the target of 10m^2 of the public park per capita by the end of the year 2010. On the other hand, because of various limit, trees in city can hardly be formed as a comprehensive composition. It impairs the capacity of maintaining the balance of oxygen and carbonic dioxide. In other words, it needs more green space to do it. This is more difficult to the middling or small city.

The public park, however, is actually existed in wider range than it was when we inspect the classification of urban green space system. According to the *Standard for Classification of Urban Green Space* (CJJ/85-2002), the urban green space is divided into “Public Park, Nursery, Green Buffer, Attached Green Space and Other Green Space”. And :

The “Public Park” refers to those green spaces which open to the public, supply some kinds of recreations and have ecological function and prettify the city and avoid disasters. It includes comprehensive parks, parks in residential districts, and parks for children, zoos, botanical gardens, historical site gardens, scenic spots, belt gardens, and open spaces beside streets (petty street gardens).

The “Nursery” here refers to the green spaces which have the functions of public healthy, isolation and public safety guard. It includes public healthy green belts, green isolators along roads and railways, green corridors along high voltage electricity corridors, wind barriers, and the green spaces between city clusters.

The “Other Green Space” refers to the green spaces which can influence directly the quality of city ecological environment, city landscape and the diversity of living beings. It includes scenic areas, the sources of water protective areas, parks in suburban, forest parks, natural protective zones, scenic woods, wild animals and plants gardens, wet lands and woods planted in the areas where buried rubbish before.

The above three kinds of green spaces have one same property. That is “public”. The differences among them are the position they located in city and the function determined by the planners and designers. With the city development, many “other green spaces” located in the edges of cities are gradually surrounded by city clusters, and their property changes from “Other Green Space” into “Public Park”. Donghu Lake scenic area, for instance, has changed into the public park in Wuhan. So has Xihu Lake scenic area in Hangzhou. In other words, the common property of those three kinds of green spaces makes it possible that the “Nursery” and the “Other Green Space” can change into the “Public Park”. Actually, some of them, such as public healthy green belts, wind barriers, the green spaces between city clusters, wet lands, and so on, work as public park already in many middling and small cities. Therefore, it might be sagacious and actual that the governments of these cities are asked to manage and control the “Nursery” and the “Other Green Space” well, instead of being required to get reach the target of 10m^2 of the public park per capita, especially when the cities grow bigger in future than they are now. Table 1 shows that the amount of the middling and small cities is reducing sharply, while the amount of

bigger cities whose population is between 500,000 and a million is increasing rapidly. It confirms the importance of the green spaces located in the edges of these cities.

Table 1: The Trend of City Development in Recent Ten Years

Year	Total	More than 4 million	Between 2 and 4 million	Between 1 and 2million	Between 0.5 and 1million	Between 0.2 and 0.5million	Less than 200,000
2004	660	11	22	141	274	172	40
2003	660	10	23	138	279	171	39
2002	662	8	17	141	279	180	37
2001	663	13		27	53	218	352
2000	667	13		24	49	216	365
1999	668	13		24	48	205	378
1998	668	12		22	47	205	382
1997	666	11		23	44	195	393
1996	640	10		22	43	192	373

Source: <http://www.cin.gov.cn/statis/city> (Retrieved August 10, 2006)。

2. The structure analysis of the green space

In order to measure whether the layout of the green space in city is good or not, it is necessary to analyze its structure, diversity index and dominance index.

From the view of structure “Other Green Space” takes the dominate position in the green space in the middling and small cities (Table 2, Figure 2). It takes almost half of the total green space, while the smallest part is the “Public Park” when the “Nursery”, which supplies the young plants for the city only, doesn’t take into account. It clearly shows that it is the “Other Green Space” that plays an important role in cities.

Table 2: The Composition Analysis of Green Space of Ten Cities

Name of City		Area of Built District	Public Park	Attached Green Space	Green Buffer	Nursery	Other Green Space
Zhijiang	area	11.9	250.0	1200.0	36.0	132.0	1820.0
	ratio		7.4	34.9	1.0	3.8	52.9
Songzi	area	17.6	28.0	2112.6	40.7	195.2	2350.0
	ratio		0.6	44.7	0.9	4.1	49.7
Dangyang	area	10.3	92.4	1236.5	20.2	95.4	1505.0
	ratio		3.1	41.9	0.7	3.2	51.1
Laohekou	area	13.0	37.8	1560.6	30.3	165.7	1763.0
	ratio		1.1	43.9	0.9	4.6	49.5
Yidu	area	12.6	158.0	1512.3	25.0	172.5	1723.0
	ratio		4.4	42.1	0.7	4.8	48.0

Xiantao	area	23.8	264.5	2856.7	60.4	302.3	3351.0
	ratio		3.9	41.8	0.9	4.4	49.0
Qianjiang	area	42.0	48.6	4200.3	80.8	565.2	6543.0
	ratio		0.5	36.7	0.7	4.9	57.2
Shishou	area	13.4	34.8	1312.0	25.6	176.2	2146.0
	ratio		0.9	35.5	0.7	4.8	58.1
Guangshui	area	13.8	92.0	1656.0	27.8	132.5	1863.6
	ratio		2.4	43.9	0.7	3.5	49.5
Honghu	area	16.0	73.8	1764.5	35.0	156.3	2264.0
	ratio		1.8	41.1	0.8	3.6	52.7

Note: The unit of built district is km^2 . The unit of others is hectare.
The unit of ratio is %.

Source from: The Yearbooks of Hubei Urban Construction.

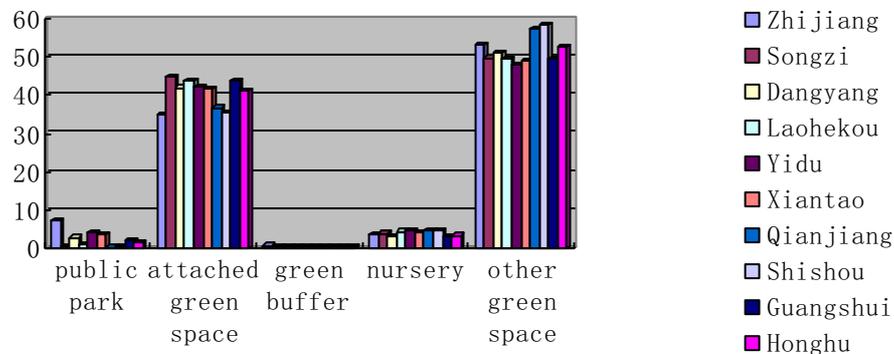


Figure 2: The Composition Analysis of Green Space of Ten Cities

The diversity index of public park refers to the diversity of change of public park in structure, function and time. It reveals the complex degree of public park (Mao-song Liu, 2004, pp64~65). The method about indeterminacy of informatics is employed to measure the diversity of public park. It'll tell that the more abundant the elements contained in public park, the higher the indeterminacy of the information, and the higher the diversity index. The diversity index of public park is calculated by using the formula of Shannon-Weaver:

$$H = - \sum_{i=1}^n p_i \log_2 p_i$$

In the formula, “H” means the diversity index of public park (the unit is bit). “P_i” stands for the result of the area of number i division the area of the total public park. “n” means the total amount of all kinds of the public park.

The larger the diversity index, the higher the diversity. The diversity index shown in the Table 3 tells that only 20% of the research cities approach the maximum diversity index, which means that they have nearly complete types of public parks, while the others do not have and the layout are not dispersed proportionate.

Table 3: The Diversity and Dominance Analysis of the Ten Cities

Name of city	Diversity index	H_{\max}	Dominance index A	Public park per capitiation	Dominance index B
Zhijiang	1.4	1.9	1.2	9.3	0.5
Songzi	0.4	0.9	1.8	1.1	0.5
Dangyang	1.2	1.6	1.1	8.1	0.4
Laohekou	0.5	1.2	1.7	2.6	0.7
Yidu	2.1	2.3	0.6	11.3	0.2
Xiantao	1.8	2.0	0.7	10.2	0.2
Qianjiang	0.3	0.7	1.9	1.0	0.3
Shishou	0.7	1.0	1.8	0.3	2.3
Guangshui	1.1	1.6	1.0	6.5	0.5
Honghu	0.9	1.5	1.6	4.2	0.5

Note: The “Dominance index A” refers to the degree of the urban green space dominated by one or some kinds green space. The “Dominance index B” refers to the degree of the public park dominated by one or some kinds types of public park. The unit of the public park per capitiation is “m²”.

And the dominance index of green space is employed to measure the degree of the urban green space dominated by one or some kinds green spaces. The formula is as below:

$$D = H_{\max} + \sum_{i=1}^n P_i \log_2 P_i$$

$$H_{\max} = \log_2 n$$

“D” stands for the dominance index; “Pi” and “i” are the same as above. “H_{max}” refers to the maximum diversity index when each part of the green spaces is equal. When the value of “D” is equal to zero, it means the green spaces are distributed proportionate. The larger the value of “D”, the higher the dominance of this kind of green space. The “Dominance Index A” in the Table 3 shows that the amount of the dominance index of the green space in the cities, except the cities of Yidu and Xiantao, is more than 1.0. This means the green systems in those cities are dominated by one kind of green space. The areas and the distribution of the types of the green space are not proportion. The “Dominance index B” tells that there isn’t any kids of green types take the dominant position in Public Park. This means that the difference among each type in Public Park is relatively the lowest. In other words, it is not a sensible attitude to construct large comprehensive parks in middling and small cities.

3. Analysis of the green corridor

Generally speaking, the green systems in middling and small cities are mainly composed of green patch and green corridor.

Corridor refers to the narrow belt which different from the quality of the two outsides. Green corridors can not only separate the green spaces, but also connect

them. This dual but opposite character confirms that they play an important role in landscape (Forman R T T, 1983, pp375~378).

The main function of green corridors in city is ecological homeostasis. They not only form the natural part in city, but protect the diversity of living beings and supply the channels for the migration of animals and plants, and for the exchange of energy and air between urban and suburban.

According to the differences of the structure and function of the green corridors in the cities, the green corridors in this paper are classified as green belt, green road-side corridor and green river-side corridor.

The green belt is composed of natural and steady plants groups. It normally located the edge of a city and between the city clusters. The main function of it is isolation; meanwhile it can control the city form and stop its spreading. The structural width is uncertainly from hundreds of meters to several kilometers.

The green road-side corridor has two kinds of types: green boulevard separated from the motor road and green ribbons beside the two sides of the road. The charming landscapes always come from the former, while the later always becomes channels for migration of animals and plants. The green road-side corridors are the main part of the green corridor in city where there is no river system.

The green river-side corridor includes river, shoal, bank and the river-side lands. It is the very important base for maintaining and establishing the diversity of living beings in city. And at the same time, the exquisite landscape formed from the natural meandering banks is one of important methods to create landscape in city (Sheng-quan Che, 2003, p40).

Both of the green road-side corridor and green river-side corridor have the special function in reducing hot-island effect. When they are arranged at the direction of the main wind in summer, they can not only cool the city by evaporation, but lead the fresh cool air outside of the city into the inside.

A research tells that the relationship between the width of corridor and the living beings diversity approaches zero when the corridor is between 3 and 12 meters in width. When the width is wider than 12 meters, the diversity of herbaceous plants is two times than narrower ribbon (Juan Antonio, 1995, pp247~266). And when the width of the green river-side corridor is equal to 30 meters, the protection on ecological system from the plants on the banks is positive, and it can reduce efficiently the temperature at the range of 5 °C to 10 °C (Budd W W, 1987,pp587~597).

4. Imitative analysis

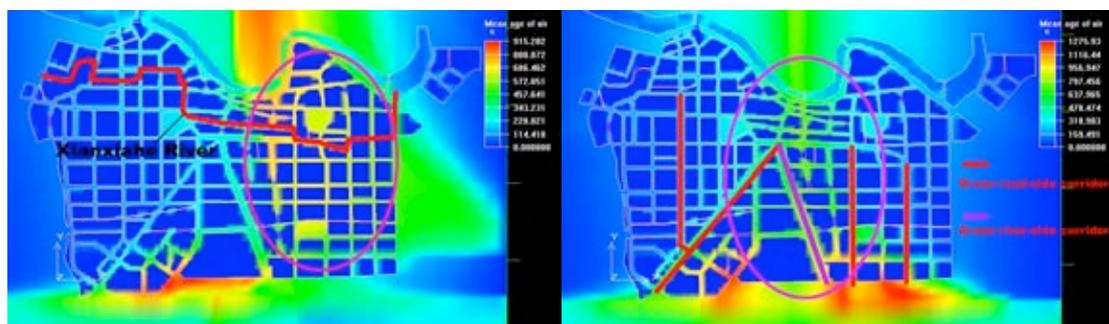
This paper has analyzed ten cities by imitation using the software of AirPAK. Here one of the ten cities is selected as an example to introduce the result.

The Honghu city, which is one of above mentioned ten cities, is located in Hubei province. She is settled down on the south bank of the Hanjiang River with 112°56' east altitude and 30°04' north latitude. A river named Xianxiahe passes the city from west through east. The area of built district is 30km², and the population in it is 330,000. Her climate belongs to sub-tropics. She has four seasons a year. The highest

temperature in history is 38.8°C, and the lowest is -14.2°C. The main direction of wind in summer is southwest, and its frequency is 60%. The year average velocity of wind in summer is southwest, and its frequency is 60%. The year average velocity of the wind is 2.7m/s. The year average hour of sunshine is 1688.1h (Wuhan Urban Construction University, *Urban Green Space Planning for Xiantao*, 1998).

The imitating figures are shown as below. The left column figures show the result of the city when it is in present situation, the right column figures show it when the city were changed in four main roads and one water channel.

Figure 3 shows the mean age of air of the built district. It refers to average time which the air stays in the city. It reveals the fresh degree of the air in different districts. The higher the value, the worse the fresh degree of the air. The mean age of air is higher around the city center in the Figure 3-a, while it is much lower here in the Figure 3-b. It indicates that the reform is positive.



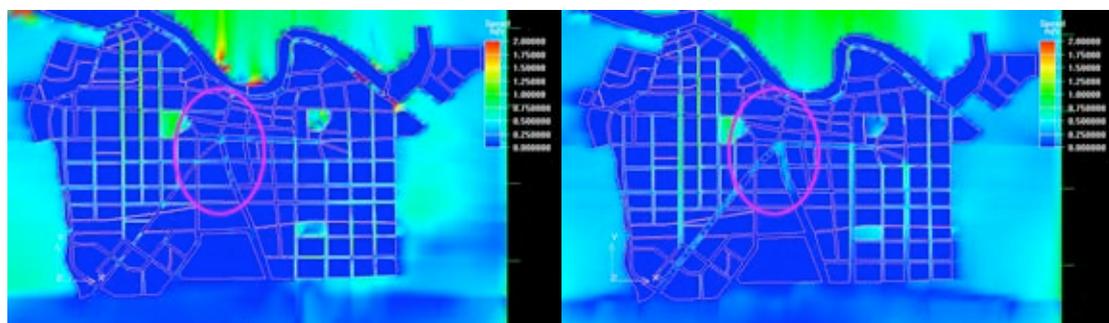
(a) Present

(b) After reform

Figure 3 the Imitation on the Mean Age of Air for Xiantao

Figure 4 imitates the velocity of the wind at different sections. Three sections are selected in this paper. One of them is at the place of 1.5m high which people can feel in this level. Second section is at the place of 10m high which is the layer of crow of trees. And the third is at the place of 20m high which is because there is a few buildings more than 24m high in the middling and small cities.

The Figure 4 shows the differences when it is in present and were in reformed. There is not any wind in the city center in Figure 4(a), while there is in Figure 4(b).



(a) Present (1.5m section)

(b) After reform (1.5m section)

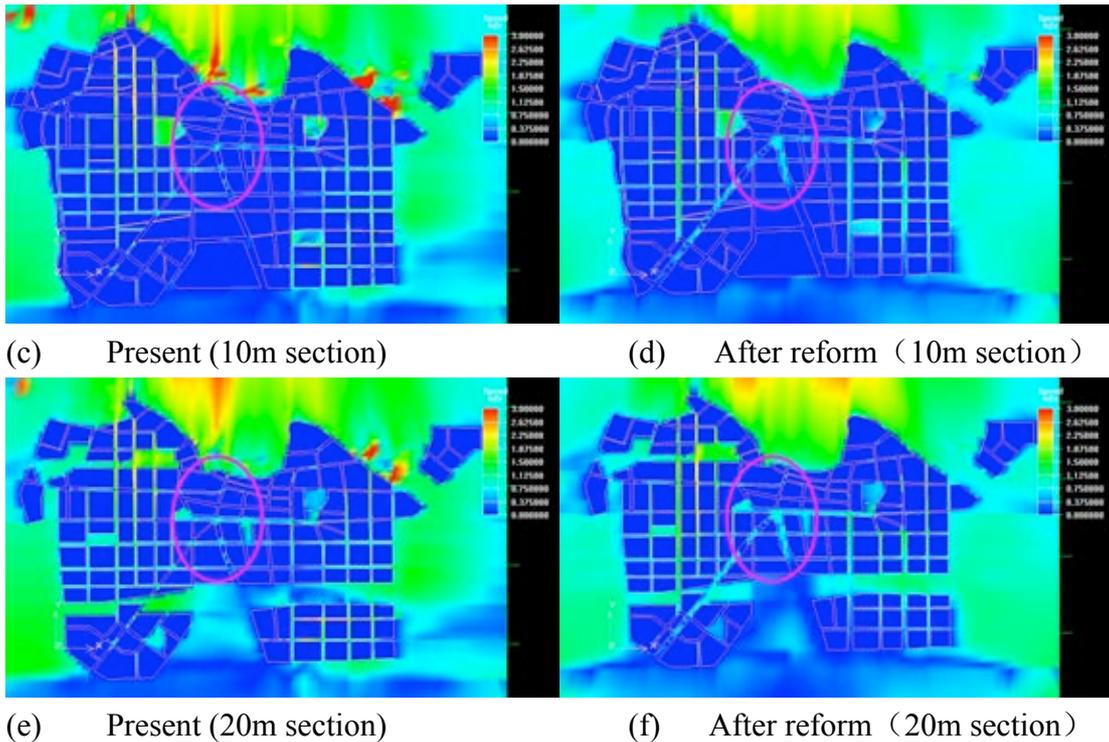


Figure 4 the Imitation on Velocity for Xiantao

The Figure 4(c) and (d) show the same result as Figure 4(a) and (b). This is because the green corridors in the city are the channels for wind to blow into the city center. The green corridors work again at the section of 20 meters shown as the Figure 4(e) and (f). This confirms the reform is success.

Figure 5 shows the radiant temperature of the city in summer. When the color of district turns from blue through green to red, it indicates that the radiant temperature turns correspondingly from low through middle to high. The difference is obvious in following two figures. The amount of red district in the Figure 5(a) is much more than in the Figure 5(b). This testifies the reform is success again.

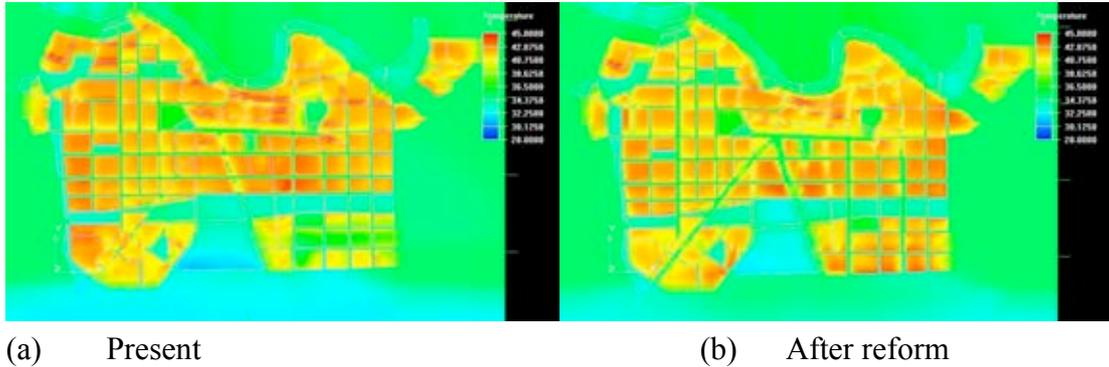


Figure 5 the Imitation on Radiant Temperature in summer for Xiantao

The imitation tells that it is obvious that the patches in the city do not work as it is expected in middling and small cities in hot-summer and cold-winter zone. The green corridors are more efficient than patches.

5. Analysis on trees

A serious problem has been found in all of the research ten cities after investigation the trees planted in cities. The basic trees are startlingly the same, though each city located in different environment. The main trees are: *Magnolia grandiflora* L., *Cinnamomum camphora* Sieb., *Osmanthus fragrans* Lour., *Cupressus funebris* Endl., *Ginkgo biloba* L., *Liriodendron chinense* Sarg., *Albizia julibrissin* Durazz., *Koelreuteria paniculate* Laxm., *Melia azedarach* L., *Prunus cerasifera* Ehrh., *Ulmus pumila* L., *Liquidambar formosana* Hance., *Loropetalum chinense* Oliv., *Ligustrum quihoui* Carr., *Magnolia figo* Spreng., *Bambusa multiplex* Raeusch.

This trend is very dangerous, because:

Firstly, the city characters will loss partly or even completely. On one hand, people can recall the place he has ever been when he see some kinds of trees. For instance, an image of south sea beach will emerge in one's mind when he sees a coconut palm tree. On the other hand, in every country, especial in China, the plants are imported such a lot of people's feelings that they are not plants only. Bamboo, for example, is employed to imply the modest and integrity of scholar and the lotus flower implies the noble moral character, pine implies the spirit of persistent and dauntless and so on. It is popular that a big historical tree is considered as a deity in folkway.

Secondly, the original trees adapt themselves to circumstance after natural selected for thousands of years. The unoriginal trees don't work so good for a long term, even though they might be good in beginning.

Thirdly, it is not deliberately exaggerate so as to create a sensation that the trees might lead the degeneration of the original trees and even the ecological disasters.

Lastly, depending excessively on a few kinds of trees in urban greening is dangerous and unwise. "The plants would become resistant-less to diseases when the circumstance changed. ... A few stylish trees which grow rapidly without any thorns and fruits were selected according to people's prejudice and reasonless love or taboos for urban planting. It causes the result that a few kids of trees were widely planted. This weakens the steady of the plants groups." (Xian-de Lin, 2004, pp25~26).

6. Conclusion

Although there are many inadequacies in this research such as the cities, which all are located in Hubei province only, and the software, which mostly used in architecture, the conclusion can be drawn out as follows.

Green space is part of city and its landscape. The public park shows directly the quality of construction and living to a city. The standard of the public park for middling and small cities in hot-summer and cold-winter zone should embody the characters of each city. The green corridors and petty street gardens should be built as much as possible instead of building some large parks. Most of them are convenient, lower cost, easier management than large parks.

Green belt and green road-side corridor should be wider than 12 meters; the width of green river-side corridor should be at least 30 meters when the width of the river itself does not be taken into account. The corridors should be arranged at the

direction of the main wind in summer. The net should be formed among the corridors and patches.

The green space outside of the city should be kept in natural or agricultural states. When the city grows, new districts should be built outside of the city, and a green belt should be reserved between them. The width of these green belts should be at least 1200 meters because the corridor whose width is less than 1200 meters has no any real life-support system in it (Csuti C, 1989, pp1~7). This green belt will be the base of tomorrow's public park of new city.

Original trees in middling and small cities in hot-summer and cold-winter zone should be selected from native plants for city planting. The range of basic trees should be widely, not focus on a few kinds.

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NOTE

[1] Active Accumulative Temperature refers to the total of all kinds of active temperatures which the plants need when they are growing. The active temperature is equal to or higher than the average the day temperature of the lowest biological temperature. Generally speaking, the minimum biological temperature of plants is equal to 5 degree centigrade (Beijing Forestry University, 1981, p36).

**Title of paper: URBAN ABORIGINAL AUSTRALIAN HERITAGE:
INTERNATIONAL CONCERNS AND NATIONAL APPROACHES**

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Introduction

This paper explores current global trends in heritage practices regarding urban indigenous heritage, with a focus on settler societies, namely Australia. Urban indigenous heritage includes heritage sites, buildings and components of the built environment of cities that are of significance to Aboriginal peoples. The paper focuses primarily on the dynamics of largely “white” European institutions of heritage practice, and the protocols adopted for indigenous heritage. The central argument is that while considerable changes have been effected in international awareness of indigenous heritage practices and policies, these developments have yet to be integrated more holistically by Australian heritage practice. Aboriginal heritage continues to be largely perceived as belonging to the distant, pre-colonial past, and as part of the natural landscape. Cities continue to be the stronghold of heritage rooted in colonial precepts and values.

The issues that surround indigenous heritage in settler societies need to be understood against a backdrop of colonisation and the impacts these have had on indigenous people, their culture and history. This forms the first section of this paper. The next section examines heritage as a Eurocentric institution that has promoted stereotypical images of indigenous heritage, with which will be demonstrated through the case of Australian heritage practices. The third section reflects upon recent international trends pertaining to indigenous heritage which have sought to move away from the Eurocentricism of heritage practice. The fourth section traces the impact of these trends on Australian heritage practice. The central concern here is that urban indigenous heritage continues to be a deeply contested idea in the midst of cities largely dominated by colonial heritage. A key conclusion of the paper is that heritage practice in Australia needs to move beyond its colonial legacy of associating the city with European heritage to become more inclusive of urban Aboriginal heritage.

Settling the ‘Other’s’ land: settlers and indigenous peoples

Colonies such as Australia, New Zealand and British North America were set up by European imperial powers with the idea of settlement and occupation. The occupation of these lands was justified on the basis of colonial ideologies promoted by early colonial philosophers and theorists. John Locke’s idea was that “those who did not cultivate the land had no rights to it”. John A. Roebuck’s definition of a colony was “a land without indigenous people whose inhabitant looked to England as the mother country”.¹ These ideas were underpinned by concepts of cultural and racial superiority and laid the foundations for a predominantly domination-based strategy of colonisation. Accordingly Australia was occupied from 1788 on the basis that it was *terra nullius*, an uninhabited land, which quite clearly sought to overlook Aboriginal presence and denied any claim to the lands.

Colonists sought to establish their cultural superiority by employing representations which depicted indigenous peoples and cultures as “primitive” as opposed to the colonizers who were “civilized”. This in turn justified colonisation and domination on the basis that the superior and civilized colonizers were obliged to rule the less fortunate primitive and indigenous peoples of settlement colonies.² These sentiments were echoed in the portrayals of indigenous histories. History was employed as a powerful instrument in the subjugation of

¹ Young, R.C. (2001), *Postcolonialism: An historical introduction*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, p.20

² Said, E. (1994), *Culture and Imperialism*, Vintage Books, New York

colonized people as it emphasised certain events in European history thereby marginalising other histories.³

In the case of Australian history, as noted by historian Henry Reynolds, there was a deliberate underwriting of Aboriginal Australian conflict and resistance to the colonial occupation.⁴ Reynolds argues that Aboriginal resistance to colonisation fails to find its way into historical archives because the intention was to portray the peaceful takeover of Australia.⁵ As a result, Aboriginal loss in terms of dispossession and loss of lives and culture has not been fully recognised. Historical representations of Aboriginal people have associated the “authentic” Aborigine with the bush, tribalism and pre-contact times, as opposed to the “detrivalised”, drunk, unemployed Aborigine in urban settings.⁶ The common perception of a rigid and ancient Aboriginal culture collapsing under the pressure of the European invasion has flowed through to latter-day representations of Aboriginal heritage.

Eurocentric concerns of heritage practice: the case of Aboriginal Australian heritage

The development of the idea of heritage, the changing meanings of heritage, and the socially constructed nature of heritage have attracted scholarly consideration and debate.⁷ Some of the issues surfacing in these debates are relevant to discussions of indigenous heritage. David C. Harvey’s argument that there is a need to focus on the development of heritage as an evolutionary *process* draws attention to the present-centeredness of heritage. His thesis suggests that heritage is produced in accordance with current demands and is therefore more about the perceptions and priorities of people at a certain time in history.⁸ In the case of indigenous heritage in settler societies, however, this present-centeredness is missing for two reasons. First, indigenous heritage is not about the perceptions and priorities of indigenous peoples but is decided in accordance with dominant and largely non-indigenous perceptions. Second, and more importantly, these dominant perceptions have tended to limit indigenous heritage to the distant past, by focusing on aspects of indigenous culture which existed prior to settlement and colonisation. The focus on past cultures is based on the problematic assumption that indigenous cultures which existed in pre-contact times were authentic compared to less worthy post-contact and more recent expressions of indigeneity.

In the case of Australia, most Aboriginal heritage sites acknowledged by national, state and local governments are limited to the pre-European or pre-contact time period. Melinda Hinkson in her study of Aboriginal heritage sites in Sydney notes that “pre-contact” sites such as stone engravings, shell middens, and rock shelters are relatively easy to find in and

³ Ashcroft, B. Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. (1995), *The Post-colonial Studies Reader*, Routledge, London

⁴ Reynolds, H. (1981). *The other side of the frontier: Aboriginal resistance to the European invasion of Australia*, Penguin Books, Australia

⁵ Reynolds, (1981)

⁶ Hamilton, A. (1990), ‘Fear and Desire: Aborigines, Asians, and the national imaginary’, *Australian Cultural History*, vol 9, pp.14-35; Langton, M. (1993), ‘Well I heard it on the Radio and I saw it on the Television...’, Australian Film Commission, Woolloomooloo, NSW; Reynolds, (1981)

⁷ For more detailed discussions on heritage and its socially constructed nature refer to Lowenthal. D. (2005), ‘Natural and Cultural Heritage’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*; Tunbridge J.E. and Ashworth, G. J. (1996), *Dissonant Heritage: The management of the past as a resource in conflict*; Graham, B., Ashworth, G.J. and Tunbridge, J.E. (2000), *A Geography of Heritage: Power, culture and economy*; Harvey, C. D. (2001), ‘Heritage Past and Presents: temporality, meaning and the scope of heritage studies’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*; Davison, G. (1991), ‘The meanings of heritage’, in *A Heritage Handbook*; McLean, G and Trapeznik, A. (2000), ‘Public History, Heritage and Place, in *Common Ground: Heritage and public places in New Zealand*

⁸ Harvey, C. D. (2001), ‘Heritage Past and Presents: temporality, meaning and the scope of heritage studies’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol, 7, pp.319-338

around Sydney. These sites are often marked on maps and signposted on the ground.⁹ By contrast, contact or post-contact sites including all sites marking encounters between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples are difficult to locate and “largely invisible; many receiving little if any public recognition”.¹⁰ The lack of attention paid to the heritage value of these sites is evidenced in the marked difference in the listing of pre-contact versus contact and post-contact sites. Hinkson established that only a few hundred of the 30,000 sites recorded in the New South Wales (NSW) National Parks and Wildlife Services Aboriginal Sites Register belong to the post-1788 period.¹¹

The continuing trend of perceiving and promoting Aboriginal pre-contact heritage versus more contemporary Aboriginal heritage sites is underpinned by principally dominant non-indigenous values:

Cultural heritage management in Australia and New Zealand has traditionally been dominated by a European, if not a middle-class British, view of what heritage should be kept and how it should be interpreted. Indigenous cultural heritage was long presented as representative of a past culture rather than part of a contemporary cultural tradition.¹²

This argument against a cultural stereotyping of indigenous heritage resonates with the understanding of heritage as a construct of modernity. As modernity reflects a rather Eurocentric perspective on the world, so too its dealings with heritage tend to the Eurocentric.¹³

This Eurocentricism has perhaps been most observable with the World Heritage List, which is supposed to showcase the diversity of heritage of different countries in the world. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, World Heritage Centre notes that a global study conducted by the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) from 1987 to 1993, revealed that World Heritage List had an overrepresentation of “Europe, historic towns and religious monuments, Christianity, historical periods and ‘elitist’ architecture” as compared to expressions of “living” or traditional cultures.¹⁴ This demonstrated that a European fixation with ancient monuments and pre-industrial heritage has dominated global perceptions of heritage.¹⁵ It more importantly revealed that indigenous cultures, such as Aboriginal cultures, which are living or traditional cultures have been underrepresented on the World Heritage List.¹⁶ The World Heritage Centre, which is responsible for listing, management and protection of all world heritages, in recognition of this rather unbalanced representation of world heritage, launched Global Strategy for a Balanced, Representative and Credible World Heritage List, in 1994.¹⁷ However, in a recent

⁹ Hinkson, M. 2003, ‘Encounters with Aboriginal sites in Metropolitan Sydney: A Broadening Horizon for Cultural Tourism’, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, vol 11, 295-306

¹⁰ Hinkson, (2003), 296

¹¹ Hinkson, (2003), 296

¹² Hall, M.C., Hamon, C. and McArthur, S. (1996), ‘European culture and the built environment: An Introduction’, in *Heritage Management in Australia and New Zealand: The Human Dimension*, Hall, M.C. and McArthur, S. (eds.), Oxford University Press, Melbourne

¹³ Graham, B., Ashworth, G.J. and Tunbridge, J.E. (2000), *A Geography of Heritage: Power, culture and economy*, Arnold, London

¹⁴ UNESCO. (2005), Global Strategy, UNESCO World Heritage Centre, viewed 15 October 2005, <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/globalstrategy/>>

¹⁵ Graham, B., Ashworth, G.J. and Tunbridge, J.E. (2000), *A Geography of Heritage: Power, culture and economy*, Arnold, London

¹⁶ UNESCO. (2005)

¹⁷ UNESCO. (2005)

study conducted by the ICOMOS between 2002 and 2004, on the status of the Global Strategy, it was reported that the situation remains much the same. Table 1 demonstrates that there is a continuing emphasis on built heritage categories – namely architectural monuments, historic towns and religious properties. Europe and North America collectively comprise of 54% of such sites on the World Heritage List and 55% on the Tentative List.

Table 1. Comparative analysis of World Heritage List and Tentative Lists by Category and Region

	Africa		Arab States		Asia/Pacific		Europe/N.Amer.		L.Amer. / Caribb.		Totals	
	WHL	TL	WHL	TL	WHL	TL	WHL	TL	WHL	TL	WHL	TL
Archaeological properties	8	46	29	66	44	84	61	116	29	40	111	351
Rock-art sites	2	11	3	0	10	12	9	12	2	9	26	44
Fossil hominid sites	3	2	0	0	2	0	9	1	0	0	14	3
Architectural monuments	8	9	23	6	67	59	197	113	46	36	341	223
Historic towns/urban ensembles	13	10	39	12	36	30	134	96	48	26	269	114
Vernacular architecture & settlements	8	6	6	0	5	7	32	18	6	1	57	32
Religious properties	6	12	14	9	61	59	131	76	22	17	234	173
Technological & agricultural properties	1	4	0	2	3	12	54	49	11	22	69	89
Military properties	4	12	9	12	11	9	56	55	7	6	81	94
Cultural landscapes	6	12	2	1	23	7	65	59	5	9	100	88
Cultural route	0	4	0	0	1	5	7	9	0	2	8	20
Burial sites	1	6	5	8	13	25	19	19	2	5	40	63
Symbolic properties	4	26	0	1	7	10	9	45	1	8	21	90
Modern heritage	0	1	0	0	0	0	12	27	3	6	15	34
Totals:	63	161	130	117	282	319	795	694	182	187		

(Source: ICOMOS, 2005, *The World Heritage List Filling the Gaps – An Action Plan for the Future*, *Reproduced as table in original document has spelling errors*)

Further instances of the Eurocentricism that permeates heritage practice, and which directly affects indigenous heritage, are evidenced in the rather confined definitions of different types of heritage widely used in practice. Of these different types, the two most commonly employed heritage definitions are “natural” and “cultural” (the latter including built heritage). According to the World Heritage Convention (WHC), natural heritage consists of physical or biological formations or natural sites which have either outstanding scientific or aesthetic value.¹⁸ Cultural heritage includes monumental works which have exceptional historic, artistic or scientific value, such as architecture, sculpture, painting, archaeological structures, inscriptions, and cave dwellings.¹⁹ There is deliberate demarcation between natural and cultural heritage on the basis that the former involves minimal human intrusion whereas the

¹⁸ UNESCO. 1972 (2005a), *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, UNESCO World Heritage Centre, viewed 20 September 2005, <<http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf>>

¹⁹ UNESCO. 1972 (2005a)

latter is the direct result of human activities and interactions. This distinction has been criticised as “somewhat artificial” on the basis that just as people’s associations with their cultural and built heritage is based on their cultural and social values, so too are people’s ideas of their natural heritage embedded in their community beliefs and perceptions of the natural environment.²⁰ In terms of indigenous heritage an overlap is often clearly identifiable. As C. Michael Hall and Simon McArthur state, indigenous notions of heritage emphasize “humankind is not separate from the landscape but is part of an indivisible whole”. Heritage is an “everyday lived experience”.²¹

Recognition that there are differences in European and indigenous perceptions of heritage is a rather recent phenomenon. The development of heritage practice in Australia has been marked by an emphasis on the built environment with sites of indigenous significance largely recognized as part of the natural environment. To understand and bring forth the inconsistencies in this still persistent approach to indigenous heritage in Australia, it is important to appreciate its imperialistic context. According to Graeme Davison, the effect of imperialism on Australian heritage practice was perhaps most apparent in the early days of Australia’s settlement when the first and second generation descendants of European settlers sought to “create a tangible communal past” through the “deliberate creation of obelisks, statues and monuments commemorating ... deeds of explorers, governors and military heroes”.²² Most of these statues and monuments “evidenced a strong regard for British imperialism”.²³ The reason that these early settlers sought to mark the landscape with memorials was because they regarded Australia as a country without any traces of “a tangible past”. Unlike European countries, the land did not bear the known and familiar signs of a “thousand years of human endeavour” with its modified landscapes of buildings, factories, parks, fields, canals.²⁴ The overarching Eurocentric emphasis on the built environment meant scant acknowledgement of the fact that Aboriginal peoples had inhabited the land for 400 centuries before European settlement. Davison argues that this was because the early heritage movement as a reflection of the dominant society “had not yet learned to read the land for signs of an ancestral past”.²⁵ We would argue that it was just not an inability to read the landscape but more a more ingrained sense of colonial superiority based on ideas that Aboriginal peoples and cultures were less civilised than European cultures which prompted the early overlooking of Aboriginal history and its subsequent marginalisation into relics set within natural settings.

Emergent interest in Aboriginal heritage was confined to pre-colonial heritage. This focus was also driven by the erroneous belief and gross historical misrepresentation that all Aboriginal people living in these areas had died, moved on or simply vanished. According to Byrne, “Aboriginal culture in the southeast was perceived by white settlers to be a faded, static memory of a once vibrant ‘traditional’ culture”.²⁶ He further observes that:

²⁰ Hall, M.C. and McArthur, S. (1993), ‘Heritage management: An Introductory framework’, in *Heritage Management in Australia and New Zealand: Visitor Management, Interpretation and Marketing*, Hall, M.C. and McArthur, S. (eds.), Oxford University Press, Auckland, p.4

²¹ Hall and McArthur, (1993), p.4

²² Davison, G. (1991), ‘A brief history of the Australian heritage movement’, in *A Heritage Handbook*, Davison, G. and McConville, C. (eds.), Allen and Unwin, NSW

²³ Freestone, R 1995, ‘From Icons to Institutions: heritage conservation in Sydney’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol 2, p. 80

²⁴ Davison, (1991), p.14

²⁵ Davison, (1991), p.14

²⁶ Byrne, D. (1996), ‘Deep nation: Australia’s acquisition of an indigenous past’, *Aboriginal History*, vol 20, p. 87

At the same time that various means were being used to decrease the visibility of living Aboriginal people in the landscape of the southeast various other means were being employed to enhance the visibility of the archaeological remains which, in a sense were replacing them there.²⁷

Byrne's argument alludes to the idea of "imperialist nostalgia", which has been defined by Renato Rosaldo as a sort of nostalgia, which is "often found under imperialism, where people mourn the passing of what they themselves have transformed".²⁸ According to Rosaldo, imperialist nostalgia gives way to ideologies that consider ideas of the "vanishing primitive" and "mourning the passing of traditional society". This is consistent with the ideas that surrounded the fate of Aboriginal people by the early settlers who in their moments of Social Darwinist thought relegated Aboriginal people to a "dying race".²⁹ Evidence of the imperialist nostalgia which permeated the early settlers' minds is today available in the form of extant paintings, etchings, and sketches attempting to capture the "vanishing primitive" in loincloth and spear carrying pose. These images of Aboriginal peoples were invariably set in "the bush" and crucially shaped the idea that Aboriginal heritage belonged to the natural environment.

During the early 1900s, the imperialist sense of heritage was replaced by the idea of "national heritage". The Federation of the former Australian colonies and their "involvement in imperial wars" brought a "heightened sense of nationalism".³⁰ According to Davison:

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as new nation-states fought for legitimacy, people began to speak of a 'national heritage' as that body of folkways and political ideas on which new regimes founded their sense of pride and legitimacy. Australians, who modelled themselves upon the new nations of Europe and America, thus created their own national myths based upon the 'pioneer heritage' or the 'heritage of Anzac'.³¹

The emphasis on pioneer and nation-forming wartime heritage continued into the post-World War Two period when Australia followed Europe and America into celebrating sites and buildings of "national or spiritual heritage".³² The emphasis on spiritual heritage did not extend to Aboriginal people's spiritual relationship with the land. Dominant Australian values were based upon history as a settler society which in itself was based upon colonialism and the exclusion of cultures lesser than itself.

The 1960s and 1970s were the turning point in terms of a wider recognition of Aboriginal heritage globally. Major changes to the idea of heritage were occurring. In 1970 UNESCO introduced categories of cultural, natural and built heritage and it was within the category of natural heritage that Aboriginal heritage first gained recognition. However this clubbing of Aboriginal heritage with conservation of the natural environment was hugely problematic because it reiterated earlier colonial stereotypes that Aboriginal peoples and culture were part of the natural environment. In addition, the emphasis placed on natural heritage did not necessarily work in favour of Aboriginal heritage. As noted by David Lowenthal, natural

²⁷ Byrne, (1996), p.84

²⁸ Rosaldo, R. (1989), 'Imperialist Nostalgia', *Representations, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory*, vol.26, p.108

²⁹ Rosaldo, (1989), p.108

³⁰ Freestone, (1995), p.80

³¹ Davison, (1991), p.1

³² Davison, (1991), p.1

heritage was a major driving force for new countries like the United States and Australia who attempted to “compensate for relatively recent human histories by celebrating their prehistoric natural heritage” and for these countries the antiquity of nature was more important than “prehistoric artefacts”. He argues that in the case of Australia this is evidenced in the fact that Australians “find roots in nature, not in aboriginal [sic] man [sic]”.³³ Celebration of natural heritage as a source of Australian identity sustained the colonising ideal according to which Aboriginal peoples and cultures were considered too ‘primitive’ and ‘uncivilised’ to draw upon in terms of the nation’s past.

Australia through national legislation, starting with the *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974* and the *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act 1984*, has sought to distinguish Aboriginal heritage as a separate type of heritage, and has attempted to move beyond “the protection of relics and archaeological sites” to include “any Aboriginal area or object which is of particular significance to Aboriginal peoples, in accordance with Aboriginal tradition, irrespective of whether the object or place is on Crown or private land”.³⁴ However, the bias towards recognising Aboriginal heritage as pre-contact and archaeological has still overwhelmed more recent historic associations which, when identified, become a source of social conflict because of their interaction with European values.

Emerging indigenous concerns: Shifts in international heritage trends

Like Aboriginal peoples, indigenous peoples in other parts of the world have also been concerned about their heritage, its interpretations and its representations. The Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights notes that,

Today, interest in indigenous peoples’ knowledge and cultures is stronger than ever and the exploitation of those cultures continues. Tourism in areas occupied by indigenous people and the commercialization of indigenous art are growing. Indigenous medicinal knowledge and expertise in agricultural biodiversity and environmental management are used, but the profits are rarely shared with indigenous peoples themselves. Many indigenous peoples are also concerned about skeletal remains of their ancestors and sacred objects being held by museums and are exploring ways for their restitution ... For indigenous peoples all over the world the protection of their cultural and intellectual property has taken on growing importance and urgency. They cannot exercise their fundamental human rights as distinct nations, societies and peoples without the ability to control the knowledge they have inherited from their ancestors.³⁵

In accordance with this observation the United Nations Commission of Human Rights, Economic and Social Council appointed Special Rapporteur Erica-Irene Daes of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to prepare “a study on measures which should be taken by the international community to strengthen respect for

³³ Lowenthal, D. (1985), *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p.54

³⁴ ATSIC, The Evatt Review of the *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act 1984 (cth)* and the *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Bill 1998*, A Report Submitted by the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission to the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, viewed on 28 December 2005, <http://www.atsic.gov.au/issues/indigenous_rights/international/cerd/cerd_report/4_3.asp>

³⁵ Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.(1997), *Fact Sheet No.9 (Rev.1), The Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, viewed 15 August 2005, <<http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu6/2/fs9.htm>>

the cultural and intellectual property of indigenous peoples".³⁶ The result was *Principles and guidelines for the protection of the heritage of Indigenous Peoples* (1995).

According to these guidelines, indigenous heritage includes:

... all objects, sites and knowledge the nature or use of which has been transmitted from generation to generation, and which is regarded as pertaining to a particular people or its territory ... objects, knowledge and literary or artistic works which may be created in the future based upon its heritage ... all moveable cultural property as defined by the relevant conventions of UNESCO; all kinds of literary and artistic works such as music, dance, song, ceremonies, symbols and designs, narratives and poetry; all kinds of scientific, agricultural, technical and ecological knowledge, including cultigens, medicines and the rational use of flora and fauna; human remains; immovable cultural property such as sacred sites, sites of historical significance, and burials; and documentation of indigenous peoples, heritage on film, photographs, videotape, or audiotape.³⁷

This definition clearly establishes a distinctive quality of indigenous heritage in encompassing aspects of natural and cultural heritage. The guidelines also stress the importance of traditional ownership of indigenous heritage and the need for indigenous control of traditional territories and resources which are imperative to the teaching and transmission of indigenous heritage.³⁸ Although these principles have been established at the international level, it remains to be seen how effectively they will be adopted by national and state governments internationally.

Aboriginal Australian heritage: a much needed overhaul

In recent years Australia has witnessed some huge developments in terms of Aboriginal self-determination, reconciliation and land ownership, with the establishment of Aboriginal *Native Title Act 1993*, the success of the *Mabo v Queensland (No. 2) 1992* and the *Wik Peoples v The State of Queensland & Ors (No. 8) 1996* cases and the *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (1991)*. In this political climate, heritage has also emerged as a major concern for Aboriginal people. Australian heritage practice in response to these changes at the national and international level has sought to bring about shifts in its approach towards Aboriginal heritage. The most observable indication of this shift has been the 1996 review of the *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act 1984* undertaken by the Honourable Elizabeth Evatt AC. Evatt noted that several states had very narrow definitions of heritage which focused more on relics and not on Aboriginal cultural values.³⁹ The Evatt Review found that there was a lack of minimum standards of State and Territory laws pertaining to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander heritage, which has resulted in the States and Territory all operating in their own ways with marked differences in the laws, procedures and level of protection for Aboriginal heritage. The Evatt Review stressed the need to establish minimum standards for these laws for protecting Aboriginal heritage.⁴⁰ Perhaps the most heartening aspect of the Evatt Review is its role in bringing about a wider

³⁶ Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.(1997)

³⁷ Commission of Human Rights, Sub-Commission of Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.(1995), *Principles and guidelines for the protection of the heritage of Indigenous Peoples*, Centre for World Indigenous Studies, Washington, viewed 15 August 2005, <<http://www.ankn.uaf.edu/IKS/protect.html>>

³⁸ Commission of Human Rights, Sub-Commission of Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.(1995)

³⁹ Evatt, E. (1998), 'Overview of State and Territory Aboriginal Heritage Legislation' *Indigenous Law Bulletin*, vol. p.17

⁴⁰ Evatt, (1998), vol.4, p.20

understanding and recognition that Aboriginal heritage includes both natural and built environment sites and pre-contact and post-contact sites.

The Evatt Review has influenced the working of state based heritage agencies. The NSW Heritage Office, for example, now seeks to define Aboriginal heritage as that which “can include natural features such as creeks or mountains, ceremonial or story places or areas of more contemporary cultural significance such as Aboriginal missions or post contact sites”.⁴¹ In Queensland, the *Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Act 2003 and Torres Strait Islander Cultural Heritage Act 2003* replaced the older *Cultural Record (Landscapes Queensland and Queensland Estate) Act 1987 (Qld)* which was considered inadequate because of its archaeological emphasis and lack of attention to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander tradition.⁴² These are long overdue changes but raise the issue to what extent progressive legislation can equip heritage practice to deal with post-contact urban Aboriginal heritage. Several cases have already been the locus of conflict between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples and communities.

Urban Aboriginal heritage: sites of contestation

The contested character of urban Aboriginal heritage is evidenced in a number of cases across Australia’s major metropolitan cities. These include sites such as the Old Swan Brewery site in Perth, Australian Hall in central Sydney, and the Block in inner-suburban Sydney. The contested nature of heritage has been highlighted in theory as well as practice. J.E. Tunbridge stresses that “all future enquiry needs to recognise heritage as an intrinsically contested, or contestable resource”.⁴³ Roy Jones and Brian Shaw argue that it is in the context of cities that the idea of contested heritage is most revealed:

the dividing and the ruling power of heritage is particularly strong in urban areas. It is here that the economic stakes are often the highest, in terms of land and commercial values, that political symbolism is at its most potent in regional, state and national capitals, often the cherished locations of allegedly significant historic events.⁴⁴

They are referring to the powerful imagery that heritage commands in urban areas either through the processes of property development or through projections of national and political history. This is pertinent in the case of settler societies, where there is an overlapping of the histories and heritages of the previously colonised and the colonizers.

In terms of Aboriginal heritage, the power of gentrification in the inner city suburb of Redfern in Sydney threatens the existence of the urban Aboriginal community.⁴⁵ Central to these debates is the idea of the colonial city. Jane Jacobs argues that in many contemporary cities which have “imperial or colonial pasts ... transformations which are routinely understood as postmodern – gentrification, mega-scale developments, spectacularisations – are inextricably tied to colonial legacies and the postcolonial formations to which they give

⁴¹ NSW Heritage Office.(1998), ‘Aboriginal History and Heritage: A guide’, *Heritage Information Series*, viewed 23 March 2004, <http://www.heritage.nsw.gov.au/docs/info_aboriginal.pdf>

⁴² Deacons, *Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Act 2003 and Torres Strait Islander Cultural Heritage Act 2003*, viewed 1 August 2005, <<http://www.deacons.com.au>>

⁴³ Tunbridge, J.E.1(1997), Foreword, in *Contested Urban Heritage: Voices from the periphery*, Shaw, B. and Jones, R. (eds.), Ashgate, Aldershot, p. xviii

⁴⁴ Shaw, B. and Jones, R. (1997), ‘Introduction: contested urban heritage’, in *Contested Urban Heritage: Voices from the periphery*, p.2

⁴⁵ Refer Shaw, W. (2001), *Ways of Whiteness: Negotiation settlement agendas in (post)colonial inner Sydney*, PhD thesis, School of Anthropology, Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Melbourne, Melbourne

rise”.⁴⁶ Sydney like all other Australian cities does have a very strong colonial presence in terms of the built environment. It is still a colonial city in these terms and according to Jacobs thus gives “spatial expression to the ordered rationality of colonial intent ... providing the spatial infrastructure for the distinction between the colonial self and the colonised other”.⁴⁷ Perpetuated is the distinction created between Aboriginal people and white settlers, with the city being occupied by the latter and the former living on its fringes. In any case, early ideas of heritage helped maintain the stronghold of the colonial city by promoting urban heritage as European while simultaneously limiting representations of Aboriginal heritage to the natural environment.

Hinkson argues that nature-based representations of Aboriginal heritage have effectively marginalized urban Aboriginal heritage by promoting the stereotype that “‘authentic’ Aboriginal culture is confined to the relatively underdeveloped, under-populated, and isolated” spaces of northern Australia.⁴⁸ However the “desired ‘purity’ of the colonial city” has always been compromised by the continuing presence of the colonised”.⁴⁹ This is perhaps most noticeable in terms of sites which represent an overlapping of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal histories, a source of “impurity” for some European associations.

In light of the fact that sites which have crucial Aboriginal heritage significance do exist in Australian cities and that heritage legislation as written seems largely sympathetic to the idea of Aboriginal heritage as part of the built environment, it would be fair to assume that this type of Aboriginal heritage is increasingly recognised. However, sites such as the Old Swan Brewery and Australian Hall which have been at the centre of contestation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples also appear to evidence moves to restrict the wider recognition of urban Aboriginal heritage sites. In Table 2, data collated from the Australian Heritage Database demonstrates that of a total number of 716 Aboriginal heritage sites listed or registered, there are only 16 buildings or urban sites which fall into a category which represents contemporary Aboriginal history.

The Old Swan Brewery, which is along the Swan River near the central business district of Perth, has been a site steeped in controversy, for over two decades. The site is sacred to the local Nyungar people, the Aboriginal people of the southwest of Western Australia, as it is connected to the myth of the Wagul, believed to be the creator of “all the big rivers of the Southwest”.⁵⁰ The European significance of the site relates to its long history of brewing. The conflict between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal interests pertaining to the Brewery reached flashpoint with the proposed redevelopment of the site. The Aboriginal community opposed redevelopment and appealed for “demolition of the brewery and the preservation of the site as open space”.⁵¹ Oddly enough, the demolition of the brewery had in fact been on the agenda of non-Aboriginal local residents, local establishment and state authorities since the 1960s, owing to its being unsightly, unoccupied and unused. Nevertheless, the brewery was not pulled down, and nor was redevelopment prevented. It was listed by the Heritage Council of

⁴⁶ Jacobs, J.M. (1996), *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City*, Routledge, London, p.19

⁴⁷ Anderson, K. and Jacobs, J.M. (1997), ‘From Urban Aborigines to Aboriginality and the city: one path through the history of Australian cultural geography’. *Australian Geographical Studies*, vol. 35, p. 19

⁴⁸ Hinkson, (2003), p.295

⁴⁹ Jacobs, 1997, p.19

⁵⁰ Jones, R. (1997), ‘Sacred sites or profane buildings? Reflections on the Old Swan Brewery conflict in Perth, Western Australia’, in *Contested Urban Heritage: Voices from the periphery*, p.134

⁵¹ Jones, (1997), 140

Western Australia for both its Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal cultural significance. Jones argues that this partial victory for Aboriginal people took over twenty years to happen.⁵²

Table 2. Buildings and urban sites listed on Australian Heritage Database for Aboriginal significance

Site	Status
Aboriginal Embassy Site, King George Tce, Parkes, ACT	Registered
C53 Wreck Site, Kalumburu, WA	Indicative Place
Captain Arthur Phillip Fountain, Macquarie St, Sydney, NSW	Registered
Cyprus Hellene Club and Australian Hall, 150-152 Elizabeth St, Sydney, NSW	Registered
Darlington Conservation Area, Vine St, Darlington, NSW	Registered
First Government House Site, 41 Bridge St, Sydney, NSW	Registered
House, 1 Short St, Glebe, TAS	Registered
Herberton War Memorial, Myers St, Herberton, QLD	Registered
Parliament House Vista, Anzac Pde, Parkes, ACT	Listed place
Prince Henry Hospital Conservation Area, Little Bay, NSW	Registered
Oenpelli Aboriginal Houses, Oenpelli, NT	Registered
Old Parliament House and Curtilage, King George Tce, Parkes, ACT	Listed place
South Australian Old and New Parliament Houses, North Tce, Adelaide, SA	Listed place
Swan Brewery Precinct, Mounts Bay Rd, West Perth, WA	Registered
Sydney Opera House, 2 Circular Quay East, Sydney, NSW	Listed place
The Block, Redfern, NSW	Registered

Source: Australian Heritage Database < <http://www.deh.gov.au/cgi-bin/ahdb/search.pl>>

Australian Hall in the central business district of Sydney presents a more contemporary scenario of Aboriginal historical association. It marks the site of the first Aboriginal Day of Mourning and Protest Conference held in 1938, the sesquicentenary year of European settlement. The Day of Mourning and Protest Conference is regarded as the cornerstone of contemporary Aboriginal political movements and helped lay the foundations for later landmark events such as the 1967 Referendum to remove racially discriminatory clauses in the Australian Constitution.⁵³ The Conference was held on 26 January 1938 by the Australian

⁵² Jones, (1997)

⁵³ Commission of Inquiry (Environment and Planning), Cyprus Hellene Club, 150-152 Elizabeth Street, Sydney, Objection to Interim Conservation no. 927, *Report to Honourable Criag Knowles, Minister of Urban Affairs and Planning, Minister for Housing*, 1995, p.13

Aborigines' League and the NSW Aborigines' Progressive Association. It was attended by a hundred Aboriginal Australian men and women who congregated to "mourn the loss of their lands and demand the same basic rights as the rest of the population".⁵⁴ The site is therefore a powerful symbol of Aboriginal political resistance. The significant aspect of this site is that it passed through the hands of numerous owners including two migrant community groups, thereby representing a multilayering of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal narratives. However the Hall's Aboriginal heritage significance was only recognised in 1998 after a six year long struggle between Aboriginal lobby groups and their non-Aboriginal supporters and the NSW government and the owners of the Hall. The Aboriginal lobby groups campaigned for the Hall to be listed as Aboriginal heritage and be protected by a Permanent Conservation Order under state legislation. It was the first building to be listed as Aboriginal heritage in Australia.

Both Australian Hall and the Old Swan Brewery represent cases of contested Aboriginal heritage sites. The attempts to have these sites listed or protected as Aboriginal heritage was a tedious and protracted task for Aboriginal people and their non-Aboriginal supporters. Despite recent changes in legislations, state governments have been resistant to the very notion of urban Aboriginal heritage.

Conclusion

Indigenous heritage in settler societies like Australia is set within frameworks of a predominantly "white" Eurocentric heritage practice. It is surrounded by a multitude of issues, the most important of which is the need to recognise the difference in Eurocentric and indigenous perceptions of heritage. Eurocentric perceptions of Aboriginal heritage in Australia have until recently viewed Aboriginal heritage as belonging solely to the natural environment and the pre-contact past. Not only have such viewpoints been driven by colonial ideologies of cultural and racial superiority, but they have also sought to maintain the myth of an "authentic" Aboriginal past, thereby reducing the legitimacy and actively undermining contemporary Aboriginal history and heritage values.

In recent years there has been an increase in international awareness and recognition that indigenous perceptions of heritage do vary substantially from western ideas of heritage. In Australia this has also been recognised and Aboriginal heritage is now considered as belonging to the built and natural environment and to the pre-contact and post-contact time period. Despite these changes, certain colonial ideologies prevail within Australian heritage practice, especially the idea that heritage in cities is mostly European heritage. This not only negates the possibility that Aboriginal people might associate with sites or buildings in the city, but it also seeks to maintain the city as the stronghold of colonial heritage. Prominent contested sites in Perth and Sydney have not only successfully challenged this stereotype but also undermined the colonial hegemony of heritage practice.

⁵⁴ National Aboriginal History and Heritage Council, *Save Our Site Page* n.d., viewed 16 February 2004, <<http://www.koori.usyd.edu.au/NAHHC/sos.html>>

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Comparison of the Image of People's Lifestyle in the City
–According to City Theories of Patrick Geddes and Kenzo Tange

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Purpose

If city planning truly respects humanity, it should have the harmonious relationship between the new space that is just planned, and the people who will actually live there. This relationship must require the procedure: means clarifying problems in people's lives in the present condition, painting the future image of the people the plan should aim for, and then pointing out the specific course of action to make it possible. The procedure will be also helpful to avoid choosing the way of haphazard planning—it is essential in terms of a therapeutic, and to reinforce the sustainability of the city, for the people living in it.

The purpose of the paper is to compare the image of protagonist's life style, according to city theories of Patrick Geddes(1854-1932) and Kenzo Tange(1913-2005). I will use the term 'protagonist' to refer to the people who are assumed actually and continuously to be based on or live in the planned new urban space, like as leading characters who play their own parts on the future stage. This definition does not specify dwellers or workers, and sweeps away the people, who only indirectly and virtually relate with the new space.

Patrick Geddes, who took the lead of British modern city planning, and Kenzo Tange, who completed the Japanese modern style of architecture, both presented an organic city model with the city as a biological analogy of a living existence. They also illustrated the people's lifestyle image connected with the life of city.

But Geddes and Tange presented in the great different way each other the ideal process that the city should grow and expand. Geddes showed the "bottom up" concept that the city will begin to be improved first of all with the individual's voluntary requirement, and then with the citizen's organizing ability, and to be carried on by coming generation. On the contrary, Tange showed the "top down" concept that the city will start to be built up newly on the sea every five-year cycle, and to be completed twenty-year after, according to his own plan and design

I will refer mainly to the representation for British cities in Geddes' "Cities in Evolution", which was published just at the beginning of World War I in 1915. And I will also refer to the representation for Tokyo as Japanese capital in Tange's "A Plan for Tokyo, 1960", which was published just at the beginning of Japanese high economic growth in 1961.

I will examine the theories of Geddes and Tange from the following viewpoints.

First, who the protagonist in the planned new space is, and what is his or her character or role, which is given by Geddes or Tange?

Second, what is the present problem of the protagonist's every day life, and why it is caused, lacking the appropriate space?

Third, how is the protagonist's future life image, and what is the procedure with the assurance of the city planning, making him or her to reach the ideal condition?

1. Protagonist in the new urban space and his character and role

In the theory of Geddes, protagonists are worker, woman and child in the industrial city. Worker has the eager necessity to have the better living environment because of their poverty unchanged since the Industrial Revolution. Woman initially has the environmental concern, managing household affairs. Child also has it, growing up, playing and studying just with various interests. All protagonists will autonomously create their own new space from the small scale.

Geddes made the greatest importance on the wealth of life that human being should do their best for their life, live under the best state and for the longest life. Therefore his protagonists should get the suitable living environment to get this wealth.

Geddes defined that the life of city should be the interaction between the citizen as an organization and the city as an environment. All protagonists gradually improve the whole city from the bottom of this interaction, creating their own environment each other.

In theory of Tange, protagonist is organization man, who is free to communicate to anyone, anywhere and anytime in Tokyo as the capital city of 10,000,000. Tange defined that communication is carrying a message. I must say that such a definition will never describe any quality of the space where organization man just communicate each other.

Organization man intends to connect with the network consisted with innumerable organizations in Tokyo, communicating to any organization. Because he is too isolate to decide any important matter by himself when he stands outside from the network. It is important to note that organization man goes and sees and then

directly communicates to men, functions or things by instinct, stimulated with indirect communication with the industrial production: telephone, radio, television and so on.

It is the core of Tange's theory that Tokyo will be given the organic life just with organization men's free and voluntary communications. Tange regarded Tokyo as an open organization, which should have the pivotal functions of Japan with more sensitivity, brought only with organization men's communicationsⁱ.

2. The problem of protagonist's present life and its origin

In theory of Geddes, it is the problem of the present life for worker never to get enough salary nor food, living in the slum area in the bad condition both for health and for mentalityⁱⁱ. In the case of woman, she does household affairs except kitchen works which she despises and leaves a maid. It is the problem for her unconsciously to deprive of the warm and steady interior space from her family. In the case of child, as a family member, he obviously suffers such a matter. In addition to it, he lacks of a green area or a park in his neighbor suitable for wondering. This lack is the problem not only for child but also for the other protagonists for their healthy lifeⁱⁱⁱ. Furthermore, child is partially educated, not with diagram or picture, but with correspondence and calculation, which is not suitable for cultivating his sense for space or environment.

Geddes emphasized that these problem are caused with the doctrine of money of money's sake in one body with the old technology of the Industrial Revolution. He warned of the fact that the economic doctrine has brought in the city, not only slum streets but also half-slum or fashionable-slum streets where living spaces do not work because of the equal division of a narrow area. It means that the economic doctrine brings wrong individualism to the society and deprive of the wealth of life from it.

In theory of Tange, it is the problem of the present life for organization man not smoothly to go and see someone or something directly to communicate to. This condition is caused with a long-distance commute or overcrowded commuting train or a traffic jam.

Tange emphasized that such a disordered and paralyzed transport condition arises from the mistake of the city planning, which restrains the urbanization and keep the centripetal radial structure for 100,000 or at least 1000,000 populations^{iv}. Tange pointed out that Tokyo as a capital city of 10,000,000 gathers the population and the functions just because of its nature and its origin. The structural transition from production to circulation has

brought the urban centralization and 10,000,000 populations in one body with the high-degree economic growth. Therefore the city planning for decentralization must be meaningless if the economic growth is welcome by the nation.

3. The image of protagonist' future life and the process of the realization

In theory of Geddes, all protagonists grow up to be citizens who are proud to participate autonomously in creating their own living environment^v. Worker already has lived with his family in his own house, which he planned on his own initiative according to his requirement. Then he starts voluntary to draw how the boulevard or the city hall should be. He cooperates with the other workers and city planners to present the picture of the future city which should be created with the feeling of togetherness of citizens^{vi}.

Woman already has done household affairs including kitchen works with electric applicants produced with new technology, making the atmosphere of her house naturally intimate. She actively does social works, motivated by her living requirement of the neighbor and the city.

Child has been the grown up to be a citizen, studying and learning the environmental wisdom not only at school but also by the local activity and city exhibitions. Gradually he succeeds the living environment from the previous generation and begins to improve it.

Geddes emphasized that protagonists should get rid of money for money's sake with individualism, and should make their efforts for the wealth of life and the feeling of cooperation. To do so, it must be necessarily for them to study the environmental things about cities, to cooperate with the planner, well translating protagonists' requirements into the new space and to create the new autonomous organization by themselves. First of all it is important for protagonists to realize that they can improve the small area like as their houses, by themselves in shorter time than they thought.

In theory of Tange, organization man will be able to communicate both directly with new gigantic transportation systems and indirectly with convenient communication tools. The structure of the new city is characterized with a system of linear development^{vii}, an organic unity of city structure and transportation system and a new urban special order from super human scale to human scale^{viii}.

Organization man will be much freer and more active to communicate in the new city on Tokyo Bay twenty-year after. He will instinctively require more freedom to see the perfect ordered city on every scale constructed with structural dynamics as high technology. He will also instinctively need more direct communication to use new developed tools for indirect communication. On the contrary, he will still flow for the essentially same objects: commuting, meeting, shopping, theatergoing and so on as twenty-year before.

Tange's new city is planned to built up and affords 2,500,000 organization men every five-year, completed in twenty years. Tange showed the reality of the unpredictable city on the sea with the difference between the selling price of the artificial land and the cost for the construction. He also pointed out the merit of the artificial land free from the complicated land ownership especially in the center of the city on the land.

4. Comparison

I will focus the protagonist's voluntary and autonomy in the process from the present life to the future one. I believe this point of view works effectively to examine the humanity of the organic city as a concept.

In the theory of Geddes, worker's voluntary creation of his own living environment starts when he autonomously gets his own house, cooperating with the other workers or a city planner. Woman voluntarily works for the society to make the living environment better when she begins to do household matters containing kitchen work with new electric household applicants developed with the new technology. All protagonists' voluntary and autonomy are accelerated with their own interests of their living environment, learning or studying the history or geography of their environment. Especially in the case of child, they grows up to be a good inheritor of the city by such learning or studying.

In the theory of Tange, organization man voluntarily does the direct communication, stimulated both with the indirect communication tools and with the perfectly ordered urban space, which high technology makes possible.

Geddes' protagonists are expected to get an organizing ability as their own autonomy when they act voluntarily. On the contrary, organization man as Tange's protagonist is expected to get more in item for directly communicating to any organization when he gets faster in speed for doing so It is common between Geddes' woman and Tange's organization man to express voluntarily or almost automatically their own potential power when they receive new technology.

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ⁱ "When men carry messages, when they attempt to preserve the links between the various functions, there is a flow of movement, and it is this movement that makes the urban organization an organization. The city of 10,000,000 is an aggregation of moving, flowing, population.

Tokyo, then, is not merely a collection of people and functions. It is also an open organization in which the various functions communicate with each other and create a total function. What gives this organization its organic life is flowing movement of the 10,000,000 people who are engaged in the communication of functions." pp 82, r. l. 25-l. 34, Tange, K. (1961), "A Plan for Tokyo: 1960"

ⁱⁱ "The low standards of living, the lapses, loss or perversion of these, though for the most part solidary with the slum---" pp 148, l. 12-15, Geddes, P. (1915), "Cities in Evolution"

"---this(building) for a standard of housing, accommodation, and comfort too little beyond that to which the working population had by this time become inured from childhood,---" pp 147, l 8-12, Geddes, P. (1915), "Cities in Evolution"

ⁱⁱⁱ "In terms of the maintenance and development of life; of the life of youth, of the health of all, which is surely the very foundation of any utilitarianism worth the name; and further, of that arousal of the mental life in youth, of its maintenance through age, which must be a main aim of higher utilitarianism, and is a main condition of its continued progress towards enlightenment." pp 94, l. 13- pp 95, l. 2, Geddes, P. (1915), "Cities in Evolution"

“ Thus arose, un checked by sanitary knowledge or regulation – and largely upon the sites furnished by the old gardens and spacious yards which had been of immemorial value, as luns and as playing space---” ” pp 147, 1 26- pp 148, 1. 2, Geddes, P. (1915), “Cities in Evolution”

^{iv} “ The city of 10,000,000 is an organism which has appeared only in the latter half of twentieth century. In order to remain alive and to grow, It must have a structure benefiting the twentieth century. Instead, however, the radial pattern of the middle ages, with its centripetal traffic system, and its rows of buildings along the sides of streets, has been allowed to grow and grow without basic alteration.

The result is that the permanent structure of the modern metropolis is incompatible with the movement that is necessary to the life of the metropolis.” pp 96, r. 1. 2 – 1. 12, Tange, K. (1961), “A Plan for Tokyo: 1960”

^v “Healthy life is completeness of relation of organism, function, and environment, and all at their best. Stated, then, in social and civic terms, our life and progress involve the interaction and uplift of people with work and place, as well as of place and work with people. Cities in Evolution and People in Evolution must thus progress together.” pp 392, 1. 2-7, Geddes, P. (1915), “Cities in Evolution”

^{vi} “---we may best emphasise the present point of view, that of insistence upon the condition of houses – and these not separately with the individualist, nor in vague collectively with the politician, but in definite areas and groupings, of courts and streets---” pp 149, 1. 20-25, Geddes, P. (1915), “Cities in Evolution”

^{vii} “We propose for this civic axis a system of cyclical transportation. ---it may be expected that five or six million people will flow into the axis each day. ---- This type of highway could be made handle ten times, or even thirty times, as much traffic as the present- day freeways. And a civic axis with a system of cycle of this design could serve as a rapid and effective means of communication for a city of any size.---- Any number of links could be employed, so that the civic axis could develop unit by unit. A system of this sort would make it possible for any number of people to move freely and quickly among the function lined up along the axis.” pp 98, r. 1. 5-10 – 1. 23-26, 1. 30-35, Tange, K. (1961), “A Plan for Tokyo: 1960”

^{viii} “We have devised means of unifying the core system and *pilotis*. As we envision them, the course of building takes the place of columns, creating “columnless *pilotis* area under the buildings. ----- the unit urban area and the highway system would intermesh, and there would be spatial order as well as a speed hierarchy linking, first, street, interchange, parking spaces, and buildings and, second, high speed, low speed, human speed, and immobility.” pp 108, r. 1. 18-21 – 1. 20-33, Tange, K. (1961), “A Plan for Tokyo: 1960”



Reevaluating the Traditional Urban Codes in Kyoto

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Abstract

An urban code is an agreement of any local concerns by local landowners and/or residents participate during the planning process. Until early Meiji Period, local urban codes have been used as a major regulation tool among landlords in Kyoto. The urban codes included a variety of local issues from residents' lifestyle to building codes. Under the current laws, there are several systems to support the landlords to enter into an agreement about the architecture and planning, which, however, is very limited compared to the traditional styles. The paper will introduce the traditional urban codes, the current urban codes under Japan's planning system, and a few contemporary attempts in the last decade in Kyoto. First, the paper will review the urban codes of the contemporary planning system, such as “building agreement” and “district planning,” in which local people are encouraged to participate. Second, the value of the traditional planning style will be reviewed to identify what has been lost in the contemporary system. Third, the recent challenges by the local people, supported by the city council and other organisations, to mix the contemporary systems with traditional styles to make the city better, will be introduced.

Introduction

In the planning history in Europe and Japan, cities have from time to time been reformed largely by the ruler, such as Napoleon III in Paris, Charles IV in Prague, or Toyotomi in Kyoto, or more recently by the socialist states in East Europe. However, although these redevelopment largely affected the urban structure of these cities, the duration of such situation is relatively smaller than the city's overall life. And indeed, many of the architectural styles, e.g. Baroque or Romanesque in Europe, Georgian in Britain, machiya in Japan, had been continuously refined in details during more peaceful periods to provide the aesthetic ground to the city.

Then, what mechanism has maintained these historic cities so attractive even after centuries or millenniums of birth? We can find the force behind such mechanism in the discussion of Christopher Wren's London plan. When the Great Fire hit the city in 1666, Wren attempted to implement his idea to modernise the entire city in European style, i.e. a grid plan with continental piazzas and avenues. However, the progress of the fire might have been stopped, but for the conduct of the Lord Mayor, who refused to give orders for pulling down some houses, without the consent of the owners. The landowners also refused Wren's plan. A city with a number of land/building owners seems to have a certain mechanism which affects the urban design and other urban matters.

Another example can be found in a country with relatively shorter history. Jacobs (1961) saw a phenomenon that only one in four almost identical areas developed successfully despite it, as the city planners see, being a slum. What is discussed in this paper is such “development by community” or “development with community.” Here, the term “development” is used in a wider sense than merely an operational development. It also refers to activities rather called as change of use or management.

In the first section of the paper, the previous researches of urban code are reviewed. In the following sections will see the urban codes and community in Kyoto, the former capital of Japan. First, a history of community-led planning in Kyoto since the 15th century is briefly reviewed. Next will see the urban codes under the modern planning system, i.e. building agreement and district plan, and their possibility and limitations under the current planning system of Japan. Third, the community issues in central Kyoto will be discussed. Two areas are studied in which the traditional urban code was re-evaluated in combination with the current planning tools.

Urban Code and Community

Urban code is, in this paper, either governmental standards or agreements of any local concerns entered into by local landowners and/or residents. Ben-Joseph (2005) identifies five types of codes: conventional zones and districts (Euclidean), planned development, performance standards, incentive-based codes and guidelines, and form-based codes or design-oriented codes and districts. The first two types of code are usually considered as city plan. The latter three are standards and guidelines, which are the urban codes discussed in this paper.

There is also another type of code: unwritten rule. This varies from tacit approval to neighbourhood-oriented development which Jacobs attempted to tell the young planners.

Although her masterpieces has been referred hundreds of times in planning books and articles, there seems little contribution has been made to the planning system in Japan.

One might argue that neighbourhood-oriented development is not new, or has been one of the main concepts in urban design. Since C. A. Perry advocated the Neighbourhood Unit plan, or C. Alexander used Design Pattern, the neighbourhood was the main target. More recently, the current discussions of sustainability, such as Compact City, New Urbanism or Urban Villages, which rather focuses on transit-oriented suburb developments, are also concerned with the neighbourhoods and inner issues (e.g. Duany et al. 2002). These discussions of neighbourhoods have, however, been “development for community” provided largely by planning/design professionals.

A Brief History of Urban Communities and Codes in Kyoto

Rise of Urban Communities in Kyoto (1467 - 1603)

Kyoto was planned and developed as the capital city in 794, which consists of a perfect gridiron pattern. In Kyoto, the current tradition of the neighbourhood management dates back to as early as the Muromachi Period (Nitschke 2003). During the Civil War (*Onin no Ran*, 1467 - 1477), in which the city was the main battle field, the local residents started forming neighbourhood association to protect themselves. These communities were gated: landlords inside the gates developed their lands under their own urban codes, called cho shikimoku, which set the rules for the building standards, lifestyles and many other urban issues. The neighbourhood associations have maintained the towns and the traditions such as the Gion Festival, one of the nation's three festivals, or statute of Jizo (Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva), a guardian deity of children for the NA, originally from India.

Just like Paris was reformed by the Bourgeoisie and was restructured later by the powered emperor, Kyoto had faced a significant reform in urban form during and after the civil war in 15th and 16th centuries. The major difference from European experiences is the resulting communities which formed class-independent and geography-based neighbourhood communities.

Development of Urban Codes in Kyoto (1603 - 1868)

During Pax Tokugawa (1603 - 1868), the Shogunate had moved the political centre unofficially from Kyoto to Edo. The Tokugawa Shogunate gave weak, but still important,

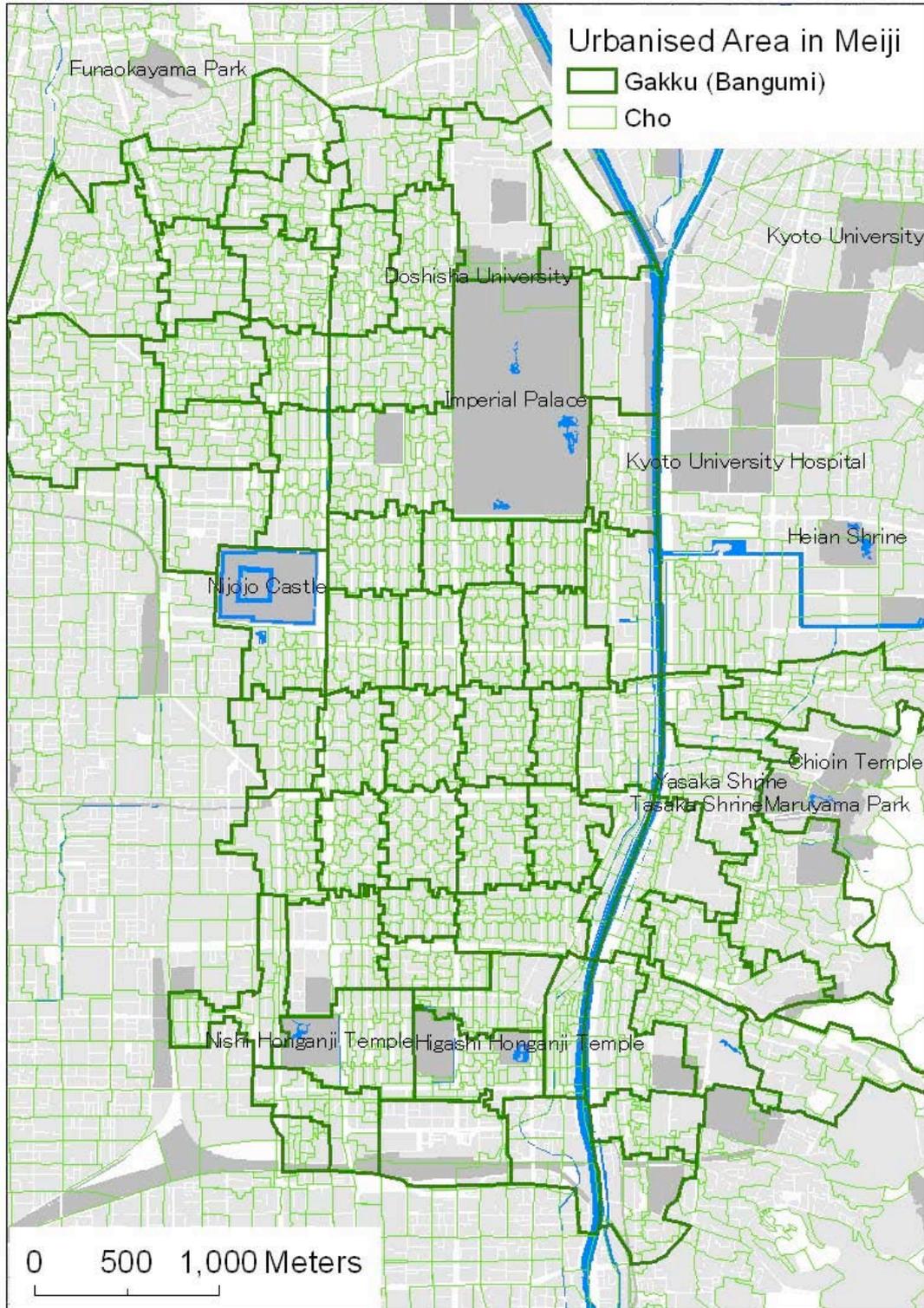


Figure 1: Cho and Gaku in Kyoto (Urbanised Area in Meiji Period)

right of autonomy to the local communities, but they mainly served as an enforcement organisation of Tokugawa government (Takahashi and Nakagawa 2003). Although flamboyant design and the floors more than two were restricted, they developed the de-facto standards of affordable houses, which are now known for their modularisation (Kyomachiya Sakuji Gumi 2002).

Birth of Gakku (1868 - 1945)

The Meiji Restoration affected the structure of urban communities in Kyoto. Until then, each town had belonged to a group by profession. The group had been characterised largely by the profession. However, the new prefectural government reformed the groups to geography-based: the birth of the 64 districts, now known as Gakku (school district). The districts served as administrative organisation, until the city and ward councils took over the role.

Since the birth of Gakku, the city area has expanded, resulting in more than 200 districts which are still used as statistics unit, such as in Census. In this paper, 59 districts which cover the urbanised area at the beginning of Meiji Period are considered as the city centre.

Urban Community in Inner Kyoto

Cho and Gakku – the Basic Neighbourhood Units in Kyoto

As discussed in the previous section, there has been the notion of neighbourhood in Koto. However, it should be emphasised that its size is different between practices in Kyoto and in theoretical discussions in the West and that Gakku and Cho are not in hierarchical relation.

Currently, the City of Kyoto has 11 wards, among which Kamigyō, Nakagyō, Shimogyō and Higashiyama are considered the historic centre. In the case of Nakagyō Ward, 23 gakku's and more than 500 cho's exist. Although some cho has disappeared from road widening scheme, each and every existing cho forms its own neighbourhood association. In some cho with small population, the neighbouring associations have consolidated, hence, the number of neighbourhood associations have decreased. However, as will be seen in the latter section, there is a new type of neighbourhood association.

It is possible to see, and is assumed in this paper, that gakku is equivalent to district and cho to neighbourhood. However, the sizes are largely different. For neighbourhoods, a neighbourhood unit is assumed to have a population of 10,000 in Perry's theory. On the other hand, cho in Kyoto was planned to have 50 to 100 households, and thus less than 1,000 in population. The neighbourhood in theory is more than ten times larger than practice. Gakku consists of 26 to 27 cho's. A gakku has 4,000 population on average in 1889. The population

of gaku now varies from 700 to 11,000 in 2005 Census. Whichever number is used, the neighbourhood is much smaller in Kyoto.

Should gaku be considered as neighbourhood in Perry's Neighbourhood unit? Jacobs (1966) considers neighbourhoods in three levels: street, district and city. Although she discusses the district as the most important size as neighbourhood association, people in Kyoto consider the street-level neighbourhood association as the basic organisation to make decisions on local matters, as will be seen in the case studies, cho seems the suitable size.

It is to be emphasised that the relation of gaku and cho is non-hierarchical: decentralised. It is not networked, or semi lattice in Alexander's (1966) term, but rather gaku plays as glue to the cho's despite that the boundary of cho is very clear. For example, if an unwanted event, such as building construction, is planned in a cho, the neighbourhood association will handle it. The adjacent neighbourhoods do not directly cause dispute, even if some houses are geographically closer.

Kyoto has been modernised in a unique way because of the community structure. It seems Giddens' (1991) "disembedding" and "reembedding" of the social system do not, or did not at least until 1990s, need to occur in Kyoto. However, the growing number of newer residents finally brought the chance of disembedding.

Mansion as New Housing Style

Although there were several attempts of "flat-above-shop" type mid-rise buildings, such as in Horikawa Dori, most houses in Kyoto had still been two-story wooden house known as machiya (townhouse) until the new building standards disallowed machiya for its low resistance to fire and earthquake. The newly built have not been mid to high-rise buildings as you might expect. The result is that it has become common to build a ten-story commercial or residential building adjacent to two-story machiya.

After the bubble economy in the late 1980s, during which many business have started to separate the traditional housing and workplace lifestyle, the former industrial premises have been replaced by mid to high rise-residential housing called mansion. The result is a declining number of the remaining residents and an increasing number of mansion residents. In Kyoto, of particular interests to the remaining local residents, is how to form a neighbourhood with the new residents in mansion.

Building mid to high-rise buildings, mansion in particular, often causes construction dispute between the developers and the local residents (Yamaguchi 2000). Many academics see these troubles as design issues such as townscape and height or "the right of sunlight" (see Kubota 2003, Uchida 2004 for example). The residents may concern design, especially in

terms of sunlight and radio disturbance, but this reason can not explain the case of two buildings constructed closely, one of which is strongly opposed by the local community while the other not. Uoya et al. (2005) commented on one of such cases as “it seems communication with the community will give an agreeable impression to them. As I see the two buildings, there is no noticeable difference in terms of design” (p. 132, translated).

Then, a question naturally comes out. What kind of “communication” did they have? Are the local community really contended with the result? If not, what do they really want from the “communication”? A possible answer to the last question is to solve some local issues.

Survey in Nakagyo

A survey was conducted in Nakagyo Ward by Kyoto Center for Community Collaboration to identify the current situations of local communities and their issues. There are 23 districts in the ward. On average, 26 to 27 neighbourhood associations (NAs) belong to a district. A distinctive hierarchy of urban communities (Ku – Gakku - Cho) seem to exist, but the district leaders consider cho as the most important unit of local communities.

Among the 23 districts, 14 district leaders think communication with people in mansion is difficult and 10 leaders consider the mansions as a local issue. All the districts answer that mansion and constructing it is by nature an issue of neighbourhood, but six districts support the neighbourhood in certain ways, among which one district has set a district-wide policy about association in mansions.

The traditional neighbourhoods have been geography-based. However, in 13 districts, there are several mansion-based associations independent from the geography-based association in the neighbourhood. These newly established associations usually play the same role as the traditional neighbourhood associations, but consist only of the mansion residents. Six districts have mansion-based quasi-associations, in which the residents pay the neighbourhood/district association membership fees but do not enjoy full responsibility/rights as the neighbourhood associations.

Urban Code in Japan's Modern Planning System

Hasegawa (2003), in his doctoral thesis, discusses Building Agreement and District Plan as the basic planning tool for the communities. At the earliest stages of city planning system in Japan, the “development by/with local community” is only supported by local municipal by-laws (Sorensen 2004). Sorensen (2004, p.312) identifies them in three types: District Plan, Land Use Control and Historical Protection. Among them, Land Use Control is of little use in central Kyoto, as the city centre with already mixed use should be designated either as

industrial or commercial use, which virtually allow any reasonable development. In the beginning, at least in Kyoto, much of District Plan was used to allow schools and religious organisations to develop their buildings which would otherwise have been disallowed.

Building Agreement and District Plan as Urban Code

Building Agreement is a system to allow the landowners (and renters) to enter into an agreement on the design issues identified in Building Standard Law, such as height, use and colour. District Plan was later introduced in 1980 as an amendment to City Planning Law. This is because Building Agreement required all the participants to approve, while District Plan requires an approval of a great majority. Another important difference is that Building Agreement requires a local organisation to determine building plans, but in District Plan, the council's enforcement-section does this task. There is a new tool called Landscape Agreement, which will not be discussed here because it is relatively new and has no application in Kyoto as of writing.

As of November 2004, in central Kyoto are building agreements with 14 regions, where the areas of building agreements are for part of one or several neighbourhood(s) (relatively smaller than a district). In many, but not all, cases, the neighbourhood association(s) is the determining organisation for building agreement. It is remarkable that, among the 14 building agreements, 13 have a rule on the size of collective housing.

The size of area is relatively small. Among the 14 agreements, 13 consist of one to four cho's. The exception is Aneyakouji, which will be detailed in the next section.

As of August 2006, Kyoto City has adopted 44 District Plans. For the first twenty years, the district plans have been used for development and redevelopment, and thus the majority of them are for development in suburban areas or redevelopment in brown fields. In the city centre, there are three district plans prepared collaboratively with local community: *Shutoku*, *Honnoh* and *Meirin*. Others in the city centre include *Shijo Dori*, *Shinmonzen Nishino-cho* and *Gionmachi Minamigawa*.

The area of the three district plans are all Gakku in scale, consisting of 23 to 39 cho's. Some district plans, Shinmonzen Nishino-cho in particular, are smaller. However, it can be said that district plan targets larger area than building agreement, at least in Kyoto at gakku-level neighbourhood. This is because, as mentioned above, district plan does not require 100% agreement, although the city council usually attempts to modify the plan until no objection is made.



) Fukunaga Cho, Source: Maruyama (2003, p 79) Original: Fukunagacho Bunsho

dle) Aneyakouji, Source: KCCC (2003)

it) Gionmachi Minamigawa, Source: MLIT (website)

Case Studies: Cho Shikimoku in the Past and Today

The research of urban code in Edo period will be briefly reviewed, followed by two recent adoption of *cho shikimoku*, which are the results of discussions on “the community rule for the sustainable environment” with professionals, city planners, and the people in the area at the same table (Koura 2002 p 12). There are two areas in which the landowners have recently entered into re-evaluated *cho shikimoku*, in combination with planning tools.

Cho Shikimoku in History

Maruyama (2003) surveyed in details a number of Cho Shikimoku (see Figure 2 left for one of them), also called as *Machi Okite* or *Cho Gijo* from three points: townhouses and townscape; fire disaster; and safety.

The Shogunate ordered its own building codes. The governmental building codes vary: building with more than two stories was prohibited; Use of clay for wall and tile for roofing was encouraged. However, in commercial towns like Kyoto, application for building permission was exempted. In the city, instead of applying for permission, the landowners had checked the design. Under the restrictions by the central government, the landowners competed for the design of their buildings.

Fire resistance was an important issue, as is often the case in medieval cities with wooden architecture. Although a great fire had seldom hit, fire had burnt tens or hundreds of houses once every ten years. In the urban codes, the residents were encouraged to prevent from fire, and once it occurred, forced to be involved in fire extinction.

Safety was also an issue. You might have heard that Japan is, and probably has been, one of the safest countries. You might even have heard that the cities in Japan were not covered by city wall. These are generally true in many parts of Japan, so has been in most times in the

city of Kyoto. However, during the Period of Warring States and Pax Tokugawa, it had been ordered that every cho built gate and closed in the night, until early Meiji Period when the new government allowed removing the gates. This does not necessarily mean that the city had been in an unsafe state, especially in the late Edo Period, as crossing the gates in the night was a common practice. It is suffice to say here that these activities strengthened the sense of community by the gates.

Building Agreement and Cho Shikimoku – A case in Aneyakouji

Aneyakouji (Aneyakouji wo Kangaeru Kai website, KCCC 1999, 2000, 2004, 2005b) – Building agreement (Building Standard Law) and Machizukuri agreement (Machinami Kankyo Seibi Jigyo). Aneyakouji is a street in the historic centre of Kyoto. The west-east street in the city centre had, at that time, faced the significant redevelopment demands.

Aneyakouji is a group of cho's with 160 households. It started as a dispute body to a mansion plan in the area in 1995. The members entered into cho shikimoku in 2000 and two architectural agreements (Aneyakouji and Matsunaga-cho) in 2002. As in Figure 2 (middle), the code is built in the street for public viewing. The cho shikimoku itself it a visionary statement for the street, and the details are in the two building agreements. In the Aneyakouji agreement participate 13 cho's while in the Matsunaga-cho agreement are three cho's: Matsushita-cho, Fukunaga-cho and Kikuya-cho. The associations of Matsushita-cho and Fukunaga-cho have consolidated. Indeed, the name Matsunaga was generated from *Matsu-shita* and *Fuku-naga* (see Figure 2 left).

In 2003, the city reviewed the plans in the city centre including Aneyakouji. This is not a direct result from the practices in Aneyakouji. In 2004 and 2005, the organisation was subsidised by the city by 7 million yen each year to refurbish four traditional houses in total.

District Plan, City Ordinances and Cho Shikimoku – A case in Gionmachi Minamigawa

Gionmachi Minamigawa (Hiratake 2002, KCCC 1999, 2004, MLIT website, Figure 2 right) – designated as Aesthetic District (Scenic District), Historical Landscape Preservation and Adjustment District and Community Landscape Development District (all under Kyoto City Urban Area Landscape Development Ordinances). The district plan (City Planning Law) covers 3.3ha, 294 plots.

It is to be emphasised that much area is owned by a single organisation: Yasaka Nyokouba Gakuen school, hence the small number of ownership. This is one of the reasons that the district has preserved the atmosphere from Meiji Period. Approximately 200 households/shops/restaurants live and/or run business. The area did not suffer from immediate redevelopment, but the number of traditional teahouses, in which you can enjoy dances and music played by Geisha, were declining. The renters are allowed to refurbish his house, but must sign the agreement to conserve the townscape with the organisation.

In the area has been designated as a special district. As Historical Landscape Preservation and Adjustment District, it now is allowed to build/refurbish the traditional wooden style of architecture, if and only if the fire prevention and extinction system are considered to be effective in the area. In the case of Gionmachi Minamigawa, the regular training, the equipments such as fire hydrant and alarm, and earthquake resistant building by the local communities—were so considered. The area is also designated as Community Landscape Development District, with a system for subsidising the repair and landscaping.

Discussion

In the previous chapters, we saw the strength of the traditional urban code and the opportunities and weakness of the current attempts of using building agreement and district plan as urban code. Here, the issues in the current practices of code-led development are discussed.

Urban Code - A Complementary Tool to Planning System?

The urban development has been led by plans and planning since the birth of modern planning system, or “conventional zones and districts” and “planned development” in Ben-Joseph's (2005) terms. Unplanned approaches have not been considered as a mainstream

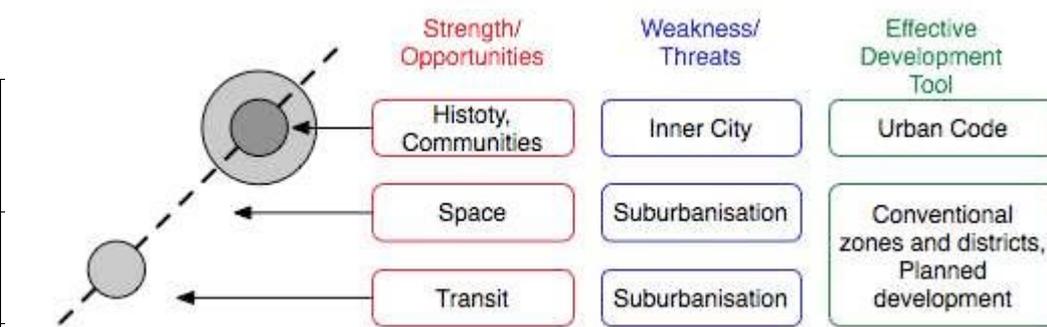


Figure 3: Effective Development Tools

ole 1: Basic

in urban development and planning. Hasegawa (2003, see Table 1) discusses the “community” approaches against “system” rather as a discussion of civil law rather than of city planning. Of importance is—that the community-led approaches are generally based on social norm rather than positive law.

These approaches are, indeed, effective in central area where strong community exists. The size of the neighbourhood is, however, smaller than theoretically discussed, although this may be a cultural characteristics of Kyoto, where much decision are made by mutual consents, rather than by polling. A cho with average 50 to 100 members seems a suitable size for such system.

Standardisation = Affordability + High Quality?

Then, what type of urban code is the most suitable for the city centre in historic cities like Kyoto? At first, the other three types of urban code in Ben-Joseph (2003) do not seem to answer to this question. Performance standards and incentive-based codes and guidelines have both been introduced in these cities. Form-based codes or design-oriented codes and districts are more suitable for new development such as Urban Village or Transit Oriented Development. The strength of the traditional urban code proves that a well elaborated mixture of these urban codes could foster standardisation which will bring affordability and high quality simultaneously (Figure 3).

The current approaches, building agreement and district plan, also, only set the minimum standards for buildings. In the building agreement system, there is a system for the organisation of agreement members determine the appropriateness of building plans in the area. However, when they judged inappropriate but the developer did not agree, the organisation would have to take the case to court.

Own, Rent, Compartmented?

Historically, during the time the urban code had developed and been effectively used, most, if not all, the people in the area belonged to the community which defined the code. They lived and worked in the area, some of who owned the land and building in the area, the others rented. The owners had stronger rights and responsibilities, but they share much of the concerns with the renters.

Today, people who live in the inner city do not necessarily work in the area. Indeed, the inner city is convenient for commuting to Osaka and other cities and thus has attracted, and still is, a growing number of commuters. On the other hand, much of the business in the area

is run by people who live in the suburb of Kyoto.

Another issue is the ownership of condominiums (or mansions in Japan), which is compartedly owned by more than one owners under the Law for Comparted-ownership, etc. of Building. Based on the legal interpretation that the land of such buildings is co-owned by the owners, they are given one vote right when making a decision—in the neighbourhood. The structure of the new communities, and its urban code which allow the renters to participate in decision making process, should be revised.

Conclusion

In Japan, the suburbs or large cities have been developed effectively by Land Readjustment and Railway company-led developments, while inner cities have been neglected. This may not be true. The planning tools, such as city plan roadway or allocated land, were also introduced in the central area, but not as effective in the area with a number of plots and landlords as in the former countryside. Instead of these tools, urban code seems to effectively foster development.

Urban code had been an effective approach to solve, and prevent from, a variety of urban issues until the modern planning system was introduced in Kyoto. It seems still effective in city centre with strong local community of landowners. The planning tools, e.g. Building Agreement and District Plan and local policies, e.g. City Ordinances, have adopted the strengths of these urban code experiences as a complement to planning system.

There still remain several issues. The current approaches of community and code-based development are constrained within the planning system which merely defines the minimum standards. Another issue is that they do not reflect the modernised society and complicated land ownership issues. These approaches are based on social norms, and thus need to be modified to fit in law-abiding society.

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ALVAR AALTO'S URBAN IDEAS IN A SMALL FINNISH TOWN IN THE 50s – THE CASE OF LAHTI

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Post-war Finland

The Second World War was a significant historical divide in Finland. It meant enormous spiritual and material losses but after the war Finland experienced a profound cultural revival, artistic victories and a new kind of internationality.

During the war and almost ten years thereafter the economy was rationed by the state of emergency, different limitations, purchase cards and a black market. The purchase cards finally became history in 1954 when coffee was released from the regulation.¹ The times were harsh but common difficulties added to a sense of solidarity. The war indemnities required great efforts and united the people. Economy began to recover rapidly. New consumer products, such as cars and household appliances, came onto the market. Consuming got a whole new meaning during and after the depression. Also the concept of leisure time and how to spend it got a new meaning when cars, record players and televisions began to be within the reach of all.²

The American way of living was a popular slogan, especially in entertainment. During the war and in the 40s the exchange regulations were tight and when they were lifted, the

obstructions to the avalanche of mass culture disappeared. After the war two thirds of the movies came to Finland from the US, and Finns were really eager movie-goers. Seventy-five percent of imported TV programs also came from the US.³ Donald Duck and The Readers' Digest were the most popular American magazines in Finland and through them the American way of living, everyday phenomena and products became familiar to Finns.⁴

Two events opened Finnish windows to the world in 1952: the Olympic Games held in Helsinki and the Finnish Maid, Armi Kuusela being chosen Miss Universe the same year. The sport event and the world success of Finnish female beauty were important inspirers of Finnish self-esteem in post-war Finland. They began a new era in the country.⁵ Finnish artists became well known in the western art world. Applied arts rushed to Europe with a conscious awareness of a national task in the background: it had to be shown that Finland was the mental winner of the war. The triennials of Milan in the 50s were real successes. Architecture, especially Alvar Aalto, gave Finland the image of a creative individual culture.⁶

Finland was still an agricultural country in the 40s and 50s but began to urbanize slowly, however. The year 1956 was the divide here: for the first time construction volumes in the towns and boroughs were bigger than those in the countryside and the difference kept on growing. Post-war Finnish architecture was also a symbol of welfare, a wealthy, practical, modern and urbanized way of life.⁷

Town planning was new in Finland as well as in Europe as a whole. The first planning professorship was young, too: in Helsinki University of Technology the chair had only been founded in 1940. It was held by Otto-Iivari Meurman, "the father of Finnish planning". His book called Town Planning was published in 1947 and soon became a classic. Some general plans had already been made in the 40s, for instance the regional plan of Kokemäki lower course in 1942 and in 1945 the general plan of Rovaniemi, which had been destroyed by war, both by Alvar Aalto. Others include the very effective reconstruction plan of Vyborg in the beginning of the 40s by Otto-Iivari Meurman and the overall land plan of Helsinki from the mid 40s. As a planning method the general plan was quite unexplored and the municipalities had not been very eager to the challenges of general planning.⁸ The architects directed by Otto-Iivari Meurman, however, demanded that it was just their task, right and duty to take care of the post-war reconstruction and planning of the communities damaged by the war.⁹

Traffic started to receive more and more attention in Finnish town planning. Reino Ajo's academic dissertation was published 1944 and it was an important pilot in Finnish planning practices. It proved the connections between traffic streams and economy, especially business areas, for the first time in Finland. It had a powerful impact for instance on Otto-Iivari Meurman, who was the father and first theorist of Finnish town planning. Echoes of Ajo's work can be seen in many Finnish general plans from the end of the 40s onward. This was the beginning of the American way of business centres and super markets in Finland and also a new situation for the traditional way of shopping in Finland.¹⁰

Post-war Finland was at the start of a new era. After the war people had high expectations of the future and they believed that these hopes could be fulfilled. Joy and courage of living returned.

Post-war Lahti

After the war there were about 38 000 inhabitants in Lahti. Almost 10 000 of them were evacuees, who had come from the areas ceded to the Soviet Union. They came just to Lahti because there had traditionally been active connections between Lahti and Eastern Finland since the 1860's when the railway to St. Petersburg had been built via Lahti.¹¹ The Mayor stood at the railway station persuading possible inhabitants and especially companies to Lahti from the evacuee trains passing by.¹² After the war a town almost the size that had developed before the war had to be built. During and immediately after the war the number of the inhabitants grew quicker than that of any other town of similar size in Finland.¹³



Lahti market place in the 50s. In front of the picture are pastry sellers who usually were Karelian. In Mäkinen, Eino, Lahti. Lahti 1955.

The post-war increase in the number of inhabitants was enormous and caused great problems in the town. There was a severe shortage of flats: at the most difficult points in time people had to be settled even in buildings other than dwelling houses. There was also a shortage of plots for public, business and industrial buildings. The evacuees brought for instance 119 shops and factories, two hospitals, three insurance companies, a chamber of commerce, several basic and vocational schools, institute of music, museum collections and sports and other clubs to Lahti.¹⁴ The number of the business enterprises doubled.¹⁵

Town planning was in confusion. The planning systems and the profession of an architect were quite young and unstable in the town. At the beginning of the 20th century there had been a powerful creative period in Lahti when the young town had been developed and built strongly. Lahti town elders had used the most famous and talented architects in Finland, Eliel Saarinen among others, to erect impressive buildings.¹⁶ After a glorious beginning there had been just some private architects for short periods in Lahti. Only in 1929 the town got a permanent architect when there was a very strong construction period in Lahti and the town elders were faced with the fact that there was no purposeful land policy, no coherent building code, nor professional, artistic high level planning in the town.¹⁷ The city architect got down to work and began a powerful period of development in town planning. In 1945 a planning architect was employed and he began to clear the planning chaos, which was a result of the war. His task was to create a general plan for

Lahti.¹⁸ The increase of professional labour force was also rapid: in 1947 the town employed five architects and there were also three private architects in Lahti.¹⁹ Planning was beginning to professionalize in Lahti.

Architect Olavi Laisaari's general plan was a great utopia with business areas without any inhabitants, high buildings, huge highways, four airports, large parking areas and so on. Old town structure would have had to be demolished. Laisaari admired America and he believed that almost every man would want to have his own car in the future. So the streets would have to be widened. Traffic got a strong impetus in his plan.²⁰ Lahti was still a tiny town with many old wooden buildings in the centre from the turn of the century but now it had a sweet dream of promising development.

Laisaari's plan got a lot of support from the town elders, who believed in a marvellous future in a beautiful modern ever-growing town. Mayor Olavi Kajala was a dynamic and powerful man, who implemented his visions without hesitation. He admired the first elders of Lahti, who had been so courageous and energetic. Kajala wrote that everybody had to follow their example in building the town. He had also travelled exceptionally much and admired big European towns: Copenhagen, London, Paris among others because there were so many cultural buildings and parks, play grounds for children, statues, fountains and so on. He dreamed of a same kind of town and he was able to have his dream come true. By the beginning of the 60s Lahti had got an art hall, a concert hall and twenty three public works of art. The park areas had grown to be the widest in Finland. Kajala had the beauty and prosperity of the town very much at heart.²¹

Lahti market place

In 1956 the town elders ordered a plan to rebuild the market place, which was an old institution. Lahti had been an important place of trading since 1672. That year the county governor chose Lahti to have the market because it had good connections everywhere in Southern Finland both by water and by road. The market tradition was strong and lively and it still got new blood after the Second World War when many Karelian evacuees made market place trading their new means of livelihood. Until the end of the 19th century the situation of the market place had, however, been uncertain. It got its place and shape in Lahti's first town plan of 1878 after a disastrous fire had burnt down the small village of Lahti. The market place had been planned to be

very large compared to the rest of the plan area. The size of the market place was part of town economic policy of the end of the 19th century because the market gathered tradesmen, cheap-jacks, customers and entertainers from the whole of southern Finland, especially in September when a servant hiring fair was held there.²²

The market place also had a very imposing and unique site symmetrically between the main church from 1890 and the town hall from 1912, which stood at the opposite ends of one of the main streets, Mariankatu. Both buildings were on a hill and the market place was situated below. On the western side of the market place there was a park called Small Market Place. In the 1878 plan this area had been meant for the borough hall but it was built later in another place, at the end of Mariankatu. The plot was empty for decades, only used for a small jail for a while and sometimes during big markets for circus tents and that kind of things. At the end of the 40s a park was built on the plot and also an influential company of Karelian origin was allowed to build its pavilion like store on the south side of the plot.²³ The whole area, the big market place and the park were one hundred meters by two hundred metres; that is two hectares altogether.²⁴



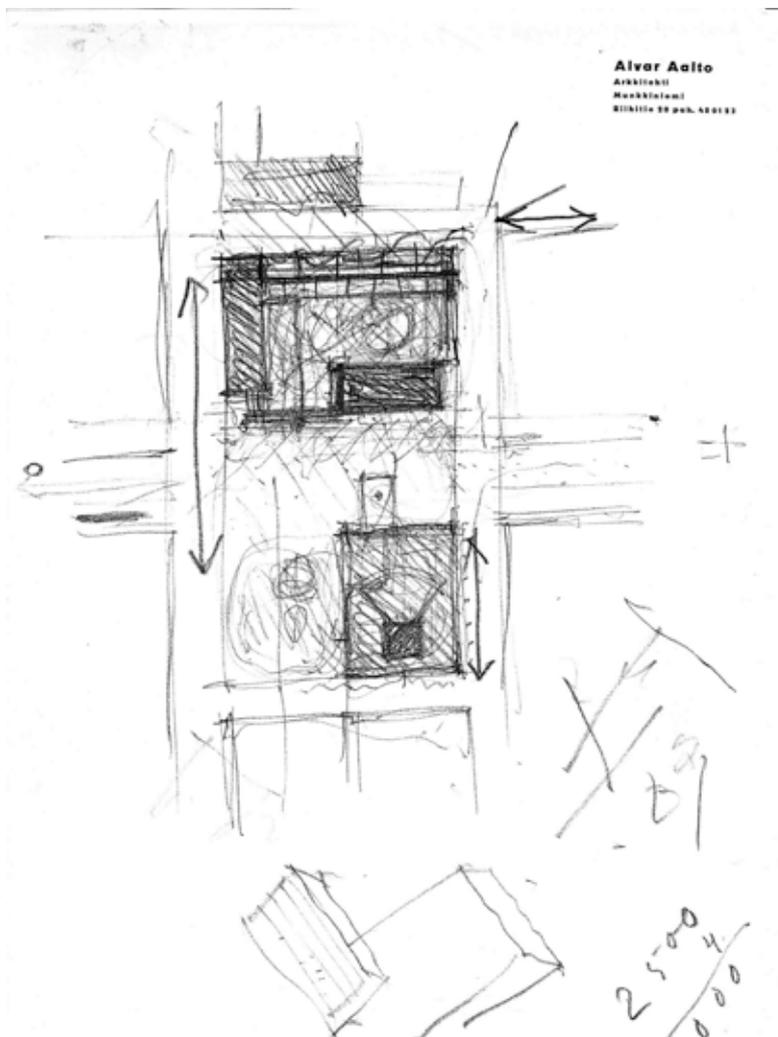


The site of Lahti market place between the church and the town hall. The upper picture in Mäkinen, Eino, Lahti. Lahti 1955. The lower picture in Lahti. Helsinki 1949.

Alvar Aalto together with two other architects, Olli Pöyry and Väinö Tuukkanen were asked to make a new plan for the market place. Aalto was at that time an Academician, a world famous planner, an absolute authority. He had won a competition for a new main church of Lahti in 1949 but more urgent projects of Lahti Parish had caused his church plan to be set aside. Aalto's church stayed long in the plans of the parish but in 1954 the plan was shelved and the old church behind the market place was renovated.²⁵ Olli Pöyry for his part had won the third prize in the first main church competition in 1933 but his and also the other winners' plans had been left out and the whole project was forgotten after some time.²⁶

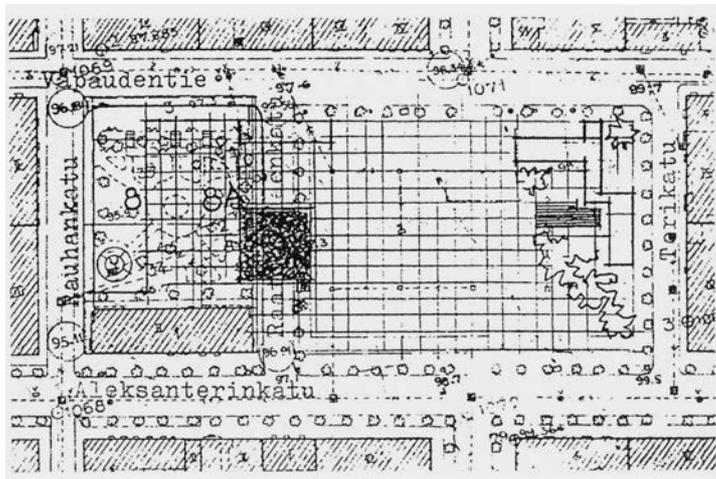
The architects presented their proposal to the town elders in September 1956. They criticized the first plan of Lahti, which was a typical square plan from the end of the 19th century. It was artistically modest and did not take the shapes of the terrain into account. The market place was too large and it had to be divided into smaller areas. They said they had followed international examples in their plan. They wrote that classical market places for instance in France and Italy were composed of small parts organically connected together. This kind of solutions gave the town an architectural dominant. The market place and the park should be better separated from each other so that they clearly were different spaces. On the other hand the architects said that the street between them should be eliminated because they wanted these two spaces to be solid. The street axis between the church and the town hall was not particularly architecturally valuable either. They proposed a tower between the market place and the park. The tower should be higher than the other buildings round the market place. In the north-eastern corner of the market place they proposed a low building for cultural purposes and a small park around it. The fountain statue and the pond erected two years earlier should have been moved away. The rest of the market place area would have been allowed for business, “It would be even stimulating”, Aalto wrote.²⁷

Alvar Aalto’s sketches of the market place. Alvar Aalto Foundation, Helsinki.



The architects' visions would have renewed the market place and its surroundings totally. The tower would have broken the strict symmetry of the street axis between the town hall and the church. It would also have covered the powerful symbol function of the both buildings and the total composition and struggled against the stipulation from the year 1920, which did not allow higher than five-storey buildings around the market place. The tradition of careful and balanced planning and this kind of limitations in the centre of the town was long.²⁸ Eliminating the street between the market place and the park would have obscured the old square plan, its shape and function. There was also a contradiction between the old function of the market place and the new plan. Lahti market place was for a long time past an empty plot for tradesmen and their customers, Aalto's and his companions aim was to change it to a more ceremonial square, a dominant and fixed point, an architectural symbol of the central element of the town. The practical nature of the market place would have partly vanished and it would only have had a role of curiosity. The same year that the architects made their proposal there was a large incorporation of areas around Lahti and the need for a big market place was urgent – the population of Lahti was doubled. The non-symmetrically situated fountain at the market place was a mistake and it was moved elsewhere five years later.

Aalto also proposed that if the park did not stay as it was, it could be built partly or completely. The difference between the levels of the market place and the park was about four meters and so there was an opportunity to build a cover over the park area. Under the cover there would have been shops and garages. The “car-house” could be multi-storeyed, too. Again the models for this kind of solution were foreign.²⁹



Alvar Aalto, Olli Pöyry, Väinö Tuukkanen: Lahti market place. Plan 1956. In Tuomi, Timo, *Kaupunkikuvan muutokset*. Helsinki 2005.

The architects' proposal was quite modern in Finnish planning. The role of the motorcar had slowly increased but these kinds of structures were new. At the time the architects made their proposal there was one parking house under construction in Helsinki. The era of heavy traffic problems was far ahead in Finland.³⁰

Alvar Aalto's modern urban ideas and the small town of Lahti

The soil in Lahti was very receptive to Alvar Aalto and his companions' ideas. The atmosphere in Finland was hopeful after the war and everything seemed to be possible. The future was bright. The Mayor, the planning architect and other town elders of Lahti were dynamic and ambitious, maybe partly unrealistic and utopian. They were international and knew new trends in architecture and town planning. The historic values were ignored totally; they were an obstacle to development. There was a need to urbanize and industrialize Finland and Lahti wanted to be at the forefront of this phenomenon.

The tower was one of Aalto's great loves that he cultivated from the 20s till the end of his career. If there was not a tower, there was a tower like powerful dominating part of the construction. These themes were often purposeless as Göran Schildt writes about the towers in Jyväskylä Civil Guard house and Turun Sanomat house. According to Schildt Aalto had a special psychological relation to towers and they are the most genuine expression of his individuality. Schildt offers the huge tower in Erottaja, Helsinki as an example. Aalto planned this vast construction just to manifest the strong will for independence during the heavy years of the 40s.³¹ Could we see Aalto's Lahti tower for instance as an indicator of the dynamism of Lahti? It was the most rapidly growing town in Finland after the war.

Aalto was one of great pioneers of general planning in Finland. His models were mostly American. He avoided the ready ideologies of the functionalists, ideal towns and clean theories. On the other hand some kind of laboratory town was on his mind for years and he certainly knew the experiments for instance of the Russians with such projects. One of his closest friends, Göran Schildt reported of them in the early 50s. So an idea of architecture as a pure theoretical creation without any connections to human reality was also possible in a way. One feature of Aalto's town planning practices was also a theory "from inside to outside". This meant that the town had to have a heart that later determined the surroundings and the general plan did not need to

act as a starting point.³² Maybe Lahti market place with its super tower would have been such a heart. It would have set the town centre slowly by itself because Aalto criticized its scale and the first rigid and stiff square plan which ignored the hills and hollows of the terrain.³³

Aalto was tied to his international and domestic projects in the 50s. In 1956 he visited Venice, where he set up the Finnish Exhibition Pavilion. He also travelled to France for Maison Carré and the US for Lincoln Center. In Finland he had big tasks: a plan for university campus and a fertiliser factory in Oulu, a parish centre in Seinäjoki, in Rovaniemi large Korkalovaara areas with their shopping centres, heating stations and dwelling complexes.³⁴ He was essentially too busy and had too many glorious projects to put his soul into the problems and essential nature of Lahti. He worked hard in the 50s – and, as Kirmo Mikkola has remarked – Aalto was not young any more. He sketched his commissions roughly and the assistants went on with realization often applying his earlier themes.³⁵

Timo Tuomi has shown that the modernists – like Aalto – developed a new content for classic themes suited to their principles. Historical examples were modified to give reasons for their opinions of modernism. These facts got new interpretations. The past was useful, but only to certain limit. Tuomi also quotes Florian Urban, who described German planning in the 50s by saying: “Emphasizing rupture and innovation, German city-design principles in the late 1950’s were about commanding the future rather than dealing with the present”.³⁶ That is an excellent description of the situation in Lahti when Aalto and his companion proposed their market place plan.

Or was this free and easy sensation just a joke, one example of Aalto’s famous sense of humour and tendency towards anarchism? We have to remember that both Alvar Aalto and Olli Pöyry had unrealized church plans in Lahti and they may have felt some kind of bitterness towards Lahti.

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- ¹ Mansner 1992, 200-201; Tarkka J. 1992, 195, 199-200; Tarkka J. – Manninen 1992, 148.
- ² Jalonen 1985, 170; Maula, Johanna 1995, 12-16, 23-27, 30, 35; Tarkka J. 1992, 210.
- ³ Jalonen 1985, 54-56, 60, 170, 182; Knuuttila 1992, 117-118.
- ⁴ Knuuttila 1992, 119, 121; Niskanen 1996, 145.
- ⁵ Karisto – Takala 1990, 43; Knuuttila 1992, 118-119.
- ⁶ Tarkka P. 1992, 189, 192.
- ⁷ Saarikangas 2004, 33.
- ⁸ Maula, Jere 1994, 111-113; Meurman 1976, 110; Meurman – Huovinen 1989, 173; Salokorpi 1990, 32; Schulman 2000, 33.
- ⁹ Korvenmaa 1992, 115.
- ¹⁰ Tuomi 2005, 34-35.
- ¹¹ Laisaari s.a., 7; Turpeinen 1980, 124-126.
- ¹² The oral information of Marja Huovila 25.11.2003.
- ¹³ Niemi 1958, 525, 527.
- ¹⁴ Huovila 1996, 9, 64, 67-70, 73-81.
- ¹⁵ The oral information of Marja Huovila 25.11.2003.
- ¹⁶ Niskanen 2004.
- ¹⁷ Kertomus Lahden kaupungin kunnallishallinnosta vuonna 1929 1931, 17-18.
- ¹⁸ Kertomus Lahden kaupungin kunnallishallinnosta vuonna 1945 I 1948, 291-292.
- ¹⁹ Laisaari 1947, 117.
- ²⁰ Laisaari s.a., passim.
- ²¹ Niskanen 2006, 179, 181-183.
- ²² Airamo 1999, 53-54; Heinonen 1999, 87, 89, 96.
- ²³ Siikaniemi 1999, 101,103,109-110.
- ²⁴ Kertomus Lahden kaupungin kunnallishallinnosta vuonna 1956 I 1957, 714.
- ²⁵ Heikkilä 1992, 327-328.
- ²⁶ Halila 1958, 383.
- ²⁷ Kertomus Lahden kaupungin kunnallishallinnosta vuonna 1956 I 1957, 714-715.
- ²⁸ Tuomi 1992, 24; Airamo 1999, 61.
- ²⁹ Kertomus Lahden kaupungin kunnallishallinnosta vuonna 1956 I 1957, 715.
- ³⁰ Jetsonen 2000, 95.
- ³¹ Schildt 1982, 250-251.
- ³² Schildt 1954, 51-54; Mikkola 1989, 88, 91, 95-96.
- ³³ Kertomus Lahden kaupungin kunnallishallinnosta vuonna 1956 I 1957, 714.
- ³⁴ Heporauta 1999, 68-69.
- ³⁵ Mikkola 1989, 84.
- ³⁶ Tuomi 2005, 204-205.

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Title

“Neighborhood unit concept” to 60/40: Travel and travails of a global planning idea

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Introduction:

It is widely acknowledged that the processes of colonization and modernization encouraged and consequently accelerated the travel of planning ideas from the so-called “core” to the “periphery.” A robust body of literature exists documenting such travels of planning ideas and their impacts on destination cities (e.g., Abu-Lughod 1980; Home 1997; and King 1976). More recently, it has been argued that colonized states, after independence, reemployed the planning ideas and practices of colonial governments to articulate new national identities (Kusno 2000). However, the over time fate of such planning ideas in the host societies has remained an under-investigated object of study. The tacit assumption that these ideas continued to exercise influence, without themselves getting affected by the host societies, appears deterministic and therefore provocative and contestable.

On the other hand, scholars in the diverse fields of cultural studies, historiography, and anthropology have argued that globalized typologies are transformed over time by host societies (e.g., Appadurai 1996; and Prakash 1999). Gyan Prakash posits these transforming processes as “a realignment of power, a renegotiation of the unequal relationship between Western and indigenous languages” (1999, 50). Arjun Appadurai sees these transformations as processes leading to indigenization: “as rapidly as forces from various metropolises are brought into new societies they tend to become indiginized in one or other way” (Appadurai 1996, 32). This article extends these approaches to transformations to empirically examine the fate of a so-called “global” planning idea in a “local” context over time.

Several scholars have recognized that the planning idea of “Neighborhood unit concept” traveled widely to such diverse settings as the United Kingdom, Ghana, Ethiopia and India (e.g., Banerjee and Baer 1984; and Silver 1985). The neighborhood unit concept was introduced by the American planner Clarence Perry in volume seven of the *Regional Survey for New York and its environs*, published in 1929. Inspired by contemporary scholarship, such as that of Robert Park and Herbert Miller at the University of Chicago, Perry’s neighborhood unit concept was conceived as a physical planning instrument for designing self-contained residential neighborhoods. In 1939, the neighborhood unit concept came to India and my aim, in this article, is to trace and analyze its travel and travails since then.

I endeavor to do so by providing an insight into key stages through which the neighborhood unit: traveled to India; was transformed through processes such as adaptation, translation, and internalization; became established in planning practice as a proto-typical proviso through incorporation in legal policy documents such as master plans; was formulized as an official requirement through rules such as those governing sub-division of urban land; and has eventually been banalized in the Indian planning practice by its application, bereft of the original spirit, merely to fulfill the official requirement. This article is based on doctoral research undertaken in India in 2006. The research material for this paper comes from published texts such as journal articles and scholarly books, archives of government planning and policy documents, college libraries housing student’s graduate thesis, master plans for Indian cities, and semi-structured open ended interviews with Indian planners.

The idea:

Perry’s idea of the neighborhood unit was shaped by contemporary social values, physical planning ideology, and consensus of important actors (Silver 1985). Tridib Banerjee and William Baer have suggested that the underlying influences that molded the neighborhood unit concept can be organized in three broad clusters. The first cluster is made up of *contextual values*. This

cluster represents the intellectual concerns and thinking of the turn of the century American reformist movement such as a perceived need to strengthen traditional links between the individual, the place and the community which had weakened due to an inchoate social and moral order.¹ Banerjee and Baer called the second as *manifest values*, which resided in the design principles of the concept. These values are reflected in the professional planner's concerns about creating a place that provides opportunities for recreation and social interaction, and an environment that is safe, pleasing and secure. Banerjee and Baer named the third cluster as *tacit values*. These were unstated meanings based on pragmatic social and economic considerations such as Perry's presumption of social homogeneity to protect owner-occupancy appeal and the impermeability of a particular social group. The tacit values were implicit in the endorsement of developers, municipalities, and lending institutions (1984, 20).

However, for a practitioner the kernel of the concept resided in manifest values, enunciated in Perry's design principles which were meant to be used as a template for planning the neighborhood unit (Perry 1929, 88). Perry's 1929 work, also included a seemingly innocuous planning parameter, which would later be the pivot for its banalization in India. This was the land-use analysis table (Fig 1.0). Perry used such tables to lay out the break up of areas and their percentages under suggested land uses in the already built neighborhood units:

Figure 1.0: Area relations of the Plan

Complete unit	160 acres	100 per cent
Dwelling-house lots.....	86.5	54.0
Apartment-house lots.....	3.4	2.1
Business blocks.....	6.5	4.1
Market squares.....	1.2	0.8
School and church sites.....	1.6	1.0
Parks and playgrounds.....	13.8	8.6
Greens and circles.....	3.2	2.0
Streets.....	43.8	27.4

Source: Perry 1929, 3

Over the next decade, Perry grew more confident about his idea and in his 1939 work: *Housing for the Machine Age*, repositioned the concept as “The Neighborhood Unit Formula” that provided “principles and standards in definite, objective terms which the professional planner could apply in preparing a plan suited to the topography and other characteristics of a particular site” (Perry 1939, 49). He devoted an entire chapter of this text urging local governments to start using eminent domain for assembling land to plan new neighborhood units (Ibid, 159). Although, American city halls did not buy his argument, as we will see later, this proposition appeared significantly attractive to the post-independence Indian state.

Travel of the idea:

Recent literature identifies movement of capital, people, information and culture as the main agencies of globalization (Pizarro et al. 2003). My research affirms the role played by all of these in the travel of neighborhood unit to India. However, my research reveals that for urban phenomena, two factors enable the successful travel of a concept: the actions of professional planners and architects - especially their education, convictions, and their introduction of such ideas in iconic projects and policy documents; and the receptivity of the host society.

The beliefs of professional planners and architects who disseminated the idea of neighborhood unit in India are comprehensible today when viewed through the frame of

“Planning Mentality.” These professionals, in the spirit of the times, believed that it was truthful and legitimate to attempt creating a “perfectly disciplined spatial order” (Boyer 1983, 60). Receptivity of Indian society was rooted in what historians call the “climate of opinion.” Socially, it was thought prudent to do away with traditional social system and replace it with nationalism because it was a threat which could drown the new nation “in parochialism of caste, creed, religion and region” (Frankel, 2005, 635). Economically and politically, the guiding principle was that “Planning should take place with a view to the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society where the principles means of production [including provision of housing] are under social ownership or control” (Nehru cited in Frankel 2005, 117).

The planners:

Planning education played an important role in shaping the convictions of Otto H. Koenigsberger and Albert Mayer, the protagonists in introducing the neighborhood unit concept to India. Koenigsberger reached India in 1939.² Koenigsberger’s convictions and design philosophy were a reflection of his formal training in the enlightened traditions of the Weimar republic. His mentor at his alma mater *Technische Hochschule, Berlin*, the reputed Ernst May, was famous for the design of public housing at Frankfurt am Main. May had worked with Raymond Unwin in Britain absorbing the lessons and principles of garden city movement. May’s influence on Koenigsberger was profound and lasting as evident in the later’s Indian works.

Koenigsberger’s first two assignments in India were to devise zoning and expansion plans for existing industrial towns. In 1940, he used the neighborhood unit concept for the industrial city of Bhadravati and in 1943 for Tata’s steel plant at Jamshedpur. In 1944, Koenigsberger joined the government of India as the Director of Housing (Liscombe 2006, 159). Over next seven years, he superintended planning of several new towns, based on the neighborhood unit concept, to accommodate refugees migrating from the newly created Pakistan. In 1948, he employed the concept to plan the capital city of Bhubaneswar for the state of Orissa.³ Importantly, for the first generation of Indian planners Bhubaneswar and Chandigarh, with their neighborhood units, became iconic case-studies in city-planning.

In contrast with Koenigsberger’s formal training, the initial planner of Chandigarh, Albert Mayer had learned his trade on the job.⁴ Before reaching India, during the Second World War, Mayer had already acquired a conviction about the importance of what is now called community planning. He had gained critical insights into designing community housing through a decade long experience in planning practice. In the late 1920s and the early 1930s, Mayer worked for and collaborated with leading planners of the times including such stalwarts as Clarence Stein and Henry Wright (Kalia 1987, 50). Moreover, he had first hand experienced the phenomenon of skillful advocacy leading to policy formulation. In 1933, along with Lewis Mumford and Henry Wright, he had founded the successful Housing Study Guild to study and research in the problems of housing and community planning.⁵ Thus equipped, Mayer quickly garnered the support of Ford Foundation when it set up its first ever overseas office in Delhi in 1952, and that of Chester Bowles, the US ambassador to India.⁶

Mayer, like Koenigsberger, consistently used the neighborhood unit, in his Indian projects.⁷ However, his employment of the concept in the plan for Chandigarh, and its subsequent retention by the new planning team spearheaded by Le Corbusier proved crucial in instituting the concept’s credibility among Indian Planners. Mayer’s own conviction that the neighborhood unit suited Indian conditions played a vital role in this. His address to a gathering of planners in Washington DC in Oct 1950 summed it up, succinctly: “However useful the

neighborhood concept is here [in the US], it is more valid in India, where most people are still villagers and small-community people at heart, and fairly recently by origin” (Mayer 1950, 174).

By early 1950s, other planners too began introducing the neighborhood unit concept.⁸ For instance, the master plan for Nagpur, published in 1953, stated: “The whole town will be planned and developed for new areas ... on the basic principles of cells, in the form of neighborhoods...The principle of neighborhoods has been accepted in the foreign countries as offering the best functional and social solution” (Nagpur Improvement trust 1953, 27). Formal introduction of neighborhood unit to the planning fraternity came in 1955, when the Institute of Town Planners, India (ITPI), at its fourth Autumn Planning Seminar and the State Planning Officials’ conference held at Lucknow, published its recommendations for “Planning standards for community services and facilities.”

Planning standards, the conference cautioned, should be worked out on a regional basis because uniform standards would not do justice to India’s vastness. However, until the regional standards are evolved, the Lucknow conference recommended that it would be useful to adopt “workable standards” based on “our experience and the experience gained in other progressive countries to enable the planners to continue their work and check further deterioration and unhealthy growth of our cities, town and villages” (ITPI 1955, 23). In reality, however, the lack of trained planners and an ever-increasing workload made preparation of region-specific standards difficult and the recommended “workable standards” filled-in as regular standards, when needed. For example, in 1960, H.K. Mewada, author of Master Plan for the city of Guwahati in North-Eastern tropical state of Assam, reported that the: “planning standards adopted for the Master Plan have been based on the recommendations made by the ITPI, India, at its Lucknow Seminar” and that the “development of new areas [of Guwahati] shall be on the basis of neighborhood principles” (Mewada 1960, 93).⁹

Planning standards recommended by the conference for residential areas was in form of a simple table that suggested types and percentages of different land uses needed to plan a neighborhood of 10,000 people. Advantage of this format (Table 1.0) lies in the fact that, apart from Perry’s simple design principles, the professional planner only needs two numbers: the desired density of persons/acre and the available land area for the proposed neighborhood, to arrive at the “correct” break up of land uses required to “plan” a neighborhood unit:

Table 1.0: Land Use Table for a residential neighborhood of 10,000 population

Gross density (persons/acre)	20	30	40	50	60
Net density (persons/acre) excluding all major open spaces viz. such as schools, shops etc.	30	56	90	100	120
Residential area (in acres)	333	178	111	104	84
Primary schools with play-grounds	20	20	20	20	20
Secondary schools with play-fields	24	24	24	24*	24*
Open spaces, viz. children’s play area, connecting greens excluding school’s playing fields (4 acres/ 1,000 minimum)	76	74	63	51	40
Public buildings, shops and car parks etc.	31	25	20	17	15
Total area (in acres)	434	321	238	218	183

* - Primary schools and their playgrounds should form a part of a neighborhood. In the case of central areas of existing towns where high density becomes necessary to be adopted, the secondary schools and their playing fields may be provided outside the neighborhood, but within a walking distance of not more than one mile.

Source: *Proceeding of the Autumn Planning Seminar and State planning officials’ conference held at Lucknow, India in October 1955 as reported in November 1955 issue of the Journal of the Institute of Town Planners, India.*

This DIY land use table, apart from breaking down Perry's imagination into a neat mathematical formulation, also implied a significant shift in the planning practice governing the design of new residential quarters in Indian cities. To understand the linkages with the preceding typology and the second set of recommendations of the ITPI's 1955 conference that called for a land use planning policy that required setting up of a suitable planning machinery at all levels of governance a brief review of the contemporary planning paradigm in India is in order.

The receptive terrain:

My research reveals that following two factors facilitated a smooth reception for the neighborhood unit. First, was its crucial continuation and attendant vital improvement of the Civil Lines typology that it eventually replaced. Second, was the convergence of contextual values of the idea with the socio-political aspirations of India's post-independence leadership.

Civil lines, a euphemism for the sequestered European quarter in South Asian cities, were planned by the colonial British during the 19th century. The Civil Lines was a residential settlement of broad and regular streets with bungalows set among vast lots. The construction of Civil Lines was a significant event in the narrative of Indian cities as it represented a decisive break from the indigenous city which was seen by the colonial British as unhygienic, chaotic and incomprehensible (Hosagrahar 2001). Importantly, the Civil Lines typology gradually captured the imagination of the indigenous elite who, by the early 20th century, began to plan their own residential areas emulating the landscape of Civil Lines (Khan 1994).

Neighborhood unit shared several design features with the Civil Lines, such as: setback of building line from the lot boundaries; regular and wide roads; parks and open spaces; and tidy appearance due to a certain discipline and order. These similarities meant that the concept did not out rightly revolt against the imaginations and aspirations of the indigenous elite who, like the colonial British, continued to harbor a fear of the "un-planned" indigenous city.¹⁰ A contemporary planning brochure captured the indigenous elite's fear crisply: "Today, one has an opportunity to choose between planning and no planning, slums and ill-ventilated colonies on the one hand and well-planned and ventilated ones with wide roads, playgrounds and other public amenities, etc., on the other" (UPTPO 1952, 4).¹¹ Thus, in accordance with Anthony D. King's assertion that the Civil Lines was not just a physical and spatial form but also an attitude of the mind that lasted long after the colonial rule, the civic neighborhood unit fitted flawlessly in the post-independence elitist space vacated by the colonial Civil Lines.

The concept also contained several design features that promised to improve the shortcomings of colonial Civil Lines and was therefore compatible with the vision of Indian leadership. Unlike the vast lots of the Civil Lines, the neighborhood unit's much smaller lots made it much more fiscally and economically viable. The neighborhood unit was not sequestered from the city but promised equality by the virtue of being identical to the other cells of the city. Finally, it was not to be an exclusive abode of the privileged class but promised to house all income groups in the society. For instance, the Interim General Plan for Delhi which also recommended the idea of a planned neighborhood justified it on the grounds that the preceding practice promoted segregation (TPO 1956, 18).

Reception of the idea was also aided by the contemporary planning paradigm. Planning, as is well documented, was important in Nehru's scheme of things. As early as 1938, the National Planning Committee, chaired by Nehru had defined the concept of planning: "Planning under a democratic system may be defined as the technical co-ordination by disinterested experts, of consumption, production, investment, trade, and income distribution in accordance

with social objectives set by bodies representatives of the state” (Cited in Prakash 1999, 198). Thus, in recommending the concept, the planner was a “disinterested expert” merely facilitating “technical co-ordination” and her recommendations were strictly outside the domain of politics (Chatterjee 1993, 202). This implied that the act of employing the neighborhood unit, and merit of this decision were not open to discussion in a political forum and the technical expertise of the planners could be trusted to select the right tools for achieving the desired social objectives.

Finally, the contemporary role of the state also played an important role in ensuring a smooth reception for the neighborhood unit. Sunil Khilnani has identified “establishment of the state at the core of Indian society” as the historical success of Nehru’s rule (1999, 41). In other words, the state in Nehru’s India, aimed to be the final articulator of what constituted a “good life” for its citizens. In the field of urban development it meant setting up of provincial town planning departments to prepare master plans because Nehru desired: “What I should like in regard to every city is a clear plan of what a city will be like, say, twenty or thirty years later.”¹² To realize these master plans, it was acceptable if the local governments liberally used the police power of eminent domain to facilitate the planning and construction of the city and its extensions because Nehru thought that “In the India of today, the growth of cities, big and small ones, is quite anarchic. It is ugly, it is horrible, in fact, it is painful to see it. I am surprised how it is tolerated by great corporations and city municipalities.”¹³ These acquired lands were to be used for housing a civic and happy community of citizens by employing expert recommended tools, such as the neighborhood unit, because Nehru considered a happy community vital for nation building. For instance, while laying the foundation stone for Bhubaneswar in 1948, he was glad to note that: “The architect and the chief engineer have thought of this future city in terms not of a few palatial buildings but of a happy community.”¹⁴ Eventually, policy implications of Nehru’s vision for urban India came clear, just before his death, in the report of the committee on Urban Land Policy. Setup in 1963 and popularly known as The Fazlur Rehman Committee, the report, among other findings, contained the following recommendations:

1. “That the state governments ... have Master plans prepared at the earliest for all their growing urban areas...[because] master plans prepared with comprehension in approach and thoroughness in details and implemented with undaunted determination are the best guarantee to ensure optimum use of the scarce land resources” (63).
2. “Future development in the presently undeveloped areas should be on the basis of planned neighborhoods forming an integral part of the master plan of the city, if one exists” (68) .
3. And “To check speculative increases in land prices within urbanizable limits...it is necessary that public authorities gain ownership of land either through mutual negotiations or through compulsory acquisition...We are of the view that the purchase of land through negotiations may bristle with too many formidable difficulties” (69).

Thus, Perry’s failed plea for a liberal use of eminent domain by American local governments eventually found a taker in distant yet receptive India. But, as we will see later, by the time the neighborhood unit became a stock-planning proviso and proliferated across urban India, its transformed shape and spirit were far removed from the original conception.

Transforming the idea:

A major theoretical impetus to my efforts in studying transformation comes from recent developments within an interdisciplinary body of scholarship that has argued that the binary distinctions such as local/global and formal/informal are imaginary and mutually constitutive terms. Such binaries are useful at best for discursive purposes and do not carry much analytical

purchase in the “real world.” The local or the informal are constructed as much at the global scale as the formal and global are conceived at the local scale (e.g., Flusty 2004; and Mazzarella 2003). Moreover, this emerging scholarship posits that the transforming processes which render the binaries analytically ineffective deserve more scholarly interest than perusing imagined binaries. Thus, my efforts, in this section are directed towards prying open incremental steps which are generally coalesced under the generic term: transformation.

To study transformation of alien phenomenon and ideas in host societies, Arjun Appadurai recommends making a distinction among, what he calls, “soft” and “hard” cultural forms (1996, 90). He defines hard cultural forms as “those that come with a set of links between value, meaning, and embodied practice that are difficult to break and hard to transform.” For instance, he calls the sport of cricket which he analyzes in the cited work, a hard cultural form because it transforms the players who play it, more easily than it is itself transformed. A soft cultural form, in contrast, is that “which permits relatively easy separation of embodied performance from meaning and value, and relatively easy transformation at each level” (Ibid).

Thus, the neighborhood unit, as we saw in the preceding section, is a soft cultural form because the ITPI’s recommendations in the Lucknow conference could easily separate its contextual values from the act of physical employment on the ground. Indeed, Perry’s utopian imaginations were cleaved away and were absent from the rationally crafted mathematical formulation of the ITPI which retained only the manifest and tacit values. This separation also enabled the amusing possibility of a planner in a one cow Indian town, far removed both spatially and spiritually from Perry’s imagination, using the table’s prescriptions for “planning” a neighborhood unit with the aid of an elementary slide rule. True to Appadurai’s schema, separation of the act of employment and its meaning and value accompanied the prospect of a “relatively easy transformation at each level” of the idea and this, I will show in the following section, was carried through the processes of adaptation, translation and internalization.

Gyan Prakash, in his text *Another Reason*, has traced the relationship between the discipline of science, colonialism and the modern nation. His central thesis is that science in the colonial world simultaneously served the paradoxical role of an instrument of the empire and that of a symbol that signified liberty and progress. The elite seized upon this ambiguous role of science and attempted to do several things: adapt it, through legitimizing the role of science by creating a hybrid form that combined western ideas with local cultural and social practices; translate it, by confronting and renegotiating the unequal relationship between western and indigenous languages; and finally internalizing it by breaking it down so that while its Western modernity could be criticized, its program of modernization could be internalized. Neighborhood unit’s transformation, I believe, becomes legible when viewed through this lens.

Adaptation:

Kevin Lynch has described a well-adapted place as the “one in which function and form are well fitted to each other” (Lynch 1981, 167). This could be achieved in many permutations by adaptation of the neighborhood unit to the local activities or vice versa and also by a mutual adaptation. For example, during the course of this research, I found several efforts to sensitize and “educate” the local population towards the civic aims of neighborhood unit such as the institution of a neighborhood wide mechanism called the “Vikas Mandal” (Development Council). The planners believed that such institutions could be used for instilling a collective sense of belongingness in the neighborhood residents and purging the traditional influence of caste based formations.¹⁵ Unfortunately, this aspect is beyond the scope of present work.

In this section, my first aim is to present a few of the more remarkable efforts planners made to adapt the neighborhood unit to fit their perceptions of local cultural and social practices. This enables me to demonstrate that not only was it easy to separate the contextual values of the “soft” neighborhood unit from the act of its employment (or the manifest values) but it was also possible, at least for the more ingenious planner, to impregnate new contextual values into the concept. My second aim is to show that the efforts to adapt the neighborhood unit ultimately proved tenuous because the Indian planners had problems in reconciling the fact that even after adaptations the concept’s origin remained foreign. This, as I will show in the next section, ultimately led the planners to confront and translate the concept.

The first planner to attempt adapting the concept was Koenigsberger. Like Mayer after him, he started with the assumption that the neighborhood unit had a “special appeal to the people of under-developed countries” (1952, 105). Moreover, to him, India’s ancient tradition of rural self-government (the so-called “village panchyats”) linked the concept to village communities: “the neighborhood units of the new towns form the best possible links with the type of community life they know from their villages” (Ibid). Tim Mitchell in his text *Rule of Experts* has described an analogy to this phenomenon: “For a state to prove that it was modern, it helped if it could also prove that it was ancient” (2002, 179). Thus, Koenigsberger was paradoxically drawing a justification to employ a modern planning idea from India’s ancient traditions probably to convince himself, more than others, that his efforts to adapt the modern idea were not unusual and the idea indeed had some local roots as well.

Koenigsberger’s most important adaptation in Bhubaneswar was to advocate for mixing up the residents from different socio-economic backgrounds. This adaptation in-fact anticipated the finding of Interim General Plan for Delhi to prevent “ghetto-formation.” He believed that, given the caste traditions of India, there was a real threat that the neighborhood units could become insular pockets populated by the same socio-economic sections of the society. The solution, in his view, lay in “the attempt to provide in each neighborhood a cross-section of the population, taking good care to have each social and professional group represented in it roughly in accordance with the relative strength in the whole community” (Koenigsberger 1952, 107).

This adaptation was in sharp contrast with Perry’s claim that the requisite needs for substantial capital would encourage the formation of a kind of club of people, similar in taste, which would be desirable because “the whole body would acquire a homogeneity that would facilitate living together and make possible the enjoyment of many benefits not otherwise obtainable” (1929, 110). While in the U.S., Perry’s claims about the virtues of homogeneity led the concept to be eventually branded as an instrument for segregation, Koenigsberger’s adaptation was largely adopted in Indian cities by 1960s.¹⁶ Thus, the “soft” neighborhood unit’s tacit values also permitted modifications to accommodate new contextual values.¹⁷ More importantly, Koenigsberger’s adaptations in Bhubaneswar pleased Nehru:

The new town will be grouped in self-contained neighborhood units, each comprising about 850 families. This will enable the town to grow without losing its community and neighborly character. In each area residential houses will surround the schools and shopping centers and will be near to open fields and recreation grounds. In the center of the town will be a group of public buildings with a Gandhi memorial pillar symbolizing the life and teachings of Gandhiji (Nehru cited in NIUA 1991, 118).

However, Nehru was also aware of the inherent dichotomy in employing techniques of western origin in the Indian context. For instance, while inviting Albert Mayer, in 1946, to “build up

community life [in India] on a higher scale without breaking up the old foundations” by utilizing western technology and fitting it “into Indian resources and Indian conditions,” he had cautioned that it was not “an easy matter, for the resources are limited at present and the conditions are often very different from those in Western countries” (Nehru cited in Kalia 1987, 47).

Mayer and his assistant Matthew Nowicki in the Chandigarh plan appear to have taken Nehru’s advice seriously as evident in the report entitled *Supplementary Notes to the Architectural Study of Superblock L-37*. Nowicki’s neighborhood plan exhibits a conscious effort to unify modern architectural solutions with the Indian social and cultural practices (Kalia 1987, 68). For instance, the houses were designed around courtyards to provide an internal space which was private and sensitive to the climate; the houses also had a provision for terraces to enable the residents to sleep outdoors during the hot summer nights; and perhaps most importantly, the plan tried to capture the essence of the heart of an Indian urban quarter: the bazaar. Mayer wanted the plan of the neighborhood to be “intimate” so that the bazaar’s modern avatar: the shopping centre, could preserve and encourage “as far as we can in a reasonably orderly way do so, the marvelous excitement and gaiety of the bazaar, the people in their sociable pre-occupation with shopping and visiting undisturbed by traffic” (Mayer, 1950, 174). Thus, in Nowicki’s plan shops had provisions for everyday local practices such as shopping and negotiating while sitting on the floor, and incorporated the possibility to install the seasonal canvas roof, an adaptation of the thatch overhangs in the indigenous bazaar, to provide shade to the pedestrians.

However, unlike the German Koenigsberger and the American Mayer first generation of Indian planners, notwithstanding adaptations, began to express the difficulties it faced in reconciling the fact that the concept’s origins remained foreign. For example, K. N. Mishra the author of Master Plan for Allahabad, prepared during mid fifties, captured the sentiment thus:

“In recommending the adoption of this neighborhood principle...for future residential areas, it has been constantly borne in mind, that a pattern of life which is foreign to the nature of people of Allahabad may not be imposed upon them. Planning and housing policy should keep in step with the traditional domestic habits of the community and concentrate on improving and developing that environment which is best thought to lead to a happy and healthy life” (Allahabad Mater Plan 1958, 16).

Despite such a candid expression of reservation, master plan for Allahabad recommended the neighborhood unit concept for future extensions of the city. This dichotomy reveals the tension which the elite Indian planner had to constantly negotiate between his own imaginations of a good urban life that the neighborhood unit purportedly contained on one hand, and his intellectual sensitivities about using a concept of foreign origin, on the other. I believe that this tension eventually forced the planners to confront the concept by attempting to translate it.

Translation:

As we saw in earlier sections, by mid 1950s, the neighborhood unit had done very well in India. However, for the first generation of Indian planners, arriving in increasing numbers, two major problems remained.¹⁸ First, despite adaptations, origin of the concept remained foreign and second, its usefulness in solving the problems of indigenous parts of Indian cities remained questionable. Planners attempted to solve both of these in the Delhi Master Plan (DMP).

The trigger for commissioning the preparation of DMP, in 1955, came from the problems being caused by large scale migration of refugees into Delhi following the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 (DMP 1962). When finally published in 1962, the DMP became an iconic document for the planning profession in India, serving as a template for master plans of other

Indian cities that followed in later years (Ansari 1977). Infact, the reach and influence of the first legally protected master plan for an existing Indian city rivaled the effect newly inaugurated Chandigarh was having on the Indian planners.¹⁹ Furthermore, it was also the first plan to be largely prepared by the first generation of Indian planners who had just returned home after attending prestigious graduate schools in the US and UK.²⁰

The first task facing the young Indian planning team was to quickly prepare an Interim General Plan (IGP) so that the local authorities at least have a framework for their routine tasks. Despite handicaps, such as the lack of base maps, the planning team prepared and published the IGP, in 1956, which suggested that the “future residential areas developed by the various government ministries should encourage the idea of ‘planned neighborhoods’ aiming to minimize social and economic segregation” (ITPI 1955, 65). However, the briefly mentioned idea of “planned neighborhoods,” in the IGP, would have to wait for fruition till the completion of the master plan, five years later. Meanwhile, in 1958, the Government of India requested the Ford Foundation to organize a group of experienced American planners to help the young Indian planning team in preparing the master plan for Delhi (Staples 1992, 52). The same year, a team of American consultants, led by Albert Mayer, began to advise on the plan.²¹ It is interesting to see the final shape of the DMP, which, unlike the standard American practice, incorporated both land use and zoning issues in the master plan. By combining the land use issues with subdivision regulations, the DMP aimed to “guide the development of the new areas in accordance with the Land Use Plan. As long as this is done along sound planning principles with adequate space standards, the future of the city is assured” (DMP 1962, 64). The space standards in turn were a detailed version of Perry’s Land-Use analysis table, to be used on the lines of the DIY table formulated by ITPI’s Lucknow seminar in 1955 (Table 8, DMP 1962).

One of the frequently used phrases in the DMP was “self-contained.” Borrowed from Perry, the DMP extended the notion of self-sufficiency to various geographical scales in the city. At the highest hierarchal level and geographical scale, the city was divided into “eight planning divisions which are self-contained in the matter of employment, residential places, recreational areas, shopping and other requirements” (DMP 1962, 7). On the other extreme: lowest hierarchal level and geographical scale, the plan confronted the neighborhood unit by splitting it into self-contained “housing clusters.” The housing cluster was envisaged as housing a population of 750 to 1000 persons, which in the view of DMP team roughly corresponded to “traditional ‘Mohallas’ and ‘Kuchas’ in the Old City of Delhi and, in fact, are found in its rudimentary form in almost all of the Indian cities and towns” (Ibid). Four to six such housing clusters were proposed to be grouped together around an open community space which the DMP envisaged will form the “residential unit.” By employing an analogy from the indigenous part of Indian cities, apparently, the DMP was only attempting to split Perry’s neighborhood unit into sub-units of Mohallas, and figuratively, it was trying to translate the Western concept into the indigenous language but, I believe, most importantly the DMP was infact aiming to translocate the origin of the idea itself, into India’s traditions, to claim equivalent ownership.

The claim to equivalent ownership was important for two reasons. First, because the concept, if a part of indigenous patrimony, would not violate the intellectual sensibilities of Indian planners, and second it could be used as an alibi to contest claims that this form was simply mimicking the West. Gyan Prakash has pointed out the role of indigenous elite in translation as someone who does not “appear as a copy of the original, but as a ghostly double that resists identification as a copy by asserting difference” (1999, 51). Thus, by renaming “neighborhood unit” as “residential unit,” composed of “Mohallas,” Indian planners were not

only attempting to translate the idea but were also already discounting potential claims of copying by asserting the difference between their formulation and Perry's conception. Interestingly, despite numerous "bullfights," American consultants did not veto this translation.²²

Once translated, planners attempted to extend the concept to Mohallas and Kuchas of the indigenous city. The DMP team conducted a series of work-studies to demonstrate that the Mohallas of old Delhi which "appear as a sprawling mass of structures of varying size, shapes and construction, criss-crossed by narrow streets and lanes" could be redeveloped as "residential units" (DMP 1962, Vol. II, 24). Such residential units comprised of what the planners called the "Mohalla Units": "Each 'Mohalla unit' contains a local sub-shopping centre, usually located near the primary school and easily accessible from its catchment area...with six to twelve shops for supplying odds and ends and will be a great help to the house-wife" (Ibid 14).

Internalization:

During my interviews with Indian planners, the answers to questions probing the impact of Perry's idea on the contemporary planning practice can be broadly divided into two categories and the answers bear a strong correlation, surprisingly, with the age of the respondents.²³ The first category of answers was mostly given by senior planners who frequently evoked indigenous parallels to the neighborhood unit such as Mohallas, Kuchas, Vadas, and Poles. I call this group of respondents the translators. For example, see the following transcript of an interview:

Respondent: Yes, I was exposed to Clarence Perry's neighborhood unit as a graduate student. But, while working as a planner, I never felt that this idea had foreign origins. You know, it might have gone there from here! See, we had forms of neighborhoods probably not definable by Western spatial norms but tell me, were these ancient Mohallas and Katras neighborhood units or something else? [Interview conducted in January 2006, age of the respondent about 72 years]

The second category of answers typically came from junior planners, whom I call the internalizers. The internalizers were well aware of Perry's neighborhood unit, courtesy planning pedagogy, but did not discern any relationship the present neighborhoods planning standards in India might have with it. Moreover, this group of respondents frequently insisted that a western concept probably would never work in the Indian context and insinuations, if I was making any, were indeed misplaced. Following is the transcription of an interview with an internalizer:

Respondent: See, you know that foreign ideas do not work here. They might appear fancy in the beginning but no, no they can't work here. Perry and his ideas might have been used by earlier planners but now things are different. See, I studied the neighborhood unit – in Planning Theory? Yeah, but for my present work, we use our own norms. [Interview conducted in May 2006, age of the respondent about 48 years]

Gyan Prakash, I believe, will call this a good example of internalization. In his argument, such a phenomenon would happen because the translation of Perry's idea to "Mohalla Unit" not only enabled the Indian planners to continue questioning the feasibility of employing a Western idea in the Indian context but also permitted them to continue using the modernity of the neighborhood unit to sustain their own imaginations of the "good" urban life. In his own words:

"This nation's [India's] past was at once enabling and disabling. If its philosophical and scientific heritage and its traditions of renunciation and collective life poised India to advance the spirit of the present age, the wide spread inequality, poverty, undeveloped resources, and religious divisions hobbled its progress... [However] the

past was not dead but alive, open to the modern age and ready to give moral direction to science and technology. The beauty of this formation was that it located the nation as a space for the critique of Western modernity while internalizing the program of modernization” (1999, 213).

Therefore, by internalizing the “soft” idea of neighborhood unit, planners not only left open the possibility to criticize the modernity of this Western idea but also retained its program of modernization. Moreover, this program was to be carried out using the indigenous “Mohalla unit,” which had already rendered the allegations, if any, of copying redundant. Thus, Perry’s concept now stood substantially transformed - or for the Indian planner considerably indigenized – impregnated with new contextual values and altered tacit values, and this, I believe, encouraged its establishment as the proto-typical proviso for neighborhood planning in India.²⁴

Establishment of the idea:

The following two factors played an important role in the establishment of the neighborhood unit as the proto-typical solution. First, was the dispersal of DMP planning team members across the country, after the publication of DMP, and their deployment of DMP’s prescriptions in the master plans for secondary and tertiary Indian cities – a step that took the indigenized neighborhood unit into the entrails of urban India.²⁵ Second, was the lasting exposure that future Indian planners gained, while studying in planning schools, to the neighborhood unit concept.

Publication of the DMP jump started the preparation of master plans across urban India. However, a country-wide shortage of planners meant that the young members of DMP team had numerous opportunities and subsequent professional mobility to spread the gospel across the nation.²⁶ For instance, Banarsi Das Kombo, a M.I.T educated planner and member of the DMP team, left Delhi in early 1960s, for the eastern state of Bihar and employed the neighborhood unit to plan the steel city of Bokaro.²⁷ In 1967, he arrived in the Western state of Rajasthan as the Chief Town Planner and Architectural advisor to the state government. He authored the first master plan for the capital city of Jaipur, and notwithstanding the unique planning origins of the indigenous city, recommended the following for planning the future residential areas:

Philosophy of planning encompasses the total urban complex i.e. the entire city comprising of a number of relatively self contained communities which, at the lowest tier have a “housing cluster.” Such a cluster may comprise of 150 to 200 families in order to promote intimacy, neighborliness, personal and family contacts. A number of clusters grouped together around some focal point such as a primary school and convenient shops with a small park shall form a planning unit - containing population between 4,000 to 5,000 (Master Plan for Jaipur 1976, 37).

This quote, I believe, exhibits a certain self-assuredness rooted in the successful translation and internalization of the concept. For example, it does not make any reference to Perry and speaks in a tone that “knows.” Such internalization is also evident in the graduate thesis of Chandra Singh Mehta, then second-in-command at the Town Planning Organization of Rajasthan, where he employed the concept to propose new residential extensions for the city of Udaipur without evoking any reference to Perry (Mehta 1963, 94). This brings us to the second factor which underscores the importance of planning student’s lasting exposure to the neighborhood unit.

To understand the extent and depth of planning student’s exposure to the concept, I perused the graduate planning theses submitted, during the decade of 1960s, at the School of Planning and Architecture (SPA) in New Delhi. Established in late 1950s, SPA quickly became a large school, offering a range of specializations in the field of urban studies.²⁸ My reason for

selecting SPA, apart from its prominent status was its physical and operational closeness with the Institute of Town Planning, India and the Town and Country Planning Organization of the Government of India. Planners from both of these organizations have regularly visited the SPA as adjunct faculty, since its founding, and thus I believe that SPA and its students, compared to other planning schools, have had more exposure to national planning policies and practices.

A majority of the planning theses at SPA during 1960s either documented a new town, based on the neighborhood unit, such as the city of Bhubaneswar (Kamalia 1964), and Gandhidham (Kadokia 1964), where the students reported the “status” and “progress” of the city-building project; or were of a “proposal” nature where the students proposed a planning intervention, again based on the concept, for existing cities such as Mangalore (Gowda 1962), and Udaipur (Mehta 1963). More ambitious theses proposed plans for a new city, yet again based on the concept (e.g., Bansal 1964). This ensured an ongoing exposure of the students to the neighborhood unit as the students constantly attended and discussed each other’s presentation.

In addition, planning students undertook academic “site-visits” to new towns and read contemporary publications such as journal articles.²⁹ There was an abundance of potential sites to be visited as a large number of new towns were being constructed across India. For instance, Koenigsberger, in an article entitled *New Towns in India*, published in 1952, mentioned ten such new towns under construction. Fourteen years later, Krishna Swamy, in a similarly named article, reported fifty such new towns that were either already commissioned or were being constructed across India. He also reported that “Irrespective of the developing agency the main concept and the basic planning principle dominant in these new towns is the self-contained neighborhood unit” (1966, 42). Thus, by 1960s, the internalized neighborhood unit became established as the proto-typical proviso for neighborhood planning projects.³⁰ Ironically, the next step that sought to formulize its established status also led to its eventual banalization.

Formulization and banalization of the concept:

The need to formulize the concept arose on two grounds. First, was the bureaucratic requirement of ensuring consistency in planning standards governing the residential neighborhoods in the new towns promoted by the Public Sector. Second, was the absence of planning standards itself - in many parts of India - that could be employed to plan new residential extensions to Indian cities. However, the overarching logic behind the act of prescribing uniform standards for a diverse India has been recently articulated by James Scott in *Seeing like a State*, through the notion of “high modernism.” Scott suggests that, in the age of high modernism, planning was an instrument to plan a space that could exist outside a particular geographical locality and its historical contingency. An ideal city or a neighborhood could be sited anywhere in the world and such new spaces, including the neighborhood unit concept, were to be constructed to create new people, who were productive and contented. These aims were supported by what Scott calls the three modern conditions: ambition to remake society to conform to a rational plan; comprehensive information gathered by a centralized bureaucracy; and a powerful state that could push the “beneficiaries” to gain from such rationally crafted schemes. Post-independence India, as we saw in earlier sections, was thus a fertile ground for high modernism.

Therefore, the first step towards formulizing came from the Government of India, in mid 1960s, when the building project team of the Committee on Plan projects, published a *Report on Industrial Townships*. It laid down guidelines for “land-use structure and densities for future planning of townships under the public sector to ensure unity in the level of service and amenity, safety and efficiency combined with economy in construction and maintenance of townships”

(Cited in Swamy 1966, 46). The suggested guideline for land-use structure of townships stipulated that 45-50% of each planned neighborhood unit should be reserved for open space (including roads [22-25%], and schools and parks [15-18%]), while the remaining area (from 45-50%) should be allotted to housing units (Ibid). The second step, which formulized the concept for existing cities, came when the neighborhood unit became the point of reference for sub-division rules governing urban lands. For instance, in the state of Rajasthan, first-ever rules for sub-division of urban land were notified in 1964. Gopal Singh Nandiwal, a University of Manchester trained planner who put together these rules, used Lewis Keeble's chapter on the neighborhood unit in the contemporary standard planning text: *Principles and Practice of Town and Country Planning* as the point of reference.³¹ Accordingly, the sub-division rules for urban areas of Rajasthan stipulated that 10% of the neighborhood must be open space and in no case more than 66% of the total scheme area shall be plotted. The rules also required the lay-outs to incorporate Perry's principles such as hierarchal road widths; single family houses; and schools.

However, in actual practice, government agencies provided more open spaces than the minimum stipulated 10% and consequently the plotted area rarely exceeded the range of 50-55%, preferred by Perry. But government agencies, which had a monopoly right to acquire, develop and sell urban land, could not keep up with the demand for residential plots and a substantial backlog built up.³² Against this backdrop, the government of Rajasthan decided to allow cooperative societies to develop neighborhoods. Apparently, this was a well-intentioned policy intervention but the outcomes turned out to be unexpected. For instance, many co-operative societies planned residential neighborhoods in contravention of the sub-division rules.

In 1983, following a popular political decision, the newly established Jaipur Development Authority (JDA) was instructed by the state government, to "regularize" such neighborhoods.³³ The biggest problem, which JDA faced, in regularizing such lay-outs was to reconcile their plans with the sub-division rules. The solution devised by planners was not to insist so much upon Perry's principles, such as hierarchal road widths and provision for schools, but to ensure that the plotted development does not normally exceed 60% of the total area and the rest 40% remains open in form of roads and parks.³⁴ Thus, eventually the manifest values of the concept were also transformed with the separation of Perry's design principles from the area relations of the plan. However, the silver bullet of 60/40 was not formulized and remained a tacit understanding between the cooperative societies and the JDA for the next two decades.

In 2002, following the national urban policy that sought to promote private investment in the field of urban development, JDA devised a "simplified" set of rules to attract private developers (UDH 2002). The new set of rules, apart from containing a new provision whereby any government owned vacant urban land could be "allotted" to a financially and technically competent real estate developer, finally banalized Perry's idea by reducing it to the golden ratio of 60/40. The 2002 rules, which are presently "enforced," state the following:

"If more than five acres of allotted land is sub-divided to be sold, than 60% of the total land shall be developed for residential purpose. The land for residential purpose shall be sold in the form of either lots or constructed dwelling units. Rest 40% of the land shall be used for utilities such as roads, parks, community halls, play grounds, electrical sub-stations, water tanks, schools and hospitals. This 40% land shall be developed by the real estate developer, at his own cost, and shall be surrendered to the concerned local government" (UDH 2002, 3).

Thus, by practicing the ritual of 60/40 the “local” developer not only satisfies the statutory requirement but, unwittingly, also banalizes Perry’s “global” idea, conceived almost seventy five years ago in distant New York. Moreover, the 60/40 also gives the developer sufficient room to maneuver the manifest values of the concept as there are no accompanying design guidelines with the 2002 rules. Arguably, the “soft” concept stands transformed at each level.

Conclusion:

James Throgmorton has pleaded that planning scholarship be treated as a process of constructing stories about cities and such *story-telling* should be *future-oriented* (2003). The future-orientedness of scholarship supports speculating about the probable future of contemporary planning phenomena by drawing analogies from the past. As this article demonstrates, planning ideas of Western origin in recipient societies of the so-called developing world do not necessarily retain their original formation for long – they run the risk of transformation and banalization at some point of time in future. This raises doubts about the over time fate of contemporary planning exports such as those promoted by the Congress of New Urbanism (CNU). The CNU appears to take particular pride in the fact that its planning typology is traveling widely and neighborhoods based on its recommendations are presently being planned in many parts of the world.

Inspired in part by Perry’s neighborhood unit, the CNU has framed its design principals (manifest values) to reposition neighborhoods as diverse, compact mixed use, pedestrian oriented and transit friendly.³⁵ However, new urbanism, in view of several scholars, focuses sharply on manifest values of its neighborhoods while glossing over the fact that the underlying contextual and tacit values are not strongly wedded to the manifest values (e.g., Fainstein 2000). Such cleavages between the manifest, tacit and contextual values of new urbanistic “soft” neighborhoods may again provide opportunities to the “local” planners to transform and eventually banalize this “global” typology.

Notes:

¹ Thinkers of reformist tradition such as William James, Robert Park, and John Dewey were pragmatically optimistic about the developing metropolis and their views contributed towards Perry’s conception (Banerjee and Baer 1984).

² Koenigsberger’s career is described in W. Aldhous et al. (Eds.) 1983. *Otto Koenigsberger Festschrift*, Habitat International Volume 7 no.5/6, Pergamon Press, Oxford. The Development Planning Unit at the University College London has also compiled a brief biographical note at: <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu/Otto%20Koenigsberger/OHK.htm> accessed on 23rd March 2006

³ Koenigsberger’s article *New Towns in India* (1952) describes nine such new town projects. Some were designed by him such as Bhadravati and Bhubaneswar; for some towns, such as Faridabad and Rajpura, he collaborated with other planners; and some towns, such as Nilokheri and Kalyani, were designed by other planners under his supervision.

⁴ Albert Mayer’s papers are archived at the Southern Asia Reference center, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Illinois. I am indebted to the Rackham Graduate School, University of Michigan for funding my visit to the archives with a discretionary award.

⁵ <http://rmc.library.cornell.edu/EAD/htmldocs/RMM03333.html> accessed on 25th May 2005.

⁶ Chester Bowles, recounts in his biography: “One of my first visits outside New Delhi following our arrival in India in October, 1951, was to Etawah [Mayer’s community development project]... spent three days there, and we were greatly impressed... This project caught my imagination” (Bowles 1971, 548). Bowles, later sought an appointment

with Prime Minister Nehru and successfully advocated for extending the Etawah concept to elsewhere in India (Ibid).

⁷ Before Chandigarh, Mayer had employed the neighborhood unit in the master plans for Kanpur and Bombay (Kalia 1987, 53).

⁸ See, for instance: A.B. Mukherji (1953), “Modinagar: A study in Urban Geography”, *Geographical Review of India*, Vol. XV No. 4, 11.

⁹ Mewada had studied architecture at Cornell and then city planning at University of Illinois in 1950. Ravi Kalia believes that he was exposed to Perry’s neighborhood unit in graduate school (2004, 98). Later, Mewada employed the neighborhood unit concept to plan Gandhi Nagar – the new capital city for the state of Gujarat.

¹⁰ Dipesh Chakrabarty has succinctly described this phenomenon: “It would be unfair, however, to think of this perception as simply Western. What it speaks is the language of modernity, of civic consciousness and public health, even of certain ideas of beauty related to management of public space and interests, an order of aesthetics from which the ideals of public health and hygiene can not be separated. It is the language of modern governments, both colonial and postcolonial, and, for that reason, it is the language, not only of imperialist officials, but of modernist nationalists as well” (2002, 66).

¹¹ Later, Zygmunt Bauman described modernity in similar terms: “We can say that existence is modern in as far as it forks into order and chaos. The existence is modern in as far as it contains the *alternative* of order and chaos. Indeed: order and chaos, full stop... The other of order is not other order: chaos is its only alternative” (1991, 6).

¹² (Cited in NIUA 1991, 116)

¹³ (Cited in NIUA 1991, 26)

¹⁴ (Cited in NIUA 1991, 117)

¹⁵ See for instance, Clinard, Marshall and B. Chatterjee (1962), “Urban Community Development”, in Roy Turner et al. (eds.), *India’s Urban Future*, University of California Press, Berkeley.

¹⁶ Isaacs, Reginald R. The ‘Neighborhood Unit’ is an instrument for segregation, *Journal of Housing* 5, August 1948, 215-18. Christopher Silver has also asserted that “[the idea was] to insulate affluent city residents from the disruptive influence of forced interaction with supposedly incompatible social groups” (Silver 1985, 166). On the other hand, though not followed in earlier cities like Chandigarh and Bhubaneswar, most city-extensions in India planned after 1960s aimed to mix up different economic sections of the society. Later, Housing and Urban Development Corporation, formed in 1970, played a major role by in propagating and institutionalizing this idea.

¹⁷ I am not aware of a study that has documented the over-time fate of such mixed neighborhoods. My discussions with Planners in this regard reveal a general consensus, though anecdotal, that an appreciation of real estate values forced/enabled the less well-off to sell their lots at a premium to the better-off. Thus, one can expect to find that the originally mixed neighborhoods have acquired certain homogeneity over time. However, I understand that the initial mixing up at least produced more equitable results for the less well-off as they at least profited from the premium.

¹⁸ In 1948, when the first ever professional planning association- Indian Board of Town Planners -was constituted, it had eight members who were mostly architects working as planners (Kalia 1987, 25). A decade later, the 1958 Jaipur Conference of ITPI was attended by about 108 delegates (ITPI 1958, 23).

¹⁹ The first law requiring the preparation of a master plan and authorizing its enforcement was the Bombay Town and Country Planning act in 1954, which actually was enacted three years later in 1957. The Master plan of Bombay was finally published in 1964 making DMP the first legally protected plan (TCPO 1962, 39).

²⁰ The young Indian planners who worked on the DMP had impeccable academic credentials: Sayed S. Shafi and Banarsi Das Kombo had graduated from MIT, B.N. Rahalkar from Harvard, R.L. Bawa from University College, London, Sri Manohar from University of North Carolina, Madan Malik from University of Southern California, P.B. Rai from Georgia Tech, and B.G. Fernandes had graduated from the University of California, Berkeley (Interview with Sayed S. Shafi in April 2006).

²¹ The Ford foundation team comprised of: Gerald Breese a sociologist who in recent times was Emeritus Professor of Sociology at Princeton; Bert Hoselitz, a development theorist from the Chicago school; Britton Harris, a Geographer who in recent times was Emeritus Professor of City and regional Planning at University of Pennsylvania, Edward Echeverria a physical and land-use planner; Walter Hedden a transportation expert who had worked with the New York Port authority; Arch Doston an International development planner, who in recent times was Emeritus Professor of Governance at Cornell and; George Goetschius , a sociologist (Albert Mayer’s papers).

²² Interview with Sayed S. Shafi in April 2006.

²³ I conducted a total of 23 semi-structured open ended interviews with Indian Planners in the first half of 2006. These interviews were mainly conducted in New Delhi, Jaipur, Chandigarh and Nagpur.

²⁴ Nihal Perera (2002) has traced the indigenizing processes at work in the colonial landscape of the late 19th century Colombo. He employs the term to denote both an assimilation and resistance by the colonized Sri Lankans. I also use the term here in a similar vein.

²⁵ The young Indian planners after the publication of DMP dispersed widely. For instance: R.L. Bawa went to Delhi Municipal Corporation in 1960s and then left in mid 1960s to join duties as the Chief Town Planner of the state of Bihar and then in 1980s became a Regional Chief in HUDCO (Interview April 2006). Ravi Kalia has also described a similar professional path for H.K. Mewada who incidentally was not a part of the DMP team but had worked on Chandigarh (2004, 100).

²⁶ A.G.K. Menon has described a similar phenomenon that afflicted contemporary Indian architects educated abroad: “They had seen the future and were converted. On their return, they proselytized as only the newly converted could” (2000, 149).

²⁷ (TCPO 1962, 85)

²⁸ <http://www.education.nic.in/cd50years/f/8U/F5/8UF50101.htm> accessed on 24th April 2006.

²⁹ C.S. Gupte, the first Chief Town Planner to the Government of India visited SPA as an adjunct faculty for many years. He mentioned the importance attached to site-visits in the contemporary syllabi (Interview with Mr. C.S. Gupte, May 2006). Employment of neighborhood unit in different parts of India was regularly featured in leading Journals such as: *Journal of Institute of Town Planners India*, *Urban and Rural Planning Thought* and professional magazines such as *The Indian Architect*. See, for instance: Khambatta, R.S. (1960), “Master Plan of Township at Vikroli”, *Journal of Institute of Town Planners, India*, July 1960, pp 45-48.

³⁰ Ashok Kumar Dutt, writing in early 1990s reaffirmed: “[Presently] almost all the new industrial or administrative cities of the subcontinent are being planned on the basis of neighborhood units”(1993, 365).

³¹ Interview with Mr. G.S. Nandiwal, March 2006. Prof. Keeble incidentally had also taught at Mr. Nandiwal’s alma mater – The University of Manchester.

³² Jaipur Development master plan 1998

³³ The decision was taken by Shiv Charan Mathur, then Chief Minister of Rajasthan, to regularize such neighborhoods (Interview with Mr. B.L. Mehra, Director Town Planning, JDA in May 2006).

³⁴ In case of neighborhoods where most of the houses were already built, up-to 66% plotted area could be approved (Interviews with Mr. R.K. Sharma Chief Town Planner, Rajasthan, March 2006, and Mr. B.L. Mehra, Director Town Planning, JDA in May 2006).

³⁵ www.cnu.org, accessed on 25th May 2005.

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“The challenges of urbanism in Brazil on the transformation of the cities in the 20th century”.

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“The challenges of urbanism in Brazil on the transformation of the cities in the 20th century”.

I will try to resume the historical formation of this field of knowledge and professional activity based on the investigation I have been conducting together with a research network that includes teams in eight Brazilian capital cities¹.

We started by making a comprehensive documental survey to try and bridge the gap and hence ignorance about the history of urbanism in Brazil. We started making systematic surveying stage, today we find ourselves in a discussion over method in the history of cities and planning.²

1.For a discussion over method in the history of urbanism

In his foreword to the book *Raízes do Brazil* (Roots of Brazil), Antônio Cândido writes “in it, the method rests on a mechanism of oppositions and contrasts that avoids dogmatism and gives way to dialectic reflection. From a methodological standpoint, the book suggests that knowledge of the past should be connected with present issues. And from a political standpoint, with past being an obstacle, to liquidation of roots, it was imperative for historical development³.

From a political standpoint, I perceive historical research in the same sense as that given by English historian Edward Thompson⁵ rather than in the sense as defined by Antônio Cândido. In my investigation of urbanism in Brazil, I adopt Thompson’s concept for the formation that follows a continuous transformation in institutions, experiences and practices.

¹ Beginning at 1992 the network is formed by researchers at eight capital cities: São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Recife, Salvador, Belo Horizonte, Porto Alegre, Niterói and Vitória.

² During these ten years of working together we publish the book Leme, M. C.S (org)(1999) *Urbanismo no Brasil 1895-1965*. São Paulo, Studio Nobel, FAUUSP, FUPAM; a cd rom and we maintain a website where you can consult the documents, the biography of urbanists, papers written by the members of the network.

³ Foreword to the 10th edition of the book *Raízes do Brasil* by Sergio Buarque de Holanda, Livraria José Olympio Ed Rio de Janeiro 1976. P XXI

⁵ “El titulo del libro es sin duda tosco, pero tiene la ventaja de que expresa claramente sus objetivos. ‘Formacion’, porque es un estudio de un proceso activo, proceso que debe tantos elementos actuantes como a los conducionantes.. La clase obrera no surgio como el sol por la mañana , a una hora determinada; además estudvo presente en su propria formacion” Thompson, E (1977) *La formacion histórica de la clase operária* vol 1 Inglaterra: 1780-1832 Ed Laia, Barcelona, p 7.

The connection of the past with present issues can assume what the architecture historian Manfredo Tafuri calls operative history. He applies this qualifying expression to the urbanism scholars⁴ who look into the past to try and propose an action for the future.

At the IUAV, Tafuri developed a method in history of architecture and urbanism— he increasingly devotes time to philological research⁵ studying the documents and drawing special attention to projects, through architecture he try and reveal, more about the period it is inserted into.

It is this debate over method that today mobilizes our research network.

2. Formation of urbanism in Brazil

The genesis of urbanism at the end of the XIX th century is related with the expansion of the industrialization, the increase of population in the cities and the expansion of the urban areas.

In Brazil, urbanism is shaped based on two disciplinary fields – engineering to start with and, since the mid twentieth century, architecture too. In today’s schools of architecture and urbanism these two subjects are often at odds with each other. It seems important to explain their origin and trajectory in order to clearly indicate the differences and hence facilitate the necessary articulations. They constitute what Bourdieu⁶ classifies as relatively self-reliant intellectual fields, with different values, institutional, social insertion, and relationship to ruling politics and legitimization strategies. In the earlier trend, established in the field of engineering, what develops is a technical knowledge applied to city intervention

The engineering instruction begins at the military academies in the first decades of 19th century and it spreads to several cities from the end of the century on. In each city it has specific characteristics answering to local economic and political questions.

The creation of an engineering course in 1894 at the Polytechnic School, in the city of São Paulo, is the outcome of the Republic’s consolidating process as well as political and administrative decentralization. It constitutes an answer to dissenting economic interests between agriculture and the emerging industry. It is organized to provide political and administrative municipal structures with personnel while combining territory-control knowledge – e.g. land surveying – with forms of intervention to modernize cities.

⁴ The research and teaching of history of architecture that Tafuri points out to the Department defines a specific research and interpretation field that is different from Bruno Zevi’s and Giulio Carlo Argan’s operative history.

⁵ Moneo’s statement about Tafuri’s last research study about renaissance is an indication of that interest. “In his design, Tafuri follows the features of the mental process observed by the architect”. Moneo, J.R (1995) *La ricerca como lascito*” in *Casabella* Year LIX, n 619-620, p 137, 1995.

⁶ Bourdieu, P. *Réponses pour une anthropologie reflexive*. Paris, Editions du Seuil.

At the beginning of the 20th century, urban plans and forms of intervention stand out. They are quite different with regard to urban transformation goals, and hence, in the field of technical knowledge held by their authors. The first generation of engineers who took part in the transformations of urban infrastructure in Brazilian cities came from high-class families, who supported their studies in engineering schools in France, in Belgium⁷ or in the Polytechnic Schools of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

Port remodeling and expansion occur in the main coastal cities⁸ in the first two decades. The size of those remodeling works extends, as is the case of Rio de Janeiro, Recife, Salvador, Niterói and Porto Alegre to the beautification and remodeling of public squares and opening of broad avenues.

Entire blocks were torn down by public roadway works, eliminating city buildings and historical structures. One of the most popular examples of urban intervention of this period is the opening of *Avenida Central* in Rio de Janeiro, nowadays Rio Branco avenue. It linked the city's new port constructions to the central area. It is just one of the works of the embellishing and sanitation Plan of mayor Pereira Passos, published in the bulletin number 30 of 1903, nevertheless it is the most known one.

The transformation of this central part of the city is radical: the Castelo mount is partly torn down, colonial houses are expropriated and demolished, a large avenue is opened. A new urban landscape is defined. It aims to reproduce an European city through the façade of the buildings. In order to put up the new six storey buildings a contest of façades is held. The new owners could purchase façades of two up to ten windows and do whatever they wish in the interior ground plan.

In the city of Vitória, capital city of the State of Espírito Santo, the port-remodeling project, by the end of the nineteenth century, was part of an economic recovery strategy in the region. The idea was to revert the economic stagnation inherited from the Colonial period, when the penetration into the interior of Brazil was forbidden. The state's production was conveyed through the port of Rio de Janeiro.

The main engineering work proposed was the construction of a railroad branch connecting the producing regions to Vitória. To change the Colonial characteristics and welcome the city's future development, an urban extension project was ordered to engineer Francisco Saturnino de Brito⁹. Brito designs three urban centers: the main one, called *Novo Arrabalde*, the workers' neighborhood *Vila Monjardim*, and, between the two, *Vila Hortícola*. The three neighborhoods totaled an area six times bigger than that occupied by Vitória at the time. The *Novo Arrabalde* project has features that denote the urban design

⁷The great preeminence of studies in the French language appears in the bibliography of the disciplines of the course of the Escola Politécnica of São Paulo, according to the 1900 *Anuário da Escola Politécnica*.

⁸ In Rio de Janeiro (1902-1906), Salvador, (1905-1930), Recife (1909-1929), Porto Alegre (1911-1921), Niterói (1924-1929). To a more detailed description of the projects and realizations see Leme, M.C.S (org) (1999) p 242-252

⁹ Saturnino de Brito was responsible for the sanitation plan of more than twenty Brazilian cities in the period from the end of 19th century until the 1920s.

provided by Saturnino de Brito to his projects and that stands out from other productions at the time: adjustment to the natural conditions of the land and use of landscape elements.

In all cases studied by us, port remodeling and city expansion were performed with the landfill of areas conquered both in the direction of the sea and the rivers, as was the case of Porto Alegre. Ferraz de Souza¹⁰ describes the formation and expansion process of the city of Porto Alegre on a promontory strait on the Guaíba estuary. The port was situated on the north side, with better navigability conditions, the side that first expanded in the city. Since the mid nineteenth century, the city expansion was performed through landfills, first on the north side and, as from the 1940's, on the south side.

By making new areas more appreciated, the improvement projects close to the traditional commercial centers initiate the abandonment and transformation of bourgeois homes into tenement buildings. In São Paulo, the *Vale do Anhangabaú* (1906-1912)¹¹ project by Bouvard integrates the two valley slopes, having on the one side the hill where the city of São Paulo was formed and on the other side the emerging commercial district appreciated by the construction of the Municipal Theater. The valley transformation is radical going from an area occupied by the back of tracts of land to a garden of tree-lined streets and flowerbeds planted for sidewalks. A road crossed that park with a slightly curved design on a longitudinal direction that establishes the connection from the valley to the rest of the city.

Contemporary to the avenida Central project, a project of Grand Avenues along the Anhangabaú Valley was proposed by the young engineer Alexandre Albuquerque. The two projects, one in São Paulo and the other in Rio de Janeiro had in common the fact they reproduce the haussmannian repertoire. It had not been theorized, but whoever visits Paris awes at it. These interventions are the diagonal thoroughfare, the creation of green spaces and the stress upon monuments.

The circulation issue is already present in the definition of ordinances for the alignment of buildings, opening, broadening and extension of roadways. However, those ordinances do not intend to regulate traffic flow. A new city model is being prepared with broad roads, aligned houses, public squares and parks with defined flower-bed designs. The city's central areas are no longer defined randomly, but by an engineering project.

The Plan of the town of Santos was different from the two previous ones. It was a sanitation, improvement and extension of the city plan, developed by the engineer

¹⁰ According to a survey performed in Porto Alegre by Souza, C.F. (2004) *O Plano de Melhoramentos de Porto Alegre*, PH.D. Thesis (unpublished) University of São Paulo, São Paulo.

¹¹ In 1911, French architect Joseph Antoine Bouvard arrives in São Paulo in response to French banker Edouard Fontaine de Laveleye's invitation, to provide advisory services in the creation of a large real estate development project "City of São Paulo, Improvements and Freehold Land Company Limited"; Joseph Antoine Bouvard is then requested by the City Government of São Paulo to express his opinion on two projects that were being discussed for the downtown area: that of Samuel das Neves prepared by the Secretary of Agriculture and that of the Engineering Works Office prepared by Victor da Silva Freire and Eugenio Guilhem. The reconciling solution that he proposes is adopted in the project developed by the City Government

Francisco Saturnino de Brito also in 1903. From any point of view it displays a very advanced technical culture in terms of sanitary engineering and of urban design.

In Santos the main goal is to control epidemics arriving through the port and coming up to the plateau. In his Plan, Saturnino de Brito uses the knowledge of the site topography for the design of the channels. Till today these channels mark the town landscape. It solves the problem of rainfall draining and the sewage drainage and disposal. A skillful solution that communicated the estuary to the Santos bay taking advantage of the tides to drain the water. Along the channels, the avenues and park-avenues set the new street layout, connecting it to the extent urban tissue.

The first generation of urban planners acts in that period by transforming old civil and military engineering courses in Rio de Janeiro, Recife and Salvador into Polytechnic Schools. In the case of São Paulo, the creation of *Escola Politécnica* in 1894 followed the German model. As Ficher¹² points out, the model adopted in the curricular structure of the *Escola Politécnica* in São Paulo is more similar to the German model that unified the teaching of the fundamental school and special courses into a single school, unlike the organization of the French school where the fundamental three-year course was taught at the *École Polytechnique* and the special courses were taught at *Ponts et Chaussées* or *Mines*. That is the reason why in São Paulo, like in Zurich and Karlsruhe, architecture is initially an engineering specialization, whereas in Rio de Janeiro, as in Paris, an architect graduates by the School of Fine Arts.

Isolated schools and colleges will only be united into universities in the nineteen twenties. The Rio de Janeiro model, uniting Engineering, Medicine and Law Schools is followed by other states. In São Paulo, the first university curriculum also includes the School of Philosophy, Social Sciences and Literature.

In the twenties a new generation of urbanists acts in the Brazilian towns¹³. Having taken civil engineering, engineer-architect and architecture undergraduate courses, they are responsible for the consolidation of urbanism as a field of knowledge¹⁴ and a field of professional practice. They participate in the organization of urbanism sectors at class associations, organize congresses of housing and of urbanism, and integrate the

¹² Sylvia Ficher attributes the adoption of that model probably to the fact that the main organizer and first director, Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, studies in Karlsruhe where he graduated in Engineering in 1868 in Ficher, S (2005) *Os arquitetos da Poli. Ensino e profissão em São Paulo*, EDUSP, p 7.

¹³ Examples of this generation are: engineering architect Luiz Ignácio de Anhaia Mello (*Escola Politécnica* São Paulo, 1913), engineer José Estelita (*Escola de Engenharia* de Recife, 1913), Jayme da Cunha Abreu (*Escola Politécnica* Rio de Janeiro), engineer Nestor de Figueiredo, engineer Washington Azevedo, civil engineer / architect Francisco Prestes Maia (*Escola Politécnica* São Paulo 1917), civil engineer Lincoln Continentino (*Escola Livre de Engenharia* Belo Horizonte 1923), architect Lucio Costa (*Escola Nacional de Belas Artes* 1923), engineer Carmem Velasco Portinho (*Escola Politécnica* Rio de Janeiro 1925), civil engineer Saboya Ribeiro (*Escola Politecnica* Rio de Janeiro 1930), Arnaldo Gladosh, Edvaldo Paiva, Ubatuba de Faria, civil engineer Mario Leal Ferreira (*Escola Politécnica* Rio de Janeiro, 1930), civil engineer João Florence de Ulhôa Cintra (*Escola Politécnica* São Paulo, 1911), engineering architect Attilio Correia Lima (*Escola Nacional de Belas Artes* 1925). For a reading of the biography of the second generation of engineers working in the Brazilian cities see Leme, M.C.S(1999) *opus cit*, p 465-509.

¹⁴ the teaching of urbanism as a discipline only emerges in the late twenties. It is introduced in São Paulo into the Polytechnic School by the engineer Luiz Ignacio de Anhaia Mello

professoriate at engineering schools in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Salvador, Recife, Belo Horizonte and at the School of Fine Arts (*Escola Nacional de Belas Artes*), in Rio de Janeiro, where they introduce the new discipline of urbanism. In the technical staffs of municipalities and of state administrations they are responsible for the conception of the first plans involving the whole of the urban area of the towns at that time.

The urbanization plans of this period are marked by a change of scale – from the part to the whole of the city and the emphasis on fluidity of circulation replaces issues such as sanitation. The possibility of exercising control over the location of activities through zoning is contemplated, inspired by American zoning.

The important question to be observed in connection with these plans is the fact that they marked the radical transformation of traffic structures of Brazilian main cities. During the Estado Novo period an important part of the plans elaborated until then was executed, modernizing the cities from a functional point of view, opening avenues, widening streets, transforming the street network of central areas in a radical way and establishing connections between distinct neighborhoods and between them and the central area. It is the case of the *Plano de Avenidas* elaborated by Prestes Maia and implemented by him when he was the mayor of São Paulo (1937-1945), and of the plan of the French architect and sociologist Donat Alfred Agache for Rio de Janeiro and implemented partially by the mayor Henrique Dodsworth (1937-1945)

In the case of the Rio de Janeiro city planning, Agache keeps a technical office in Rio de Janeiro for three years to prepare studies and proposals. That extension of offshore activities may be interpreted as a search for new labor markets and also the possibility that countries such as Brazil, with less consolidated urban planning laws, represented a trial of new urban planning tools.

The Rio de Janeiro plan is much more complete than those prepared in the same period for other Brazilian cities. First, the Rio plan relies on a number of preliminary studies including economic and social history and aerophotogrammetric surveys of the site. On that cartographic base, the plan outlines the main circulation axes (streets, avenues, highways, collective urban transportation, subway, and railways), and airport, and designs the distribution of public spaces (buildings and public squares), and park systems including a national park.

Agache relies on previous studies, generating controversies and accusation of plagiarism¹⁵. Proposing, for the first time, a “master plan”, Agache gathers the provisions required for water intake, sewer, and flood control. He develops the characteristic of a large industrial and commercial port creating new basins in the *Baixada Fluminense* intended to commerce, warehouses, naval construction, and also a vast space near *Ilha do Governador* for an

¹⁵ Silva L. “A trajetória de Donat Alfred Agache no Brasil” in Ribeiro, LC e Pehman, R(1996) *Cidade Povo e Nação Gênese do Urbanismo Moderno*. Ed. Civilização Brasileira, Rio de Janeiro, p 405.

airport. He solves the railway issue by organizing a central station to replace the Leopoldina station and providing a direct connection to the Copacabana area.¹⁶

In the plan, the proposals for monumental housing agglomerates are well known and publicized in the professional sphere. I refer not only to the aquarelles of building agglomerates, avenues and the square to the *Esplanada do Castelo*, but also to the use of language images when he designs, in Rio, “the doors to Brazil”. “M. Agache has the ambition to give Rio de Janeiro a monumental conglomerate that will provide the engineering works in the city with a grandiose characteristic that the city lacks as a country capital and will offer the visitor who arrives by sea a façade corresponding to the importance of the city.”¹⁷ This arouses the imagination of urban planners from other cities who seek to reproduce images with an equal appeal, such as the “Entrance Door” to the *Vale do Anhangabaú*, in São Paulo, designed by Prestes Maia, is an explicit reference to Rio de Janeiro.

In 1929, Swiss architect Le Corbusier, attracted by the possibility to design a new capital for Brazil, *Planaltina*, as it was called at the time, was also in the city of Rio de Janeiro. The news came to Le Corbusier through French writer Blaise de Cendrars who, via written correspondence, told him about the possibilities opened for the design of a new city, the capital of Brazil. Enthusiastic with the idea, Le Corbusier resorts to the intermediation of Paulo Prado to take a trip to Brazil. In his passage through Rio de Janeiro, Le Corbusier gives lectures and becomes extremely interested in conducting works in the city¹⁸.

It should be noted that they are part of different urban planning lineages and with quite different relationship networks. Agache belongs to a school that comes from the tradition of the Social Museum’s applied sociology and who seeks to formulate the intervention in the city on scientific bases – by preparing extensive surveys to be able to make projections. Secretary General of the *Société Française des Urbanistes*, professor at the *Institut d’Urbanisme de Paris*, he was hired by the city mayor to give a number of lectures and then to develop the urban plan for the city of Rio de Janeiro

Le Corbusier, in his first complete urban planning work, i.e., the plan for a city with 3 million inhabitants presented in 1922 at the *Salão de Outono* designs a new city on top of

¹⁶ “Le Maître d’Ouvre”, *Revue Française d’Urbanisme*, no. 33, avril, mai 1929, Numéro spécial sur le Rio de Janeiro, p 30 and 31.

¹⁷ “Le Maître d’Ouvre”, *Revue Française d’Urbanisme*, no. 33, avril, mai 1929, Numéro spécial sur le Rio de Janeiro, p 31.

¹⁸ In his discussion he does not hesitate to disqualify the work performed by Agache at that time. In a letter to Oswaldo Costa dated April 22, he mentions “un sujet délicat: les grands travaux de Rio de J. Délicat parce qu’il y a en place au Rio un confrère: Agache(...) Il faut être de la grand ère machiniste qui commence. Et les villes du Sud Amérique sont celles au monde qui sont arrivés aujourd’hui à l’heure de son destin. Resterez vous au projets dans un style 1925 bouffon? Je dis BOUFFON” FLC Dossier A311 Voyages en Amérique Latine, II 1936, B São Paulo – Correspondence - 1929-1930. In a letter dated July 12, 1930, he argues “Ecoutez, je serai heureux pour l’histoire de ma carrière que mon voyage d’Amérique me fournisse l’occasion d’un oeuvre de grande architecture ou d’urbanisme. Je mourrais comme les autres - bientôt. J’ai travaillé pendant 25 ans a faire les racines. Nos pays ici sont trop vieux. J’ai un besoin de paternité. Je suis a l’age où il faut produire. Vous autre de Brésil donnez moi cette occasion” FLC Voyages en Amérique Latine, II 1936, B São Paulo – Correspondence - 1929-1930.

the old city. The sketches he prepares in his trip to South America in 1929 “evoke entirely new urban planning conceptions, using modern techniques, where his principle consists of establishing great circulations of automobiles in inextricable cities and creating considerable housing volumes. (..) In Rio de Janeiro, particularly, as shown in the two sketches, the operation interconnects the several bays in the city without harming the state of the current city.”¹⁹ The project consists of a viaduct, with homes, that lies on the existing city. A similar solution will be later developed for Auger.

3. Urbanism and architecture

Habermas²⁰ in a conference on modern and post-modern architecture held in 1981, points to the challenges met by architecture and engineering throughout the nineteenth century in the face of Industrial Revolution and the resulting social modernization.

He points three challenges.

The first one is to respond to a new quality demand for architectonic creation in response to the new spheres of social life (new social classes and new ways of life), overcoming the dichotomy of usefulness and beauty.

The second challenge is marked by the introduction of new materials (iron, glass, concrete) and new construction methods (precast concrete blocks) that afford a world of possibilities in structure building.

The third challenge emerges from fierce mobilization of capital and manpower that comes with the advent of modern metropolises. Featuring as the most damaging aspect of this new phenomenon, he points to generalized real estate speculation and the subduing of use value that follows, both for structure building and for urban land, by exchange value.

Habermas notes that at the XIX century these challenges found an answer in the field of engineering but not in the field of architecture. The remodeling of Paris in the mid nineteenth century by Haussmann is a clear response to these new economic determinants.

Antoine Picon has a similar interpretation when he analyzes the genesis of the haussmannization process at the beginning of the 19th century in France. He observes that engineers take a continuously increasing role in terms of urban decisions and realizations and that they redefine progressively the ideals inspiring both their action and their ways of realization. “In several aspects, the saint-simonian conceptions announce the general orientations of Haussmann and of his engineers. It is essential to remember this utopian basis. As a matter of fact there is no pure technical rationality but many successive forms of rationality, all of them inspired by their social and cultural environment respectively. In

¹⁹ Le Corbusier et Pierre Jeanneret, *Oeuvre Complète 1929-1934* publié par W Boesiger, Zurich (1964) Ed Ginsberger 1974 10 ed., p 138.

²⁰ in “Dossier Habermas”, *Novos Estudos CEBRAP*, CEBRAP, set 1987.

other words the technical component of the haussmannian model becomes inseparable of a complex ensemble of values and of “representations”.

There are other principles basing this kind of action that foresees the extension of benefits to different social classes. Parks, avenues bordered by trees, infrastructure networks are elements extendable to all of the people.

The city was no more a frozen entity - the city *intra muros* - and became the city of the movements of the flow of people and of fluids. However, as Picon observes, to this development of technical components in engineering works corresponds indifference in the definition of architectural styles. It was possible to have resort to the most classical monumental rules as to the picturesque. “Such a distance between architecture and technique might be one of the factors contributing to the national and international diffusion of the Paris of Haussmann and of his engineers.”²¹

In the same article on modern and post-modern architecture, Habermas notes that the modern movement in architecture accepts the challenges that nineteenth century’s architecture hadn’t been able to respond to; it overcomes stylistic pluralism as well as dissociation between style and function, seeking to respond to the new life conditions in metropolises and to the social deprivation of the masses that were pouring into cities.

The new principles of this architectural creation involve defining new spaces, using new materials connected with production processes. The form expresses the functions for which a structure has been created. In other words, the nexus between form and function is achieved through the construction process. This is the radically new aspect of this architecture.

4. The modern movement in architecture.

The final years of the 40's are a moment of inflexion in the teaching of urbanism in Brazil, when the schools of architecture and urbanism are created. Two tendencies are defined: one carrying on the studies originated from engineering, and a new one developed from the modern movement in architecture and urbanism.

At the international congresses of modern architecture the problematic extend, in a few years, from the housing unit to the city. However, in Brazil, this movement is much slower and the urban space is conceived initially from the building.

The setting of the building of the *Ministério da Educação e Cultura* in a block downtown Rio de Janeiro, in 1936 is initially paramount of this development. The openness given by the big span between the parts of the building forms a built square. In downtown São Paulo, the curves of Copan building, project of Oscar Niemeyer also have this property of defining a public space on the basis of the built.

²¹ Picon, opus cit p 67.

On a bigger urban scale, the big housing projects (*conjuntos habitacionais* following the model of the *grands ensembles* in France) built for the Social Security Institutes in different Brazilian towns and cities are mono functional designs, which earn an urban character through the inclusion of urban equipment.

The construction of campuses - here again the French example of the *cit  universitaire fran aise*- follows the transformation of isolated colleges into universities. The Rio de Janeiro one was the first to be designed, in 1936, by a team composed by L cio Costa, Affonso Reidy, Oscar Niemeyer and with the participation of Le Corbusier. Some features of the campus, built on the Ilha do Fund o, point to principles of modernist urbanism. This is also shown in the projects for the campus of the cities of Belo Horizonte, Recife, S o Paulo, and Vit ria. The program comprehends great autonomy and detachment from the ensemble of the city. Besides the college buildings, administration compounds, hospital, sports and cultural centres and residential halls for students and professors.

I consider, however, that the turning point in the urban production is the competition for the Plano Piloto of Bras lia in 1956. Twenty-six teams presented their projects, mainly modernist urbanism examples.

Brasilia was an important opportunity for the architects to expose their city designs and it makes clear the urban repertoire they had. The concepts of neighborhood unit and housing unit, for instance, might be identified as spatial organization principles in the plans presented at the competition.

The neighborhood unit is a planning instrument common to different urban planning lineages both to plan existing cities and to design new cities.

The neighborhood unit in the MM Roberto team design is close to the original conception of Clarence Perry, as a planning principle for New York regional plan and largely used in the post-war construction of English new-towns - the scale defined by the social equipment, elementary school in special, and the idea of recovering community lifestyle.

On the other hand the *unite d'habitation* concept developed by Le Corbusier from 1944 on and built three years later for the first time in Marseille might be identified in the mega structures of the design developed by the team of the architect Rino Levi. There are common points in the application of the two concepts- the neighborhood unite and the *unite d'habitation*- like the inclusion of local shops and social equipments as a constitutive part of the project, the separation between pedestrian and cars flow and the street hierarchy. However, as I see, they differ in an essential point, that is, the conception of a city developing from these units. The neighborhood unit as an organizing principle for urbanism and design presupposes a hierarchy - from the simplest to the more complex and the whole is limited and is made from an addition of units. The *unite d'habitation* is a housing solution that can be repeated infinitely.

A balance of the presented projects makes clear that the international debate was not necessarily followed in Brazil. Only a few projects incorporate the criticism of modernist

ideals that was already being made in the interior of the very movement and that would be explored in a fierce way by Jane Jacobs in the book “*The life and death of great American cities*”.

When Villanova Artigas, in 1965²², writes about the bankruptcy of the modern movement in architecture and urbanism he notes the expectations and limits of adherence to modern movement. “Functionalism had a program, a project to make architecture fight its own “alienation” so as to serve the general effort of culture in the transformation of man. It cannot and could not accomplish it, but by bringing it to the practice, helped architects to know the nature of the obstacles ahead. ”

In the same text he observes the ties between the industrialization process of Brazil in that moment and the functionalist theses. “Underdeveloped countries aspire to industrialization whatever its consequences, since, according to functionalist theses, it would be possible to control it immediately in order to transform our world, in which the backwardness of capitalist development, or its coexistence with feudalism, provokes even worse misery spectacles”.

5. The criticism of modern movement

The first fissures in the ideal of modern urbanism appeared in the interior of the very movement. The definition of the theme of the VIII Congress “The heart of the city” realized in Hoddesdon, England, in 1951, introduces what Jose Lluís Sert, CIAM president will develop in his text²³ - the question of space to the community lifestyle. He proposes the invention of a new kind of space - civic space - for public functions.

The debate about public space introduces the central question which will lead the reflections in the 60's - how to assure urbanity to urban designs. In the analyses about this period there is a convergence about the main theorists of this revision of the modern movement.

“The redefinition of the relations between the building and the city, between the architecture freed of the formalist obsessions and the urbanism freed of his technocratic weight was expressed in France in the formulation of what was called urban design. A political claim in the sense that it supposes a new formulation of the role of the planning technicians and of their relations with the inhabitants and with the local administrations. A theoretical claim for it uses new conceptual tools and new design techniques”.

6. The emergence of urban planning.

²² Artigas, J. V. (1986) “Uma falsa crise” in *Caminhos da Arquitetura* (1965) São Paulo, Ed PINI 2a ed, 1986, p101

²³ Sert, J.L.(1965) “Centros para la vida de la comunidad” in Rogers, E.N., Sert, J, L Tyrwhitt, J *El corazon de la ciudad por una vida humana de la comunidad*. Editorial Científico Médica, Barcelona.

In Brazil, the teaching of the two tendencies of the urbanism is present in the newly created Schools of Architecture and Urbanism: the modernist one through the teaching of design, and the continuity of what was previously instructed in the engineering and has the goal of forming a new professional - the urban planner.

In the field of professional practice an effort is made to elaborate plans not only in the municipality but also by professionals outside the administrations and in consultant offices.

The new municipal engineers have a narrower action in the city hall - their main function is the public administration. They are different from the urbanists of the previous generation, who were absorbed both in the conception of urbanism as a field of knowledge and in the application of these principles in their professional practice.

Feldman²⁴, when she analyses the growing institutionalization of urban planning in the 60's in São Paulo, remarks that, although there were plans being made, they were not demanded by the administrations, but were part of a movement of entities connected to municipalism and architects entities for the institutionalization of urban planning.

In this sense, the plans made were not effective as tools of guidance for executive action and became fundamentally a tool for training technical staff in planning. The institutional model of municipal planning diffused is originated in the taylorist conception of economy and efficiency as an organizational goal. Planning as a technique, politically neuter and universally applicable, therefore out of the arena of negotiation of urban policies.

The urban plans grow and prevail over other fields of action, as housing, health, education, besides the traditional fields like traffic and transportation systems. The outcome was the reverse of the expected integration: an increasing specialization.

The basic urban plan for São Paulo is an example of the exaggeration of this process of enlargement and detailed ness of the intended operation field of urban planning. A consortium composed of two Brazilian companies and two American ones elaborated it. During a year it concerned more than a hundred technicians. It was presented in six volumes. It denotes the growing detachment of urban planning from its real possibility of implementation.

Zoning became the central element of urban policy, in the master plans elaborated from the beginning of the 70's on, defining activities placement and the balance between the size of each lot and the size of the building on it.

In this period the loss of credibility of planners toward their activity may be attributed to the fact that they see this instrument as inherent to the authoritarian exercise of power initiated in Brazil with the 1964 military coup.

A vision until then prevailing of the neuter character of the action of the State was put aside and the difference between the theory and the concrete intervention practices was

²⁴ Feldman, S. (2005) *Planejamento e Zoneamento São Paulo 1947 1972* São Paulo,, EDUSP.

established. However, the fact that technical and scientific ideology as a way to legitimate power had prevailed during the whole authoritarian period led to an indiscriminate association of urban planning with authoritarian and repressive practices. By denying a specific kind of planning it ended by denying any kind of planning.

7. The challenges of urbanism in Brazil.

Three processes shape a new portrait of the urban question from the 80's on: the democratic restoration process, the financial crisis of the State and the economic restructuring.

In 1988, an alliance of social actors involved in urban issues – movements for social housing and regularization of land possession, unions, professional associations of engineers and architects, urban squatters, NGOs and academics – joined together to formulate the Popular Urban Reform Amendment²⁵ which, was presented to the Constitutional Congress. For the first time in history, the Constitution included a specific chapter on urban policy. But it was necessary an intense negotiation process which lasted more than ten years, to approve The City Statute, which regulate the chapter on urban policy found in the 1988 Constitution and could give new rights to the city for populations excluded of urban policies The new law provided legal support to those municipalities committed to confronting social and environmental problems.

In this sense, urbanism is now based upon a new privileged relation with the political field. The present challenges of the new urban instruments make clear, in my opinion, which are the present impasses of urbanism. They assume a different logic - zoning, for instance as a way to control real estate use and occupation like it has been done in the last thirty years is deemed to end. The proposition is to use it as a mechanism of real state market regulation - reserving areas for social housing and proposing mechanisms of redistribution of benefits of the public investments in traffic infrastructure and sanitation. It is here that two tendencies previously referred to meet in an evident way and the challenge for both is the same.

By evoking the formation of urbanism in Brazil in a long historical period I tried to examine the conditions of this formation, looking, as Christian Topalov²⁶ says, for the hidden order behind these facts. The impasses are many and the possibilities of realization are limited.

However, after the illusions are undone the belief about the importance of our profession remains.

²⁵ the amendment had 250,000 signatures

²⁶ Topalov, C.(1991) “Os saberes sobre a cidade: tempos de crise?” in *Revista Espaço e Debates* ,34, Ano XI, p28-38

Reconsidering relocated buildings: ICOMOS, authenticity and mass relocation

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Buildings have been moved for centuries. ‘Portable colonial cottages’ for gentlemen emigrating to new settlements were advertised in British newspapers in the early nineteenth century. They, and other prefabricated buildings, were regularly shipped across the globe to new world societies where there was an urgent need for shelter, thus enabling an emigrant to ‘land from a ship in a new country in the morning, and sleep in his own house on shore at night.’¹

The materials from which prefabricated buildings were constructed have varied. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries most were timber and were usually simple cottages that could be easily transported and readily assembled from a series of standardised timber sections. But with developments in iron manufacture, prefabricated iron buildings made first from plate iron and then from corrugated iron emerged.

Such buildings had a history of movement and were often moved several times after their initial erection. In contrast most buildings are constructed on a permanent site. Their potential for relocation is rarely considered. But it is also possible to move these buildings. They too can be relocated from their original site to a new location and this is not an uncommon occurrence. Buildings have been relocated frequently and neither size, planning regulations nor, in many cases, heritage listing, has prevented relocation to another site.²

Occasionally there is a mass relocation of buildings. Are mass relocations common? Only further research will tell. But it seems unlikely that there would be a commercial justification for the relocation of large numbers of buildings. The two mass relocations that are the subject of this paper involve heritage-listed buildings, and they were moved as a result of statutory requirements.

How do heritage practitioners regard mass relocations? This paper reviews attitudes to the relocation of heritage buildings in the ICOMOS charters and then examines two case studies involving the mass relocation of heritage buildings, identifying the ways in which heritage professionals involved in their relocation responded to the apparent dichotomy between theory and practice. The paper then discusses the vexed question of authenticity.

The ICOMOS view of relocation

Heritage conservation practices across the globe are guided by a series of international charters. The Venice Charter (1964) came into existence at the congress that also resulted in the establishment of the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) in 1965. It is a practical document designed, through its sixteen principles, to guide architects and other specialists in the conservation of buildings. Authenticity is of prime importance.

Reconstruction is not permitted, the structure and authenticity of materials must be respected, and any new elements must be distinguishable from original. Article 7 specifically bans the relocation of historic buildings;

a monument is inseparable from the history to which it bears witness and from the

setting in which it occurs. The moving of all or part of a monument cannot be allowed except where the safeguarding of that monument demands it or where it is justified by national or international interest of paramount importance.³

A further ICOMOS document, the Florence Charter (1981) echoes this position. Although it focuses on historic gardens and landscapes, its articles cover structures within gardens. Article 13 specifies that

permanent or movable architectural, sculptural or decorative features which form an integral part of the historic garden must be removed or displaced only insofar as this is essential for their conservation or restoration. The replacement or restoration of any such jeopardised features must be effected in accordance with the principles of the Venice Charter.⁴

The concern was taken up in various national charters. ICOMOS Australia's Burra Charter (1976) rejected relocation, asserting that the physical location of a place is part of its cultural significance, and dictating that the movement of a building of cultural heritage significance is unacceptable. Others, such as ICOMOS Canada's Appleton Charter (1983), stated categorically that 'relocation and dismantling of an existing resource should be employed only as a last resort, if protection cannot be achieved by any other means'.⁵

Gradually, however, as a result of differing national practices and differing attitudes to relocation and, perhaps too, an increasing awareness that history is about change over time, some variations began to appear in ICOMOS charters. ICOMOS New Zealand's Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value (1992) suggested a more pragmatic approach to relocation.

The site of an historic structure is usually an integral part of its cultural heritage value. Relocation, however, can be a legitimate part of the conservation process where assessment shows that:

- i. the site is not of associated value (an exceptional circumstance); or
- ii. relocation is the only means of saving the structure; or
- iii. relocation provides continuity of cultural heritage value.

A new site should provide a setting compatible with cultural heritage value.⁶ Earthquake-prone New Zealand has a long history of relocation of its easily moved timber buildings.

The ICOMOS Principles for the Conservation of Timber Structures (1999) recognised the vulnerability of timber building fabric. Under this charter intervention to prevent decay is considered permissible if it follows traditional methods. Although minimum intervention is the ideal, there was now a recognition that conservation might require complete or partial dismantling of buildings and their subsequent reassembly.⁷

Revisions of ICOMOS Australia's Burra Charter continued to assert that buildings of cultural heritage significance could only be moved if relocation was 'the sole practical means of ensuring its survival'. But its most recent revision in 1999 provided a caveat so that buildings that have been designed to be moved or have a history of relocation can be moved provided they do not have significant links to their present location.⁸ This was an acknowledgement of the extent of relocation in Australia, as well as a recognition of the heritage significance of pre-fabricated buildings in Australia.

The latest ICOMOS Charter, the principles for the Analysis, Conservation and Structural Restoration of Architectural Heritage (2003) accepts the possibility of relocation though specifying that the 'Dismantling and reassembly should only be undertaken as an optional measure ... when conservation by any other means is impossible or harmful'.⁹

In summary, today the various ICOMOS charters reject relocation except in situations of last resort where relocation is essential to safeguard, or to conserve, restore or preserve, or to comply with national or international interests. Two further caveats exist. In Australia

buildings can be relocated if they were originally designed to be moved. In NZ buildings can also be relocated in the rare situation in which the site of a building does not have associated value and relocation to a compatible setting can provide continuity of cultural heritage.

The Channel Tunnel Rail Link

The impact of the Channel Tunnel Rail Link (CTRL) in Britain on heritage sites is an excellent example of the clash between development requirements and heritage and the use of relocation as a solution.

The CTRL is one of the largest construction projects in Europe. The route covers 109 kilometres from the mouth of the Channel Tunnel, traversing farmland and towns, and terminating at St Pancras Station in London. Following the passage of the Channel Tunnel Act (1987), identification of the preferred route and public consultation, the CTRL Bill was examined by Select Committees of both the House of Commons and the House of Lords. It was enacted in 1996 and construction began in 1998.

Apart from the engineering challenges inherent in such a huge project, in response to environmental and heritage concerns, the act placed numerous conditions on the developers. Ecologists were engaged by the CTRL to rehabilitate the environmental devastation created by the rail corridor. Archaeologists were employed in the largest archaeological investigation programme ever undertaken in Britain. Sixty-five archaeological sites were excavated in advance of construction works and four were found to be of national significance.¹⁰

Heritage sites were especially problematic. Schedule 7 of the CTRL Act (1996) recorded thirty-one heritage-listed buildings in the path of the rail link. Most were Grade II listed properties — ‘buildings of special interest, which warrant every effort being made to preserve them’. Twelve were relocated, with funding support from Union Railways, one of the CTRL project managers.¹¹

Brockton Barn was a Grade II listed seventeenth-century weatherboard aisled barn at Charing Heath, lying in the path of the CTRL. It was recorded, dismantled and its materials stored in February 1999. A year later it was relocated and re-erected timber-by-timber as the centrepiece of a cottage garden nursery in Tenterden. Union Railways provided £125,000 to fund its relocation. The Mayor of Tenterden joined Morris dancers at a ceremony to celebrate the barn’s traditional ‘topping out’ to mark the completion of its re-erection. The Union Railways Managing Director said ‘It will be great to see this piece of Kent’s agricultural inheritance once again employed as part of a rural business’.¹²

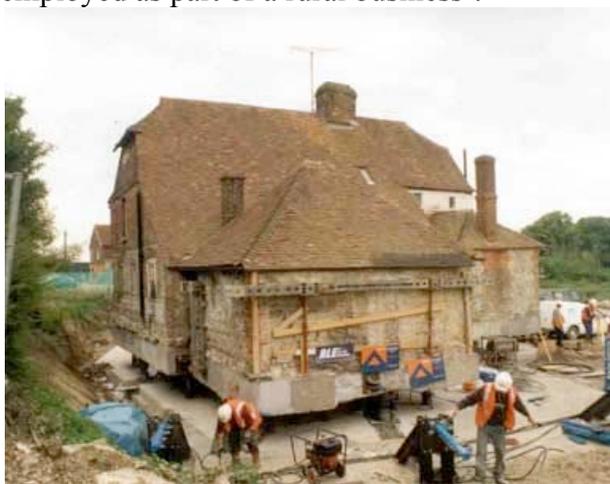


Figure 1. Relocating Bridge House, July 7, 2000

Grade II listed Bridge House at Mersham, a sixteenth century timber-framed house (Figure 1), was moved in one piece. It exemplifies construction methods employed since the

16th century, having been renovated throughout the centuries using techniques typical of each period. Demolition and rebuilding was not considered appropriate because that would at best have created an example of a twenty-first-century facsimile of older construction methods. Instead, the decision was taken to preserve valuable archaeology by moving the structure intact. Weighing 450 tonnes, it was supported internally and externally by concrete beams, lifted off the ground by fifteen vertical jacks and then pulled 55 metres by three additional jacks, sliding on a medium of greased rubber and polished metal. The building now stands the same distance away from the CTRL as it did from the original railway.¹³

The Grade II Talbot House (Figure 2), a fifteenth-century timber-framed clay-tiled dwelling in the village of Sellindge was dismantled and re-erected in a new location half a mile from its original location. It is one of the few surviving Wealden Hall houses, notable for its size and design and because the external wooden timbers were not stained black, but were whitewashed like the plaster. Originally a single dwelling built for a wealthy family, when London to Folkestone railway was built in the 1840s in close proximity to the house, it was acquired by South Eastern Railways and converted to three cottages for rail workers. It was reinstated as a single privately owned house in the 1980s, but a decade later stood directly in the path of the link between the M20 motorway and the CTRL. The CTRL Act stipulated that it must be rebuilt within the same parish by its owner Union Railways, who had acquired the building in 1996 as part of land resumption for the CTRL.



Figure 2. Re-erecting Talbot House

During a seven-week period in 2000 the house was dismantled, from the roof down, every part was numbered and an archaeologist made detailed drawings of every part of the structure. It was painstakingly re-erected over a two-year period. Dendrochronological dating revealed that a floor had been inserted over the vast space of the original hall to make a two-storey dwelling in 1570, and it was re-erected in this its seventeenth century form. It is estimated that forty per cent of the original 1430 timber was reused in the reconstruction. Where the condition of the original timber had deteriorated, new oak was used. Only two of the original doors could be reused and so new oak doors were used where necessary. Oak floorboards on the first floor had been badly eaten by woodworm and were replaced by pine boards. Natural wool insulation was used in the floor, wall and roof. But as far as possible rebuilding was faithful to the original. Two-thirds of the original daub was saved and re-used, and the unusual 11.5 inch bricks in the main fireplace were put back in their original positions.

There was great pride in the process of re-erection. Peter Massey, the conservation carpentry expert in charge of re-building, said 'It has been fascinating for me, working in the style of carpenters who produced the building six or seven hundred years ago...They were very skilled men [and]...I have almost had the feeling that the original builders were looking

over my shoulders.’ During rebuilding several ‘discoveries’ were made. Although the house was built in about 1430, some of the beam joints showed that the wood was almost certainly re-used from an earlier building. Rare mediaeval drawings etched into the decorative daub panelling in the dias screen, at the high end of the open hall, were discovered during the dismantling process. One of the panels depicted a bearded man and is now displayed at the Weald and Downland Open Air Museum near Chichester, Sussex.

Although the total cost to Union Railways of the Talbot House relocation was £650,000, the market value of a two-bedroom, two-reception room house was only £450,000, when it was advertised for sale in October 2003. The house was purchased and the new owners added a kitchen and bathroom.

When a listed building is dismantled the parts remain listed to prevent the materials being resold, but when the building is re-built it is delisted. But, as Peter Massey argued, its proximity to the railway in the 1840s and then a motorway already blighted the house. Its setting had changed over time, and its new location more closely approximates the original setting.¹⁴

By far the most ambitious, was the relocation of seven of the buildings that made up Yonse Farm. Its significance as a group of Grade II listed buildings lay in its history as a ‘model farm’. The Board of Agriculture, established by Prime Minister William Pitt, recommended the development of model farms in England during the Napoleonic Wars. Harvests had been poor, grain prices were high and model farms were to apply new scientific techniques to British farming methods, increase yields, and thus self-sufficiency to counter the potential impact of wartime naval blockades. The model farms were built as a whole and designed by an agricultural engineer or architect.

Yonse Farm was built between 1816 and 1819 at Hothfield, Kent, by Sackville Tufton, the 9th Earl of Thanet. Georgian architect, George Repton, is thought to have designed the farm. Although it was not completed until after the Battle of Waterloo when the threat had passed, it has been acknowledged as an important late Georgian model farm.¹⁵

However Yonse Farm lay directly in the path of the CTRL. The seven heritage-listed buildings at the Farm included a farmhouse, great barn, granary, oast house, cowshed and stables complex, byres, and a toll cottage. The cost of relocating them was estimated at £2,000,000. Hence, to assist in attracting funding, the farm buildings were given to a registered charity, the Traditional Buildings Preservation Trust, to manage the project on behalf of a steering group that included Ashford Borough Council, Union Railways, and the South East England Development Agency (SEEDA).¹⁶

Funding for the project, however, was a continuing problem. Union Railways was required by Parliament to fund the dismantling and re-erection of three of the listed buildings, and provided £300,000 for that purpose. But it was difficult to obtain further funding. In the UK, once a heritage-listed building is relocated, it is de-listed. Hence, Yonse was not eligible for funding from the full range of heritage sources. Although technically eligible, an application to the Heritage Lottery Fund for £181,000 failed. Eventually the other steering group members provided funding; the borough council £60,000 and SEEDA £380,000.¹⁷

The CTRL construction schedule was fixed and inflexible, so there was less than four months at the end of 1998 to find a new site, dismantle, record and relocate the buildings nine miles to the new site. It became a desperate race against time in wet muddy conditions with winter bearing in. The farm was surveyed, measured drawings were made, photographs taken, patterns drawn and timbers tagged. However the limited time available made it impossible to use the highest standards in appraising the site. Sections of the walls of each building were numbered and collapsed and the bricks from each section were cleaned (approximately 500,000 bricks in total) and stacked in order on pallets, together with the slates from the same building. Project manager for the Traditional Buildings Preservation

Trust, Alex MacLaren, said that ‘The successful dismantling of seven historic buildings in less than four months and their planned re-erection in less than four years is a unique project.’ A foundation stone was laid at the new site adjacent to the South of England Rare Breeds Centre, Woodchurch, by a descendant of the original tenant of Yonseas Farm, in July 1999. The Trust has been given a 300-year lease on the site.¹⁸

The Yonseas Farm buildings are still in the process of reconstruction with, to date, five of the seven buildings rebuilt (Figure 3). The material from the remaining buildings — including the large Georgian farmhouse — is carefully stacked in a fenced-off compound, awaiting the funding that will enable reconstruction. In the reconstruction no use is made of modern foundation technology, lime-based mortars and renders are used. Where possible all the original materials are being re-used, although some rotten timber has had to be replaced. Georgian bricks, which were fired at a low temperature and are softer than modern bricks, are being laid using lime, putty and sand mortar which is more flexible. ‘Every inch of the site records the great care the project management insists is essential to preserve the authentic buildings’.¹⁹



Figure 3. The partially reconstructed Yonseas Farm

Those involved in the rebuilding project take great pride in their work. The workforce was specially recruited by the Traditional Buildings Preservation Trust in order to maintain direct control over the quality of the reconstruction work. It included apprentices who attended construction training courses at the local Further Education College within a day release programme. Whilst the College courses were in modern construction, the work force apprentices received on site training in the traditional crafts from their foremen. The chairman of the Trust, Richard Sutch, believes that ‘the project demonstrates the effectiveness of traditional building techniques and provides an exceptional opportunity to train in the building crafts that are vital for the conservation of our rural built heritage.’²⁰



Figure 4. Using traditional building methods to rebuild Yonseas Farm

Foreman carpenter Melvin Smith had worked on historic buildings for many years and has trained apprentices on the project. He took particular pride in his work on the oasts. ‘Some timber had to be replaced as the heat from the hop drying process damaged some of

the original wood. In the past I have always worked on oasts that were hung with Kent Peg Tiles and this [hung with slates] has been an exceptional challenge. During restoration I have discovered that the original carpenter in charge of construction was Daniel Court and it would be fantastic to contact any of his descendants to come and see it now.²¹

The Yonse Farm Rebuilt Project is thought to be the largest relocation of listed buildings even undertaken in twentieth century Britain and has attracted considerable media attention. As well as newspaper coverage, progress of the project was featured on the BBC2 television series 'Restoration' in Autumn 2003.

Ultimately it is intended that the rebuilt Yonse Farm will be an education and training centre, associated with the South of England Rare Breeds Centre, where visitors can 'learn about English rural history and enjoy the architecture of Georgian times when England was the world leader in agricultural science.'²² The project will be economically sustained by the educational workspace. In the first phase, the Oasts are being used as an arts and crafts centre for people with disabilities.

The final building to be relocated as part of the CTRL was a former steam locomotive Waterpoint from St Pancras Station in London. The Waterpoint is the only surviving structure of seven structures located behind St Pancras Station to supply water for steam locomotives. It was built in the early 1870s and is believed to be England's only example of an original steam locomotive watering point designed as a whole building rather than as a tank on columns or a plinth.²³

Fear for the fate of the Waterpoint was raised in May 1996 when Lord Cavendish of Furness (then a Commissioner of English Heritage) debated the CTRL bill in the House of Lords;

The water point is a modest, but unique, structure designed in Gothic style to complement St Pancras. It is listed grade II, which means it warrants every effort being made to preserve it. No attempt has been made, as far as I know, by Union Railways or LCR [London and Continental Railways] to re-use it, even though that would be entirely straightforward. I am told that its dismantling and re-erection would be about £350,000, half the cost of re-erecting Yonse Farm in Kent, for instance, where the principle of dismantling and re-erecting various listed buildings was established by the Select Committee on the Bill in another place. It is difficult to understand why listed buildings at the London end of the route should receive less favourable treatment.²⁴

The passage of the CTRL Act authorised the demolition of the Waterpoint and the redevelopment of the site, but English Heritage and the Heritage of London Trust Operations mounted a rescue campaign. The owners of the building, LCR, agreed to the relocation plan. In the end the project cost almost £900,000 and was funded by grants from LCR (£137,000), the Heritage Lottery Fund (£630,500), English Heritage (£71,460), and smaller amounts from the Heritage of London Trust, Camden Council, the King's Cross Partnership, the Rail Link Countryside Initiative and the Architectural Heritage Fund. Why it was eligible for funding when the Yonse Farm was not, is a question that has not yet been answered.

There were strict time constraints for the relocation. Under the CTRL Act no work at St Pancras could begin until after July 2, 2001 and the Waterpoint had to be moved by December 31, 2001 or it would be demolished. The nine-metre high 350-tonne Waterpoint was treated in three horizontal sections. The top two sections of the brick and stone building were moved by road in one piece (Figure 5), but the lowest section could not be moved as it was part of boundary wall on the original site. Bricks were reclaimed from this section and used on the new site, 700 metres to the north-east of the original site. Once the preparation work was complete, the lifting and transportation work was completed in three days in November 2001.²⁵



Figure 5. A section of the Waterpoint being lowered into its new position, November 2001

Saved from demolition, the Waterpoint now stands on a viaduct overlooking St Pancras Yacht Basin on Regent's Canal, and is being leased to British Waterways for use as a reception and exhibition area. It was formally opened on its new site on June 22, 2005 and is once again a prominent landmark on the Camden skyline.

The Wellington Inner City Bypass

At the opposite end of the world another mass relocation was taking place. In August 2006 the last of sixteen heritage-listed buildings were relocated to make way for the Wellington Inner City Bypass project (WICB) in New Zealand's capital city. The Te Aro area of the city had been earmarked for road development since 1966 and properties in the district had gradually been bought up by the NZ Ministry for Works. Twenty heritage-listed buildings were directly in the way of the proposed bypass.

Te Aro was one of earliest parts of Wellington to be settled by Europeans as it was a flat area amongst the city's steep hills. Its streets were laid out in the 1840s, and its original one-acre town lots were subdivided where there was little town planning control. Hence the area was characterised by a number of small alleyways and lanes. It was a small enclave unique in Wellington for its combination of large Victorian and Edwardian houses, small worker's dwellings and two storey shops with accommodation above. Heritage professionals argued that 'Its rambling, confined character captures the spirit of nineteenth century Wellington'.²⁶

Local branch members of the NZ Historic Places Trust were implacably opposed to the relocation project. They were apprehensive that the relationship between buildings and between buildings and their location would be lost.

The ability of present and future generations to read this history from the street should not be compromised...there will be a tendency to shift buildings around at will [and] disassociate groupings of buildings, and the result will fairly quickly become static and museum-like, no matter how elegant it may look on an overview plan.²⁷

A major concern was the precedent that would be set by the mass relocation of heritage buildings to make way for a road project. It would send a strong signal that 'heritage is a secondary issue when it comes to traffic management and the building of state highways'.²⁸ Such views were of little consequence against the might of the roads planning juggernaut.

New Zealand is no stranger to relocated buildings and many have been moved in Wellington. The largest relocation project was in the late 1920s when twenty-six buildings in

the suburb of Petone were relocated over a twelve-year period for road works. So it was no surprise when in May 2002, after more than a decade of planning, negotiation and eventually court action, including an appeal to the High Court, the Historic Places Trust gave archaeological consent for the bypass to be built through Te Aro. The heritage-listed buildings that stood in its path were to be relocated.²⁹

Public concern was not assuaged. There were two last minute appeals to the NZ Environment Court against the Trust's consent. The two appellant groups argued that the Trust had failed to protect Wellington's 'unique Victorian heritage enclaves' by supporting a 'Disneyland-style heritage precinct' to which the buildings would be relocated. The CEO of the Trust said it had not been an easy decision. The Trust had consistently opposed the project, but went down the path of mitigation because it did not have the resources to fight the long-standing designation of the area for the bypass. Relocation was not the Trust's preferred option. But by granting consent it was able to impose stringent conditions compelling the developer, Transit New Zealand, to undertake a thorough investigation of the history of the buildings and the area, restore the buildings, commission an archaeological dig with public open days and give any finds to local museums.³⁰ The appeals failed and, although the government's record of stewardship of heritage properties was attacked in the New Zealand parliament, work on the project began in 2005.³¹ Twenty buildings were relocated between February and November 2005, some were put on temporary sites before being shifted to their final location. The final building was put in place in August 2006.

The relocated buildings included four wooden workers' cottages, built between the 1860s and 1880s. The oldest, a triple gabled wooden house originally sited at 270 Cuba Street, was in a poor state of repair and, in the words of Transit New Zealand, had to be 'dismantled' (demolished). The cottage, now nearly 150 years old, is being rebuilt as a replica. It was the first home of William and Jane Tonks, assisted immigrants from Shropshire who had significant entrepreneurial skills. They built a brickworks nearby, bought up land, built cottages for their workers, undertook the first major Wellington harbour reclamation, became merchants, established a shipping service, and continued to prosper over several generations. Most of the workers' cottages in the area were very small. The wooden cottage originally sited at 1 Tonks Avenue (Figure 6), built in the 1880s by the Tonks, was only one-room wide.



Figure 6. 1 Tonks Ave, relocated August 15, 2005

Seven large houses were also relocated, most built at the turn of the twentieth century. One, originally sited at 278 Willis Street, was considerably older dating from 1873. It was built for Andrew Young, a land developer and city councillor, and later passed into the hands of an obstetrician who converted it into a maternity hospital in 1921. In 1950 it was taken over by the government and later leased to a social services organisation. The history of the house originally located at 215 Vivian Street (Figure 7) tells a similar story — built for a wealthy family in 1884, changing hands, and then becoming a private boarding house in 1929 and bought by the government in 1980.



Figure 7. Relocation of 215 Vivian Street, Te Aro, Wellington

Eight of the relocated buildings were shops. The shop at 272 Cuba Street built in 1896, is unique in Wellington having only one room. Part of a message of protest painted on the timber boards of the side of the shop, was recorded in a photograph of workman stripping off the boards prior to its relocation.

The Bypass. We're making a stand!
 We wouldn't call this a green and pleasant land
 A conscious response is what we demand
 Challenge the system and those in command
 Express your opinion. It's your domain
 If you fail to do this, you're partly to blame
 My heart is beating. No Retreat
 The battle is coming...

More common were the two-storey shops, with accommodation upstairs, built towards the end of the nineteenth century. As well as his residence in Willis Street, Andrew Young also built a corner shop in 1893 at 286 Willis Street (Figure 8) only a few lots away. Passing through many hands, it was chemist shop until the 1930s, then a butcher's shop until 1990, when it was turned into a trendy inner city café, bar and live performance venue.



Figure 8. Relocation of 286 Willis Street, Te Aro, June 8, 2005.

The information provided by NZ Transit tends to emphasise the engineering feat involved in relocation. The findings of the twenty-six archaeologists who examined the old foundations is reported — a seven-metre brick well, much domestic and industrial debris, the foundations of earlier buildings and information about Victorian construction techniques. But there are minimal details of the conservation works, although the phrase 'restored to its original splendour' or 'glory' recurs in media releases. There is little information available about the 'Disneyland' precinct, which will be the final resting place for most of the

buildings. It is anticipated that the buildings will be used for a mix of commercial and residential purposes.

The cost of the relocation and restoration has been estimated at over \$3,500,000. Britton House Movers moved all the buildings and prepared each prior to relocation by removing the chimney and cross bracing the walls internally. New foundations have been built and the buildings are all being restored in materials sympathetic to the original in form and style externally, leaving it to new occupier to finish the interiors.

Eleven buildings have been moved to a newly created Tonks Precinct, and others to the Kensington Precinct. White picket fences have been put up, new gardens planted and brick paving laid. Wellington City Council designers and an architectural conservator are working on the restoration, with the original orientation and access maintained where possible. Surprisingly, considered the mixed character of their original setting, buildings of similar age and style are being kept together.

Ensuring heritage is authentic

Underlying the heritage concerns surrounding relocation is a very real apprehension that relocation will compromise the authenticity of heritage buildings. There are various strategies that heritage professionals have developed to deal with the complexity of authenticity.

ICOMOS adopted the Nara Document on Authenticity in 1994. Essentially a plea for authenticity that built on the Venice Charter, it was also a response to the mounting forces of globalisation and homogenisation. It contended that authenticity could clarify and illuminate the ‘collective memory of humanity’ and was the first international conservation document to argue that ‘the protection and enhancement of cultural and heritage *diversity* in our world should be actively promoted as an essential aspect of human development’. Hence it was possible to contend that

It is thus not possible to base judgments of value and authenticity on fixed criteria.

On the contrary, the respect due to all cultures requires that heritage properties must be considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which they belong.

Hence the document declared that the conservation of cultural heritage ‘in all its forms and historical periods is rooted in the values attributed to [its particular] heritage’.³²

There was some refinement of the Nara Document in the ICOMOS Declaration of San Antonio (1996), which provided a commentary on the document, refining the notion of authenticity to acknowledge ‘the dynamic nature of cultural values’ and calling for ‘static and inflexible criteria’ to be avoided. It also proposed the following five proofs as a basis for determining authenticity.

- i. Reflection of the true value. That is, whether the resource remains in the condition of its creation and reflects all its significant history.
- ii. Integrity. That is, whether the site is fragmented; how much is missing, and what are the recent additions.
- iii. Context. That is, whether the context and/or the environment correspond to the original or other periods of significance; and whether they enhance or diminish the significance.
- iv. Identity. That is, whether the local population identify themselves with the site, and whose identity the site reflects.
- v. Use and function. That is, the traditional patterns of use that have characterized the site.³³

The growth of cultural tourism with its dubious ‘authentic’ interpretations of the past prompted ICOMOS International Charter on Cultural Tourism (1999). The charter engages with the differences between history and heritage, describing heritage as a broad concept that ‘records and expresses the long processes of historic development’ and as ‘a dynamic

reference point and positive instrument for growth and change'. The idea of authenticity remains an essential element within its definition of cultural significance.

The retention of the authenticity of heritage places and collections is important.... Programmes should present and interpret the authenticity of places and cultural experiences to enhance the appreciation and understanding of that cultural heritage.³⁴

More recently the UNESCO Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (2005) identified key attributes by which the conditions of authenticity can be expressed, including location and setting.³⁵ The Xi'an Declaration on the Conservation of the Setting of Heritage Structures, Sites and Areas (2005).³⁶ worked off these Operational Guidelines to stress the importance of both the tangible and intangible dimensions of setting to the significance of heritage monuments, sites and areas. It also called for planning tools and practices to be developed to conserve and manage settings, as well as monitor and manage change affecting them.

Heritage professionals were becoming concerned by the complexities posed by the concept of authenticity. Authenticity is clearly a difficult concept. Heritage buildings are likely to have had a long history, marked by changing uses and changing building techniques as structures are altered to adapt to new uses. Heritage professionals frequently have to make decisions about adaptive reuse, including which era of a building's history should be the basis for conservation and interpretation.

ICOMOS's increasing unease regarding authenticity mirrors debate within the scholarly community. Historians have been amongst those who have questioned the concept of authenticity with the most vigour.

The search for authenticity has been with us for more than a century. In nineteenth century Britain the original founders of the heritage movement contrasted their own times with an 'authentic' pre-industrial past. In 1949 George Orwell wrote 'We have a hunger for something like authenticity, but are easily satisfied by an ersatz facsimile.'³⁷ That hunger has intensified over the last twenty years and, as a number of commentators have argued, the quest for authenticity has become more intense.

As a result of the acceleration in production, exchange, consumption and communication that characterises advanced capitalist society, time and space have been 'compressed' and the distinction between past, present and future has become blurred...With this...has come a diminished sense of place and belonging, and a corresponding increase in levels of insecurity. We have become anxious about our identity and search for historical roots and a sense of authenticity.³⁸

Today the past is everywhere, as David Lowenthal has argued in his magisterial *The Past is a Foreign Country*.³⁹

Historical films for the large screen and the small box are tried-and-true box office hits. Period props, period costumes and period settings are all used to evoke an authentic past. Jane Austen's novels of early nineteenth century morals and manners — *Emma*, *Pride and Prejudice*, *Mansfield Park* — are regularly turned into films using the authentic settings of English villages and country houses. David Lean's film of E.M. Foster's *Passage to India* used authentic Indian locations and sumptuous costuming to evoke the Raj. Roman Polanski used authentic farm machines to lend reality to his film of Thomas Hardy's *Tess of the D'Urbavilles*. The television film of Evelyn Waugh's *Brideshead Revisited* was carefully laced with authentic details to the extent that hen's eggs were speckled with paint to simulate the plover's eggs described in a breakfast scene in the original novel.⁴⁰

Much that is intended to replicate the past authentically bears no resemblance to the 'real' past. Real estate developers, for example, market heritage-style homes. Throughout the 1990s 'federation-style' homes were all the rage in Australia, echoing in their external

aesthetic the design of homes at the turn of the twentieth century, but internally with all the accoutrements of the late twentieth century. Lowenthal gives the example of marketing used by a UK builder which boasted that they had turned the clock back in constructing authentic Tudor style homes — ‘if Oliver Cromwell...walked into the house he wouldn’t find a brick or an oak beam out of place’ — but the beams weren’t oak they were Canadian Douglas fir impregnated with preservative.⁴¹

So-called heritage cities may be less authentic than is claimed. Cities like Boston, for example, which prides itself on its authenticity has become a city of ‘fake authenticity’. According to Joshua Glenn,

Everything which was actually old has been made Olde instead; historical façades and interiors have been restored not to how they used to look, but to how (city planners imagine) tourists want them to look.⁴²

Cities destroyed by war have been reconstructed. The half-timbered mediaeval buildings in Frankfurt’s city square, the Romerberg, were almost all destroyed by wartime bombing in 1944. But to the casual visitor today the Romerberg appears to be an authentic mediaeval town centre. It is largely a reconstruction.

Open air museums often include buildings brought in from other places sitting alongside old houses on their original sites. Some are reconstructions, some are replicas. But visitors rarely distinguish between the authentic and the fake.

Indeed the question of authenticity has been especially troubling to museum professionals. Contemporary heritage tourism sites, like open air museums, are accused by some of providing a superficial ‘landscape of nostalgia’, by others of providing a ‘staged authenticity’ in which simulations of the past achieve a hyper-reality so that the experience of a representation becomes more important than experience of the original, and by others for their commodification of the past by the sale of ‘authentic’ souvenirs. The past is regularly remade to suit today’s interests.⁴³

Conclusion

How then is authenticity approached in the relocation of heritage-listed buildings? What does a comparison of these two mass relocations reveal?

Both mass relocations were the result of long-term government planning for transport needs. In the NZ case, road planning decisions were made in the national interest, and acted upon well before current safeguards for heritage buildings existed. The government acquired properties over many years to safeguard its plans. In the UK case, rail planning decisions were also made with the national interest paramount, though by the time the CTRL Act was passed the significance of heritage was widely acknowledged and statutory protection existed. In both cases, however, although there was wide public consultation, heritage was always a secondary consideration. Despite the claims of glossy brochures and upbeat media releases, the funds available to protect heritage-listed buildings were only the crumbs from the table compared with the millions spent on the engineering aspects of these projects.

The age and the built fabric of these buildings made a marked difference to the timescale for relocation, the mode of relocation and the use to which the buildings were ultimately put. In the NZ case, relocation was achieved fairly quickly over a twelve-month period, aided by the fact that all the buildings were timber. In the UK case, the buildings were generally much older and were made of stone or brick thus, in all but one case, necessitating dismantling and rebuilding. Stone and brick buildings can only be relocated, without dismantling, over a short distance. Hence there was more emphasis on the rebuilding process in the UK — that it provided a unique means of learning about past construction techniques and keeping alive traditional methods through training. There was great pride in following traditional methods ‘to preserve the authentic buildings’, to the extent that some tradesmen

felt a connection with the past: 'I have almost had the feeling that the original builders were looking over my shoulder', 'I discovered the original carpenter in charge of construction...it would be fantastic to contact his descendants'. The process of rebuilding using traditional methods brought the past into the present. There was also at least one attempt to recreate the past - a traditional 'topping out' ceremony accompanied by Morris dancers celebrated the completion of a barn. Satisfaction was also gained from knowing that 'agricultural inheritances' could still have a rural purpose and from developing an education centre to teach people about the rural past.

The choice of a new site was particularly significant, bearing in mind the ICOMOS emphasis on setting. In the UK case, there was a concerted attempt to relocate buildings to a site like the original; either in its relation to the district as a whole, or within the boundary of the same parish, or to be the same distance from the CTRL as the original railway line, or to restore an earlier 'original' setting, or to be a landmark once again. This was not so strong in NZ, perhaps because the buildings were re-erected only a street or so away. There were also some worrying tendencies. Although the original orientation is being maintained where possible, there seems to have been no attempt to replicate the setting or the original relationship of buildings to one another. Most buildings have been grouped together in precincts according to age and style, and there is justifiable concern that with a fresh coat of paint, white picket fences and no doubt roses around the porch, they will become Disneyland precincts.

The use to which these buildings are to be put is also significant. Usually municipalities insist that, despite their age and heritage listing, relocated buildings must comply with modern building regulations. Modern foundation technology, requirements for insulation, fire prevention, electricity, disability access, for example, all compromise authenticity. Such regulations also make it difficult, if not impossible, to achieve economic sustainability in the conservation of heritage buildings, and this must always be recognised in the development of funding models for their adaptive reuse. In the UK there can be some relaxation of building regulations if heritage buildings are to be used in an open air museum. In the NZ case as it is anticipated that the buildings will be sold for commercial or residential purposes, it was essential that they comply with modern building regulations.

It is clear that in the case of the heritage buildings relocated during the CTRL project in the UK, the drive for authenticity was strong. However, during the Wellington Inner City Bypass project in NZ there was little real concern for authenticity. However the project is not yet complete and time will tell whether fears of a 'Disneyland' pastiche are justified.

Does the movement of a building of cultural heritage significance from its original setting destroy its authenticity, as the ICOMOS Charters suggest? The significance of a building is not always linked inescapably to its setting. It is rarely acknowledged that the setting of a heritage building left in situ is also subject to change. Neighbouring buildings may have been altered or even demolished. Power and telephone lines have been erected. Cars have replaced horse-drawn transport. Change is all around us and any purist notion of authenticity is flawed. The dilemma for heritage professionals is that to accept relocation as an acceptable response to development pressure is to set a precedent that may tear apart the fragile network of regulations protecting our heritage for the future.

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The Dynamics of the State-Business Public Space

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1. Introduction

Public policy can significantly affect the design and quality of public spaces, and this may be truer in the Singaporean context than elsewhere. As an island city-state, the government of Singapore plays a strong interventionist role in many aspects of the society, including urban planning.

Enacted in 1966, The Land Acquisition Act empowered the Singapore government to acquire land on a compulsory basis for public development. It facilitated the government's acquisition of fragmented land lots from separate owners as it assembled these lots into a larger plot for comprehensive development. Such land was sold by tender to private developers through the Government Land Sales (GLS) programme. The programme was first introduced in 1967 following the formation of the Urban Renewal Department (URD) under the Housing Development Board (HDB). On April 1974, the department was turned into an independent statutory body under the Ministry of National Development and was renamed the Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA). As one of the primary government agencies that regulate land use and urban development, the URA acts as the key agent for the State in carrying out land sales for commercial, private residential, conservation, and recreational developments.

The GLS programme was intended to be a tool to facilitate cooperation between the government and the private sectors. The government would plan redevelopment in accordance with national goals and economic strategies, and provide basic infrastructure and other urban services to facilitate private development. Fragmented land lots are assembled and sold to developers by a public tender system, which offers a combination of conditions and concessions tailored to achieve planning objectives within the framework of a free market economy. Since 1967, the government has been releasing land annually for private sector development mostly on a 99-year lease basis.

Through the GLS programme, particularly in the case of commercial developments, large footprint buildings with a strong public agenda have been changing the landscape of Singapore. This agenda and related state planning policies are reflected in the tender documents as land sale conditions. Within such a framework, the role of private developers in the production of public spaces has increased. These public spaces, driven primarily by the state, have been named State-Business Driven Public Spaces, or SBDPS (Heng & Low, 2005), in order to reflect the close proximity and integration of state policies and business concerns.

Through the examination of planning/design policies, plans, circulars, and land sale packages, this study examines how the GLS programme continually evolves and responds to Singapore's economic and social conditions. It also explores the design

review and evaluation process in order to reveal the hidden dynamics behind the development of the State-Business Driven Public Spaces. The resultant picture provides a clearer model both to understand Singapore's urban policy and to compare against the regulatory structures of other countries.

2. The Making of State-Business Driven Public Spaces under the Government Land Sales Programme

As the owner of most of Singapore's land stock, the Government's regulatory intervention in the free market is well recognised to have played a constructive role in the shaping of Singapore's physical environment. In 1949, state-owned land in Singapore only accounted for 31 percent of the total land. Upon acquisition of large tracts of land by the government, the state eventually owned 76.2 percent of land by 1985 (Motha, 1989). At present, about 90 percent of Singapore's land is owned by the government and its statutory boards (SLA, 2006). Whilst some portions are reserved for various government ministries to discharge their national functions, the remainder is sold to private sectors on leasehold through the GLS programme.

In many ways, the GLS programme has reflected the development of the nation since its independence when the first land sale took place in 1967. With the stated aim of supporting the development of the tourism industry, the first 14 sites focused on hotels, shopping, and entertainment complex developments in secondary localities. Subsequent sales in the late 1960s and early 1970s concentrated on the creation of a new financial district and the redevelopment of the CBD area. In the early 1980s, the GLS programme was mobilised to cope with the pace of rapid industrialisation and economic expansion with the release of factory and warehouse sites. In 1987, the largest mixed-use development in Singapore – the Suntec City at Marina Centre – was launched. In the meantime, the first 38 parcels of conservation shophouses at Tanjong Pagar and the Raffles Hotel Extension were released, reflecting the new focus on heritage and the cultural aspects of the built environment. Into the 1990s, the Programme was increasingly aligned with the objectives of the URA's revised long-term Concept Plan 1991. It offered sites for the development of regional centres as well as other commercial nodes in the central area. Entering the new millennium, the GLS programme was back at the city centre with the development of the New Downtown area at the Marina Bay as an extension of the exiting CBD area, and a few landmark developments in the central commercial area.

The GLS programme is the most direct development control mechanism at the operational level of a four-tiered urban planning system implemented by Singapore. The system consists of the Concept Plan for the state, the Master Plan prepared through an area-based Development Guide Plan (DGP) approach, development control guidelines, and the site-specific planning carried out through the tender documents under the GSL programme (see Table 1). Supplemental development control in the form of Urban Design Plans and/or guidelines is also provided for areas deemed to require additional considerations. At the most detailed level, the tender document prepared for land sale is the primary legal form of planning/design control instrument to communicate with developers outside the confines of existing building regulations and urban guidelines. Couched as sale conditions, the guidelines enable the state to explore design requirements that are specific to the site or that the authority feels is desirable for the city.

Table 1: The Urban Planning System of Singapore

The Concept Plan	A broad visionary plan that guides Singapore's physical
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	growth over a long term of 40 to 50 years.
	First Concept Plan, 1971
	First Revision, 1991
	Second Revision, 2001
The Master Plan	A medium-term (10 to 15 year) development control plan prepared through the Development Guide Plan (DGP) approach. Upon completion of the Concept Plan, URA prepared DGPs for the 55 planning areas island-wide where the broad vision of the Concept Plan was detailed into specific proposals. These DGPs were then gazetted as the statutory Master Plan for the nation.
	First Master Plan on 1998
	Second Master Plan on 2003
Development Control Guidelines and Regulations	
Site-specific planning/design guide	Contained in the tender documents released under the GSL programme

First Three Land Sales in the 1960s

At the inception stage of the GLS programme, the first three land sales were launched by the Urban Renewal Department (URD) in 1967, 1968, and 1969. They served as pilot schemes to reflect 'a remarkable manifestation of Government thinking on planning and urban redevelopment methods' (SIAJ, 1967). For these three land sales, once a site sale decision was made, a concept plan was prepared which sets out the basic planning parameters such as the types of development and their intensity, access arrangement and traffic circulation, and the height and massing of buildings. The full details of the proposed schemes and the mode for tender were released to the public in the form of 'Developer's Packet'. The Packet included 'Tender Forms and Conditions' and a 'Simulated Sketch Design'. As the main carrier for general planning parameters, the Simulated Design was illustrated by plans, sections, and a physical model, which would be put on for public viewing in HDB.

Upon the release of the tender packet for the first land sale in 1967, feedback from developers and professionals called for several areas of clarification. It was widely felt that the simulated proposals, although comprehensive in terms of design details, were not accompanied by sufficient analytical and factual data. In response to the inquiries, the Singapore Institute of Architects (SIA) promptly convened a meeting to discuss the tenders, and this was followed up by a memorandum to the Ministry of National Development which expressed the consensus of members' views. The recommendations of SIA addressed a wide range of issues including the additional data required for design (SIAJ, 1967). With the additional information included, the tender conditions provided land use control and some very basic massing control parameters such as height, GFA (General Floor Area), and street set backs. Still, the Simulated Design remained as the chief method to prove guidance on design (see Figure 1 for example).

Figure 1. The Simulated Design for the People's Park Shopping Centre cum Flats (SIAJ, 1967, June/July, p.7)



It was stated in every tender packet that the simulated designs were not specifically aimed to lay down architectural forms or concepts for the site, and that developers could propose alternative schemes subject to the approval from competent authorities. However, hesitant about which specific design solutions provided by the simulated design could be altered and still be acceptable to the planning authority, most developers did not deviate much from the ready-to-use design formula. On the other hand, contrary to the descriptiveness of the simulated designs, the requirements which any alternative scheme should comply with were rather minimum. Table 2 is a typical section in tender conditions where planning/design controls were offered. It could be seen that aside from plot ratio, density, ingress and egress, and car parking requirement, the rest of the design

considerations were left to the planner's discretion.

Table 2. Technical Requirements for an Alternative Design Scheme for the Proposed Flats/Shopping Complex at People's Park (HDB, 1967, p4).

22. (1) Notwithstanding the Conditions above, the Tenderer may submit an alternative scheme of development for the area or any amendment to the scheme plan proposed here by the Board and such alternative scheme shall show sketch building plans at 1/16" scale with relevant sections and elevations as well as site layout plan at 1/32" scale and any other drawings necessary to illustrate the scheme.
- (2) Any such alternative scheme of development shall comply with the following requirements:
- (a) the plot shall not exceed 1:2 and the density shall not exceed 600 persons per acre;
 - (b) car parking requirements shall be provided as laid down in the Planning (Provision of Car Parks) Rules, 1965;
 - (c) ingress and egress is to be taken from New Bridge Road subject to the approval of the Board;
 - (d) the total site coverage shall not exceed 85%;
 - (e) landscaping, vehicular and pedestrian circulation shall be designed to the approval of the Board;
 - (f) although there will be no limitation on the massing, composition and treatment of the buildings, such design shall be to the approval of the Board; and
 - (g) the scheme shall take due cognizance of the adjacent areas.

Although the tender conditions did not show any particular concern for public space, the minimum stipulations on the design of an alternative proposal seemed to have provided opportunities to some avant-garde schemes. One particular case was the People's Park Complex. This development captured the imagination of both developers and the public when it opened for business in October 1970. It was the first multi-use building with shopping, residential, office, and car parking facilities within a single structure. Designed to revitalise one of the most populated traditional

enclaves in the post – Independence Singapore – the complex succeeded mostly due to its ability to capture the busy spirit of local shopping and living activities. The large internal atrium turned the Complex into a popular ‘city living room’, and the residential block above the podium represented a new type of urban community, offering convenient spots for social interaction and intermingling (Figure 2, 3).

In the wake of the third sale, the building industry encountered a serious shortage of labour and materials, and no major land sale was therefore launched until 1974. The fourth land sale in 1974 coincided with the establishment of the Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA).



Figure 2. View of the People's Park Complex in the 1990s. (Source: URA 1983, p. 30)



Figure 3. Internal view of the atrium (Source: URA 1983, p. 30)

The 1970s and 1980s

With the first few sales acting as pilot schemes, lessons were learnt, and changes were made for the provision of planning/design guidance during tender. After the fifth land sale in 1976, the Developer's Packet took on a fairly standard format which included a specific section addressing planning/design issues – *Additional Conditions of Tender (Technical)*. The simulated design illustration shifted towards a control plan and guidance-orientated approach with an emphasis on written policy (see Figure 4 for example).

Since the tender packets were prepared on a case-by-case basis for individual land parcels, their design control components differed from one another. Aside from the elements typical of conventional planning regulations, among which were elements of land use, gross floor area, plot ratio, building setbacks, and height control, considerations for the design of public domains started to emerge.

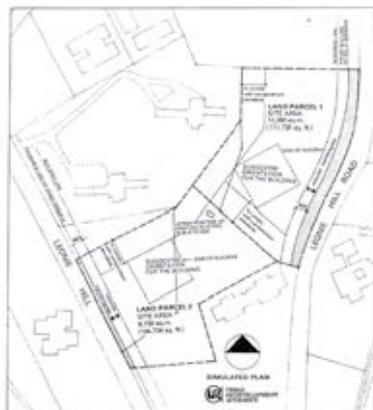


Figure 4. Simulated Plan for Proposed Development at Leonie Hill, 1976 (SIAJ, 1976, p20)

Whilst a request for a covered walkway or pedestrian underpass was often straightforward, i.e., ‘the proposed development shall incorporate a 3.6 meter-wide colonnaded covered walkway on the first storey as shown on the Control Plan’ (URA, 1990), a performance-oriented guideline was given for public spaces with

more design complexity, e.g., 'the public concourse areas shall be of a size sufficient to allow the smooth flow of pedestrian movement from the proposed development to the Raffles Place MRT Station. The public concourse shall be kept open for public use during the hours of operation of the MRT Station without any hindrance whatsoever' (URA, 1980).

In some cases, instead of building in safety clauses, some important design choices were identified and referred to an internal design review mechanism within the URA. 'The successful tenderer shall be responsible for the implementation of the proposed pedestrian mall, riverside promenade, and plaza as shown shaded on the said guide plan...the design of the proposed landscaped pedestrian, promenade, and plaza shall be subject to the approval of the Authority and other relevant Competent Authorities' (URA, 1989).

Whilst the planners started to recognise the importance of urban design concerns for public spaces, the tender documents demonstrated a number of good intentions, such as the recognition of the importance of permeability among/across blocks, multi-purpose open spaces, and in some cases, a forward-looking reserve for future extension of public spaces. To retain the characteristic of places with cultural/historical value, GLS programme responded to the growing concern over the issue of conservation. The year 1987 saw the first 38 land parcels of conservation shophouses at Tanjong Pagar and the Raffles Hotel Extension project which reflect the new focus on heritage and the cultural aspects of the built environment. Along with the release of the Conservation Plan, more conservation sites were launched. An emphasis on the local context and identity of the place was found in the tender documents released for sites with conservation status. As a result, some pleasant public spaces were created which remain popular today.

To weigh design quality in the tender process, all tenderers were required to submit design proposals for evaluation. The requirements included a site layout plan, sketch building plans on a scale of 1:200 together with sections, elevations, a rendered perspective, and an architectural model on a scale of 1:200. The selection of tenders was not to be judged on the premium offered alone but also on the overall economic return and design merits offered.

The 1990s

By the end of the 1980s, much of Singapore's transformation envisaged in the 1971 Concept Plan had been put in place. In 1989, the URA merged with the Planning Department and Research and Statistic Unit of the Ministry of National Development, and became the national planning and conservation authority with expanded resources. The thrust to guide the physical development of Singapore into the new millennium led to a series of reviews of its existing plans and regulations through public forums, exhibitions, and cross-talks with people from relevant industries and professions.

The city's planning control and its success have been hotly debated. Views ranged from those who believed that the success of the planning system was proven by the nation's reform from its old days and its pleasant urban environment today, to those who felt that such system produces mediocrity by its excessively detailed guidelines and review process. The cross-talks have induced challenges and changes.

The main challenge was to conceive regulations that avoid ambiguous language or subjective implementation, yet provide a flexible, fine-grained control of urban form without resorting to a case-by-case design review.

Since 1991, an individual section titled 'Urban Design Guidelines' has been produced under the Technical Conditions of Tender in the Developer's Packet. Urban design issues were dealt with in a more structured way and with a broader coverage. More comprehensive concerns for good public spaces have been incorporated into the tender conditions.

By this time, the planning authority made explicit that its vision for Singapore's public spaces system as an integrated pedestrian-transportation network. In fact, the URA's vision of developing such a network for the downtown area was gestated previously in the early 1980s. Starting from reserving future links between buildings, and requesting for covered pedestrian walkways and second-storey links, this concept has been developed into a comprehensive pedestrian network system consisting of links not only on the ground but also above and underground, a network where public transport facilities could be fully integrated into development. To achieve this vision, land parcels were released with stringent requirements for a link system which was usually mandatory. Some individual land parcels were even released with designated use as public links.

It was also realised that these links, often with busy human traffic, provide great opportunities for recreation and activities. By accommodating such opportunities in design, some places conceived primarily as pedestrian walkways could become destinations in their own rights. In order to achieve this, guidelines were issued to encourage developers and existing owners to contribute to a more active urban public space system.

One example is the Guideline for the Outdoor Kiosk and Refreshment Area for the Orchard Planning Area. This was first introduced in July 1996 to make the streets more exciting and lively (URA, 1996). Under existing guidelines, building owners can build second-storey links with their built area exempted from GFA computation. However, the guideline still did not allow the owner to have commercial uses on these links if the building has already used up its allowable commercial quantum. To further encourage developers and existing building owners' participation, subsequent revisions were made. Since 2000, owners were allowed to incorporate shops and eating outlets into any second-storey links that they want to build over minor roads or service lanes.

Another example is URA's relaxation on GFA computation. In July 1993, the URA revised its computation guideline for Gross Floor Area (GFA) to encourage the provision of public spaces (URA, 1993). Areas exempted from GFA computation included open-sided link ways and pavilions incorporated as part of a landscape, link ways designed as connections between buildings and/or facilities at first-storey level, certain covered public concourse areas, and so on. This guideline was again revised in 1997 aiming to 'further enhance design flexibility in providing more pedestrian thoroughfares and linkages for ease of pedestrian movement...to encourage greater provision and use of covered public spaces' (URA, 1997). The relaxation allowed the exemption of GFA for [through](#) block links, second-storey links, and some covered public areas if they comply with certain criteria. The guideline was revised again in 2003. Similarly, revisions were made to the guideline for Outdoor Kiosk and

Refreshment Area for Orchard Planning Area in 1998, 2002, and 2004 to elicit the desired behaviour from the private sector.

The best example to reflect the URA's effort in forming the integrated pedestrian network is the launch of Esplanade Mall in 1996. The site included two land parcels – one is a mixed development site on the ground, and another is an underground linking the proposed development with an existing activity node and MRT station. The underground link, the Citylink Mall, became the first underground shopping mall with a total length of 350 meters and 6,000 sqm of retail spaces. Its completion in 2000 marked the formation of the first part of the new comprehensive network of links which will eventually connect the whole New Downtown in a system of second-storey links, underground walkways, covered walkways, and travelators.

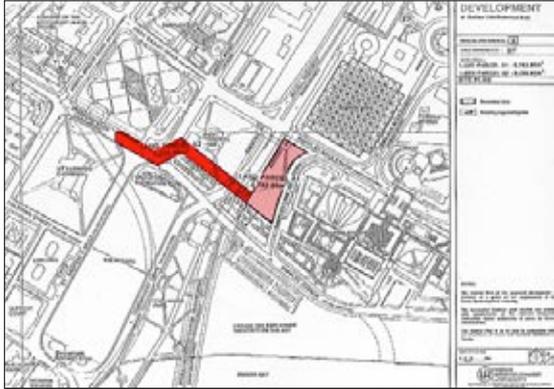


Figure 5. Esplanade mall location map (Source: URA, 1996)

With the more comprehensive and structured urban design regulation in place, the URA revised its design review process for tender. The modification of the review process was intended to ease the pressure of balancing economic benefit and design quality during the tender selection.

From 1990, a proposed design scheme was no longer required to be included in the tender submission. Design review before the acceptance of tender was evicted. In the meanwhile, to safeguard against some appalling designs in the city, a post-tender stage design screening process took place. Upon awarding of tender, the successful tenderer must submit the preliminary design to a Design Screening Committee (DSC) within the Sale of Sites Section of the URA. For projects on significant routes and in important urban areas, the proposal would be referred for further evaluation through an Architecture Design Panel (ADP) if it fell into the designated Review Route of ADP. Chaired by the Chief Planner of the URA, members of the ADP consist of architects from both private and public sectors. Comments from the DSC and ADP were considered as conditions for the URA's planning approval.

2000

At the end of the 20th century, urban development in Singapore was affected by the Asian financial crisis. The recession in property market led to a decreasing interest in URA's regular site sales from private sectors. In respond to the rapidly changing and worsening market condition, URA's launched the Reserve List System in June 2001. It is the latest in a series of steps taken by the URA to make the GLS programme more flexible and responsive to the market. Under the Reserve List System, a site will only be launched for sale if there is a successful application from an interested developer who is able to offer a minimum price acceptable to the Government. The successful applicant must undertake to subsequently submit a bid for the land in the public tender at or above the minimum price offered by him in the application. Since

2002, the URA has suspended its annual release of land, and all land parcels available for sale went through the Reserve List System only.

Under the Reserve List System, the GLS programme saw the launch of a few prominent sites located within the New Downtown area at the Marina Bay and Orchard Planning Area in the beginning of the new millennium. New initiatives on urban design ground are being explored in these recent developments. Taking example of the New Downtown at Marina Bay, it could be seen that further emphasis is now given to the variety of living and working environments, the integration of public transport facility via an ‘all-weather’ pedestrian network, and the requirement for ‘Vertical Circulation Point’ which was introduced in the tender briefs for the first time, reflecting an expanded dimension of the network - the vertical (URA, 2001). Design options have also been explored to establish the network of public space systems not only for ease of pedestrian movement but also for the integration of public activities (see Table 3). The explicit task of developing the fully integrated public space network with a variety of pedestrian activities was also manifested in the guidelines for a few other major developments, e.g., the developments at Orchard Turn and Somerset Central.

Table 3: Main Components of Urban Design Guidelines for Raffle’s Quay, 2001, and The Sail @ Marian Bay, 2002.

Building Form	Massing
	Building Height
	Building Platform Level
Streetscape	Building Edge (Frontage/facade)
	Common Boundary
	Corner Articulation
	Building Setback
Roofscape	Open Landscaped Walkway
	Night lighting
	Roof Garden
Pedestrian Network	Underground Pedestrian Walkway/Mall
	Entrance/Exit Points
	Connection to future development/public transportation node
	Covered Walkway
	Open Walkway
	Pedestrian Overhead Bridge
	High-level Pedestrian Links
	Vertical Circulation Point
	Use at first storey
	Use at basement public concourse
	Outdoor uses
Vehicular System	Vehicular ingress/egress and drop-off points
	Service Areas
	Car Parking
	Road Reserve

Meanwhile, with the lack of new developments in the old downtown area, there has been a need to coordinate these urban infill and improvement projects. It has been realised that the piece-meal approach of ‘parcel by parcel’ GLS tenders will have to be complemented by a wider framework especially to safeguard the quality of public spaces over a long period of time. Hence, the URA started its preparation of Urban Design Plans for key urban districts. In 2002, the Urban Design Plan for Orchard Planning Area 2002 was finalised, which aims to enhance pedestrian connectivity, attractiveness, and vibrancy in the area. Guidelines were provided for urban

verandas, first-storey links, second-storey links, building edges, and underground links (URA, 2002).

Along with the changing of its urban planning policy, the URA again embarked on a review of its practice concerning urban design. Consultations with professionals from relevant industries revealed a largely supportive view of the centralised control of urban development and planning in Singapore. However, alternative opinions about the existing authority's excessive control were raised. Some argued that the stringent hyper-planning eliminated natural complexity in the city and produced a pale and artificial reflection of the organic environment. Criticisms of design control ground argued that the design guidelines and site-specific requirements stipulated in the tender conditions largely pre-determined the physical development, whilst little room was left for design professionals to exercise their expertise. It was felt that existing control has avoided undesirable developments but may have indeed prevented exciting ones. The result is thus an inoffensive but often uninspiring urban landscape.

The role of the ADP in the planning process was also questioned. Since most tenders were awarded based on the highest premium offered, the ADP was not able to influence the design of the successful tenderer at a fundamental level. Its advice was taken as a 'band-aiding' device. In the meantime, it was argued that in today's free market economy, it was unlikely for a developer to propose a design that was economically unattractive. Therefore, whilst safeguarding the public interests through stricter control over urban design issues, a more relaxed design review process and more flexibility in architectural design should be given to designers.

In 2000, the URA dissolved the ADP and replaced it with a Design Waiver Committee (DWC). Different from the ADP, the DWC only evaluates cases of high-quality designs that propose to vary from relevant guidelines. Such modification is intended to give leeway to good designs that deviate from the norm.

The dissolution of the ADP implies that the designated ADP Review Routes no longer apply, and that proposed developments within the central area do not have to endure the ADP review process. However, it was realised that for some important urban projects, consultations with relevant professional bodies are still necessary. Hence, some strategic developments have been referred to a newly established Design Advisory Panel (DAP) on a case-by-case basis. 'Chaired by the Authority, as part of the formal development control submission process...the DAP will be appointed by the Authority and comprise members from the building and real estate industries as well as representatives from related fields, as and when necessary.' (URA, 09, 2005). The DAP review process has been applied to few recent landmark developments, e.g., the Downtown at Marina Bay, the Orchard Turn, and Somerset development.

Similar to the ADP review, the DAP review is still a post-tender process which takes place after a successful tenderer has been appointed. To complement the profit-based tender selection, the URA started another experimental tender review process, which allows the development concept to be weighted upfront. As suggested by its nickname, 'the two-enveloped process', two separate envelopes containing 'Concept' and 'Price' are required for submission. 'Only acceptable use and development concepts for the land parcel in line with the planning intention for the site will be considered for award of Tender' (URA, 05, 2005). However, the evaluated 'Concept' concentrates on business and development strategies, design quality is still rather left out in the process. Further experimentation should be allowed to explore alternative

ways to uphold good design without compromising the financial aspect of the development.

3. Case Studies

In order to analyse the impact of the GLS programme on the physical development of SBDPS, case studies were carried out. The four cases presented here include land sales in the late 1970's, 1980's, and very recent development. Through a close examination of the control plans/guidelines and the performance of their resultant public spaces, the study further illustrates the evolving planning/urban design approach in the GLS programme.

Orchard Plaza and Cuppage Road Area

The Cuppage Road area along Orchard Road was one of the earliest redevelopment projects in Orchard Planning Area under the GLS programme. The phased redevelopment started with the sale of land parcel for Orchard Plaza in 1976, followed by three joint land parcels released to Holiday Inn, Cuppage Plaza and Centre Point in 1978.



Figure 6. Analysis of Control Plans - Cuppage Road Area

Simulated Control Plan was the main vehicle to deliver planning/design control parameters (Figure 6). From the analysis of the control plans, it could be said that the concerns for public space were very basic and utilitarian. Three main types of public space were planned, covered walkway, pedestrian link way, and entrance plaza. The main purpose of the plan's provision of these spaces was to assist pedestrian movement around building blocks. For Orchard Plaza, a 3.6-meter wide covered footway was required all around. Although the building was confronting the prime shopping street, no further concern was stipulated to address the building's main frontage. The covered walkway requirements were also given to the other three land parcels. An entrance plaza was planned for Cuppage Plaza opposite the previously planned pedestrian link through Orchard Plaza. However, with Orchard Road being

the main shopping street, the streets perpendicular to it became secondary without much pedestrian flow (Figure 7). The plan was implemented with most of the features being constructed, such as the second storey pedestrian links between Orchard Plaza and Cuppage Centre and the entrance plaza, but they are mostly redundant today (Figure 8). The lack of attractiveness of the side streets was further strengthened by some mundane building facade design. It could be argued that the lack of careful consideration in terms of the nature and function of these side streets led to the redundancy of some of the planned public spaces and their poor performance. Mere existence of such provisions as features on plan would not guarantee good quality in public spaces.



Figure 7. View of walkway along Orchard Plaza.

Figure 8. View of entrance plaza and pedestrian links at Cuppage Centre

Despite of some under performed public spaces in this area, the authority's decision to preserve a block of old shophouses along Cuppage Road brought an opportunity for the creation of an interesting urban niche. The row of shophouses was noted for their Malaccan style architecture and intrinsic charm. By closing Cuppage Road to vehicular traffic and turning it into a pedestrian mall-the Cuppage Mall, this area was transformed into a relaxing dining area just a step way from the busy main street. The charming side street is now filled with activities spilled out onto the outdoor refreshment areas from the restaurants and bars occupying the quaint restored shophouses (Figure 9). The sensitivity towards site context shown in the planning of Cuppage Mall created a popular addition to the public spaces in the area.



Figure 9. View of Cuppage Mall.

Wheellock Place and Orchard Turn



Figure 10. Analysis of Control Plans – Wheellock Place & Orchard Turn

Orchard Area is Singapore's premier shopping area. Located at the strategic point at the junction of Orchard Road/Paterson Road, the site for Wheellock Place was released in 1989 (Figure 10). The development is located at an established centre for pedestrian and shopping activities. Due to its strategic location, a main pedestrian entrance at the first storey fronting the junction of Orchard Road and Paterson Road was called for during tender. Special design emphasis was given to the 'Main Pedestrian Entrance...the entrance shall be in the form of a public concourse of suitable architectural scale that enhances its position as a meeting place for pedestrians. The concourse should facilitate direct pedestrian access into the proposed development and give access to the possible future underpass across Orchard Road and Paterson Road' (URA, 1989). A landscaped plaza area in front of the proposed location for the main entrance was indicated in the control plan. To ensure the pedestrian connection at the busy junction, underground passes across Orchard Road and Paterson Road were planned. The provision of knock-out panels was required in the basement at designated locations. The underground pass in connection to Shaw House across Orchard Road was later constructed.

Today, the entrance concourse of the Wheellock Place with its distinctive conical glass structure and the entrance plaza marks one of the four most prominent urban corners in Singapore (Figure 11).

It is worth mentioning that in addition to the required entrance plaza, the architect took initiatives in designing another plaza at the junction of Paterson Road and

Orchard Boulevard. Comparing to the front entrance, the semi-circular outdoor public atrium is a quieter alcove enjoyed by book-lovers after browsing at the bookstore in the building. With a fountain as its centrepiece and a restaurant by the side, it is also a popular hangout place (Figure 12). It is evident that, besides the planning/design requirements, the architect's awareness of urban context and skilfulness played a crucial role in the creation of successful urban spaces around the Wheelock Place. While the guideline heeds urban design concerns, flexibility should be given to architects to exercise their expertise.



Figure 11. Entrance of Wheelock Place.

Figure 12. Plaza at the junction of Paterson Road/Orchard Boulevard.

At the same junction of Orchard road and Paterson Road opposite to the Wheelock Place, the recent Orchard Turn development was launched in 2005 (Figure 10). On an urban level, the main urban design objective was for the development to contribute to the vibrant street life and pedestrian-friendly environment. To achieve this, a few main strategies were established in the tender guidelines (see Table 4).

Table 4. Main Urban Design Strategies for Orchard Turn Development, 2005.

- | |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● A Public Event Space was planned as a central venue for major festive events and celebrations, as well as central focal points for pedestrian and commuters in the area. ● A Public Concourse was planned at the basement level contiguous with public concourse at the public transport node. ● Underground links were planned from the Public Concourse to adjacent buildings and existing passes. ● A Vertical Connection Point was planned to link the Public concourse at the basement level, the Public Event Space at the first-storey level, and second-storey connections. ● An observation deck on the top three floors of the tower development to provide panoramic views of the surrounding. ● The provision and integration of public art either as part of the building facades or within the public spaces is strongly encouraged. Tax incentives are available under the Public Sculptures Scheme administered by the National Heritage Board (NHB). ● The provision of activity-generating uses, such as restaurants, entertainment, and other such uses along at least one side of the underground pedestrian walkways. ● Night lighting, illuminated signs shall be fully integrated into the overall architectural treatment and landscaping of the open spaces, taking into consideration the use of spaces. They are subject to the detailed requirements and approval of relevant competent authorities. |
|---|

Similar to the Wheelock Place development, the corner space of the Orchard Turn facing the main junction was emphasised. A Public Event Space was planned as a central venue for events as well as central focal point for pedestrian and commuters in the area. Nevertheless, due to the new development's intricate relationship with the existing MRT station, more guidelines were stipulated to address the connections between the surrounding buildings and the public transportation node. A Public Concourse was planned at the basement level contiguous with public concourse at the public transport node. A Vertical Connection Point was planned to link the Public concourse at the basement level, the Public Event Space at the first-storey level, and second-storey connections. Underground links were planned from the Public Concourse to adjacent buildings and existing passes.

It is evident that concerns for public realm are more comprehensive in the urban design strategies for the Orchard Turn than previous projects. With the architectural design underway, it is yet to be seen how these strategies are executed and how the resultant public spaces will perform in their urban settings. What the local authority can take credit for at the moment is its ability in coordinating urban design across the boundaries of different development through planning. For example, the provision of multiple connections in Orchard Turn was made possible at various locations via knock-out panels which were incorporated in the earlier development. The URA's vision of an integrated pedestrian system has been gradually realized through the reinforcement of urban design strategies via this coordinated planning approach.

4. Conclusion

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The creation of Singapore's public spaces is attributable to the extensive authority and perhaps draconian powers of the building authorities here. What keeps urban development in Singapore distinctive is the continual ability of its urban planning authority to implement key aspects of its planning control within the framework of free market through the GSL programme. The consolidated role of the URA being the only agency for land release, urban master planning, and detailed development control enabled the URA to integrate its planning/design strategies closely with the GLS programme.

The physical development of Singapore's SBDPS has reflected the changes in the GLS programme. Four decades' implementation of the GLS programme witnessed an increasing interest in the quality of the public realm, a recognition of the link between private development and public space. The approach for the creation of the SBDPS has been shifting away from piece-meal development towards an integrated public space system with explicit focus on the task of building links across disparate networks. The rising concern over urban design has been reflected in the constant amendments of tender conditions, the plans and regulations that buttress the project-based requirements, the planning/design review process, and the modifications on control mechanisms. Although the quality of the resultant spaces is uneven due to many reasons, such as the lack of comprehensive understanding of urban design in the early days, the stringent regulations and reviews, and the delicate balancing act of planning/urban design control itself, it is hoped that the unremitting endeavours for improvement from the government, private sectors, and professionals will lead to better quality in Singapore's public spaces.

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FICTION OUT OF FICTION OR DO FRANK'S ASHES MATTER?

Literary heritage, Civic Imagination and Utilitarian Progress.

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Introduction

New Zealanders have traditionally focused their attention on the preservation of natural rather than urban heritage and have been slow to appreciate the value of buildings and sites from the postcolonial period, other than those associated with momentous personalities or events and/or illustrative of privileged architectural styles. In the context of evolving conceptualisations of heritage, this paper explores the cultural value of literary heritage, which has gained considerable traction in Europe and North America and is gradually emerging in New Zealand. It focuses particularly on a case study of the Frank Sargeson House on Auckland's North Shore and explores the stories and relationships that led to the recognition and statutory protection of a heritage oddity in the conventional New Zealand sense. The Sargeson House narrative provides insights into the constitution of heritage significance in New Zealand and its role in the construction of national and civic identity. Equally, it illustrates the difficulties of preserving heritage reliant on voluntary effort and private resources. Apart from practical issues, the sustainability of the Sargeson House is contingent on how relevant and meaningful the past it represents remains in the present; and on its ability to resist the forces of relentless urban development, which have already de-contextualised the site and destabilised its intrinsic values.

Stories and Structures

Heritage is an amorphous and contested concept, “a nomadic term, which travels easily...capacious enough to accommodate wildly discrepant meanings...a hybrid (of aesthetics and history), reflecting, or taking part in, style wars, and registering changes in public taste” (Samuel, 1994:205, 211). In its ancient sense it is inherited property, but is now more often associated with the preservation and conservation of natural and cultural forms valued as significant and worthy of transmission by those living now. Heritage connects individuals and communities to the past and affirms continuity and identity, commonalities and distinctions, while providing enrichment, enlightenment and escape from a precarious or mundane present (Lowenthal, 1985). It is both the bedrock of patriotism and grit of intolerance. With the growth in global competition and tourism, it has become a seductively marketable commodity widely employed in place promotion and local economic regeneration.

The constitution of ‘significance and worth’ is, however, subject to conflicting and evolving value systems and power relationships. How old is old? How important and indeed meaningful is authenticity? What is the worth of a de-contextualised artifact? Are tangible residues favoured over intangible traditions and meanings, aesthetic and elite domains over the commonplace and the ugly, iconic historical moments over everyday life? There are tensions around representation and benefit distribution, gentrification and exclusion, property rights and cost allocation, and intrinsic public good versus utilitarian commercial exploitation.

According to Lowenthal (1985,1998) heritage has become an obsessive new religion filling a spiritual void in secular modernity. Nostalgic immersion in the past assuages the trauma of dislocation, rapid change, and apprehensions about the capricious future. Margaret Mahy, New Zealand's most distinguished children's writer, sagely observed that, “story confers structure upon us” (Lazenby, 1997:1). Heritage narratives - forged from myth, memory, experiential accounts, and interpretations of

physical remnants - give the past a beginning, middle, and end, making the present more comprehensible. These narratives are inherently partial, open to continuous revision and probably more revealing of the time in which they are constructed than the period they seek to describe, “the past as we know it partly a product of the present; we continuously reshape memory, rewrite history, refashion relics” (Lowenthal, 1985:26).

Heritage blurs the boundaries between history and folklore, scholarship and entertainment. While some academic historians see heritage and history as a continuum, (Lowenthal, 1997) makes a clear division arguing that they differ in function: history aiming at “objectivity” and heritage at “the formation of communities”, while both remake the past, history does so to make it “comprehensible” and heritage to make it “congenial” (Lowenthal, 1998:148), with heritage often idolizing, deliberately forgetting and even fabricating aspects of the past to improve the story. For New Zealand historian Bill Oliver (2002:172) heritage is “history’s shifty cousin”:

...history has nothing to do with heritage...its business is not to celebrate the treasures of the past but to scrutinise inherited pieties and if need be to take them apart...(heritage) is more a matter of pressing history into the service of transient and too often superficial social aspirations...one generation’s cherished achievements are likely to be effortlessly forgotten or vigorously discarded by the next.

Hewison (1987) and Lowenthal (1985, 1998) consider the United Kingdom’s heritage predilection an affliction, stifling creativity and the capacity to address pressing problems of the moment. Heritage’s subversion of history is exemplified in many contemporary museums – more tourist destinations and theme parks than temples of scholarship, with New Zealand’s national museum Te Papa Tongarewa (opened in 1998) criticized for being a ‘politically correct’ amusement arcade, “the institutional exemplar of the lowest common denominator turned into official cultural policy” (Dalrymple, 1999). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998:149) argues for a different museological perspective, where heritage is seen as a new mode of cultural production reinvigorating redundant pasts to create, “something new in the present that has recourse to the past”. Here the past is simply one resource for generating new stories ‘conferring structure upon us’ told through exhibition and performance.

The allure of heritage (as in literature) may lie most in its fictions, which perhaps convey truths more potent than the verifications and scrutinized pieties offered by the historian:

Fictive reality may transcend or contain more truth than the physical or everyday reality...Although different in essence and therefore a poor documentary source for material on places, people or organizations, literature yet possesses a peculiar superiority over the reporting of the social scientist...a truth that is more humanly significant (Pocock, 1981a:11).

The power of the writer, according to Pocock (Ibid:15) lies in his or her ability to articulate, “our own inarticulations about place, our fellow men and about ourselves, providing thereby a basis for a new awareness, a new consciousness”. The power of heritage may lie in its ability to appeal to our curiosity and emotions, whilst imbuing everyday life and the places we live with meaning and understanding.

Literary Heritage

Literary heritage is composed of: works (in libraries and archives; antiquarian bookshops; and literary canons); people; and places. Libraries have existed since the formation of the Sumerian cities and remain the most substantial government (central and local) commitment to literary heritage, whereas the commodification of literary pasts and conceptions of canonical literary work emerged in Britain in the nineteenth century (Connell, 2000). People and places intersect in the writer. Writers draw inspiration from place and in turn shape the way we experience and 'know' places through the 'articulations' of their literary imaginations. They illuminate the times in which they write and alter our awareness and appreciation of landscape and relationship with nature (Drabble and Lewinski, 1979). Dickens's visions of the nineteenth century English industrial city provide a more popularly compelling account of that society and environment than, perhaps, the scholarship of Edwin Chadwick and Charles Booth. Wordsworth and the Romantic poets are now inseparable from the England's Lake District, the Brontë sisters from the Yorkshire Moors, and Hardy from Dorset.

Geographers have been responsible for much of the academic literature in this field and two themes are apparent. The first is concerned with the interaction between literary works and space. Kong and Tay (1998) identify three different approaches: regional (where novels provide insights into local identity and character); humanistic (where a consideration of human experience and meaning through literature enriches our understanding of the interrelationship between people and the environment); and structural (where literary analysis exposes class structures and ideologies operating in particular milieus and times). The second theme is literary tourism - journeys inspired by writers' lives or the events and places they depict - with research focussing on the nature of attractions and visitor responses (Herbert, 1996, 2001; Kong, 1998; Squire, 1994, 1996).

Religious metaphors are often invoked to describe the traveller, couched as pilgrim, and the destination, as shrine (Lees-Milne, 1985; Herbert, 2001; Robinson et al., 2003; Stiebel, 2006). Literary tourists are seen as 'intelligent' travellers, educated or endowed with the 'cultural capital' necessary to understand and value such heritage. Stiebel traces literary tourism from fifth century BC when the Greeks searched for places described by Herodotus, but observes that it gathered pace in the eighteenth century with aristocratic Grand Tours, burgeoning in nineteenth century Britain and America as literacy increased and transportation improved. It grew in the twentieth century, encouraged by travel writing and more particularly, through screen adaptations of classics and popular works, tempting a wider audience of less sophisticated pilgrims, many of whom have not read the original text and are possibly more interested in film locations rather than original settings.

Shrines include the homes and/or environs in which writers were born, lived, worked and died; sites of literary ménages where groups of writers congregated; places appealing to writers; and settings linked with their fictions. Visitors are attracted to literary destinations for many reasons. Herbert (2001) outlines four. They may come to pay homage and connect with admired writers through domestic relics, to absorb something from the atmosphere in which creativity flourished, "We walk in our writers' footsteps and see through their eyes when we enter these spaces" (Marsh in Herbert, *Ibid*:314). They may search for those real and imaginary landscapes that

inspired stories and iconic characters, or be drawn to places associated with formative or tragic events in an artists' life, or simply to be stirred by imagery associated with times past in their own lives – such as childhood tales. In this instance, Herbert cites Squire's work on visitors to Beatrix Potter's Hill Top Farm in the Lake District where the writer's life and stories were less important than the sentimental rekindling of family memories and bucolic modes of life, "literary tourism is not simply a function of "literary" influences...it is a medium through which a range of cultural meanings and values can be communicated" (Squire, 1994:104).

Unlike traditional built heritage – the grand homes of the rich and powerful – literary heritage is more often a reflection of vernacular ways of life and contributes values other than 'historic importance' and 'natural beauty' to conservation portfolios. Literary houses:

...may be modest architecturally; they may have few contents (for writers are not avid collectors); yet they can speak to us as many better known 'sites' cannot. In a simple view from a window across a cornfield, a wind-up gramophone...one can arrive at a fuller understanding of a mind revealed to us with such intensity in another medium...So it is that these humble, sometimes hideous places...have an effect as powerful as Proust's Madeleine, summoning up our own past as well as the writer's (Jackson-Stops, 1985:6).

Humble, hideous or picturesque - these properties tell stories and generate meaning independent of writers' lives and works, and may attract visitors more interested in local history than literature. An eminent writer can be instrumental in preserving other aspects of townscape heritage.

Authenticity of the property and its memorabilia are important to a writer's true devotees – who according to Herbert (in Stiebel, 2006), "gain a great deal of pleasure from the sight of a writing table or lock of hair...and feel in awe of, the setting in which they find themselves and the 'meanings' which that place possesses". Authenticity is problematic and invariably contrived (Horne, 1992). Sites and objects alter over time, becoming increasingly disconnected from the person or event they mark. Buildings may be gradually reconstructed through routine maintenance or historical simulacra; exhibits are restored, conserved and rearranged; contexts morph with development pressures and accommodation of new technologies. The writer's connection with the site may be little more than incidental or accidental – birthplaces, in particular, contributing insignificantly to future life and literary styles (Lees-Milne, 1985), although, as Pocock (1981b) points out, roots and early sense of place can have bearing how writers' perceive the world. Furthermore, they situate writers in space and time, and provide a visual locus stimulating imaginative engagement.

Pure authenticity may be less important to those seeking writers' imagined places and the development of tourist attractions based on literary film locations support Horne's (1992:111) observation that, "It is the *idea of authenticity* that many tourists want. As long as it is confidentially asserted and attested by some seal of approval, almost any authenticity might do". In a case study of mass literary tourism inspired by L.M. Montgomery's 'Anne of Green Gables', Squire (1996) highlights the role played by the tourist industry in turning fiction into reality. Montgomery drew on her early life in the farming region of Cavendish on Canada's Prince Edward Island. In response to tourist interest, present day Cavendish has been reconstructed and renamed to

represent places and events in her stories. Authenticity is a somewhat “abstract concept”, given that much of the media familiar to visitors was filmed elsewhere and the tourism industry itself has debased vestiges of Montgomery’s “agrarian utopia” raising questions about its sustainability.

Literary heritage is now a tourism product packaged and promoted by local authorities and tourist boards through the designation of special regions and/or development of maps, trails and festivals, associated with writers and their real or imaginary worlds. Well known examples include: Bradford City Council’s Brontë Country; South Tyneside’s Catherine Cookson Country; and, more recently, Tourism New Zealand’s promotion of New Zealand as ‘Middle Earth’ following the success of Peter Jackson’s ‘Lord of the Rings’ trilogy. Writers’ advocacy organisations have also seen advantage in defining literary maps and trails, and private tour operators run guided city walks such as: Shakespeare’s Stratford and Hemingway’s Key West, or packages inspired by blockbusters such as ‘The Da Vinci Code’ and the ‘Harry Potter’ books. Maps and trails are, in themselves, highly selective views of reality, another incarnation of ‘story conferring structure upon us’. Their purpose is not always commercial – they may be designed to foster local identity, educate, celebrate literary heritage, or promote a love of reading (Hopkins et al., 1999). Heritage is precarious and controversial, dependent on prevailing values in a particular time and place.

New Zealand’s Literary Heritage

Lowenthal (1985: 54) argues that settler countries are “solaced by natural antiquity” counterbalancing the brevity of their recorded history. Although New Zealand’s statutory heritage framework dates back to the late nineteenth century with the establishment of the national park system, measures to conserve human heritage developed slowly. The National Historic Places Trust (NHPT) and National Archives were established in the 1950s. The NHPT was charged with promoting interest in the identification, marking and retention of historic sites. It relied on the work of volunteers, limited conservation grants and persuasion to carry out this mandate, as does its 1963 reincarnation, the New Zealand Historic Places Trust (NZHPT), which continues to suffer perennial resource shortages. The NZHPT is an autonomous crown entity and remains the major national heritage agency. Its remit and regulatory powers have strengthened over time and today, under the Historic Places Act 1993 (HPA), it maintains a national system of registration for historic places and areas, wahi tapu (places sacred to Maori) and archaeological sites, and can issue protection orders. While public acquisition offers the most secure option for preservation, the NZHPT’s property portfolio is small - mainly buildings associated with important (often wealthy) personalities.

Local authorities also play an important role in heritage identification and management through planning processes and have drawn up local registers since the seventies. Their powers and responsibilities were enlarged and strengthened in the nineties with the passage of the Resource Management Act 1991, which emphasises the sustainable management of natural and physical resources, including historic heritage defined as, “those natural and physical resources that contribute to an understanding and appreciation of New Zealand’s history and cultures”(s.2). Protection is delivered through policy statements, plans, and use of heritage orders. Local authorities also own heritage properties, but rely mainly on regulation to

constrain private development. Considerable heritage has been lost because of a reluctance to apply these forcefully because of financial and political consequences.

Literary heritage is a small, but growing niche in New Zealand's heritage offering. The Sargeson House (registered in 2004) is one of three literary places listed in the NZHPT's schedule, the others being the Katherine Mansfield Birthplace in Wellington (registered in 1986) and the Ngaio Marsh House in Christchurch (registered in 1985). All have the highest protection status as places of, "special or outstanding historical or cultural heritage significance or value" (HPA 1993 s.22). The modest Oamaru girlhood home of Janet Frame, acclaimed as New Zealand's most distinguished writer in the 1998 *Oxford Companion to New Zealand Literature*, is not yet listed but was been saved by Chief Executive of the NZHPT, who purchased the property privately and set up a trust to restore it in 2002. Local authorities and authors' societies have sponsored the development of literary trails and writers' walks in some centres and the New Zealand Book Council (2004) supports literary tourism through a map and online portal.

By New Zealand standards, the Mansfield Birthplace and Marsh House are imposing bourgeois dwellings. Mansfield (1888-1923) was the first, and probably remains, New Zealand's best-known international author and although an expatriate for all her adult life, her most celebrated short stories draw on childhood memories and experiences. She left the Birthplace aged five when her father, a socially ambitious businessman, moved on to a series of more prestigious residences. The two-storied timber house and garden are magnificently restored examples of Victoriana, designed to create an 'authentic atmosphere' in keeping with the family's status and Mansfield's descriptions, with only a few exhibits of her memorabilia. It is owned and administered by an incorporated society of volunteers, employs a full-time curator, is open regular hours, and has a gift shop (Katherine Mansfield Society, 2005). Dame Ngaio Marsh (1895-1982), a world-renowned crime novelist, lived in her family home from the age of ten until her death, although few of her works are set in New Zealand. The original cottage, designed by prominent Christchurch architect, Hurst Seager, was extended into a bungaloid mansion over her lifetime. Unlike the Mansfield Birthplace, it retains her colour scheme, furniture and memorabilia (Lovell-Smith, 2001). It is owned by a charitable trust, has a resident curator and is opened on an itinerant basis by volunteers.

The Frank Sargeson House

The Sargeson House typifies Jackson-Stop's modest and humble writer's dwelling:

...a most improbable shrine – cement board over timber and lined with that wallboard that yellows with age the way paper does and flakes as the years dry it out completely...yet it's instructive for visitors at a time when money is all to see how this man lived not so long ago – basically, frugally, concentrating on what to him were the real things of life (Sargeson Trustee, c.1990:2-3).

While it may be the only "fibrolite literary memorial in the world" (McLauchlan in Welch, 1998: 70) the sign outside the house proclaims that "Here a truly New Zealand literature had its beginnings".

Frank Sargeson was born Norris Frank Davey, in Hamilton New Zealand in 1903, son of the Methodist town clerk of the then, small provincial borough. Sargeson qualified as a solicitor in 1921, resolved to become a writer after a period in Europe from 1924-27. On his return, he worked as Public Trust solicitor in Wellington whilst trying to write fiction. A humiliating conviction and suspended sentence for a homosexual act, in 1929, led to his change of name and decision to become a professional writer (King, 1995). After working on his uncle's marginal King Country farm, Sargeson moved to Takapuna in 1931, then a drowsy seaside borough on the northern shore of Auckland's Waitemata Harbour, where he lived in the Davey family bach (simple weekend beach cottage), "...a small one-roomed hut located in a quiet street ending in no-man's land of mangrove mud-flats that belonged to the inner harbour. It was very decayed, with weather-boards falling off" (Sargeson, 1981:156). His father transferred ownership to him in 1946. By this time the neighbourhood was acquiring middleclass suburban respectability and following complaints about the dereliction of the bach and its primitive sanitation, the Council issued a demolition notice. When plans for a new bach drawn up by friend Vernon Brown (noted vernacular architect) proved too expensive Sargeson turned to another friend, Hungarian émigré and builder, George Haydn to construct, at cost, a pared-down version and in 1948 he moved into:

My house, a twenty-foot square...divided into three rooms; the first a large living area with, thank God, a fireplace, besides a built-in couch where I could sleep (and the carpenters, tolerant of my bookish character, had covered the walls with built-in shelves); this area was divided from kitchen conveniences by a counter at which I and my friends and guests would eat while seated on longish-legged stools. The rest of the square was occupied by a small bedroom where a long writing table which was lowered at one end for typing had been built in; and there was as well the bathroom with convenience, hand basin big enough to wash my clothes in, and waterproof box with shower...(Sargeson, 1981:250).

Here he lived until his death in 1982, supporting himself by growing vegetables for sale on the section, relief work, odd-jobbing, a series of pensions (medical, literary and old-age), and sporadic royalties from his publications. He bought an old army hut and applied to the Council to re-erect it in his back garden for use as tool shed. Permission was granted on condition it was, "solely used for storage purposes...(and) painted to conform with surrounding buildings" (Town Clerk, 1949). Until overrun by rats and demolished in the early sixties, it housed Sargeson's many visitors and protégées, including Janet Frame and other noteworthy New Zealand writers. Frame (1984) was later to credit Sargeson with saving her life and giving her the security and confidence to become a full-time writer after years of incarceration in a psychiatric institution. Sargeson used an inheritance to add an additional room and verandah to the bach (designed by architect Nigel Cook) for long-time friend Harry Doyle in 1967.

Sargeson's literary career took shape from 1935, when he began to publish stories in a radical national review; these and his later novels were subsequently published abroad. He is recognised as the first significant writer to surface after Mansfield and by the forties was: "the leading literary nationalist in fiction writing" in an emerging group of artists that chose "to remain in New Zealand and struggle to make the wasteland flower...(albeit) deeply alienated from the society they wished to fertilise"

(Belich, 2001:336). This society was often depicted as conformist, claustrophobic, puritanical and hostile to writers, who battled to survive, let alone achieve recognition. Sargeson empathised with society's victims and semi-articulate working-class men. He is admired for his minimalist ironic style, which captures the rhythms of vernacular speech and melancholy emptiness of the world his characters inhabit. It is language, rather than place, that so clearly identifies his work with New Zealand. His settings are often generically rural or coastal, but in his later and more complex work parts of Auckland "which appear so aridly in earlier stories" are "splendidly evoked" (McEldowney, 1976:54).

The North Shore landscape resonates most forcefully in his autobiography (Sargeson, 1981), where he implicitly charts the transformation of the mudflats and bach-beach culture after the construction of the Auckland Harbour Bridge (1959), which linked the Shore to the city, and destroyed his tranquillity when his unsealed cul-de-sac became a major approach: "cars stream by like a chain-belt of sausages filled with ersatz stuffing...diesel soot and petrol fumes pour in my windows if I open them – which is seldom (now) on account of the noise" (King, Ibid:349). The Shore gentrified, land values escalated and seaside villages boomed into a sprawl of bungalows, apartments, mansions and shopping centres. Takapuna Borough became a City and later, in 1989, was amalgamated with other local boroughs to form North Shore City, now the fourth largest and second richest city in the country (Gatt et al., 2003).

Proximity to sea and city, cheap lodgings, and bohemian informality attracted writers and artists to the Shore before the construction of the Bridge. Many struggled through the hole in the untidy elaeagnus hedge sheltering Sargeson's garden to enjoy his hospitality and converse over salads of homegrown peppers and eggplants (exotic then), homemade yoghurt and twice-baked bread washed down with fortified citrus wine. He was revered as a mentor and many of his protégés went on, along with Frame, to become the next generation of outstanding New Zealand writers. One of these, poet novelist and academic C.K. Stead vividly captured this lifestyle in his autobiographical novel *All Visitors Ashore* (1984) and paid tribute in a festschrift published in a major national literary journal on Sargeson's seventy-fifth birthday:

...since I first started visiting you, you have represented a particular atmosphere. To do anything justice to it there would have to be tomatoes and peppers and beans and pumpkins as well as books and manuscripts and conversation...I don't think you would mind being called an 'atmosphere'. That is something breathed. Some part of my creative life has lived off it these twenty-four years (Stead, 1978:213,214).

While much celebrated in poetry and prose, 14 Esmond Road was not so well cherished by neighbours and chronic hostility surged when Sargeson's garden disintegrated into wilderness as his health deteriorated with age.

The Frank Sargeson Trust

When Sargeson died some of the neighbours hoped the bach would be burnt to the ground, but his beneficiary and literary executor Christine Cole Catley formed a trust¹ to preserve it as a literary museum for "pilgrims" (King, Ibid:422) and "continuing lively meeting place"(Cole Catley, 2003:9).

A short-lived 'Friends of the Sargeson House' (literati, academics, teachers and interested locals) provided some early assistance in tidying the site, re-roofing the house and sorting through Sargeson's "compost of books" (Smither, 1984:36). It was decided that the house would be refurbished on the principle "judicious fakery" to resemble its state in the mid-sixties and the garden restored and fenced (with the help of periodic detention labour) to "assume the appearance of a carefully structured wilderness" (Frank Sargeson Trust, 1982). Trustees sprinkled Sargeson's ashes without religious ceremony, as he instructed, under a "small clump of trees in front of the verandah" (Cole Catley, 1990). His papers and most valuable books were sold to the National Library, but much of his memorabilia remained in the house: books, including first editions of his works; a patchwork quilt made by Janet Frame; his dressing gown draped across a chair; berets and gardening tools by the door; and above his typewriter are postcards, rates-bills, shopping lists and scrawled notes: "Home very soon enter". Paintings, sketches, and photographic portraits cover the walls, mingling with photographs of trustees, soirées and book launches held in the years following his death.

Commentaries on the house often accord it 'shrine' status (Smither, *Ibid*; Barber 2002; White, 2004), albeit improbable, curious, austere, depressing, or even perversely peculiar. Some of its sanctity was sacrificed, however, to support the Trust's second objective - the establishment of a residential fellowship so that New Zealand writers could work for a time without enduring Sargeson's hardships. His house was deemed too austere and noisy: "No one understands how Frank worked there in the last years in his life... The noise of the traffic is abominable - it can never be used to live and work in" (Cook in Beatson, 1986), but the sale of the back garden provided the funding necessary to attract government subsidies to renovate an historic, then-derelict, stables building in a central Auckland Park. The Sargeson Centre, a writer's studio and emerging artists gallery, opened in 1987. Correspondence in the Sargeson Archive attests to the difficulties of fundraising in a country besotted with rugby and children's health. The bach was undoubtedly compromised by the townhouses built on the site of the army hut and vegetable gardens and proceeds from the sale of the Sargeson papers and his most valuable painting went to support the fellow's stipend, rather than museum development. Although a national law firm now sponsors the fellowship, maintenance is still largely through voluntary effort, with builders Haydn and Rollett providing for essentials after a switchboard fire in 1996.

Sargeson did not have an amicable relationship with the local council during his lifetime (King, *Ibid*) and after his death a councillor remarked that there was little to celebrate in man who, "shirked doing a stroke of serious work in twenty years" (Smither, *Ibid*:38). Neighbours continued to complain that the bach was an eyesore and liability to the street during the subdivision hearings (Takapuna City Council, 1982; Beatson, 1986), and persistent persuasion was required before it was granted full rates remission appropriate to its museum status. By 1998, however, its heritage value was officially acknowledged when it was listed in North Shore City's first District Plan (proposed in 1994) and given the highest classification protecting the exterior, interior and site, and recognising of its significance beyond the locality (North Shore City Council, 2002). At the time, the City Planner made it clear that this was because, "it been the home of one of the country's foremost writers" (Moore, 1998) and not because of its architectural value. When listed by the NZHPT, in 2004

(following an application by a group of volunteer architects), other values were acknowledged, in particular, that it was a historical fragment of Shore life and precursor of 'The Group', a movement to establish an indigenous architecture (Bowron et al., 2004).

'Abominable' traffic is an ongoing affliction and, in 2001, a Council road-widening plan threatened to shear five metres off Sargeson's front garden. For the next two years the Trust negotiated with Council engineers to reduce this requirement. Relocation of the house was proposed as an option, but trustees, writers and, now, citizens argued that the site was an integral part of the Sargeson experience and, despite his avowed atheism, that his scattered ashes should be treated with reverence. Council officers (incorrectly) disputed the location of the ashes, but accepted Hadyn's view that the bach was too fragile to move. The Trust elaborated on its original 'significance' story in the designation hearing. Apart from Sargeson's unique contribution to indigenous literature, it argued that his house was the focus of a Shore writers' ménage, part of a developing local and national literary tourism agenda, and a landmark of architectural and social history (Frank Sargeson Trust, 2002). Mindful of traffic safety, it agreed to concede just over a metre and this was subsequently confirmed in the Independent Commissioners' decision, which recognised its "high cultural significance" (Jansen et al., 2002:6), and created what is affectionately called the 'Sargeson Swerve'.

McEldowney (1976:27) suggests the "North Shore group" was "perhaps stronger in myth than it was in fact" and certainly there was much evidence of friction and faction in Sargeson's circle (King, *Ibid*). Early histories of the Shore were dominated by seaside and sporting tales (Titchener, 1977-84), but Sargeson Trustees have been influential in constructing an alternative cultural identity narrative that binds the City's fragmented constituencies into the "Literary North Shore". This emerged as a theme in the official history of Takapuna (Ireland, 1989), and consolidated in a series of Council-sponsored publications including four literary heritage trails, where Sargeson's house is declared "New Zealand's most significant literary location" (Lay et al., 2002:31) and *Golden Weather*, an anthology of poetry and fiction about the Shore, which is branded "Auckland's Left Bank" (Lay et al., 2004: 10). At its launch, Mayor George Wood claimed North Shore City to be "New Zealand's literary capital".

The City's literary persona has been further embellished with the opening of the Michael King Centre, an initiative sponsored by a separate, but allied, trust set up to honour Sargeson's biographer following his accidental death in 2004. Initially Cole Catley attempted to purchase one of the townhouses built to the rear of the bach with a view to creating another writer's studio in King's memory and, pending the acquisition of the other building, to recreate the famous vegetable garden and re-develop facilities for residential writers, docent and a gift shop. Reservations remained around traffic noise and the scheme was dropped when insufficient funds were raised to complete the purchase. The King Centre, which will eventually accommodate several fellows, library, museum, manager and mentoring facilities, was established in the nearby heritage suburb of Devonport in a historic villa leased from North Shore City Council at a peppercorn rental. The Council, which had contributed modestly to the first scheme, also contributed to the villa's refurbishment and the Mayor again affirmed the importance of the City's literary history and

political commitment to the “tradition of supporting” local and national writers (North Shore City Council, 2005).

The Sargeson Trust continues to be responsible for administration of the House and is awaiting the preparation of a pro-bono conservation plan that will assist in applying for heritage grants and clarify ongoing development. Plans for curated displays and a docent have not yet come to pass and the only security is provided by an incongruously installed burglar alarm. Visitors can pick up a key from the local library and are trusted to respect the house, although following theft of some of the books they are now accompanied by library staff or a trustee. Given these informal arrangements, it is difficult to accurately gauge patronage. The Visitors Book (Sargeson House, 1991-2006) suggests that on-average fifty or so people visit the house a year, with interest building after the publication of King’s biography in 1995. The Trust meets at the house and has used it to celebrate Sargeson’s birthday and launch books. Visitors include: friends and relatives of Sargeson and trustees; writers and journalists; academics, teachers and students; politicians and council officers; historical and natural heritage societies; and local service groups. According to the librarian, it is less common for local people to visit the house, although it is open for a few hours during North Shore City’s Heritage Week and, anecdotally, over thirty people (mostly locals) visited the house in 2005 (Webb, 2006).

Visitors’ comments suggest that many come to pay “homage” in Herbert’s logic. They sense ‘authenticity’ in its intimate, dusty simplicity and draw inspiration from Sargeson’s meagre relics. The house is also Squire’s “medium” for generating multiple meanings – assertion of national identity, connections with general history and family memories:

- A Sargeson pilgrimage. I remember seeing him in Takapuna in the early 80s. Can really get a feel for who Frank was here*
- Wonderful to be able to dip into Frank’s books. So much history within these walls and on these shelves*
- Atmospheric. Enjoyed the ‘old man’s stink’. Inspiration dwells here.*
- The makings of a New Zealander. You can feel the history*
- A chair, a desk, a pen, you don’t need much more*
- A wonderful lingering essence of an inspiring New Zealander*
- Hallowed ground (Sargeson House: Ibid)*
- Fascinating to watch the boys respond to the house...to connect the stories with the place they were written (Knowles, 1990).*
- I felt Frank was there...I loved this powerful feeling...it reminded me of (my) beloved old bachelor Uncle...in whose old 1921 bach I now live... (Chamberlain, 2005).*

Conclusion

The Sargeson House began as a memorial to an esteemed friend. The Trust fashioned a powerful heritage story around an unconventional personality and an eccentric place, asserting that it was the font of a uniquely New Zealand literature and locus of a significant network of literary relationships. This was subsequently reshaped into a civic identity narrative and from it flowed an instrumental rhetoric of place distinction and promotion. The house has assumed a quasi-religious significance for some and is appreciated as a historical remnant of a by-gone way of life by others. An

unpretentious anachronism, it stands in contradistinction to the bourgeois suburban affluence of the North Shore and perhaps one of the most important stories it tells lies in the contradiction and traffic congestion viewed from its windows.

As is often the case in New Zealand, the Council and NZHPT played a reactive role, responding to 'significance' stories conjured up by enthusiasts, and eventually offering legitimacy through statutory protection, whilst relying on volunteers to safeguard and manage the artefact, with the assistance of competitive and somewhat parsimonious conservation grants. The Sargeson House is, however, proving to be prototype for the preservation of the mundane, with Waitakere City restoring artist Colin McCahon's bach (McCahon House Trust, 2006). This, along with Janet Frame's birthplace and the potential preservation of composer Douglas Lilburn's residence, in Wellington, and the houses of writers Dan Davin, in Invercargill, and Robin Hyde, in Auckland, suggests a broader conception of cultural heritage may be emerging in New Zealand; one less premised on architectural merit, albeit partial to the Pakeha (European) high arts.

The future of the Sargeson House is problematic and it remains to be seen as to whether "one generation's cherished achievements" are revered by the next. Despite the Trust's advocacy, Sargeson is no longer widely read and revisionist critics contest his importance in the evolving national canon (Evans, 1990). Conversely, following Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's argument, he may be the catalyst for creating "something new in the present", as a focus for explorations of New Zealand masculinity and gay fiction. He has become an inspiration for gay writers, as illustrated by contemporary writer Peter Wells (1994:206):

My model on returning to New Zealand was oddly another homosexual New Zealand writer: Frank Sargeson. He it was who insisted on the possibility of a New Zealand voice, of a place to stand. He with his rundown cottage and garden full of vegetables, and his persistence in pursuing the art of writing, influenced me more than any other New Zealander.

The Trust's parallel commitment to residential writing fellowships stretches its resources and there is an ongoing tension between investment in the past vis-a-vis the future. The Michael King Centre may yet prove a more commodious and convenient site to develop a museum preserving and promoting North Shore literature than the bach. Unless the Trust receives significant public funding, it is unlikely to be able to retrieve the back section. Apart from its intrinsic 'sacred' qualities, this land would afford tourism development and income opportunities: office for a docent, garden restoration, and gift shop, which in itself requires an imaginative leap as Sargeson's poverty will not be easy to sell. The fragility of the house is challenging and routine maintenance is currently directed at preserving its fabric, rather than at sensitive and appropriate restoration. The interior is equally vulnerable, with conservation practices amounting to little more than drawing the curtains and turning over Frame's quilt to shield it from the sun. While visitors enjoy the closeness and immediacy offered, relics are susceptible to deterioration through human contact and theft. There are questions, too, about its evolution and the inherent conflict in its use as a "lively meeting place" and as a museum reflective of a particular period. While the trustees, many important writers in their own right, may be creating "something new in the present" they also diminish Sargeson's aura and authenticity.

There is still some public ambivalence about the merits of preserving a “crappy old place” (White, *Ibid*:81) and it remains to be seen as to whether the invention of the “Literary Capital” becomes politically embedded and popularly accepted; whether Sargeson’s legacy is valued when the trustees who knew him personally are no longer there to advance it; whether they, themselves, will add to the house’s heritage significance; and ultimately, whether it will be able to resist the abominations of the traffic.

Footnotes

- 1) The charitable trust was incorporated in 1983. Foundation members were Cole Catley; authors C.K. Stead, David Ballantyne, and Michael King, and architect Nigel Cook. The Trust has grown since in 1982 and now includes many of New Zealand’s well-known literati, including some of Sargeson’s protégés.

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Alternative Taipei: a possible history of planning since 1900

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What city image of Taipei could be pictured if Tamshui River is not the boundary but the center of the city? The question drives wild speculations that require historical qualification, if not justification. Presumably only a few decisions are critical to the making of a city as it is or otherwise. The more than 300-years history of Taipei is viewed, and reviewed, from this perspective. This paper contemplates a new urban scheme of Taipei as it could have been planned at the critical time of its first modernization in the early 20th century under the Japanese administration.

Taipei basin as geologically defined is about 243 square meter in triangle shape. 7000 years ago nearly half of this area is filled with water and became a river basin land not until 1800 years ago. Dahang River and Hsindien River merge into Tamshui River at the center of the basin and meets with Keelung River at the north moving together into the Taiwan Strait. Archaeological evidences show some prehistory activities in this basin that can be dated back 5000 years ago. A Dutch man Johan Nessel's 1654 map (*Fig. 1*), considered so far the first historical document of this area, showed that Europeans, Chinese and aboriginal tribe known as the Ketagalan were Taipei inhabitants. After 38-year colonial control of the island the Dutch rendered the power to Chinese in 1662. Taipei basin remained very much as what Johan Nessel depicted until the early 18th century when Chinese immigrants began extensive explorations. The basin land was almost fully cultivated over the next 100 years. By the mid of 19th century, new developments started moving towards the surrounding hill lands for tea and mines.

(Fig. 1)

By the end of 19th century the population in the basin is estimated near 70 thousands. Taipei was then the political center of Taiwan, therefore deserved an ostensive manifestation by suitable fortification. This last walled city of the Ching Dynasty (*Fig.2*), built from 1879 to 1884, was deliberately located according to the traditional

geomancy principles on the one hand; to create a balanced tripod relations between two competitive, even antagonistic, communities: Monga (Mengjia) and Paronpon (Dadaocheng) on the other hand. The 1895 map (*Fig. 3*), the first map of Taipei using modern survey technology produced by Japanese government immediately before they took over Taiwan, provides reliable picture of the time. It is noticeable that the most densely populated land, known as ‘the Three districts’, concentrated within a limited area by the south-east bank of Tamshui River near the center of the basin.

(Fig. 2)

(Fig.3)

During Japanese sovereign from 1895 till 1945, there are 32 officially announced plans related to public works such as building roads, sewage systems, parks, schools, etc., but only three of them are about the city development as a whole. All these three plans can be fairly viewed as design-oriented layouts of public facilities with visions of self-assured modernity as compare to the plans of more legal-based and process-oriented after 1937 when the first planning law became effective.

1. The 1900 Plan is primarily about the destruction of the walled Chinese city of Taipei (*Fig. 4*). The planning area included 121 ha within the wall and 28 ha of a park and railroad outside the wall. There were close to 70 thousand populations at the time. It followed by 87 thousand populations as indicated in The 1901 Plan (*Fig. 5*), an extension plan to the south to accommodate increased new comers presumably from Japan.

(Fig. 4)

(Fig.5)

2. The 1905 Plan (*Fig. 6*) intends to integrate the old ‘Three districts’ with new extensions towards the south, the north, and the east. It is the first time that the urban road system based on Japanese scale Jian (means bay, 1 Jian is about 1.8m) was introduced: the road width with 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 15, 20 Jian. The planning area is about 720 ha. with planned population of 150-thousand at Year 1929. This is also the first city plan for Taipei with the vision of future development.

(Fig. 6)

3. The 1932 Plan (*Fig. 7*) with 600-thousand planned populations at Year 1955

covered 6676 ha. planning area; almost the entire basin land at the east of Tamshui River. This plan is featured by the parkway system of grandiose scale from 40m. 50m. 60m, 70m, to even 100m in width as away of envisioning the role of Taipei as the center of Taiwan. It blatantly expressed the increased degree of municipal sovereignty and the celebrations of accomplishment at the heyday of colonial governance.

(Fig. 7)

From 1895, when Ching government ceded Taiwan to Japan, to the year 1905 when the first city development plan of Taipei was launched, this first decade of the half-century long Japanese ruling period marks the historically critical time that irreversibly determined the direction, hence the fate, of Taipei's developments for the century to come.

Two general policies were then conceived: to 'reform' the old Chinese city as to improve the sanitary conditions, and to build a new modern Taipei on the top of the old. Although the two policies was commenced as one act of planning, we should not confuse the two which represent different issues, hence different possibilities, that deserve separate discussions.

The fact that sanitary legislation is the original force giving birth to the modern city-planning regulations is historically true in the 1830s Europe; it is even more true to Taiwan during the Japanese rule that all cities have to be reformed in the name of sanitary improvements. The measures employed are so extensive and intensive that old cities are almost all demolished as results, and the fortified Taipei is no exception. In less than two decades from 1904 till 1931, the city walls, temples, governor house, administration estate, schools and many public buildings were all doomed to the devastation. Only a few city gates survived the outrage. In parallel to this process of memory-erasing the Japanese administration launched a series of projects to build a new capital city right on the top of the ruins. The planning ideology of the imperial colonialism was directly and brutally manifested.

However, the history could be different had the 1905 plan of 'modern' Taipei chosen instead a new site at the other side of Tamshui river where a wide and less populated land were available and amenable for realizing any grand vision in mind. The decision as such requires only political confidence and professional judiciousness, which I believe were both attainable by the time. Given that, we may entertain at least three speculations.

1. The walled city were saved, including the temples, schools, and beautiful Chinese official compounds, as if those campaigns initiated by both Chinese and Japanese professionals for preservations had been successful, specifically at the critical time before the 1900 Plan was announced. The preservation will no doubt contribute immensely to city qualities in the future. It can be expected also that the sanitary conditions of the 'Three Districts' will be thoroughly improved by new standards.

2. If the 1905 Plan provides an alternative vision; the new colonial government center was determined to build on the other side of Tamshui River, the ruinous results by imposing the new on the old as has actually happened can be avoid, and furthermore the benign relations of development across the river can be anticipated as the city expands. If I may indulge myself with a presumptuous scheme of urban design for this new area, the urban form of Taipei, as envisioned in *Fig. 8*, will be restricted to the design mentality congenial to the tastes and the skills of the time. I assume two languages will be employed for this undertaking: the traditional Japanese '4-column 8-row' block systems as have been widely used both in Japan and Taiwan (*Fig. 9*), and the fashionable Beaux-Arts language of street facades with Baroque axis and node.

(*Fig. 8*)

(*Fig. 9*)

3. After World War II, new developments will find their paces to extend or to infill the existing but quite different urban tissues on both sides of the river, presumably by the newly introduced Modernist language. The estates on the riverbank will possibly consolidate the new images of Modern Taipei as could have been inspired by those cities like London, Paris, and Boston with a big river at city center.

These three speculations complete a quite different but likely picture of Taipei that would be much richer than it is now. The well preserved old quarter and new developments of different times together make Taipei a city with the charms and beauty it could have been enjoyed. Tamshiu River will become the celebrating urban resource instead of being the current role of water boundary separating two municipalities.

The history of city is written by a series of critical decisions. It is the messages behind these critical decisions that constitute the essence of city history. The messages can be revealed by pedantical researches on historical data, and can be equally emancipated by the 'if-otherwise' imaginations based on reasonable assumptions that as

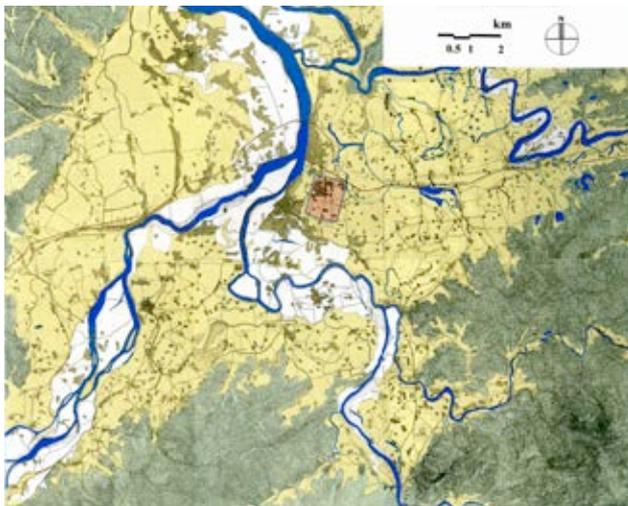
consequence make significant historical differences. The insights about making-difference are more than important problematics for writing good planning history, they are important for making good planning.



(Fig. 1)



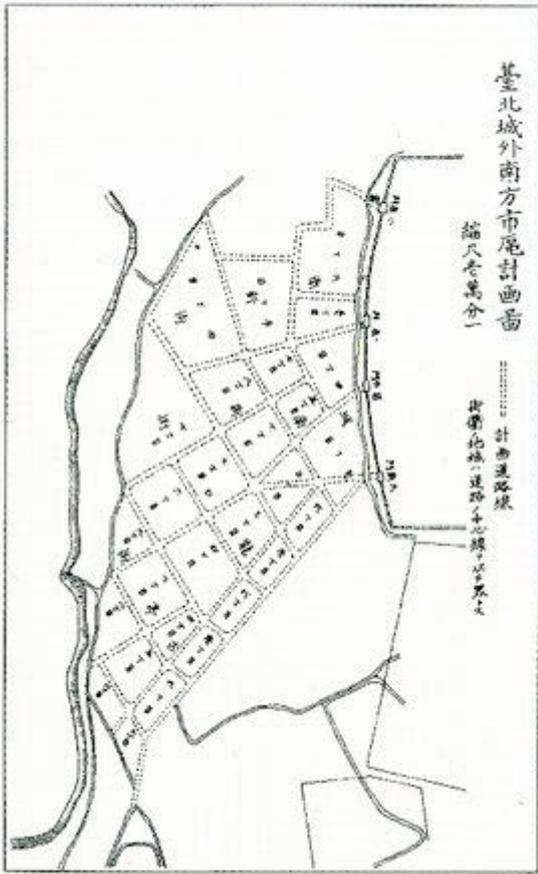
(Fig 2)



(Fig. 3)



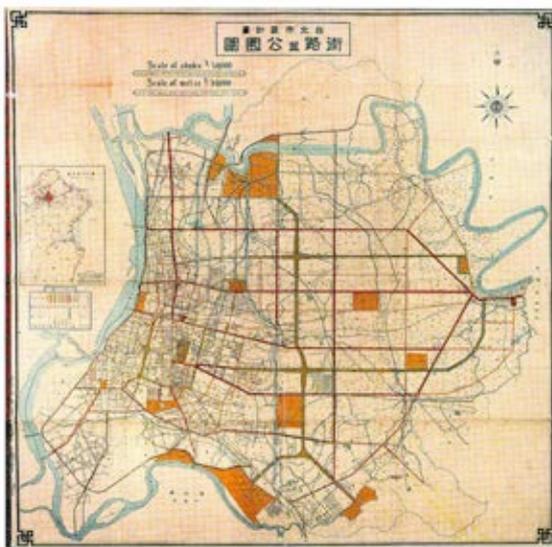
(Fig. 4)



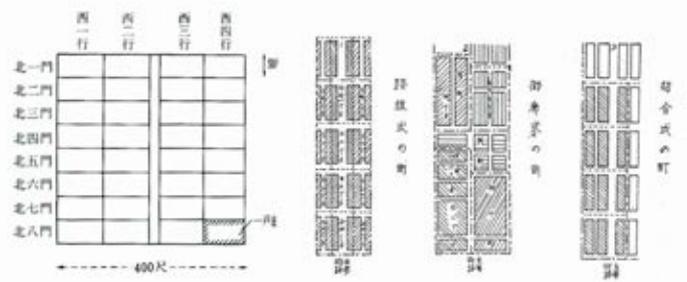
(Fig. 5)



(Fig. 6)



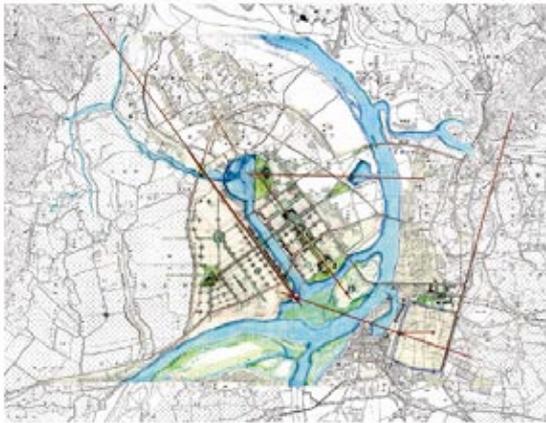
(Fig. 7)



(Fig. 9)



1904 Taipei



Alternative Taipei

(Fig. 8)

12th International Planning History Society Conference
New Delhi, December 11-14, 2006

The principal theme of the Conference:
“Cross National Transfer of Planning Ideas and Local Identify”

NATIONAL HERITAGE POLICY - RIO DE JANEIRO CENTRAL ÁREA

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Key words : Urban configurations - Planning instruments - Central area - Rio de Janeiro

Thematic sessions:

- 1° National and International Heritage Policy
- 2° Global and Traditional Contemporary Local Planning Styles
- 3° Society Culture and Policy

NATIONAL HERITAGE POLICY - RIO DE JANEIRO CENTRAL ÁREA

They will demolish this house
But my room will be,
Not as an imperfect form
In this world of appearances:
It will be in the eternity,
With its books, with its pictures,
Intact, suspended in the air.

Manoel Bandeira (1988), *Eyes of seeing*.
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NATIONAL HERITAGE POLICY - RIO DE JANEIRO CENTRAL ÁREA

Rio de Janeiro city keeps a national legacy, materialized expressions of important periods of the history of the Country and of the government actions in three administrative spheres: federal, state and municipal. These were portuguese colonial, imperial and republican centers. (Figure: Rio de Janeiro in the world)

The transformations that happened in the public and privated areas of the city, above all to the current of the action of the State, promote by other agents of the system, such as landlords, building promoters and the population itself - according to the different stages of our capitalist development.

Rio de Janeiro city has served as paradigm for other urban brazilian centers. It has largely been valued by the official history. These values may include recognized qualifications, but have gone of a strong game of private interests, more and more associated or dependent of the private initiative. They are admitted under an aesthetic approach, but they belong to the less social speech.

The analyses of the transformations of the built environment show all that is built by the human beings, according to a social collective product, of different historical contexts. That means a process of interaction of the construction on the natural space and the introduction of modifications to assist to the transformations of the activities that happened along the way, computed, in the case, to the action of the public power on the space as conformed.

From these transformation phases changes of conceptions and concepts had part, in example to what happened with the one of preservation of the built patrimony and the one of urban renovation, inside of the studied period.

But, a fact persisted in the results of the transformation processes: the movement of centrifugation of the poorer classes of the population to precarious places in *habitat* tenns and, invariably, more distant from their work places.

The Central Area still preserves an heritage of emblematic meaning to the Country. base (Central District Business-CDB) was named after the Agache's Plan (1930), in reality its historical center, shelters ancestral spaces of our architecture and urbanism lives together with financial, commercial, services and cultural activities.

They still can be found in neighborhoods in the periphery of the Central Area which maintain differentiated degrees of cohesion, with commerce and specialized services. Among the other occupations they represent the remainders of the official interventions, as the one of the new facilities of the administrative center of the city.

Interventions that took place in the Central Area - either abrupt or caused by the urban legislation - left marks of easy identification: demolished areas, induced occupations, renewed areas because the substitution of constructions for new activities and programs disconnected areas preceding contiguous and made by the time, sectioned during the 60's-90's according to compact, lineal grupaments or abandoned areas.

(Figure: Central Area – XIX Century and XX Century)

Now, the periphery of the Central Area presents varied allotments that are neighbouring, by indiscriminately times and under disconnected form, due to the intervention process through which they passed, with its vertical, horizontal and mixed dominants, mixing old constructions with other contemporaries and equipments, whose attendance, depending on the branch, may go from this point to the international situation. It contains terminal domestic transports, intermunicipal, interstate and international, being terrestrial communications (bus stations and rail), marine or by air, at most limitations.

Because of these reasons, in the attempt to expose our apprehension of the logic translated in the main public interventions that happened in the city, we were taken to know its original occupation better, trying to understand the contexts evidenced in its trajectory, but only to later reach the studied period. We started from the premise that only in its history we would find the bases of this logic, brought up as explicit of the metaphoric of its transformations.

The center of actual city itself went from early through great changes: transfer of the *locus* of the foundation, after its founding in 1565, supporting demolition of hills to berry puddles, lakes and rectifications in the present century.

Total or partial subtractions in occupation ways were redundant in physical fragmentation and even in disconnection of solid social ties, resulting in compact, older areas, altered areas under intensive public investments, areas in phase of occupation transition, areas without significant modifications in its structures and areas completely descharacterized in relation to the original situation. (Figure: The Central Area and the Central District Business: SAARA, Largo de São Francisco and Av. Rio Branco).

Historical informations helped us to understand the centralization maintained for centuries, with the nucleus installed in its Central District Business, that extends as far as Avenida Rio Branco.

The transformations of the Central Area were seen through two great periods:
1 st. period - that ranges from beginning of its formation to the sixties, when it was then identified changes of political nature in what turned into be a city-state.
2nd. period - covering 1965-90, allowing to qualify, with larger safety for the transformations that had occurred.

The foundation up to the fifties

The public administration, along the centuries, was arased the limits imposed by the generous geography, initially to make possible the expansion of the occupation and, in the contemporarity, to shorten courses and communication among areas.

In the Central Area, a lot of lusitane parcelling remained: uniform streets, residences built in the alignment of the public ways, without lateral distancing, whose patterns were defined in Royal Letters or Municipal Postures.

The exploration littoral phases, with the wealth of the interior contributed to reinforce the port activities, so that drain of the wealth of the state of Minas Gerais left the port of Rio de Janeiro.

In the end of the XVIII century, the Old City is enlarged until Campo de Santana later, giving access for what went to kings' residence and emperors of three generations today .Quinta da Boa Vista..

The sovereign's coming to Rio de Janeiro provoked, without a doubt, strong expansion in the city. It was a time of great transformations, characterized by the urbanization, by investments in public illumination, infrastructure, construction of important equipments and transport of animal traction. It was the result of the ascension of the city to the condition of colonial basset, with everything that this fact could bring in terms of political revenues.

The floresciment of the economy cafeeira impelled the growth of the downtown in the XIX century. There was a rise in big houses of three four pavements (1 levels), multiply predominant in relation to the earthy houses.

In the beginning of this century, they had prominence the great interventions inspired by the tears of the Parisian avenues. Enterprising constructors looked for demolished areas. Poor populations went to the hills to occupy them or to intensify its occupation in sinuous curves. Many activities are moved or they become inactive, signs that reproduce themselves over decades.

Avenida Central (today Avenida Rio Branco) constitutes a typical example of the transformations that the city passed this century. Its plan evidences a process to parcel out that it was put upon to the old mesh, giving explication to the logic that stayed in the transformation of the urban land, through official intervention.

In the history of the occupation of Rio de Janeiro, the colonial period was characterized by an irregular design in Morro do Castelo; the imperial, for the pattern in chess with some variations, as the to the south (Botafogo neighborhood); and the republican period, for the total transformations in the Central Area (1906), partial between 20 and 28 in the Castle and 58 and 60 in Morro de Santo Antonio, for the expansion of neighborhoods to practically all the sides of the city, according to BOLTSHAUSER (1968). They are numerous the new urban parcels, presenting differentiated patterns of streets, being irregular or not.

From the juridical-point of view, the changes of position of Rio de Janeiro in relation to the group of the country were decisive: national center for about three centuries and the republican government up to 1960, when it stops being Distrito Federal, passing on to the State of Guanabara, and Município of Rio de Janeiro after the last coalition of the two, in 1975.

Marks of the transformations to the atmosphere built in the last three decades

To think and to intervene in the modern city means to look for and to analyze its registrations and to understand what is subtended or explicit in the concepts, passed on images and in the action of the public power on the space, according to BRECIANI (1992). In the search of the effects of that action, to the light of the modernity, it is worth to remembering Walter BENJAMIN, with its zeal in reconstructing the link among the economic and cultural determinations and, in the sense of the modernization of the city, the political contents, technicians, aesthetic and philosophical.

The culture homogeneous of the modernism reached in full the minds and it collaborated for the fragmentary results of the materialisation of the urbanization process on the spaces spread through out the areas that suffered great modifications.

(Figure: Skyline-Section through A-B of the Central Area of Rio de Janeiro)

For BERMAN (1990), the understanding of modernism implies the invigoration of immense bureaucratic organizations that control as much as they destroy communities, values and lives, in the list of options that it dropped in the nihilism, when it creates the new undoing what ever is around it. Nothing so justifiable for our reality of .demolishers and manufacturers.. That type of behavior "destroy-build" carts contradictions. It is what is anymore, and what had value lost value. It is the faith in a new speech, fruiting the slow adaptation process and consent.

The governments of the military dictatorship (1964-1978), that they reached good part of this period, centralized the power of political decision and the resources in the federal sphere, penalizing the municipal districts in the acting of its attributions, including executives and budgetary. Under the action discriminatory in the urban spaces, the great problems were monstrous works.

The urban politics, in exercise, resulted in configurations quite materialized in movements were made according to a same centrality model - founded in centuries of trade activities and specialized services, with equipments gone back to the populations place and extra-local, and so generating pole of employments for the whole Metropolitan Area. The model modified due to the alternatives of another Neighborhoods provided areas of infrastructure.

The polarisation change went on answering to the growth of the neighborhoods for the zones north and south of the city. In the end of the sixties, the proposal of the new metropolitan center appears in to Barra of Tijuca / Bajxada of Jacarepaguá, the expansion zone in the direction west of the consolidated area.

In the Central District Business the financial activities were congregated, being included the stock exchange, the public administration, the headquarters of great companies, trade and services, besides growing cultural activities. The remaining occupation of the Area Central guard characteristics of the neighborhoods that compose it, with residential use varying in intensity and category. Such an use is privileged in the neighborhoods of Gamboa, Saúde and Santo Cristo, on the rocky scarp and port zone, with commerce and services that marked the plain of the area.

A lot of *favelas* were removed under police operation, and the corresponding, inhabitants with their belongings, to distant habitational groups, lacking equipments and complemental neighboring services, that guaranteed a minimum pattern to that habitat. It enrolled the removal of 28% of the total of the population favelada, what corresponds the approximately 200 thousand people. (SANTOS,1986, p. 14)

Between the years 60's and 70's began a phase of construction of expressed roads that, together with the viaducts and tunnels, it aims SANTOS (1986), they will move not only the use,

but the own perception of the spaces of the city.

The community groups and *faveladas*, since the end of the seventies, marked out a fundamental role, when organized in federations, marking serial steps ups in its relationships with the public power. They promoted the beginning of a process more clearing of recognition of those populations on the part of the public power. Not by chance, the grow of those groups happened simultaneously with first noddings of the country redemocratization.

With the Subway implantation in the end of seventies, the Central Area sheltered 5 of the 15 stations of the Line 1, that has terminals in the neighborhoods of Botafogo (South Zone) and Tijuca (North Zone). The Line 2 leaves Estácio, outlying neighborhood of the Central Area and arrives in the *carioca* suburb. From there, it proceeds as Line of the Pré-subway.

The maturing of a conception about preservation and urban renewal in Brazil arrived very late, with damage of urban, landscape and architectural patrimony. The case of Catumbi the neighborhood of became classic in the history of the interventions: the expelled inhabitants lost not only the local advantages of a residential neighborhood in the Central Area, but were also left without its referentials and a great distance of their work places. That community joined, from middles of 60's, a courageous fight against the government to maintain its unity (SANTOS and VOGEL, 1981, p. 14). That community's study was registered on paper; having been the example for the interventors on duty.

The Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional - SPHAN, that didn't get to registered everything that it would have, was limited to the preservation of traditional monuments of the national architectural patrimony, according to the thought of the different times. The own patrimony conception was enlarged, forming an alliance with the environmental.

In the municipal sphere, the best preservation actions were headed by the Projeto do Corredor Cultural of the RIOARTE in eighties, that didn't bring only direct benefits to the historical space of the area for him defined, as to other ones that there found the instrumental basic to be applied as model that gave right in the revitalisation of special areas, in favor of the memory of the city. Studies undertaken by them for the Departamento Geral de Patrimônio Cultural/Secretaria Municipal de Cultura Esporte e lazer and for the Instituto Estadual de Patrimônio Cultural - INEPAC also gave ballast to the movement of city's preservation.

In the eighties the urbanizations come back (Praça XV and Praça Mauá) besides other projects of urban renewal that were materialized in the end of the decade. The construction of Sambódromo (for yearly Samba School presentation), projected by Oscar Niemeyer, happened in the first governor's administration chosen out of the military regime, as recognition of a culture that demanded an own space to exhibit, close to the place of *samba's* origins (Praça XI).

In a lot of situations, the acts and legal documents leave pictures total or partially vulnerable to the desfiguration of or fiscalize what the law indicates. The inexistence of the legislation takes the same effect of the not collected law, running in default from the events and, naturally, the market's pressure.

The inventory of the interventions take part in several projects executed without the attendance of objectives and revindicative original. Clear examples are the Palácio Monroe, old Federal Senate, subtracted on behalf of future passage of line of Subway, that ended up not being built in that space, and Av. Norte-Sul that, in spite of motivating great court in Morro de Santo Antonio, was reduced to Avenida Chile, in the downtown area. As a result of demolitions, hill cots, modernist plans, urban legislations of different times or through "strategic" forgetfulness, the interventions are, in a general way, characterized like this:

(a) areas of consolidated occupation, of small "neighborhoods" and older sections, that maintained good part of its essential characteristics: Gamboa, Saúde and Santo Cristo, that constitute a good example of our urbanism SAARA (Sociedade de Amigos da Rua da Alfândega e Adjacências) preserved through the power of the arabic-jewish community, Lapa and far of the Praça da Cruz Vermelha.

(b) areas that went by intensification processes, renewal or occupation complementation, through specific projects, as the Praça XV, that shelters a group of great meaning historical-architectural-urbanistic - with Paço, Praça, Chafariz of Mestre Valentim - and around partially substituted by modern constructions;

(c) areas that, in spite of the interventions, they conserved part of its basic characteristics: Catumbi (bisectioned for expressed roads of access to the tunnel that links the Center to the South Zone) and Lapa (with horizontal occupation, old neighborhood of bohemians, tends the aqueduct as symbol);

(d) areas in transition phase in its occupations, as the Esplanadas do Castelo and of Santo Antônio, being the second supports of religious equipment/catedral metropolitan, big state companies and parkings;

(e) areas that did not modify too much, as' the Zona Portuária, one of the ones that more lasts long, in spite of the most recent intention of reutilization of its warehouses. Transformed in relegated urban section, the tendency will be of intervention, comes to happen in several countries;

(f) areas that were formed in turn of strutures (axes, complex): Centro Administrativo/Teleporto, in the Cidade Nova, today an extension of the downtown, product of several plans, not very summed up until the end of the period; and station of the Subway working in place of a tied up memory to a so called .prostitute zone.;

(g) areas that lost identity, like Estácio as, of the connection roads between north and central zone, the bohemian's redoubt eternalized in the folkloric songs, was left practically without any of those symbols, except for small, but forgotten houses; the Esplanada do Castelo, with generations of interventions, remaining of the first the neighborhood of the Misericórdia, turning "lungs of the city" with the second, losing the busy pavilion of exhibitions besides for the Ministério da Agricultura and, finally, supporting vast parking areas in the spaces of the deactivated areas, including the area of the old municipal market which is found there.

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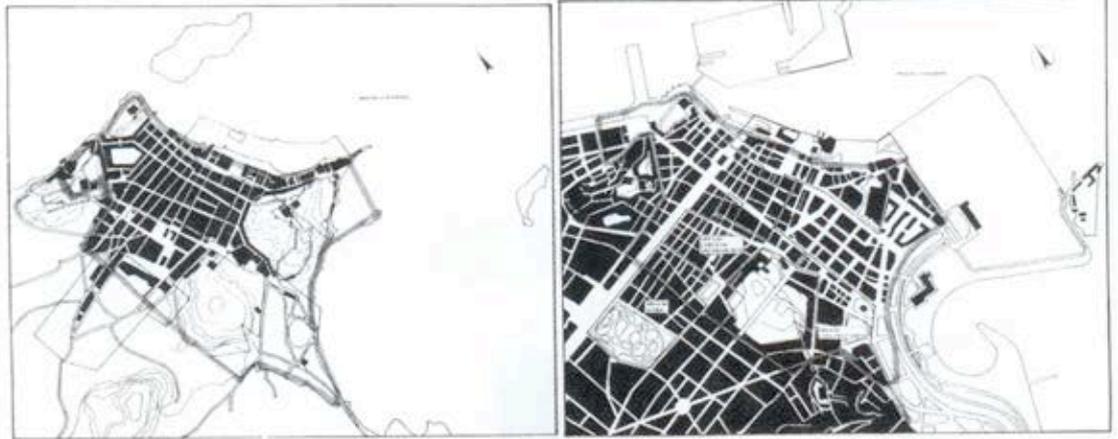
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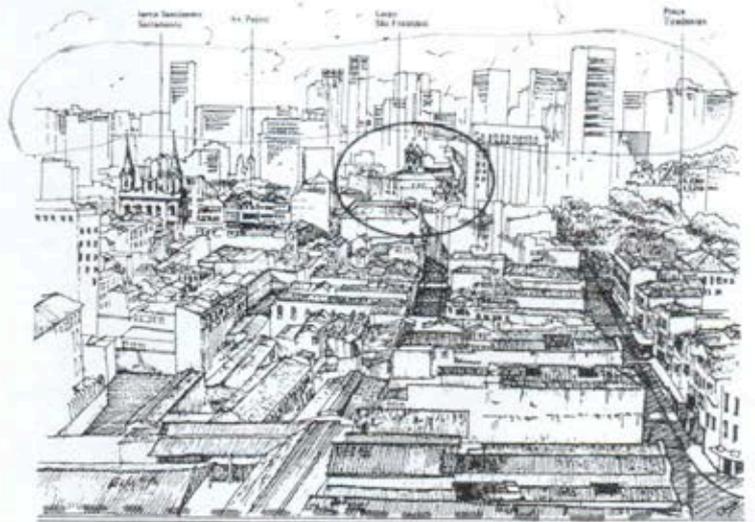


CENTRAL AREA OF RIO DE JANEIRO

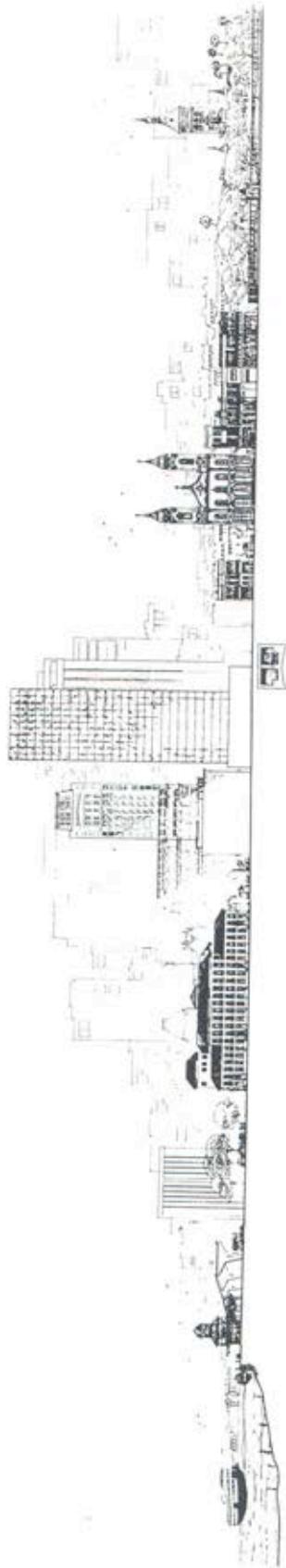


XIX Century
PCRJ/ IPLANRio /RioArte,1999

XX century

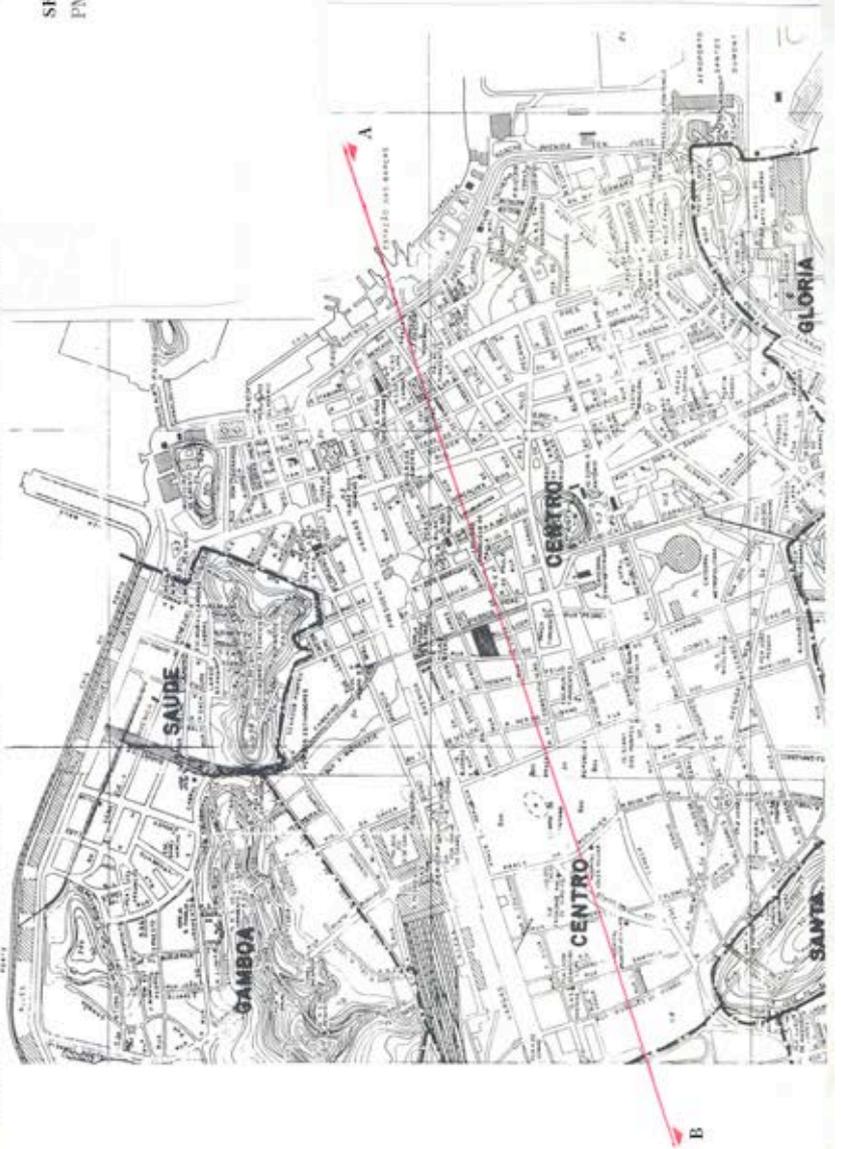


The Central Area and the Central Business District (SAARA, Largo de São Francisco e Av. Rio Branco)
PCRJ/ IPLANRio /RioArte,1999



Baía de Guanabara Cais Pharoas Restaurante Albatroz Praça XV Povo Imperial de Cajuí Área Central de Negócios Casarão Antigo Casarão Antigo Campo de Sinhas

SKYLINE (A - B) OF THE CENTRAL AREA OF RIO DE JANEIRO
 PMCR/JuplanRio/RioArte / 1989



**BRASÍLIA, WORLD HERITAGE:
QUESTIONS OF CULTURAL IDENTITY AND HERITAGE POLICY**

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Modern Movement, Heritage Police, Cultural Identity

Thematic sessions:

National and International Heritage Police
Global and Traditional Contemporary Local Planning Styles
Society and Politics

Abstract

Brasilia is one of the most important accomplishments of Modern Movement ideas in architecture and urbanism. Consequently in 1987, the Brazilian Capital was considered a UNESCO World Heritage for being the first complete translation into city-building of the rational, functional and universalizing statements developed in the context of the CIAMs¹. In a broad international context, Brasília as a representation of the Athens's Charter was taken for granted.

Two or three generations of living in the city have made it possible to go beyond the exaltation of the architectural originality, and understand the *real* Brasilia. The city appears as a polinuclead metropolis in permanent growth with 2.000.000 inhabitants. Even before its inauguration, the national capital emerges as a dichotomous structure: divided in both central and peripheral areas. The winning project of Lucio Costa for the first nucleus in Federal District, called Plano Piloto, become the central area of a congregation of remnants urban plans spread out in the quadrilateral region.

It seems that the construction of the Brazilian capital can be paradoxically explained by ideas of cross national transfer of planning ideas and critical appropriation into local condition. In fact, UNESCO declared only Brasilia's "historic centre" – the original plan of Lucio Costa - as World Heritage Site. What prevailed in such decision was the idea to acclaim the Costa's project as a landmark in the global history of town planning in detriment of the city as a

¹ - Held in 1933, the Fourth Congress of the CIAM - *Congrès Internationale d'Architecture Moderne* – in Athens, is regarded as an important watershed in defining a functional approach to modern city planning. It is most notably the occasion when a group around the architect Le Corbusier produced the so-called Athens Charter, militating for separation of functions and of different types of circulation, and for the introduction of large areas of green space.

Brazilian identity collective construction – a position defended by a local group who participated of the preparation of the nomination dossier. In the domestic level, it is possible to notice two different local positions related to the Brasilia's preservation question. On the one hand, the Capital is perceived as a national architectural movement which corresponds exactly to the *Plano Piloto's* site. On the other hand, Brasilia is apprehended as a result of Brazilian's cultural diversity that passes over the central area, located in the construction workers' lodgings and the satellite towns.

In awareness of the profound relationship of cultural identity and heritage policy, the aim of this paper is to better understand the inscription of a modern patrimony regarding global and local, foreign and native dynamics at work. Through analysis of projects, plans, images, interviews, documents and written documentation involved in the UNESCO recognition process of Brasilia, this paper will attempt to situate cultural identity debate in the construction of national and international heritage police. The following paper argues that the new capital manifests the contradictions and complexities of the political, socio-economic, and cultural forces that have generated it. How were the instruments to nominate a modern city in a world heritage patrimony? How such 'preserved' environment has been reacting and constructing its own identity in the face of rapid urbanisation? If cultural identity is always in a state of flux, how can this understanding of 'collective memory' contribute to possible strategies in heritage policies? Instead of the assumptions that planned environment produces homogenous identities, or such cities should be preserved conformed to and informed only by the original project, this paper explores modern spatiality as a new element of cultural response.

Antecedents

The twentieth century modern movement was based on rational, functional and universal statements: modern living was to consist in "a rational organisation of everyday social life"². Architects in continents beyond the margins of Europe embraced modernism in their desire for progress, modernity and sovereignty. The conditions of reception were different from those in Europe; for Brazilians, the fresh start offered by Modernism was not imposed by the trauma of war; and the propagation of the modern movement in architecture gathered momentum rather than faltering during the populist dictatorship between 1930 and 1945.

In the twenties, the moving forces in the Brazilian modernist agenda were the desire for an egalitarian society in concert with both the use of advanced technologies and the new aesthetic features. The Brazilian avant-garde 'cannibalized', albeit selectively, ideas of their foreign colleagues.³ This artistic and architectural movement incited the fundamental reflection about this past and such cultural values and, at the same time, formulated the struggle for emancipation from underdevelopment. In 1937, two major events illustrates such tension. One was the beginning of the construction of the Ministry of Education and Health, this building was a modern architecture masterpiece which represented the Brazilian architecture as part of the international canon. The other event was the creation of the

² Jürgen Habermas, "Modernity – an Incomplete Project" in Hal Foster, ed., *The Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture* (1983; Seattle: Bay Press, 1991), p.9; quoted in "Architecture Facing Modernity" in Hilde Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity. A Critique* (London: MIT Press, 1999), p.11.

³ The cannibalism metaphor is borrowed from the *Manifesto Antropofágico* ("Cannibalistic Manifesto"), a proto-Modernist manifesto inspired by native Brazilian myths, which refused colonialist chronology, reacting against the dominant political and religious forces. See also Valerie Fraser, "Cannibalizing Le Corbusier – The MES Gardens of Robert Burle Marx", in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, v.59/2, June 2000, p.180-193.

National Historical and Artistic Heritage Service (SPHAN)⁴ which ensure the conservation of the historical patrimony. Lucio Costa was a key figure in both facts: he participated with others in the project of Ministry being responsible for calling le Corbusier as a consultant, and worked actively in the SPHAN. From the 1930s onward, Costa was an active protagonist in the Brazilian modern movement. Such fact was confirmed when Costa's 'Pilot Plan' for the new capital was awarded first prize in 1957. In the Brazilian movement, the same ones who introduced modernism as a movement of avant garde, they were also concerned with the conservation of historical and artistic patrimony.

Shifts and displacements of a peripheral society created an enduring fusion between modernity and nationalism. In fact, the humanist and nationalist ideals brought into such relationship the avant-garde movement and the political power. On one hand, modern architecture was a visible 'nationalist' symbol used in order to legitimize a new political order. During a populist dictatorship (1930-1945), modern movement in Brazil can be understood in part as having served as an ideological instrument of governmental policies. On the other, the modern avant-garde considered the Brazilian modern movement an update of Brazilian art as well as regain of national identity's consciousness. For Mário de Andrade, one of the avant-garde protagonist, art has a wide meaning for society. In other words, art has social role, i.e., art is understood as the strength of life, the moving force interested in people's existence. Nevertheless, Andrade already pointed out in 1942 that Brazilian modernism - facing the contradictions of a very hierarchical society - played an "uncertain role" with several facets.⁵

In order to reach cultural and economical development, *modernists* attempt to construct a forward-looking national identity. Emancipation is a worth term to understand the desire for modernity in postcolonial conditions, whereas modernity often has been an external issue.⁶ According to Jean Baudrillard, the rhetoric of modernity surges among ambivalent and contradictory attitudes within countries in development.⁷ A large part of the discourse of modernism in Brazil could be illuminated throughout understanding the gap between history and fiction. Architectural cultural narrative oscillates between historical fictions and fictional histories. On the one side, there is a period of the recovery of traditional and historical values. On the other, a period of the loss or denial of cultural memory, trying out new roles in the global urban culture. The latter narrative characterizes itself as 'fiction' that, depart from a different reality and present themselves as universal, cosmopolitan statements. Indeed, such oscillations between historical and fictitious narratives can encode, and so preserve, the memory of what should be remembered or, in the contrary, of what deserves to be leave in forgetfulness.⁸

In fact, Brasilia first narrative started in 1956 when the idea of moving the capital into the interior of the country became the key event of the democratic government of Juscelino Kubitschek. Historically, the plan of a new capital surfaced periodically in every single Brazilian Constitution since the independence day in 1822. Linked to Republican aspirations, the Cruls expedition was commissioned to survey the area in 1892. It was stipulated the transfer of the capital to the central highlands. During the populist dictatorship of Getulio Vargas, he recognized that a new capital would be a way of weakening the province states and

⁴ - The Service has had different names (SPHAN, IBPC) and is presently known as IPHAN - National Historical and Artistic Heritage Institut.

⁵ ANDRADE, Mário de. "O Movimento Modernista", in Estado de São Paulo, São Paulo, 11942, 2002.

⁶ In this case, modernity means a civilatory action, which is usually based on supremacy of knowledge and power. ASHCROFT, Bill, GRIFFITHS, Gareth, TIFFIN, Heien, Key Concepts in Post-colonial Studies, Routledge, London, 1998.

⁷ BAUDRILLARD, Jean, "Modernité", in *Encyclopédie Universalis*, p 552-3.

⁸ RICOEUR, Paul. "L'identité narrative" in *Esprit* 140-141, juillet-aôut 1988, pp. 295-304.

centralize control. In the fifties Vargas, who had been re-elected democratically, set the Belcher expedition that confirmed the original site.

Vargas' successor President Kubitschek was the one who decided move from planning to building a new capital. Brasilia, called the 'capital of hope', was a political strategy against underdevelopment and cultural and economic dependency. Most of Brazilian population is concentrated along the coastline, leaving a vacuum in the interior. He saw Brasilia as an initiative aimed at accelerating the modernization process and regional development. Modern architecture, that was already hegemonic in Brazil at that time, continued to be an instrument of political endeavours.

Brasilia-designed, Brasilia-Pilot-Plan, Brasilia-polinuclead

The winning project of Lucio Costa represented the highest point of the modernist project. Costa's project is described by two main crossing axes in the flat land of the Central Highlands. In the east-west direction, the monumental axis contains the governmental, cultural and administrative equipments; and perpendicularly, there is the residential area in north-south axis. Lúcio Costa wrote: "[Brasilia] It was born of the initial gesture which anyone would make when pointing to a given place, or taking possession of it: the drawing of two axes crossing each other at right angles, in the sigh of the Cross"⁹. Having begun with a crossroads, Costa proceeds to emphasizes the first act of appropriation in the new land. Forty-six years later, seeing the monumental axis from the belvedere level of the TV Tower of 218 meters high is one of the classical views of the capital. The observer can read in it a planned and organized environment with a totalizing character.

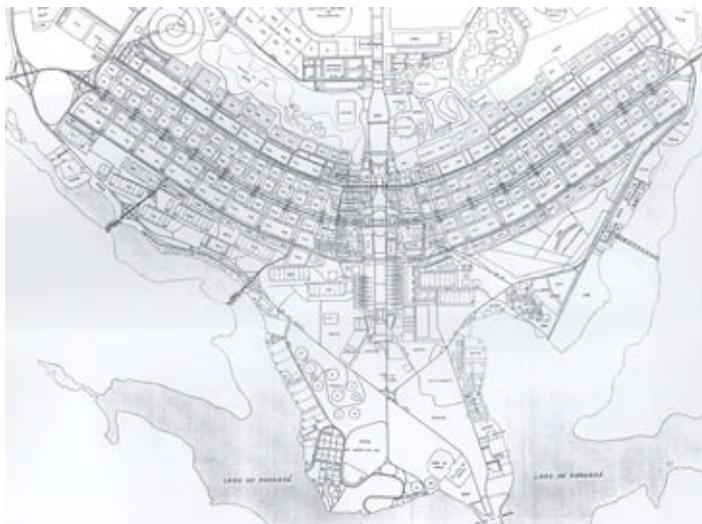


Fig. 1 - Map of Plano Piloto
(source: CODEPLAN, 1991)

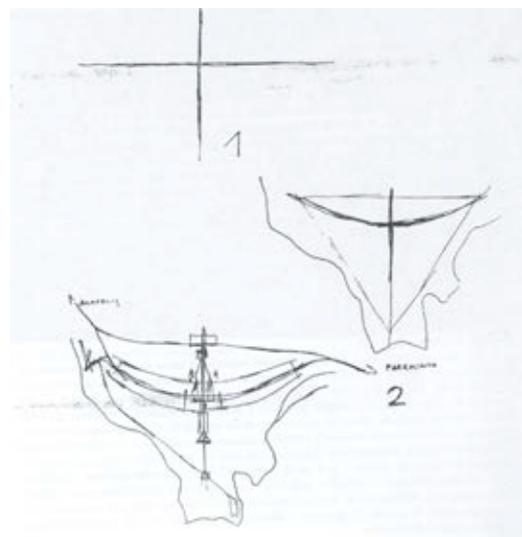


Fig. 2 – Lucio Costa's drawings
(source: Lucio Costa, Registro de uma Vivência, 1995)

Brasilia was the first complete translation into city-building of the rationalist and functionalist statements developed in the context of the CIAMs. The Brazilian capital was to be completed

⁹ - COSTA, Lucio Lúcio Costa wrote in Pilot Plan's rapport (*memória descritiva do plano piloto*): "Nasceu de um gesto primário de quem assinala um lugar ou dele toma posse: dois eixos cruzando-se em ângulo reto, ou seja, o próprio sinal da cruz".

within only three years. In its appearance the plan is a literal version of the Athens Charter traditional four functions – housing, work, recreation and traffic. The charter effectively committed urban planning to rigid zoning of sectors. This monumental axis displays the multiple sectors: hotel, commerce, cultural, and governmental zones in an ordered sequence. However, Brasilia also searched for the principles of the park-city, of open spaces, and free-standing pillars within the CIAMs.



Fig. 3 - Classical view of Brasilia: from the TV tower looking at the monumental axis
(photo: Augusto Areal, 2000)



Fig. 4 – Central bus station
(source: www.brasilia.jor.br)

Despite the sober ethos of functionalism, Costa's project stemmed for its conceptual, more poetic qualities. Costa's entry for the competition was comprised of a series of diagrammatic sketches or ideograms with a carefully crafted report. According to Valerie Fraser, Brasilia emerges as an almost Platonic Idea with the Roman idea of the city, *civitas*, 'putting together the justifications of colonizing powers with classical architectural from Vitruvius on (to the necessary utility must be added fitness and proportion)¹⁰. At the same time, the Pilot Plan transcends immediate utilitarian functions like within the neighbourhood units part of residential area. Each one is composed by four superblocs along the north-south axis allocates local strip malls, with its chapel, movie theater, elementary school, and community center. Matheus Gorovitz recognizes a level of solidarity and social interactivity within the sphere of neighbourhoods, becoming sometimes busy and animated meeting places, day and night.¹¹ Returning on Brasilia's report, Costa finalizes it with an inclusive vision of a capital that should be 'monumental as well as efficient, welcoming and intimate. At the same time, spread-out and compact, rural and urban, lyrical and functional'.

Up in the tower, the unique interruption in this green carpet is the platform building of the bus station. Coming down from the top of the TV tower, a different perspective can be approached. The central bus station establishes the centrality of the city, fixing the interception point of both monumental and residential road. Beneath the tower, the bus station

¹⁰ FRASER, Valerie, *Building the new world – Studies in the modern Architecture of Latin America 1930-1960*, Verso, June 2000, p. 222.

¹¹ GOROVITZ, Matheus, "Unidade de Vizinhança: Brasilia's Neighborhood Unit" in Farès El-Dahdah, *Lucio Costa: Brasilia's Superquadra*, Harvard Design School, Prestel Verlag, Berlin, London, New York, 2005, p. 46.

has been the core of the real Brasilia since its inauguration until to this very day. If at present Brasilia is a metropolitan capital of almost 2.000.000 people it has been a centre of a poli-nucleated urban structure since its beginning. Taguatinga, a satellite town created in 1958 for 26.000 inhabitants, was the former settlement of planned dwellings for construction workers, or Candangos, around 30 km from the 'Pilot Plan'. In fact, there always has been a pendulum movement between the centre – the Pilot Plan – and the peripheral area – the satellite towns of Taguatinga, Ceilândia, Nucleo Bandeirante, Gama, Guará, and others. Although some of these satellite towns that were just dormitories are developing now a new socio-economic centrality, like Taguatinga, the relation of co-dependence between the parts and the centre was and continue to be evident. The permanence of the population in the Brasilia-Pilot-Plan has been ephemeral and transitory along the years. Inside the station, a mass of walkers, passengers and little sellers produce a space in constant movement, where a dynamic narrative can be inscribed. In 1984, Lucio Costa acknowledges this question of permanence describing the continued flow in the central bus station:

“So, I felt this flux, this intensive life of the true natives of Brasilia, this population who lives outside and converges to the station. Their home is there. The station is the place where they feel comfortable. All of this is very different from what I had imagined for this urban center. It supposed to be a sophisticated, a cosmopolitan place. But it is not. The real Brazilians were the ones who appropriated it, built the city and lived there legitimately (...) they were right, and I was wrong. They took care of what was not conceived for them. It was a Bastille. Then, I saw that Brasilia has Brazilian roots, real ones, it is not a flower in a greenhouse as it could be. Brasilia worked out and it will do so, more and more. In fact, the dream was much less than the reality. The reality was bigger, more beautiful. I was satisfied, I feel proud to have contributed to it ”(COSTA, 1995).

This notion of 'who lives outside' was widely disseminated by political actors during the construction process and in the following years. The lack of regional planning, after the capital's inauguration, induced it to be transformed into the unique polo of attraction for the poorest regions. Consequently, the apparition of new slums in the central areas of the city and the interminable immigration flows made increase the number of popular settlements around the Capital-Pilot-Plan by the governmental action. After all, the fact that Brasilia was subject to constant migratory flows brought about the governmental purpose to eradicate slum quarters as well as to remove the original Candangos' lodgings that stood within the planned perimeter. Despite of the disapproval of Costa's team, the government decided to start building new settlements around the pilot plan – however, at a great distance from the new capital (Costa, 1995). They were displaced from the city they supposed to live in to be sheltered on these nuclei that were considered independents with diverse identities, to preserve the capital from acute socio-economic problems present in others metropolitan areas. Brasilia – unique and monumental – could not leave the role of a new better society¹². However, the relative autonomy wanted for the satellite towns has never existed. In fact, it is impossible to understand Brasilia as a 'modernist city' or 'cultural heritage' without taking into account the satellite towns around it.

Questions of Cultural Identity and Heritage Police

¹² It is not surprising that just the pilot plan in Brasilia was included in the list of as world heritage patrimony for UNESCO in 1987.

It is why Brasilia's cultural heritage construction process might be understood by two different local points of view. On the one hand, the Capital is apprehended as the climax of Brazilian modern movement, which arises in the beginnings of the twenties and finds its best materialization form in the Pilot Plan. On the other hand, Brasília is perceived as a consequence of a full historic and cultural process whose best expression passes over the planned area.

Brasilia was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1987. However, according to the Santiago Dantas Law, whose article 38 states that "all alterations in the Pilot Plan that guides the urbanization of Brasilia depend on the authorization by Federal law" (BRASIL, 1960), the interest of preserving original plan was born with the Capital. But in the sixties, one could not suspect yet that modern cities will turn into a cultural heritage so soon. At that time, not even the concept of urban heritage was defined by the Venice Charter. The preservationist practice was a national affair represented by movable properties and historic and artistic architectural monuments limited to the tangible dimension. So, in that very moment, the idea of Brasilia's preservation was associated to the need to assure the Juscelino Kubitschek's national political and cultural project in the future. According to the President himself, in a correspondence sent to IPHAN's director:¹³"The only defense for Brasilia is the preservation of its Pilot Plan. I thought that the protection order of the city would constitute a secure element, above the law currently going through Congress, the approval of which I have my doubts". After all, the consolidation of the city was linked to the need to protect the original political project - of a new better and modern society - from the threat represented by the immigrants' affluence. Moreover, the Brasilia's consolidation was also associated to the acceptance of the Capital transfer from Rio de Janeiro. Additionally to natural resistance in some employees that had necessarily to move to new capital, there was the difficult political panorama just after the city inauguration. Kubitschek's mandate followed by the renouncement of his successor, Jânio Quadros, and the incertitude and fear that emerged after the *coup d'état*. In fact, in 1964 a military dictatorship was implemented and Brasilia Pilot Plan was considered as an area of "maximum security" to be preserved from the popular masses. In short: it was only in the end of the seventies that Brasília started to consolidate its cultural identity. And it was at this very moment that a local group started a series of debates about Brasília as an object of a preservationist practice.

It was the "necessity to discuss culturally, consciously, technically, systematically and politically the question of the city memory" (BICCA and KHOLSDORF, 1985) that led to the creation of the *GT Brasilia* - as it was called. This research group was composed by a partnership between the University of Brasilia, the Ministry of Education and Culture and, for the last, the local government. The *GT Brasilia's* prime objective was to establish the basic guidelines for the preservation of Brasilia. The idea was to preserve the local memory, which approach was considered insufficient to assure the Capital's identity. Facing this matter, three points should be mentioned: (1) increasing pressures of the land valorization, (2) the absence of planning instrument and (3) the lack of representativeness of the local population.

In December 1986, the Brazilian government submitted the nomination of Brasilia to be part on the World Heritage List. *GT Brasilia* was in the head of the elaboration process of the nomination dossier. Actually, the working group – GT Brasilia - had been working together already for several years on research on the history and development of the Capital. Politically speaking, the eighties witnessed the restructuring of the National State. After years of persecution, the democratic opening started with the rise of Ernesto Geisel as President in the

¹³ Rodrigo Melo Franco de Andrade

period of 1974-1979. The redefinition of the relationship between state and society configured a process in which the Military Regimen reinforces once again the preservationist practice as an identity's foundation. Nevertheless, the idea of national identity and cultural heritage has been changing since that time. In a context of a world polarized between the local and the global, the national identity assigned its place to the new search of global, local and even more recently, regional identities.

1937-1967 was the period of institutionalization and consecration of the historic and artistic national heritage in Brazil. Two major reasons are behind the decay of this concept and the rising of the more global idea of cultural heritage: (1) the increasing influence of the heritage area within the core of UNESCO, since the first international campaign to save Nubian's monuments. Secondly, (2) the re-estructuration of the IPHAN from the middle of the sixties. In fact, the Nubian Campaign can be perceived as the very first step towards the understanding about the idea of an international canon by the means of a world heritage. From then on, the international community organizes systematically the protection of the cultural heritage throughout conventions, recommendations or declarations. It was just after the entering of this campaign, almost thirty years after the Athens Charter, that the first international document about heritage protection appeared in times of peace: the Venice Charter. Also, in 1972 the World Heritage Convention emerged. Concerning the reorganization of the IPHAN, two main reasons justify the crisis in the institution: the decay of the programmatic core of modernism, and the necessity to conciliate the economic growth with the preservationist practice. Indeed, there was also the retirement of a large part of its staff, included Rodrigo Melo Franco de Andrade. All these reasons justify its transformation.

At the same time, that the democratic process gained forces in the sociopolitical discourse, there is the socialization and politicization of the cultural field according to Gabriel Cohn. In his words, "the just expressions of this fact consist in to conceive the culture as a symbolical creativity source and an opened area to economic investment" (COHN, 1987:09). In any case, the new concept of culture that emerged can be viewed also as a consequence of the Norms of Quito or the Amsterdam Declaration which assigned to cultural heritage an economic value. Or, one may further mention the Declaration and Action Program for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order from 1974¹⁴. After all, what was proposed at that time was that, on the one hand, only an authentically national culture would be able to promote a real development process. On the other hand, only a democratic nation would allow the authentic expression of a national culture. In such case, it was by the means of a popular participation – and not only by the means of exceptional historic or artistic values – that the preservationist policy searched to legitimate itself in the eighties. In this manner, the preservationist practice was perceived as a local, national and international affair. Such levels can be represented by movable properties, cultural monuments, urban settlements and also vernacular and folkloric intangible expressions. Those categories are simultaneously understood as a tool of local development as well as an instrument to have a role in the international scene.

All this new ideas about preservationist practice were defended between 1976 and 1982 at IPHAN throughout the national heritage policy led by Aloisio Magalhães. According to him, "if the lost of cultural identity and the impoverishment that it represents requires a study (...) more important yet is that the responsible persons of the national policy were persuaded that it

¹⁴ - ONU. (1974). *Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order*. New York: UN, 1974. Mimeo.

will not exist harmonious development if on the economic policy's elaboration process, one can not take into account the peculiarities of each culture. Institutions as the UN (...) the World Bank, the Rome Club, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), the Bariloche Foundation, just to quote some of the best well-knowing institutions, recommends the inclusion of cultural indicators on the development policy conception" (MAGALHÃES, 1985:49). Magalhães asserts the construction of the Brazilian identity through the cultural heritage could not be restricted to the national and elitist point of view. The construction of Brazilian identity should be plural and plenty of popular and local representativity.

It was why the *GT Brasilia* apprehended the Capital as something else more than the artistic dimension of the Pilot Plan urban and architectonic set. After all, this working group started its tasks under the Magalhães' period in front of IPHAN. In this context, the heritage cultural concept behind the Brasilia's nomination dossier acknowledges the city as national historic and political project that went back to the XVIII century. Brasilia was presented in its social and cultural dimensions materialized beyond the borders of the Pilot Plan, like natural areas, vernacular settlements and worker's lodgings. This report point out that "Brasilia is the name to refers to a bigger conjunction of several elements of which the eight satellites towns existent until now take part" (GDF, 1985: 20). This concept of the Capital reflected the political apprehension of that moment by the *GT Brasilia*: after many years of repression, Brasilia was finally testing its condition as a democratic city. In certain way, for the working group Brasilia, the capital could not continue to be a maximum security area to be preserved from the popular masses. Its identity as a polinucleated metropolis had to be assumed.

Among the *GT Brasilia's* challenges was to deal with a new concept of cultural heritage: a modern and dynamic one. It was part of its concerns to construct a modern cultural heritage without have recourse to the historic or ancient values as was usual. After all, the Pilot Plan was not neither historic nor ancient. The *GT Brasilia* knew that the Pilot Plan was – and continue to be - a masterpiece of Oscar Niemeyer and Lucio Costa's "creative genius" and an outstanding example of an architectural ensemble which illustrates a significant stage in history. But all those artistic reasons, defended by a "competent discourse"¹⁵, were not sufficient to define and assure the capital as cultural heritage. The GT Brasilia work was characterized by its initiative to hear people's voice about the question: what elements in the Pilot Plan should be considered or, and preserved in it? It was clear the necessity to involve the community with a every day life within the central area – and not only its local inhabitants - into a more open and democratic cultural heritage construction process. It seemed obvious to admit natural environment, vernacular and pioneers urban settlements as objects of local, national and international identities. Brasilia was recognized beyond the Pilot Plan's borders. Such point of view of GT Brasilia is in contrast with ideas of preserving the "designed" Brasilia.

Based on an extensive, consistent and convincing research work, the GT Brasilia's nomination dossier was taken into account by ICOMOS Evaluation of the World Heritage List number 445. This document recognizes the place of the Pilot Plan in the world urbanism and architecture history. It already mentions the protection areas presented by this working group in the legislation proposal attached at the dossier¹⁶. Also, the ICOMOS evaluation

¹⁵ - According Marilena Chauí a competent discours is "that one which can be said, heard or accepted as authorized (CHAUÍ, 1990).

¹⁶ - "The Working Group also proposed the inscription of the older witness pf the birth of Brasilia, that is, the cities and traditional habitations of peripheral district (Planaltina, Brazlândia and eight former fazendas), as weel

report, “while expressing an opinion favourable in principle to the inclusion of Brasilia on the World Heritage List, considers that the property should be inscribed on condition that minimal guarantees of protection ensure the preservation of the urban creation of Costa and Niemeyer” (ICOMOS, 1987: 3). Inspired, or not, by the mention of “the urban creation of Costa and Niemeyer” a different direction founds its strength. The fact is that at the moment to accomplish the ICOMOS’ recommendation another group related to Brasilia preservation took advance in this process.

It is clear that the death of Aloisio Magalhães, in 1982, debilitated the *GT Brasilia*’s research work as a whole and specially its concept of cultural heritage. Only in 1986 the process of preservation was retaken when the Minister of Culture, José Aparecido de Oliveira, invited not only this research group again to elaborate the nomination dossier, but also he invited the capital constructing actors to take part in the discussion. At this moment, it seems that the importance of the working group into the debate was reassured. However, the Minister promoted a re-approximation with Oscar Niemeyer, Burle Marx and Lucio Costa, in order to “replace Brasilia within the original plan”, according to his own words. (APUD REIS, 2001:131). This last contact generated a document called “Revisited Brasilia” in which Lucio Costa proposes expansion, aggregation and preservation areas. Although convergent in the analysis of problems, *Revisited Brasilia* deals about controversial ideas in relation to the research carried out by the GT Brasilia. Among the divergences, the main one was maybe the definition of what Brasilia had to be defined as heritage. On one side, the working group considered the capital as a dynamic space still under construction to be in and beyond the Pilot Plan limits. Brasilia’s management as cultural heritage was responsibility, after all, of every citizen. On the other side, *Revisited Brasilia* restricted the capital’s perception to the Pilot Plan as an architectural and urban work of art which management belongs to the specialists.

Minister’s double movement at this given moment resulted in a confrontation between two groups. These groups faced, together, the ICOMOS’ legal framework recommendation. In that context, according to Italo Campofiorito¹⁷, three possibilities emerged. First of all, the approval of the law project for the Preservation of the Historical, Natural and Urban Heritage of Brasilia, proposed by the *GT Brasilia* along with the nomination dossier. Secondly, the creation of a legal national instrument: the *tombamento*. In third place, the adjustment from the 1960’s Santiago Dantas’ Law to a new reality. Campofiorito argues that for the local government and specialists, as Lucio Costa, the working group’s solution seemed suitable only for internal interests. In other words, for him, the protection measurements proposed by them were too wide and circumstantial, and such vision was not so interesting to UNESCO. In fact, this international organism was only concerned with the urban proposition and original architecture. Still according to Campofiorito, the second possibility seemed to be unfeasible from the legal practical point of view. So, the third path was taken: it seemed to be a more concrete and effective opportunity regulate the Santiago Dantas Law. In seven chapters and sixteen articles, it was condensed the core of the only preserved modernist city.

Campofiorito’s point of view reflected a more traditional concept about cultural heritage defended by the so called Rio’s Group: a group composed by people whom intellectual

as the worker’s camps, which are evocative, but fragile, vestiges of the golden age of the construction of the capital (1957-1960)” (ICOMOS, 1987: 3).

¹⁷ - CAMPOFIORITO, Ítalo. (1990). Brasília Revisitada. In: *Revista do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional*. Número Especial/1990. Rio de Janeiro: SPHAN/Pró-Memória, 1990.

competence concerning Brasilia's project have always been acknowledged. Nevertheless, this group experienced the real Brasilia from a distant focus. There was frequently an outsider look into the city urban evolution. Lucio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer have always been connect to the patrimony as "historical and artistic heritage" - that was born with the SPHAN and found out its declination process under Magalhães' period. Supported by the great respect inspired by Costa's work, the Group of Rio used two more arguments to impose its way to establish a Brasilia's legal framework: (1) according to them, the fact that UNESCO was only concerned with the urban proposition and original architecture; and (2) the difficult character, from the legal practical point of view, to implement a legal national instrument – the *tombamento*. As a result, in application of the Santiago Dantas' law, the local government issued a decree to protect and regulate the Pilot Plan. The named 10829 decree includes four chapters where the protection is defined from the monumental, residential, bucolic and gregrarious scales. The Revisited Brasilia document was annexed to this decree. The idea of polinucleated Brasilia as a cultural heritage was therefore put down in detriment of the Brasilia Pilot Plan ideal plan – the 'designed' Brasilia.

It is interesting to notice that a similar situation emerged in the thirties. In 1935, Mario de Andrade was invited by, at that time, the Minister of Education and Health, Gustavo Capanema, to organize the conservation of the historical and artistic national heritage throughout the creation of a national institute. In 2002, this document was considered by the former Minister of Culture, Francisco Weffort, as "the principal inspiration source of the renovation of heritage public policies in the seventies. Also it was the base from which the 3551 decree was created" (WEFFORT, 2002). Issued in 2000, this decree establishes the Brazil's intangible heritage. Despite the recognized importance nowadays, the Mario de Andrade's project was rejected in the thirties. In its place, on 30th of November of 1937, the President of Brazil issued a decree-law on the organization of protection of the historical and artistic national heritage. Named Decree-law number 25 this legal instrument was - and continue to be – at a great distance from what Mario de Andrade proposed in his project. It was concerned to modern avant-garde ideas initiated in the Canibalist Manifesto in 1928.

For Mario de Andrade the historic and artistic heritage can be defined patrimony as "pure, applied, popular, erudite, national and also foreign work of art belonging to the public powers, to the social organizations, to the national private or to the foreign residents in Brazil" (ANDRADE, 1936). His definition included - already in 1935 - objects, monuments, landscapes and folklore representatives of the Brazilian's culture. Indeed, the foreign work was as well recognized as part of heritage. He asserts that the patrimony has not only a tangible dimension but also intangible aspects. Besides, for political actors, it seems that Brazil was not politically, sociologically or culturally ready for such inclusive point of view where all the *métissage* of races and social classes were took into account. In these terms, it seems that fifty one years latter, in 1986, the Brazilian's society was not sufficiently mature yet to the GT Brasilia's proposition, once again. After all, how to justify the decision to define Brasilia as a Pilot Plan without considering it of polinucleated condition since its construction? What aspects, tangible or intangible, should be considered as part of the identity narrative?

Conclusion

In December 2001, in response of a World Heritage Committee request, a UNESCO-ICOMOS monitoring mission was undertaken. Its task was to analyze the institutional and legal framework for the protection and management of the city as well as its state of conservation. Fifteen years after the debates between the GT Brasilia and the Group of Rio

which lead to the Brasilia's subscription to the World Heritage List, the UNESCO-ICOMOS report recognizes that the Decree of 1987 restricted the area inscribed to the Pilot Plan. This document acknowledges that the legal framework issued by the Brazilian government did not consider natural areas, vernacular settlements and workers lodgings that were proposed by the GT Brasilia into the nomination dossier. In its "assessment of specific issues" the monitoring report also asserts that:

"the problem proposed to the mission was to determine if the city bears today the features that made it a site of outstanding universal value. In order to find an answer, the first question could be which Brasilia we should consider as a reference: the Brasilia imagined by Lucio Costa in 1957, the city inaugurated in 1960 or the city of 1987, when it was inscribed on the World Heritage List, because they are all different. Another question is what we should call Brasilia today: Costa's *Plano Piloto*, the protected area or a bigger agglomeration, including planned and spontaneous outskirts." (ICOMOS, 2001).

Having explored the relationships between cultural identity and heritage policy a few more words might be well spent on the social dimension of the cultural heritage. Looking for cultural identity exclusively in historical and artistic evidences is on the wrong track. Frank Svensson points out that personal identity should be insert in a broad context: political, economical, religious, work, family, and so on¹⁸. If the narrative of oneself is a capture of the absent, as fiction or history, identity can not be seek exclusively in its material basis. The récit, or narrative, is a capture of a meaning that is not there, but only over the *mise-en-intrigue* that the narrative identity will come out. Collective identity is a gap between a perseverance of a historical character and a 'held promise', a disclosing question without a definitive answer: who am I in reality?¹⁹

One strong characteristic of planned dwelling is the obsession to translate literally the design into building. Brasília fits perfectly in this former case. Facing diverse facets of the context (the uncertainty of the rapid urbanization, the unreliable local political power and the dream of a finished project), Brasília was conserved as much as possible to the its first report in 1957. That one of the main reason that the Pilot Plan is considered as a sort of "historic centre". What is important is to notice that urban configurations as narratives are not arbitrary or casual, but they are critical act of selection in a precise moment. The 2001 UNESCO-ICOMOS mission report:

"A city can not be described, studied or assessed as a static object but rather as a process resulting from the relations among these components. This is valid for spontaneous unplanned towns but also for planned or ideal ones, because history shows that sometimes the confrontation between ideal schemes and reality is almost inevitable". (UNESCO, 2001).

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¹⁸ - Frank Svensson, *Visão de mundo*, Edições Alva, Brasília, 2001.

¹⁹ - Paul Ricoeur, «l'identité narrative », *Esprit* 140-141, July-August 1988, pp. 302.

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**TERRITORIAL IMPLANTATION
AND METROPOLITAN STRUCTURING
OF A BORDER CITY
THE CASE OF SAN CRISTÓBAL, VENEZUELA, IN THE 1870-2006 PERIOD**

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1. INTRODUCTION

In approaching this paper two aspects will be analyzed. First, the territorial implantation that San Cristóbal had in the 1870-1930 period, during the Venezuelan agrarian exportation economy, which determined the conformation of a mighty “*coffee metropolis*”. Second, the difficulties and contradictions confronted in their territorial organization and metropolitan structuring during the oil economy and in spite of the governmental development policies implanted from the late Sixties of 20th century.

2. SAN CRISTÓBAL WITHIN THE VENEZUELAN’S URBAN-REGIONAL SYSTEM

San Cristóbal is the capital city of Táchira State and territorially form part of the Andes Cordillera (1). It is located at the Venezuelan western end, approximately to 820 kilometers from Caracas and to 45 from the Colombian border. The case of San Cristóbal is peculiar since aside from displaying the common tendencies of the Venezuelan cities’s territorial reconfiguration, it comports specific territorial and socio-economic characteristics given its political-administrative condition as capital city of the entity with the most dynamic border in the country. (Fig.1)

From a quantitative point of view, by 2000, the Venezuelan urban-regional system was conformed by 39 agglomerations considered as metropolitan areas, which vary significantly in its population rank. It includes urban agglomerations from almost 3.4 million inhabitants (the Caracas one) to others with approximately 80.000 inhabitants (the San Carlos de Cojedes one), then we would be speaking of a broad metropolitan variety and hierarchy. Some of them were the one of Caracas with 3.354.197 inhabitants; the Valencia one with 1.698.800; the Maracaibo one with 1.663.397 inhabitants. The metropolitan area of San Cristóbal, occupied the 8th place with 415.725 inhabitants (Negrón, 2001:90). Then, San Cristóbal, within the national metropolitan mosaic, has the connotation of an intermediate metropolitan area, whose urban core has only 250,000 inhabitants and its metropolitan area does not reach the half a million. However, if –as some have proposed– it would take place the configuration of a binational metropolitan region, the population of the metropolitan area of Cúcuta, Colombia (with more than 700,000 inhabitants), it would conform an agglomeration of around 1.300.000 people.

3. TERRITORIAL IMPLANTATION OF SAN CRISTÓBAL

In Venezuela, the territorial implantation of cities and regions has its origin in the social-historical process that consolidates from the 18th century on the framework of an economy motorized by the agrarian exportation. The territorial organization is lay down under three historical patterns: the urban-concentrated, the urban-dispersed and the rural-dispersed. In the Andes Cordillera was characteristic the urban-dispersed pattern, structured by small and medium size coffee properties articulated to a system of small centers with defined urban tendency (Ríos and Carvallo, 2000:37: 38).

3.1. Territorial implantation in the Venezuelan agrarian exported economy (1870-1930 period)

In the Andes, the agrarian exported phase was characterized by a slow process of social-territorial transformation based on the agricultural production, mainly coffee plantations, whose spatial organization was constituted by a towns network articulated to the productive properties (the urban-dispersed pattern). The towns provided basic services to the rural population and hosted deposits and warehouses to gather the coffee production that by diverse routes was transported to the Port of Maracaibo and from there, sent out to the consumption centers in Europe and the United States.

In a first stage, the coffee farming propitiates the formation of independent grower sectors who base their economy on the property of a few hectares and on small farms, where they work manually with the collaboration of all the family. It were a peasantry of limited resources, without great capitals for mechanization, which generated a local character market that allowed the vitality of existing small urban centers. (Cunill Grau, 1987:1068 and Ríos and Carvallo, 2000:38: 39: 72). Later, from the Seventies, in Táchira State a permanent and intensive commercial agriculture consolidates, evidencing a process of land tenure concentration in medium and large size coffee farms owned by German commercial companies. Between them can be distinguished the Brewer Moller & Co., the Blohm & Co. and the Van Dissel & Co., which were settled in Maracaibo and San Cristóbal with branch offices in Rubio, Colón and other towns. (Cunill Grau, 1987: 1068:1072:1073).

Conformation of San Cristóbal as a crossroads and as a *coffee metropolis*

The coffee crop culture was determining on San Cristóbal and its neighboring towns urban conformation. In spite of the 1875 Táchira's earthquake, the coffee prosperity allowed to preserve the gestational urban network. A fast reconstruction begins, to the point that by 1883 it were scarcely perceptible the landscaping sequels of the earthquake (Cunill Grau, 1987:1071: 1075: 1079).

Within the Andean region, the Táchira and Trujillo states were the larger coffee producers. The geographic location of Táchira state given its vicinity with Colombia –that allowed reciprocal economic and social relationships– determined the preponderance of San Cristóbal as urban center and nodal place. Subsequently, by the last two 19th century decades, San Cristóbal becomes an important “*coffee metropolis*” and a crossroads. Even this last condition, most of the roads were precarious paths of droves, which never conformed an articulated routes system (Cunill Grau, 1987:1078).

Territorial isolation of San Cristóbal

From the Seventies of 19th century and despite of the Andean coffee boom, the settlers of Táchira State, like those of Mérida and Trujillo, had to overcome immense difficulties to take out their agricultural products to the Maracaibo Port. It was due to the bad condition, or even nonexistence, of suitable transport routes. The isolation of the region was so, that Maracaibo, the most important urban center around which turned the dynamic of the agrarian exported economy, do not form part of the Andean territory.

Táchira State had a triple characteristic of territorial isolation: with the rest of the country, with the other Andean states and with some sectors of its own state. First, the isolation with the rest of the country was caused by the lack of a direct communication with the coast center. Second, the territorial isolation with other Andean states was originated in addition to the already mentioned bad routes condition, by the similarity of their agricultural production that did not stimulate the interchanges between them. The isolation between sections of Táchira territory itself was consequence of its orography characteristics which divided the State territory in two subregions: the western one, closely tied with Colombia (San Cristóbal belongs to this subregion) and the eastern one, connected with the Mérida State.

The lack of integration among them became bigger by the use of different commercial routes that lead from Táchira to the Maracaibo Port (Cunill Grau, 1987:1035). The Eastern Táchira subregion was connected with Maracaibo through the Escalante river. The western subregion had two routes to take out its products to Maracaibo. One of them connected with the north towards the Catatumbo river from a marshy path of droves near San Juan de Colón and then, by fluvial way through Zulia river until its confluence with Catatumbo river, ending at Maracaibo Lake (Muñoz, s/f: 44:48). Lately, by 1996, it was built the Táchira Railroad which connected San Felix (near San Juan de Colón) with Encontrados in Zulia state, passing through La Fría in a route of approximately 120 km (Arellano, 1996).

The second route connecting the western Táchira subregion with abroad was through the Colombian Cúcuta Railroad, constructed in 1888. The route went from Cúcuta to Los Cachos Port and from there, by the Zulia river until the Catatumbo. This route became the favorite by the retailers of Táchira western subregion to arrive to Maracaibo. So, the easy access to the Cúcuta Railroad for the San Cristóbal, Rubio and Táriba's retailers explains the concentrated efforts of convincing that the Táchira Railroad's promoters had later to exert on them in order to get their approval for its construction. The Táchira Railroad construction justifies the promptitude of Cúcuta Railroad people for extending their route until San Antonio del Táchira in order to increase the *tachirenses* interest in using the Colombian commercial route. The extension was built in 1897 (Muñoz, s/f: 54).

Summarizing, the isolation of San Cristóbal from the rest of the country and from its nearby territories, will be a negative factor, that in our opinion, has conditioned its precarious development throughout the 20th century. More over, the Colombian railroad helped to consolidate the reciprocal commercial, cultural, familiar and economic relations that since then have been a constant in the daily life of Norte de Santander Department and Táchira state, determining since then, in our opinion, a spontaneous binational city-region. (Fig.2).

3.2 Territorial implantation of Táchira and San Cristóbal during the Venezuelan oil economy, in the 1930-2006 period

This aspect needs to be analyzed according to the different phases that express the evolution of Táchira territorial implantation from an unplanned 19th century *coffee metropolis* to a planned 20th century regional center with huge problems for consolidating.

3.2.1 The San Cristóbal passage from a *coffee metropolis* to a regional center with small economic development (1930-1958 period)

From the Thirties, changes in the Venezuelan economy appear originated by the agrarian exportation crisis and by the country's insertion in the world-wide economy through the oil activity. This situation determined a newest dynamic that allowed the capitalist structuring of the Venezuelan social formation, in which the coastal zone territory (that of the urban-concentrated pattern) monopolized most of the economic activities (Ríos and Carvallo, 2000:105) and, as a result, determined the loss of importance of Andean region in the national economic context and its accentuated migratory process (Ríos and Carvallo, 2000:108: 114).

Táchira State and concretely San Cristóbal and its nearby centers, did not participate in the space organization process which from the Forties conjugates the development of the oil activity with an agrarian one of a capitalist kind. Maracaibo almost annul its vinculum with the Andes region and continue to be an important center that maintains its commercial and service traditional function (Ríos and Carvallo, 2000:110: 111).

San Cristóbal and the region did not either participate of the country's modernization process that occurred from the Fifties by means of an industrial diversification. Táchira State did not play any relevant role in the building industry development and in the boom and diversification of the manufacturing industry of foods, drinks and textile production.

If we suppose that the economic and socio-cultural transformations of the 1930-1960 period were key on the configuration of the current Venezuelan territory occupation patterns, we could explain the modest dynamism of San Cristóbal and its region's population and economic growth.

3.2.2 Regional planning policies and San Cristóbal's unfruitful fights to became a metropolitan center (1958-1998).

Since the late Fifties and as a result of the center-periphery effect, it begins a theoretical elaboration for the country advance that would imply the implantation of the regional development as a national deliberate action for territorial planning based on the theory of the development poles. Obviously, San Cristóbal and its region were considered as periphery.

Within this vision, it were made many bets for Táchira progress based on San Cristóbal and its region potentialities as a development pole that would spread progress. The potentialities were based on the existence of abundant natural resources, on the territorial capability for locating new industries, on its advantageous strategic geographical situation and on a functional road connectivity with the territory, in which the San Cristóbal-La Fria Freeway would play a first importance role (Mogollón, 2005).

By those years, Travieso and Barrios propose a cities system's hierarchy where San Cristóbal obtains a third rank besides Barquisimeto, Barinas, Acarigua, Mérida y Valera.

According to Yáñez, San Cristóbal is important, not only for being a bordering city but for being a transition center between the mountain states, the Zulia basin and the plain lands of Los Llanos (Yáñez, 1968: 26).

Vicissitudes in the definition of San Cristóbal regional territory: the Andes region and the Suroeste (southwest) region.

The definition of San Cristóbal's regional space for economic development has been signed since its origins by marches and countermarches which have generated two different territorial spaces: an official space, Los Andes region, and an alternative proposed by the active social-economic forces of Táchira state, the Suroeste region.

The territorial conformation of both regions are entirely different. Los Andes Region is conformed by the three Andean States (Táchira, Mérida and Trujillo) and some municipal ambits of Barinas and Apure States, meanwhile the Suroeste region is conformed basically for the Táchira State and the low lands of its bordering states: Zulia, Barinas and Apure States. In the proposition of the last region there were argued that the coffee crisis widen the few ties between the Andean states and privileged the economic and social nexus with the neighboring low lands.

The discrepancies that since the beginning became present demonstrate the struggle and fight of interests that the central national power (represented by Corpoandes, the development agency situated in Mérida) and the local one have had in limiting the regional space. At the point that, at the moment, more than 30 years later, it lacks a definition of that space. The economic growth shows signs of stagnation in all the spheres. The industrial strength did not occurred either in San Cristóbal or in its influence area. The almost total failure of the La Fría Industrial Zone and to a lesser extend, the San Antonio and Ureña's Industrial Zones, represents a real proofs of such circumstance (Mogollón, 2005: 27)

In addition, the Integration Border Zone (ZIF by its Spanish initials) proposed since the early Nineties, spatially conformed by the Colombian and Venezuelan bordering entities, the North of Santander department and Táchira state, that was chosen to motorized the area economy, has had more stumbles and good will declarations than concrete profits. The lack of accomplishment of the great and essential regional structural works for developing the region: the freeway San Cristóbal-La Fría and the Hydroelectric Complex Uribante-Caparo, appear like huge obstacles that prevented their whole development (Mogollón, 2005:27: 208).

Despite what it happened in Táchira, the creation and strengthen of the development poles, was not categorically a national failure. Some poles activated, which would determine significant signs of economic growth and employment (Negrón, 2001:41).

3.2.3 National Territorial Plan (1998): A new urban hierarchy for San Cristóbal

In 1998, in the last days of Rafael Caldera government, a new National Territorial Plan is decreed. It establishes a new urban system hierarchy, conformed by four categories: a national center, regional centers, first order subregional centers and second order subregional centers. San Cristóbal is classified as a regional center, besides Maracaibo, Barquisimeto, Valencia, Maracay, Barcelona-Puerto La Cruz and Ciudad Guayana. Under this new urban scheme, San Cristóbal is improved on its rank in relation to the previous system proposed in the middle Sixties by Travieso and Barrios, now ranging it in the same category that Maracaibo, Valencia, Maracay and Barquisimeto.

Here is pertinent to question on what bases of development or whereupon support of economic potential it were made this new classification. The evidence of the last decades allows to affirm that San Cristóbal is below the other cities catalogued as regional centers, with which it would be again incurring in a practice of overvaluation of the city and its region real potentialities. And that positivist practice, if we remit to the past experience, has carried to people frustration because of its negative results before the inefficiency of a urban and regional planning based on great expectations (Mogollón, 2005:115).

3.2.4 *Dispersed decentralization: strategies of a new government (1999-2006)*

From the early 1999 with the government of Hugo Chávez, the territorial policies approach shows a contradictory sense. They implies, in our opinion, a backward to development due to the little understanding of territorial dynamics in this time of globalization and informational revolution. It proposes a scheme of “*dispersed decentralization*” similar to the Sixties theory of development poles, with the added harm that investments, very few by the way, are being oriented to rural ambits.

So, the cities development accent has moved out to a second place in open contrast with the in progress world-wide territorial tendencies. In 2002, several facts made us to suppose the abandonment by the national government of San Cristóbal and its territory as a development urban center. The liquidation of the development agency settled in San Cristóbal, the Venezuelan Southwest Corporation (CVS); the taking of the destinies of the San Cristóbal and its territory development by Corpoandes (the development agency located in Mérida) and the activation, under Corpoandes control, of the Sur del Lago Zone of Sustainable Development (Zedes), in which has not been assigned to San Cristóbal any important role, in spite of being the urban center of superior category in its influence area, after Maracaibo.

In 2005, very recent facts, indicate the deepening of the territorial policies’s antiurban slant. In past July the president of the Republic announced a new action within the economic and social national policies: under the name of “Return to Countryside Mission” tries to disconcentrates the great cities and to convince to the farmer and producers families that migrated in the Seventies to the capital, to return to the countryside with the promise to develop self-sufficient endogenous nucleus (sic) (Hernandez, 2005: A22). On the base of a pretended “21st Century New Socialism” the current government offered to give in the course of that year more than 2 million hectares to farmers organized in cooperatives.

4. METROPOLITAN STRUCTURING OF SAN CRISTÓBAL

The San Cristóbal metropolitan space constitutes one of the officially decreed metropolitan areas. Even though from 1952, with the Regulating Plan (Plan Regulador) it were thinking about the necessity of a San Cristóbal metropolitan structure, it was only after more than three decades, in 1984, when with the formulation of the San Cristóbal Structural Plan, this scope was officially obtained. It included besides San Cristóbal to the urban centers of Táriba, Palmira and Cordero, with an approximated extension of 7,900 hectares and form part of four municipalities: San Cristóbal, Cárdenas, Guásimos and Andrés Bello. However, it seems to be that the San Cristóbal metropolitan boundary is still incomplete.

In some studies made later and even previous to the 1984 Structural Plan, it has been considered that San Cristóbal Metropolitan Area also includes urban of Libertad, Independencia and Torbes Councils. This proposal was taken into account by a new

Structural Plan (the Plan de Ordenación Urbanística-POU) made in the period 1993-1995 which tried to reformulate the metropolitan polygonal of the 1984's Structural Plan. However, this has not been sanctioned.

Other urban-regional studies go beyond when proposing an urban microregion that would also include the urban centers of Rubio and Santa Ana, pertaining to the Junín and Cordova municipalities respectively, with which the San Cristóbal Metropolitan Area would happen to be the center around which the microregion would gravitate, formed by good part of the territory of 9 municipalities (Mogollón, 2005:186-190). This urban microregion almost would coincide, 100 years later, with the territory of the 19th century's *coffee metropolis*.

5. OFFICIAL STRUCTURING OF A BINATIONAL METROPOLIS: ONLY ONE PROPOSAL

To make more complex the definition of the San Cristóbal Metropolitan Area, it appears another aspect that worsen it: the Colombian-Venezuelan bordering problematic. From an operative point of view there has not been any plan or urban proposal that really ties integrally the two border areas even though since 1964 the Inter American Development Bank (BID) recommended a binational development planning (Zapparoli, 1991).

It has been said and written a lot about this geopolitical aspect, but it was not until 1989 with the Declaration of Ureña, when it was established the shared planning as an answer to the binational situation. The binational integration actions demand a high degree of political will to handle the problems in a mutual way. Quite difficult task at the present times of political and economic uncertainty. In November of 2005, the presidents of both countries gave their approval to a Zone of Border Integration Project (ZIF) –which since the early Nineties has been in gestation– but at the moment, with the Venezuela outdrawn from the Andean Nations Community (CAN) it seems that the Project went again to a limb.

The ZIF is conformed by the territory of eleven Tachira's border municipalities and six of Norte de Santander Department, making a population of more than 1.5 million people. If the objectives of the project are really fulfilled, with the most important of all: to facilitate the binational coexistence within the region, it would be advancing in solving the great socio-economic problems that the zone is suffering (apart from the services and employment shortage, currently the paid murderer, the extortion and kidnapping crimes are striking the Táchira population).

6. THE SPONTANEOUS BINATIONAL AGGLOMERATION

At this point, we could affirm that the Venezuelan official strategies that from the Sixties of 20th century were proposed for the development of the San Cristóbal metropolitan and regional system there have not been effective to activate their economic growth. However, the economy caused by the private sector, formal and informal, have motorized the life of San Cristóbal's tertiary services center.

In this circumstance, its border condition with Colombia, characterized by dynamic and spontaneous historical relations of people flows and goods interchanges, gives to conjecture the formation of an urban-regional continuum formed by the San Cristóbal Metropolitan Area with the urban border axis San Antonio-Ureña-Cúcuta.

From the progressive weakening of Táchira agricultural activity, it were organizing in the Venezuelan border cities (San Antonio and Ureña) a commercial activity of certain local importance and structuring a space of commercial activities with imported merchandise

(Valero, 2002:138). Simultaneously, it were fortified commercial interchanges between cities and rural nucleus of Venezuela and Colombia, which, also according to Valero, conform networks in which daily take place diverse interchanges between the inhabitants of the two borders that have obviated the conflicting local situations and even the critical moments by which have passed the political relations between both countries (2002, *ibidem*).

So as that the bilateral economic relations are complementary. Until 1983 –when there were a devaluation of the Venezuelan currency– it stayed the relation that allowed to the Venezuelans to buy goods (clothes, furniture and foods) to a competitive price in Cúcuta, fact that consolidated as well, the mercantile activities of the Colombian retailers. After the devaluation there was a change and the direction of the commercial flows and mobility was reversed, with which at the moment the Venezuelan market is very attractive for the Colombians. In fact, two or three big supermarkets that have been functioning since about 5 years in San Cristóbal, have in the Cúcuta people a good part of their buyers.

The commercial dynamics not only is represented on the formal commerce interchanges. From always it has existed flows of Colombians who happen to come to Venezuela (mainly to San Cristóbal) to work as street salesmen and return the same day to their place of origin, which represent a floating population that there is to take into account. Aside from that, exists hundreds of Colombian families who live of the illegal commerce buying cheap gasoline in Venezuela and selling it in Colombia to six, ten or up to thirteen times of their acquisition price. They are the so called “pimpineros” who move by foot by the “green roads” that communicate both countries. These relations of informal and illegal commerce, encompass important inter border commercial relations. They do not appear documented in the official statistics of both countries, but constitute a social mobility aspect of great importance in the area’s economic framework.

Another important flow exists and is the generated by the gasoline contraband in private cars specifically equipped for such aim. According to a study of San Antonio’s Commerce Chamber, 15000 vehicles daily cross the bordering line, from which 60% are dedicated to the illegal commerce of the Venezuelan gasoline. This factor explains, to a great extent, the serious road congestion that daily happens at the customs points of San Antonio and Ureña.

7. SOME PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

From this paper we can infer some conclusions:

- a) In the studied period (1870-2006) the territorial implantation of San Cristóbal and its region have determined its evolution from a *coffee metropolis* in the Venezuelan agrarian exported period to a tertiary service regional center of the oil economy with great problems of physical and economic integration with the rest of the country.
- b) The Venezuelan governmental intention to strength the San Cristóbal development pole have not been effective in the outbreak of their economic growth. However, the economy caused by the private sector, formal and informal, have motorized the life of San Cristóbal and its metropolitan space.
- c) The reciprocal historical nexuses of San Cristóbal and its hinterland with Cúcuta (Colombia) and its hinterland), have been determining factor in their social, cultural and economic composition, to the point of which we could speak of a spontaneous urban-regional continuum conformation.

d) The factors that are dominating the binational urban reality are those of their inhabitants demographic restructuring and territorial mobility. At the moment the problematic represented by the increase of the itinerant street sellers commerce that moves from Colombia to Venezuela, by the gasoline contraband, the drug trafficking, the great insecurity expressed in the paid murdered, the extortion and the kidnapping, aside from the common physical problems of housing shortage, employment and infrastructures of services shortages, gives account of the complex panorama that faces this binational conglomerate.

NOTES.

1. The Andes Cordillera is a large mountains system that starts at the Tierra del Fuego, to the south of Chile and Argentina, borders the Pacific Ocean and penetrates in Venezuela with two branches: the Mérida Cordillera and the Perijá Sierra. The Mérida Cordillera extends from the Táchira Depression (that separates the Venezuelan Andes from the Colombian one) to the Barquisimeto-Carora Depression.

The Táchira, Mérida and Trujillo States are localized in the Mérida Cordillera.

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FIGURE 1. THE ANDES CORDILLERA AND SITUATION OF SAN CRISTÓBAL AND CÚCUTA

Rio Catatumbo

Rio Zulia

Rio Escalante

Pto. Los Cachos

FIGURE 2. 19TH CENTURY TÁCHIRA'S COMMERCIAL ROUTES



**Revisiting Delhi's Landscape in Historical Perspective:
The case of Delhi's Monument-Parks**

Preliminary Draft

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This paper is about the abstract and physical shaping of 'land' into 'landscape' in late 19th century Delhi. I use the term 'landscape' to sketch the character of a novel topography that came about as a result of urban transformations in Delhi (the walled city and its suburbs) between 1870 and 1913. These transformations are also reflected in the form, function, and ideology of state sponsored strategies such as land tenure, municipal planning, and archaeological conservation – which facilitated the process of the formation of this new topography. This paper looks at municipal planning and archaeological conservation as players in a singular crucial aspect of urban change at Delhi – largely ignored, and rarely addressed by urban historians - one that subsumed its historical architecture as landscape (and preserved this identity for posterity). I hope to demonstrate the exceptional way that planning and conservation strategies facilitated this subsumption. As we will see, this process was referenced not only by changes in land use patterns, but also by an emergent consumption of the walled city and its environs as 'historical artifact.' Nowhere was this process more visible than in the survey, planning, and restoration of the Khandrat tract of the Delhi Tahsil, which became an important factor for the planning of the new capitol complex in 1913. This paper will then look at the processes that informed this exceptional use of the Khandrat – as historical artifact – in the context of planning of New Delhi.

Somewhere in the course of municipal governance of Delhi in the 19th century – land became landscape. In the post-Mutiny years (using British terminology) the Municipality emerged as the strongest representative of local government of the Delhi District. In 1870 it had acquired an independent 'first-class' status and presided over the territories now classified as the Delhi District that were uniquely autonomous from the Punjab and Northwest Provinces and enjoyed significant funds at its disposal for urban and rural improvement. Being figuratively implicated into a teleology of imperial succession from Mughal to British rule, the Delhi Municipality, as it was called, became the primary agency of social and urban change in a post-Mughal scenario. It was headquartered in the Delhi Tahsil, and served as a vital signifier of the health of British governance in India, especially since it encompassed the very terrain that was only a few decades earlier considered the symbolic stronghold of Mughal rule within the subcontinent.

More importantly the Municipality was overseer and manager to land that had originally been in the possession of the Mughal crown. Therefore, a significant portion of municipal land was classifiable as *nazul* and only available for non-residential and cultural use.¹ The term *nazul* denoted property that had come into possession of the

British government "...either as successor of former governments, or by escheats, or by failure of heirs to previous proprietors..."ⁱⁱ *Nazul* land can be understood as the property of the State falling within Municipal limits and Notified Areas, which was managed and operated by the Delhi Municipality. It was, therefore, land vested with a public authority for the purpose of development and municipal improvement.ⁱⁱⁱ Twentieth century legal assessments of *Nazul* properties offer us much by way of definition and scope of these lands. The term *nazul* refers to land that was:

Not included in a holding in a village;

Was not recorded as *banjar* (uncultivable), scrub-jungle, hills and rocks, rivers, village or government forests;

Was not recorded as village roads, grazing land, *abadi* and pastures;^{iv}

Was not reserved for any communal purpose;

Was not a type of service land.^v

These distinctions become critical when defining the character of land classified as *nazul*. Because the term *nazul* mostly referred to land that bore a significant 'site value' than merely an agricultural value. *Nazul* lands in Delhi included building plots, camping grounds, parks, bazaar/market plots, cemeteries and land for public use.^{vi} It was within the purview of *Nazul* land in Delhi that the green lungs of the city's urban environment and those areas that constituted of the public space within the city fell.

It can be argued that this internal stipulation of *nazul* land guided the character of land use within the Delhi Tahsil – rendering it largely for leisure and public consumption. Social, urban, and infrastructural changes within the walled city of Delhi in the second half of the 19th century impacted the character of land use and became increasingly oriented towards commercial and residential purposes owing to the increase in speculation of smaller tracts of agricultural land in the walled city and its suburbs.^{vii} Early on, it was felt that the walled city and its suburbs were fighting a losing battle with urban expansion. By 1911, Delhi was the most densely populated tahsil in the Punjab region (367, 957) with the walled city showing an increase of 11 percent in 1911. Around thirty-nine percent of the population of the Tahsil was housed in the walled city and adjacent towns (4), and the city was a burgeoning commercial center, supported by the extension of railway communications, and the execution of large scale waterworks and sanitation programs.^{viii} The turning point had arrived when disputes over property were addressed after 1857 and a massive reshuffling of property assignments had ensued. Initial revenue maps prepared in 1872 (Maconachie and Wood) to facilitate revenue collection at Delhi transcribed the changing boundaries of private and state-owned property that needed to be revised through successive summary settlements. Briefly explained, through expedient sale and purchase of land the extent of state-owned property increased dramatically in relation to locally owned land in private ownership after the Mutiny. Altogether, the Delhi Municipality fast became landlord and improver to these newly acquired lands in the Delhi Tahsil.

In contrast, state sponsored policies of archaeological conservation idealized *nazul* land as the anti-commercial and historical counterpart of urban Delhi. All *nazul* land contained the bulk of historical and architectural residue of the past centuries and that was in some cases in ongoing use either for religious or cultural purposes. This

comprised of gardens, orchards, grazing pastures, hunting preserves (rakhs), tombs, and fortifications. Therefore, *nazul* lands in the walled city and its suburbs were most amenable to recreational use and so steered the nature of planning and conservation strategies in Delhi. A prime example of this is the survey and development of Khandrat land in the southern vicinity of the walled city, which was reformulated for recreational use in the years before 1913. The initial survey of the Delhi District was begun on the lines of early colonial surveys like those of Mysore and Bengal that sought to rationalize the terrain and its agricultural productivity by delineating revenue zones and landed properties within the territories.^x In the changing context of British imperial rule in Delhi, this geographical and revenue survey of land took on a very different garb - one that supported its civic rather than its agricultural improvement.

This transformation was facilitated not only by municipal planning but also by aggressive interventions of the Delhi chapter of the Archaeological Survey of India. Let us look at this process in greater detail. Municipal intervention in the Khandrat region based itself on the initial settlement surveys of Delhi formalized in 1870.^x Within the framework of viewing land as a capitalist enterprise, the decisions regarding the jurisdiction of land were tied into presumptions about cultural and geographical conditions that were seen to affect the disposition of land. Delhi Tahsil was divided up on the basis of soil types to facilitate a greater understanding of the function of revenue zones. Soil assessment was seen directly in relation to productivity such that “lands equally productive would be equally taxed, regardless of whatever they were made to produce.”^{xi} The qualitative division of land as *Khadar*, *Bangar*, *Dabar* and *Kohi* followed.^{xii} The northern half of the Delhi district was divided into the first three parts – the *Khadar* or the riverine plain along the Jamuna River and was described as low-lying land that allowed for easy irrigation from wells, *Bangar* or level or main land was situated higher up and therefore drier in nature and was irrigated through the Western Jamuna Canal that ran along its length - it was also connected by about five major railway stations and in addition, was traversed by the Grand Trunk Road, and *Dabar* or lowland that was often subject to floods lay to the west and was a low basin that acted as a natural watershed.^{xiii} Proximity to infrastructural supply was an index of the usefulness of land. Furthermore, the constraints presented by the topography, soil fertility, and the general lay of the land were assessed according to the overall ‘usefulness’ of land, such that land that was neither capable of generating significant revenue, or lying outside the jurisdiction of the Municipality, was categorized as ‘wasteland.’

It is curious therefore that the assessment of Khandrat, an additional category of land use adhered to none of the classifications mentioned above. Much of the southern suburb of the walled city was classified as Khandrat, literally meaning *ruin* or *territory of ruins*. The term Khandrat therefore derived its name from its function - essentially that of a reservoir of architectural remains. It referred to the vast expanse of architectural remnants, fortifications, and monuments to the south of walled city, some of which were in ongoing use. This southern stretch of land existed as a palimpsest of imperial fortifications dating back to the Sultanate occupation of Delhi. The sequence of old fortifications commenced on the city’s southern borders beginning with Ferozshah Kotla, the Purana Qila, Jahanpanah, Siri, Qila Rai Pithora, (and Tughlaqabad). Furthermore,

unlike other tracts of land Khandrat land was virtually un-buildable due to the proliferation of its ruins and hence was largely classified as waste.^{xiv}

The acquisition of Khandrat land at Delhi had begun in the early 19th century - In 1872, and again in 1876 through a reassessment of property rights, much of the abadi land within the Khandrat region (Khandrat Kalan, and Jahan Numa) was used up for building. To the remaining tracts of Khandrat the administrators adjudged a particular “historical value” that was *not* based on its potential for cultivation. Whereas much of the Tahsil land was used up for cultivation or urban development, large pockets of Khandrat were retained intact - as a vast landscape of ruins. This exceptional use of Khandrat tells us volumes about the conditions that drove the Municipality to accommodate the seemingly “waste” land into the overall network of mapping Delhi for its productive use. In effect, the weight of historical interest was added to the capitalist notion of consumption.

Some of the reasons for this deviance can be understood in the emotional appeal of the Khandrat that furthered the agenda of archaeological conservationists after the revival of the ASI in 1870. The overpowering visuality of Khandrat land as ‘landscape of ruins’ had rendered it particularly amenable to European tourism since the early years of British settlement in the region. The conglomeration of older fortifications and monuments lying along the road from Humayun’s Tomb to the Qutub formed a veritable circuit of architectural tourism for its European residents.^{xv} More so, the Khandrat had become reservoir of the ‘historical’ component of Delhi. As early as the 17th century, the stark visual disparity between the relatively better condition of the Shahjahanabad and its ruined environs served to distinguish the *urbae* from the *rus* thus inscribing the Khandrat *outside* the limits of city life.^{xvi} European travelers in the eighteenth century commented on the contrast between the northern suburbs containing spacious gardens and country houses of the nobility, and the southern country that was replete with ruined palaces, mosques, and fortifications. The southward prospect, it was observed, had fallen into disuse and was markedly of a ‘desolate and ruined’ character such that the environs “...appeared now nothing more than a shapeless heap of ruins, and the country round about it equally forlorn.”^{xvii} The desolate character of the southern country was even more pronounced for resident travelers of the 19th century such as Emily Bayley approaching the city by river before the advent of the railways – to whom all of the South was open country, strewn with ruins, dotted with *kikar* trees and clumps of pampas grass.^{xviii} The Khandrat was a veritable *rus* in *urbae*, the countryside surrounding the urban expanse of the Delhi city. While it was visually removed from the commerce of the walled city it offered the attraction of suburban life and the possibility of retreat to an environment of repose.^{xix}

This historical appeal of the Khandrat strongly resonated with conservationists and restorers at Delhi and the newly formulated objectives of the Archaeological Survey after 1870. It is interesting to note that the assessment of historical architecture was contemporaneous with the formalization of the Delhi Municipality as a first-class institution that gave both institutions greater autonomy and recognition as State agencies of urban improvement. Yet, never were the objectives of the two local institutions so converged as in the years leading up to the planning of New Delhi. In general the aims of

municipal improvements and archaeological conservation represented the opposite ends of the spectrum of urban development at Delhi. After the Mutiny there had been strong criticism of 'modern' additions and governmental enforcements in historical buildings.^{xx} The prime example of defilement at Delhi was the damage to the Delhi Fort that had housed the barracks and the regimental messes of the British soldiers. During 1876, the royal visit by the Prince of Wales had been hosted at the Diwan-i-Am, which had resulted in the damage of Mughal paintings older than 250 years by less skilled local artists. Glaring structural additions to the palace buildings to accommodate royal guests had additionally changed much of the interior and exterior look of the palace. In many instances the Public Works Engineers were considered to have had assisted in this decline.^{xxi} Together the military engineer and the public works officer were representative of a thoughtless march towards modernity, one that was dispassionate towards historical tradition.

The romantic fervor of conservations fully materialized in 1879 with the appointment of a special officer entitled Curator of Ancient Monuments for the restoration of buildings in British India. By 1903, a concerted effort to begin the process of conservation had been made with the passing of the Ancient Monuments of India Act. The Act was essentially the definitive legislature regarding the conservation and restoration of historical monuments in India. On March 18, 1904 in the Legislative Council at Calcutta Lord Curzon spoke on the motion to pass the Preservation act into law. The object of the Act was to, "...provide for the preservation of ancient monuments, for the exercise of control over traffic in antiquities, and over excavation, and for the protection and acquisition of ancient monuments and of objects of archaeological, historical or artistic interest." Curzon exhorted a patrimonial approach to conservation instating the British state as the custodian of ancient monuments stating that "...for the individual owner is as much the trustee for his particular archaeological possession as the Government is the general trustee on behalf of the nation at large".^{xxii} The Act instated the British government as the new patron of Indian art and architecture and for assuming all responsibility for their continued care.

Such a reinstatement, however, was not without its physical implications. The monuments of the Khandrat in question - mosques, madrasas, and temples - as other areas of Delhi were laid claim to by private landowners, ancestral patrons, and religious committees making the task of their acquisition fraught with legal complications. Being aware that the Bill would be require to be administered with discretion Curzon had noted that "...there would be minimum interference exercised with the rights of property, and in the event of a compulsory purchase, a fair price would be obtained, and that the most scrupulous deference would be paid to family associations and religious feelings in connections with monuments." The cautionary tone of Curzon's rhetoric was only the first step towards the systematic plan of the acquisition of 'monuments' that were considered central to what was now called the architectural heritage of the city. There was little doubt that for conservationists the aesthetics of the archaeological monument often surpassed its socio-cultural and religious role. Speaking at the annual meeting of the Asiatic Society in Bengal in 1900 Curzon spoke, "What is beautiful, what is historic, what tears the mask off the face of the past and helps us read its riddles and to look in the

eyes – these, and not the dogmas of combative theology, are the principal criteria to which we must look.”^{xxiii}

Curzon’s rhetoric offers an important parallel with which to understand the facilitation of a new urban topography in 19th century Delhi. The translation of the rhetoric as a strategy of urban change occurred not too soon after the announcement of the transfer of the capital of British India from Calcutta to Delhi by King George in 1911. In addressing a vast conglomeration of Indian royalty and British administrators, George’s public announcement for shifting the imperial capital from Calcutta to Delhi based itself on two seemingly unrelated concerns. While on the one hand the King’s praise for the walled city centered on its sanitary and health reform, his decision to build a new capital was motivated by the desire to add a new capital to the monumental accretion of older capitals for the “...restoration (of Delhi) to its former proud position as the Capital of the Indian Empire.”^{xxiv} This was not to be an effort of revitalization, but one of rebuilding a new model of monumentality. The new city would be exemplary in the care of its ancient monuments and set even higher standards of Municipal Governance.^{xxv} The announcement offered a unique opportunity to affect change at the city scale. It presented the terrain of the Khandrat as a ready ground for implementing physical as well as *aesthetic* changes. As the efforts of the Public Works Department (an official offshoot of the Municipality) and Archaeological Department combined in 1912, the fervor for acquiring historical monuments reached an unprecedented pace.^{xxvi}

The emphasis on restoring the archaeological monument was as important as ‘protecting’ it from profane and sacrilegious uses. While the scope of sacrilege remained open to interpretation it largely applied to encroachments, modern additions, and the ongoing use of monuments – it very much implicated the local population as agents of defilement. The ‘protection’ of the monument therefore implied its complete isolation, and estrangement from popular use. Protection also supported the logic of evacuation of land surrounding monuments, to operate as a *cordon sanitaire* all around. In instances, as in the case of Khairpur entire village settlements were relocated to create a monument-park, which would only serve to showcase historical architecture. When restoring structures from the Lodi and Sayyid sultanates, the entire local population of the of Khairpur village was relocated as the ASI incrementally acquired land from private and community occupation.^{xxvii} The monuments of the Khandrat were quickly enjoined in a different socio-cultural phenomenon that utilized vast tracts of land surrounding monuments to create historical interest. This surrounding land around monuments such the Qutub complex in Mehrauli, Hauz Khas, and others was kept up as parkland, or gardens that were predominantly ornamental in purpose.

The marriage of monument and garden came into full being with the finalization of the plan of New Delhi in 1913. What had been an experimental and less practiced strategy of conservation developed into a viable tactic of, what in contemporary terms could be called, heritage conservation. As the ASI acquired many sites in and around the walled city, gardens and parks not only enclosed individual monuments but entire sites containing monuments. With the expanding scale of landscaping these ‘archaeological gardens’ acquired a distinctive visuality that privileged a scenic mode of appreciation,

where monuments blended in with vegetation in the Khandrat region. The shift from a mainly utilitarian view of land to a landscape with aesthetic appeal was greatly dramatized in the planning process of the new capitol complex at Delhi. During the planning of New Delhi in 1913, the Delhi Town Planning Committee comprising of George Swinton, Edwin Lutyens & John Brodie, devised a treatment for sites and ruins of the Khandrat in order to weave the capitol complex into the city's overall layout. The planning of the city was to correspond with an imperial vision and was to be laid out along lines of 'beauty' and 'comfort' with a vision towards its future expansion.

For reasons of control and administration, the linkage and navigability from and to the walled city in the north and the monuments to the south was considered to be of crucial importance for both administrative and military reasons.^{xxviii} The idea of imprinting the landscape with another historic monumental city was persistent in the planner's views. In proposals favoring the southern extremities outside the walled city, a series of *cordon sanitaires* in the shape of public parks and gardens were employed to physically distance the old city from the new. This was also true for the northern edges of the walled city, which had been separated from the walled city by a *cordon sanitaire* since the late 19th century. These tracts termed as 'isolation zones' were meant to act as buffers around the walled city effectively disengaging its ills. The isolation zones were later converted into parkland such that the only connections maintained to the old city was through wide avenues that would facilitate the movement of troops and goods. At the same time, the Ridge that extended along the South to Raisina Hill was integrated into the new city plan.^{xxix}

The 'presentation' of beauty through 'nature' and 'antiquities' was crucial to the image of splendor of the new imperial capital.^{xxx} The landscape was formalized through a strategy of enclosing monuments and sites that fell within the envelope of the proposed city plan. In the final proposal, the committee put forth a strategy to include monuments and ruins from Islamic settlements in to the fabric of large parks:

"Every effort must be made to ensure that the parks are a real future. Over greater Delhi there is ample space for large parks and smaller recreational grounds of every description. Once trees have been planted and can be on a certain amount of water, some of these parks may be left for many years in a wild state, requiring no costly upkeep, forming an area which will be dustless and pleasant to the eye and always available for expansion. The afforestation of the southern ridge has already been referred to. But the northern ridge must be considered also... Arrangements are now being made to protect its slopes, and... when *to an unsurpassed sentimental and historic interest are added fine trees and shrubs and flowers, few places should have a stronger attraction.* [Emphasis added]"^{xxxi}

The value of the parkland was to be a social amenity and also a visual reprieve from the large-scale urban architecture of New Delhi.^{xxxii} It was proposed that these 'isolated buildings,' (the abounding ruins) remains and old foundations were best utilized for large institutions or being planted and treated as a 'natural wild park.'^{xxxiii} These were older Islamic and Mughal settlements such as Hauz Khas Madrasa (c.1352), and Feroz

Shah's palace complex (c.1354), and tombs and buildings of the Sayyid (1414-1451) and Lodi (1451-1526) dynasties, lying in the outskirts of the planned city.^{xxxiv} The inclusion of monuments within public parks at a large scale was uniquely implemented at the scale of a city plan. These ruins were thus entered into the plan of the new city and were reconstituted as part of *its own* peripheral landscape.

Conclusion

In Robert Byron's description of the city in 1931, the visual and physical connections between the older monuments and the new city are apparent:

“On all sides radiate the avenues of the new city, lined with bungalows in spacious woody gardens and carved into merry-go-rounds at points of intersection. Every thoroughfare conducts the eye to some more ancient monument, looming in the grey silhouette from the horizon of the imperial plain. Even the Great Pearl Mosque, four miles off in the heart of the Old City has its approach set at an angle of sixty degrees to the axis of the central design. Beyond the Arch a hump of walls proclaims the Old Fort (Purana Kila, the sixth city). Far away Q'tab is visible, an extravagant chimney on the south horizon. The English Quarter presents the aspect of a forest. Each house is set in a compound of two or three acres, whose trees have matured in ten years and become enormous in twenty.”^{xxxv}

Sometime in the course of British administration of Delhi, land became landscape and as it was reassessed, reformulated, and reshaped and that ultimately affected the structural urban changes leading to the planning of New Delhi in 1913. While the revaluation of tenurial rights facilitated the acquisition of *nazul* and supporting lands of the Khandrat, the Municipal management of these lands retained much of their recreational land use. It was under the ASI that the resumed focus on historic architecture played up the scenic interest of the Khandrat, and was worked into the urban plan of New Delhi. Altogether, the internal logic of the Khandrat region - as a reservoir of architectural remains- serves as an important example of the guiding hand of customary laws and cultural conditions that affected the formation of urban policies - a subject of my larger research project. In the context of this paper, I have focused on the inputs of imperial instruments with a view to looking at the process of conservation that informed the larger use of historical architecture within the city plan of New Delhi I hope to clarify some of the reasons pragmatic institutions were in fact guided by the ground realities, and even by reflexive concerns of self-representation that were amplified with the planning of New Delhi in 1913. This phase of transition up to 1913, then offers us a unique standpoint into the creation of imperial imagination as exercised in the urban sphere.

Postscript: The ends of beautification

The process of beautification at Delhi implicated strategies of urban improvement while maintaining a tenuous relationship with utilitarian concerns. Within the framework of an imperial narrative, New Delhi provided the British with an opportunity for rebuilding the socio-cultural sphere on aesthetic foundations. We may ask if the transcription of English social narratives was in fact different in India given contemporary debates in town planning in Britain, where the formulation of beauty had much more pragmatic

overtones. In *Garden cities of tomorrow: a peaceful path to reform* (1898) Ebenezer Howard explicated new principles of town planning. The Garden Cities and Town Planning Association in 1919 defined the garden city: ‘A Garden City is a Town designed for healthy living and industry; of a size that makes possible a full measure of social life, but not larger; surrounded by a rural belt; the whole of the land being in public ownership or held in trust for the community.’^{xxxvi} It has been argued that Howard was concerned with scientific management and the concepts of ‘efficiency’ and ‘economy’ rather than ‘beauty.’ The garden city for him was not the ‘untouched state of nature’ but itself a technology created to accomplish the specific purpose and contrary to the forces of the natural world, specifically designed to correct its deficiencies. His overall purpose was ‘to lead the nation into a juster and better system of land tenure.’ Not only did he see land as the permanent form of wealth but also saw ‘land equality’ as a way to achieve ‘true equality.’^{xxxvii}

In the case of New Delhi the overlap of municipal strategies and historic architecture complicates the understanding of the garden metaphor. While for Howard, the garden belt was to be a regulatory framework of the city acting as a symptom the city’s economic, social, and physical vitality, the ‘natural wild park’ proposed for New Delhi only bleakly resembled this model. The presence of historic architecture on the new city’s peripheries was a dominating factor that governed its layout. The enclosure of historic ruins within a wilderness landscape made complete the transcription of mythologies of the garden – the new city was not ‘architecture’, it was ‘landscape’ where ruins and historic remains were follies of the past consigned to nature’s vagaries. With the re-visioning of a new imperial capital the British also relegated Delhi to the ‘old,’ static, and unimproved other. The sacralization of the Ridge as a Mutiny memorial and the grassing over of *nazul* gardens signify the increasing engagement of the British with the aesthetic impression of the Indian landscape. The aesthetic overtones of beautification can be traced back to the debates in eighteenth century England where gentlemen guardians of tastes such as Richard Payne Knight, Uvedale Price, and Edmund Burke were engaging in debates on morality and aesthetics.^{xxxviii} Imperial identity was inevitably negotiated through the indigenous one. The prospect of an Elysium, a bountiful state of nature, coincided with imperial ambitions at Delhi. Whether in the ambiguous transformation of Roshanara gardens as cricket grounds, or reinventing the withered figure of the Mughal garden at the Viceroy’s house, imperial ideals were not unmediated. Perhaps, this was a precondition of the tangible visuality of the aesthetic frameworks that guided urban renewal at Delhi.

ⁱ *Gazetteer of Delhi*, 1884; 1912.

ⁱⁱ *Reprint on the Administration of the Delhi Crown Lands* (Delhi: Oxford Printing Works, 1933) 2.

ⁱⁱⁱ Notified areas were demarcated as late as 1912 in Delhi and have been dealt with later in this chapter. See definition for *Nazul* Land in Amitabh Kundu, Somnath Basu “Words and concepts in urban development and planning in India: an analysis in the context of regional variation and changing policy perspectives”, Working Paper Series, *City Words Project*, UNESCO (1999).

^{iv} *Abadi* refers to areas reserved for residential and ancillary sites within villages. See Goyal (1996), 2.

^v G. C. Goyal, *Nazul: Law and Procedure Relating to Nazul Lands* (Indore: Lawyer’s Home, 1966), 1-2.

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- ^{vi} These were separate from lands classified as ‘Milkiyat Sarkar’ that included escheated holdings, plots given out for agricultural purposes, groves, gardens, tanks, canals, tree-plots, fodder reserves and grasslands. Goyal, *Nazul Lands* (1966), 1-2.
- ^{vii} Narayani Gupta, *Delhi between the two empires*.
- ^{viii} *Gazetteer of Delhi*, 1912.
- ^{ix} Matthew Edney, *Mapping an Empire*, 44-46.
- ^x DSR, Maconachie and Wood, 1883.
- ^{xi} Thomas Metcalf, *Land, landlords...* (1979), 66.
- ^{xii} See Husain, *Land Revenue Policy*, 217-20.
- ^{xiii} *Gazetteer of Delhi*, 1912.
- ^{xiv} From 1803 till 1831, the lands of the Jahan Numa and Khandrat Kalan were rocky wasteland containing ruins, and in 1831 Charles Trevelyan, secretary to the Resident of Delhi Edward Colebrooke in 1828 received permission to dispose of them or to implement schemes for their colonization. Despite the attempts to colonize the Khandrat its function largely remained undetermined. *Delhi Crown Lands*, 15.
- ^{xv} H. G. Keene, *A handbook for visitors to Delhi and its neighborhood* (1882).
- ^{xvi} Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire* (Reprint, 1999), 242.
- ^{xvii} William Franklin, “An account of the present state of Delhi” in *Asiatik Researches* 4(1795), 432.
- ^{xviii} Emily Bayley, T Metcalfe, et al. *The Golden calm: an English lady's life in Moghul Delhi: reminiscences* (1980), 122.
- ^{xix} The Dilkusha, a suburban villa built by the British resident Charles Metcalfe in the grounds of Lal Kot is one such example from the first half of the 19th century.
- ^{xx} *Lord Curzon in India*, 189. See James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1876); James Fergusson, *Archaeology in India, with especial reference to the works of Babu Rajendralala Mitra*. (London, 1884)
- ^{xxi} *Lord Curzon in India*, 191.
- ^{xxii} *Lord Curzon in India*, 195.
- ^{xxiii} *Lord Curzon in India*, 185. Curzon as a Patron of the society addressed annual Meeting at the Asiatic Society of Bengal on Feb 7, 1900; D. Linstrum, “The Sacred Past: Lord Curzon and the Indian Monuments,” in *South Asian Studies* 11, (1995), 1-17.
- ^{xxiv} “His Imperial majesty the King-Emperor’s Reply to the Delhi Municipality Address,” Town Hall, December 13th, 1911. *History of Delhi Municipality* (1921), 179.
- ^{xxv} “His Excellency the Viceroy’s Reply to the Delhi Municipal Address,” in Pershad (1921), 187.
- ^{xxvi} *Gazetteer-1912* (1992), 198.
- ^{xxvii} ASI, *Annual Report*, (1935-36).
- ^{xxviii} George Swinton, *Final report on the town planning for the new imperial capital*, (Delhi, 1913).
- ^{xxix} Swinton, *Second Report on the Town planning for the new imperial capital*, (1913).
- ^{xxx} Swinton, “Final Report,” in *Planning Report-East India Delhi*, (1913).
- ^{xxxi} *Ibid*, *Final Report* (1913).
- ^{xxxii} The committee also pointed out the role of the park as an amenity that would pacify a large segment of “second”-class employees such as railway staff that was to be housed in close proximity to railway yards.
- ^{xxxiii} *Ibid*, *Final Report*.
- ^{xxxiv} Wescoat and Wolschke-Bulmahn, Eds. *Mughal Gardens: Sources, Places, Representations and Prospects*, (1996).
- ^{xxxv} Robert Byron, “New Delhi” in *The Architectural Review* (1931), 1-30.
- ^{xxxvi} Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* (1898).
- ^{xxxvii} Carol A. Christensen, *The American Garden City and the New Towns Movement* (Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1984).
- ^{xxxviii} See Uvedale Price, *Essay on the Picturesque* (1794); Richard Payne Knight, *An analytical inquiry into the principles of taste* (1805)

Abstract number 152

Local Life in a World Heritage City. A Study about the contemporary living in a World Heritage City, São Luís do Maranhão, Brazil.

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LOCAL LIFE IN A WORLD HERITAGE CITY. A STUDY ABOUT THE CONTEMPORARY LIVING IN A WORLD HERITAGE CITY, SÃO LUÍS DO MARANHÃO, BRAZIL.

ABSTRACT

São Luís do Maranhão is a World Heritage City. This means that it is considered to be of outstanding value to humanity, and for this reason it must be protected, and preserved. The key issue is how to conciliate its protection with an actual function in the local community life. That is the question addressed here: to analyze how the condition of being a world heritage city affects local everyday life.

It is important to note that São Luís has no monumental architecture. Nor are they signed by the great masters. There are no magnificent and rich churches or castles. The cultural heritage of São Luís is composed, mostly, by houses. All of them are a living testimony of the European colonization in Latin America.

There is a widespread agreement that this whole ensemble was preserved due to the economic stagnation that prevailed in São Luís from 1920 to 1970, and the declared intention of “moving” the city towards the undeveloped lands near the beaches in the 1970s. The first avoiding the so-called process of “urban renovation”. The latter attracting investments to other areas. At that time, the state lived an era of relative economic growth. To face the needs created by that new expected development, the municipality prepared a Master Plan that, based on the rationalist principles of modern urbanism proposed a new and modern town, far from the old city center. Nevertheless, it did not forget the architectural and artistic value of the urban heritage, and declared the old city center a historic preservation area.

Paradoxically it was precisely the economic failure and the movement towards the “new and modern city” that caused the abandonment and degradation of the old structures. In order to supersede the degradation and preserve the urban fabric and the built environment, several preservation programs were developed. Those programs managed to recuperate the old city core to the local population and led to the international recognition that culminates with the inscription of the historic center of São Luis do Maranhão, Brazil, in the UNESCO’s World Heritage list.

At the moment of that inscription, the city center was the main commercial and administrative center, and still a residential place. Almost ten years later, what happened with that everyday life? Was the city center capable of maintaining its centrality? Or did it loose that condition in face to the new and modern city, the new, modern, and multiple centralities? Did it become an enclave? Did the process of degradation and abandonment stop? Most important, how does the condition of being a world heritage city affect this process? More than that, what were the preservation and urban planning policies adopted? Those were the main questions to answer. The theoretical support was the Integrated Urban Conservation theory. The data was collected: 1) by analyzing the policies and programs developed by the state and municipal government; 2) by a series of interviews with the primary or most important agents involved such as planners and administrators, and the intellectuals and representative of popular association and non-governmental organizations, and the people who live in there; 3) by analyzing the news in the local newspapers; and 4) by direct observation.

TWO SIDES OF THE SAME CITY

If foreign visitors could still arrive in São Luís do Maranhão by the ocean, through the Saint Mark Bay, they could think that they were arriving in two different cities, each at each side of the river. They would see on one side an almost four-hundred years old city, dense and

compact with its ancient buildings; on the other side the modern city with residential and commercial towers, trying to be a “big city”.

The parable illustrated that both the *modern* and the *historic city* were born at the same time. Certainly this time is not the time of the foundation of the city itself, in 1612. This is the moment in which the existent city began to be considered the historical city, while the process of building a new and modern city in undeveloped lands, far from the original nucleus, was initiated. At this point it is important to say that the “building of the new city” was the result of a particular intention of modernization.

In fact, although the first attempts of modernizing the city took place at the first half of the twentieth century it was only in the 1960s that the government's initiatives to build the modern city were intensified.

The option was to rupture with the old city, that is to say, the option was to develop the other side of the river nearer to the beaches. In order to do that, the state government built an extensive road system to allow access to the new areas. A bridge was constructed to connect the old city with the city to be.

Two consequences can be observed: first, there were just a few "modern interventions" in the city center like four ten-floor buildings (one for residential apartments). And second, the old colonial tissue remained almost intact. The colonial houses, showing the peculiar Portuguese-Brazilian typology and exhibiting the beautiful tiles that made São Luís to be known as the "petite ville of porcelaine", remained.

THE ORIGINS

At this point it is important to talk about the city's history itself: Portugal did not colonize or gave the due attention to the Captaincy of Maranhão up until the moment it was occupied by the French in 1612 that had established there a commercial point in complete disagreement with the Treaty of Tordesilhas.

The place was important for Spain, which controlled Portugal at that time, due to the proximity to the Amazon Forest. Therefore, a military Portuguese expedition defeated and expelled the French invaders in 1615. More than that, they recognize that the island must be colonized. Pursuing this objective, the city was designed according with the guidelines contained in the Spanish Ordinances the main characteristic were the regular blocks and lots disposed in a reticulated grid.

It is precisely this grid that still can be seen in the old city center of São Luís. Humble at the beginning, at the second half of the XVIII century São Luís began to flourish as an important urban center. Once more, the strategic importance of that region led the metropolis to create in 1621 the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará, which comprehended the modern states of Maranhão, Piauí, Ceará and Pará. Subordinated directly to Europe, not to Brazilian government, its capital switched between São Luís and Belém (capital of the State of Pará) back and forth until the independence of Brazil.

In addition to that, especial circumstances led Portugal, in order to control the commercial activities and reverse the economic situation, to create the *Companhia do Comércio do Estado do Maranhão* an official trading company, similar to the Eastern Indians Company, to commercialize colonial products and black slaves from Africa. In 1755, this company became the General "Trade Company of Grão-Pará and Maranhão." This arrangement implied in empowering the local government and local commercial sector to develop trade activities. On the other side, São Luís had direct connection with the metropolis due to the natural proximity that made traveling to Europe, as well as commercializing with it, much easier than with the rest of the country. Both those two aspects, the empowerment of the local government and commercial segment and the direct connection to Europe contributed to reverse the poverty on

the state, and the economy based on commerce and agriculture grew. At that time, the sons of the affluent people of São Luís' society were sent to study at European Universities, mostly in Lisbon or Coimbra. The art and literature flourished: São Luís was called *The Brazilian Athens* (Ribeiro Jr, 1999)

The reticulated design, the regularity of the lot and the context in which the city was built, left a particular urban environment that shows solid and rich buildings in stone with sophisticated details, like the tiles, on the facades, which were, at the same time completely adequate to the climate, tying together the European formalism with the tropical environment (Silva Filho, 1998).

Streets, squares and fountains were built with art and according to specific construction rules. There was public light and even one of the first systems of transportation using trolleys of animal traction. São Luís by the half of the nineteenth century was a very established urban center, the fourth in the country. This situation began to change when, after the ending of the slavery in 1888, the economy based in the agriculture collapsed.

To face that adverse condition, the state of Maranhão tried to transform itself from the rich agrarian province into an industrial state; the plan was to sell the manufactured cotton and linen instead of the raw material. In fact, it seems that it will succeed and São Luís became the Brazilian Manchester (Ribeiro Jr.,1999) The attempt failed; the southern cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, which were better equipped in money and work forces, became the industrial and economic center; yet, the port itself which was the primary and fundamental connection, was not able to continue functioning due to the accumulation of sand and other materials in the river. São Luís was literally isolated. After Athens and Manchester, the years of solitude.

The period of economic stagnation began and at the second half of the twentieth century the state is clearly, and still is, one of the poorest states in the country. The rich commercial buildings were, little by little, abandoned. Several traders just flew away to Rio de Janeiro, capital of Brazil at that time; others just closed their businesses and the buildings. The process of abandonment and decay began.

THE MODERN CITY

The struggle to recover the economy and to develop the city was always focused in the recovery of the maritime communication. The idea was to build a new port that would be capable of resuming the commercial activities.

Along with that idea, in the late 1950s an engineer from the State Department of Roads and Transportation, presented a development plan for São Luís. In this plan, the engineer Rui Mesquita formally presented, for the first time, the idea of rupturing with the old colonial city and the development of the undeveloped areas, which had the advantage to be nearer to the beaches.

As the city did not have much money, the port and the plan took a few years to be executed. The necessary impulse in that direction came in 1966 with the new state government elected deciding to build the bridge (that also was an old project) connecting the old city center with the other side of the river. The bridge was inaugurated four years later in 1970, and the road system was finally concluded.

At that time, Brazil lived an era of economic growth, the "Brazilian miracle" that can be called a late fordism. In synchrony with the federal government, the military dictatorship, the state and municipal government prepared a new development plan: the port would finally be concluded just in time to function as the natural point of exportation of the pig iron extract in Carajás located in the nearby state of Pará. More than that, it will be able to attract the desired industrial park. The new era of development will finally arrive.

The municipality prepared a Master Plan. The plan was based on the rationalist principles of modern urbanism but, at the same time, it recognized the architectural and artistic value of the urban heritage. The idea was to give the city tools to prepare and promote its development while preserving and revitalizing its traditional and historic value, that is to say to preserve the colonial city in such a way that the modern urbanistic conceptions would frame the impeccable respectability of the historic city. (City Hall of São Luís, 1974 apud Venancio, 2002)

Some measures were taken to value the historic condition including tax incentives and the creation, in 1973, of the Departamento do Patrimônio Histórico, Artístico e Paisagístico do Maranhão – Department of Historic Heritage Preservation. The existent city, which maintained (and it still does) the colonial original urban design became Historic City while the construction of the modern city began.

A few of the analysis of this situation state that paradoxically, the movement towards the new areas contributed for the permanence of the historic center (Andrés, 1999) as it relieved the pressure of urban renovation on that area. On the other hand, declaring the center as a historic preservation area was not enough to prevent negligence and abandonment. The new spaces raised in price and value while the old city center lost its prestige. Consequently, the affluent classes left the old city center. The magnificent houses were sold to the State government in order to shelter public services, cultural centers and museums, or to the private sector in order to become banks, stores, schools, etc.

THE PRESERVATION OF THE HISTORIC HERITAGE

The conservation of the built heritage in Brazil was already in course. The IPHAN – National Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage – had established the general policy in accordance with the international movement. As Bianchini (1991) says interventions by city governments, all around the world, in the cultural fields are affected by a number of factors, that include, among others, national attitudes to culture and cultural policy; ideologies of political parties both in locally and nationally levels; economic interests and the influence of external models of policy-making.

In a national level Brazil embraced the same attitude towards the Historic Heritage adopted by the International community, following the international Charters of Preservation, the Conventions and others standards. Nevertheless, since the beginning, the National Service of Historic and Artistic Heritage was born through the same impulse that originated the program of modernization in the decade of 1930.

Cecília Londres (1997, p.96), citing Eduardo Jardim de Moraes explains that the Brazilian modernism realized that the radical rupture with the past was meaningless for a place like Brazil which do not have its past completely internalized. The Brazilian art needed to build an identity.

The construction of a national identity served to both the radical modernist and the new born dictatorship of the Estado Novo since the identification of the historic heritage served as to construct national symbols. Moreover, the cult of the past and the protection of the memory and national identity constitute a strong appeal and for that reason they are powerful domination instruments. The defense of those ideals seemed to eliminate the class contradictions, uniting all in defense of the Nation. That explains the coexistence, always contradictory, of progressive intellectuals and dictatorial governments and the foundation, in 1937 of the National Service of Historic and Artistic Heritage – Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional, SPHAN that is today the National Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage, IPHAN.

The priority was to protect the remains of the colonial art related to the official historiography. The main criterion was the artistic value, according to a certain hierarchy: in the first place, the baroque followed by the neoclassic; the eclecticism and the vernacular were excluded. The country was completely integrated with the international criteria and conventions.

The spectacular cultural heritage existent in São Luís, was left out. São Luis has no monumental architecture. Nor are they signed by the great masters. There are no magnificent and rich churches or castles. The cultural heritage of São Luís is composed, mostly, by houses. Some are big mansions, the “solares”, some are just “a door and a window” All of them are houses where people live (Venancio, 2002).

Nevertheless, the Venice Charter published in 1964 (ICOMOS) affirmed:

The concept of an historic monument embraces not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or an historic event. This applies not only to great works of art but also to more modest works of the past which have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time.

That new concept changed the way São Luís was seen.

Is that possible that some of those ideas resonate locally, influencing the state government to seek a preservation policy that could respect and preserve São Luís Historic Heritage? Actually, as early as 1966, the government already called a UNESCO's expert, Mr. Michel Parent to examine the city and the historic ensemble. Years later, in 1973, another UNESCO's expert the Portuguese architect Viana de Lima elaborated a Preservation Plan for São Luis.

In addition to that, at the time, it was already in discussion the idea that Historic Heritage was in fact an *economic asset and can be made into instruments of progress* as in the Norms of Quito, 1967 (ICOMOS). In order to reconcile urban development and preservation policies the state actions would integrate the values associated with memory and social identity with the generation of profits. (Milet, 1988)

Even though the plans did not manage to be implemented is it possible to say that the government was seeking to establish a preservation policy? It is remarkable that the Viana de Lima plan was elaborated in the same time of the Master Plan that following the modernist urbanistic principles generated the modern city.

After a few others initiatives that succeeded in rehabilitating some buildings, after the Master Plan dedicated a whole chapter in this subject, in 1979 the state government created a Program of Preservation and Revitalization of the Historical Center of São Luís. The Project Praia Grande: Reviver. This comprehensive program of revitalization recognizes the value of the built environment, and respected the identity of the place, valorizing its cultural qualities. The process, even though carried on under a period of dictatorship in Brazil, was discussed with the local community and several segments of the city society such as the university, intellectuals, technicians, and the local commercial sector.

The Program accomplished several of its objectives: the requalification of diverse buildings to shelter cultural and vocational centers; the rehabilitation of many places such as public markets, squares and gardens; the recovery of the urban infrastructure with the renewal of the nets of water, sewer and drainage (1987/1990); the construction of new underground nets of electric power and phone. (1987/1990); the enlargement of the sidewalks, the restoration of alleys and staircases; the paving of the streets with paving stones (1987/1990) (CPC – SECMA, 1997).

Therefore, the Program created a process that allows: i) to revert the degradation and ii) to extend the benefits of the interventions to the local population since all the interventions

allowed the recovery of the city center without their current residents' removal. In fact, many of the interventions counted, and still count, with the residents' participation and users from the phase of project's elaboration to its final stage.

All that process led to the inclusion in the World Heritage List. The program continues to be developed in the Historic City Center. Several buildings were recuperated. Some of them were designated to educational activities, like the School of Architecture and Urbanism of the State University of Maranhão (UEMA), and the School of Music of Maranhão; others were designed to institutional purposes, such as museums, cultural centers, even the headquarters of municipal general offices. Recently a Housing Program was implanted, rehabilitating six buildings to shelter apartments to public employees.

There was a significant increase in tourism activities and some other buildings became restaurants, small hotels, bookstores, bars and similar activities, developed by local and foreign entrepreneurs. Several non-governmental organizations moved to the area as well as foreign languages schools.

Moreover, the Historic City Center works as the place for traditional cultural activities of the city and it has been seen as an important leisure area for the population of São Luís. College students made the Historic Center their place, mingling with the local population and with the groups of popular culture. The evenings are full of music and entertainment.

During the day, the schools, including the state university, with the architecture course and music school, the federal, state and municipal facilities, and the non-governmental headquarters guarantee the daily rhythm, and vivacity still intensified by the presence of residents of the new Housing Program.

Another important change occurred in the level of administration: the municipality became involved with the program as São Luís became a member of the World Heritage Cities Organization. That fact brought not only a larger compromising of the City Hall itself but also brought innumerable international partnerships that mean an increase in the financing resources.

The federal government intensified the investments both through the IPHAN itself and through the program of rehabilitation of central areas of the Ministry of the Cities. The IPHAN carries out a work of stabilization of several constructions, as well as inventory works. Still, it leads the initiative of elaborating a Plan of Preservation of the Historical Center of São Luís, coordinating different sections of the civil society is this process.

In a nutshell, it seems that this experience managed to avoid the critical situation of being transformed in a scenario, a movie set, a live museum, a place for tourism which has no place for local life. At least until now.

It is possible to say that while the new city dreams in being accepted in a globalized world, it is the old city that "resumes" the old global connection, the one it has in the time of the Brazil colony, by being included, for the force of its history, in the UNESCO's World Heritage List.

The presence of the local population and the development of the cultural activities owe a lot to the fact that the center is a place of easy access for most of the neighborhoods, counting with a great terminal of integration of bus lines. It is a place that still offers entertainment and leisure activities at a low cost. In addition to that, the policy of not removing the local population allows the presence of local popular culture groups. Also, among the initiatives of the Program of revitalization is the construction of the Artists' House, a space that was built for artists' and artisans' homes, with the advantage of sheltering the studio, the work place.

On the other hand, the construction of the modern city has been intensified. The investments on the other side of the Rio Anil continue to accelerate, and there appears the first concern: the migration movement outside of the center has also been intensified.

In a classic process of urban dynamics in that the most privileged segments of the population attract the commercial and service activities the process of abandonment of the center intensifies. The State government itself intends to agglutinate the government buildings on the other side of the Rio Anil.

In spite of many recovered buildings, there are still many to recover. Many of them, abandoned, having been used as home to lacking populations, transformed in slums. Others simply threaten to tumble, or tumble during the rain season.

In addition, it is important to remember that the entire old city center is subjected to preservation regulations. Despite the fact that in 1979 it was established the area of Praia Grande and the foundation nucleus as the Historic Center, the remaining of the center is still an area of historic preservation. This area, which is today under the supervision of the State Department of Historic Heritage shows in great extension the same characteristics of the Portuguese-Brazilian architecture with its peculiar typology. This area also has a part of it included in the World Heritage List.

Moreover, it maintains its traditional commercial and residential uses, with some of their residents, or descendants, living in the same property for over 30 years (Venancio, 2002). The relationships between those areas are worth studying. For one reason, if the local merchants, whenever possible, stand the flag of recovering the Rua Grande, a traditional commercial street they still refuse to do investments in the area of the Historic Center. For another, the government is still reluctant in extending the rehabilitation program to that area.

It is possible to say that, on one side, the area that was declared the Historic City Center is recuperating its buildings and continues to develop a vivid and lively local life as well as it is admired as an element of cultural tourism. On the other side, the adjacent central area fights abandonment and decay, and a continuous de-characterization of its historic heritage.

Can that situation suggest that the historical center becomes an enclave? Is it a lost pearl in the middle of the inevitable degradation of the central area?

The interventions in historic centers, beginning with the very choice of the place to be recuperated has been involving different interests. It is well known that "the built historic heritage is today part of the urbanization process and territorial planning" as Françoise Choay says in the foreword of the Italian edition of her "L' allegorie du patrimoine" (1995, p.7)

The very concept of Historical Center seems to presuppose that the several parts of the city have different historical values. If, as Argan says, (1993, p. 249) it is understood that the city is a quite unitary historic entity, precaution should be taken so that the centers don't become "reservations as the one of the red-skin ones". It is important to adopt preservation policies that consider that both the "old" and the "new" nucleus should stay vital, although with different rhythms.

In addition to that Zancheti and Jokilehto define Integrated Urban Conservation:

Integrated urban conservation planning refers to a structured set of planning and management actions in an existing urban area with the scope of guaranteeing sustainable development by maintaining significant features of the existing physical and social structure of the settlement and its territory, and integrating these with new and compatible uses and functions.

This concept made its first appearance in a systematic way in the Declaration of Amsterdam (ICOMOS) and in the European Charter of the Architectural Heritage, in 1975 (ICOMOS). Although both of them did not present a clear definition of the concept those documents established important directions to conservation policy proposing the integration of preservation and urban planning policies.

As a matter of fact, the question reached the Council of Europe after the experience in rehabilitating the Historic Center of Bologna in the late 1960 (Venuti apud Zancheti, 2001). After that innumerable others interventions in historic center adopted the principle of integrating conservation and urban planning actions and policies.

São Luís did not clearly assume, at the beginning of the Program, this theoretical reference. However, it can be an excellent study case to verify the possibilities of maintaining the old nucleus functioning in contemporary life while respecting its own rhythm, its strengths, and its weaknesses.

It is clear that the population embraced the area as a place to live, as a place to work and as a place to have fun and entertainment. It is clear also that despite the problems the area still faces it is attracting some, in fact more and more investments, even though mostly international enterprises or entrepreneurs while the locals are still reluctant. As a cultural attraction it lives a very fortunate time. Nevertheless, those benefits did not reach the adjacent central area. At least until now.

It is necessary to recognize that the city center is, instead of a problem, a solution for many critical situations faced by the city. Its buildings represent the housing possibility for a great part of the population, especially because the built environment is very well equipped with public facilities. The commercial activities represent jobs, income and taxes. The historic heritage is an asset as part of the cultural tourism industry.

It is important to recognize that the main complaints about the place are not related with the place's incapacity of meeting the needs and requirements of a modern life. The principal complaints are related with the bad conditions or even the absence of basic urban services. The main problems are the insufficient water supply system, the damaged streets, the broken or inexistent sidewalks, and the abandonment of old buildings that bring insecurity to the place. All of these problems leading to think that the government itself abandoned the city to its own fate.

Therefore, this approach is important as the continuance of the program must enhance the intention and the practice of valuing the rediscovery of the city center, the valorization of the context and of the local life and local population.

It is important to think that in order to avoid the transformation of the historic center into a museum it is necessary that the same historic center should be connected with the city as a whole. It is Argan (1993) who says that the only way to reanimate the historic center is to put this reanimation in a broader context, to put it linked with the entire urban context. Yet, it is important to note that if historic centers could die crushed by the weight of its surroundings, it is impossible to imagine the recuperation of that Historic Center that do no benefit the same surroundings.

Therefore the fate of the historic center, the main target of the rehabilitation programs encounters the fate of the entire central area that fights abandonment and decay. Their destinies would be interlaced. Or not.

They would be interlaced if the relationships between them, which always existed, could persist: the formal identity due to the common central condition; the cultural identity for both places are recognized as preservation areas, full of symbolic references of their dwellers. The central condition that allows as no other place in the city does, as pointed by Lefebvre (1998), the apprehension of an urban sense: because it is a place where all differences are reunited, where all signs are the signs of reunion, where it can be found all the things that allow the reunion, the street, the squares, the lights. Where it is still possible for people to apprehend the city by walking. Where the cultural identity brings together the popular culture and the stage where this culture can flourish.

It will not be interlaced if those relationships break in the name of its tourist potential and the condition as a high value commodity in the international cultural industry.

According to Henri-Pierre Jeudy (2005) the transformation of the historic centers in museums leads the cities, all the cities, to look the same, which means that while the objective is the revitalization the opposite happens because the life that existed in there disappears leaving a fake petrified and life instead.

The permanence of the local life in a World Heritage City reveals the rediscovery of that place, reveals an intention and a practice that is in direct opposition to the construction of those homogeneous and petrified spaces designed to the market (Arantes, 2000), because it values the use, it valorizes the context, the habitat, the dwellers.

In this sense, the conservation of the historic heritage represents more than the conservation of the memory, more than the record of a period. It represents another way of building and planning the city, contrary to the predatory model of development that leads to the destruction of urban social life. That is exactly the challenge we face. And that is exactly why cases like the rehabilitation of the historic center of São Luís do Maranhão are worth studying.

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Paper Title:

**Representing the State: Symbolism and Ideology in Doxiadis's
plan for Islamabad**

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Abstract

The idea of a new capital for Pakistan was materialized by the regime led by Pres. Ayub Khan (1958-69). The project formally started with the constitution of F. C. C. (Federal Capital Commission), along with the appointment of C. A. Doxiadis (1913-75, a Greek architect / planner) as chief consultant in 1959. The regime selected 'ISLAMABAD' (the City of Islam) as the name of the new capital and Doxiadis drew the Master Plan for 3 million inhabitants as "A City of the Future".

The Capital project finds its rationale in the very idea of representation of the modern nation state. The project of Islamabad typifies the modern phenomenon of representing the state, where it is sought to represent the traditional notion of political power being physically concentrated in one urban centre. The capital was to become the seat of the national government and a representation of national power and culture. The national political power is complex, and capital cities are not just about technocratic administration, but also about the concentration, sustainability and ideological representation of power.

Apart from being an administrative centre, the capital was also intended to be a symbolic theatre for national ideology, a reflection of the larger national stance towards urbanism, a catalyst of national economic development, and at least historically a bridge between local culture / tradition and the "imagined community"¹ of the nation-state.

The idea of urbanity that Doxiadis had in mind ('Dynapolis' – dynamically growing city in a linear direction), the local settings of the landscape (Margala Hills, the Pothohar plateau and the city of Rawalpindi), the regime / client's brief (political agenda) for representing the national character and Unity of Pakistan, were the major design considerations for the conception of the new federal capital city. The plan is that middle ground where these hybrid intentions and preferences are translated into a form for realization. The scope of this paper is to analyse the making of Doxiadis's plan for its Symbolic and Ideological content, highlighting the planner's interpretation of the regime's intentions.

The methodology employed considers the 'plan' as a product and the making of the plan is interpreted through a descriptive analysis of axial and spatial articulation of the city in three parts. The first deals with the significance of the two main axes (SW-NE and SE-NW), second part focuses on the organization of the governmental centre placed at the tip of SW-NE axis and its spatial articulation, and the third mainly deals with the placement of the grand mosque at the tip of the SE-NW axis. An argument is developed that the representation of the modern nation state with its apparatus in the form of Administrative complex at the tip of SW-NE axis, and the location of grand mosque as a symbolic representation of the religion at the tip of SE-NW axis, testifies to the ideological duality inherent in the intentions of the regime and that of the state in the plan. Besides, an attempt is made to analyze Doxiadis's strategy of adjusting the city to the landscape, which reveals an evolutionary approach with solutions having elements of evolution in them, propounding to be emblematic of the search for the problematic conception of a national style for a new country but an old nation.

Introduction

The creation of a new capital for Pakistan in second half of the twentieth century is generally attributed to a genre of capital cities owing to the decolonization process² and the modernization euphoria.³ The most elaborate new foundations of this genre includes

Chandigarh (1951), Brasilia (1957), Dhaka as legislative and Islamabad as national Capital of the then Pakistan (1959), Dodoma (1976), Abuja (1979), Astana (1997) and Putrajaya (1997).⁴

There are many scholars writing about politics of Urban Design and capital cities in general, but the specific case of Islamabad, given the monumental effort at its making (4,000 different drawings and a total of 8,000 pages of text), besides its existence for forty-five years since inception, remains a blind spot. The only book on Islamabad is the biographical sketch of Orestes Yakas (Doxiadis's Chief Representative on site), Nilsson's account of the new capital, and some superfluous remarks about Islamabad by a very few authors. Nilsson's agenda remained the Grand Trunk (G. T.) Road and argued that the new capital project follows a sub-continental tradition extending from Fatehpur Sikri to Chandigarh as far as the regime's intention of a new administrative city is concerned.⁵ Galantay termed 'Islamabad', the vanguard of anticipated expansion (Kashmir) and its linear growth concept of Dynapolis as a mark II development model with Brasilia and Chandigarh as Mark I.⁶ Stephenson suggests the construction of new capital was a symbolic gesture for enhancing social cohesion.⁷ Whereas, Kamil Khan Mumtaz concludes the new capital project as best illustration of the conflict between Modernity and Tradition.⁸ Bozdogan, though just as a footnote, refers to the conception of Islamabad (together with Ankara and Brasilia), before everything else, as expression of the pride and hard work of nation building.⁹

The Plan depicting the urban form of Islamabad is a product of conscious political decision of Ayub Khan's regime, and its realization represents the largest planned capital city of the 20th century but, ironically, remains the least documented specifically with regard to analysis of the political aims of the regime for the new capital project and how were they pursued? How Doxiadis negotiated with those aims and his own agenda in making of the plan? And what specific type or tradition of capital cities genre does the plan of Islamabad represent?

An Urban form planned from the outset as intentional expressions of political values is argued by Wolfgang Sonne, while referring to Lawrence Vale's study of the political aims pursued in specific twentieth century capital city plans, as a 'Symbol'. He explains that capital city (symbol) in the modern sense of the word, is a consequence of the evolution of nation states and more a part of their conscious policy of integration than a practical necessity that is taken for granted. He differentiates the term 'representation' in three areas: philosophy, politics and art, with specific and different denotations as, 'idea', 'agency', and 'depiction' or 'symbolizing' respectively.¹⁰

In the scope of this paper from a methodological point of view, the Plan of Islamabad by Doxiadis is considered as a 'product'- an outcome of the process of making, depicting or symbolizing the intention of the regime to represent the state. The 'Federal Capital Commission' and its predecessor 'Commission on Location of the New Capital' appointed by the regime to articulate their intention for the new capital project is considered as 'agency', and the appointment of Doxiadis with his own capital model and the ideas, approaches and strategies that he made use of while depicting or symbolizing in order to reach the product (the Plan of Islamabad) is considered as 'the making of the plan'. I'd like to argue that the 'making' of the plan becomes an autonomous 'agency' which may not only reveal the political aims and architect / planner's ambitions, but also the gap between the intention / s and the effect (realization), as well as, unlock the potential or give an insight into landscape of the Milieu.

The objective of this paper is to reveal the symbolism incarnated (the ideas, concepts, forms, and axis that are made use of in generating the meaning) while depicting the regime's idea of representing the state by making a description, analysis and interpretation of the 'making' of the plan.

1. The Entangled¹¹ Agenda: 'Where there is no Vision the people Perish'

The report 'Where there is no Vision the people Perish' spells out the agenda of the regime, capitalizing on summation of formal / informal deliberations made on the subject since January 1959, for consumption of prospective architects / consultants, besides, its official use for formal accord and approval of the state.¹²

The development of environments for 'healthy' and 'productive life' accords pro-modern agenda of the regime, whereas, urbanistic agenda is somewhat skeptical of only the-belief-in-new and start-from-blank-slate type of Modernism as the 'creation of new cities', 'rehabilitation of old ones', keeping 'continuity with the tradition', and 'raising of monuments to perpetuate memory of the vital period of the national life' manifests a hybrid stance towards urbanism, besides, unity and aspiration of the nation is sought through symbols (Monuments). The belief in creating 'new' is with a certain degree of ambivalence; by recognizing the importance and influence of existing environments (tradition) on one side and opting for altering nature and converting deficiencies into advantages through technological advances, reflects the duality or skepticism in the modernizing agenda.¹³

The problematic of the Capital project, lies in the peculiar geographical situation of Pakistan; with two wings separated by over a thousand miles of foreign territory, a centre of gravity was not possible, besides, physical, economic, and social environments were considerably different, except common faith as the only unifying factor.¹⁴ The regime, in their infinite wisdom, believed that only a strong central administration can slowly reduce differences and emphasize upon common features between the people living in West and East Pakistan, and therefore, resorted to the creation of a national Symbol; as an instrument of effective government and symbolic means of unifying the two wings of the country.¹⁵

The capital project is akin to the desire of symbolizing national unity in material form for consolidation of the nation.¹⁶ The proper functioning of administrative apparatus of the new state¹⁷, coupled with the desire to represent unity and consolidate the newly won independence, leads the commission to call the capital project as 'Symbol of national character' and 'Leader' amongst cities. The representation of the symbol is sought to reflect the national character at two levels i.e. internal and external; for the nation and for other nations.¹⁸ The assimilation of local culture and common faith are attributed to represent the national character and its display in the new capital is imagined to become a theatre of national culture. Though, Ironically, Karachi being a cosmopolitan city already had become 'a theatre for national culture', but going to a remote area in isolation reveals the intentions of seeking 'purity'¹⁹, besides the location of the capital on historically important Grand Trunk Road shows a desire for continuation of tradition.²⁰

A central focus, however, is given to 'aesthetic considerations' and examination of 'how the layout and architecture of the capital will influence the character of administration and the nation as a whole'. The commission believes that 'a city of aesthetic beauty – an essential requirement of the capital' and that aesthetic considerations is a subject 'where modern scientific techniques can be applied to the maximum to achieve artistic beauty.' While

criticizing modern planned towns for their lack of aesthetic considerations and artistic beauty, the commission propounds that the ‘terrain with an undulating landscape, is preferable to a flat terrain, for breaking sterility and rigidity of layout and design’ reveals the commission’s bias against flatness of terrain in Karachi and preference to undulating landscape of the Pothohar region.²¹ The commission explains the substance of their consideration for an aesthetic and artistic environment by arguing that, ‘environments which present a challenge to human imagination produce enduring political and religious thought.’²²

The commission insists that the inspiration for the capital must be indigenous, for the new administration to be imbued with native influence, by unfolding emblematic analysis of British Civil lines / Cantonments²³ and argued for a pattern that can develop ‘respect.’²⁴ The commission’s recipe is keeping the capital close and interconnected to an existing city (Rawalpindi) but, at a quasi-reasonable distance from it. The means to pursue indigenous inspiration (capital next to existing city) becomes ironic; being indifferent from the colonial strategy of locating civil lines and Cantonments at a distance from the indigenous towns / cities.²⁵

A population of 3,00,000 inhabitants is concluded for the new capital and visualized, ‘as a city of 80 to 100 square miles in area. It will contain Government buildings, National parks, Residential accommodation, wide boulevards and an efficient shopping centre to cater for the daily requirements of the population. Around the capital there will be a belt of productive land which will grow food, vegetables, dairy produce and fruit.’ Besides providing an environment for complete life of the government servants (intellectual, social and economic needs and stimulate spiritual growth), paradoxically, the commission recommends that the layout should be designed to restrict contact between Government servants and business circle.²⁶

To the agenda of the regime, Doxiadis outlines his approach as ‘a commission – a name - a plan of action’.²⁷ The ‘commission’, with wide, decisive and executive powers is recommended, in order to secure the implementation of his project.²⁸ Whereas, Paramount importance is given to naming of the capital by Doxiadis (probably, being a Greek who celebrates ‘name days’ rather than the conventional ‘birthdays’).²⁹ The federal capital was named ‘Islamabad’³⁰ by the cabinet on 24th February 1960 after dropping three other contenders; ‘Ayubabad’, ‘Muslimabad’ and ‘Jinnahpur’. Doxiadis called this decision as, ‘thus the abstract concept of the symbol ‘Capital’ became a concrete reality, and a city was born....Through the name “Islamabad”, the symbol takes on a catholic meaning, because it represents a symbolic idea corresponding to the universal feelings of all the inhabitants of both West and East Pakistan, and, furthermore, because the meaning of the name goes beyond the boundaries of the country and represents people who have certain common interests and goals.’³¹

The Capital project, for Doxiadis, is a ‘political decision’³² and represents the greatest symbol of a nation state.³³ He believes in ‘symbolic value’³⁴ of the new capital that it can develop at best, a ‘new culture’³⁵ for the state, and at least, provide a beginning towards a new era. The agenda of Doxiadis from a development perspective for modernization of the country is to use it as pilot, development and training program for preparation of Pakistani experts.³⁶ While defining functions of the capital, ‘it is evident that not only administrative functions will be concentrated in the new city. As a symbol of the nation it will also include many other functions, such as high scientific institutions, museums, theatres, etc. On all these matters the opinion of the people must be expressed and their blessing given.’ The emphasis for public

opinion is ironic, giving an impression of Doxiadis's aloofness to the Martial Law Regime with no elected parliament in place.³⁷

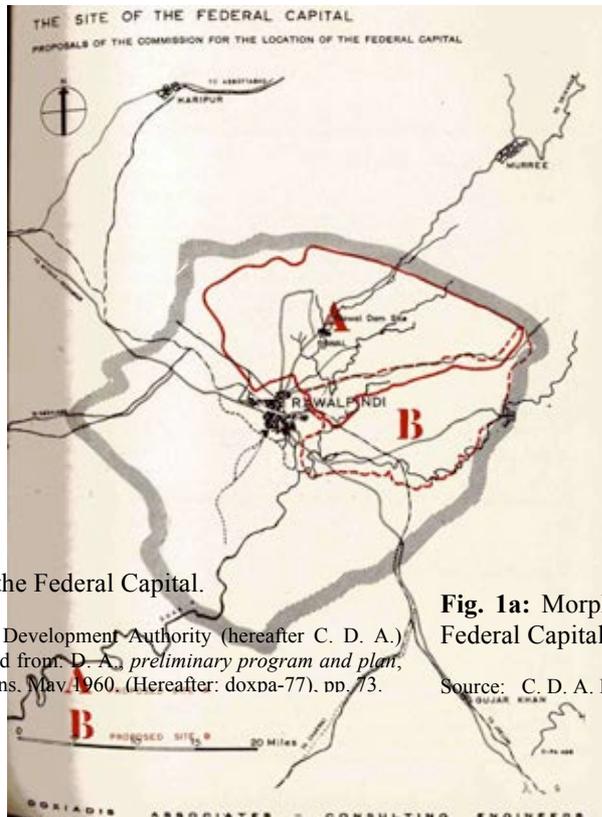


Fig. 1: Site of the Federal Capital.

Source: Capital Development Authority (hereafter C. D. A.) Library; reproduced from: D. A. preliminary program and plan, OX-PA 77. Athens, May 1960. (Hereafter: doxpa-77). pp. 73.

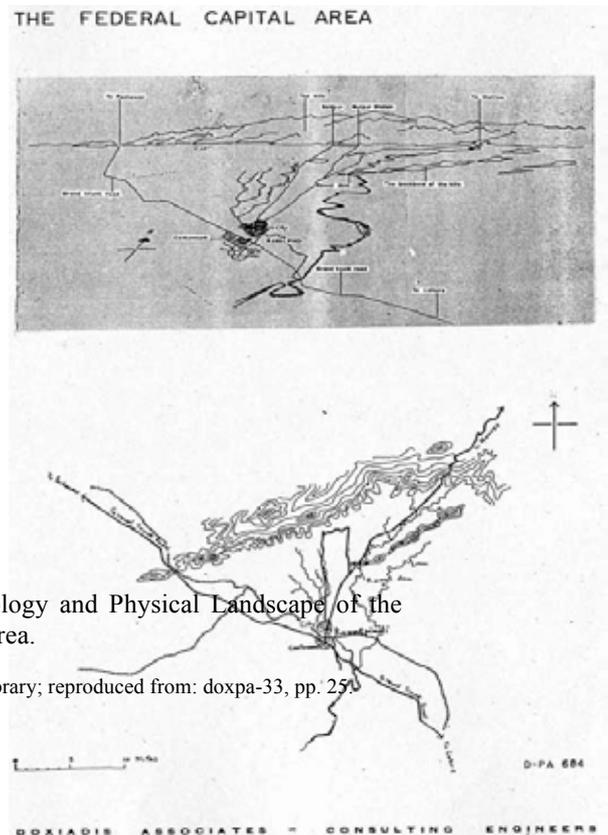


Fig. 1a: Morphology and Physical Landscape of the Federal Capital area.

Source: C. D. A. Library; reproduced from: doxpa-33, pp. 25.

2. Landscape of the New Capital Area.

The commission, after making a 'quasi-analysis'³⁸ marked two possible sites for the new capital as 'A' and 'B'³⁹ (Fig. 1) in the North-East of Rawalpindi city on Pothwar plateau. The commission suggested that 'physical features of this area naturally lend themselves to zoning off the various population groups in the capital city', besides gave preference to site 'A' over 'B'.⁴⁰ The commission clearly spelled out that the Capital should not have unlimited expansion, rather a city of limited size (3, 00,000), and argued that both sites naturally limit growth of the capital.⁴¹

The conscious selection of site next to Rawalpindi with GHQ (General Head Quarters of Pakistan Army) explains the regime's intention for an authoritarian rule over democracy at the most, and at the least as to ensure integral role of Military in state politics; by isolating the capital from business and cosmopolitan influence of Karachi and bringing it in physical proximity to the military i.e. natural power base of the new regime. The transfer represents a desire to construct a more 'pure'⁴² political climate with a double intention (as earlier explained); the nation's aspiration and unity, and the other for rapid progress and development. The later was abstracted to be possible, in infinite wisdom of the regime, only

through scientific, rational and efficient functioning of the state, with military and bureaucracy as two pillars and an objective agenda (through enhanced planning commission of which the president himself became the chairman) to achieve an imagined community / citizenry of a developed state in a top-to-bottom fashion devoid of public opinion or participation.

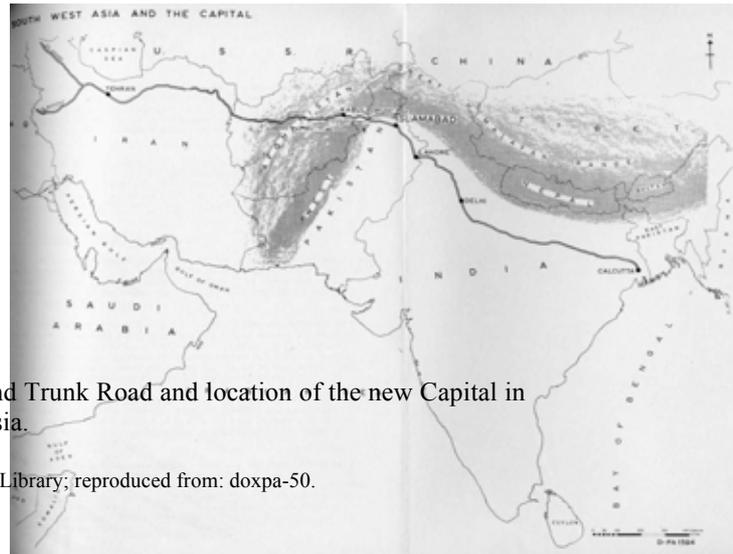


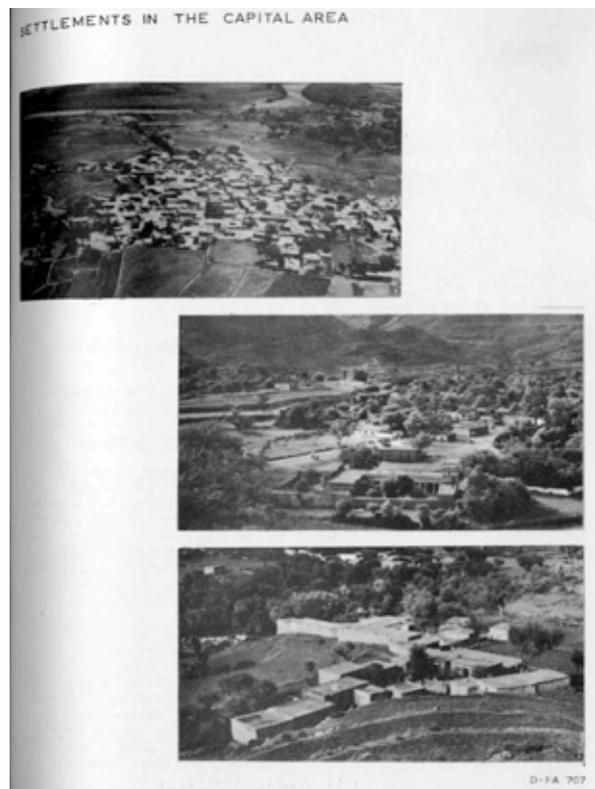
Fig. 2: Grand Trunk Road and location of the new Capital in South West Asia. Source: C. D. A. Library; reproduced from: doxpa-50.

Though the earlier intention was resorted to symbolism by locating the capital on the historic G. T. road⁴³ (Fig. 2), as argued by Nilsson, 'For a state founded on Islam the location must have had a very special significance. The conurbation Rawalpindi-Islamabad is located on the Grand Trunk Road, the Muslim conqueror's old route into the heart of India.'⁴⁴ Ironically, besides G. T. Road the neighbouring ancient city of Taxila (once the seat of Gandhara civilization), has been exploited by the regime for giving historical depth to the location of the new capital, and much more by Doxiadis as probably a nostalgia, for rendering the Bactrian-Greek Layers of Taxila as an example of rational town planning.

Fig. 3: Architectural Character of the Vernacular Landscape (settlements) in the Capital Area. Source: C. D. A. Library; reproduced from: doxpa-77, pp. 229.

Doxiadis, while duly appreciating selection of the new site,⁴⁵ develops the first argument about micro-climatic conditions and investigated it in two ways; a survey of the experience of the inhabitants of all villages of the area (local wisdom), and an expert's survey, concluding that the location closer to hills for the new capital is better from climatological perspective.⁴⁶

The second argument is developed in the proximity of Rawalpindi, while adhering to paradoxical recommendations of the commission and colonial legacy, he considered it as an advantage; that the new city can be built with less expense, and over longer period of years. The disadvantage, ironically, is attributed to the influence of existing functions of Rawalpindi and those created along the Grand Trunk Road for their 'disorganized and chaotic' growth, which he considers not compatible with perceived orderly environment of the new capital. Thus ruling out any room for 'indigenous inspiration' that the commission advocated



for so eloquently and even manifested it by choosing a location next to Rawalpindi.⁴⁷

‘Rawal dam’ becomes the third argument. Doxiadis argues that the dam cannot be used to give corresponding advantage of water-front for the new city, except if irrigation purpose of the dam is done away with, although, he considers the dam as a hindering element for traffic network, given its central position in the capital area.⁴⁸

While sketching out morphology of the physical landscape (Fig. 1a.) supported by photogrammetry, Doxiadis registers key elements contributing to impressive beauty of the landscape, such as; inclination of the plain (capital area) by approximately 8° from the North to South, the classical backdrop of Margala hills, undulating plain divided by deep ravines, and backbone of hills in the plain of the capital area (specifically the one ending at the Rawal Lake and then re appearing as Shakarparian). Doxiadis considers cultural landscape in the form of existing settlements (villages and farms) and their architectural character, as more ‘genuine’ and of ‘very high standard’ (Fig. 3). Whereas, the commission considers architectural character of the same as ‘not of a very high order. Little inspiration can be drawn from them as they are essentially the product of socio-economic conditions.’⁴⁹

The Local vernacular tradition of architecture gives unity and character to the landscape and Doxiadis is highly passionate about this unity, and interprets it as ‘purity’ and ‘incorruptibility’. Whereas, the regime’s looking down upon it, reveals their belief in modernity as something extra ordinary. Doxiadis reduces down the ‘indigenous inspiration’ to assimilation of local culture’s vernacular tradition (village architecture)⁵⁰ for architectural inspiration, rather than dealing with composite complexity of the contemporary architectural culture as that of Rawalpindi city (which he calls ‘disorganized and chaotic’), displays his anti-city agenda. Besides, he demonstrates an eclectic approach (to appease the regime) of considering the British colonial infiltration in architecture culture (which generally remained in the cities) as a corruption and should be avoided as a possible source of inspiration in order to evolve a more ‘pure’ expression of the national character or national style.

3. ‘Axes’ as a Project.

The first design problematic that Doxiadis develops for the capital is its ‘accessibility / approach’. He proposes a strategy, based on his analysis,⁵¹ of making two by-passes (northern and southern, Fig. 4)⁵² around Rawalpindi to giving a direct access.⁵³ He names northern by-pass as the ‘Federal Capital Highway’, providing access from east or west of G. T. Road towards the Capital.⁵⁴ The ‘federal capital highway’ separates the new capital from both the Cantonment and old city of Rawalpindi, and acts as a boundary.⁵⁵ Doxiadis repeats the colonial strategy of creating rupture between the old and the new, with a ‘High-way’ rather than a ‘Rail-way’.⁵⁶



Doxiadis believes that, in order to have a more enduring solution (as an element of evolution), boundaries should be adjusted to physical landscape of the area.⁵⁷ The boundary towards North as first range of Margala hills was quite a natural choice, whereas the Nicholson monument marking its west-end was an arbitrary choice

by Doxiadis, thus extending the capital area in that direction. The northeastern side followed the Commission's demarcation i.e. a line running vertical to Murree hills (Fig. 5).⁵⁸ The eastern

boundary was set again as a major natural feature, i.e. the Ling River. In south-southeast, from the

Nicholson monument through Rawalpindi down to junction of G. T. Road and railway, Doxiadis goes for an artificial boundary i.e. his proposed Northern By-Pass.⁵⁹ This southeastern boundary of the capital which is also major access to the capital area is first Axis of the city (SE-NW, 22 km. long and 400 m wide, Fig. 6a), and aligned (partly) with Kurang river downstream of Rawal Lake. Doxiadis adjusts boundaries for the capital and Rawalpindi with surrounding landscape, believing it would become the 'urban nucleus' of the federal area and clearly stated his ambition that 'we are sowing seeds of a metropolis of the future.'⁶⁰

The project of establishing precise boundaries had a contradiction in its content; the commission's insistence for interconnecting the new capital with existing city for indigenous inspiration but also asking to establish clear boundaries for administrative ease, whereas Doxiadis transforms the contradiction in to a key element (Axes) aiding the overall structure of his envisioned Metropolis of unlimited expansion rather than the regime's desire of an isolated capital.

Doxiadis exploits the areas enclosed within boundaries (hills, ravines, and plains: Fig. 6) through a 'landscape strategy'⁶¹ i.e. following logic of physical features of the landscape.⁶² He articulates deep lines of valleys parallel to rivers as possible second axis with hills forming as green areas.⁶³ After exploring three alternatives, he chooses the second axis (SW-NE) which coincides, somewhat, with direction of existing Murree road.⁶⁴ He defines the skeleton of the federal area

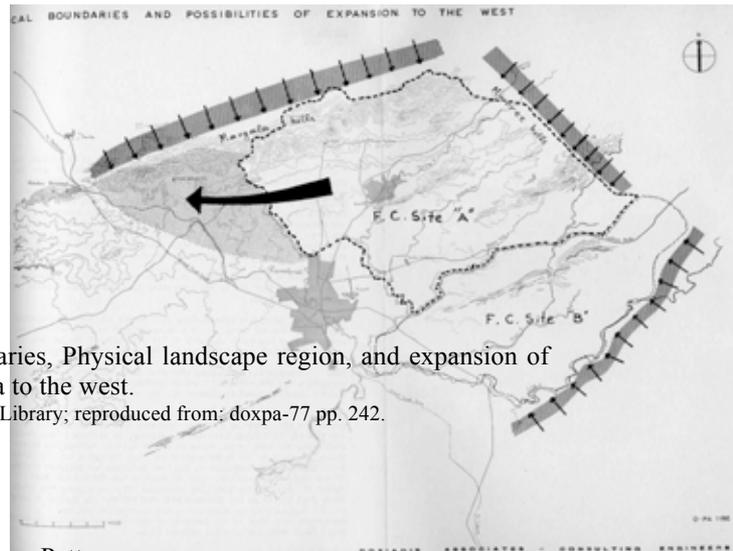


Fig. 6: Landscapes Pattern. Source: C. D. A. Library; reproduced from: doxpa-77 pp. 242.

Fig. 5: Boundaries, Physical landscape region, and expansion of the federal area to the west. Source: C. D. A. Library; reproduced from: doxpa-77, pp. 211.



based on two axes; 'AC' and 'BD' (ref. Fig. 6a), former providing access to capital from Peshawar (Northwestern province) and to Murree and Kashmir on the North - Northeastern side, and the later leads to Southern province (Lahore) and eventually (as he believed) to East Pakistan through India.⁶⁵ The first axis, (SE-NW, line BD) leading to Margala hills as main access to the capital is derived from direction of the historical G. T. Road, whereas second axis (SW-NE, line AC) is derived from structure of the landscape parallel to Margala hills as well as existing Murree Road.

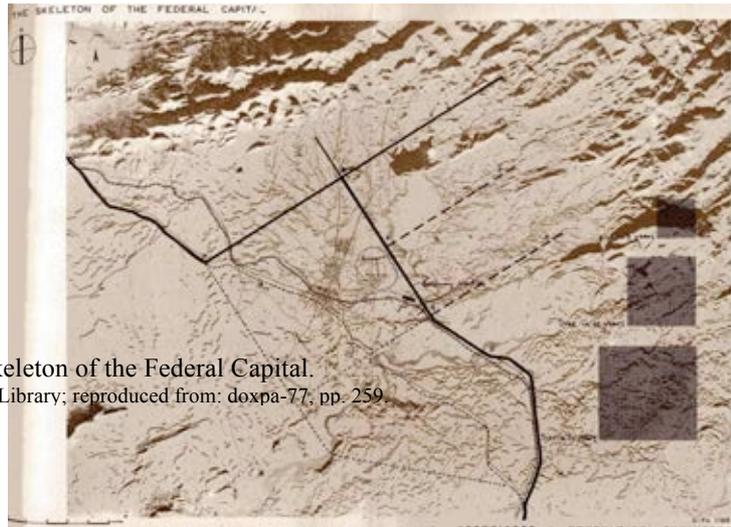


Fig. 6a: The skeleton of the Federal Capital. Source: C. D. A. Library; reproduced from: doxpa-77, pp. 259.

The first axis (BD) becomes a major project⁶⁶ by charging it with 'auxiliary services' on its western side (Railway Station, Airport, and Highway Terminal, Fig. 7a) and 'cultural installations' on its eastern side (university, town Major sports Centers, National Parks, Botanical gardens, special housing schemes for these installations, Fig. 7a). Doxiadis keeps transport installations as part of Rawalpindi area physically while serving the

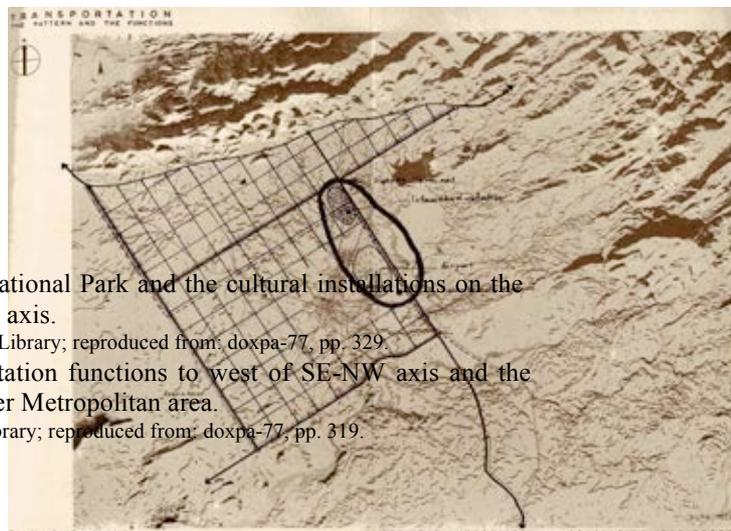
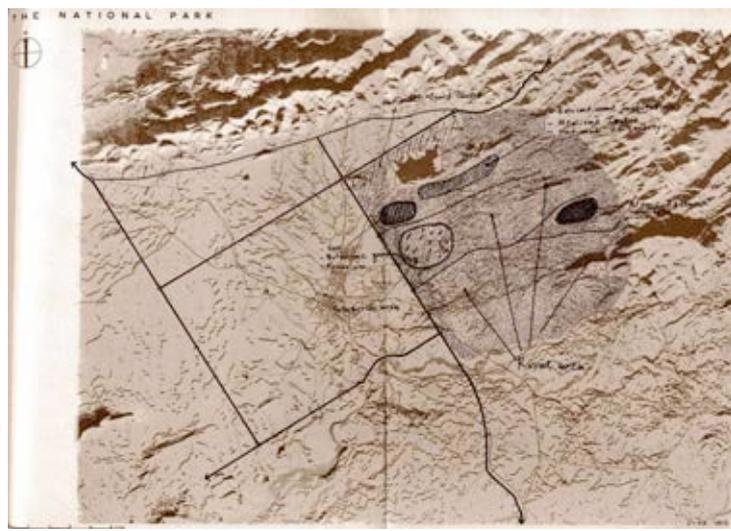


Fig. 7: Transportation functions to west of SE-NW axis and the Grid imposed over Metropolitan area. Source: C. D. A. Library; reproduced from: doxpa-77, pp. 329.

capital, explains his intention of keeping the Federal Capital 'pure' and free from the major transportation industry and its related growth. Whereas, second axis is charged with function of defining the capital itself and becomes main direction / axis of the city for its future expansion (Fig. 8). Doxiadis argues that the frame for the capital metropolitan area is created by nature (physical landscape boundaries) and by the decisions regarding the main axis, and, he claims that this frame



which he has created would last for centuries.⁶⁷

4. The Architecture of the ‘Capitol’

The role that Doxiadis establishes for the capital project is three-fold; the ‘Regional’ as catalyst for development of Northern part of West Pakistan, the ‘Administrative’ as general archives of the state by housing legislative, judicial, executive and support functions, and the ‘Cultural’ as highest cultural and intellectual manifestations of the country.⁶⁸ Besides three foundatory functions, Doxiadis argues that whole range of ‘Subsidiary functions’ (housing, trade, industry, education, banks, non-profit orgs, etc) enable the former to operate smoothly and rationally, although they are not subsidiary in themselves since they are the ones which bring a settlement into existence and secure its maintenance.⁶⁹ Unlike the Modernist model of Brasilia or even the regime’s insistence for an isolated capital, Doxiadis believes that combination of all four elements is equally important in a great capital and which complete it in its function as the Country’s highest Symbol.⁷⁰

Doxiadis estimates the size of the capital related to expected development in five, ten and twenty years (50, 150 and 400 thousand inhabitants)⁷¹ as 1150, 3700 and 9000 acres respectively (refer Fig. 6a) and examines possibility of locating this size in three sectors created by the pattern of axes.⁷² Besides, the alternative suggested by the commission to place the administrative area as centre of the city at meeting point of two axis on highest hills of the plain (ShakarParian), and all other functions (housing and industry) around it in a radio-concentric way, which he stubbornly rejected as the proposed form could not fulfill the Dynapolis with his obsessively favored vertical axes.⁷³ He concludes that federal capital should be built north of axis ‘AC’ and in a way covering at first the part north of ‘BC’ (ref. Fig. 8). Since the eastern most part of this location is catchment area of Rawal lake, Doxiadis argues that a strategy of sparse inhabitation is more appropriate in order to avoid pollution of the dam, and chooses the main capitol complex (President’s palace, Parliament, with open spaces, green areas and parks, etc.) to be located there. Doxiadis further supports the location of capitol complex on topographical grounds, arguing that this size is well scaled with the landscape around and would avoid the capitol look small for the years to come (Cohesiveness), although it will have space enough to evolve larger i.e. it can expand towards Southwest, North of ‘AB’ until it reaches the size of over a million people (ref. Fig. 8).⁷⁴

Doxiadis believes that best results are achieved so far as appearance, aesthetics and architecture are concerned, if scale of the city can be harmonized to scale of the landscape.⁷⁵ The capitol complex is truncated in Northeastern triangular space above the crossing point of two main axis (ref. Fig. 8), nested between Margala hills as the majestic backdrop in the north, the large (1500 acres) shimmering waterscape of Rawal lake to the Southeast, and the crescent of Murree hills in Northeast, infinitely fading into distant high



mountains of Kashmir. Doxiadis argues that location of Capitol complex close to Margala hills in an elongated form is an attribution to the landscape structure, which allows a quiet and imposing place i.e. foot of the hills with highest points in the landscape for developing a symbolic and imposing administrative sector, ensuring visibility and accessibility from all parts of Islamabad.⁷⁶

Since the capitol complex is epicenter of state power,⁷⁷ Doxiadis proposes that the Capitol and central sector of the city (commerce, Local government, etc.) should both begin at one central point, forming the ‘heart’ and focus of the ideal city of the future (Fig. 8a).⁷⁸ He argues that the rule of starting the administrative centre and the city centre from the same point will guarantee the ‘cohesion’⁷⁹ right from the beginning.⁸⁰

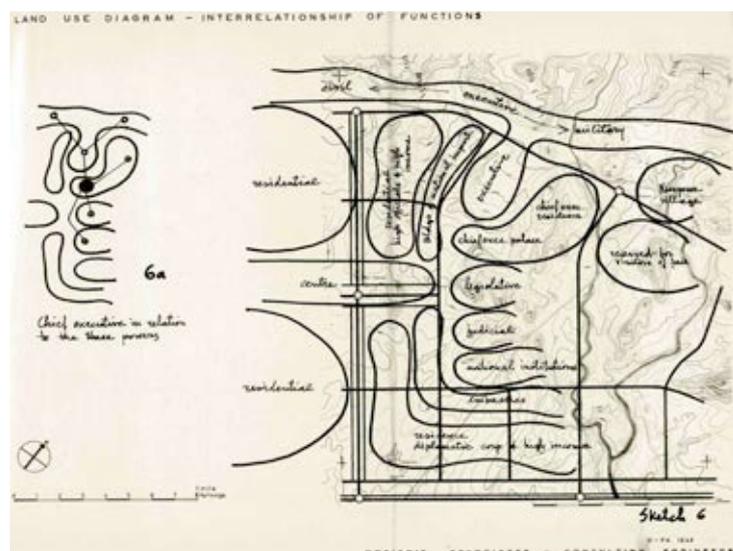
4.1 The Genius Loci of Mounds, Saints and the system of Vertical Axes: Locating the paraphernalia of the state

The area above Northeastern end of second main axis (SW-NE) is marked for the administrative sector, with two villages (Nurpur and Saidpur)⁸¹ at the foot of Margala hills in the North, Rawal Lake in South and a series of mounds / hillocks scattered in between. Both villages are of religious significance for having shrines of saints, specifically the Nurpur with the 18th century Bari Shah Latif’s mausoleum attracts tens of thousands of people every year for its religious gatherings and fairs.⁸² Doxiadis argues that the mounds in southwest of Nurpur Village (Fig. 8a) are ideally suited for the focus / heart of the whole administrative sector.⁸³ In support of this location, he argues that the administrative functions can flow from the mounds along the foot-hills easily without obstructions following a direction parallel to the growth of the city (ref. Fig. 8 & 8a).⁸⁴

Doxiadis described the first main axis of SE-NW (Islamabad highway or the Line BD running at right angle to the structure of the landscape, Fig. 9)⁸⁵ as, ‘The most important is the Islamabad highway which comes from the outside and has even a metropolitan importance. This highway ends at the hills where we think lies the best location for the creation of the large mosque of the city, a mosque to be open to the whole public and which will some day have an importance equal to that of the big historic mosques of Lahore and elsewhere.’⁸⁶

The central axis of Dynapolis generated from the second main axis (SW-NE) is adjusted by Doxiadis to focus on the hillock 17 (the highest amongst S-Western group, Fig. 8a)⁸⁷ and argues, with an acropolis conception in his mind, that either presidential palace or parliament (legislative) is shown as the focus of the town (ref. Fig. 8a), which eventually becomes the location of the presidential palace (Fig. 8c).⁸⁸ The nostalgia for developing

Fig. 8a. Representation of the State in Capitol complex. Chief Executive in relation to the three powers.



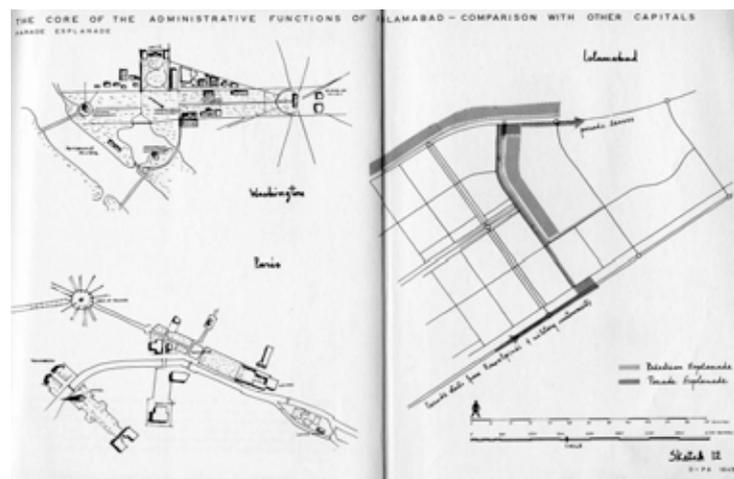
an acropolis of the state government leads Doxiadis to locate the three powers on the highest mounds of the area with legislative at the focus, the judicial and executive on either side of it. The executive functions starts north to the presidential palace as a Dynapolis of the Capitol / bureaucracy, continue along the hills with military function to the right and civil to the left. The Nurpur saint is retained with an area reserved for its fairs (ref. Fig. 8a) as part of the administrative complex, probably as an attempt to add spiritual dimension (Sufism) for symbolic reasons. Doxiadis also adjoins the diplomatic missions and embassies with the Capitol, starting from the same focus and moving North-east. He argues, while referring to the heart / focus of the city that ‘it must be borne in mind that we always tend to create the nucleus of the city very compact.’⁸⁹

The system of axes within the Capitol is generated from two main axes in terms of direction i.e. the SW-NE and SE-NW; important buildings placed at their termination with the background of hills to create Vistas, and are named after the function they lead to in those buildings (Fig. 9). The first group of axes following the SW-NE direction having the backdrop of distant Murree / Kashmir hills includes, the ‘Capitol Avenue’, ‘Administrative Avenue’, and ‘Pakistan Avenue’ with parliament / presidency, secretariat and National monument respectively at their ends. The second group of axes following SE-NW has Margala hills as backdrop and at right angles to the previous ones includes, the ‘National Avenue’⁹⁰, and the ‘Presidential Avenue’. Doxiadis says that ‘In order to have an idea of the

importance of this central part...its appearance, size and scale, the sketch (Fig. 8b)...shows in the same scale the Capitol sector with the central part of Paris, which is the most monumental capital in Europe, and of Washington, which is the most monumental Capital of the American continent.’⁹¹

The main axes, being at right angle or vertical to each other, play a dual role; they are backbone of the ‘grid system’, besides, they incorporate or rather incarnate the idea of Islamabad by having ‘Grand Mosque’ (religion) and the ‘Capitol’ (state) at their ends and signified by a colossal scale (approx. 22 km. length). Whereas, the ‘grid system’ is intended to develop a new aesthetic; with its lines forming the solid surface of highways for entire metropolitan area (ref. Fig. 7), according to Doxiadis, ‘These solid highways will be controlled by a new aesthetic, the Aesthetic of the Car.’⁹² The aesthetic of the car requiring a pattern of straight and vertical axes for efficiency and speed is argued by Doxiadis, if given his prescribed 2000 yards measure will give a certain rhythm to movement within the city.⁹³ In favor of pre-conceived pattern, Doxiadis gives quassi- arguments⁹⁴ and a few eclectic historical examples.⁹⁵ What Doxiadis deduces from the historical examples (‘Lahore’, ‘Fatehpur Sikri’, etc.) besides appeasing the regime, is the ‘Movement’ within those environments following the rule of ‘vertical axes’. Though the examples he cited provides counter-evidence to his claims, as argued by Nilsson, the vertical axes system in the historical examples demonstrate a

Fig. 8b: The Capitol complex of Islamabad in comparison with Paris and Washington.
Source: C. D. A. Library; reproduced from: dox8a-78, pp. 107.



flexibility of scale and a liberty in the space concept which make his own grid look like a lifeless pattern.⁹⁶

Doxiadis's use of 'vertical axes' (2000 yards apart) as efficient means for modern mobility, gives the city a certain formlessness i.e. it's a grid and does not have a focus or a symbolic centrality. Doxiadis attempts to provide a symbolic centrality to the city through giving a dual focus by placing 'Capitol' (symbolic of State) and the 'Grand Mosque' (symbolic of religion) on two separate axes. Though, it can be argued that this strategy coincides with basic tenets of the modern nation state or secularism i.e. separation of religion and State. It can be further argued that the plan attempts to resolve the historical controversy of Pakistan i.e. an Islamic or a Secular state, by separating the 'Mosque' and 'capitol' on the two different axes, but generates an ever lasting controversy by replacing the Parliament with the presidential palace as the focus of the central axis of the capitol (Fig. 8a & 8c).

The plan propounds a dual meaning⁹⁷ where the symbols of religion and state are separated but at the same time integrated, because the two axes in different direction are still part of one system i.e. 'vertical axes'. In other words, the plan reveals an attempt at incarnating the abstract idea of a 'Modern Islamic State' but at the same time, becomes as ambivalent an expression of the nationhood as the idea of Pakistan remains.

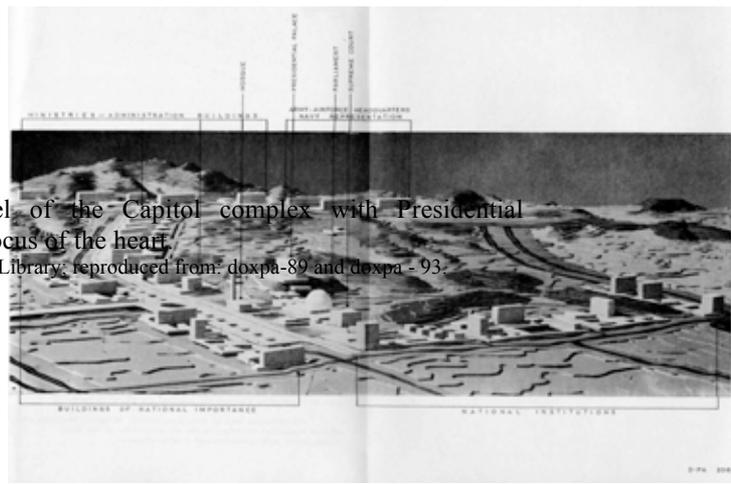


Fig. 8c Model of the Capitol complex with Presidential Palace at the focus of the heart.
Source: C. D. A. Library; reproduced from: doxpa-89 and doxpa - 93.

5. Symbolism Incorporated / Incarnated: The Meaning of the Plan

Islamabad represents, symbolically, a quest for the unity of a geographically, ethnically and socio-politically divided country. The military regime conceives the project as a 'symbol' for nation building with a belief in central administration to be isolated from cosmopolitan influence, and selects a site on an imaginary-geographical centre of gravity in an eclectically historical sense (on G. T. road between Kabul and Delhi) with 'climate', 'aesthetics' and a sceptical 'modernization' agenda for efficiency, Character, and continuity / link with tradition as main considerations.

The task of Doxiadis was to translate the 'Symbol' of national unity in material form through a Plan. The major problematic, that probably gave way to loss of opportunity which could have made Islamabad a possible contribution to history of icons like Brasilia, is that Doxiadis did not share regime's view of an isolated capital as symbol of the nation, rather he believed that only a dynamically growing metropolis could become the country's highest symbol and a great capital.⁹⁸ Besides, the consideration of capital project as an opportunity to recreate the Muslim architectural legacy of sub-continent, created in the words of Doxiadis, 'the problem of conceiving the architecture of Islamabad, the new capital of an old nation entering a new phase of its history.' Doxiadis ceases the opportunity of creating an iconic symbol by

announcing his peculiar stance that ‘we cannot create a style....we can give a character to Islamabad, a character that will gradually evolve into a style.’⁹⁹ Doxiadis adopts an evolutionary conception (based on ‘solutions which will have in them the elements of evolution’)¹⁰⁰ for giving a character to Islamabad – ‘a process of natural selection of the best’, through developing a frame (which is to last for centuries) for architectural creation on the basis of a quasi-historical approach of ‘adjusting the city to the landscape’.

The idea of a city adjusted to the surrounding landscape (the plateau / basin surrounded by Margala and foot of Murree hills) is reminiscent of Eliel Saarinen’s description of a mediaeval town, like an ornamental pattern of man’s art fitted into the majestic environment of nature’s art. So to speak, it was like a precious stone of the mediaeval time, in the precious setting of all time.’¹⁰¹ The majestic environment of Margala hills is conceived as ‘neo-nature’ and the city with Doxiadis’s generic idea of urbanity (Dynapolis with self contained Human communities / sectors) is adjusted to it by means of Axes



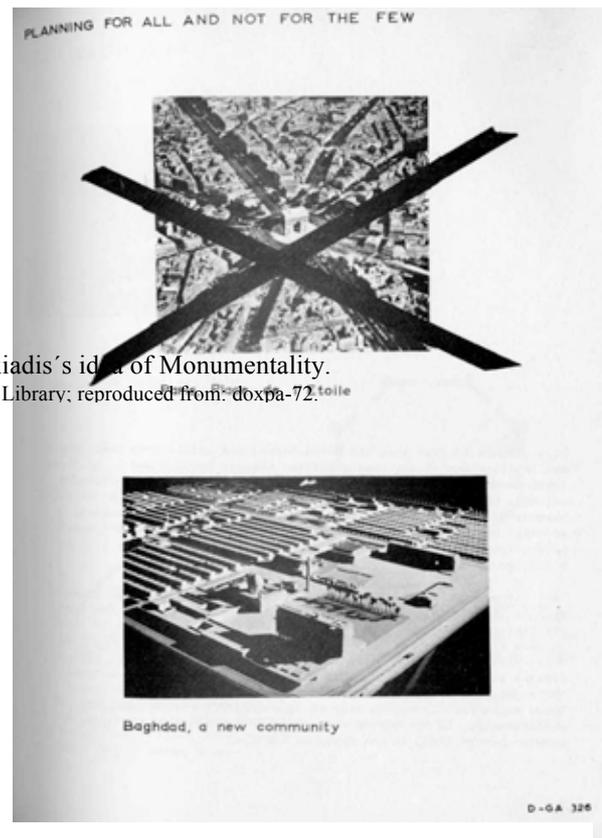
with monumental buildings at their ends. The monumental buildings are part of ‘neo-nature’ and acts as a hinge between the city and surrounding landscape (ref. Fig. 9). Whereas, in return, neo-nature enters the city in the form of a network of ravines (Tributaries of Soan River that forms South-eastern edge of the capital area) carrying specific character of local landscape to which design of the city and its open space structure is adjusted. Besides, a tributary of Rawal Dam is incorporated in the design as esplanade along entire length of ‘National Avenue’ facing all buildings of the capitol complex (Fig. 8c). The idea of interrelating surrounding landscape (Region / rivers) with the capital city through design has been argued by Edmund Bacon to have been the original intention of L’Enfant’s design for Washington as a means for achieving ‘Federal Dignity’.¹⁰² Whereas the idea of placing monumental buildings outside the city at the tip of axes, is probably unique and has to do with Doxiadis’s notion of Monumentality (Fig. 10) and its relationship to the landscape. Doxiadis argues that ‘when it was decided to place at the end of Islamabad highway axis a very important building of the capital, such as the great Mosque, this was an expression of the symbolic connection of highways movement with monument and with the hills behind.’¹⁰³

The axes with vistas of monumental buildings at their ends open up views to surrounding landscape of the city. The 1000 meters (avg.) high Margala, Murree / Kashmir hills are an imposing element of the landscape, and placing monumental buildings at their foot do not generate a competition, rather, it can be argued that monumentality is subdued to the majesty of nature. Besides, the hills are used as an element of overall composition with the scale of the acropolis Capitol Complex, and at the scale of individual buildings, they (hills) help to accentuate the lines and form of the buildings for the viewer. It could be a co-incidence, although Doxiadis was aware of the importance of this element in organizing the architectural

space, as early as 1936. The ‘sacred / open path with vistas of the hills as background to balance the imposing Greek temples for the viewer’ can be read as the precursor for his axes with monuments at their ends in the plan of Islamabad, discernable from his doctoral dissertation on ‘Architectural Space in Ancient Greece’ at T. U. Berlin.¹⁰⁴ The making of the plan of Islamabad and, more specifically, the formation of its architectural space (axes and vistas), seems like a resurrection project of the architectural space of ancient Greece as understood by Doxiadis. The space where nature and city are integrated to enhance the citizen’s sense of well-being.¹⁰⁵

The idea of encapsulating the ‘centre’ of political power (government centre) by a shroud of neo-nature, which is articulated by Doxiadis as the ‘heart’ / focus of the city in the plan of Islamabad as an element of ‘cohesiveness’, though embedded deep within history but can be argued to have found its manifestation in the late Renaissance formalism.¹⁰⁶ The formal manifestation of this idea can be traced back to the plan of Versailles; with the three main arterial avenues of the town designed into a formal and symmetrical unity with the palatial scheme at its focus and the large geometrically laid out parks as background. The Palace’s middle axis constituting the central axis even of the town proper can be seen in the plan of Manheim (Germany), besides in Karlsruhe, where the tower of the palace constitutes the very focus of the whole town community, from which 32 avenues radiate, covering equally the whole periphery with 17 crossing the broad acreage of the palatial park and the remaining 15 impose their unnatural street pattern upon the town itself.¹⁰⁷ The recurrence of this formal device of urban design from the plan of Versailles (the ‘head’ position of the palace to which the town appears subordinated) is illustrated by Galantay in several cities including the plans of large capital cities like Washington and New Delhi.¹⁰⁸

The idea of surrounding the ‘head’ with neo-nature in the plan of Islamabad is different; being non-geometrical and asymmetrical, but still can be argued to be of extra-ordinary symbolic significance. For instance, Versailles or more specifically the radiating avenues of Karlsruhe, focusing on the Palace from the city and the large geometrically laid out parks (kind of a neo-nature), drawing the mystic qualities and power of nature onto the King’s palace, i.e. the palace being a hinge between city and park (neo-nature), represents the embodiment of the nature into the wisdom and political power of the state. The background of nature around the centre of political power remains abstract but can be argued, that it provides a vivid terrain and a mediating element on which the relationship between the ruler and the ruled (state and citizens), besides the ruler and the other rulers (between heads of different states), is played out and forms a fitting background for symbolism to evolve. The idea travels from, its formal revelation at the terrain of Versailles, over the years through Karlsruhe and several other



plans, married to the garden city idea in the form of a theatrical whole of the series of lakes, Mount 'Ainslie', 'black', 'Pleasant', 'Mugga Mugga' and 'Red' hills by Griffin in Canberra, forms its modernistic expression with 'Shivaliks' and 'Sukhna' lake by Le Corbusier in Chandigarh and reinvented as a synthesis into an orchestra in the form of 'Margala' hills, 'Murree' hills and 'Rawal' lake by Doxiadis in forming the Capitol complex of Islamabad.¹⁰⁹

The neo-nature surrounding the new capital, besides having monumental buildings, is attributed by Doxiadis to perform three main functions. The Murree / Margala hills as an ecological corridor and ensuring favorable micro-climatic conditions for the city, the area around Rawal Lake for cultural institutions and the rest of the area to the Southeast of the capital (site 'B') with two more proposed lakes ('Simli' and 'Loi-bher') as the 'National park' (ref. Fig. 7a; 222 sq.km. equal to the total area of the city proper) to contain and preserve the villages as farms for agro-based food needs of the city. Doxiadis claims that in this way (by adjusting the architecture to the small elements of the landscape - the ravines within the city and the articulation of the surrounding area) the city, 'will indirectly be connected to the architecture of the fully surrounding area, so that no aesthetic gap will exist between the National Park and Islamabad, between the villages and the city. Everything will have the appearance of a continuous synthesis.'¹¹⁰The aesthetics of Doxiadis in the discourse about the plan claims to be symmetrical to a continuous synthesis or continuity (as literally achieved in the symmetry of Karlsruhe), whereas, the plan shows the continuity of nature in the form of ravines underneath the pattern of the city, but at the same time discontinuous i.e. an asymmetrical composition of the neo-nature with the town pattern. Doxiadis attempted to give the city a symbolic character based on a combination / fusion of Greek acropolis, mediaeval landscape and Late Renaissance Palatial Formality but at the same time adjusting the city pattern to the 20th century mode of mobility (i.e. the 2000 yards apart formal grid for automobile) makes a hybrid plan but leaves the question of a specific style for symbolic representation of the state to be evolved, and which remains, unresolved.

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- 8 Kamil Khan Mumtaz, *MODERNITY AND TRADITION-Contemporary Architecture in Pakistan*, Pakistan: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 113.
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- 10 Sonne, *Representing the State*, pp. 29-37.
- 11 Doxiadis claims to have been involved with the subject of the federal capital project for Pakistan since November 1955, by submitting a report (Dox 65) for the planning board, though the regime of President Ayub Khan took office in the late 1958. He was officially appointed advisor to the commission on location on 15.03.1959 by the president of Pakistan and had issued two reports on the subject before the commission's final report, in which the regime outlined its broad strategy and vision. This makes it difficult to isolate and identify authentically the stand points of the regime and Doxiadis separately, as they have been entangled in exchange of views on the subject of federal capital as early as the regime took office. It would not be out of the question that Doxiadis was really able to influence the regime even at its very early conception. A four page report that he issued was even a month before his official appointment, in which he argues that the decision of the creation of a new capital is a political one, but insists that a proper analysis of general factors is essential for the problem.
- 12 The Commission on the Federal Capital, headed by Gen. Yahya Khan and a team of technocrats /bureaucrats from various government departments excluding any civilian representation, sets out the vision of the Regime about the capital project in its first ever formally published (classified) document, titled with a quote from King Solomon - 'Where there is no Vision-the people Perish' in June 1959.
- 13 'We consume vitamins to rejuvenate our decayed tissues. We let fresh air and sunlight into our homes to accentuate vitality in living. We raise monuments to perpetuate memory of the vital period of our lives. We build new cities and rehabilitate old ones to prevent decay eating into our national life.....although man has the power to create his own environments; nevertheless, existing environments influence his mode of life. Nature continues to play an important role in the life of a society despite all the technological advances. We must, therefore, examine the natural assets God has given us and develop them to our advantage. Where there are deficiencies, we must, with our ingenuity, resources and industry make them up and create an atmosphere conducive to healthy, productive life.'; quoted from: Commission on Location of the Federal Capital (hereafter F. C. C.), *Where there is no vision the people perish*, Report on the location of the Federal Capital, President's secretariat: Government of Pakistan, June 1959, pp. 3.
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- 16 Zaheer-ud-deen Khwaja, *Memoirs of An Architect*, Karachi: Arch Press, 1998, pp. 32.
- 17 'the offices of the central government are dispersed all over Karachi, housed in rented buildings or temporarily accommodated in ram-shackle huts. In so far as the residential accommodation is concerned, the least said the better. We must not allow such arrangements to continue indefinitely.'; quoted from: F. C. C., *Where there is no vision the people perish*, pp. 24.
- 18 The internal representation of and for the nation is set out as, 'The capital of a country is not merely just another city; it is a LEADER among cities. To this city come leaders of administration and politics, commerce and trade, literature and art, religion and science. From this city flows the inspiration which pulsates life into the nation. It is a symbol of our hopes. It is a mirror of our desires. It is the heart and soul of the nation. It is, therefore, essential that the environment of the capital should be such as to ensure continued vitality of the nation.' Whereas, the external representation is sought to reflect national character by being aesthetically attractive and inspiring. 'To this city also come the leaders and representatives of other countries whose outlook on life may be akin to ours or opposed to the beliefs we cherish. It should, therefore, reflect our national character in a manner that would impress a visitor and give him an insight into the inner springs of our life. Its environment should be aesthetically attractive and inspiring.'; quoted from: *ibid*, pp. 3.
- 19 Nilsson, *The New Capitals of India*, pp. 147.
- 20 Zaheer-ud-deen, the only local architect involved with the capital project, supports the argument but also adds the achievements since freedom for inspiration as, 'The Commission recommended the creation of a new city to serve as the administrative centre, as well as be a symbol of the national aspirations both in the context of its ancient heritage and its new achievements since its freedom.'; quoted from: Khwaja, *Memoirs of An Architect*, pp. 85.
- 21 'Planned towns tend to grow like beehives, soul-less; inspired by the architectural impulse of a single generation. Their rigidity of layout and design create a sterile environment lacking the emotional impulse to engender creative thought. It enforces mediocrity which is an easy prey to the onset of decay. For this reason the site selected for the capital should be such that it is not amenable to undue rigid planning. To neutralize rigidity in planning, an undulating landscape is preferable to a flat, unbroken terrain.'; quoted from: F. C. C., *Where there is no vision the people perish*, and pp.10-11.
- 22 *ibid*, pp. 11.
- 23 The commission's analysis is that 'the British built for themselves civil lines and cantonments. The layout and architecture in these suburbs was quite different from that of the 'native' towns. The civil lines and the cantonments induced a type of living which in turn influenced the character of administration. The administration was not contaminated by 'native' influence. At the same time, it never understood the needs and feelings of the people. The design of houses required a standard of living which was rarely within the reach of the 'native'. This was supposed to create a sense of awe for the ruling class.....We however, do not want our administrators completely isolated from the rest of the population. They must identify themselves with the people they serve and at the same time, set a pattern of living which people respect.'; quoted from: *ibid*, pp. 30-32.
- 24 In explaining the notion of 'respect', the commission argues that 'an indigenous administration has to work by creating respect for law. Respect for law is a consequence of respect for those who administer it. The pattern of living of the administrators is a manifestation of their attitude towards life. And the pattern of living is obtained through the architecture and layout of the administrative capital.' The notion of respect, perhaps regularity, is coupled with efficiency of administration. The regime is of the view that Government servants cannot live in a straight jacket, they need recreation, variety of experience, security, recognition, approval, affection, companionship for occupying their minds outside professional working hours. ; abstracted from : *ibid*, pp. 31.
- 25 'The commission feels that the growth of the capital should be similar to the growth of a child. In the initial stages of its foundation, it must draw its life blood from a town located at a convenient distance away from it. As it grows, it should acquire its own character and independence. In its prime, it should influence the neighborhood. With the passage of time its wisdom, dignity and experience should be a source of guidance to the nation.'; quoted from: *ibid*, pp. 12.
- 26 *Ibid*, pp. 11-14.
- Besides the general environment, The commission makes the following specific recommendations for the capital city 'if it is to maintain efficiency in administration:It should provide Government servants with a complete life in keeping with their intellectual and social level. It should provide an environment which will satisfy their material and economic needs and stimulate spiritual growth. The lay out should be designed to restrict contact between Government servants and business circle. Settlement in the Federal territory should be regulated by law.'; quoted from: *ibid*, pp. 31.
- 27 A Plan of action was scheduled over three year period (1959-61) with various stages of studies, surveys, budgeting, policies, programmes, plans, implementation – construction and culminating eventually at the arrival of first citizens in the capital.
- 28 As he expressed his wish, 'I believe that this commission must be a high-powered body reporting directly to the president and the cabinet, a body which will have its own budget and its own services. Its tasks are going to be to conceive, to plan and to implement the project for the creation of the federal capital of Pakistan.' Besides coordinating with all the ministries, housing and settlement agency, the federal capital commission is to work in close collaboration with the 'planning commission', which he described as the 'central brain for planning ahead, it should play an important role in the creation of the federal capital.'; quoted from: Doxiadis Associates (hereafter D. A.), *A Commission - A Name - A plan of Action*, DOX-PA 22, Athens, July 1959, pp. 6.
- 29 The notion of 'A Name' is attributed to the symbolic aspect of the federal capital, by naming the capital, Doxiadis believes that right from the beginning the people of Pakistan will become conscious of the existence of the capital even before it takes on any definite form. Through this name, he argues, that the people

will further become conscious of the significance and role of the capital as the administrative centre of the country, as the centre of highest educational, religious and cultural institutions and, furthermore, as the symbol of the unity of Pakistan. Doxiadis suggests that political and intellectual personalities of the country may take part and cooperate in discussions which will lead to the selection of the name of the capital, besides, that the decision should correspond to the public opinion. He further suggested that there are various factors which could be considered when naming the capital such as, for instance, a derivative of the name of the country (Brasilia, the new capital of Brazil), or a local name of an existing site or settlement (Ankara, the capital of Turkey, which was so named after the village which was previously on the same site), the name of an existing topographical feature or monuments, etc. (Chandi-garh, the capital of Punjab in India, from the existing Hindu temple of Chandi), the names of historical persons, or of the founder of a town (Alexandria, Washington), etc. In any case, he suggested that the name must bear a meaning and become symbolic for the people (for instance Medina, Mabrouka etc.). He further explicated the substance of naming that 'it should be easy to pronounce and use, simple, and easily memorizable, qualities that are a "must" regarding the name of a capital which will be widely used in the interior of the country and abroad. Should these qualities be lacking, the people will alter it or even change it, if need be. Finally the name should be pleasant-sounding and beautiful.'; abstracted and quoted from: *ibid*, pp. 12-13.

³⁰ Islamabad, or "City of Islam" (from 'Islam', the religion meaning 'Peace' and "-abad" Persian suffix denoting a human settlement) is a planned city and the capital of the Republic of Pakistan.; abstracted from: Adam Nayyar, 'ISLAMABAD', *Grolier Encyclopedia of Urban Culture*, September 2002.

31 D. A., *the administrative functions*, DOX-PA 78, Athens, May 1960, pp.186 - 187.

32 Political in its broadest and best sense of the word in terms of state's affairs. Doxiadis described it as 'politics decide about the future of people and countries. Because it is not the role of experts to decide on these major issues of the country's life, but a matter of leadership, of those leaders only who can have the vision to see far into the future and the responsibility to carry out such decisions which influence the very existence of their people.'; quoted from: D. A., *The Federal Capital - a preliminary report*, DOX-PA 8, Athens, May 1959, pp. 90.

33 He presented his capital / symbol analogy, not only revealing his own sentiments, but also showing to which school of thought does he belong, by quoting Charles L'Enfant on the very first page of his first formal report to the regime as, 'I see a capital city as something more than function, more than a place to live and work, more than a place to meet, in need of government. ...I see it as a symbol. ...A flag is a symbol, and so is a capital. I think we should plan now with the realization that a great nation is going to rise on this continent....Right now, we have a chance which no nation has ever given itself. The chance to build its capital city by plan and not just by need. It is well enough to say that the city could be changed at another time; it could not, because it would not. It is now that we must stay here,.... That we must demonstrate our faith in the future of this country. We will show the breadth of our nation and the width of our avenues and the lengths of our parks. We will cause to rise here, in our day, the beginning of the city. Maybe its too big for us, true, but not too large for our grand children....we must envision this nation as it is to be, when all nations of the world, yes even England and France and Spain, will stand and salute her and say "look what brave men have done, look at that, rising from the Atlantic, a nation, free". How can America plan for less than greatness?'; Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant - from 'Paint the Big Canvass' - a sketch on the creation of Washington D. C., as quoted in: *ibid*, pp. 0.

34 Doxiadis's vision of the federal capital is more with the intent for nation's representation and country building, the former reflecting the symbolic stance and the later is the manifestation of modernization and developmental agenda. The capital that Doxiadis envisions is the one that can, 'contribute to the better organization and formation of a new state. -become the centre of culture, of education, the real center of national expression which will contribute to the development of the people, the economy and the culture of Pakistan. - Become a symbol of the new state and of the nation towards which the eyes of all Pakistan people will look for unity and for guidance, for the consolidation of their new state.'; quoted from: *ibid*, pp. 7.

35 While developing a framework of analysis for the commission, he very clearly spells out his intention as far as the cultural aspect of the creation of a new capital is concerned. Cultural aspects, he says, 'includes an analysis of the traditions of different tribes of the country and the factors which will influence the development of a new culture for them.'; quoted from: C. A. Doxiadis, *The Federal Capital of Pakistan*, Dox-PKH 1, Feb. 1959, pp. 3.

36 He believed that Pakistan has entered the era of its new development with already initiating a major pilot project of Korangi - the creation of an urban region with 500,000 people, the declaration of six more pilot projects with Peshawar, Rawalpindi and Lahore in the west wing and Chittagong, Khulna and Saidpur in the east wing of Pakistan. He suggested that all these eight projects should be fully coordinated physically by the Housing and Settlements Agency and used as the training centres for the future generations of Pakistani experts. He described and classified these 'eight projects as: the federal capital project as the most symbolic

The korangi project, as the biggest in extent and representative of types and solutions for major urban areas and for all income groups

The three west Pakistan projects for minor cities demonstrating action for the renewal of cities, and

The three East Pakistan projects demonstrating methods and techniques for the same purpose in the East wing.'

The agenda of Doxiadis for the capital project and its ambitious role is concluded as, 'Finally, the role that the new capital will play as a radiating centre for the ekistic reform not only of the plateau but of the whole country, must be stressed. This role will be felt by all sectors of activity of the nation. The federal capital will be a centre whose cultural influence will radiate over Pakistan.'; abstracted and quoted from: D. A., *The Federal Capital*, pp. 18.

37 Defining of functions of the capital was considered very significant by Doxiadis and he proposed that a questionnaire should be distributed amongst as large a number of civil servants, scientists, intellectuals, representatives of art and literature, etc., requesting their opinion on the functions, and the character in general of the capital.; abstracted from: *ibid*, pp. 17.

38 The analysis based on geographic (location, Climate, Health, Terrain), development resources and Civil Supplies (water, food, construction material, fuel, power, labour), communications (Road, Railways, Post / telegraph / wireless, civil aviation), Social, Cultural, Defense and Financial factors reach to their final conclusion that Karachi is not suitable for the location of federal capital; that the most suitable location for the capital is the area around Rawalpindi in the Pothwar Plateau.; abstracted from: F. C. C., *Where there is no vision the people perish*, pp. 28.

39 The site 'A' is a valley North-east of Rawalpindi bounded in the north by a series of hills forming a Crescent. Murree road runs rough through the centre of the site; on its right is the Lehtar road. Three streams, the Kurang, the Gumrah and the Malal kas pass through it. The site 'B' is situated towards south-east of Rawalpindi. The road branching off from the grand trunk road 5 miles before Rawalpindi and leading to Kahuta passes very nearly through the centre of this area. It is bounded on the right by the Ling stream and on the left by lehtar road.; abstracted from: *ibid*, pp. 29.

40 by arguing that 'it provides larger stretches of un-broken land where buildings can be constructed easily and also better from the scenic point of view.'; quoted from: *ibid*, pp. 29.

41 'The commission is of the view that, if the federal capital is to retain its essential character, it should be located at place where it cannot over-grow into another crowded and sprawling city like Karachi. The physical features of both the sites A and B are such that, while they provide sufficient room for future growth of the capital, and they impose natural restrictions on its un-limited expansion. Moreover, these two sites are so located in relation to each other that any one of the two can be used for building the capital and the other for its future expansion.'; quoted from: *ibid*, pp. 29.

42 Nilsson, *The New Capitals of India*, pp. 147.

43 Doxiadis considers G. T. Road as the most important highway of international character connecting Calcutta, Delhi, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Kabul, and Tehran. Besides, Nilsson has argued that the same road was a political instrument for the Mughals (by citing Abu Fazl in Ain-i-Akbari), and the British too (citing the numerous Military historians accounts of the G. T. road in connection with the 'great game' during the late 19th and early 20th century), regarded it as an instrument for the consolidation of the Empire, besides quoting Rudyard Kipling who described it as 'the river of life and the back bone of all India.'; quoted from: *ibid*, pp. 11-22.

44 *Ibid*, pp.149.

45 The first visit that Doxiadis made to the site was on 24th-25th July 1959 and recorded his analysis as 'impressions from the site' describing it as good and advantageous for being slightly amphitheatrical giving the inhabitants an opportunity to visit and enjoy the natural park which exists on the near by hills.; abstracted from: D. A., *impressions from the site - the necessary data*, DOX-PA 33, Athens, Aug. 1959, pp. 4.

46 A point that he raises within this argument is the reasons for the fact that most of the settlements of the area, both in the past and present, are not situated at the foot of the hills but at a distance of several miles south of them. Doxiadis explains this fact in four ways; 'The first is that the settlers have avoided the foothills for reasons of security, in order to avoid invasions by the hill tribes. If this is the reason then the problem should not worry us any more. The second explanation is that the settlers have avoided the foothills for reasons of climate. If this is correct then we should be very careful in selecting the final site of all functions and buildings. The third explanation is that the settlers have always preferred to be between the hills and the Grand Trunk Road connecting east and west and passing south of old Rawalpindi town. If this is the reason then we should not worry as this will be, in the era of motor car, an advantage. The fourth reason, finally, which may be the most probable, is that the people selected the site of their cities where they could have arable land all around, or where they could have both arable land and water.'; quoted from: *ibid*, pp. 6.

47 D. A., *the grand trunk road*, DOX-PA 50, Athens, Jan. 1960, pp. 1-8.

48 Rawal dam was planned as a big reservoir covering 1500 acres of land, covering 23 villages, which was already under construction, while the making of the plan of Islamabad began.; abstracted from: D. A., *impressions from*, pp. 12.

49 F. C. C., *Town planning, Housing Conditions and Standards*, Committee No VII, President's secretariat: Government of Pakistan, 1960, pp. 15.

50 Though Doxiadis argues that people have been building these settlements since centuries 'without any external cultural influence or by rejecting all alien elements and keeping only those which are akin to them and which they can develop, the architecture is of a very high standard.' He further argues that this is due to many factors; 'the existence of timber and good and easy-to-work stone, experienced and good builders – all phenomena which usually appear in mountainous and hilly areas. The fact that these elements have combined towards producing a very good architecture and a very good cultural landscape gives to the government the hope and opportunity, and creates the obligation, to build a new federal capital which is going to draw inspiration not only from the general cultural background of the country as a whole but also from this very specific area.'; quoted from: D. A., *impressions from*, pp. 26 – 28.

51 'Federal capital area is connected to the G. T. Road by the Rawalpindi-Murree road which branches off from the G. T. Road in the heart of Rawalpindi town. As a result, the site of the capital can be approached only through a very congested area. Rawalpindi Railway station is situated close to the junction of Murree and G.T. roads, and can only be approached through the same congested area. A widening of the above mentioned road would not solve the problem as it passes through Rawalpindi town which is densely populated. This would mean a very expensive and very poor solution.'; quoted from: D. A., *the grand trunk road*, pp. 1.

52 The first one, which he calls the Northern by-pass; between Rawalpindi and the capital, is unavoidable for him. He argues, since this road will handle high speed traffic and a direct access to the capital area, it should not traverse the site of the capital or the settlement of Rawalpindi; rather, it should form a dividing zone between the federal capital and Rawalpindi Town and thus become an ideal dividing line between the two. The second by-pass that he calls 'Southern by-pass' is proposed for direct communication between Lahore and Peshawar, and Doxiadis says that this is done in order to give to the G. T. Road all its value as the life artery of the country in peace and war, an artery outside any settled area.; abstracted from: *ibid*, pp. 2 - 6 & 8.

53 In order to overcome his perceived disadvantages with respect to Rawalpindi and the G. T. Road, Doxiadis proposed the following as a strategy:
 'a) Limit and physically (not functionally) isolate the whole settlement of Rawalpindi – including Rawalpindi City, Rawalpindi Cantonment and all its satellites – from the federal capital.
 b) Open up a new branch of the grand trunk road which will pass between the existing Rawalpindi settlements and the federal capital in order to freely connect the new city to the country free of any past physical hindrances.
 c) Open up a third branch of the grand trunk road to pass south of the Rawalpindi settlements in order to allow this national artery to function without any hindrances from old and new big settlements. No building or functions of any kind should be allowed to be constructed along this branch which should be considered as a national strategic road.'; quoted from: D. A., *impressions from*, pp. 8.

54 Doxiadis describes, 'In this way every one approaching the federal capital site and the Rawalpindi area will find three branches. The first branch will lead to the federal capital and is going to be called the federal capital highway, the second will lead to Rawalpindi (the existing G.T. Road) and is going to be called the Rawalpindi highway, and the third branch is going to be the G.T. road... which is the backbone of West Pakistan's transportation system.' Furthermore, he proposes the alignments which includes one option for the Northern by-pass and three options for the Southern by-pass, giving preference to the option 'A' arguing that it is far enough from the town to allow for future expansion without being too distant.; abstracted and quoted from: D. A., *the grand trunk road*, pp. 2 – 6 & 8.

55 The separation of the new city from the old is also due to the requirement of the 'administration and legislation' committee suggesting the division of the federal capital area into four administrative units; the New Capital, Rawalpindi Municipality (old city), cantonments of Rawalpindi and Chaklala, and the surrounding rural areas to be partly developed as resorts.; abstracted from: D. A., *administration and legislation committee No XII – data and suggestions*, DOX-PA 69, Athens, Feb. 1960, pp. 5-6.

⁵⁶ It is worth mentioning here that in Rawalpindi it is the Railway line that separates the Cantonment (British City) from Rawalpindi (Native city).

57 He describes this approach as, 'we have tried to visualize, however, how this area could be better transformed into a physical region, how it could acquire such boundaries that there will be no disputes in the future as to how far it should go. To acquire such natural boundaries that there will be no question of where its real, and not its administrative, limits are. We have seen many times in the past that when a city has administrative limits which do not correspond to the physical and natural ones i.e. to a natural geographic region, it will expand beyond its administrative limits and lead to confusion in respect of planning, administration and organization of life within its area. It is for this reason that we try to see how far the capital area should reach in order to cover a natural region.' Following this line of reasoning in the regional analysis of the capital area, a successive enlargement of the capital area from 1000 sq. miles to 1400 sq. miles takes place.; abstracted and quoted from: D. A., *first notions on the development of the federal capital area*, DOX-PA 74, Athens, Feb. 1960, pp. 4.

58 The reason given by Doxiadis for this boundary was the fact that this line was running roughly at vertical ends of the basins of three small rivers flowing from the Northeast direction into the federal area.; abstracted from: *ibid*, pp. 4.

59 Doxiadis believes that 'this boundary has to be an artificial one as there is no natural line separating the area of Rawalpindi from the area of the capital, with the exception of a small part of the Kurang river which runs between the capital area and Rawalpindi and which has already been used by the federal capital commission in defining areas 'A' and 'B'...the Northern branch (G.T.Road by-pass), is that which follow the Kurang river to a certain extent and will be the separating line between the capital of Pakistan and the Rawalpindi area. By definition this highway is going to become the southern boundary line of the capital area. It is the only major project to be created in the area, and has to become an obstacle to the extension of the capital towards Rawalpindi and of Rawalpindi towards the capital area'; quoted from: *ibid*, pp. 6.

60 *Ibid*, pp. 12 & 1.

61 In making the analysis of the landscape of the capital area, besides pointing out towards the main direction of the landscape from Northeast to Southwest, he establishes the key natural features structuring the landscape of the area as; Margala hills, three series of hills (named as H1, H2 & H3) with three smaller rivers running in between the hills, and the major rivers of 'Soan' and 'Ling', all in the same direction i.e. Northeast to Southwest. Based on this analysis, he identifies the structure of the landscape in two types of terrains; the area of the hills in the north and the plain. The area of the plain is divided into ten natural geographic areas named as P1, P2, P3.....up till P10, and his argument for this division is that each of them corresponds to a certain basin or to half of a basin.; abstracted from: *ibid*, pp. 14-18.

62 The basic lines are described by Doxiadis as, 'a) The direction of the hills, which imposes the location of the green free areas of the city. b) The direction of the valleys, which imposes the direction of the main highways of the capital area. c) The international line of the G. T. Road, with its new branches, which impose a certain pattern as to the connections of the capital with the remaining part of the country and the world.'; quoted from: *Ibid*, pp. 20.

63 In favor of the hills as green areas, he argues that; hills cannot be easily built, they can become excellent areas for parks, gardens, monuments, special installations for relaxation, they can beautify their surroundings and that they can also contribute towards creating a beneficial microclimate because, if properly planted, they will create currents of cool air in the hot days of summer which will greatly facilitate the ventilation and cooling of the whole area.
 In favor of the basic axes following the valleys created between the hills, Doxiadis argues that it is natural to have the highways at the deepest line of the landscape; people, cars, traffic will move freely towards this natural line of flow i.e. equating the infrastructure lines with natural lines of flow (rivers). He further supports this argument by saying that 'This also facilitates enormously the creation of community facilities. Sewage and drainage systems can be constructed in natural courses and in a most economic way, as their main branches, which follow the main highways of the capital, are in the deepest line of the landscape. The roads themselves are going to have the minimum changes in their longitudinal profiles, the roads vertical to them are certainly going to have greater differences in the longitudinal profiles but as the hills are not going to be built, and we are to bring the development of the city up to the foot of the hills, this is not going to create any problems.'; abstracted and quoted from: *ibid*, pp. 20, 22-23.

64 The axis 1 runs in between the Margala hills and H1 on the Northern side of the Rawal lake. It continues to the Northeast to become the axis leading to Murree and to the Southwest, crossing the three lines of the G.T. Road and connecting them at these points. The axis 2 faces the existing airport before entering into Rawalpindi area, so in his opinion, this axis could not be continued, whereas, the axis 3 has similar characteristics as axis 1 and connects the three axes of G.T. Road in the south of Rawalpindi city. Doxiadis believes that no solution of the traffic system of this area can be achieved without making use of these three axes as main elements of the synthesis. He removes the triangular areas created by Axis 1 and the G.T. Road axes as he believes that they do not help towards the formation of uniform divisions by straightening the axis 1 and the federal highway which he calls 'line of the connecting highway'; abstracted and quoted from: *ibid*, pp. 26.

65 *Ibid*, pp. 28.

66 It is interesting to compare the expropriation of land for the first project i.e. the SE-NW axis estimated to be 4800 acres (33 miles long and 400 yds. wide), which is more than double the land requirements of the city for 50,000 inhabitants i.e. an area of 2370 acres.; abstracted from: D. A., *preliminary program and plan*, DOX-PA 77, Athens, May 1960, pp. 79-90.

67 D. A., *principles for a City of the Future*, DOX-PA 72, Athens, Feb. 1960, pp. 16.

68 The 'regional' role as a catalyst / agent for development arising out of the special geographical factors and the wider area of its location i.e. the Northern part of West Pakistan. The 'administrative' role as the general archives of the state by housing legislative, judicial, executive and the whole range of support services for the administrative machinery of the country for operational reasons. The 'Cultural' role as the highest cultural and intellectual manifestations of the country such as, National university, Nuclear energy institute, National sports centre, National park with all its special facilities, National Library, National Museum etc.; abstracted from: D. A., *preliminary program*, pp. 74-76.

69 The subsidiary functions are divided into three groups; the function of the city proper where people live and work with no direct link with federal administration, the ones related to Federal administration and 'administrative' but not related to federal administration. The first group comprises housing accommodation, trade and industry, serving the needs of every-day life of ordinary education (primary and secondary) accessible to every one, recreational requirements, daily requirements whether material or cultural. The second group comprises of Embassies, non-profit banks, various organizations and offices located there simply because that is the seat of government. The third group includes local administration and regional administration which serve every part of the capital. ; abstracted from: *ibid*, pp. 74-76.

70 *ibid*, pp. 74-76.

71 The exact budget for the new capital was provisionally allocated by the planning commission, within the framework of the second national 5-year development plan, to a sum of Rs. 22 crores for the construction of Islamabad and the subsidiary capital at Dacca. The project of Islamabad was allocated 20, whereas, only 2 crores for Dacca. Doxiadis works out a figure of Rs. 4.4 crores as private investment that 20 crores can generate in the first five years. Based on the Rs. 24.4 Crore, Doxiadis further reduced down the program from 50,000 inhabitants to 30,000 inhabitants (5,400 civil servants) for the first five years, whereas the detailed programme of the first 20 years was based on intermediate solutions, which included the office accommodation for the total of 21,000 civil servants of the central government; 4,00,000 people for the capital and 7,00,000 people in Rawalpindi. The next 20 year programme i.e. till the year 2000, doxiadis estimated 9,00,000 for the capital and 15,00,000 people for Rawalpindi and about 6,00,000 in the cultural centre and surrounding rural areas and resorts, thus making a total of 3 million inhabitants for the Federal area Metropolis.; abstracted and quoted from: *ibid*, pp. 307-313, 332, 335; For parts of program concerning population figures in the first five, ten and twenty years refer also: D. A., *Islamabad: program and plan*, No. 32 Vol. 2., DOX-PA 88, Athens, Sep. 1960, pp. 388.

72 D. A., *first notions*, pp. 28.

73 D. A., *Islamabad: program and plan*, pp. 246-247.

74 Doxiadis projects that the capital of over a million people will correspond to a growth of Rawalpindi to at least a million and a half, and also to consequent additional installations i.e. Cultural Centers etc. thus the whole federal area will be able to provide for a total of about 3 million people without increasing the building densities, i.e. increasing the number of multi-storied buildings, which he proposes when the population grows beyond 3 million.

He further supports this figure of 3 million by reckoning the population of the federal capital to the population of the nation as 1:100, implying that his conception is going to give ample space for evolution of the capital of a nation of 300,000,000 people.; abstracted from: D. A., *first notions*, pp. 32-34.

Besides the time line that Doxiadis projected for Islamabad / Rawalpindi Metropolitan area to have 2.5 million population was within two generations, in 40 years i.e. by the year 2000.; abstracted from: D. A., *Islamabad: program and plan*, pp. 388.

75 'Thus by placing Islamabad within the narrow area of the triangle near the hills, in the initial stages of its development, it finds itself lying in its natural scale, i.e. within the scale of the landscape. As the city expand westwards, and its scale also, so will the scale of landscape enlarge in a proportionate manner. This means that at each stage of the development of the city, the proportionately necessary space will be available.....with this solution, the fate of similar cities which were lost in the landscape at least during the first five years of their development, will be avoided.'; quoted from: D. A., *preliminary program*, pp. 300-302.

76 He explains that through 'an elongated synthesis we can have the best and most rational intercommunication between different parts of the administration by providing for internal lines of movement of people and of documents and internal lines of security.' Doxiadis proposes two types of central functions within the city; the one serving the inhabitants, with local administration of the city and shopping centers etc., the second are the purely federal functions i.e. the administrative centre. He illustrates the form of this part of the city based on movement of people with administrative centre along the Margalas, with a central core / 'CBD' in the middle flanked by residential areas on both sides and the industrial / other functions along the Murree highway.; abstracted and quoted from: D. A., *the administrative functions*, DOX-PA 78, Athens, May 1960, pp. 68.

77 With president's palace and the central administration, the parliament and the high court etc.; abstracted from: D. A., *preliminary program*, pp. 340.

78 He elaborates this as, 'The Capitol of the city, and by Capitol we mean the complex of the presidential palace and the parliament house, should be in the heart of the city. It is from here that the administrative sector will have to be developed towards the hills in order to spread along them, it is from here that the local centre (administrative, shopping etc.) should be developed towards the city.'; quoted from: D. A., *the administrative functions*, pp. 74.

79 Doxiadis argues that 'otherwise, the city will look as if it is broken into pieces and will not achieve cohesion. If this happens, the people will never have the feeling that they live in a real city but will think they are living out in the fields where some buildings are scattered. This is also of the greatest importance from the economic point of view because the maximum of economy will only be achieved if the maximum effort is concentrated on the development of a central core of a central area, and then the city is allowed to grow in accordance with the plans and the possibilities that present themselves in the future. Thus, the city will at all times possess an urban landscape of the greatest value and on a human scale, and will never give the impression of being a mere nomad camp where a few buildings, even buildings of major importance, have been scattered.'; quoted from: D. A., *preliminary program*, pp. 340.

80 The beginning is development of 2370 acres in five years for housing 10,000 state employees (50,000 inhabitants), parliament, presidency, secretariats, open spaces with highways, roads, esplanades, plazas and ravines etc.; abstracted from: *ibid*, pp. 332-335.

81 Zaheer-Ud-Deen (the only local architect involved with the capital project) notes the value of these two villages, sarcastically, only for their orchards in his memoirs: 'Another significant provision made in the master plan was the preservation of the two large orchards of Nurpur and Saidpur falling within the Islamabad area. I always considered the retention of these orchards as a positive aspect of the plan. Some years later, the chairman W. A. Shaikh sought my advice whether to curtail the area.....I strongly opposed the suggestion, pointing out that it was our duty to preserve the sanctity of the approved Master plan.' quoted from: Khwaja, *Memoirs of An Architect*, pp. 113.

82 D. A., *the administrative functions*, pp. 78.

83 Doxiadis gives the following reasons in favour of the hills immediately in the south of Nurpur village:

'a. The hills already form a beautiful landscape. They can become even more beautiful; they can become a superb setting for the formation of a very good administrative sector.

b. These hills are higher than the surrounding landscape. They will provide the big governmental buildings with the proper surroundings, they will be visible from all parts of the city, from here a lovely view will be open towards the country around.

c. As these hills are in the catchment area of the Rawal lake it will not be wise to use them as residential areas seeing that, if this were to be done, a danger would exist that refuse etc. would be drained into the lake.

d. These hills cover practically the whole area between the Margala hills and the main axis towards Murree. They, thus, create a natural obstacle for the development of the city beyond them, in a N-E direction. If perchance the city would develop towards the N-E, these hills would divide the city into two separate parts.'; quoted from: *ibid*, pp. 76.

84 *Ibid*, pp. 82.

85 The main axis (Line 'BD' or SE-NW) of metropolitan significance, named 'Islamabad Highway', has the Grand Mosque at its tip and generates a group of two more axes. The next two axes, following the same direction, are 2000 yards apart from each other and have 'Islamabad Hospital' and an 'institute of National importance' at their termination in the foot of Margala hills.

86 D. A., *Islamabad: program and plan*, pp. 344.

87 The hills / mounds of outstanding importance were marked in code numbers over a model of the area with hill 16 as the highest of the S-western group of hills, followed by hill 17 on which the focus of the main axis of the core of the capital city is placed with a suggestion that the most important of all buildings of the Capitol should be built on it, along with 17d which is a continuation of hill 17 and the hill 10 (for the National Monument) to which a parallel axis to the main one has been made. The profile and location of these four hills (16, 17, 17d & 10) are illustrated in the view of the model from the main axis of the core of the capital (Fig. 8b.) towards the administrative sector with hill 17 at the centre.; abstracted from: D. A., *the administrative functions*, pp. 84-87.

88 This controversy of Parliament or Presidential palace at the focus of central axis is accorded by Zaheer-Ud-Deen as 'I would however like to record here that, to the best of my memory, the original sketches of Doxiadis indicated the National Assembly at the terminal Point on the hill instead of President's house, and it was perhaps due to Gen. Yahya's desire to win favour with President Ayub, that he put up a summary suggesting this alteration to be made by the planner, to which the President readily agreed.'; quoted from: Khwaja, *Memoirs of An Architect*, pp. 91.

89 Ibid, pp. 89.

90 Doxiadis proposes the 'National Avenue' to be the main avenue on which all big processions, parades, etc. would take place, as it passes in front of the main executive buildings, the presidential palace, the parliament, the high court and the main cultural buildings, along which he provides a big pedestrian esplanade for the public to walk along it and enjoy the central core of the city. The esplanade is suggested to be used for parades of schools, athletes, etc., whereas, the armored cars, etc., would use the paved highway. In both cases, he argues, that the city will continue to function during the parades without stopping traffic, as the parade will not interfere with normal city life.; abstracted from: D. A., *the administrative functions*, pp. 106.

91 Ibid, pp. 106.

92 D. A., *Islamabad: program and plan*, pp. 252.

93 Doxiadis explains this as, 'Thus, the metropolitan area will be based on a system of axes serving the thorough-traffic in the best possible way, motor-cars crossing each other only at distances of approximately 2000 yards. Whether a driver drives in one direction or the other, he will always know that the next crossing is a given distance away. Thus a certain Rhythm will be given to the movement of people within the city. '; quoted from: D. A., *preliminary program*, pp. 276.

94 'a. Theoretically it guarantees the best development of an urban area consisting of square or rectangular spaces, rooms, buildings, plots, squares, etc. It can be best expressed with the system of vertical axes.

b. The landscape itself lends itself very much to the development of such a system of axes.

c. Certainly, in some areas, an axis following the lines of the landscape which cannot be straight, will be more economical. This, however, would be true only if this axis had a relatively small width, such as with a country road, but since this axis will become wider and wider with the passing of years, this has no meaning at all and it becomes more economical to make it straight.

d. Vehicles developing ever-higher speed will require straight roads with clear cut, well-defined crossings in the form of either big roundabouts or two-level crossings. '; quoted from: *ibid*, pp. 278.

95 For the cultural reasons he says, 'Finally for Cultural reasons Islamabad, a symbolic city of Islam, cannot abstain from the rules of design and synthesis which are characteristic chiefly of Islamic culture. Every large and important synthesis of Islamic culture is based on pure geometry. We only have to think of the great mosques with their squares, of large palaces with their squares, of Fatehpur Sikri and its synthesis on the basis of vertical axis, of the fort of Lahore (Fig. 10), or the Fort of Delhi, to be reminded that Islamic culture always designed with pure geometry. Even if we go to the smallest details in Islamic culture, we shall find that basically geometry gives the pattern right down to the decoration. '; quoted from: *ibid*, pp. 278.

96 Nilsson, *The New Capitals of India*, pp. 156.

97 The dual meaning is generated for the plan through the axes with symbolic references to political preferences of the state (Capitol / isolated) and the unifying character of the nation (religion / mosque), are separated and placed at two different axis of the same city, while depicting the dual agenda of the state through the historical context of the G. T. Road. Since both the axes owe their origination to the G. T road, its is worthwhile to narrate the significance and the symbolic role that Doxiadis attached to the same road while beginning the project, 'The agreement to locate the capital in the foothills of the high mountains of Pakistan, in South-West Asia, prompted an investigation of location features justifying the conception of "Symbol of the Nation", features which are historically linked with the political and cultural development of a wide area, beginning with Persia and Afghanistan in the West and ending beyond India in the East. A glance at the map of South-West Asia will show that the chain of the capitals of the states making up this part of the continent lies on an international route which must undoubtedly have been laid out in olden times and which lies in the northern sectors of these states where the great mountains begin. This is the Grand Trunk Road running from West to East across Afghanistan and India. Tehran, Kabul and Delhi are located on the same route, the route which all civilizations have followed in their expansion. It is the most important road in this part of Asia and has not changed down the ages. ...It is on a route such as this that the government of Pakistan has decided to locate the capital of Pakistan, thereby discharging a duty and continuing a historic tradition into the present as well as creating for the future. '; abstracted and quoted from: D. A. *the administrative functions*, pp. 185.

98 D. A., *preliminary program*, pp. 74-76.

99 D. A., *On Architecture in Islamabad*, DOX-PA 115, Athens, April 1961, pp. 147.

100 Ibid, pp. 39.

101 Eliel Saarinen, *The City: Its Growth, Its Decay, Its Future*, (1943 Reinhold pub.): MIT press, 1965, pp. 64.

102 Edmund N. Bacon, *Design of Cities*, Thames and Hudson, (Revised ed.) 1978, pp. 222.

103 D. A., *On Architecture in Islamabad*, pp. 153.

104 which says, 'One angle, frequently in the centre of the field of vision was left free of buildings and opened directly to the surrounding countryside....it was the "sacred way"....the buildings were often disposed so as to incorporate or accentuate features of the existing landscape and thus create a unified composition....' He explains the 'sacred / open path' which can be read as the precursor for his axes with vistas of the landscape in the plan of Islamabad as, "A path always formed an important feature in the disposition of the buildings in relation to the landscape.....Throughout, one can sense the desire to connect the outlines of the different structures with one another and with the lines of the landscape, to form a continuous unity, and within this unity to emphasize one opening: one clear and unobstructed path leading out into the Landscape." The making of the plan of Islamabad and, more specifically, the formation of its architectural space, in many ways, seems like a resurrection project of the architectural space of ancient Greece, as understood by Doxiadis. The placement of important buildings at the end of axes on higher mounds with vista of the hills as background could also be discerned from his pioneering magnum opus on architectural space as, The placing of the buildings was directly related to the contours of the landscape, because the Greeks continually sought to achieve order in space, no matter the space was natural or man-made. For example, when seen from the main entrance to the Altis at Olympia, at the southeast corner of the site, the outline of the Hill of Kornos, to the right, formed an essential balance with the temple of Zeus to the left.....The effects of different shapings of space were studied (see Euclid's Optica), and the lines of buildings were brought into harmony with each other and with the landscape. "; abstracted and quoted from: Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, *DOXIADIS – Architectural Space in Ancient Greece*, MIT Press, 1972, pp.5, 8 & 72, 20-21.

105 Ibid, p.22.

106 According to Saarinen, 'the Late Renaissance form – that image of Roman pompousness-was moulded to express power and wealth. It brought about the 'pomopous palace', that token of power and wealth....and those features connected with these palaces, such as plazas, gardens, and extensive parks....the ruler's palace not only constituted the main and most conspicuous features in the towns, but even directed many other developments toward a formal solution. '; quoted from: Saarinen, *The City: Its Growth*, pp. 107-109.

107 *ibid*, pp. 109.

108 Galantay, *New Towns: Antiquity to the present*, pp. 10.

109 The 32 miles long 400 yards wide main axes originating from the historical grand trunk road culminating at the Northeastern part of the capital area to form the 'Capitol' complex represents the grand synthesis of Doxiadis for the Capitol. The location of the Capitol under the shadow of the two saints, the majestic backdrop of nature in the form of Margala hills, surrounded by the view of the crescent of Murree hills and the Rawal Lake, is an unspoken element of symbolic and ideological significance. The spread of Islam through saints in the sub-continent and their value in the society, the crescent of Murree hills as a foreground to the distant view of Kashmir from the Capitol are strong symbolic references, registering themselves to the ideological basis and the political biases (owing to the historical obsession with the Kashmir issue) respectively, resulting from the articulation of the space of the Capitol area.

110 D. A., *On Architecture in Islamabad*, pp. 155.

General theme: Global and Traditional Contemporary Local Planning Styles,

Title: The transformation of the medieval city through alignment reforms: The Cort Plan of Valladolid

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Introduction

The city of Valladolid has its origins in the Middle Ages. A small village was founded in the High Middle Age next to the rivers Esgueva and Pisuerga. With time it grew to become one of the largest centres of population in medieval Castile. Since then, the face of the city has undergone continual change and several historical periods can be identified when the city underwent substantial change. Such periods can logically be defined with reference to the documentation we possess concerning the city. It is therefore possible to talk, first of all, of a medieval city, which in part coincides with that represented by Bentura Seco in the plan of 1739. This period is followed by the city of the Renaissance, which does not pass beyond the project stage, with only extremely scarce examples coming to fruition, testimony of an order which did not spread to the city as a whole. The second period concerns the transformation that took place in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, with the timid appearance of a commercial and industrial bourgeoisie. It is in this period that a new social order is established, characterized by the Church's gradual loss of power. This can be seen in the large-scale operations of urban reform carried out in the city after the sale of church lands which pass into the hands of the commercial bourgeoisie. In these areas that had belonged to the monasteries and convents, a new landscape is born characterized by straight streets and housing blocks for rent of four or five stories with shops on the ground floor. Finally, the last period is that which took place from the 1960s onwards, the result of very intense industrialization accompanied by the generalized appearance of modern architecture and the destruction of the traditional city. This last change in the city, and as a result a change in its landscape, is the one we shall be analysing here. It is mainly characterized by one concept in particular, that of the typological rupture through the system of alignment reform and the construction of buildings that break the urban order. The transformation of the city of Valladolid's landscape throughout this last period of about thirty years has followed a series of definable steps.

The Cort Plan

During the first few decades of the 20th century there was a commonly held opinion that the historic city did not adequately cover the needs of a modern society and that it was therefore necessary to adapt the ancient streets and dark corners of medieval Valladolid to

the new age. For this very reason, at the start of the Spanish Civil War, the architect Cesar Cort created a city plan for Valladolid, the so-called Cort Plan. This plan included a general restructuring of the historic city, widening many of the medieval streets, making their layout more regular, making existing squares larger or creating new ones in front of the city's monuments, as happened, for instance, with the creation of a great square before the cathedral. The plan also proposed the creation of new quarters in the form of extensions to the city.

The Plan consisted of two maps, one of the state of the city, made in 1938, and another of the project, carried out in 1939. These were accompanied by partial maps indicating the realignments to be carried out in each sector of the city. The map of the project is entitled *Urbanización de Valladolid. Plan General de Ensanche y Reforma Interior*, (Urbanisation Plan of Valladolid. General Plan of Amplification and Interior Reform). The map is on a scale of 1/5,000 and includes the proposals elaborated by César Cort, the Professor of City Planning of the School of Architecture of Madrid, concerning the future development of the city. It is drawn in several colours, so the existing streets, or those that are to maintain their original form, are drawn in black; while those streets that are to undergo changes, or which are new projections, are drawn in red. The same happens with the buildings; existing ones are drawn in black, while newly projected ones are drawn in red.

The ideas present in the Cort Plan refer to two urbanistic operations: a general interior reform of the historic city and the growth of the city through new quarters around the existing city. Almost all the streets of the historic city are widened and their alignment is drawn mainly in red. Yet the question is not exclusively a simple widening of the streets. In some cases, new streets and squares are proposed and the appearance of the historic city is completely altered. Among the widened streets there can clearly be seen the proposal for two new streets of a structural nature, called “Gran Vía”, that intersect in the centre of the historic city forming a kind of cross. Both streets follow a curved line, taking advantage at some points of already existing streets and at other points perforating the historic fabric in order to provide continuity to the cross which is to articulate the urban space. At the same time, urban spaces of particular importance are created around already existing buildings of note, some buildings of particular ideological importance at that moment, such as the cathedral, are earmarked for completion, and there are proposals for the construction of some new buildings, such as churches or markets. The new market buildings proposed are squares with arcades in the space then occupied by the markets of the Val and Portugalete.

A series of new quarters are proposed around the historic city, the amplification referred to in the plan's title. Of note is the proposal to occupy the other bank of the Pisuerga river, proposing two new bridges to articulate the urban development in the new area. In the project to occupy the area on the other side of the river, the right bank of the Pisuerga river, the two new bridges are the key to the new city and its connection with the remodelled city, as two parallel avenues, Cerros and Movimiento, are created in the new area. Both avenues and their respective bridges are connected with the historic fabric and thus the said avenues penetrate it, their names changing to those of Gran Vía del Rosario and Gran Vía de las Angustias, as previously mentioned. The reference to Madrid's Gran Vía is very clear and the reform proposal clearly refers to it. In effect, Madrid's Gran Vía was then one of the most emblematic streets of Madrid which had been formed by breaking up the medieval

fabric by means of an similar operation of amplification, alignment regularization and opening up of new streets.

The proposed fabric on the right bank of the Pisuerga river is that of an amplification, with a network of streets that tries to avoid the orthodox rectangle, including streets with oblique directions and both square and rectangular blocks, but also rhomboidal, trapezoidal and other forms. It is evident that there is a desire to avoid the rigidity of the rectangular amplification, creating oblique streets, thus generating a more varied landscape.

Finally, in the outermost areas, the Plan includes zones of City Garden and detached housing, as well as industrial areas and areas for services such as schools, central markets, bus stations, churches, nurseries, parks, etc. At certain key points, for instance the end of the avenues Cerros and Movimiento, monuments are to be placed to close off the view.

The Cort Plan could not be applied directly, it was a drawn proposal lacking a management system. It was not possible to carry out the proposals contained in the Plan as there were no legal systems on which to act, nor were there agents to carry it out.

Nevertheless, because the Cort Plan of 1939 was not applicable due to the above-mentioned problems, the council later drew up a series of alignment reform plans that followed city planning principals set out by Cesar Cort in his first plan and which included new measures so as to make it applicable, the first of which was the Alignment Reform Plan of 1950.

Reforma de Alineaciones al Plano General de Valladolid (The Alignment Reform Plan)

The Alignment Reform Plan of 1950 represents the City Council's desire to carry through the reform that the Cort Plan had set out so eloquently in its coloured map, but which was so difficult to do in practice. Both plans are very close in time, only separated by eleven years, which allows us to suppose they have much in common. The Alignment Reform Plan of 1950 cuts back the ambitious proposals of Cesar Cort, suppressing or reducing some of them, although it does use the basis on which the first plan was built. It could be said that the second plan maintains the most ideological aspects of the Cort Plan while correcting those other elements of an economic nature. The first great difference between them is that the proposed extension to the city completely disappears. The Huerta del Rey project is summarily suppressed, as well as the the industrial areas to the East of the city and the City Garden. Only the suburb called the Barrio Girón remains of this part of the project as it was already at that time under construction. In effect, the Alignment Reform Plan of 1950 opts for reforming the historic centre, unlike the Cort Plan, which proposed a model to reform the centre along with an amplification of the city. Some parts of the project with great ideological weight are maintained, such as the completion of the cathedral, and the Cort proposal for its surroundings are slightly modified, with two squares at the head and foot of the temple, while also reducing their regularity and size. The character of the time can clearly be seen in the proposal to construct the National Sanctuary of the Great Promise, a colossal set of ecclesiastical buildings with a great elliptical square in front of it occupying what is now the Plaza de España.

As for the reform of the historic quarter, the idea set out is slightly different from that of the Cort project. The initial project is adjusted significantly in order to make it possible in

practice. It cannot be understood as a ‘light’ version of the first proposal. It is a different proposal, because the widening of the streets is established as a central strategy of the reform. The basis upon which the reform is managed is the plot, so the central element is fixed as the operations of pulling back the facades, reducing plot size and, at the same time, ceding part of the plot for public land. However, there is a key element, the construction of higher buildings, which is the engine of the reform. The outline of the streets is maintained, while they are widened along one side, but not as much as proposed by Cort, and where the street is widened, the construction of higher buildings is authorized. A system of intervention is thus established which is made to measure for the local business entrepreneur, guaranteeing economic gain.

The Alignment Reform Plan establishes a hierarchical order of streets, following a colour code. Red for arterial roads, blue for secondary streets and green for ringroads. The idea of the two great avenues in the Cort Plan is more or less respected, but their layout is partially modified. In the top lefthand corner of the map the cross-sections of the streets are drawn according to their category. Thus, the importance of a constant street width and the necessity for homogeneous widths is established. Also lost is the idea of the great avenues as generators of the new bridges over the Pisuerga river and creators of order for the new quarter of Huerta del Rey.

This instrument of city planning, the Alignment Reform Plan, gave a legal basis to the building operations that local builders needed. This plan gave rise to the rebuilding of numerous blocks which were set back, ceding part of the plot to the new street and the construction of new, higher buildings. The historic quarter was gradually transformed, plot by plot, through a landscape of unfinished streets in which their linearity was interrupted by isolated buildings being set back from the rest.

The General Plan of 1968

The growth of the city throughout the 1960s, the new economic era and the conflicts that this process brought with it, gave rise to the drawing up of a new instrument to regulate the city, the General Plan of 1968. This was the first general plan of the city in the modern sense of the word. The plan was based on the ‘Ley del Suelo’ (Land Law) of 1956 and developed a series of regulatory instruments of a certain complexity, especially as refers to the hierarchy of plans and an incipient economic management.

The General Plan of 68 took in the arrangement of the city of Valladolid and thirteen other villages around the city. This instrument of city planning hoped to keep ahead of an urban dynamic that was considered to be a future development in the circle of villages around Valladolid. Although, in theory, this instrument of regulation and control was adequate for the situation, in practice it turned out to be totally ineffective due to the absence of the necessary economic dynamic.

The city model proposed in the General Plan of 68 is that of enormous growth to the south, articulated by great avenues for traffic and superblocks, all forming a gigantic grid. It envisaged a kind of unlimited growth th the south, occupying a flat space of agricultural and forestry value. In addition, growth to the west is also envisaged, with an organic model

that adapts to the hilly terrain of that area. All of this is to be serviced by large-scale infrastructures, newly created dual-carriageways, that unite the old city with the new.

With respect to the treatment of the historic quarter, the General Plan of 68 was not very precise. The historic quarter was lumped together in one large block, indicating an edificability of $12 \text{ m}^3/\text{m}^2$, a true atrocity, taking into account that the edificability there did not initially surpass $0.4 \text{ m}^3/\text{m}^2$. At the same time, the General Plan did not modify the old Alignment Reform Plan, which worked as an incentive for a generalized demolition of the lowest buildings and the construction of large blocks, totally inappropriate for the historic quarter.

The General Plan was perfect for the constructors, promoters and landowners. The economic forces of the city dedicated themselves exclusively to developing the historic city by means of generalized operations of purchase and demolition of the historic buildings and replacing them with new buildings that multiplied the volume of built-up area by three. The promoters dedicated themselves to the creation of a new city on the ruins of the historic one through the gradual substitution of most of the buildings. This gave rise to an exaggerated increase of density in the historic quarter which, in some cases, reached 1,000 hab/Hectare.

The lack of political freedom at this time and the impossibility for citizens to protest against such abuses resulted in the destruction of the urban landscape of Valladolid. Numerous voices, which in other circumstances would have been, not only heard, but also respected, were silenced because of the threat they posed to the political régime, making it impossible for them to openly express their opinions against the municipal policy or to carry out public debates concerning the city.

The results of the plan's application: typological rupture

As a consequence of these alignment reform plans, the edificability granted in the Plan of 1968 and the economic development that the city underwent during those years, a widespread process of urban transformation of the historic quarter in Valladolid was begun that lasted for over twenty years. The said reforms brought with them a transformation of the city's urban landscape, with the demolition of numerous buildings, some of them of great value, as well as the disappearance of many traces of the medieval city, in order to “modernize the city”. The succession of alignment reform plans finally brought about a process of “typological rupture”, in which the new buildings openly broke with the relationships that existed between the old buildings and the city. Thus, among the various elements of the city that were affected by this transformation, was clearly the modification of the traditional urban landscape, which could not now be recuperated. It was a process in which different decisions in different spheres of city planning intervened; ones that adjusted an instrument of urban regulation until it became a sharp cutting tool that gradually sculpted the city according to a new system.

One example of this typological rupture is what happened to the building in Regalado street nº 13. It was built according to the new alignment in the Alignment Plan, which widened the street on one side, respecting the alignment on the other side. At the same time, Sierpe street was eliminated and thus the building was set back from Regalado street, ceding land, but it advanced to occupy public land in Sierpe street, whose final fate was to disappear. In

addition, the construction of this building included an increase in height, giving rise to a particularly aggressive building. Its great height has an extremely negative effect on the spaces around it, as its large side walls become visible from nearby streets and squares. This building, the back of which looks onto some most singular public spaces, came to be called “The Bodyguards”.

Such buildings, of which Regalado street nº 13 is an example, bring about typological rupture, which extends to the surrounding area. The relationships between the different urban elements in the area are broken and transformed by the presence of these new buildings that do not respect the laws of the place. The typological chain, defined vertically by the relationship street-plot-building-block-quarter, and the relationships between the elements defined horizontally, between elements on the same hierarchical level, such as for instance between the buildings on the same street, between the cornices of two adjacent buildings, between the facades of two buildings close to each other, etc., was broken into a thousand pieces. The new building in Regalado street breaks with the 19th century street by generating a residual space and destroying the medieval street, condemning it to disappear. The relationship between plot and building is changed. There is also a rupture between the traditional facades and the new ones. The building’s great height breaks the view of the city from other streets and squares and even more distant places, as it also modifies the skyline.

The General Plan of democracy

The democratic municipal elections of 1979 brought a new team to Valladolid’s city council, and one of its chief electoral policies was city planning. The destruction of the historic city and the speculation that had taken place in the previous period were the basis of their policies. The central piece of the new city planning was to begin to draw up a new General Plan. The democratic council asked the team headed by the architect Bernardo Yncenga to draw up the new General Plan of the city. It was supposed to give a new, radical vision to the city planning. The Plan proposed a city project based on the criticisms levelled at the destruction of the city’s patrimony in the previous period. A catalogue was compiled of the buildings needing protection and the historic fabric is regulated with respect to its own characteristics. The indiscriminate demolition of historic buildings is thus stopped and new buildings are more precisely regulated, reducing their maximum depth and height in relation to the historic conditioning factors. Edificability is regulated with very precise laws. In short, it could be said that the edificability, how much can be built on a particular plot, is regulated with respect to the shape of the plot, giving a greater importance to that part of the plot which is closer to the street, by means of the definition of two strips measuring 7.5 metres and which have a decreasing edificability, 4 and 2 m²/m² respectively and the rest of the plot, with 0.75 m²/m² further back from the street facade. The maximum height is regulated through two different systems: with respect to the width of the street or the application of an edificability index that depends on the plot and the kind of fabric. Of the two, the one finally taken is that which allows the lower height. Different types of protection [Areas of Renovation (AR), Historic Areas (AH), Urban Uniformity (CU)] give rise to different ordinances. In certain circumstances facades are protected through the figure of environmental protection. To sum up, it is a General Plan which incorporates a specific regulatory system for the historic city that is careful with the form any building can take.

The “heels”

The Cort Plan, as mentioned above, proposed an alignment reform of many streets, making them wider. As a consequence of this proposal, many buildings were constructed using the new alignment, setting them back further from the street. Thus, gradually, plot by plot, the streets were being widened. This meant that for decades many streets had an unfinished aspect, with some buildings still with the old alignment and others with the new. When the General Plan was changed and the city’s demolition criterion was changed to one of conservation, some streets already had a very difficult solution. It was no longer possible to recuperate the old layout, as the great majority of plots had been rebuilt with the new alignment. Yet, at the same time, some of the buildings with the old alignment had been catalogued because of their historic or architectural value, thus impeding their demolition. It was therefore impossible to recuperate the old layout, but neither was it possible to carry out the new. Only particular measures applied individually to each place were possible. Due to the particular nature of these problems and the debate that arose concerning them, these kinds of buildings were called “heels”, as they interrupted the definitive widening of the street and their appearance similar to the heel of a shoe.

One example of a “heel” can be found in Librería street, one of the streets to be widened in the Cort Plan as part of the great avenue ‘la Gran Vía del Rosario’, having a new width of 25 metres. The Alignment Reform Plan reduced this to 15 metres, although it maintained the reform of the facades on one side, which, as the buildings were replaced, should be built set back the obligatory distance for the new alignment. At the beginning of the 1980s the street was widened at the central plots, yet the plots at the ends remained with the old alignment. The problem arose when, once the General Plan of Bernardo Yncenga had been approved, the criterion of the city council changed, placing all the emphasis on the conservation of the historic centre. This change caught Librería street with only half the plots reformed, thus making a pure solution impossible. The new alignment could not now be realised, yet neither was it possible to recuperate the old alignment as there were already buildings with the new alignment. Essentially, the impossibility of concluding the new alignment lay in the fact that the building at the Eastern end of the street had a protection order, it being a Renaissance palace, the ‘Casa de los Vitoria’. It became a protected building on being included in the Catalogue of the General Plan, which gave it the category of structural protection. This meant that it could not be demolished and therefore the old alignment had to be maintained. The conflict then lay in the transition between the old and the new alignments. In this case a specific solution was sought which authorized the construction of a transition building, a compromise between the two alignments. This, in turn, generated the acceptance of a new landscape, the result of the two opposing criteria of city views.

The current situation

The new urban landscape is now perfectly visible in the city’s historic centre, the result of the various alignment plans which began with the Cort Plan of 1939. Almost the entire medieval urban landscape has disappeared, to be replaced by a new landscape, the product of the combination of academic and municipal planning, the real estate business and the lack of any social movements to protect the patrimony, suffocated by the Franco dictatorship.

There can be no going back in this process. These alignment reforms have left, in many streets, a landscape that is halfway between the modernity of widening and the medieval street. At present, the so-called “heels” are like ugly scars, souvenirs of battles and wounds left upon the city’s face. The unfinished nature of these streets shows up the current conflict within city planning that a new design will have to resolve, although good results cannot always be guaranteed due to the enormity of the problem.

Conclusions

1. The urban landscape of the city of Valladolid has been transformed by:
 - an instrument of city planning: alignment reform
 - a driving force: the real estate business
 - political circumstances: the Franco régime and the absence of a social movement to defend the patrimony.
2. The superposition of intervention criteria in the city gave rise to the mixture of methods for regulating the city, a mixture of criteria, a mixture of styles.
3. When urban changes are so important that they give rise to “typological rupture”, the damage produced in the landscape is irreversible.
4. The very nature of the city means there is no going back. The city is destroyed, transformed, reformed, and all these processes become engraved on the landscape.

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Title: Art Deco Theater (Cinema): the “necessary modern”

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Introduction

The 30's and 40's decades of 20th century were marked by many manifestations and artistic movements that expressed the complexity and dynamic of this years.

The object of this research is the Art Deco Theaters. The Art Deco style that took place on the postwar period was inserted in a moment of transition: between the past and the future, between the tradition and modernity.

The Art Deco was thought as a space of the neutrality: inevitable in the transition from the effective eclecticism of the 19th century XIX through the modernist asepsis of the 20th century. The man dreams, imagines and lives toward what he could be, at least toward what he could appear to be. A borrowing day-to-day makes him demand more and more from the merchandise that he can get this is the reason of the success of Art Deco in Europe after the First World War

and in America after the Depression. The Architecture reproduces the thought and desires of the modern person of those depressive and melancholic years, and provokes dream and aspiration regarding a prosperous and worthy future. The Art Deco is a symbolic fusing of the future with the past, in the present, and more, the fusing of the reality with the fancy and the playful, or either, a manifest of that we consider the space of the inevitable neutrality to the transition and acceptance of the modernism - the “necessary modern”.

This situation is reflected in Brazil specifically in Rio de Janeiro city, in the projects that point to modernity, and in the projects nearby the tradition. The knowledge of the Art Deco style through the Art Deco theaters patters – the buildings and its interiors design – is the objective of this research. That architecture incorporates the maximum of persuasion through visual effect, it is a billboard of the proper merchandise. Once the cinema was newness the building had to be modern.

For the methodological questions, we chose Fernand Braudel as structural author, because we identify in his ideas a way to establish the limits of our research. Braudel presented an alternative model, and our affinity with him is on the point he discards the study of a long duration history, or ocorrencial, which he defines as precipitated and with short breath. He also defends the history counted through wide slices: ten, twenty or fifty years , the recitation conjuncture, a cycle, or even an intercycle. Those fragments of history occult regularities of many ways and habits to think or to act. For Braudel, the cycle is loaded of events that bring a series of significations or familiarities, giving deep testimonies, being able to annex a very superior time to its proper duration.

To lead the analysis of the main object, we looked for secondary sources about Art Deco (the style) and theaters (architecture). Then we searched remained buildings as “architectural documents” as well as specialized magazines (in architecture) and newspapers both of them from the 30’s and 40’s decades (20th century).

The Art Deco conquered the “taste” of the elite and the mass because this “style” synthesized the progress, modernity, success and entailed to no preset idea and it was above any prohibition. Deco associated, without guilt, the elements of the medieval, Persian or Egyptian patterns, allowing ambiguity, without contradiction: the necessary modern.

Art Deco – *Genesis*

To analyze the Art Deco in a process, we chose as a starting point the Industrial Revolution in the 19th century. We focus at the industrialization tracing a description, not necessarily chronological, but clipping important ideas and attitudes for this research.

At this moment new elements were introduced in the economical and social process: the industrial production, the standardization, the market diversification and the integration of the art in the day-to-day life. A “style” as a system of art doesn’t exist any more. So it is necessary a new aesthetic.

However, in spite of the astonishing new rhythm of the way of life in the occidental world, it is the past that brings part of the answers that deflagrate the ruptures in the art, in general way.

To search the originality is an arduous task but not imperative, many artistic tendencies had continued to anchor its principles in the past. This period is broken up and ambiguous which we verify mainly in the architects individual proposals.

The Art Deco traces an eulogy to the Machine Age, making itself compatible with their technical doctrines. The Art Deco is born of the enthusiasm for the progress and becomes a symbol of exciting life style, expression of the aspirations between-wars, marked with the violent economic crisis. The Deco was a marketing "blow": the first applied art of vanguard for consumption [...] where the plan overwhelms the volume", privileging scenographical aspects.

From this point, we consider that the Art Deco has a closed system and own code. However, its aspiration in becoming universal and getting free transit to the proposals allows us to introduce it in the modernity in order to assimilate what it wants relating to its contemporary atmosphere. The use of many languages and codes is an act of freedom choice, the Art Deco is a symbolic fusing of the future with the past, in the present.

The denomination "Art Deco" become from the extensive name of the Exposition of Arts Decorative and Industrial Modern, that occurred in Paris, from April to October in 1925, that gave notoriety to the movement, therefore its first steps dates on the beginning of 20th century, around 1909.

We can say that the deflagration of the Art Deco "style" had been delayed, once the Exposition was idealized in 1907 to take place in 1915, and because of a disturbed situation that preceded the First War, it was suspended. The Exposition wasn't an anachronistic phenomenon; therefore it was the synthesis and the evaluation of those decades: on one hand the industry was catapulted to high indices of productivity and on the other one, the War finished with all the pomp of the Belle Époque. The Exposition represented a survey of the proposals that was announced until then, as well as a re-reading of the close past.

The great quality of the Deco is the attempt of knowledge and conscience that this period has of itself. Once in a while it is announced as the last style, however more correctly, is entitled the mass style, the style of the inclusion that finds hearing in the consumer class. Its flexibility in all levels didn't make it lose its own identity.

Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) and the Theater

Rio de Janeiro, the capital of the Brazil (of that time), expanded the immovable sector in 1930's decade. It was necessary to add to this *status quo* of capital of the country an appearance of vanguard: Traditional and big houses were pulled down and in its place buildings were constructed - huge apartments similar the houses, super ranks in the vertical line.

We must mention that Rio de Janeiro is crowned in October, 12 in 1931 with a monument Art Deco that became a landmark of the city - the statue of the Christ Redentor, project by the

engineer Heitor da Silva Costa and the sculptor Landowski . This monument is the best example of Art Deco in this city from the conception to the geometric treatment.

We chose the movie theater as object of analysis in the Art Deco universe because in the tracking of modernity, these buildings become symbols of a time, more than any another program of architecture and where we find singular Deco examples. The theater serves as an urbanity reference, contributing in the constitution of a new relation between the public and the daily life, intervening in the cultural and social habits. We see, therefore, the movie theater as an educator agent to the public and the place where the modern life presents itself.

The movie theater discloses the private beauty, the ideal beauty of the movements and rites of the day-to-day life and is praised in function of its technique filiation. Science is the modern myth and the theater is one of the modalities to become it tactile.

Continuing the examination, the movie theaters opened in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) in the 1910 e 1920 decades were sufficiently devoid of security and comfort, they were old buildings receiving coarse adaptations for a new function.

"Sumptuous, modern and comfortable" were the paradigms of the movie theaters of 1930 decade. In the end of 1920 decade, Brazil blunted as an import market for the American movies production, remembering that the consumption culture and the mass culture are purpose of modernization. The market requirements indicated a substantial change because the Hollywood rich productions would be presented in "temples of consumption", which, circumstantially, are the movie theater.

The Metro Goldwin Mayer (MGM) brought an ideology in its proposals of architecture. Although Metro's theaters in Rio de Janeiro / Brazil (Downtown / Passeio - September 26, 1936; Copacabana district - November 5, 1941; Tijuca district - October 19, 1941) had been projected by Brazilian architects, they had an advising technician of the Department of Constructions of the Loew's Incorporation, the Metro Goldwin Mayer movie theaters proprietor.

The Downtown (Passeio) Metro introduced the air conditioner, solved the visibility problems with upholstered armchairs and innovated in the acoustic treatment using absorbents material on the walls, carpets on the floor and panels on the ceiling. Its qualities had been divulged widely in the press, as the only theater in Rio de Janeiro city with those kinds of improvements.

The Downtown (Passeio) Metro was the watershed in this production of architecture. Its predecessors had been obliged to precede reforms once the spectators had been seduced by the pattern established by the Metros. And its successors had made our professionals (architects) rethink their project styles in order to equalized to the model determined by the North Americans - the specialists in the cinematographic production (movies and architecture).

The Metro Tijuca (movie theater) was projected by Adalbert Szilard who was a member of Prentice's team, the main architect of Metro Passeio. An article in a Brazilian Press (Jornal do Brasil, October 10, 1941) made an interesting description about the building: "We declare without exaggerate that this sort of building can't be better. Everything related to efficiency and

comfort was thought with affection and took place powerfully. The aspect of the main room is imponent. Its decoration is sober well done with the light green armchairs, the ornaments and carpet with the same colour in order to loan to the environment a inspiration of supreme elegance”.

The armchairs lines have an accented declivity in way that no place could be considered with rough visibility. There are near 2000 places. The illumination is wonderful. The air conditioner takes care of all the requirements of our climate and the sound constitute the state of art. The hall is ample and the sanitary cabinets excellent. The Tijuca district has a so good cinema, may be better than the Metro Passeio (the first one)”.

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The Metro Tijuca interior space followed the Metro Passeio conception, the difference was the stairs that led to the balcony which was implanted at the main hall. The project obeyed the Art Deco characteristics, from the vertical lines in the façades to the drawing on the floor and on the ceiling.

The Metro Copacabana movie theater projected by Robert Prentice began the process of decentralization of the movie theaters which were concentrated until then in Cinelândia Square. Perhaps, for being the last one of the Metro series in Rio de Janeiro, or because its inauguration has been close to the Metro Tijuca, it was less registered in the regular press and specialized magazines. However two articles of Diário Carioca (November 4, 1941) stated directly or indirectly, its importance for the Copacabana district: "theater like Metro Copacabana only can be found in the United States ... the theater will grasp for the comfort, luxury and elegance, with 2000 armchairs luxuriously upholstered and all dependences benefited for perfect air refrigerator equipment”.

Another example at the south of the Rio de Janeiro city was Sao Luiz Movie Theater, the great cinema of Luiz Severiano Ribeiro, inaugurated in December 22, 1937. Jayme C. Fonseca Rodrigues, the architect, declared to the press he had been inspired by the Pleyel Theater (in Paris) , but in fact the São Luiz Theater followed the model established by the Metros Theaters in its relationship with the facades and with the clean and bold forms in interior of the building.

This theater was constructed by specialized professionals and had the capacity for 1881 spectators. The main hall was decorated with imported marble and there were mirrors at all walls. This scene was complemented with a light game that changed the colors and the atmosphere of the environment.

As the press stated (Jornal do Commercio, December 23, 1937) the inauguration of this majestically and elegant show house in Brazil - the São Luiz movie theater -was a great event which those guests, among the high society of Rio de Janeiro city hosted with enthusiasm.

Indeed, with the Metro’s model, a typology was established. The movie theater was modern in its characteristics, from the decoration to the comfort and technical patterns. However, the chain that conducted to this point is the formal Art Deco vocabulary instead of the architecture, understood as production of space and ambience.

Final Statements

Rio de Janeiro had faced a tension since the First World War which grew after this because the city had to pass from a village to a cosmopolitan condition, and any obstacles wasn't acceptable: they must be transposed or camouflaged.

The movie and the theater were inserted in that context. The movies presented possibilities of a new world to the people in general and the architecture was a *meta*-merchandise that carried those spectators from the day-to-day life to other realities-fantasies.

Although that architecture used the ornament, as we verified in many theaters, while the modernist architecture hated it, the Deco theaters brought in their proposals the memory of what was destroyed, or either, the immediate references of the past, and that memory was itself the rupture with the past.

Our aim in the research is to approach the abstract-concept to the concrete-theater in despite of the perishable character of the Art Deco. The theater is an allegory of this days, a symbol of a time. The man dreams, fancies, imagines and lives more in function of what he can be, nor that is the pure appearance of what he could be. And as more boring is his daily life most demanding is his relation with the merchandise he consume. This is one of the raisons for the success of the Art Deco in the Europe after the First World War and in America Post-Depression.

The theater, from the space that it takes from the urban plan of the city to the interior of the building was pleasant and at the same time was selective. In despite of the differences between each Theaters design, the line arrangement in the facades marked the presence of the building in the site. The architecture incorporated the maximum of persuasion through visual effects and the facades were billboard of the proper merchandise.

The interior of the buildings is dual: at the same time where it privileges the individual, the meeting of the man with its personages; the movie theater is public and put the man in his condition of urbanity. The formal aspect, the brightness gotten with materials, marbles and granites, golden metal and mirrors create a majestically atmosphere. The indirect illumination provoked the meeting of illuminated areas with shade ones, which established virtual divisions in the proper occupation of that ambience.

We were in front of an architecture that by itself was a manifest of what we consider the space of the neutrality, inevitable to the passage and acceptance of the modernism: the necessary modern. Today, the fashion and technological change made the Art Deco Movie Theaters obsolete, giving place to the small rooms of projection fitted to a small audience.





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CLOSING IN. CONDOMINIUMS OF THE 90’S IN LISBON’S METROPOLITAN REGION

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CONDOMINIUMS IN THE NINETIES

An emergent and significant case in the current Portuguese housing prospect is the closed housing condominium¹. This solution leads to the privatization of some sort of collective space and results from recent economical, social and urban transformations. The phenomenon of the condominium is part of a world-wide-scale dynamics and is gaining momentum in Portugal. Here, the figure of the condominium is present under extremely different models, while spreading around the world as a product of globalization and of a growing influence of Western cultural references. Showing a tendency to be repeated under equal form in different countries and cultures, satisfying homogeneous tastes and aspirations, residential spaces today are considered consumption goods and managed in a highly commercial logic².

This paper deals with the type and urban insertion of this new entity in the city, trying to mark out its urbanistic and architectonic characteristics and delineate its differences and similitudes both with the consolidated city and with the modern city in the metropolitan region of Lisbon. The purpose is to allow an understanding of its nature and expressiveness, of the differing requirements the condominium seeks to meet and to interpret the outcomes.

¹ A consideration of the correct term to designate this type of estate led to a comparative view over the regional differences in the literature. Gated communities is the most widespread in English, but they are also called walled cities, urban enclaves, security villages, enclosed neighbourhoods, fortified enclaves, private neighbourhoods; or ‘barrios cerrados’ and ‘countries’ in Argentina; or ‘communautés fermées’ and ‘cités-ghettos’ in France; or, in Portugal and Brasil, either ‘enclaves fortificados’, ‘condomínios habitacionais fechados’, ‘condomínios fechados’; or yet, as a rule in Portugal, only ‘condomínios’. From the range of expressions was selected as a basis this last abbreviated form, closer to the specifics of its geographical-cultural setting and more enlightening as to its Latin etymology. Thus, the term ‘condominium’ used in this paper signifies the expression ‘gated community’ most commonly applied in the USA.

² Ref. the well-known case of the “Club Med” and other tourist resorts, which are operated in a close to *franchising* mode.

During the decade of 1980 a few cases began to materialize. Centered in the privileged areas of a choice of suburbs in greater Lisbon (Marinha - Cascais / Sintra) and in the tourist region of the Algarve (Quinta do Lago - Vale do Lobo), the examples of great scale have been the first condominiums to gain expression. Quinta do Lago was a model that, initially imported from Brazil³, found a great diffusion in the rest of the country.

In the 90's, in spite of economical instability, the development of this type of enterprise went constantly increasing (Table1).

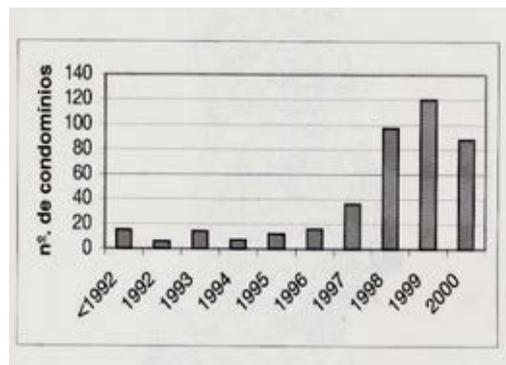


Table 1 – Evolution of the number of closed housing condominiums in Portugal until December 2000.

Source: M^a. Júlia Ferreira *et al* (2001: 63)

In the beginning of the decade a great expansion was already under way in the vicinity of the main urban centres (Lisbon and Oporto) and in the entire province of Algarve. By 1992⁴ the evolution of these cases had extended to a large fraction of the coastal belt and to other areas of potential landscape or touristic interest.

By the end of the 90's, Lisbon's Metropolitan Region had the higher number of closed condominiums of the country. The 'distrito' (an administrative area including various municipalities) of Lisbon alone contained approximately 50% of the identified cases, followed by Oporto – the second metropolitan region of the country - with approximately 18% of Portugal's total cases.

To the years from 1990 to 2000 corresponded the phase of greater growth of this kind of interventions. The beginning of the 90's was a time of fast economical development and of effective growth in the building industry. Starting off in slow motion, and being able to use the experience of some built examples of the end of the 80's, this decade finally established and consolidated the model of the closed housing condominium.

It is at the end of this decade that the model becomes widespread and, both in its big or minute dimension, in its intention either for vacation, hybrid, or blatantly urban use, it expands to the whole country. According to several researchers (M^a Júlia Ferreira *et al*,

³ The Luso-Brazilian businessman André Jordan introduced the model of the closed housing condominium in Portugal. Initially connected with tourism and 2nd homes, with the project "Quinta do Lago" in the Algarve, the model promptly expanded and was coupled with 1st homes.

⁴ This situation benefited from the then favorable legal regime, where the legislative alterations of the Decree n.º. 448/91 of November 29th remits green spaces as common parts, which are regulated as horizontal propriety, and Bill n.º 25/92 of August 31st indicates the possibly private status of equipments and road infrastructures.

2001), up to the end of the year 2000, a total number of 424 cases were counted in national territory.

MARKET'S RATIONALE

These spaces are responding to the accommodation of a predominantly urbane population, of high or medium-high class, owners of a financial surplus as well as supposedly heightened cultural values. They are designed as areas of limited access and use that, privatizing the space where they come into view, answer the demands of a showy quality (security, social status, etc.) conveyed by the market.

The concept of condominium involves the control or possession of a property tied into a system of co-property, in other words, one is simultaneously owner of an individual plot of land or built space – a fraction -, and of a collective asset – the common parts that eventually bind together and serve all fractions. The notion of condominium is thus tied to the notion of community and this is a connection that the market, when advertising its quality standards, tries to reinforce. At this point, the idea of community stands for the creation of a filtered society, limited to a specified number and type of individuals. This type is illustrated in the archetypical family advertised in the condominium's marketing. In this sense, to adhere to a closed, watched and controlled system is put up for sale as a synonym of privilege and happiness.

The skilful provision of myths of security and exclusiveness, so far-flung from the peripheral reality of the country, is no more than a commercial strategy that opens up fresh room for new property products. So, in the logic of the market, these are places that the market intends to recreate as specific communities, sometimes Utopian, aggravating or promoting their voluntary segregation. However, if the underpinning of differences is one factor that promotes urban character, then these are not at all urban communities. They are certainly communities in poor health that are established by the aggregation of similar elements, without the difference, unpredictability and complexity that constitute the true nature of collective space. Without the depth that makes them urban, these are communities that reduce the miscegenation and alter the logic of functioning of stabilized traditional societies.

Another commercial strategy is feeding the myth of the dream or ideal house. The house of dreams appears like the archetype place of earthly happiness and nearly always establishes its fantasy in a romanticized return to the origins. To this purpose it is significant to observe the names of some of these condominiums where, even when not one single feature of a memory of origin exists, a foundational status term is contrived at that moment.

To live in the countryside with the comfort of the city, or to live in the city with the peace of the countryside, are some of the mottoes employed that, in an artificial and skilful form, pursue the dream of the ideal community and of the rural pastoral. These are products that, being cantered in the enclosed space, in the contact with nature and, by this supposed means, in the return to an idyllic state of well being, deny, by their nature and make-believe, the space of citizenship or of the city proper. The closed housing condominium purports the logic of a market's product that induces an artificial necessity of exclusiveness, security and tranquillity, which subsequently it is ready to abolish.

Portugal is neither a society of traditionally vast social contrasts, nor has a record of acute violence and insecurity. Reasons for this trend might be sought in the leaving behind of that

very same traditional close social cohesion, in the rise of the ‘nouveaux riches’ due to the ever-increasing gap between high and low salaries and in the recent massive immigration. These immigrants had traditionally come from the ex-colonies, but also now from Eastern Europe’s new impoverished populations, such as the surprising settlements of Ukrainians, from mainland China, and from the same language-speaking country, Brazil – all creating an ambiance of fears-to-come, that might be outdone by protected enclaves in the urban conglomeration. The neglect of the consolidated city by the landowners and by the state and the rejection of its social promiscuity by the well-to-be have helped create this suburbia trend, which landed in Portugal as a built prototype via a Brazilian connection in real estate development.

PRESENTING LISBON’S METROPOLITAN REGION

Lisbon’s Metropolitan Region as a system embraces a profoundly diverse territory that, making use of the proximity of the capital, interacts with it. Witnessing a daily flow of people who enter and leave the city and who find in the suburbs a place to sleep – the ‘dormitórios’ -, the propinquity of this territory, based in a physical and also secular distance, orders its peripheral development, but also the transformation of the inner city. The pendular nature of the displacements, the situated and time-defined population overload, or yet its accessibility and transportation policies, are expressions of the functioning of a system, which lives of the relationship that Lisbon cuts in the involving hinterland, and thereabout, in itself.

The contemporary periphery is today far-off from the original idea of the romantic suburb of the end of 19th century and the idea of the centre is now a reality with several hearts. Although still enhanced by the central stature of the capital, the Metropolitan Region of Lisbon is currently, as even the cities that compose it also are, a dense mosaic of realities and distinct times, sometimes coincident in origin and expression, but, specific in nature and position.

This convergence around the capital involves inevitably a set of shared issues. One of the most significant is the habitat - its structure (1st or 2nd home, individual or collective housing), its localization (central or peripheral to the urban nucleus(es)) and its density (great housing operations or spaced-out isolated buildings).

SELECTION AND ANALYSIS OF CASE-STUDIES

The selection of the metropolitan region of Lisbon as a platform of study was due to the character, proximity and diversity of built cases. The region lists a range of different offers, models and cross-models, because, alongside counting the capital city, it includes masses of water of great leisure interest - the stretches of the Atlantic coast, both margins of the river Tagus – as well as other top touristic sites in the mainland. Thus it holds a mix of several types of residential status (from 1st homes in Lisbon and its hinterland to 1st and 2nd homes in vacation sites).

The first part of the study analysed closed condominiums as it tried to grasp the nature, the behaviour, the expansion and the marketing of this global phenomenon in the area of Lisbon. The second part focused on the study of 25 specific cases (Fig. 1), starting in the year 1987, including some projects considered as commonplace.

FICHA TIPO – CASO DE ENQUADRAMENTO

IDENTIFICAÇÃO

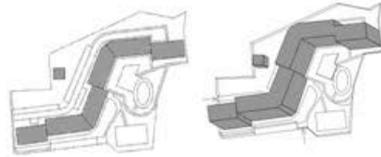
Quinta São Sebastião

Localização: Estrada Nacional 247 / Largo de São Sebastião - Ericeira

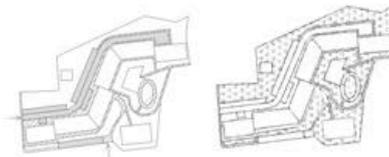
Datas: 1997

Tipo de condomínio: Grupo C – Edifício / conjunto de edifícios de pequenas dimensões, organizado em partes comuns e unidades habitacionais (apartamentos).

CARACTERIZAÇÃO



Distribuição e volumetria genérica do edifício



Circulação pedonal e viária

Equipamentos e jardins comuns



Tipo de ocupação: 1ª e 2ª habitação

Equipamentos: Jardim, recreio infantil, estacionamento privativo (garagem) e para visitantes, arrecadações, sala polivalente do condomínio, portaria interna, recolha integrada de lixos, campo de ténis, piscina exterior e interior, solário, ginásio...

Tipo de controle: Acesso exclusivo, controlado por portaria (24 horas)

Enquadramento urbano: Numa encosta voltada à praia, nas imediações de um bairro de pescadores, ergue-se um novo conjunto habitacional. Implantado em "ilha", desadaptado ao terreno e com uma distribuição volumétrica uniforme, erguem-se 6 blocos contínuos que moldam um pátio interior, sobrelevado à rua, onde se dispõem os equipamentos. O conjunto confronta duas ruas, às quais ergue muros e grades, construindo uma terceira, particular, no seu interior.

Organização interna: Conjunto fechado onde se privilegia a circulação pedonal, dispendo os blocos a meio do lote, equipamentos na frente (sobre a garagem e arrecadações) e zonas de serviço / acessos no tardo. Organiza-se a entrada principal pela ruela de menor bulício e uma entrada secundária pela rua principal, ambas controladas por uma portaria única, à distancia. A intervenção é murada, agravando a pouca urbanidade da envolvente. Edifícios com distribuição em galeria, feita pelo tardo, por elevador e caixa de escadas numa disposição linear de 7 fogos por piso.

Natureza construtiva: Sistema tradicional de estrutura em betão (pilar e laje maciça) com uso de alvenaria de tijolo e revestimento exterior em reboco pintado e placagem de pedra. Recolha interior de lixos, no conjunto dos edifícios.

Observações: O conjunto é um sistema homogéneo, de imagem corrente e desinteressante, com uma implantação otimizada mas problemática e de organização clara. Manutenção feita por caseiros, residentes a tempo inteiro e segurança externa feita por empresa da especialidade. Solução fechada, segregativa e pouco participativa na transformação do bairro envolvente.

Figure 1 – Quinta de São Sebastião – Ericeira: an example from the 1st group of 17 framework cases

These are presented in an individual file, which summarizes the field work, of *in situ* visits of the outside, sometimes to the inside of the residential units, and to visits and interviews with the in-house technical officers, the consulting of municipal project's offices and

archives of newspapers / publicity in the central periodicals Archive Service ('hemeroteca'). It presents the different projects under a re-design of their main characteristic and a written analysis under the same headings. These were sub-divided and progressively more thoroughly examined into two groups, in which the first shows the main characteristics of a sample of 17 framework cases and a second group includes more detailed 8 case studies.

URBAN MODELS IN THE LISBON METROPOLITAN REGION

Initially limited to areas of tourist or landscape potential, the housing condominiums today are urban structures of fairly variable dimensions and types. Generalized in the periphery and in the heart of the great city, from the simple building to the stature of an 'aldeamento' (a touristic *Ersatz* village), or in extreme cases to the scale of the geographical county, these entities have in common the disconnection with the urban context that supports and situates them. Like locked-up, controlled and self-separated entities, they are islands that break connections, reinforce the decline of public space and contribute to segregating the city itself.

Some of these cases, such as the condominiums of great dimension - more expressive in size than in quantity - are interventions from scratch, organized by sub unities with different identities, united at an initial stage but then developed one by one in several phases in accordance with the evolution of the market. These interventions comprise many hundreds of residential units and in the present day are still in expansion.

The majority is located in the fringe of the city, in the variety of large parks and 'aldeamentos', close to vocational areas of vacation, tourism or natural reserve. Generally associated to activities of leisure or sports such as golf or riding, this type of condominiums intersects the markets of 1st and 2nd homes, sometimes propped up or expectedly propped up by a future hotel. The almost totality of these cases are based in a naturalist interpretation of the topography. They are positioned on the terrain in an apparently natural and not very dense mode.

The implicit reference lies in the idealized vision of new suburbs of the romantic town planning of the end of the 19th century (King, 2000, Kostoff, 1999). Interventions such as Riverside or Llewellyn Park⁵ still act as examples to new operations, where curved roads and small rotundas keep on confirming the existent landscape or, in contradiction, surround artificially created lakes and woods.

The constructions, following again the American example, are individualized in small dwellings. They are positioned at the centre of the plot and set free the enfolding space for a garden, shaping a circulation system that is closer to the road than to the street. There is also a tendency to combine the individual house with the collective building. In these cases the buildings are set in the exterior perimeter, creating a crown of higher density that shelters

⁵ Extract from an advertisement to Llewellyn Park, New Jersey, dated 1857: "Llewellyn Park is (...) a tract of land, containing about 300 Acres, that has been divided into Villa Sites of, from 5 to 10 Acres Each. It was selected with special reference to the wants of the citizens doing business in the city, and yet wanting accessible retired, and healthful homes in the country, by the proprietor, who adopted this method to secure a selected good neighbourhood. Sloping to the southeast, the best exposure for health and cultivation is secured, as well as perfect protection in winter from the northwesterly winds, while it is favourably situated to catch the sea breezes, which prevail in summer. The privacy of the Park and all the sites will be secured by a Lodge and gatekeeper at the entrance on Valley Road, one mile from North Orange Railroad station. Ascending the ridge by the Park drives, (three miles of which are already completed), a charming view of the Valley is obtained for many miles around... This natural panorama is acknowledged by all to be one of the finest in America". Ref. M^a. Rita Raposo (2002: 327).

and circumscribes the individual dwellings and the central nucleus generally associated with lakes, woods or large athletic fields.

Generally, the condominiums of vast dimensions are planned as complex campaigns (fig.2). Their financing and specific approvals are established in narrow connection with the interests of local entities. They bring about serious changes in the urban and social fabric, but on the other hand generate revenues and jobs, working so in the interest of local development. Their promoters may be private, multiparty, national and international entities, which detain the political and financial capacity to set up this type of operations.

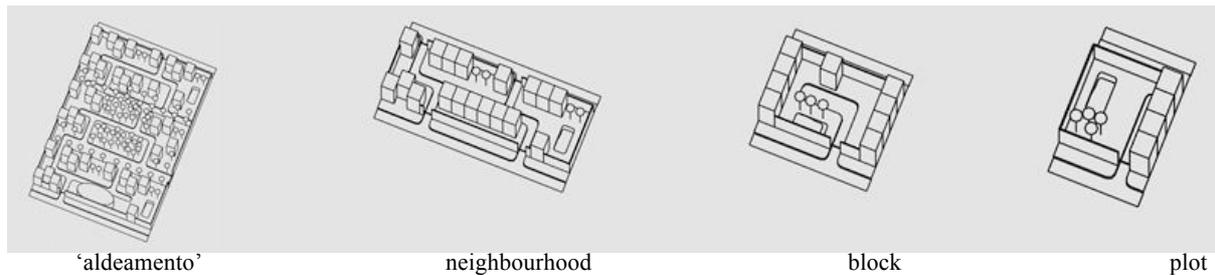


Figure 2 – Scales of estate's overall dimensions

Other cases, of condominiums of middle and small dimension, more expressive in numbers than in size, are interventions from scratch, or sometimes also regenerations conceived as a complete whole from the start and are developed generally in a unique phase, by individual promoters, with or without financial partnerships.

The cases of middle dimension are located predominantly in the nearest periphery to consolidated towns and adopt the form of the small 'aldeamento' or neighbourhood. They are interventions of smaller ambitions and are intended to be 1st homes. They are frequently built in urban fabrics still under development.

Most of the existent condominiums are small dimension, specific interventions and are developed in the core of already consolidated urban fabrics. Placed predominantly in the heart and occasionally in the periphery of the city, these cases use vacant areas for constructions from scratch and old nucleuses of buildings for rehabilitations or extensions (reusing palaces, farmsteads, factories, 'vilas' (19th and early 20th century's worker's dwellings) and 'patios' (small enclaves of tiny lodgings). Meant for 1st homes, these cases are given support by their central sites and by the social facilities that these locations offer to their inhabitants.

Resulting from the zoning rules regulating the location where they are built, a great number are designed in accordance with the information of the municipal plans, very often following either beforehand implied or precisely defined lay-outs. While inheriting an eminently urban morphology, these cases nearly always take the form of, or the intersection of, the form of the block, of the square / 'patio', of the street / 'vila', of the street-lining block, or in fewer instances, of the tower (fig.3).

Whereas in the condominiums of great scale the urban reference model tends to autonomy and completeness, in these other cases it is interesting to notice some move towards local

specifics. Examples are of the revitalization of particular typologies like the working-class 'vila', the common 'patio' or the set of buildings of ancient manor houses.

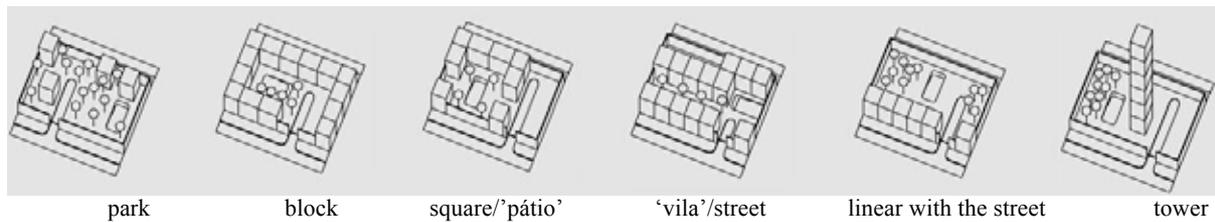


Figure 3 - Predominant urban morphologies in the urban fabric

Generally, the condominiums of middle and small dimension assume simpler figures. However, in spite of morphologically inheriting general lay-outs and volumetric envelopes already defined by established municipal plans, they keep on being entities in divorce with the city, creating changes in the social fabric. Their promoters are nationals, private, and in limited partnership with bank entities.

ARCHITECTURAL MODELS

In accordance with their urban foundation, the architectural references of these projects follow as well the directives imposed by the market. One of the most conspicuous is the consistent, identical uniform imposed on the inner built environment. For this purpose, most condominiums of big dimensions have set-up an in-house office, which is responsible for the definition of specific standards. These standardize urban equipments, typify streets and fences and unify the architectural language of all the buildings. In complement to the standards defined by the official instruments of planning / approval, their generic claim is to harmonize the exterior appearance of the built output, limiting the chromatic palette, pre-establishing the volumetric envelope specific dimensions, or yet a set of exterior revetments.

Another strategy used in the condominiums of big and middle dimension is to use repetitive standard buildings. Though there were cases that by the end of the decade 1990 were already predicting a global solution of this nature, nowadays the great majority simultaneously presents regular buildings and repetitive standard buildings.

It is noteworthy to observe that the examples that repeat themselves as standard buildings tend to be collective buildings and small dimension's individual dwellings, for these are the types that appeal to the midway buyer and, since being in greater number, these are the people that guarantee the financial sustainability of the process.

When the condominiums are established on the basis of total or partial repetition, of building types, the option in favour of an unwavering architectural tendency becomes more traceable. In some cases what is sought is the current references generally associated with the 'author's' or the star-system architecture. A current trend is to make use as merchandise of a believed contemporaneity, sometimes no more authenticated than by the building's exterior appearance, repeating traditions and programs of the classic bourgeois family, in an intimate contradiction with its urban setting.

In an overwhelming number of the other case studies, a traditional, sometimes almost vernacular image is pursued, chained to an idea of conservatism. Both at the level of the set

of buildings and of the individual buildings, connotations are publicized to the ideas of exception and history. The orderliness, the location, the type of activities, even the understood fantasy of the constructions, the slogans and especially the designations, add up to elements that appeal nostalgically to a past, mainly of high standing and prestigious, even when it had never come into existence.

Formally, by the references adopted, reproducing signs and symbols of past time; constructively, by the next to absence of technological innovation and by the submissive managing of systems of a current nature; conceptually, by the repeated non pondering of programs and well-adjusted services for the actual requirements of the inhabitant – all these outlooks turn out conforming solutions that come into sight as especially uninteresting and unmotivated architectonic results.

In the condominiums of small dimension, this condition is repeated as well. Though in these cases there is no place for a significant number of constructions, or even for an in-house office, there is always a control of use and image, which equally guarantees the marketing of a homogeneous and predictable prospect. Be it of a progressive appearance or of a conservative passivity.

In either circumstance, the projects are steered by commercial blueprints that follow, not the needs of the users, but whatever is most likely to be easily sold.

It is on the basis of the selection of the typology most in demand, namely the isolated villa with garden and parking or the standard apartment with 2 or 3 bedrooms immersed in a block, as well as of the most profitable formula in which these constructions get repeated, distributed and organized, either as indoor or as an outdoor spaces –it is on these basis that the criteria of the intervention is established. Not on the search of new hypotheses facing the dichotomy public-private/interior-exterior, not in the resolution of new living arrangements, not in thinking other ways of putting up a building.

WORKING TENDENCIES

Like tendencies in force across the 90's, several aspects are noteworthy are present. There are a bigger number of small interventions, in the core and in the periphery of Lisbon. These are confined to an urban logic at the scale of the block and of the individual plot of land. The interventions of middle scale, in smaller numbers, are more frequent in the fringe and suburbs of Lisbon and they refer to the logic of the neighbourhood and 'aldeamento' respectively. The cases of great dimension are the scarcest and they are located in the distant periphery, close to areas of vacation and of landscape value, in the form of great parks and 'aldeamentos'. In recent condominiums, and in spite of some disparate examples, there is a tendency for the number and dimension to vary inversely to the distance to the urban nucleus.

In other words, there are less and bigger cases in the periphery, and more and smaller cases in Lisbon.

By a morphological analysis it is concluded that most of the constructions concentrate in an island-way - with all the social facilities (swimming pools, fields or others) in the edges of the plot or inversely, in its centre (Fig. 4).

There are cases, less frequent, where the constructions are disseminated: either throughout the periphery – with the facilities in the centre, or throughout the centre – with the facilities involving them.

There are also hybrid, infrequent, solutions in the biggest condominiums, where the buildings are spread out in the whole land and consist of several diverse layouts.

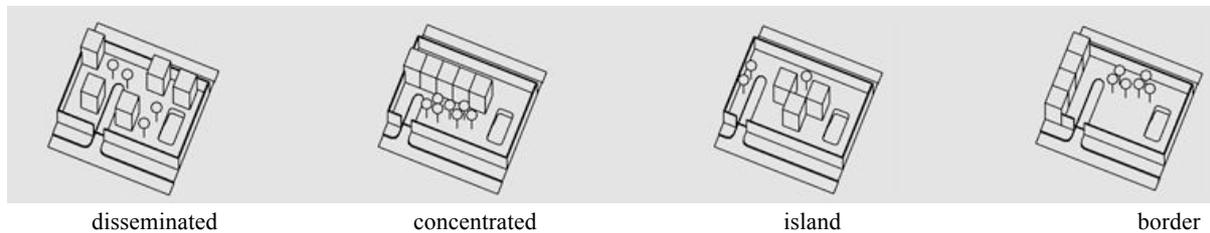


Figure 4 - Main patterns of distribution inside the plot

As an outcome of these surveyed principles of concentration and dissemination, in the interior and edges of the plot, it is possible to suggest that the adopted models of the layout are more urban when the overall dimensions are smaller.

The organization principles adopted in these estates vary and can be classified into 7 types, which in a decreasing rate of occurrences are as follows.

The majority follows the models of the square or / and 'patio', of the block and of the street or / and 'vila' and in these three cases there is always a direct relation with the location of the social and sport facilities, generally set in the centre. Less frequently, comes into view the linear model, where dwellings and equipments are aligned by the street, or are secluded in the interior of the plot, or still yet the model of the tower, where the dwelling is piled up and the equipments are disseminated or concentrated at the base. At last also appears the park model, which is typical of the project of middle to large dimensions and located mainly in the suburbs or entirely outside the city.

In spite of a few contradictory examples, one can state that there is a tendency for the density or compactness of the construction to vary inversely with the distance to the urban centre. In other words, to most urban cases, generally of small to medium dimensions, corresponds a more concentrated and governed by specific models construction and, to most suburban cases, generally of middle to large dimensions, corresponds a more disseminated and free standing construction.

Most of the small and middle-sized proposals, of urban and brief models, like the block, the square / 'patio', or the street / 'vila', are completely closed-in condominiums. In some scant and bigger dimensions cases, they have both a public access and a public conditioned use, allowing for a permeable relationship with the outside.

The nature of the limit or of the boundary of the private space is marked nearly always in a combined way (Fig. 5). Be it through the combination of buildings with fences, grilles and walls, or by a cooperative merger with the topography.

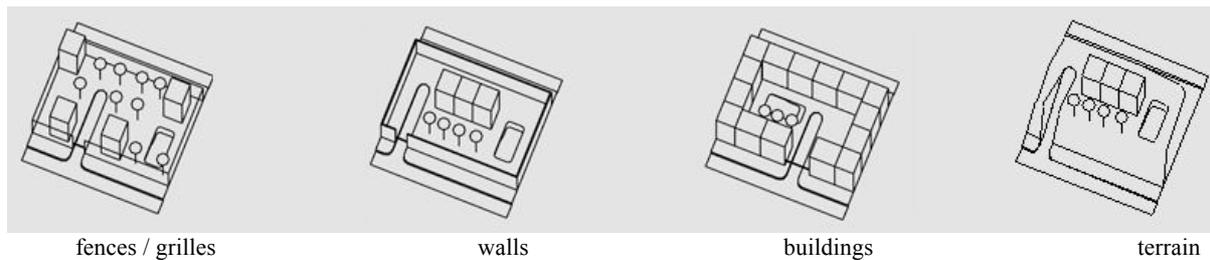


Figure 5 - Patterns of boundary definitions

Regarding the type of land use status, prevail the projects meant for 1st homes; they are complemented by their own equipments and are located in an urban setting. In fewer numbers, in the condominiums of large dimensions of the most specific peripheries close to vacation and tourism sites, they mix 1st and 2nd homes and are generally anchored to a complementary sports activity.

Most interventions follow the directives of the existent plans and with the exception of the large projects, the construction comprises buildings and exterior landscaped spaces in a unique phase done from scratch. The cases of partial and total renovation (Fig. 6), where new buildings are built and the involving zone is either rehabilitated or changed its land use, refer essentially to interventions of small to medium dimensions. They originate in the fragmentation of land adjoining old farmsteads and ‘solares’ (patrician houses), located in the early peripheries of Lisbon, now just about central. These are proposals for 1st homes that seek a good location and are set to benefit from the aura or distinction that the ancient residential cluster lends them. In many cases the old main house is refurbished as a support building, acting as complementary service to the new constructions, or still, the uses are changed and new constructions are not built; the whole group of previous buildings and gardens are reconverted and more intensely partitioned.

These last cases show a tendency to be located in the centre of the city and in general they correspond to constructions of historical profile like convents, ‘patios’ and old working-class ‘vilas’, where law protects the built set of buildings or new construction becomes more difficult.

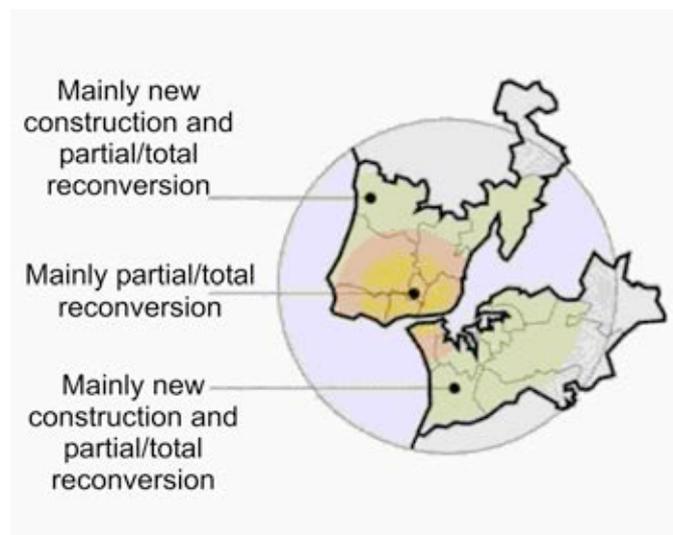


Figure 6 - Predominant status of construction in condominiums in Lisbon’s Metropolitan Region

Constructively, most of these projects respond even now to a traditional conception, fleeing from the search and use of new technologies, of new materials or the application of alternative building systems.

The surplus values that these projects proffer are centered essentially in the equipments, less so in the support services offered, and they generally mean shared equipments. These equipments, presented in a typological set phrase term (swimming pool, tennis court, athletic field, garden), are as a rule set around the exterior spaces, by the interior common hall and on the flat roof of the buildings.

In the same way, the habitation's fitness and overall quality as it appears in advertisements is established more on the type of equipments and surface finishes it provides, than on space and constructive definition. They are understood nearly always as gadgets of technical character, and are to be found especially in the kitchen, in the living room and in the entrance hall.

CONCLUSION

The patterns of localization preferences found for the metropolitan area indicate that the gated condominiums are either located by the sea or by the Tagus river – both settings that are nowadays a privilege, due to the dense and relatively continuous built urban fabric that faces these two bodies of water in the metropolitan area; or in the midst of the historical centre, or in some fewer cases, next to the held in reserve nature area of Monsanto or some other natural site. A great heterogeneity of overall dimensions and types of condominiums was found, ranging from a single building with a surrounding garden to areas of geographical significance in the region.

Trying to differentiate itself as a reaction to the provisos of a given sector of society and pursuing the motivations of the market, this type of projects is structured like a commercial product.

The response that this product presents lies in a set of eventual surplus values that qualify the intervention and make it a desirable product. However, the myth of exclusiveness and security are commercial constructs and the architectural quality of most of the interventions is not remarkable or ambitious.

In nearly all cases, the believed quality of the interventions is more connected to the quantity and nature of the offered equipments that to the character of the architectural space or to the value of its typological organization and construction. In other words, there is a logic that privileges less the architectural aspects and more the included equipments, sold nearly always like the surplus value or luxuries that grace the project. Would a quality building be one which is well fitted with equipments but which has been structured by commercial profitability, the greed of the promoter and the more inconsistent and accommodated response to the market's logic?

The basic debate about the transformation of space is not formulated in these projects and, from the conception of the dwelling to the setting of the group of buildings, the insistence lies on the misused repetition of obsolete models, incapable of answering the real necessities of current life. Some of the questions now raised, such as the match of work life with

domestic life, the adaptation of the house to new family structures, the intelligibility of neighbourhood relationships and the reinvention of public space, are points that it is urgent to plan and that most of these projects do not even come near to be concerned about. The resolute exploration of seclusion or the belief in the re-creation of a filtered society are fabricated promises, since in fact they result from strategies of the market and not from truly taking these problems into account. Inducing the degradation of the social fabric and giving rise to zonings that break up urban space, the distance and the sealing in are not solutions, but an undemanding alienation from the problems.

In good truth, a great deal of what is today a synonym of privilege and quality is the most direct evaluation of a failure to meet with the real world, its needs and its terms. What is sold is a brand article, an image of luxury able to distinguish or identify the buyer, but incompetent at answering the real premise that a contemporary dwelling carries with it. In fact, there is no reflection on how to dwell in the house, in the neighbourhood and in the city. Space is deluded by adornment and, instead of quality, what is sold is social distinction.

Based upon these cases, the real adequacy of the existing models is questioned.

A consistent intervention would depend mainly on a well-informed knowledge on the changing demands of present day inhabitants of our cities and on a new sensibility against social exclusion by means of spatial processes; this would include a renewed demand and a rehabilitation of the concept of a continuous city, a city based on public-space.

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A Study About the Design Strategy of Green Buildings in Hot-summer and Cold-winter Zone

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Key words: green buildings; low-energy cost; eco-technology

Abstract: The majority area of China with a high density population has hot-summer and cold-winter characteristic. In these areas, the temperature changes drastically. In order to maintain a comfortable indoor environment, buildings' operation cost and energy consumption as well as pollution are inevitably high. This phenomenon runs counter to the development pattern in which human being and the nature should coexist in harmony.

In China the annual construction supply is over 2 billion square meters (eg. 2005), the average cost of one square meter is approximately 770 Yuan Renminbi. The current national situation and the actual problems we are facing decide that we cannot simply copy the experiences of developed countries.

When designing a building, many essential factors (such as surface form, climate, hydrology, vegetation and so on) have to be taken into consideration. Among these, the decisive one is climate. On the one hand we have to make full use of the local natural resource, on the other hand we should apply suitable construction method to weaken the outside climate adverse effect to the indoor environment.

My team now focuses on questions as how to respect specific climate and environmental conditions, and find a technology which is beneficial to local ecotecture based on experiment and research. This is also the core content we would like to share with experts present.

As the world population grows, rare resources consumption, pollution and sustainable development are the major concerns of our time. Since the consumption of natural resource for our architecture industry in construction environment approximately compose 40% of total resources [1], hence the sustainable design has huge impact on limited resources.

Currently, China's sustainable design research concentrates mainly on energy saving measures of construction and urban plan. Such research maybe divided into two kinds: one is discussions on the relations between architectural design and the climate; another kind is on certain climate district. For instance, the author of this article is studying the design strategy of green buildings in hot-summer and cold-winter zone.

1. The climate nature of Hot-summer and cold-winter zone and its present problems

Item	Shanghai	Hangzhou	Nanjing	Hefei	nanchang	Wuhan	Changsha	chongqing	chengdu
Average temperature of the most hot month (°C)	27.8	26.7	28.0	28.3	29.6	29.8	29.3	28.1	25.6
the most hot temperature (°C)	38.9	39.9	40.7	41.0	40.6	39.4	40.6	40.2	37.3
Average temperature of the	32	33	32	32	33	33	33	33	29

most hot month at 14:00 (°C)									
The days of one year that more than 35°C of the hot temperature	8.7	22	15.8	16.3	27.7	21	30		1
Average relative humidity of the most hot month (%)	83	80	81	81	75	79	75	71	85

Chart 1: The meteorological parameter of 9 cities in Hot-summer and Cold-winter Zone in summer

Item	Shanghai	Hangzhou	Nanjing	Hefei	nanchang	Wuhan	Changsha	chongqing	chengdu
Average temperature of the most cold month (°C)	3.5	3.8	2.0	2.1	5.0	3.0	4.7	7.2	5.5
The days of one year that less than 5°C of Average temperature	56	51	77	72	18	59	32		
The days of one year that less than 5°C of the most low temperature	801	714	1155	1080	239	856	432		
Average relative humidity of the most cold month (%)	75	77	73	75	74	76	81	83	80

Chart 2: The meteorological parameter of 9 cities in Hot-summer and Cold-winter Zone in winter

The majority area of population density in China has a hot summer and cold winter. In these areas, the temperature changes drastically. The winter temperature can be as low as freezing point, while the summer temperature may rise to 35 °C and beyond and may remain a long period of time (Chart 1 and chart 2). Under such climatic conditions, many factors, including location, direction, spacing, the layout, the greenbelt and the material of road surface, have to be taken into consideration. Since so many factors are involved, this article alone can not analyze all of them. However, we do have to consider climate climatic information so as to link them with indoor thermal environment and with energy saving measures. So far energy saving practices and experience are related to wall materials and buildings' roof. This article will hence discuss the passive technology about thermal comfort in Hot-summer and cold-winter zone according to the local climate, emphatically from the microscopic point of view - architectural design strategy (reasonable construction form, daylight illumination, sunshading and so on), and the macroscopic point of view - the design and plan strategy of dwelling district.

2. Microscopic level

2.1 apply reasonable construction form

The buildings' plane and shape have great impact on energy cost since bigger the surface is, the greater energy consumption will be and more heat change between inside and outside of a building.

Proceeding from energy saving, ideal buildings are those with a small building surface yet great interior space. The coefficient of a building has obvious influence to the building energy consumption. If the coefficient of 0.4 reduces to 0.3, the heat transfer loses of the outside wall may reduce 25% [2]. The building factors directly related to coefficient are the height and plane form. The buildings' total height and each story's height have their specific request. It is impossible for architects to increase the buildings' height while trying to reduce the coefficient since the increases of buildings' height can cause higher cost and the increases of outside wall can cause more thermal radiation. The appropriate plane form is the key to control coefficient. So buildings should satisfy the request of urban plan and function design while avoid the flexuous plane form. Therefore regarding Hot-summer and cold-winter zone, the high-rise buildings' coefficient should be 0.10 ~ 0.15 and multilayer buildings' coefficient should be 0.30 ~ 0.35 [3]. The

control of buildings' shape for energy conservation is by no means to limit architectural design, but to provide one new thinking and the basis for the architect to adapt to local environment.

2.2 the basic strategy of daylight illuminations and the sunshading

2.2.1 orientation of daylight

China is located in Northern Hemisphere, so the south is usually the direct orientation on the daylight illumination. Whenever in one day or all year round, the south face of a building gets most sunlight. At the same time, sunshading installations to adjust and control sunlight have their role in the south face.

North face is the second good direction for daylight illumination. This side's light intensity is quite stable and also there is little disturbance of dazzles from the direct radiation of sunlight.

It is in summer other than in winter that the east and the west side get more sunshine. So these two sides are inferior. The major problem is, whether sun is eastward or westward, that the low angle illumination of sun can cause extremely serious dazzling and sunshading. Therefore, it is more advisable for windows to face south or north.

2.2.2 the basic strategy of opening window

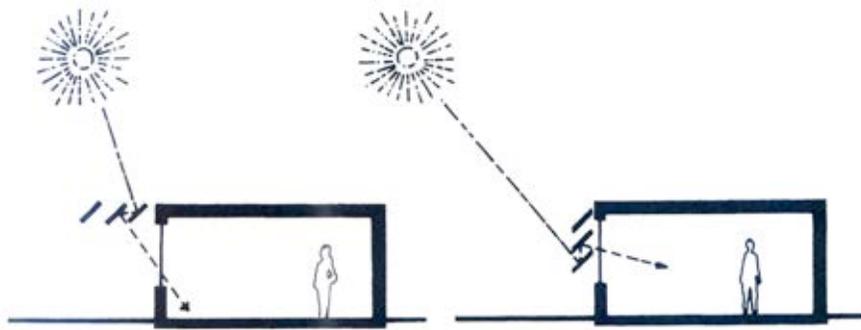


Picture 1

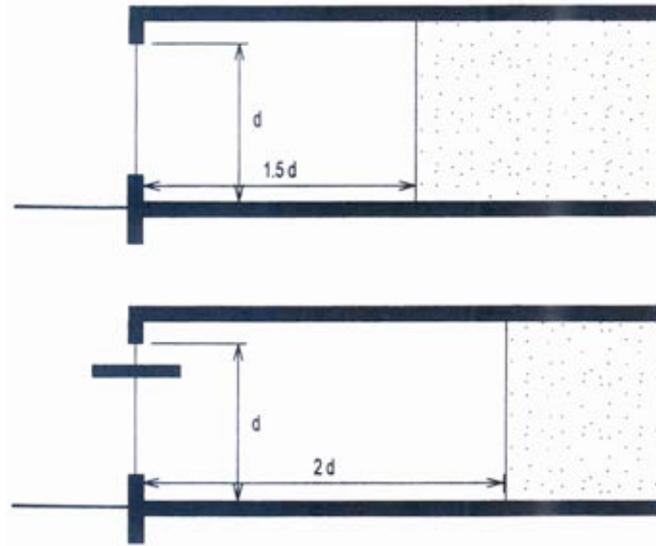


Picture 2

To consider natural ventilation and a balanced light distribution as well as reducing dazzles, we should use the two-sided illumination (open window on north and south). Also for the effective range of daylight illumination, it is limited in the region of about 1.5-time window height. So the ceilings' height should be increased in order to the windows' height can be enhance (picture 1). If the window is horizontal and is dispersible but is not centralized, the daylight into the room can be evener (picture 2). Because the wall near the window has acted as the reflector, reduced too intense directivity of the daylight illumination and the dazzling as well as wall brightness ratios between the window and the wall. In order to prevent excessive gains of heat in the summer and losses of heat in the winter in Hot-summer and cold-winter zone, the ratio of window area and the wall area should not excess 0.6 [4].

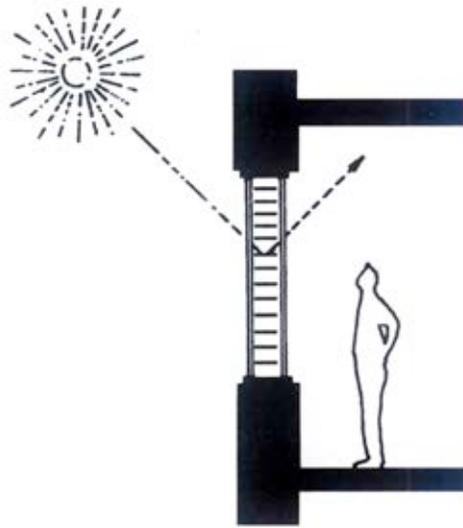


Picture 3



Picture 4

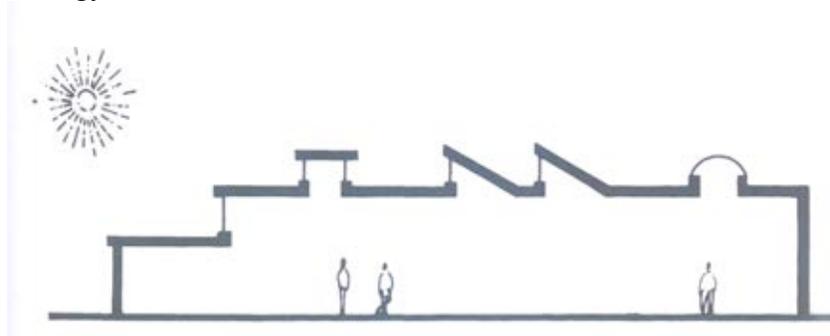
With the aid of the change of sun angle in winter and summer, and the glass absorbs the solar short wave heat radiation as well as the long wave heat radiation does not pass the glass, the south windows should be considered the sunshading in the summer to reduce the heat gains in Hot-summer and cold-winter zone. The sunlight is filtered by trees or sunshadings and become gentleness. Especially the roof overhanged the south window can provide ideal light by seasonal controlling. They eliminate the shadow of sunlight, reduce the dazzle of sunlight, and even avoid the light gradient passed through the room (Picture 3). If the shutters of reflecting light are installed just higher than the place of apparent horizon, the daylight can penetrate into room and the illumination quality does not be reduced (Picture 4). We should make the most of the own components of buildings to sunshade that is formed by convex-concave of buildings, and set the primary window in the shadow to reduce windows exposed in wall surface.



Picture 5

Changeable environment needs changeable responses. It is important of the dynamic changing of daylight illumination to the eastward and westward windows. There is the direct radiation of sunlight in every single day and the gentle diffused light in another half time. Removable installations of shielding light can make the response to these special changes. The problem that the blinds are easy to form the dirt is solved for blinds are installed in the cavity of double-glazed window. Its efficiency greatly surpasses the static system, because they can make a better response to daylight and the change of sunlight (picture 5). If sunshadings are installed outdoor, the effect can be better.

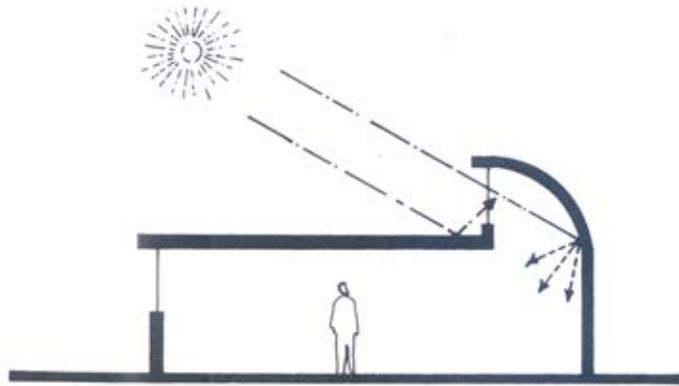
2.3 the basic strategy of roof windows



Picture 6

Roof windows may bring two important advantages. First, it can cause the fairly even light illumination in the quite big region of the room. It is limited in 4.5 meter near the window where the daylight illumination comes from the window of wall surface [5]. Next, the horizontal window obtains much more light than the vertical window. Certainly, the roof window also will be able to cause many serious issues. The light come from the roof window in the summer is stronger than in winter. When there are sunshadings only outside the roof windows, the energy consumption in summer will be reduced to the half of the energy consumption without any sunshadings [6]. Moreover the

level glass window is difficult with sunshadings. As a result of these reasons, some vertical glass window such as high side window, the lighting roof and zigzag roof window are adopted in the roof. (Picture6)



Picture 7

It is more than 4,000 years that daylight installations are built above roofs. When vertical high windows are southward, the sunlight gained in the winter is more than in the summer. And the vertical southward openings are easy to be with sunshadings to avoid direct radiation of the sunlight in the summer. The light gained from the northward openings is quite stable, so there are little dazzles indoor. Because the long shadow is difficult to be sheltered when sunrise and sundown, the eastward and westward openings are avoided. The diffuse light is obtained by the roofing illumination of high side window. (Picture 7)

3. Macroscopic level - the urban plan and design of dwelling district

3.1 the end of the development pattern of traditional dwelling and the development of dwelling district of ecotype city

In the 20th century 20's, the development pattern of traditional city means the unlimited expansion of roads, the unceasingly spreads of cities, the unceasingly aggravates of region environment. The long distance automobile is the municipal transportation of more development and little controlling, which causes the excessive exhaust to discharge and the heat island of the city. The increase of infrastructure investment has brought more energy consumption and the waste. The development pattern of tradition urban that takes the environment and the resources as the expense has not been suiting the future pattern of urban development.

When the world environment and development committee has published the report about in 1987, the idea that natural environment has the first status is rooted into the hearts of the people. Compared with the traditional pattern, the ecotype pattern give prominence to person's subjective initiative, the re-design to the existing city dwelling, the transformation of disadvantageous to the environmental protection and saving and reusing of resources [7]. We should design the compact and high efficiency pattern of city dwelling, and develop the pattern of low-density and dispersed function to the pattern of high-density and mix-use. Namely by the few infrastructure investment (roads, public traffic, heating and so on), we shell solve the problems of the dwelling, the work and the entertainment in the small scope as far as possibility. The research, which did for the

English government by ECOTEC in 1939, indicated that in the area of the lowest density population, the travel course which people drives each week is two times of the area of the highest density population [8]. Take Hong Kong that is a city of higher density population as the example, it is not difficult to see that the city depend huge support of transportation system to obtain the most economical efficiency. Therefore, it's important of the development strategy of high density and the high effective transportation system to reduce the discharge of the carbon dioxide, the energy consumption and the pollution.

3.2 the strategy of urban plan

Today, urban plans, which are established on the plane function arrangement and the esthetic consideration, have not been able to satisfy the need of society development. The energy conservation measure about the location, orientation, the spacing, the layout, the green and the road surface and so on in Hot-summer and cold-winter zone had been studied and discussed. The urban plan and design of dwelling district for sustainable development should be persisted various overlapping of disciplines' criterions. According to all conditions to integrate each analysis method and the technical measure, the harmonious unification of the economy, the environment and the social efficiency will be realized.

3.2.1 analysis method with climates:

Olgay brother in USA proposed early the biological climate design method (Bioclimatic Design Method, in 1953). They had considered the influence of climatic element to the architectural design as well as the corresponding problem of thermal comfort. Many architects and engineers have done a series of thorough research and the improvement for this method. Brown and Dekay (G Z Brown & Mark the Dekay, 2001) used one kind of "the multi-layer cake" which like Macharge to analysis the climatic conditions of the site included sunshine, wind environment and so on to quantification and gather one map to choose best site of each kind of condition in the location. The design strategy set of architecture design and urban plan, which is popularized and applied to the North America, has established the climate analysis as the starting point. This method has very great significance to our country. Li Baofeng unified predecessor's climate analysis method and proposed passive technology about thermal comfortably in Hot-summer and cold-winter zone of China [9]. Therefore, some climate, hydrology and transportation of site factors should be considered as a whole in the design and plan of dwelling district before determine all kind of technical measure. And each analysis method is utilized to take the assistance method of the design in order to discover and solve all kind of environment problems.

3.2.2 the optimization design method of winds environment simulation:

In order to avoid that unreasonable urban plan and building design cause the worsening of the local climate; energy consume of the power ventilation and the air-condition are enlarged because of difficulty to form good natural ventilation in Summer; the heat lose is excessively quickly for many wall and other enclose structure are exposed to the cold wind directly in the winter. Therefore the wind environment is simulated in the stage of urban plan and design, which may discover some flaws of

buildings group. The target of computer simulating and optimized design for the wind environment is that: (a) the maximum natural ventilation in summer. A greater pressure difference between windward and leeward in all dwelling district guarantees the natural ventilation of housing in summer. (b) The shelter effect in winter. Namely don't exposed to the cold wind as far as possible in the winter to optimize the performance of buildings. (c) Comfort of wind environment. There is the wind canyon without high-speed wind and the dead angle of the wind. The orientation of building should better be vertical with the direction of the leading wind or smaller than 30° angle and the overall layout of buildings group is low- south and high- north.

4. Summaries

The problem of environment has entered the mainstream of culture. Each cenozoic faces the environment challenge which grows day by day. When we have further understanding of these questions, we are establishing slowly a collective momentum, not only solve these problems, moreover also should realize the opportunity provided to us. These opportunities guide us to the health and vitality of the new generation, as well as the building and the community that improve the quality of our life.

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The Making of Subaltern Urban Spaces: The Legacy of Colonial Urban Development

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This paper begins with the premise that the extant corpus of planning theory suffers from a persistent case of “placelessness.” To put it another way, the spatiality of planning actions, decisions, and processes continue to elude planning theory’s universe of discourse which is defined instead by: processes, institutions, and incidence; politics and market; state and capital; welfare, justice, equity and fairness; rationality, pragmatism and values; communication, advocacy, and negotiation; and so on. The matter of power, when addressed, is typically framed by this agenda. But space and place are not included in this universe. Additionally, there is also very little in this body of literature that is historic or cross-cultural in content. The intent of this paper is to make a case for framing issues of power in historical and cross-cultural perspectives involving place and space, drawing from the historiography of colonial cities. What follow then are some arguments about the production of subaltern space in the images of power and implications of this analysis in the contemporary context of planning and organization of urban space.

The Legacy of Colonial Cities:

In the pre-industrial, pre-modern, and pre-colonial times the design of cities was based on endogenous models of development. These canonical and normative models were grounded in cosmic or spiritual concepts of goodness, perfection, order, balance, and hierarchy. They symbolized the contemporaneous images of development, and the ideals of a good society. With the beginning of the colonial era endogenous models of city design were replaced by exogenous – and primarily European – models of city design reflecting the contemporaneous principles of order, organization, and aesthetics. But this was not an entirely benign transformation. I argue in this paper, as have others previously (Abu Lughod 1982, Alsayyad 1992, Çelik 1997) that the colonial transformation of the native landscape was a deliberate act to assert control, power, and superiority of the colonizers. The result was a dualistic landscape, resulting from juxtaposition in some cases of the traditional and the colonial settlements, or a large scale surgery of the existing urban fabric, where the native city was subordinated by the new construction in the colonizers’ images of their respective homelands. As Çelik (1996) writes commenting on the French colonial intervention in Algiers, that such acts “were not only formally oppositional to the architecture and urbanism in place, but they diced and sliced the city, appropriating and demolishing indiscriminately.” (p. 203) In this landscape the spaces of the colonizers were privileged, and endowed with greater resources, produced at the Western standards of space consumption and construction, involving massive capital outlay, built by native labor, and financed by surplus values extracted from colonial labor and resources. Furthermore they relegated existing spaces to a status of subalternity. This polarized landscape carried the seeds of the subsequent uneven spatial development and a dualistic urban form that still persists in most developing economies today.

On Dualism:

In the contemporary development discourse the term dualism is most commonly associated with the notion of economic dualism. That is, in most developing countries, it is argued that there are two very distinct sectors of economy, one formal, and the other informal. This economic dualism metaphor was initially derived from Clifford Geertz' notion of "technological dualism" and further extended to include cultural, social, and indeed spatial dualism. Castells (1977) in contrast has proposed that the dualistic form involving a traditional pre-colonial component and the more modern Westernized urban component is a legacy of the colonial urban development.

In advancing Castells' proposition I would add further that the introduction of exogenous ideology, intentions and images of urban space in the colonial period essentially marked the beginning of the dualistic urban form as we know today. I will present this argument by drawing from different genres of colonial city development –the British, Dutch, French, and Italian-- with specific case studies. But first let us consider the notion of subaltern spaces.

The Notion of Subalternity:

The term subaltern is normally used to define individuals, species (as in biology), or propositions (as in logic) and social classes in historical context (as in the postcolonial and subaltern studies) "of inferior rank or position" or of subordinate status (Funk & Wagnalls 1963). The corpus of the postcolonial subaltern studies derive its inspiration from Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony that discussed the circumstance of subordination of individuals or groups ("*classi subalterne*") in which "the subjects are deprived of their self-reliance as persons as well as citizens" and which "denotes both a factual condition of powerlessness and a representation of oneself as an impotent hostage in the hands of an ineffable destiny." (Urbiniti, 1998, p. 372, 370). For the purposes of this paper I propose to use the word subaltern to define the spatial consequences of colonial urban development. Endogenous urban spaces and formations that had their own canons and norms, internal logic, hierarchy, sustainability and inertia were suddenly made subaltern to an alien design with colonial conquest and subjugation. I argue further that the subaltern outcomes of colonial development involved fundamental structural transformations in the larger landscape that had continued through much of the postcolonial era.

Contemporary development of the Third World can be seen as a project of the West that began in the colonial era, and in the images of development advanced by the West. There are two meta-narratives that support this proposition. The first meta-narrative is that of the critique of Orientalism expounded in the seminal work of Edward Said (1979), who argued that the Orientalist scholarship of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century had helped to construct the "Other" in the Western worldview and legitimize the rationale for the colonial enterprise in the name of development. This meta-narrative, argues Prakash (1995), "has lived a seditious life" (p. 199) and persistently transgressed disciplinary boundaries of Western scholarship, thus inserting an indeterminacy of its authority and inspiring a generation of scholars including the postcolonial theorists and more recently urban designers and planners (AlSayyad 1991, 1992). Most significantly, argues Prakash, it is "this indeterminacy that has served as a provocation to rethink the modern west from the position of the Other, ...in exploring the implications of demonstration that the East/West opposition is an externalization of an internal division in the modern West." (p. 199).

The work of Said triggered a significant body of intellectual and scholarly response to his work, some critical, others simply inspired and stimulated by his principal arguments. By and large these writings have come to be incorporated within what is now generally known as the post-colonial paradigm. A large portion of this corpus of literature has been produced by humanist scholars from the Indian sub-continent initially under the leadership of Ranajit Guha (19XX) examining the life experiences of the indigenous society and their cultural and political relationships under the British rule. But unfortunately for those of us interested in the urban form outcome of the colonial period, this literature has remained mute on spatial implications of the subaltern identity. Yet it seems that an important derivative of this literature would involve urban form and space as a medium for representing subaltern relationships. Indeed there is a growing literature on aspects of colonial urban development (or underdevelopment) that suggests such possibilities.

The second meta-narrative involves the construction of the Other as a necessary artifact of the colonizers' worldview where the Other is necessarily represented as an inferior, undeveloped, primitive or empty culture incapable of developing on its own. Geographer Blaut (1993) argues that the "colonizer's model of the world" was based on the presumption that while culture change can be either endogenously obtained, or exogenously induced, most countries were incapable of endogenous development and thus must depend on external intervention. This was essentially a "diffusionist" view which hypothesized that the non-Western countries needed intervention from the West for their development. Furthermore, when examples of extant and advanced technology in the New World contradicted this assumption it was further hypothesized that such technology must have been obtained from some form of early globalization. Such views argued "that the great pre-Columbian civilizations of the Americas must be, ultimately, the result of transpacific or transatlantic diffusions, because these civilizing traits (agriculture, temple architecture, writing, and so on) were found much earlier in the Old World than the New, and Native Americans probably were not inventive enough to think up these things on their own." (Blaut 1993, p. 11). We should note that like the critique of Orientalism the critique of the diffusionist model is also seditious, challenging the authority of disciplinary knowledge.

This diffusionist perspective, with its sense of an inside and an outside or more poignantly, a core and a periphery, believed that the superior intellect and values of the Western man of course propelled the progress and modernization of Europe, while the "outside" or the periphery remained stagnant and undeveloped, because the absence of the intellectual capabilities in the periphery kept it stagnant. It was natural therefore to expect that the only way the periphery could develop was from the diffusion of innovations, and from progressive ideas and values from the West. Furthermore as quid pro quo the recipients of the European innovations and ideas the periphery had to reimburse the core with primary goods and other forms of material wealth; and so on.

Like Orientalism the diffusionist scholarship essentially contributed to the cause of colonialism which was not only an enormously profitable undertaking but also involved major investments in collecting information of the native society, and in structuring, cataloging and classifying indigenous society and culture. While diffusionism is a scholarly world-view the process of diffusion in fact was achieved through the process and the agents of colonialism – missionaries, soldiers, technicians, bureaucrats, and the like. Indeed, as Blaut argues, "classic diffusionism arose in tandem with classic colonialism" (p.25) with attendant theories that supported and justified colonial enterprise. One of those theoretical doctrines had to do with the notion that the concepts of private property and property rights were

essentially European institutions, and hence they had to be introduced and institutionalized – necessary also for colonial appropriation of property, and the subsequent taxation purposes. Another version of this doctrine involved what Blaut refers to as the “myth of emptiness”, that the colonized territory was empty of population and settlements, thus lacking any territorial claim or sovereignty from the indigenous population, thus also serving the interest of colonial appropriation of land and natural resources. “Oriental” despotism was another such doctrine used to construct the leadership of the “Other” giving justification for military intervention for the greater cause of liberating the people, but also to eliminate sources of armed resistance.

This larger meta-narrative of Orientalism, Diffusionism, and Colonialism then offers the backdrop against which we should consider the emergence of subaltern spaces in the colonized world, especially in the late eighteenth through early twentieth century. One of the difficulties of these meta-narratives is that they are a step or two removed from the reality. Much of the critical literature is not so much about the social history of subaltern population and spaces, but about how to represent the subaltern, who can actually do that and whether it can be done at all. As Beverley (1999) argues, drawing from an earlier work of Spivack (1988), academic knowledge is incapable of representing the subaltern, “because academic knowledge is a practice that actively produces subalternity.” (p. 2). Thus subaltern studies literature is somewhat trapped in an intellectual impasse. According to Beverley: “what subaltern studies can or should represent is not so much the subaltern as a concrete social-historical subject, but rather the difficulty of representing the subaltern as such in our disciplinary discourse and practice within the academy.” (p. 1).

In the growing space of subaltern scholarship inspired by the work of Said, the notion of the subaltern space – whether in the sense of the absolute or the abstract, to draw from Lefebvre (1991) – remains basically uncharted. Yet one of the most significant legacies of the colonial era is the profound and alien transformation of the indigenous landscapes of the colonized world. The nature of colonial urban development, and the formation and production of urban space has received considerable attention from urban designers and planners, historians, cultural geographers, and political theorists (see for example, Castells 1976; King 1976, Çelik, 1997, Wright, 1991). Although aspects of subalternity are implicit in many of these scholarly writings, and accepted either as inevitable outcome of the colonial domination (cf. Castells 1976, for example), or explained as an innovation in urban space (cf. King 1976), the nature of the subaltern relationship between the indigenous urban space and the colonial urban space may not have been fully appreciated or explored.

The Colonial Project

The history of colonization is quite complex and varied. In the limited space of this paper it will not be possible to consider in depth the stylistic differences in the colonial development under the Spanish, British, French, Dutch, or Italian regimes. They share the same leitmotifs nevertheless. It is possible to summarize the intents, images, and methods of city building in several distinct phases: control and domination; consolidation; assimilation; conversion; and finally reform. In the initial phase of control and domination new spaces were created by obliterating traditional urban form and structure, or superimposing new form on the existing space, thereby claiming a superior outcome. This early stage of colonial development often involved sequestering indigenous space and landscape, and consigning the native population to separate and segregated settlements. Often subaltern spaces were subject to surveillance and panoptic control, in a Foucauldian sense (see Foucault, 1995), by surrounding the

indigenous settlements and maintaining a *cordon sanitaire*. The consolidation phase involved building new infrastructure and cities that continued to relegate existing settlements to subaltern status. The new space of the colonizers was designed and built in the image of European motherland, mixing nostalgia and romanticism, and in defiance of the local climate and ecology. The third phase involved assimilation – demographic in some instance, as in Latin America, and cultural in others, as in India. Missionary projects paralleled this assimilation and consolidation was involving proselytism and conversion to Christianity, education of the native population, and introduction of Western leisure and entertainment practices. This would result in new spaces of worship, learning, and recreation. Finally, the last phase involved well-meaning and reform-minded interventions in the spaces and institutions of the subaltern population, in the areas of public health, and other social services, but without changing the subaltern status of the natives.

The British Legacy

Given the expansive history of the British Empire it is best to focus on the colonial urban development in the Indian subcontinent controlled and ruled by the British for over three hundred years. This history involved a complex evolution of their social, political and cultural relationship with the Indian people. As argued by Metcalf (1994) ideological tensions and contradictions continued throughout, including establishment of the urban colonial footprint.

According to Metcalf India was always a major enigma for the British. Its complex culture, traditions, faith, social structures, and value system remained alien and intractable to them despite important scholarly work on India's cultural and political history. Even after three centuries of colonial experience the "the idea of India," to borrow a phrase from Khilnani (1998), remained elusive. Tensions and contradictions within the British predilections, policies and actions shaped the "ideologies of the Raj" (Metcalf, 1995). Imperatives of city building were ultimately shaped by political philosophies, administrative imperatives, strategic needs, and pragmatic reasoning that sought to justify imperialism. In this process the attitude toward the natives oscillated between ideologies emphasizing polar opposites of the inherent similarity (or equality) of all human beings versus the intrinsic difference between the British and the Indians.

It is possible to collapse this complex political history in three distinct phases. The first phase involved the Metropole's questioning of the expansion and exploits of the East India Company in the late eighteenth century, and the attempt to define the imperatives for the governance of India according to the British institutions. Principal advocates were the intellectuals like Philip Francis and Edmund Burke. But even by the end of this period and through the beginning of the nineteenth century there was considerable tension about the appropriate form of governance, whether to be done according to the laws grounded in the British tradition, or in the tradition of "Oriental despotism" but modulated by benevolent and enlightened rulers, reflecting the larger ambivalence about whether to treat the natives as similar or different from the ruling class.

Perhaps the most critical period of the ideological development was the period following industrial revolution and the rise of liberalism as a political ideal on the British mainland in the early nineteenth century. The liberal point of view "conceived that human nature was intrinsically the same everywhere, and that it could be totally and completely transformed, if not by sudden revelation as the evangelicals envisaged, then by the workings of law,

education, and free trade.” (Metcalf 1995, p. 29). John Stuart Mill was a principal figure in advancing the arguments of liberalism emphasizing the inherent value of liberty in governance, different from earlier Benthamite thinking of his father James Mill, who emphasized utilitarianism. The liberal thinking on governance focused on the modern institutions like property rights and legal systems as the basis for development. By deemphasizing indigenous traditions and cultures, the liberal view proposed inherent similarity in human beings, and thus rationalizing the imperative of imperialism as one of liberating the indigenous population from the yoke of despotism and traditional values that repressed liberty.

In the third phase of the ideological development of the British *raj* the lofty ideas of modernity and liberalism that emphasized the universality of the human abilities and reasoning, were gradually supplanted by a deliberate construction of the differences that existed between the people of the Indian subcontinent and Europe in cultural, racial, and even personality traits. It is not apparent in Metcalf’s account whether this tendency, to some extent, was a backlash to systematic resistance to the British rule that began with the 1857 battle of Plassey. But it was evident that administrative and military exigencies required not only the “creation” but also “ordering” of this difference. The “seeing” needs of the modern state required classifying the native population by caste, ethnicity, religion, anatomical features, and the like (cf. Scott, 1998).

There should be no doubt that the construction and ordering of difference was an attempt to define the subaltern in more than one way. Native customs and institutions like *sati* and *bala-bibaha* were considered by the British as backward and deplorable practices and a sign of underdevelopment. The native population, largely peasant, were seen as simple and child-like who needed civilizing by a benevolent and paternalistic government. The rule of India by now was based on an “imperial ideology by insisting that Indians, like children, required a long process of tutelage before they could participate in the governance of their country.” (Metcalf, 1995, p. 199-200).

Beyond the official acts of categorizing and census taking of the differences, there were also literary and popular writings that advanced a gendering of the subaltern relationship. Thus it was always a difference between the “rational” Europe and the “sensual” India, a masculine colonial power controlling a feminine colonized people. The Indian male was characterized as effeminate, and the women generally degraded (Levine, 1994). The ordering also involved spatial segregation, separation, and distancing between the European and the native populations. In part the distancing grew out of a sense of vulnerability, a fear of contamination, from being close to the native population and their “dirt and disease” – as aptly captured in the French expression *cordon sanitaire* – leading to a paradigmatic urban form. The form engendered by the distancing can “best be imagined as a set of nested boxes, each walled off from the larger Indian world outside.” (Metcalf 1995, p. 177) In addition to the cantonment and civil lines as broad urban districts, hill stations and bungalow residences were the other two elements of British retreat from the subaltern world of India (King, 1976, 1984; Davies, 1985; Metcalf, 1995). We will focus here on city design and urban planning efforts in building the colonial city.

The Imperial Kolkata: The first act toward building the colonial city was largely a defensive posture. A formidable fortress – Fort William – was constructed in 1712 on the bank of the river where it is widest, with a two-tiered rampart of baroque design. Vast expanses of open space that now comprise the public open space of the city -- the *maidan* -- isolated the fort on

other three sides, thus creating the necessary insularity discussed previously. Beyond this dedicated open space began the first settlements of the European city, in the “empty space” between the three original indigenous settlements each specializing in religious, commercial, and trading activities. A 1742 plan of Calcutta showed a fenced area beyond the fort, noting that “within the Compass of the Pallisades(sic) lived the Europeans and Christians.” (Wilson 1906, plate VI, quoted in Sinha, 1978 p. 5) This “fenced city” included the Armenians and the Portuguese who had arrived earlier than the British and had already built churches in the northern edge of this exclusive area. As Sinha (1978) pointed out, this was the beginning of the separation and segregation between the Europeans and the natives, the dualism of the White Town and the Black Town, and the subaltern relationship in space that will continue throughout the colonial time.

Soon the fences would disappear and a transitional zone – mainly commercial in nature around pre-existing trading posts – would emerge to the north and northeast of the previously “fenced city” allowing interpenetration of the Europeans and the native population. The prosperous native business class who were responsible for the development of this large commercial area of many specialized “bazaars” lived further north in their own palaces and mansions. Many native settlements of poor working class remained immediately outside the White Town as the Europeans needed domestic help and other service workers nearby. The areas to the east and the south of the *Maidan* would begin to be populated by large sumptuous mansions built in classic European style in large lots.

Even more expensive, monumental, and nostalgic architecture were still to come. In the waning years of century Marquis Wellesley the then governor-general decided to construct a monumental Government House “that would be a true symbol of power and authority, a headquarters fit for a mighty empire,” (Dutta 2003) – a sentiment not unlike that of Cortés in Mexico or Pizarro in Peru in building their imperial cities more than a century earlier. This new edifice, completed in 1802, was an exact copy of the Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire designed by Robert Adams.

Through the nineteenth century the landscape of the White Town will be embellished by such institutions as the race course, several clubs, a few cemeteries and more churches, most significant being the St. Paul’s cathedral at the southeastern edge of the *maidan*, constructed around the middle of the nineteenth century. About fifty years later, in an adjoining site at the southern edge of the *maidan* another grand edifice – and perhaps the most distinguished in the British colonial history – would arise to commemorate Queen Victoria, who managed to cultivate a special bonding with her Indian subjects. Initiated by the then governor general Curzon, and designed by William Emerson, at that time president of the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Victoria Memorial was completed in 1906. Dubbed immediately as the “Taj of the Raj,” this building was also done in the classical Palladian style, reminiscent of Belfast City Hall according to some critics. Emerson’s design was considered “a mixture of English Baroque and Indo-Saracenic with some Islamic and Hindu features.” (Dutta 2003, p. 132).

Lutyen’s Delhi:

Lutyen’s plan for the new Imperial capital followed the baroque order and symmetry that inspired the layout of Versailles, Baron Haussmann’s surgery of medieval Paris, Sixtus V’s design for Rome, and L’Enfant’s plan for Washington, D.C. Many observers had likened the main east-west axis, a wide ceremonial boulevard Champs Élysée in Paris. As an architect Lutyen liked classical style with simplified modernistic lines. It is not surprising that lacking

a background in town planning he would choose a more formalistic approach to the layout of the city. Thus the Government House, the Secretariat and Parliament House complex to the west, Connaught Circus – a major business and commercial node to the north -- and a monument that establishes a visual terminal point to the east formed the three corners of an equilateral triangle of roughly two kilometers each side, fitting inside a larger hexagon whose corners served three additional points of radiating streets. The similarity with L'Enfant's Washington and Haussman's Paris is not entirely accidental. Impressed by the layout of Washington, the Viceroy sent for plans for these cities to serve as a guide. Lutyen himself explicitly considered such comparisons, not knowing then, ironically, that this similarity in design, would presage the political isomorphism between the oldest and largest democracies in the world. According to Irving (1981):

“Unquestionably there are remarkable correspondences between the plans of Washington and New Delhi” a system of grand diagonal avenues and rond-points delineating giant hexagons, interlocked with a grid pattern; a commanding capitoline acropolis from which radiates a patte-d'oie, including a broad two-mile parkway terminating at a monument at the river's edge; and a bold axis crossing the center of this leafy mall...Evidently these similarities did not escape Herbert Baker: in 1930 he characterized New Delhi's “ingenious” layout as “a noble development of the germ of L'Enfant's plan of Washington and Wren's rejected design for the City of London.”” (p. 83-84)

Despite Hardinge's best intentions and ideas for visually linking the Government House to Jama Masjid to the northeast and to Indraprastha to the east as a gesture of anchoring the new city to the previous history of the place, the plan for New Delhi became an expression of baroque monumentality that had very little sense of continuity with the existing urban form or urbanism. Unfortunately Lutyen's design concept for the main civic axis turned out to have a major flaw, and came under immediate scrutiny from the British professional community. The location of the two wings of the secretarial building flanking the approach to the Government House was criticized as soon as the construction began. Located on the highest point of the Raisina Hills the Government House serves a magnificent visual terminus for the ceremonial axis from a distance, but it begins to disappear from the visual field as one arrives at the bottom of the hill, while the secretariat buildings dominate the approach (see Vale, 1992).

Beyond the monumental architecture, and baroque city design, Lutyen's Delhi would leave another legacy of hierarchical segregation in its residential quarters and house forms. Quite early in the planning process Lutyen would draw a sketch in which he would show the placement of housing reflecting racial segregation, which “was made even more emphatic by placing bungalows of junior European officials on rising ground above junior Indians (labeled “thin white” and “thin black”), with the residences of senior officers still higher.” (Irving 1981, p. 78) In the final version of the social organization of the plan a combination of the rank and occupational hierarchy of Edwardian India will be combined with race and subaltern status of the local population. As Davies (1985) noted:

“The socio-spatial layout of the city reflected the...relative status and privilege attached to each rank...Within the hexagonal grid pattern five areas were allocated according to race, occupational rank and social status – one for gazetted officers (fat whites), another for European clerks, a third for indigenous clerks and lower ranking officials, a fourth for Indian princes and nobility, and finally a discrete area for non-persons of the lowest rank.” (p. 224-225)

The legacy of Lutyen's Delhi left a new caste system based on race and alterity, something that Abu-Lughod (1980) will refer to as "urban apartheid" in the case of Moroccan cities, as we will see next.

The French Legacy

The net effect of the French colonial development was not all that different from the subaltern effects of the British colonial imprint, and impelled by very similar sentiments that drove British imperialism in India in the later years of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. But it is apparent that like in the British imperial rule, there were tensions over the hegemony of the Metropole in authorizing every colonial administrative decisions (Abu-Lughod, 1980). Given the relatively shorter time span of the French colonial rule and extent and scope of French colonial urban development were somewhat limited. In the following text we will examine subaltern spatial outcomes in two colonies: Algeria and Morocco.

The Moroccan Case: Although in a sense these changes in the Moroccan cities were quite similar to the planning and construction of the British imperial capital of New Delhi, underway about the same time, the manner in which this transformation occurred was somewhat different. First, the transformation involved several cities. Second it happened through central edict and institutional changes. Third and finally, it happened over a relatively short time. This change was dramatic enough, and the term "urban apartheid" certainly captured the essence of the subaltern relationship of the native population and space with respect to the social and physical domains of the colonizers.

The French colonial transformation that seemingly resulted in an apartheid type outcome began with an aesthetic impulse for conserving the traditional Moroccan walled cities. A French aristocrat of aesthetic taste, Lyautey appreciated the rich heritage of the Moroccan culture including its urban heritage, and while having a vision of bringing order and harmony in these cities, he felt strongly that the indigenous cities should remain untouched, not just in their physical form but also in their social content and institutional structures. This sentiment no doubt reflected the "arabizing" policies of Napoleon III that, as early as the middle of the nineteenth century had anticipated conservation of the casbah in Algiers because the needs of the French were different from those of the indigenous people." (Çelik, 1997, p. 37).

The new cities for Europeans were to be constructed outside the walled city in undeveloped sites. The result thus was the classical dualistic urban form that segregated and separated the natives from the colonizers. This was a part of the grand vision of Lyautey, patronizing and paternalistic, as we have seen in the case of the British attitude toward its Indian subjects. He wanted to construct in Morocco "a strong edifice, ordered and harmonious, which could offer to the world the spectacle of a congregation of humanity where men, so unlike in origins, dress, occupations, and race, continue, without abdicating any of their individual conceptions, their search for a common ideal, a common reason to live." (quoted in Abu-Lughod, 1980 p. 142). Commenting on the urban outcome of this vision, Abu-Lughod wrote:

"Yet out of the "best intentions" in the world, Lyautey created a system of cultural and religious apartheid, segregating Europeans in new cities laid out on vast open spaces...while confining Moroccans to the oldest cities, which, he decreed, should be touched as little as possible." (p. 142)

Beyond the aesthetic argument this spatial insularity and segregation was seen to have both political and strategic advantages. Intrusion into the existing indigenous city – as was done in Algiers – was aesthetically degrading, and led to resentment among the native population for

disrupting their social and institutional fabric. Strategically, however, keeping the natives contained within the walled cities improved the panoptic surveillance and military control, because intervention “could be imposed more readily and ruthlessly if one did not have to worry about the safety of one’s compatriots.” (Abu-Lughod,, p. 144).

Finally, the spatial segregation was seen as having a hygienic function, because it would allow the Europeans to avoid direct contact “with the indigenous elements of the lower class, whose physiological misery and filthiness would be important factors in the spread of epidemics.” (Casinère, 1924:88, quoted in Abu-Lughod, p. 144). It will be recalled that similar concerns about contamination and disease also underlied the British policy of segregation. So, the subaltern status of the medina was formalized in three ways: non-intervention in the historic medina, creation of a *cordon sanitaire* separating the indigenous city from the new colonial city, and creation of a European city in the images of the colonizers’ homeland. (Abu-Lughod, 1980)

Visually and cognitively the images of this dualism were quite different. If we consider Kevin Lynch’s (1960) three criteria – identity, structure, and meaning -- the new European town may have seemed more imageable, at least in the Western mind, because of its structural legibility, but it probably lacked identity and meaning at least from the native’s perspective. The European mind on the other hand found the form of the medina totally illegible and dysfunctional, but to the native it had its own imageability derived from identity and meaning as Gulick (1967) had pointed out in his study of the images of Arab cities.

Algiers: Compared to the colonial transformation of the Moroccan cities under Lyautey which happened with relative ease and speed, the transformation of Algiers that began some fifty years earlier was much less expedient, and as it turned out, more invasive. The target of the slicing and dicing was the marine quarters in the lower casbah known as the “public city” because of its public activities like souk, mosques, and later, military and administrative quarters. The upper casbah or the private city of some fifty ethnic neighborhoods was spared of such intervention, initially at least.

Military necessities required the initial intervention by clearing out a large part of the historic fabric in order to create a *place d’armes* as shown in the 1833 map, followed by street widening for north-south connections. The construction of the new colonial city began soon thereafter to the south of casbah along the coast. Because of the difficult topography the rectilinear grid had to be adjusted to negotiate the steep terrain. But the layout of the new colonial city had begun to establish a new order, scale and geometry very different from the organic urban form of the casbah within the Ottoman walls. After the initial intervention and improvements of the casbah and the attention of the colonial authorities shifting to the planning and design of the new urban additions, the physical condition of the old city deteriorated through neglect. As argued by Algerian sociologist Djaffar Lesbet (cited in Çelik, 1997) this process eventually led to a system of self-governance and civic activism transforming the casbah “into a “counter space” (*espace contre*) that represented the oppositional voice of Algerians to colonial power.” (Çelik, 1997, p. 38).

By 1880 obsession with defense led to a new fortification circumscribing the new colonial city and enfolding the original native city. But the antipodic relationship between “the casbah and French Algiers, crystallized further by the former’s “counter space” character, destroyed any possibility of overall harmony in a situation distinct to French colonial urbanism.” (Çelik,

1997, p. 38). To paraphrase Fanon (1963), there was never a chance for any conciliation, the *intramuros* locations notwithstanding, because of their mutual exclusivity.

The Dutch Legacy:

By the earlier part of the twentieth century when the colonial projects of all European powers were being actively challenged in the form of independence movements and political resistance in the colonies, and critically examined by the post-Orientalist western scholarship at home, the Dutch tried to project their colonial enterprise as one of a very different ilk from that of say, the British, French, or Spanish regimes. Seeing themselves as “A Cunning David Amidst the Goliaths of Empire” they tried to explain their colonial successes for a small country to their sensitivity and understanding of the culture and people of the Indonesian archipelago. (Gouda, 1995, p. 39). At the 1931 International Colonial Exposition in Paris, the Dutch pavilion, occupying some three hectares of the fair grounds and built at an enormous cost of fifteen million francs was an impressive tableau of the Dutch colonial domain. What was distinctive about this pavilion is that unlike some other national pavilions that relied on various iconic ersatz structures, the Dutch design conveyed a synthesis of cultural heritages of East and West, purportedly serving “as a metaphor for the Dutch pride in being able to forge political unity among the diversity of sophisticated ethnic cultures and religions that flourished in the Indonesian archipelago.” (Gouda, 1995, p. 194).

The Dutch colonial legacy began with fortified settlements laid in regular pattern with system of canals and rivers, very much in the images of medieval walled cities. As Nas (1986) pointed out the plan of old Batavia company town looked like Amsterdam as it was “built along canals and dominated by the Dutch type of canal houses and drawbridges.”(p. 6). In some ways the cultural mix began quite early, as large number of ethnic groups who provided the labor for the Dutch settlers lived in the company town. A 1673 census of population living within the walls showed that in addition to the Netherlanders (only less than ten percent of the total), there were Eurasians, Chinese, *Mardijkers*, Moors and Javanese, Malaysians, Balinese, and Slaves, the last group comprising almost half of the total population of some 27,068 (Abeyasekere, 1987). As the Dutch and Indonesian cultures mixed, “a kind of mestizo culture was established which is called *Indische culture*.” (Nas, 1986, p 6). After 1870, with influx of a new wave of European, mainly Dutch, the town lost their earlier *Indische* character, and became much more differentiated in a “castelike attitude” along the principal racial groups: the Dutch, the Eurasians, Chinese and Arabs, and the Indonesians. The Dutch of course dominated the town, and the Indonesians lived in the peripheral *kampungs*, overcrowded and underserved. Thus by the turn of the century relationship of alterity had already been established, a distinctive colonial ideology of civilizing “the other” had begun. The ideology of Dutch colonial rhetoric, aided and abated by scholarly and literary compositions, had begun to characterize the native “Other” as “the medieval, childlike, and animal ‘self’ (or as fundamentally different),” as Gouda (1995, p. 118) pointed out. The Dutch pavilion in Paris was a heroic and expensive attempt to veil the ideology of difference before it was reduced to ashes in an accidental fire.

The Italian Legacy:

Compared to French, British, and earlier Spanish colonial history, the Italian record was limited both in space and time. Geographically its major colonial territories in Africa included Tripolitania, Cirenaica (or Cyrenaica), Eritrea, and Somaila which Italy controlled

from the late nineteenth century through the first half of the twentieth century. In addition Ethiopia was an Italian protectorate from 1889 to 1896 (see Thomas et al, 1994).

“There is no question that the Italians in the Metropole saw their colonial project as humanitarian and civilizing, according to the shared Western images of how the colonies might develop. Rural and agricultural development was a major tenet of their colonial policies, as the Italians planted vineyards and olive groves in the desert land and arid climate using innovative techniques of afforestation.” (Ben-Ghazi and Fuller 2005, p.)

The benevolent and benign image of the colonial regime in part reflected a much less aggressive or invasive regime. As Ben-Ghazi and Fuller (2005) point out, Italy could never approach the scale of profits realized by the colonial ventures of Britain or France. Italy was a relatively poor colonial power and its limited resources “hampered the realization of ambitious land settlement schemes and limited private investment in the colonies.” (p. 3).

This is probably why the Italians showed much greater restraint in protecting the indigenous walled city of Tripoli, for example. Because of its Roman past it was seen as a familiar environment not requiring any major intervention (Fuller, 2005). Also, unlike the British and French city design, there was no obvious *cordon sanitaire* separating the native city from the colonists’. In the East Africa, however, as the Italians applied their modern town planning laws in developing master plans for the new types of land use required of a colonial economy – manufacturing, storage, business quarters, and the like – segregation between the “native town” and the “settlers’ town” became all too obvious. The plans for Addis Ababa show a clear separation between the two towns, and the subaltern nature of the Native Town is even legible in the street grid and the “grain” of the urban form (cf. Lynch and Rodwin, 1968). The plan for Harar similarly shows the clarity with which the design principles of the colonial plan relegate the native town – *Vecchia Harar* -- to a subaltern status. Similar pattern was evident also seen in plans for cities like Bengasi (Talamona, 1993), Mogadisu and Asmara (Gresleri, 1995).

In the early part of the twentieth century the Italian architectural and urban design efforts were principally devoted to the shaping of the new business and civic centers in the principal colonial cities. Markets and squares of the traditional North African cities were designed in the images of the European motherland. These civic and public spaces often included arcades similar to the Italian towns, and architecture reflecting some modernist derivatives of the classical style with occasional touch of simplified local architectural tradition. These spaces and buildings constructed in the 1920’s and 1930’s Fascist regime, according to von Henneberg (2005), were a part of the Italian strategy of asserting authority and control of the Libyan cities. While the planners attempted to segregate the Europeans and the natives in separate residential districts, these public spaces were created as “hybrid civic spaces” which were “technocratically created, “organic” (or pseudo-organic) spaces, usually in the form of piazzas, marketplaces, and fairgrounds.” (p. 156) She further argues that the hybridity of design was an attempt to attract multi-cultural users and controlled mingling in an orderly way.

Implications for Planning Theory:

So, what are the implications of the concept of the subaltern for planning theory related to power? First, I hope, that there is a case made here that space and place can be seen as an important medium for discussing certain aspects of the planning process and its outcomes. Second, it seems that the concept of the subaltern has immediate relevance in the

contemporary discourse on communicative action, pragmatic rationality, planning in the face of power, and the like where planning theory examines the processes and outcomes of decision-making involving multiple actors and decision-makers. Third, it seems that discussion in planning theory may include the various causes of subalternity, especially how planning decisions may lead to subaltern spaces and people. Fourth it behooves planning theory to consider the social groups and spaces that remain in chronically subaltern status and how planning theory might address the asymmetry of power and the challenges of representation. Finally, in the era of globalization it would be important to explore how the focus of planning theory might consider the new spaces and social classes that are being relegated to a subaltern relationship with global powers and forces.

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FROM THE UNITARIAN CITY TO THE FRAGMENTED METROPOLIS, A CRITIQUE TO SÃO LUIS MODERN CONSTITUTION

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ABSTRACT

In the last four decades of the 20th century, under the influences of modern urbanism, the territorial occupation of new areas in the city of São Luis, Maranhão, Brazil was initiated. At that same time, a movement to preserve and protect the historical center was taking place. Such actions will lead to the material edification of the modern city and to a symbolic resignification of the old downtown center, separated by the Anil River and both different in its forms and contents. Having began under the control of city planning governmental structures, freshly implanted in the city, the occupation of the new area as the preservation of the old urban center would eventually be aborted by the decomposition of the city planning control system and would, by the end of the 70's, be subjected to the new political and economic forces leaded by the growing industry of civil construction. In this way, the vast and otherwise idle road system built in the new areas served the interests of social segregation and real estate speculation synthesized by the peripherization of the lower social strata neighborhoods and by the concentration in few hands of the noble seaside area. The privatization of the urban space however was only possible due to Brazil's political conjuncture, that by that time lived subdued by the authoritarian and centralized power of a military dictatorship and by the great national and international economic interests, represented mainly by the implementation of big exporting projects that leaded, in the process of urban modernization, to the maginalization of a great part of the population.

Key-Words

Urban History, City Planning, Urban Policies

1. INTRODUCTION

In the last century, until the middle of the 50's, São Luis still lived the synthesis of being three cities in one: the **military camp city**, dating back to the 17th century and drawn by the hands of the architect and chief-engineer Francisco Frias de Mesquita that, without an economic puissance, had as main task the preservation of the Portuguese domain over the region (Ribeiro Junior, 1999:25). This urban structure will later serve as a pattern to the city's expansions. At this time, when it was of the Senate's interest to occupy the empty urban space, the land is given randomly, through Sesmaria Letters, with no concern for the social status of the future dwellers in a democratization of land access that would later be modified by the valorization of real estates.

By transforming itself into a **mercantile city**, shifting with Belém the position of Capital to the Maranhão and Grão-Pará State, São Luis will, thanks to the creation of the Maranhão's Company of Commerce, created in the last quarter of the 18th century, and to the commercialization of agricultural products with a Pre-Industrial Revolution Europe, consolidate and sophisticate the port area known as Praia Grande, a reference of urban environment for the whole town, that was

breathing by then a cosmopolite atmosphere. This process is what gives birth to the commercial elite of the State of Maranhão, the true hegemonic force in economy and politics that, for a long time, will have a decisive role in the destiny of the urban space.

With the end of the Commerce Company of the state and resisting to be parted of the rest of the world, São Luis undergoes a metamorphosis: taking advantage of favorable international conditions, and such as other states that soon convert the northeast of Brazil into a vast cotton field, the city turns the 'white gold' into its new exportation product. Through the cotton production, São Luis builds up an industrial textile park as a platform to conquer the national and international markets. Even though this new inspiration extends itself to other parts of the state, it's on the borders of the then aspirant **industrial city** that most factories settle; leading to the construction of proletarian neighborhoods, confirming Oliveira's (1982) assertive that *Brazilian industrialization would either be urban or have little chances of thriving*.

But São Luis, that in 300 years was able to remain the same city in three, and to maintain a pattern of homogeneity and spatial continuity, will pass in a short period of thirty-five years through an urban experience common to other Brazilian cities: With Brazil entering the modern industrialization process, they will suffer an *urbanization without industrialization*, losing first gradually and then abruptly their use value to the mercantilization of life which, according to Lefebvre (2001) destroys the city and the urban reality. The conditions that allowed such transformations to occur, in São Luis' specific case scenario, are connected to the appeal of modernity that finally gets to the little colonial town and that is still used to justify many of the actions in the new territories. (Image 1)

This modernity however is for few, being inaccessible for the majority of the population that gradually becomes more segregated and distant from the city's most dynamic spaces. These privileged areas, because of their visibility, their economical and political relevance, monopolize the public and the private sector investments, increasing even more the differences between the various urban environments. The consolidation and radicalization of the segregation tendencies, today sustained by the public opinion that surrounds the noble areas built in symbolic landmarks of the city, are alarming signs of an inversion in the social values that should always prevail in the urban space. This inexistence of social values ends up leading to the consolidation of a perverse model of social exclusion. Reflecting over the origins and identifying the causes of this process are the first steps towards its transformation.

2. MERCANTILE HEGEMONY AND URBAN SPACE

In the first two decades of the 20th century, the economy of the State of Maranhão, based on the exportation of cotton and, later on, babaçu, (the fruit of a tall pinnate-leaved palm of Brazil) is responsible for the rising and consolidation of a political force essentially urban: the ACM, Maranhão's Commercial Association, that starts to shape itself as an active entity in the definition of the urban policies that will map out the city. This only happens because the ACM starts to have a power larger than it's original and, *from the beginning of the century until the 50's the Association is put almost in charge of the state's executive power, in the position of a consulting organ*. (Bello Filho, 2004:37)

It's worth registering the contents of the Municipal Budget, later modified by the ACM, concerning an urban related bill that regulated city constructions under the same urbanistic spirit that had inspired the 1866' Code of Postures (Praia Grande project, s. d.), a reminiscence of the Spanish Ordinances that tried to preserve the urbanistic uniformity and guarantee pedestrians' access and mobility. The Budget itself contained items that only today, after the City Statute of 2001 (House of Deputies, 2002) wave to a possibility of controlling real estate speculation: heavy

taxing for those who maintain idle lands, what actually took one citizen, João Assis Matos, to the decision of donating a property to the City, in a way of avoiding the 30% taxes charged over the land (O IMPARCIAL, 04/06/1926).

The tax over non-edified areas represented by then the 12th larger income to the Municipal Budget, the biggest income came from the taxes over buildings – with a 10% aliquot over the lease value, almost 10 times the percentage of nowadays. These taxes were in great part responsible for the financial health of the municipal district and explain the quality of the central public spaces – streets, public squares, walks and parks – maintained by the city at that time and known by us through photographic registers. But the concentration in few hands of urban properties already seemed to be a significant force against the tax policies enforced by the City Council. This antagonism becomes clear with the public protest of 300 citizens, landlords of over 3.300 buildings of a total of 6.000 that were to be connected to the sewerage system, demanding a longer term to pay-off taxes.

The twenties then appear to be the decisive turning point for the political change of hands that happened in the controlling of the urban space. The victory of the ACM claims – ultimate representative of the commercial capital power that, as a connection between agriculturists and the outward market, detained the control over Maranhão's production and therefore, the supremacy in the local economy – significantly reduce the power of the City Council over urbanistic legislation, in a situation that will repeat itself in São Luis' history for a long period of time.

Against the 'old styled' urbanistic intentions of the City Council that, based on the Spanish Ordinances, still thought of the city as a whole, the Commercial Association interposed the pragmatism of those who see the city with eyes set on possible economic advances. This kind of thinking marks the end of the conservation by the legislative power of the colonial urban organism and will coincide with the application of an urbanistic zoning that will in fact serve as an hierarchizing mechanism to deepen the differences in the distribution of public investments and real estate values between the urban environments.

But the ACM's victory will also allow the steering of public investments towards an optimization in commercial production, that had on the state's feeble road structure its Achilles' heel, since it restrained the circulation and the flow of the production and came eventually to be pointed as the reason for Maranhão's underdevelopment (Bello Filho, 2004). Even though such actions seem to extrapolate the city boundaries; it's worth remembering that the state organ responsible for this enterprise was the almighty DER (State Road Department) that, by extension and for a long time, will have a strategic role in São Luis' urbanization process.

3. NATIONAL INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBAN MODERNIZATION

The uprising of industry in the urban scene represents the definitive confirmation of cities as the centers for economical and political decisions. Being already the ground for the commercial elite, the cities will be invaded by the factories, bringing new actors to the urban space, who will demand public investments to better supply their interests and needs. Nevertheless, the national process of industrialization will have different effects over the Brazilian cities' urban spaces: while in the Southeast, preferential locus for industry implantation, the concentration of factories will lead to a demographic explosion and to a reordering of the urban structure as it tries to optimize itself to attend the needs of circulation and consumption of the new productive system, in the Northeast, still bounded by an archaic productive system, even though with some industrial knack to it, the states start to loose autonomy and to have their economy subjected to the most industrialized parts of the country (Oliveira, 1981) that, in order to promote the internal

consumption of the production, lead the Federal government to implant a modern system of road communication and circulation through the national territory.

At this period of time, when the maxim 'to rule is to build roads' becomes mandatory for every state administration, the DER (State Road Department) rises to the top of Maranhão's governmental hierarchy, turning its directors into strategic advisors for the state's development and also São Luis', by extension. In a paradoxical way, the network of roads built to connect the interior of the state of Maranhão to the rest of the country brings negative consequences for São Luis' centrality, since it takes the city from the position of exclusive point of entrance and exit of all production, contributing for the aggravation of the local economy crisis. As the roads invert the direction of local development, the claims concerning the Itaquí Port, made by Maranhão's representatives to the Federal government, don't represent, at the time, a national priority, being constantly denied the request of money to carry on its complete construction. In this way, Maranhão's traditional commerce and its historical port of exit, Praia Grande, will face together the crises and the final decadence.

The stagnation of Brazil's northeast area however, was a slow process that would still take a few years to be sensed in the states of the region. The maintenance of the exterior commerce and the dynamics of the textile industry – For instance, in 1938 the Santa Izabel factory re-starts its activities (O IMPARCIAL, 20/11/1938), and in 1939 the Companhia de Fiação e Tecidos Cãnhamo, also a textile industry, opens its new and modern installations (O IMPARCIAL, 31/01/1939) – still sustained the rhythm of the local economy, which will allow somewhat, in São Luis' case, a modernization of the city, mainly brought up by two different factors: the increase in the automotive fleet, with its needs of circulation in the modest colonial structure, and the new residential patterns that will emerge in the central area and in the expanding axis of the old Caminho Grande (Great Path). Both of these factors have their origin in the most developed part of the country and will, through commercial relations now common between North and South, start to act upon the local habits in a decisive way.

The major urban reformulations that happen in the south of the country at this period seem to be the reason why the Maranhão State Government decides to invite for Sao Luis' administration the engineer José Octacílio Saboya Ribeiro who, at that time, worked as chief-engineer for the Lajes river adductor line, in Rio de Janeiro. Knowing the city, that he visited in 1930, Saboya Ribeiro considered that Sao Luis' conservation state, *perhaps the sole reminiscent of Brazilian capitals to conserve the characteristics of last century's cities, with its tortuous, acivous and narrow paths and old wharfs* (São Luís, 1937:5), would allow to draw, over the city, plans of easy execution, combining the old town with the new needs of progress, that still failed to arrive (São Luís, 1937:5).

The new mayor and its actions of modernizing and professionalizing the municipal administration, with an actualization in the taxes over commercial activities – would have to face the opposing interests of the State's Commercial Association that, thanks to its political power and influence, would eventually force the exoneration of Saboya Ribeiro within few months of his administration (Buzar, 2000:7). Although having too short of a time to actually build anything, Saboya's administration was long enough to elaborate a remodeling plan for the downtown area that intended, with the opening of four avenues, to create a new circulation system for automotive vehicles in the dense and traffic jammed center of the city. The fast passage of Saboya Ribeiro through Sao Luis was useful in casting seeds, some of them soon germinated, others put in practice only after a long time, but at any rate, not limited anymore to the old part of the town, since the urbanization and modernization of the future Getulio Vargas Avenue, the 'Great Path' that took to the inner parts of the island, was already a fruit of the

concrete expansion of a high-income residential area that tried to escape the excessive human mixture of the city's center by going to what was then the suburb, leading the government to invest in accessibility improvements to the area.

The management of the Interceptor Paulo Ramos and his mayor, Pedro Neiva de Santana, that worked hand by hand from 1937 to 1945 (Buzar, 2000:7), is decisive for the urban issues, since the long duration of the terms and the centralization of the decisions in an authoritarian government would allow, according to Paulo Ramos himself, *to place the administration above any injunctions that would otherwise block the governmental actions*(Buzar, 2000:7) and in this way interfere in a radical way over the colonial urban network, although in a less audacious way than the intended by Saboya Ribeiro. The opening of the Magalhães de Almeida Avenue, our own Haussmanian boulevard built over the rubbles of old and historical houses – in a period of relative valorization of the monuments but with no concern for the architectural complex – was the biggest construction made in an effort to give a cosmopolite air to the city's downtown and attend the demands of the increasing automotive fleet. (Image 2)

Because of the geographic delimitation imposed by the Anil and the Bacanga rivers, the urban expansion is obligated to follow the axis previously determined by the Caminho Grande (Great Path), then known as Anil's road and that, *thanks to its great development and to the great number of modern constructions that the place holds and for its importance now and in the future of the city's life* (São Luís, 1938) is modernized and reopened as Getulio Vargas Avenue. If we consider that this homage to the then President happens after the consolidation of the city's new axis of development - including even the construction of an army headquarters in a space given by the City hall in an area that already counted with trolleys, electric light, water and telephones (O IMPARCIAL, 10/06/1938) -, we can conclude that this is the first step towards the extrapolation of the historical center's urban limits, responsible for establishing the growth direction to be followed by the city in the next thirty years. Also, it will be the residential area of the higher strata of society that now could already count on a direct, fast and modern access to the old downtown.

The modernization of this period however, is not limited to physical interventions. The urbanistic legislation will be a reinforcement element of the municipal actions, being essential the pointing out of the Decree no. 330 from 03/06/1938 that establishes a new urban zoning, dividing São Luís in a Civic or administrative center and other four zones: commercial, industrial, residential and agricultural area. As relevant as this zoning determination – that, as every other urban zoning had the clear purpose of protecting the most valuable regions of the city against improper usage (Villaça, 2005) -, it's the administration's concern with the refinement of the constructions in the residential zone, represented by demands in two different levels: the first, a selection of streets where the construction of buildings with two floors was mandatory, in a recollection of Haussmann's tradition in Paris (Benévolo, 1974:104) that attempted to determine an specific area as an elite area, protecting it against popular edifications. The second demand, a mandatory three meters frontal setback in the constructions and reconstructions made along the avenues of the new parts of the city, was an attempt to modernize the architectural collection of the most valued spaces of the city and, by that, modify the typical colonial architecture, which had as characteristic the frontal alignment between buildings.

Under this same spirit of urban renewal and of the same date, the Decree no. 329, regulated the concession of Domestic tax exemption with the purpose of motivating the construction of buildings with frontal setback and electric illumination in all rooms. Besides the municipal intentions of modernizing the buildings, this measure would also allow the widening of the streets, with the city administration giving until two years of tax exemption to the landlords that

agreed to donate the setback area of their lots for no costs. This municipal act gained strength with the interest that many citizens had in having gardens and garages at their houses, characteristics of the new architectural typologies that start to emerge in the city. Through the location of this new architecture style in the historical center it's possible to verify nowadays which areas, by the time of those decrees, attracted most of the landlord's interests and where, inversely, are the higher concentrations of traditional constructions, leading to an indicative of the regions that were already in a process of stagnation.

In the middle of the 40's, marked by the end of World War II, and by the political fall of Getulio Vargas, the democratization of the nation's public life brings back the political instability to the city, making the municipal administrations short termed and directed only to meeting the day-to-day needs. Nevertheless, it's important to emphasize the transcendence of certain public works that surpass the constant shifting of mayors. This is the case of the Balneary City of Olho D'agua, that was symbolic set up in a September 7 (Brazil's independence day) of 1945, inducing the state's government to build an access to the place (O IMPARCIAL, 24/10/1945). The fact that this area continued with a constant building rate even with all the political spins, proves its future urban relevance for São Luis' expansion.

4. FORDIST URBANIZATION AND SUBURBANIZATION

As the capital of a state that will become every time more impoverished during the 50's, São Luis will start relying on the federal budget also for the urban actions, which will be limited to health and habitation policies that will only reach the privileged professional categories benefited by the labor legislation. The then powerful IAPC, the Pension and Retirement Institute for commercial employees will finance the construction of two significant edifications: the impressive Presidente Dutra Hospital, still up to date and probably our first example of modernist architecture, in the surroundings of the Remédios, one of the consolidating noble neighborhoods of the time, and the Housing Complex of Filipinho that, with 360 popular residential unities, was also called 'residential town', demonstrating the arrival between us of the suburbanization, a process brought to life by the Fordist urbanism in the USA and that is deeply related to the industrialization and the high consumption of long-lasting manufactured goods.

In this new economic structure, the house is included as an industrial product and its peripheric location attends the demands of quantity, leading to the occupation of big and unexpensive terrains and consequently, to the extension of the urban infra-structure network – energy, means of transportation and sanitation – causing a virtuous circle of production that turns the state into a partner for the productive commercial system and will eventually lead to its transformation into one of the pillars of the Welfare State in all occidental world (Abramo, 1995). With more than 15 years of delay, the American phenomenon of suburbanization arrives in Sao Luis along with the first vehicles and the new residential patterns, that start to be publicized by the local press with titles such as 'a house in the suburb' accompanied by illustrative figures (O IMPARCIAL, 18/06/1950).

Nevertheless, Fordism, thought as an articulation of the different levels of the American industrialization, reproduces itself in different conditions all over the capitalist world. In the 'developing countries', of incipient industrialization, the appeals of the Fordism will disconnect themselves of the industrial world and gain a life of their own in the cities, resulting in what researchers (Castells, 1983, Lefebvre, 2001) call an *urbanization without industrialization*, an accelerated expansion of the urban limits that, if by one side tries to respond to the increase of the population, by the other, leads to the fragmentation of the city space.

This process however, is connected to another phenomenon, indispensable in the programming and execution of such greatly-dimensioned interventions: the appearance and predominance, both in the public and in the private enterprises, of planning procedures that, having their origin in the war economy and influenced by the socialist governments, will serve as a criterion to submit projects and financing programs for the approval of the Federal Government or of International institutions. This is the reason that will slowly lead to the ACM's (Maranhão's Commercial Association) loss of technical influence, even though still maintaining its function as an economic counselor for the state government, it had now new actors involved, the economists (Bello Filho, 2004: 49). The creation of COPEMA, (Economic planning commission of the State of Maranhão) is the inaugural act of this process that, from that point on, will be a constant in the state's administration and that represents, in its essence, the economical importance of the ACM for the local development.

The real estate launch of the Vila Balneária do Jardim Paulista, in the Olho D'água beach, (O IMPARCIAL, 20/08/1950, p.2), comes to confirm the consolidation tendency of that area as a summer resort, justifying the constant repairs and access improvements made by the City Hall in the pace. Accessible through the Getulio Vargas Avenue, that already had some undesirable degree of mixture, the habitation complex of Olho D'água will be the first center of expansion beyond the Anil river.

The growth and degradation of the popular neighborhoods, derived from the occupation of wetlands on both Anil and Bacanga rivers, led to the institutionalization of a Proletarian Zone and to the materialization of a poverty belt around the downtown area. The scarce assistance paid by the public power to these places, gives birth to religion related social initiatives – Ação Social Arquidiocesana, ASA, e Irmãs Missionárias Jesus Crucificado – to attend these dwellers (O IMPARCIAL, 03 e 08/02/1950, 07/05/1950). These are social service centers, laundries, children's parks, drinkable water, limited attempts to take priority urban devices to a growing and every time more needy population, made by sectors of society that take over the absent public power obligations in what, by the non-existence of popular claim records in the City Hall, appears to be a consolidated posture in São Luis, even with the constant news about water and electric energy shortage in those neighborhoods.

In 1958, inside this context of incitement concerning the conditions of life in the different areas of the city, comes to life the Expansion Plan for the city of Sao Luis, proposed by the engineer Ruy Mesquita, successively DER's director and Public Constructions Secretary. An amplification of his Road Planning for São Luis, of 1950, the Expansion Plan is a fruit of Mesquita's experiences as director in the state's road constructions, that provided him with knowledge about the territory and the expansion tendencies that prevailed in the city, that he himself had contributed to consolidate.

In the historic process of São Luis' growth, in which the urban interventions were always characterized by disjointed actions, Mesquita's proposal takes on the planning ideology of the period, having the projecting of Brasilia as a strong influence– in its references to a rigid zoning based on usage, with commercial, residential and bank areas and even with the determination of a Three Powers Square, referring to the Executive, Legislative and Judiciary buildings(Mesquita, 1958:5) -, in a confirmation of his absorbing of the modernist urbanism formal standards. It should be signalized as a novelty, in the details of the Ponta do São Francisco area planning, the urbanistic policies suggested as a way to succeed in the social separation of the different strata of society, through the subdivision of the residential area into 1°, 2° and 3° class, still too physically close to each other.

Decided to solve the urban problems in the city, that *was born and developed in a chaotic and disorganized way, without a basic orientation plan for its growth* (Mesquita, 1958:2), Mesquita's plan was to first conduct a technical study to configure the space of the areas beyond the Anil and Bacanga rivers. Justified by the impossibility of densifying the original urban center, demanded by its future connections to the Itaqui port, the occupation of new lands was still economically impracticable at that moment, but the engineer considered it as only a matter of time.

5. THE GREAT NATIONAL PROJECTS AND THE TERRITORIAL CONQUEST

From the second half of the 60's and then on, São Luis' expansion will live a decisive moment. Because of the Federal Government programs, that will direct great economic projects for the State, Maranhão will receive a significant volume of resources that will make the dreams of occupying the lands beyond the Anil and the Bacanga Rivers come true. The key for these resources will be the National Bank of housing (BNH) that, during its 22 years of activities, will have a decisive contribution in changing the surface of most Brazilian cities. This urban policy, made viable through the authoritarian centralism of the military governments, will be connected to a vast program of national production decentralization that had on international capital its main addressee and will include the construction of the Itaqui port, opened for shipping and discharging in 1971 (O IMPARCIAL, 31/01/1971); Alumar's industrial plan, initiated in august of 1980, and the construction in 1985 of the Ponta da Madeira's port, final destination to the Carajás railroad, belonging to the Companhia Vale do Rio Doce (CVRD).

This process, that finally brings to reality the old urban dreams of expanding the city, will find São Luis already with an informal ownership over the ambited territories. The São Francisco area not only was a fishermen village but had already been 'discovered' by dozens of families that there solved their habitation problems. A little bit ahead, the Ponta D'areia area was also occupied, but by summer houses of society's higher stratum. In the extreme south of the island, next to the Itaqui port, several low-income families, most of them working in São Luis (Caldeira, 1970) had already built houses and started to populate the area that, thanks to its industrial inclination, had already been reserved for them. With exception of the Ponta D'areia area, that demonstrates the fascination of the population for the seaside area, the other two situations point out the critic lack of habitation that affected São Luis and for which the numerous public intentions of popular housing had little relevance. But even with this habitation deficit of something like 8 000 unities (O IMPARCIAL, 23/03/1966), neither the National Bank of housing nor the recently created COHAB offered credit lines for the lower social stratum.

Public construction secretary and responsible for the conclusion of the Caratatiua bridge, the first to cross over the Anil river towards the Olho D'agua and São Francisco areas, and now the closest access to the central part of the city, Haroldo Tavares was named Mayor in the administration of Governor Pedro Neiva de Santana and, with the support of an 'imported' team of architects, engineers and urbanists, tried to face São Luis' triple urban challenge: 1) to preserve the Historical Center, putting it under governmental trust and inciting the tourism in the area, 2) to ordinate the occupation of the new territories through the elaboration of a city Directing Plan and the transferring of lands from the Union to the municipal control and 3) create viable alternatives to the habitation deficit, with the implantation of urbanized lots in the recently made embankment of the Areinha area. Despite Haroldo Tavares holistic vision of the city and his relevant proposals and works for these three areas, the posterior supremacy of the economic interests over the city's seaside region will slowly lead to the weakening of his city policies.

In the case of the habitation policy, the proposal of urbanized lots in the surroundings of the central area, destined to a population out of the real estate market, will be an exception to the big

housing complex financed by the National Bank of Housing and the COHAB in the far-away peripheries with no urban services or equipments, or for the middle-class habitation programs that will enable the development of the civil construction sector in the city, at first with companies from other states.

In the downtown area, with its centenary streets and edifications partially protected from the automotive flow by the transport system ring (Anel Viário), the abandonment of several buildings and the uncontrolled circulation of heavy load vehicles in the Praia Grande area, already taken over Federal Government's custody as a historic area in 1974, gets to its worst state of conservation, with building collapses and constant inundations (O IMPARCIAL, 13 e 31/03/1971, 21,24/01 e 27/03 de 1974). In truth, the forced presence of automotive vehicles in that part of the city, takes the administrators to contradicting actions, like paving the old stone paths as a way of handling the new means of transportation, which indirectly stimulates traffic's comes and goes, compromising even more the environmental conditions of the old part of the town.

Facing problems in the residential areas as in the Historical Center, and without a solid culture of urban management and planning, the public actions turn their faces to the new territories not only because of their huge market yet to be explored, but also because of the possibility of finally setting up a modern São Luis, with broad avenues and contemporary edifications. Having as focal points the new middle-class neighborhoods in the proximities of the Caratatiua bridge – IPASE, Cohama, Maranhão Novo, BASA – the paving of the new areas will be a public investments to meet not only the interests of the local dwellers, but to incite new constructions in the urban voids between those areas and the most urbanized parts of the city.

The ownership of the conquered lands is then transferred from the Union to the municipal district, through direct actions of the Mayor himself (Tavares, 2006) for later selling and financing of the urban services. Of these lands, a significant part (approximately 4000 hectares) was passed on to the future administrations what, when it comes to the effective control over the enormous urban soil by the municipality, demonstrates the impossibility of accomplishing such huge enterprise on one sole administration term. The destiny and the commercialization of this public patrimony is still a nebulous chapter in the recent history of the city's urbanization process. (Image 4)

The Directing Plan of 1974 is the attempt of the municipal administration to maintain the control over the occupation process in the new lands and ensure the conservation of the old downtown center, but with its approval at the end of Haroldo Tavares' term, it had little chances of intervening in the urban dynamics that will take place in a conjuncture where the city planning device came to a complete dismantle. Elaborated at the highest point of the 'Brazilian miracle' and combined to the most severe level of government authoritarianism, the Directing Plan repeats the centralized planning so common at the time, in which the social issues were ignored in favor of the order and where the economical development was the determining factor for all urban decisions. Working with the prediction of a million and seven hundred thousand inhabitants by the year of 1990 – today we don't even sum up a million! -, the Directing Plan incorporates the road structure built slowly and officiously by the State Road department (DER), and consolidates vast areas of idle urban space that will be constantly valorized by public investments. In reality, these urban voids were justified by the determination of building the housing states in the limits of the urban perimeter, a decision sustained by the argument that the area had a fundamental proximity to the future Industrial District, probable place of work of these dwellers. Coincidence or not, these urban voids will be located exactly at the litoral areas and will patiently wait for the passage of time...

But the determining fact of this period is the emerging of a new political and economic force, the civil construction industry that, invigorated by the government's habitation policies, will have a decisive place in local economy by circulating great capital amount, employing non-specialized work forces and generating new areas of business, like the industry and commerce of construction materials. So, in one hand we have the omission and technical inability of the municipal administration in controlling the now enormous city area and, on the other hand, the structuring of a new power that, different from the Commercial Association – to whom the city was only a place for its activities – had as reason to be the urban dynamics, having the public urbanization resources as its essential source for success. In this progressive apathy of the municipal administration, the civil construction industry will be, from then on, the great economic power of the city and the party with most concern for the directions taken in the urban policies.

6. POST-MODERN URBANIZATION AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE NEW SÃO LUIS

During the eleven years between the end of Haroldo Tavares term, in March of 1975 and the beginning of Gardenia Gonçalves administration in January of 1986, elected by the population's vote, eleven mayors occupied the City Hall (Buzar, 2000), enough time and enough people to compromise any governmental structure which led the municipal administration, at the exact moment of its final separation from the state government, to a serious frailty and lack of resources. This way, in these twenty years of democratization, from 1986 up to nowadays, the history of São Luis' municipality is a history of efforts to affirm its responsibilities before the city's population, efforts that don't always succeed and that have, as a reoccurring fact, the intern conflicts between the Urban and the Treasury offices involving the fruition of cadastral information – economical, physical and social – essential to effectively control the urban dynamic. In a proof of these data relevance, even in administrations of different political visions such conflict will have influence in the dismissal of the Urbanism secretaries of the Gardenia Gonçalves administration and on the Jackson Lago's second term of government. (Silva, 2006). However, since the city's expansion does not statically wait upon the solution of administration problems, the so long dreamed conquest of the new territories ended up happening with close to or absolutely none municipal control. A very serious situation, particularly because it happens in a period of time when the city is receiving the investments and multiple consequences of new implantations such as Alumar, Companhia Vale do Rio Doce (CVRD) and the Alcantara Launching Center (CLA). The city hall – involved in a number of political injunctions – is acephalous to administrate and discipline the volume and the dynamic of the urban space construction, specially in the peripheric and inner parts of the island, since the occupation of the noble area was still to happen. If, from 1968 to 1975, 3 833 residential unities are built in 7 housing complex, from 1975 to 1980, this total rises to 8 831 residential unities in 17 housing complex (Ribeiro Junior, 1999:95), most of them located in isolated parts of the city and with no government control whatsoever over the urban tissue that resulted of the addition of several habitation lots one after the other, of the relations between them and the collective devices, of their access to basic sanitation or of the institutional and civil conditions demanded by legislation for these areas, which resulted in a sequence of 'dormitory cities' organized in an intricate maze, with not enough quality to be called districts or neighborhoods.

If the legalized enterprises received such treatment, what can we say of the irregular occupations, that started to increase in different parts of the city, particularly because of the modifications in the country side agrarian structure and also because of the fascination that the capital, as destination of the largest financial investments, starts to have on the migratory movements even

from other states, with studies appointing a population increase of 85,5% in only five years (Barros, 2003:65). Organized by the 80's in The Movement to defend the slums' and shantytowns' dwellers, The MDFP - connected to branches of the Catholic Church - the impoverished strata of São Luis' society modifies its political participation in the city and starts gaining visibility and participation in habitation issues, specially through public manifestations in the downtown area (O IMPARCIAL, 26/02/1991) and by the occupation of housing areas and empty locations. As a result, from the middle of the 90's and so on, the homeless people will organize and consolidate the Forum Maranhense em Defesa da Moradia (Maranhao's Forum in Defense of Habitation) that will struggle for the expropriation and the regularization of 12 urban occupancies, from 1995 to 1997, totalizing 18 100 families (Barros, 2003:69).

To this scenario, not a bit auspicious for the lower and middle strata of society, will be summed up a solution made for the highest social stratum that, after a first attempt in occupying the São Francisco neighborhood – mingled with the permanency of its old dwellers, prior to the bridge's construction – found itself scattered in the residential neighborhoods of Renascença I, Calhau and Olho D'agua. Already placed in the preferential road axis, that allowed a quick access to the downtown area, they still lacked an element capable of introducing an 'urban convention', regarded by Abramo as the consolidation of a prevailing tendency of the real estate market in a determined part of the city (Abramo, 1995). The installation, in the middle of the 80's, of the first shopping mall of the city, will configure itself as the core of the first, but not last, high-income residential neighborhood with a decisive influence over the occupation of the littoral area and that will, slowly, cause changes in the city's urbanistic legislation (Marques, 2006). The combination 'residences & shopping mall', in an urban environment characterized by the precariousness of the public services of collective use, was fundamental to consolidate a pattern of vertical condominiums that signaled for the civil construction industry, orphans of public resources since the crisis and posterior dismantle of the Federal Housing System, a new market, safe and lucrative. This is the fact that promotes the change in the occupation of the region and, by extension, modifies the structure of the local civil construction industry that now really turns itself to the new architectural typology. (Image 5)

For all that, the first government of the Mayor Jackson Lago occurs in a context of strong social pressures concerning the definitions of usage and occupational criterions for the urban soil. As the civil construction faces a crisis with more than 35 000 unemployed workers, according to the Syndicate of Civil Construction Workers (O IMPARCIAL, 14/01/1991), and with street vendors invading the downtown area, disputing with pedestrians and automobiles the exiguous and deteriorated public spaces, an urban 'novelty' takes place in the city: the constant environmental threats that, from place to place, rock the city and even the island, on the Vinhais' creek, on Calhaus' dunes, in the Batatan park, at Jaracati's landfill, and the illegal appropriations of land by the rich in the Araçagy area and in another dozen of places that, summed up with the occupations in the peripheries by the poor, will lead the Newspaper O Imparcial, in the editorial article of the 10th of January, 1991, to consider São Luis a "City of no one".

The City Hall deposits its hope in a new directing plan for the city, approved in 1992, and in the creation of an Urban Planning and Research Institute, thought of to rationalize and unify the actions of the executive power (Marques, 2006), but is unable to interfere in the administrative philosophy and ends up shoveling the Plan to the bottom of the drawer taking it out, almost exclusively, for consultations – and posterior modifications – in the Urban Soil Usage, Occupation and Parceling Bill. This way, the municipal administration limits its actions to determining urbanistic indicators that will attend the longings of the civil construction industry – increases on the rates of soil exploitation and in the number of paved areas – and to meet the

demands of the most needy part of the population, with the creation, for instance, of ZEIS, Zones of Especial Social Interest, that tried to ensure the preservation of popular areas that had already been consolidated.

Actually, in an adumbration of the neo-liberal measures of State shrinkage, that will be solidified from Collor's presidential government on, there was no more room for a Directing Plan like the one made in the seventies, in which the public power acted upon the whole city and functioned as a partner for the urban enterprises, opening the market to the private sector that, by its turn, generated employments. Without external financing and with the habitation system crisis, that *virtuous circle* of production (Abramo, 1995) is broken and enables the configuration of post-modern urbanism (Harvey, 1992), through which is possible to intervene selectively in the urban space, having as main criterion the guarantee of fast and sure profitability for the private sector's investments. This takes us to the most recent chapter in the construction and constitution of the modern São Luis, in which, simultaneously to the fragmentation of the urban organism and the outbreak of many 'cities' in one – the historical city, the seaside city, the suburban city, the periphery city, and how many more? -, we'll testify the disruption of urban policies that will take place according to the interests involved and to a hierarchy of priorities.

The configuration of the new urban pattern did not bring qualitative changes to the city, but only the deepening of spatial fragmentation, social segregation and environmental degradation tendencies. In the area that now corresponds to the "market city", is worth signaling the appearing – logically, already experienced in other Brazilian cities – of the horizontal condominiums, another proposal to privatize the city, like its vertical congener and the shopping mall. Available for those who did not render to apartments practical appeal, the grouping of familial unities that share their expenses with security, recreation and maintenance, is the newest entrepreneurs' success and, from the urban point of view, a deadlier threat than the residential towers: without needing a great number of people to make it come true, the closed horizontal condominiums interfere in the transport system of the neighborhoods, in the general environmental resources and on the own municipal system of urban control and supervision over this new typology: 'the walled city' of the 21st century.

Very differently from São Luis' colonial urban origin, born under the control of the Municipal Code of Postures from the Senate and only modified after the constitution of the Commercial Association (ACM) as an urban political force, the modern São Luis is configured in a scenario of frailty and administrative nullity, in which the spatial fragmentation and the urban disorder are just one of the sides of the issue; the other, in our opinion, decisive, is the simultaneous construction that happens along with this process of an urban culture that divides the city between its different social classes. Unable to edify and manage a social pact that could lead to an unified city, the public power surrenders to the pressure – not mattering if they are economical, political or social – and tries to please Greeks and Trojans, losing of its sight, in this fatal juggling, what for Aristotle was the essence of a city: a place for all citizens. And as, according to the Physics, every action has an equivalent reaction in the opposing way, the isolated acting of the various social strata will become – with the time, losses and profits – the only and sole social practice, every time stronger and immune to the presence of 'foreign bodies', giving place to social ghettos, the sociologic correspondence and basis for the existence of multiple cities in one.

7. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

From an urban perspective, two moments can be identified in São Luis' modernization process that would eventually lead to the denial of the unitary city and to the construction of the fragmented metropolis. In a first moment the expansion happens in the direction of a penetration

axis that goes from east to west, materialized by the Caminho Grande (Great Path), later known as Getulio Vargas Avenue. Since the expansion is led by the higher strata of society, that occupies the new space with the predominant style of the time, it comes accompanied by certain devices such as movie theaters, army headquarters and recreation clubs. Due to the existence, in that region, of the São Luis–Teresina railroad however, the lands that are closest to the Anil River were already occupied by low-income populations that, with the arrival of the new settlers, suffer a considerable increase and end up reproducing, in the new expansion axis, the characteristic mixture of the central area.

This movement reinforces the shrinkage of downtown's population, but doesn't compromise the dynamic of the area, since it remained as the biggest commercial and residential center, besides the fact of containing all governmental apparatus. This urban duplicity, with the high-income population scattered in two separated places, explains the distribution of the public investments between downtown and the new residential areas, a situation to be maintained until the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies, that came bringing offers of lands closer to the beaches. By the spatial characteristics and urban functioning of this period, we can count 350 years (1615 – 1965) of traditional urbanization, in which the urban pattern is maintained by reproducing the urban scheme set by the Portuguese colonization throughout the inner part of the island.

The new front of territorial occupation, accompanied by the strengthening of the civil construction industry, starts to demand heavy public investing, in a need reinforced by the powerful ideological appeal of conquering the so waited modernity and that had as a hidden face the economical interests of the private sector. This urbanization process progressively becomes more damaging to the central regions that begin to lose the public administration's attention and resources. However, these areas will be affected in different ways, since the effect of this change has an immediate effect over the Getulio Vargas Avenue, an area that, from closest access to the beaches, becomes instantly further from them and, in addition, with a jammed and obsolete road system when compared to the new and large avenues implemented in areas of low density land use.

On the other side, the central area will pass through a slower and way more paradoxical process of urban blight. Built in a historical site at the same time of the conquest of the littoral region, the old downtown is where the public power demonstrates, all at once, a total administrative, economic and cultural inability to ensure urban dignity, even with the entire mystique that involves the area's architectural patrimony. More and more voided of residential functions, the region has been losing its symbolical place as a civic center with the exodus, first slow and now accelerated, of public organs installations: the judiciary, the state's administrative center and the legislative power, that shift to the proximities of the high-income neighborhoods, in a tendency that solidifies a new centrality, attracting a significant parcel of the public investments in detriment of the other areas of the city, specially the historical downtown area, proving Villaça's (2001) thesis about the strength that the high-income neighborhoods have in the definition of urban policies.

The historical relationship between the public power and the lower strata of society is another aspect that requires further studies. It's already clear by the twenties the valorization of the central areas and the conflicts aroused by the maintenance, in these places, of precarious edifications. But a quick look around can confirm that the homogenization attempts made in the region were limited since, differently from the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, the lack of economic dynamism in São Luis restricted the elite's urban and architectural standards to few spaces, of which the Praia Grande area is the main one. However, even at this places, the social

mixture is obvious, demonstrating that the official encouragements to bring up the building's and the area's social standards only reached so far and that the suburbanization process, with its beginning on the thirties, was a strategy to isolate certain social groups from this uncontrollable mixture. However, as the lowlands and the unvalued real estate areas were hand to hand in this suburbanization process, it was inevitable that the poorest accompanied this changes, in an instinctive movement of ensuring their survival by their proximity to the richest, what today can be verified by the size of the shantytown that accompanies the extension of the Anil River from the Liberdade area to the Vila Palmeira neighborhood. (Image 6)

One might even think that this is the worst case scenario that the city could face, but the urban dynamics obey tendencies that might or might not evolve depending on a number of variables (Castells, 1983). And what has been seen in Brazil, unfortunately, is the aggravation of urban social differences that have on violence and segregations its most visible facets. São Luis does not escape this perverse social logic that seems to make, from all the existing 'cities' within it, just one – the seaside area – the happy addressee for all the pampering and care of the public and private sectors: from littoral avenues to recreation areas near by the city lake, garden landscaped paths and the best services and devices, nothing seems to be denied. When seen in a restricted way, such situation appears not only as natural, but mainly as a good sign of urban progress; however, as we see the city in its totality it's possible to realize the total irrationality of such urbanization model that throws precisely over the shoulder of the most in need and vulnerable sectors of society the burdens of distance, insecurity, lack of assistance, lack of hopes and of better perspectives and finally, the great burden of total civil invisibility. This situation is only possible through the denial of any citizenship to a significant part of the population – today calculated as almost 50% of the close to a million inhabitants of São Luis' district – and has disabled the poorest of any participation in the decisions that involve the city's destiny.

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Planning to House the City: John Ihlder and the Struggle for Housing in the U.S.

Writing in 1955 as a veteran of more than half of a century of work in the housing field, Washingtonian John Ihlder asserted that “public housing is a success.” Ihlder’s devotion to the cause of good housing for all Americans had connected him with Jacob Riis’s outraged muckraking and Lawrence Veiller’s meticulous code reform, with organized housing improvement and city planning efforts in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Pittsburgh, and ultimately to the leadership of the campaign for decent housing in the nation’s capital. In the course of those decades, Ihlder devised, implemented, and never ceased to fight for a viable program of publicly-supported housing. Ihlder claimed that the program he developed was financially self-sustaining, and he insisted that it produce shelter that was attractive as well as decent, in projects that would be assets to, rather than a blight on, their communities. The program Ihlder produced responded effectively to Washington’s pressing need for affordable housing. Its real successes were overwhelmed in the economic development fervor of postwar urban planning, to the lasting detriment of the city.

The Puzzle of American Public Housing

A lively scholarship on American public housing has looked for reasons why the program has not been more robust. The inquiry has weight in part because answers might point the way toward addressing the shortcomings of the present-day housing market. But students also pursue the question out of the suspicion that an understanding of the forces that mold American housing policy will help reveal the values and assumptions that underlie our choices regarding the development and governance of cities generally.

Some explanations of public housing’s anemia are made in terms of the peculiarities of American political structure. Researchers cite the lack of class consciousness among American workers (a likely base of political support for government investment in housing) as a factor in the public housing movement’s lack of momentum.¹ Also noted is the political potency of the American real estate sector. In Britain, for example, the distinction between industrial and landed wealth facilitated the development of public housing, since industrialists (who held the upper hand politically) were willing enough to sacrifice landlord interests in order to secure the worker housing necessary to efficient production. In the U.S., real estate interests had relatively more clout and opposed government entry into housing. Some commentators have viewed the American disinclination to subsidize housing as bred in the bone: “investment of public funds in housing . . . collided with constitutional law” and its protections of private property’s prerogatives.² Other analysts trace public housing’s weak start to the circumstances of its birth: the economic crisis of the 1930s depression created an opening for legislating a housing program, with its attendant promise of jobs and economic pump-priming. Because this occurred in advance of the development of broad-based grassroots support for public housing, the program remained vulnerable to attack by more narrowly-based business interests and by anti-socialist demagoguery.³

Relatively primitive financial and governmental tools were also a factor in public housing’s stumbling start and unsure progress. American housing finance was reinvented during the 1930s, with the creation of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board and Reconstruction Finance Corporation (1932) under Hoover, and the New Deal’s Home Owners Loan Corporation (1933) and Federal Housing Administration (1934). Innovations in the residential

¹ Peter Marcuse, “Housing Policy and City Planning: the Puzzling Split in the United States, 1893-1931,” in Gordon E. Cherry, ed., *Shaping an Urban World* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1980), 48.

² Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998), 201.

³ “Lacking time to nurture a grassroots campaign that would have provided a permanent political base for the program, public housers waged a masterful smoke-and-mirrors strategy by persuading allies to fight for their program. . . public housers, working under the pressure of events and politics, built enough support to create a public housing program from scratch and to preserve it . . . but not enough to realize their dream.” Alexander von Hoffman, “The End of the Dream: The Political Struggle of America’s Public Housers,” *Journal of Planning History*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (August 2005): 222-253, 248.

mortgage market were made with the close cooperation of the business community.⁴ The real estate sector's doubts on the wisdom of public housing may help explain why similar innovations were not achieved in this area. Similarly, at the time of the first major federal public housing legislation – the United States Housing Act of 1937 (Wagner-Steagall) – the government machinery needed for administration of the program was still awobble on infant legs. Harold Ickes had urged the creation of local housing authorities to partner with the Public Works Administration's Housing Division, but these agencies were still very new and key questions, such as the scope of eminent domain authority for public housing purposes, remained to be settled.⁵

Strengthened demand for individual homeownership in the interwar years may also have operated to limit the appeal of public housing. This demand was summoned into being by active federal effort. Under Herbert Hoover, the Commerce Department's housing initiatives centered on the "Own Your Own Home" campaign and other pro-homeownership efforts. This policy thrust responded to a number of the economic and social exigencies of the day, but it represented a narrowing choice among several alternatives in the financing and ownership of housing.⁶ The existence of alternative paths, not taken, is evidenced in workers' doubts about the benefits of homeownership for wage earners. The "strategy of promoting homeownership . . . challenged the long-standing consensus among large sections of the industrial working class that homeownership diminished labor's independence"; workers recognized "some industrial disadvantage in being tied to a house and, consequently, a job."⁷ On the other hand, one recent commentator argues that the failures of public housing policy are traceable not so much to weaknesses in the enabling legislation but to a misreading of the culture of citizen housing preferences in the "American urban context."⁸

Finally, it may be argued that American public housing ran aground on the shoals of city planning policy. While initial city planning efforts on both sides of the Atlantic were triggered by concern over the abysmal state of urban housing, it is also the case, reciprocally, that federal intervention in housing was promoted on grounds that it would serve city planning needs. Public housers obtained their 1937 Housing Act victory by stressing the role of a public housing program in speeding slum clearance. As von Hoffman has noted, this strategy soon came back to haunt the housers, as slum clearance became the tail that wagged the housing dog.⁹ Slum clearance efforts had the support of business stakeholders who envisioned a "highest and best use" of central city land for other than low-income housing and of the public, which had been educated on the civic necessity of removing "infectious" slums. But the case for government investment to make decent housing available to all had not been persuasively made. Thus few mourned, or even noticed, as the public housing program rapidly became merely a tool to enable relocation of slum dwellers from clearance areas.

⁴ Gail Radford, *Modern Housing for America: Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 85 ff. Mark Gelfand, *A Nation of Cities: The Federal Government and Urban America, 1933-1965* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 27 ff.

⁵ Radford, *Modern Housing*, 85 ff.

⁶ Federal support for homeownership had the effect of "aiding in the promotion of Americans as property-owning citizens, furthering the emphasis on the woman as the household technocrat, supporting consumption in the private household, and glorifying a stereotypical American family in a standardized dwelling." The "interwar suburban home ideal" was advantageous to the construction industry, promoted full employment, assisted emerging professional groups, and broadened the market for new consumer goods and technologies, as well as markedly shaping metropolitan land use patterns. Janet Hutchison, "Shaping Housing and Enhancing Consumption: Hoover's Interwar Housing Policy," in John F. Bauman, Roger Biles and Kristin M. Szylvian, eds., *From Tenements to the Taylor Homes: In Search of an Urban Housing Policy in Twentieth-Century America* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 82, 82.

⁷ Eric J. Karolak, "'No Idea of Doing Anything Wonderful' – The Labor-Crisis Origins of national Housing Policy and the Reconstruction of the Working-Class Community, 1917-1919," in Bauman, *Urban Housing Policy*, 67.

⁸ D. Bradford Hunt, "Was the 1937 U.S. Housing Act a Pyrrhic Victory?," *Journal of Planning History*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (August 2005): 195-221.

⁹ Von Hoffman, "End of the Dream," 245. In the course of making this argument von Hoffman, inexplicably, identifies John Ihlder as "a Veiller-style anti-public housing reformer from Washington, D.C."

John Ihlder Becomes a Houser

John Ihlder was born in early March of 1876, aboard his father's merchant ship, anchored in Baltimore harbor. All his life, and through two harrowing world wars, he remained proud of his father's German family and its sea-faring tradition. He equally valued his mother's Pennsylvania Quaker roots; her family's abolitionist activism remained a touchstone for him throughout his career. Ihlder lost his mother at age ten, and he and a younger sister were raised by relatives in Yonkers, New York. The elder Ihlder seems to have carried some of a sailor's harsh taciturnity into family life, and his demands and distance were a burden to his son. In 1906, Ihlder married Louise McLaren, whom he had met while working as a journalist and fledgling city planner in Grand Rapids, Michigan. The couple raised one son, Richard. Ihlder died in the family's Georgetown home in May 1958.¹⁰

Ihlder lived a life of relative privilege, a member of the educated, affluent, upper middle class. A graduate of Cornell, he was in a position throughout his life to make modest financial contributions to the causes with which he was associated.¹¹ A life-long sailor, he kept a boat in Long Island Sound while living in New York, and in Washington the family maintained a home, Norden, in Georgetown and a weekend retreat, Glymont, at Indian Head in southern Maryland.

In Ihlder, these privileges were paired with a vigorous civic activism, reflecting his recognition of the scope and seriousness of the obligations of citizenship, and his determination to contribute to the vitality of American democracy, especially as it was unfolding in the nation's cities. Although he claimed a distaste for politicking, and recognized his own shortcomings in interpersonal diplomacy (which perhaps stemmed from the single-minded dedication with which he advocated for the causes he took up), Ihlder was nonetheless a seemingly gregarious participant in the issues of the day. He was a member of professional social work associations for most of his life, and a founding member in 1917 of the American City Planning Institute (a progenitor of today's American Planning Association). In Washington, he was a member (and often an officer) of the Monday Evening Club (a group for the nascent social work profession), and the Council of Social Agencies. He chaired the housing subcommittee of the Committee of 100 for the Federal City, a Washington citizens' planning group, and as a member of that organization helped draft the legislation that created the National Capital Parks and Planning Commission. He helped found, and served as first executive officer of, the Washington Housing Association (today's Metropolitan Washington Planning and Housing Association). He organized the Home Owners' Committee of the Citizens Association of Georgetown, credited with being instrumental in initiating Georgetown's restoration and preservation effort.

The breadth and variety of Ihlder's professional engagements suggest a person of ferocious energy and drive, and one with a voracious appetite for challenge. Ihlder began his working life as a journalist in New York City, writing for the *Evening Sun* (where meeting Jacob Riis impressed him and may have helped turn his attention to housing issues). By 1906, he was in Grand Rapids, Michigan, where he continued his reporting but also organized and led the municipal affairs committee of the local business association, successfully campaigning for creation of a plan for the city. It was in this planning effort that Ihlder first became familiar with conditions of life "on the other side of the tracks"; the experience cemented his interest in housing issues.¹² He returned to New York in 1910, as field secretary of the National Housing Association (NHA) organized by tenement housing code reformer Lawrence Veiller. The job was an important opportunity for Ihlder, since it meant that he traveled widely

¹⁰ This discussion of Ihlder's life relies heavily on the materials (many of them from Ihlder's papers housed at the Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, New York) referenced in Barbara Fant's 1982 dissertation. Barbara Gale Howick Fant, "Slum Reclamation and Housing Reform in the Nation's Capital, 1890-1940" (Ph.D. dissertation, George Washington University, 1982).

¹¹ For example, Ihlder offered to fund personally a construction project by Lawrence Veiller's National Housing Association, in hopes of moving that organization beyond simple advocacy of housing code enforcement; he donated the fee he earned in consulting on housing and planning matters with the National Capital Parks and Planning Commission (NCPPC) to the Washington Housing Association, a nonprofit he had helped organize and which was partnered with the NCPPC in developing the D.C. Alley Dwelling Act. Ihlder and his wife also endowed a fellowship (to further the study of democracy) at Cornell.

¹² "The Story of John Ihlder," typescript marked "used Mar. 1946 *Journal* [of Housing]," p.1 in National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, Washington, D.C., cited in Fant, 147.

with Veiller, working in cities around the nation to establish housing codes modeled on the New York City tenement reform law Veiller had been instrumental in passing in 1901.¹³ Ihlder left the NHA in 1917 to direct the Philadelphia Housing Association.¹⁴ In 1920, he moved to Washington, D.C., where until 1928 he served as manager of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's civic development department.¹⁵ During this period he was also a member of a special advisory committee convened by Commerce Secretary Herbert Hoover to develop a model zoning ordinance for the nation.¹⁶ During the early 1930s he served for a time as executive director of the Massachusetts Housing Association, and in 1928 became founding executive director of the Pittsburgh Housing Association, where he served until 1933.¹⁷

Ihlder in Washington

In 1934 John Ihlder embarked on his largest and most consuming project, one which would absorb him to the end of his career, leadership of the campaign for housing in the nation's capital. He was already fully-formed at the start of this effort, a mature professional approaching sixty years of age. His writings suggest a man of deep seriousness of purpose, one inclined to view the world through a framework of civic ethics, in which vibrant democracy was the highest good. His work was, for Ihlder, less a profession than a calling. In his confidence in the ability of experts, rationalized bureaucracies, and reasoned argument to address the ills of the American body politic, he was the type of citizen activist identified by historians as exemplary of Progressive Era virtues. His speeches and essays show a gentlemanly person, capable of both charm and of easy graciousness. But along with the charm came a razor wit, used against the short-sighted or self-interested who blocked the progress of his programs.¹⁸ His passion for his project was never in doubt among any who knew him, and he was man and citizen enough to be direct, at times fiery, in speaking in its behalf.

The perspective which Ihlder brought to bear upon his task as leader of the Washington housing effort was a product both of these personal characteristics and commitments and of his experience in housing and city planning to that date. The breadth and balance of those experiences had significant influence on Ihlder's approach to his work in the nation's capital. In assuming the role of the District's chief houser, Ihlder brought with him a work record that stretched back to the beginnings of the American housing reform movement and a network of relationships that encompassed most of the experts in that field. Beginning with his acquaintance with Riis, his familiarity with the beaten-down districts of Grand Rapids and of the cities he visited for the NHA left him wedded to the cause of better housing. Yet he did not approach the issue with the radicalism of public housers like Catherine Bauer whose advocacy of "modern housing" contemplated a fundamental reworking of government's relation to the housing market and the conversion of dwelling space from private commodity to public utility. Although he had parted company with the National Housing Association over Veiller's narrowly regulatory approach to housing reform, he shared with Veiller the view that government entry into the housing market should be a last resort, that good housing policy was one that was effective in persuading private enterprise to meet an ever-larger share of the

¹³ Ihlder also traveled internationally for the NHA, escorting a group of housing officials to Britain in the summer of 1914 to observe tenement slums and garden cities. (Ihlder toured Edinburgh with Patrick Geddes during this trip.) The group's plan to tour continental sites was aborted by the start of hostilities in August 1914.

¹⁴ John Bauman, *Public Housing, Race, and Renewal: Urban Planning in Philadelphia, 1920-1974* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), 10.

¹⁵ Roy Lubove, *Twentieth-Century Pittsburgh: Government, Business and Environmental Change* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1969), 66.

¹⁶ Mel Scott, *American City Planning Since 1980* (Chicago: American Planning Association, 1969, 1995 reprint), 194.

¹⁷ "Housing Expert to Speak at Luncheon," *The MIT Tech*, Vol. LII, No. 61 (November 21, 1932). Lubove, *Twentieth-Century Pittsburgh*, 65 ff.

¹⁸ Ihlder was aware of his gifts in this area, judging from the fact that he seems to have noted them regularly in the diary he kept for forty years, and perhaps worked to cultivate them. An example of Ihlder's ability to put across his point with sweetness, from "Public Housing is a Success" – "At the close of a hearing on a case carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, I passed a group of Home Builder representatives in the front of the court building and one of them called out, "We hope you lose," I replied, "I hope you are disappointed." They were disappointed." 2.

demand.¹⁹ While impatient with the shortcomings of building interests who attempted to block government investment in the low-rent housing they declined to build, Ihlder retained a basic faith in the capacity of private enterprise, with minimal government incentive, to meet most housing demand.

This measured approach to housing policy was matched by Ihlder's early engagement in city planning. From his planning advocacy in Grand Rapids and his involvement with the activist planning professionals of the American City Planning Institute, to his work in Washington, D.C. with Hoover on zoning and with the Committee of 100 in setting up the planning apparatus for the nation's capital, Ihlder consistently maintained a planner's perspective on the problems of the city.

What distinguished Ihlder's approach was this meshing of housing and planning concerns. He differed from many housers in stressing the importance of the slum reclamation aspect of housing efforts, arguing that the effort to remove slums and to replan the city in order to prevent their recurrence was a key component of any government investment in a housing program. He insisted that the re-use of former slum areas, and the siting of government-built housing, harmonize with plans for the city as a whole.²⁰ But perhaps more significantly for his position in the policy battles of the 1940s and 1950s, as a planner and redeveloper Ihlder insisted on the priority of housing goals within any city building effort. Planning professionals who entered the field in the heyday of urban redevelopment during the 1950s often became caught up in the race to reassess urban land to its "highest and best use." Unfortunately, this usually entailed wholesale displacement of politically vulnerable populations with little effective provision for their relocation, and, despite statutory directives to the contrary, operated to reduce rather than increase the nation's stock of low-rent housing. While Ihlder was quite clear that not all reclaimed slums could appropriately be re-used for housing, he consistently maintained that the priority objective of any urban replanning or redevelopment scheme was provision of adequate housing for all members of the community. Ihlder's approach was well illustrated by the plan he presented with colleagues to a 1938 joint convention of leading planning associations calling for a comprehensive approach to housing. The plan would have required city planning commissions to prepare a residential land use element in any metropolitan plan. Scott characterizes the proposal as having "foreshadowed the urban renewal programs of the 1950s and 1960s by indicating that a planned housing program should include delimitation of the respective fields of public and private housing, a progressive scheme for the timing and location of public housing projects. . . [and] detailed planning studies for neighborhood conservation or rehabilitation. . ." among other elements.²¹ In his staunch insistence on the priority of housing among city planning goals, Ihlder distinguished himself from most other Washington policymakers. Most of his battles during his eighteen-year tenure as the District's chief housing and redevelopment official were centered on this point.

Housing in Washington

The housing distress which John Ihlder encountered in Washington, D.C. when he began work in the city in 1920 was similar to that he would have found in many of the older, eastern, cities he had visited for the NHA. Washington's distinguishing characteristics were its cycle of spiking population increases (on a relatively small base) linked to periods of national emergency; the conspicuousness of black immigration as an element in those shifts; and the prevalence of alley dwellings in the city's low-rent housing stock. Washington's population increased by 75 percent during the Civil War decade (from 75,080 to 131,700) and by nearly a third during the decade of the First World War (from 331,069 to 437,571). Rapid population growth placed further pressure the city's already stressed housing stock in each of the war decades. Race complicated the housing market. The relative

¹⁹ See Lubove's discussion of Ihlder's approach as director of the Pittsburgh Housing Association, where Ihlder took the position that "Pittsburgh builders. . . were meeting the effective demand for new dwellings" and that a sufficient supply of good, low-cost housing could be assured through the rehabilitation of substandard vacant dwellings in addition to the rehabilitation and conservation of occupied low-rent units." Lubove, *Pittsburgh*, 66. Lubove suggests that experience in Pittsburgh reinforced Ihlder's understanding of the limitations of code enforcement as an instrument of housing reform. By 1933, the PHA was advocating a government role in slum reconstruction and provision of low cost housing. Lubove, *Pittsburgh*, 69-70.

²⁰ Ihlder's view may have resulted in part from the nature of the Washington housing agency's initial statutory mandate, which limited it to clearing alley dwellings and rehousing alley residents.

²¹ Scott, *American City Planning*, 333-34.

size of Washington's African American community spiked sharply between 1860 and 1870 (from a fifth of the population before the war to nearly a third in the succeeding census year), and then held relatively steady at between 27 and 35 percent in the period 1870-1950.²² The influx of freedpeople to Washington after the Civil War increased the city's reliance on cheap alley dwellings; as segregation increased during Progressive Era, Washington's housing market bifurcated on race lines, resulting in increased costs and diminished options for black residents.

Planner Peter Charles L'Enfant is often fingered as the enabling source of Washington's alley dwelling problem. L'Enfant's deep squares made it easy for owners of street-front property to divide their lots and build secondary structures facing the alleys.²³ The alley dwellings (first brought into use in the 1850s although becoming much more common with the Civil War population increase) provided cheap lodgings for laborers, black or white, migrating to the city. Initially, the dwellings may have been rented out by property owners who continued to reside in the street-front properties, an arrangement which provided a modicum of middle class supervision over conditions in the working class alleys.²⁴ However, James Borchert's research suggests that this situation quickly eroded. Absentee landlordism increased the disconnect between street and alley and Washington's "secret city" was born.²⁵ The alley dwellings were social reform organizations' top target, surveyed by experts on behalf of both the Women's Anthropological Society (1897) and the Monday Evening Club (1912).²⁶ Perhaps one reason that reformers' efforts had little effect prior to the First World War was that investment in alleys was lucrative: "almost every alley survey reported that owners made substantial profits . . . return on investment for alley property was at least twice that for street property."²⁷ By the start of the war, reform efforts were gaining traction as the city's increasing density created pressure to put alley space to business uses. Even more significantly, expansion of the city's transit system and introduction of the automobile decreased residential congestion in the core city, reducing pressure for alley housing. In addition, emerging City Beautiful perspectives on planning which emphasized order and separation of functions (and types of people) within the city, added fuel to reformers' rhetorical fires.²⁸

Alley conditions, easily susceptible to lurid presentation, were a focus of reformist rhetoric and action. But the alleys were only one symptom of a pervasive city struggle to reach consensus on land use issues. The struggle was a wrestling match between the rights of property, accorded pride-of-place in the American system, humanitarian concern, and government regulatory faculties that were primitive or non-existent. Property owners pulled the plug on the early attempt by the city's pioneering Board of Health to condemn properties deemed unsanitary. The Board, created in 1871 as part of the District's short-lived territorial government, had succumbed under pressure from property owners by the end of the decade.²⁹ Turn-of-the-century efforts to open up alley dwelling areas to the street,

²² In the next two decades, the relative size of Washington's African American population climbed sharply: Washington became the first major American city to be majority black in 1957; the relative size of the city's black community climbed to 54 percent in 1960 and 71 percent in 1970; it has declined in each succeeding census year, standing at 60 percent in 2000. Constance McLaughlin Green, *Washington: A History of the Capital, 1800-1950* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1962), Vol. 1, p. 21; Vol. 2, p. 89. DC H-Net, <http://www.h-net.org/~dclist/dcpop.html>, accessed May 10, 2006.

²³ James Borchert, *Alley Life in Washington: Family, Community, Religion, and Folklife in the City, 1850-1970* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1980), 1-56.

²⁴ Borchert, *Alley Life*, 41.

²⁵ Borchert, *Alley Life*, 15.

²⁶ Borchert, *Alley Life*, 39, 45. Elizabeth Hannold, "'Philanthropy that Pays' – Washington, D.C.'s Limited-Dividend Housing Companies, 1897-1954," (M.A. Thesis, George Washington University, 1988), 31 ff. Washington's alley dwellings were also the subject of a high-profile piece of contemporary muckraking: Charles Frederick and Eugenia Winston Weller, *Neglected Neighbors: Stories of Life in the Alleys, Tenements and shanties of the National Capital* (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company, 1909).

²⁷ Borchert, *Alley Dwellings*, 39. Hannold, "Philanthropy," 32.

²⁸ Borchert, *Alley Dwellings*, 48-52.

²⁹ Steven J. Diner, "The Regulation of Housing in the District of Columbia: An Historical Analysis of Policy Issues," in Steven J. Diner and Helen Young, eds., *Housing Washington's People: Public Policy in Retrospect* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Urban Studies, University of the District of Columbia, 1983), 7.

or to condemn unfit alley structures, likewise ran afoul of constitutional protections of property.³⁰ The long battle to obtain a housing code for the city did not meet with success until 1955, when access to federal urban renewal funding required it.³¹ The city's zoning ordinance, passed in 1920 just four years after New York City's pioneering effort, had at best a mixed effect on the quality of Washington housing.³² Typically of the early ordinances, the 1920 law created more commercial zones than the city was likely ever to absorb, leaving the existing residential uses in those areas vulnerable.³³ In addition, by restricting placement of multi-family dwellings, the ordinance made it even harder to provide affordable housing.³⁴

One (literally) constructive response to the problems of Washington affordable housing supply was provided by the Washington Sanitary Improvement Company and the Washington Sanitary Housing Company. Incorporated in 1897 and 1904, respectively, the Improvement and Housing Companies aimed to create a low-rent, decent housing alternative for Washington slum dwellers.³⁵ Like sanitarian housing efforts in London, Boston, and New York, the Washington companies worked within the conventional housing market, soliciting capital from investors willing to accept a limited four or five percent dividend. The Improvement Company completed its first set of eight houses (on Bates Street, N.W., just off North Capitol Street) in 1897, leasing them to white tenants at rents from \$9.50 to \$12.50 a month.³⁶ The companies initially built rowhouses and rowhouse flats (two-storey dwellings with separate units on each floor); during the 1930s they moved into multifamily construction.

The substantial success of the Washington sanitarians has yet to be given its due. As noted by their historian, Elizabeth Hannold, the companies built more than 1,000 units over the fifty years of their operations. The 1908 report of President Theodore Roosevelt's Homes Commissions recommended that the government in effect take up the companies' effort by providing them with low-interest capital.³⁷ At the time of their liquidation in the 1950s, the value of the two companies' combined assets totaled in excess of \$4 million. Notwithstanding these real accomplishments, Washington sanitarians were never able to meet the needs of the city's lowest-income residents; in fact, their efforts targeted an increasingly comfortable (if never affluent) market segment over time. Sanitarian leaders recognized this shortcoming, and expressed the hope that the benefit of their efforts might "trickle down" to the most needy who would inherit the reasonably livable units vacated by more affluent working class tenants lucky enough to move to sanitary dwellings.³⁸

³⁰ Both the 1892 law forbidding further new construction in alleys and providing for opening them to street access and the 1914 law which called for termination of all alley habitation effective July 1918 and in the meantime provided for condemnation of insanitary dwellings, were undermined by property owners' court challenges. Hannold, "Philanthropy," 63. Diner, "Regulation of Housing," 10, 23.

³¹ Diner, "Regulation of Housing," 23 ff.

³² Diner points out the significance of the 1918 influenza pandemic – which took the lives of 3,500 Washingtonians – in facilitating passage of this measure designed "to protect the public health, to secure the public safety, and to protect property in the District of Columbia." Diner, "Regulation of Housing," 37.

³³ Such over-zoning was endemic. For example, New York City's 1916 ordinance created zoning for the five boroughs adequate to accommodate the entire U.S. population of 1900. Scott, *American Planning*, 160.

³⁴ Diner, "Regulation of Housing," 36 ff.

³⁵ Hannold, "Philanthropy," 49-53.

³⁶ At a time when working class housing was renting, in alleys and elsewhere, at \$8 to \$10.50 a month, these rents were relatively high. The dwellings provided were of substantially better quality, however. Hannold, "Philanthropy," 32, 49.

³⁷ Hannold, "Philanthropy," 63. It is also noteworthy that some consideration was given to converting the Washington Housing Association, then operating under the name "Washington Committee on Slum Reconstruction and Low-Cost Housing" to a limited dividend corporation on the WSIC / WSHC model to partner with the Public Works Administration in managing the PWA Housing Division's Washington area projects. Changes in federal housing programming obviated the need for this. Washington Housing Association, "Background of the Association," May 10, 1939. Archives of the Historical Society of Washington, D.C., "Washington Housing Association Records, 1935-1947," Container 1, File 1.

³⁸ Hannold, "Philanthropy," 61.

The District's housing reform movement connected with national progressive energies through channels beyond the sanitarian effort. Jacob Riis visited, shining the bright glare of his celebrity on the unsettling condition of the city's alleys.³⁹ Other support came through reformist members of the local social elite who elicited the support of key members of the national elite in residence in the city. President Theodore Roosevelt, who as former chief of New York City police and governor of New York was familiar with both Riis's photojournalism and Veiller's tenement code efforts, convened a presidential Homes Commission in 1906 to analyze Washington conditions. First Lady Ellen Wilson's deathbed wish is famously responsible for passage of the 1914 act mandating clearance of all alley dwellings effective July 1918.⁴⁰

A central figure in this period of Washington reform is Charlotte Everett Hopkins, who from the turn-of-the-century to her death in 1935 used her social prominence and broad net of political relationships on behalf of the housing effort. Hopkins became involved as a volunteer for the Associated Charities, where she would have become acquainted with Charles Weller, the organization's general secretary and author of *Neglected Neighbors*, the vivid 1909 expose of Washington alleys. She was associated also with the Women's Anthropological Society, sponsor of an 1895 survey of the alleys. Hopkins engaged Ellen Wilson's interest in the alley problem and, after the First Lady's death, organized the Ellen Wilson Homes Company with the purpose of building an affordable housing project as a memorial to her.⁴¹

It is with the Ellen Wilson Homes Company that John Ihlder enters the Washington housing reform scene. Ihlder assisted Hopkins in raising \$150,000 in support of the company.⁴² Ihlder and Hopkins both participated in the Washington Council of Social Agencies (CSA), and in 1928 he organized a Housing Committee on its behalf (direct predecessor to the Washington Housing Association), which she helped him finance. Ihlder was at the same time chair of the housing subcommittee of the Committee of 100 for the Federal City, a citizens' planning organization which had been convened and was chaired by Frederic Delano. In this same period, Hopkins was urging leadership of the newly-formed National Capital Parks and Planning Commission (NCPPC) – also chaired by Frederic Delano – to include housing issues within its portfolio. The Commission hired Ihlder as a consultant to develop a proposal for addressing the city's alleys. Working with the CSA's housing committee, Ihlder drafted the legislation which became the D.C. Alley Dwelling Act. After Roosevelt's inauguration in 1933, Hopkins was successful in calling the alley dwelling situation to Mrs. Roosevelt's attention and thus facilitated passage of the Act in 1934.⁴³ Roosevelt selected Ihlder as ADA Executive Director October 16, 1934.⁴⁴

The Alley Dwelling Authority, the National Capital Housing Authority, and Redevelopment in Washington

The Alley Dwelling Act of 1934 cast a social reformist impulse into legislative form. Enactment of Veiller's 1901 Tenement Housing Act had similarly transformed a progressive platform into government action;

³⁹ Jerome S. Paige and Margaret M. Reuss, "Safe, Decent and Affordable: Citizen Struggles to Improve Housing in the District of Columbia, 1890-1982," in Diner, *Housing Washington's People*, 76.

⁴⁰ The potency of this lady's various hopes for her adopted city are famous, as in addition to credit for this alley dwelling legislation she is also pinned with responsibility for President Wilson's move to resegregate the federal workforce. As to the alley-clearing requirement of the 1914 act, it was never enforced. Postponed due to housing shortages triggered by mobilization for the first, and then the second, world wars, the provision was finally repealed in the 1950s – by which time surviving alley dwellings were much-sought-after residences in some sections of the city. Had the provision been enforced in 1918, it would have un-housed 12,000 alley residents, with no arrangement for their relocation.

⁴¹ This discussion of Hopkins's role is derived from Washington Housing Association, "Background of the Association," May 10, 1939. Archives of the Historical Society of Washington, D.C., "Washington Housing Association Records, 1935-1947," Container 1, File 1.

⁴² The company did not proceed with the construction and the money raised was later turned over for use by the WHA. WHA, "Background of the Association," 4.

⁴³ The Alley Dwelling Authority's first project, Hopkins Place, was named for Charlotte Everett Hopkins. "Low-Rent Alley Homes Dedicated as Tribute is Paid to Mrs. Hopkins," *Washington Post*, October 21, 1936. Ihlder kept her picture among the family photographs on the mantel of his home office.

⁴⁴ "Ihlder Named to Direct D.C. Alley Project," *Washington Post*, October 17, 1934.

the significant difference was that the Alley Dwelling Act mandated affirmative government action in the form of slum rebuilding and low-rent housing construction. The agency created by the 1934 act, the D.C. Alley Dwelling Authority (ADA) was the creature of the particular circumstance of the nation's capital. Policymakers attempted to adapt it to the purposes of the national public housing initiative of the 1937 U.S. Housing Act and then to the redevelopment effort legislated by the 1949 Housing Act. The ADA's original commitment to and method of slum rehabilitation did not weather this tumult intact. The Alley Dwelling Act was pioneering legislation in 1934; the turmoil of the next two decades – the aggressive experimentation in urban and housing policy as well as the framing conditions of depression, war, and demobilization stresses – denied the ADA the stability that would have been necessary for full articulation and implementation of its program.

The ADA was the nation's first housing authority.⁴⁵ The agency was the fruit of a more than forty-year effort by District housing reformers, and was molded by their aspirations and assumptions and by the peculiarities of Washington housing. The 1934 act confined the authority's activities to inhabited alleys. Ihlder stressed not mere "clearance" but rather "reclamation" of these slum areas, although he emphasized that new dwellings would be built in the rehabilitated squares only where market and environmental considerations showed this to be appropriate. In other reclaimed squares, the authority built garages and other commercial facilities.

One of Ihlder's top objectives was to demonstrate that low-rent housing adequate to the city's needs could be provided "at no cost to the taxpayer."⁴⁶ Ihlder treated the loan provided to the ADA by its enabling act as a revolving fund which was replenished by rents paid by ADA tenants and sales to private owners of ADA-rehabilitated properties. This fiscal prudence notwithstanding, the ADA was consistently starved for funds and the scope of its action and effectiveness circumscribed accordingly. The \$3 million in start-up funding requested by sponsors of the 1934 act was trimmed to a loan of half a million at three percent interest; President Roosevelt increased this amount at the First Lady's request with an infusion of \$365,000 of Public Works Administration funds.⁴⁷ The appropriators' parsimony took no account of Congress's statutory directive to the ADA to complete clearance of all inhabited alleys – an estimated 250 squares, 2400 dwellings, and 11,000-13,000 occupants – by July 1944.⁴⁸

Ihlder participated in the NAHO research and advocacy efforts to build support for the 1937 U.S. Housing Act, which launched the federal government's first substantial public housing program.⁴⁹ At the request of Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau Ihlder also provided a set of alternative legislative provisions which, had they been accepted, would have incorporated ADA financing mechanisms into the national act.⁵⁰ Ihlder himself was on the short list of candidates for the top post at the U.S. Housing Administration (USHA) which the 1937 act established, with the presumed support of Eleanor Roosevelt and strong backing in *Washington Post* editorials.⁵¹ He lost out to New Yorker and long-time Democratic activist Nathan Straus, an heir to the May Company retail fortune. Straus's performance in the role was to prove a misfortune for the nascent public housing program. He and Ihlder

⁴⁵ Another groundbreaking effort was made by Ihlder's friend and colleague, Ernest Bohn, who won passage of an Ohio statute enabling localities to create metropolitan housing authorities in August 1933. Bohn also became the first head of the National Association of Housing Officials (NAHO, today the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials). Scott, *American Planning*, 319.

⁴⁶ "Alley Authority Here Works to Better Tenants' Live as Well as Homes; Agency Aims to Come Out even on Fees," *Washington Post*, January 16, 1938.

⁴⁷ Fant, "Housing Reform," 260. "Slum Projects Here Imperiled by Funds Slash; House Unit Cuts \$300,000 from Estimate of Budget Bureau," *Washington Post*, May 8, 1936.

⁴⁸ Fant, "Housing Reform," 261.

⁴⁹ Timothy L. McDonnell, S.J., *The Wagner Housing Act: A Case Study of the Legislative Process* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1957), 73 ff., 122.

⁵⁰ McDonnell, *The Wagner Housing Act*, 255-286.

⁵¹ "D.C. Official Likely to be Housing Chief; Mrs. Roosevelt Reported Backing John Ihlder," *Washington Post*, September 17, 1937. "[T]he technical importance of the post, the desirability of filling it with a wholly qualified expert, the necessity of securing a practical appointee- emphasized by the way earlier housing efforts have bogged down – all these and other factors make the appointment of John Ihlder seem a step as desirable as it would unquestionably be logical." "The Housing Administrator," *Washington Post*, September 18, 1937

butted heads on ADA-proposed housing innovations for the District. More significantly, Straus's abrasive management style quickly alienated congressional support for his vulnerable agency.⁵²

Although Ihlder had taken steps to ensure that the ADA would be eligible to receive federal funding for public housing construction under the 1937 act, lingering differences in interpretation required clarification through further legislation in 1938.⁵³ The new provisions added Title II to the Alley Dwelling Act, not only providing for ADA access to USHA funding but also expanding the ADA mandate to include slum clearance and public housing construction in areas of the city beyond its inhabited alleys. The promise of these expanded powers was cut off, for the ADA as for the rest of the nation's public housing authorities, by the advent of war in Europe in September 1939. Congress had not been lavish in appropriating public housing funds authorized under the 1937 act; now this funding was redirected to construction of defense housing (much of it "temporary") in support of war mobilization.⁵⁴

In 1942 the ADA suffered an unexpected, and apparently unintended, blow with the termination of its revolving capital fund. Representative McKellar, who like many of his colleagues had soured on expansive New Deal programming and was disgruntled over perceived slights by the Administration, introduced legislation intended to rein in TVA programming. The provisions swept in the ADA Title I funding mechanism, and meant that although the ADA would remain eligible for future appropriations, any revenues from its properties would have to be returned annually to the general fund. In hopes of repairing this damage, Ihlder asked for congressional hearings on the ADA's Title I (alley clearance) operations.⁵⁵

After a lengthy delay during which subcommittee chairmanships were shuffled, the hearings commenced in January 1944, under the direction of Senator Harold Burton. The timing proved to be unfortunate for the agency – renamed the National Capital Housing Authority (NCHA) in 1943.⁵⁶ Although Ihlder had spent a good part of the autumn prior to the hearings educating Senators on NCHA programs and touring them through NCHA developments, he had also pushed ahead with the siting of new housing projects in still-developing residential neighborhoods east of the Anacostia River. The attempt, late in 1943, to site a low-rent project for black residence in the Congress Heights section detonated a firestorm of protest.⁵⁷ Ultimately, the NCHA retreated from its proposal, but the damage had been done.⁵⁸ The Congress Heights incident crystallized citizen opposition to Washington's public housing program just weeks before the start of the Burton hearings.⁵⁹

The Burton hearings had been intended to focus on the NCHA's alley reclamation program. Ihlder was hopeful that the hearings would provide the momentum necessary to restore the agency's revolving fund and in fact had submitted legislation to expand the program enough to allow for rapid completion of alley clearance at the close of the war. But bad feeling generated by the Congress Heights confrontation made it impossible for Chairman

⁵² "Alley Authority Marking Time in Housing Row: Ihlder to Confer with Roosevelt on Changes Urged by Straus," *Washington Post*, May 9, 1938. "Straus Expects to Approve D.C. Slum Loan; Calls Plan 'Admirable' . . . Halts 'War' with Ihlder," *Washington Post*, October 27, 1938. On the poor match between Straus's personality and the duties of a federal administrator, see Radford, *Modern Housing*, 191-2.

⁵³ On Ihlder's request to FDR for changes to the 1937 act clarifying ADA eligibility, see McDonnell, *The Wagner Housing Act*, 352, note. On later steps to include the ADA, see "D.C. Granted \$1,000,000 to Banish Slums with U.S. Aid. . . Straus Discloses Plan to Extend Wagner Act to Washington," *Washington Post*, January 29, 1938.

⁵⁴ "Defense Workers to Get ADA Homes; 1600 Low-Rent Dwellings Planned as a 'Starter'," *Washington Post*, August 1, 1940. "Wartime Washington: Family Housing Shortage Most Acute," *Washington Post*, December 23, 1941. "ADA Shelves Slum Program for Duration," *Washington Post*, January 16, 1942.

⁵⁵ "Senate Inquiry Set on Slum Clearing Here," *Washington Post*, May 28, 1942.

⁵⁶ The renaming was part of a 1942 executive order reorganization of federal housing agencies which included creation of the National Housing Agency under administrator John Blandford. Gelfand, *Nation of Cities*, 102, 126.

⁵⁷ "Citizen Units Fight NCHA Housing Plan," *Washington Post*, November 3, 1943.

⁵⁸ "Southeast Housing Plan Abandoned," *Washington Post*, November 4, 1943.

⁵⁹ William Robert Barnes, "The Origins of Urban Renewal: The Public Housing Controversy and the Emergence of a Redevelopment Program in the District of Columbia, 1942-1949," (Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1977), 55-66.

Burton to restrain discussion of the agency's Title II, or public housing, functions. Representatives of national real estate interests, the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB) and the National Association of Home Builders (NAHB) most prominent among them, were soon drawn into this controversy. NAREB and NAHB leadership was persuaded that public housing decisions made by Congress in the context of the Washington statute would have repercussions for the national debate on the issue that loomed at the war's end. Ihlder shared their view, and wondered why national housing interests were not quicker to join the fray.⁶⁰

At the same time that the tension in Congress Heights and debates in the Burton hearings were prompting discussion of public housing policy, another initiative was emerging at the NCPPC which would also be significant in shaping the NCHA's future role in the city. This was the push for redevelopment legislation to guide the city's growth in the postwar period. At the federal level, Congress had seized the initiative for postwar planning, terminating the executive's planning body, the National Resources Planning Board, and initiating its own series of hearings on the issue, including hearings on housing and urban redevelopment chaired by Senator Robert Taft which would form the basis of the Housing Act of 1949.⁶¹ At the metropolitan level, John Nolen, Jr., NCPPC planning director, observed that other cities were beginning to plan for postwar urban redevelopment and engaged noted planning expert Albert Bettman to craft a redevelopment statute for the nation's capital. The NCPPC legislation was introduced in 1944.⁶²

In response to the NCPPC bill and the NCHA legislation previously introduced at Ihlder's request, national real estate interests, operating through the local Home Builders' Association, submitted their own bill. The NCPPC bill reflected planners' discomfort with Ihlder's NCHA bill. Ihlder's bill would have expanded the Authority's alley clearance program and would also have made the NCHA the city's redevelopment agency, responsible for acquiring the land to be redeveloped by any District agency. The approach was unacceptable to the NCPPC because it made no provision for comprehensive planning of redevelopment efforts. The NCPPC proposal cured this defect by creating a new redevelopment agency responsible for acquisition and disposition of city land pursuant to plans created by the NCPPC. The third, HBA, proposal focused on defining what housing or redevelopment work would be undertaken by public agencies, and what would be reserved to private enterprise. Under the HBA bill, government would provide financing and would write-down the cost of central city land for private redevelopment. Public agencies would be permitted to provide housing only if private builders declined to.

The D.C. Redevelopment Act of 1945, which emerged from this range of options, retained the elements demanded by NCPPC planners. Its provisions also showed that real estate and citizens' association interests had got the better of their argument with NCHA and the public housers. The Act removed the NCHA's condemnation powers, transferring these to the new Redevelopment Land Agency, and tightened income limits on public housing tenant eligibility, further constraining the NCHA scope of operations. Although these new restrictions were lifted by the Housing Act of 1949 (under which the first funding for the reorganized District redevelopment apparatus was provided), the 1945 act clearly had shifted the emphasis in Washington's city-building effort away from its Progressive roots in the reclamation of alley dwellings and alley dwellers. In the postwar years, under the new redevelopment act, effort would instead focus on ensuring the continued economic viability of the city as a whole. The Redevelopment Act passed the Senate on July 24, 1946 and was signed into law by President Truman on August 2. Ihlder told Joseph Deckman, head of the staunchly anti-public housing Federation of Citizens Associations and legislative ally of the HBA, that the real estate interests "have gotten all you asked for . . . it's now up to you to make good."⁶³

⁶⁰ My discussion of the Burton hearings and the development of the D.C. Redevelopment Act follows the chronology provided in Barnes, "The Origins of Urban Renewal."

⁶¹ Gelfand, *Nation of Cities*, 137 ff.; Scott, *American City Planning*, 407.

⁶² In this same period, Bettman was also working with NAREB, through its research arm, the Urban Land Institute, to develop urban redevelopment legislation, introduced by Senator Elbert Thomas (D-UT) in April 1943. Gelfand, *Nation of Cities*, 127.

⁶³ Ihlder Diary, July 28, 1946, *Ihlder Papers*, Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library, quoted in Barnes, "Origins of Urban Renewal, 399.

Ihlder's Philosophy of Housing

John Ihlder was a driven man, and ambitious for his country. His commitment to civic excellence was the core of his life, and he measured that excellence not in terms of improved business efficiency or the beautification of city boulevards (though he had no quarrel with either of these) but in terms of specific improvements to the quality-of-life for all citizens. This enhanced quality of city life was for Ihlder a prerequisite to effective democracy, for him the ultimate goal. "[T]he fact that America was and is a land of opportunity for the common man . . . is what has made it strong and rich, and that, if we remain faithful to it, will make it great."⁶⁴

Provision of adequate housing for all was a fundamental part of Ihlder's program for democracy. He defined "the housing issue" broadly. The housing challenge confronting Americans at the inception of the federal housing program

is not confined to physical demolition and construction . . . housing involves not only architecture and financing, but law – even the constitutions of states and nation; . . . it involves changes in long established real estate practices, changes of procedure in settling estates, and, perhaps, most difficult, a change in the American attitude of mind.⁶⁵

Public housing was for Ihlder an essential element of the mid-twentieth-century effort at "city rebuilding." In this campaign, public housers would be "guided by the city plan, the zoning, building, housing and health codes" to "reclaim liability areas and help to secure against the creation of new liability areas."⁶⁶ This meant attention to the quality of all building, since meanly built low-rent housing would undermine city rebuilding efforts.

[W]e must build good neighborhoods, and, in my belief, neighborhoods where dwellings of one economic level grade into those of other levels. There must be the fact and the incentive of progress. In the least of these neighborhoods the least dwellings must be good dwellings. Good dwellings are not only sanitary, they are attractive. No house, no neighborhood that is a blot on the landscape is an asset to its community.⁶⁷

"Modern housers" like Catherine Bauer envisioned a publicly-funded housing program that would improve the standard of all American homes the way the federal highway program was later to improve the standard of all American roads. Ihlder's view was not so encompassing, but did include the assertion that good housing for some could not be maintained in the absence of good housing for all. Bad low-rent housing was symptomatic of a larger problem:

[W]e know that the housing of the poor is not a thing separable from other housing in the community, not a thing that can be dealt with effectively if considered by itself. Instead, as we know, the bad housing of the poor is only the worst result of an inadequate community housing program that affects other economic groups, sometimes very acutely. Consequently if we are concerned at all with the future . . . we are compelled to take account of *all* housing.⁶⁸

In this city-building effort, public housing was partnered with private enterprise. In the effort to assure an adequate supply of decent housing for all, the role of public housing was simply "making up any deficit" in the supply of housing provided by private builders. Thus, private enterprise led the way: "it is for private enterprise, by

⁶⁴ John Ihlder, "Public Housing is a Success," January 3, 1956, 6. National Archives, RG 328.

⁶⁵ John Ihlder, "Housing Defined," April 30, 1936, revised April 18, 1940. Gelman Special Collections.

⁶⁶ John Ihlder, "A Public Housing Program: The Purpose of the Alley Dwelling Authority for the District of Columbia is to *Reclaim* Slums and to *Assure* an Adequate Supply of Good Low-Rent Dwellings," December 5, 1938, revised April 18, 1940, 6. Gelman Special Collections.

⁶⁷ Ihlder, "A Public Housing Program," 8.

⁶⁸ John Ihlder, "What 'Housing' Is," October 13, 1936, revised May 11, 1940, 5. Gelman Special Collections.

its performance, to determine what the public housing agency shall do.”⁶⁹ Properly managed public housing performed this service at no ultimate cost to taxpayers. By receiving tenants from both moderate- and low-income groups, the housing authority could set rents so as to cover building operating costs and to pay back government construction loans with interest.⁷⁰ In addition, the housing authority provided services private landlords did not. Public housers recognized that economically-marginal citizens often needed help assimilating into mainstream market society, and so provided that assistance.⁷¹

Ihlder dismissed, at times in exasperation, the suggestion that public housing was treading on ground that should be reserved for private enterprise. When a member of the audience at a Washington Building Congress event that Ihlder was addressing “jumped to his feet demanding an answer to the Government’s ‘entering the building business’” a journalist reported that Ihlder, “apparently infuriated,” told the man, “Why don’t you build them [referring to the low-cost housing] ? Run us out of business. If you can, go to it.” Ihlder charged that

when provision of housing ceases to be profitable or when provision of low-cost, low-rental housing is not as profitable as provision of high-priced housing then low-cost is not provided. So, under private enterprise alone we accumulate slums and hovels and shacks which are a ruinous drain upon the community’s resources . . . To me the answer is that Government must take over what private enterprise is abandoning. In doing so it will enter a field that has been the exclusive preserve of private enterprise. But what other remedy is there? An answer that consists only of promises is no answer. There must be evidence of action.⁷²

Such “evidence of action” by private enterprise was lacking. Ihlder ceaselessly berated private builders for their years of promises to meet the demand for low-rent housing, which resulted, said Ihlder, in – nothing.

During construction of NCHA’s first housing project a prominent local builder came frequently to watch its progress. One day he said to me, “I could build these houses thirty per cent cheaper than you.” “Fine,” I replied, “then you can charge a rent equal to the cost rent the Authority will charge, and still make a good profit. If you will build 100 such houses, I can assure you of tenants who need them.” He did not come back after that so I sent a messenger to ask when he would build. The answer was, “I have better use for my money.”⁷³

The real estate industry argued that instead of investing in public housing, government should subsidize private development efforts. Ihlder challenged this approach, later adopted in federal urban redevelopment legislation, and threw the favorite red herring of industry advocates – that public housing was the first step on the slippery slope toward communism – back in the builders’ laps:

What they [the builders] request is, in my belief, “creeping socialism” or . . . “state socialism,” of a dangerous and insidious kind which gives government the role of partner in private enterprise operation instead of its traditional role of regulating and supplementing.⁷⁴

The crucial contribution that public housing made to the city, and the element that made public housing “a success” was the fact that public housing’s approach locked government investment in redevelopment to the provision of housing:

⁶⁹ Ihlder, “A Public Housing Program,” 6.

⁷⁰ This rent range was important not only in permitting public housing projects to be economically self-sustaining, but also because it accorded with the established understanding that isolating the very poor in income-segregated communities was socially unworkable.

⁷¹ Ihlder, “Public Housing is a Success,” 29, 31.

⁷² “‘Go On, Run Us Out of Business,’ Ihlder Tells District Builders: Alley Dwelling Authority Director Replies to Critics of Government Competing with Private Industry; Talks at Congress Here,” *Washington Post*, July 12, 1938.

⁷³ Ihlder, “Public Housing is a Success,” 11.

⁷⁴ Ihlder, “Public Housing is a Success,” 7.

[P]ublic housing has demonstrated the practicability of clearing slums *and at the same time* providing good dwellings in a good environment for low-income slum dwellers. This combination of slum clearance and rehousing low-income slum dwellers has not been achieved by any other agency. Other agencies, private and public, have cleared slums of their disreputable buildings and have redeveloped the clear sites for more profitable uses. That is comparatively easy. But no other agency has done the dual job. Yet experience has proved that unless the dual job is done, unless displaced low-income people are properly provided for, clearance of one slum leads to the creation of another slum.⁷⁵

Federal statutes had failed to insist on this pairing of rehousing with redevelopment. By the time the Second World War had ended, the balance of power within urban policy making had shifted away from social reformers (many of whom had been molded by Progressive Era beliefs and aspirations and were departing the field) to a new breed of urban entrepreneur – stakeholders, public or private, who were concerned with ensuring the continued economic viability of the postwar city. The new urban redevelopment framework was largely an economic redevelopment framework (in a narrow sense that tended to exclude labor force housing, for example) in which the role of public housing was simply to facilitate the clearance of slum areas for private redevelopment to their “highest and best use.” In the years following the 1951 activation of Washington’s redevelopment program, the city’s public housing assets collapsed under the pressure of massive relocations due to slum clearance, code enforcement, and road building, coupled with the inability or unwillingness of political leadership to provide additional public housing sites or fund construction.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Ihlder, “Public Housing is a Success,” 1.

⁷⁶ See the summary of the relationship between NCHA and D.C. Redevelopment Land Agency projects in William Simpson, NCHA General Counsel to Chester H. Smith, Chief Clerk, Senate District Committee, letter of January 13, 1961. D.C. Archives, RLA Records, Accession 351.73.3.

URBAN PLANS AS INSTRUMENTS OF SOCIAL AND SPATIAL FRAGMENTATION. THE SAN CRISTOBAL CITY CASE, VENEZUELA.

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Characterizing San Cristóbal spatial and socially, implies to perceive certain manifestations not only morphologically, but in the differentiated occupation of space by its inhabitants. The integral visualization of these signs, in different temporary scenes, warns of the transformation of the city and the existence of amalgamated events that have been acting until causing the changes. The physical and population mutations that are perceived in second half of the XX century in relation to the previous decades are evident. Characteristics and situations make contrast in functional relations and the most important, in the connection between inhabitant and space.

As San Cristóbal transfers the second half of the XX century, it gradually loses its characteristics in one double slope, as heterogeneous stage with an intense mixture of uses and activities, as well as in the relation between society and territory. Morphologic manifestations that are seen when the city advances in the half century induce to think about the presence of dissimilar processes that draw a new San Cristóbal face.

The Government as an important actor of processes that occur in the cities, tries to influence in determinant form in its growth and conformation, in such way that it responds to the development concept of Venezuelan nation since the end of the XIX century. The Central Government imposes city-planning models in a sporadic and generalized way for the main Venezuelan cities, among them, San Cristóbal. Plans, as instruments of urban management, acquire an important role since 1950. Obviously, the urban plans do not constitute the only motors of cities transformation; nevertheless, they contribute with interesting aspects that are worth to review.

Now, the different urban plans are presented in a chronological way conceived for San Cristóbal, emphasizing the proposals that have affected the social and spatial fragmentation of this city. Previously, a brief review is exposed about planning in Venezuela as a referent, emphasizing the Central Government role and the imposition of its performances.

The Urban Planning in Venezuela: An induced process from the Central Government

At the beginning of the XX century, Venezuela reflects an image of poverty, vulnerable in its physical, territorial and urban structures. Functional, sanitary and that of traffic difficulties, begin to alert the governors. The Venezuelan State begins to give urbanism and the planning an unknown importance until that time. A discipline that had begun in the European countries and North America is adopted as national matter.

In the field of the urban planning, a first experience already existed, the *Plan Monumental para Caracas* or commonly denominated *Plan Rotival* made in 1939¹. Its objective, centered in giving an image to Caracas agreed to the importance that it demanded for being the capital of a country that had an increasing economy, lays a way in the national order. This essay on the city-planning discipline, executed only partially, leaves a thought and notion of city that

has repercussion in the urban plans for different places in the country, in other temporary scenes. The *Plan Monumental* creates the bases for the atmosphere where the *Comisión Nacional de Urbanismo* would act like protagonist, with the *Planos Reguladores*, as instruments.

The creation of the *Comisión Nacional de Urbanismo* sets the beginnings in the assignments of urban functions of Central Government, which obviously diminishes the municipal authority in the matter. The *Comisión Nacional de Urbanismo* created in 1946 depending on the *Ministerio de Obras Públicas* has, between its objectives, the planning of the development and control of the Venezuelan cities. Promulgated Constitution a year later, in 1947, ratifies the problem of sharing functions between Central and Local Governments. At the same time, this Constitution includes urbanism within the municipal functions and sanctions the intervention of the Central Government.

This conflict between functions marks the urban performances in the different cities of the country and originates confrontations between both Governments. Plans move between two currents, national and municipal governments. The first one, repeating everywhere a task of the purest rationalism, according to methodology schemes previously established, and the second one, generally incapable to translate these plans in authentic urban management.

Planning in Venezuela, due to strong centralized root, has been characterized to summarize policies, adopt theories and generalize in all its geography, necessities and proposals. The different urban approaches are interpreted and shaped in identical schemes. Periodically, translated analogous methods are performed, in different urban plans. Through them the Central Government tried to lead the development of the cities.

The *Planos Reguladores*, first instruments elaborated with national character, had uniform approaches derived from the imposition of an only method of work. With them, it was tried to grant an order to the most important cities and, which is more significant, a centered image in an exclusive physical-spatial vision.

In these plans, based fundamentally on the study of the cities in the regional context, the considered objectives were the identification of urban limits, analysis of different variables, projection of population and its requirements. The diverse urban problems were confronted with instruments of shaped analyses and intervention existing in the *Carta de Atenas*. This document is assumed by the *Comisión Nacional de Urbanismo* and translated in the elaboration of a generalized method. The main Venezuelan cities are described technically, informing on their characteristics generally.

In these instruments the spatial expression of the functionalist paradigm of the urban life is denoted. The city, visualized like a living organism is structured according the relation among its fundamental functions: to live and to recreate, materialized in housing as a basic component; circulating, referred to the service component and job like productive component. The organization and guarantee of the good operation of all of them are obtained through the administrative component.

The spatial distribution of uses corresponds with the concept of a commercial central nucleus and metropolitan services. The residential use is expressed in communities, neighborhood units and concentration of local services. The industrial zones are segregated to the margin of the cities.

One the most important critics to these plans is centered on the imposition of just one method and the marginalization of participation of the local government. Related to this, Gustavo Ferrero Tamayo (1997), one of the architects that conformed *Comisión Nacional de Urbanismo*, would say later, "... the first step to study a certain city, was to send a group of professionals to know the terrain, to know the nature the problem and to obtain all the information available to understand the city (...) Today, I do not have doubt about the urbanism plans must be elaborated in the own urban community that affects, in order to

involve them in their content deeply and in its repercussions (...) the urban ambit is eminently local, Cumaná problems are different from those from Barquisimeto, Coro or Maracaibo".

A situation of excessive centrality affects the application of these instruments. The *Planos Reguladores* had to be needed through the formulation of Zoning Ordinances by the Municipal Governments, situation that, in some cases, did not happen. In several cities, Barquisimeto, Valencia, Maracaibo the *Planos Reguladores* are reason for controversy, criticizing the functions of the *Comisión*. Political changes make this national organism decays until it disappears in 1957. In spite of the dissolution of the *Comisión Nacional de Urbanismo*, the centralization in decisions and performances of urban character would not vanish. On the contrary, it would be accentuated.

At the beginning of the seventies, the urban planning like fundamental activity is assumed again to confront the multiple problems that affect Venezuelan cities. The *Dirección de Planeamiento* of the *Ministerio de Obras Públicas* makes the *Planes de Desarrollo Urbano* for the main cities of the country. Again, the contents are standardized and the methods become general. The *Ministerio de Obras Públicas* assumes the direction in a noticeable centralization of the process.

In the *Planes de Desarrollo Urbano* the spatial ambit previous plans is extended. Neighboring localities are included, and a proposal in economic goals is concreted. These Plans of physical-space schemes have their last expression the Zoning Ordinances. The *Planes de Desarrollo Urbano* belongs to the functional generation of standardized content, where quantitative methods and rational models abound. The technocratic myth based on a positivist interpretation of society is rooted in the spirit of the State as planner. The discipline of urbanism is conceived like a series of steps that go from the data collection to the performance on the cities.

In an attempt to adapt itself to the regional policy that was being tried in the country, the performance ambit is extended. The scope of the urban thing is transferred. The concept of Physical, Territorial and Urban-planning and some forms of urbanism that had produced noise in the international scope, North American City-planning or the Town-planning of England are introduced. *Planes de Desarrollo Urbano* are focused in the incorporation of new territories, sanitary improvement and recovery of urban lands, importance of the transportation in the organization of cities and regions.

At the end of 70s, the *Ministerio de Obras Públicas* disappears and an organ of government is created where attributions in city-planning matter are centered. It is the *Ministerio de Desarrollo Urbano*, which openly assumes this role, formulating the denominated *Planes Rectores* at the beginning of 80s, widely questioned by its legality. The terms of city-region and subregion very timidly appear in the *Planos Reguladores* and more explicit in the *Planes de Desarrollo Urbano*, acquire importance in the formulation of proposal of spatial character and economic goals. The planning of the main city and its area of immediate influence is related to approaches widely tried in other places.

The *Planes Rectores* could be associated to the British system of urban plans, the type denominated structure plan, effective in England from the previous decade. These instruments pretended to have a general and strategic character. Hierarchically located in an intermediate level between the region and the urban premises, these plans try to be tools of change in the activity of the national urban planning. In the *Planes Rectores*, the definition of metropolitan region is assumed, integrated by a metropolitan area, municipality conurbation and in conurbation process, in addition to the expansion areas. Its boundary is based on the intensity and character of the relations, as well as in the distance to the most important city.

The concept of metropolitan area is assumed with a mainly administrative connotation. The fundamental aim of the Plan Rector is to integrate the different towns in order to make them function like a Territorial Unit through an expressway network. Each urban center had

to be reinforced based on its real potentiality, product of its main economic activity, to break its increasing dependency, respecting to greater urban centers.

The conurbation phenomenon is analyzed as an organization form that emerges in the urban and regional ambit. The interdependence between towns, infrastructure, forms of the territory and communications are studied like inductive elements of the concentration of population and conformation of a continuous and urbanized landscape.

Although in these new instruments of the urban planning, the respective municipal governments became jumbled directly and local professional equipments *ad hoc* were structured for their elaboration, the *Planos Reguladores* were considered of doubtful legal sustain. Its elaboration had been based on *Decreto 668* made on July 3 in 1980, promulgated by the *Ministerio de Desarrollo Urbano*, which violated the municipal competences in urban matter.

Later, with the promulgation of the *Ley Orgánica para la Ordenación del Territorio* in 1985 and the *Ley Orgánica de Ordenación Urbanística* in 1987, the relative to the Urban Plans takes shape, hierarchically, organized according to its importance and competence. In the *Ley Orgánica de Ordenación Urbanística* the hopes to reach the urban order are centered. After a long discussion that takes several years, the country defines the legal frame.

Again, a series of instruments for different towns, with a great homogeneity is elaborated, according to some rules given by the *Ministerio de Desarrollo Urbano*. The required clarification between national and municipal competences in relation to these Plans, demands to this organ of the central power, the establishment of directives and criteria to orient the performances in the elaboration of these instruments. The cities are again object of analysis, diagnoses, prospections, proposals, efforts that are diluted, trying to impose an order.

***Plano Regulador* of San Cristóbal: The city specializes functionally**

For San Cristóbal, the *Plano Regulador*, given by the Ministerio de Obras Públicas to the Municipality of San Cristóbal on June 24th, 1952 and approved by the local government on May 25th, 1953 was a new thing in that moment, because it was the first project of organization of all the city. It was bet by the expansion to which San Cristóbal had not been able to aspire during several centuries.

In its essence, this instrument responds to the methods and general criteria, imposed in the different *Planos Reguladores* by the *Comisión Nacional de Urbanismo*. In a clear interest to solve, at the same time, the problems of housing and urbanism, the city as a whole is analyzed, including related aspects: demographic density, uses of land, common services and mobility. Limits are assigned to the urban growth; the extension of the city is established within the territory. With this intention, relevant natural accidents are identified, which would serve like binding elements within the city and as spaces destined to the relaxation of their inhabitants. La Blanca stream on the north, the Chucurí stream on the south, level 965 on the east and the Torbes river on the west.

Borders that will be against the own dynamics of the growth and that will be demonstrated twenty years later. Bordering a portion of the territory and delaying a process that is subjugated to the private property and rents of the ground is obviously contradictory with the intention of this plan, that is to say, to qualify a land legally to be used with urban aims.

For the moment of the elaboration of the *Plano Regulador*, San Cristóbal had a population of 53,933 inhabitants and it was the fifth place in importance among all the cities of the country. Greater urban problems in terms of conflicting uses, amount of urban grounds and traffic problems were not seen yet.

The future is considered in terms of extension and population, a five times greater expansion and 140,834 inhabitants in a period of 20 to 25 years. These proposals express the

intention to foment the construction activity, by means of the provision of infrastructure and urban services that would surely grant a great benefit to proprietors of the land, and the emergent real estate promoter.

With the assimilation of the notion of structure for the definition of the city, the authors of the Plan try to settle down an order, by means of the conformation of interdependent sectors. Communication infrastructure dominates the proposal of the *Plano Regulador*. It is considered to spread the city based on mobility.

The project of city is expressed then, according to two schemes, one of communication infrastructure and another on zoning. It constitutes, mainly a layout plan that, requires to be detailed later. The communication infrastructure proposal allows to organize the whole city. Mobility, the new forms of activity, with a wider ambit of performance are assumed within conceptions derived from the Modern Movement.

This way, the elements of greater hierarchy on circulation, would allow the communication of the city with the rest of the territory. The construction of the Autopista Regional, north-south way that would allow connect the city with other urban centers is considered. In a ring way and bordering the different sectors in which consolidated and proposed spaces for the city are divided, and it is also considered the expansion of streets or new roads, that could conform a circumvallation system.

In the traditional center, a system of routes is proposed which will cause great changes. In the road plane, the colonial net becomes blurred, the concept of urban corridor with location of the tertiary sector is introduced, which takes shape in the Quinta y Séptima Avenidas, constructed in the 60s and 70s. The principle outlined by Le Corbusier is applied, respecting to downtown: to increase its density and to assign the commercial and administrative function.

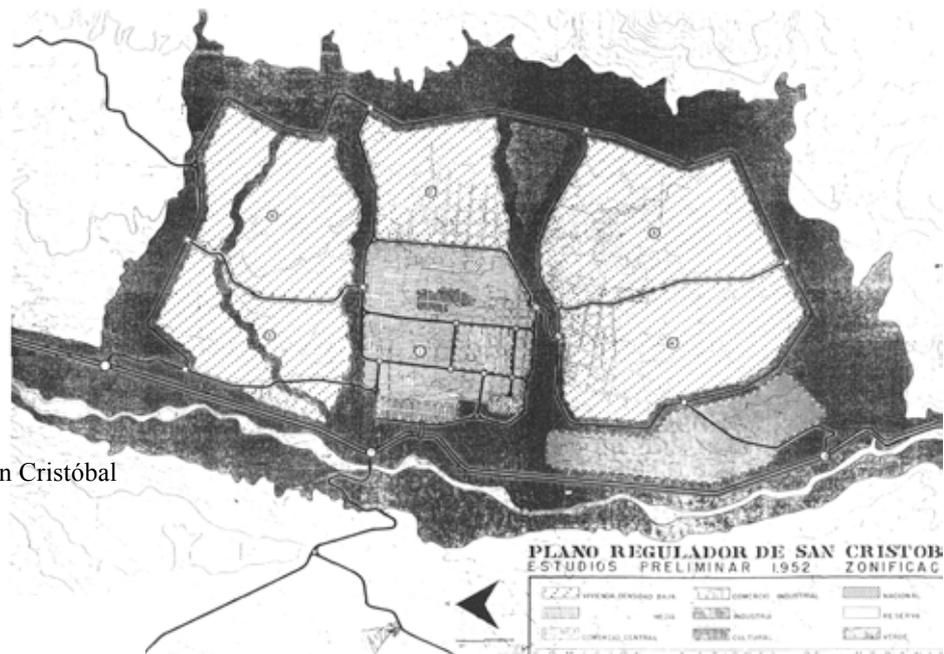
The insertion of the Quinta y Séptima Avenidas, with Avenidas 19 de Abril, Libertador, Carabobo and Rotaria derived from the communication infrastructure, which are proposal in the *Plano Regulador* of San Cristóbal, constituted the bridges between proposal and reality. Other expositions were not made completely. The own dynamic was imposed on derived pretensions from Modern Movement. As a result, there are a set of unfinished roads that are far away of its function. However, the role of communication infrastructure proposals cannot be forgotten in the qualification of urban land. Expectation and reality were united to wake up small and great land proprietors from their lethargy

In the zoning scheme, homogenous areas are considered, relatively independent —the communities— integrated, as well, by local neighborhood units. The city is divided into six communities, a central one that corresponds almost to the totality of the area developed until the moment; the other five are baptized with names associated to existing sectors, Pirineos, Concordia Este, Concordia, Los Kioskos and Paramillo. These communities are organized around the central community; their limits are adjusted to natural elements, as well as to existing and proposed roads (Fig. 1).

In the function of these communities, the term neighborhood unit is used explicitly, the greatest expression of the residential use. Circulation is limited to the periphery; the inner streets are of exclusive use to accede to the different local services and the housings.

The neighborhood units would be located in great extensions or macro squares. With it, freedom to the future designs was granted and the absolute rupture with the traditional form of growth of the city was tried. The direction that San Cristóbal followed in its extension, referred to the south and east was ignored, as well as the property of the land. The Plan was made in an archetype of city, mainly formal and representative, with great idealistic appearances. It was only concreted with the construction of Unidad Vecinal La Concordia built between 1954 and 1982.

Fig. 1 Zoning Plan
Plano Regulador de San Cristóbal



In all the communities, with the exception of the Central community, low densities are proposed. The Central community that corresponds to the city consolidated in the mid of the XX century is subdivided, and it, in six sectors, where residential functions, commercial, institutional, cultural and of industrial commerce are considered. The central commerce is restricted around Bolivar square that was in that tendency. However, as the dynamics and the capitalist logic demonstrated the tertiary activity, with all its implications for the urban land, has been radiated towards other sectors.

The *Plano Regulador* quantified occupied zones by informal settlements, but these quantifications were not taken into account in the proposal. The adjacent locations to streams will be considered like green areas. This way, the problem of informal settlement is assumed and considered to be solved by expositions of spatial organization.

As this Plan responds to Modern Movement proposals, the space for the industry location is placed on the southwest, so that it cannot be mixed with housing. This last proposal is located out of the reality of San Cristóbal. Few manifestations of production spaces had been located, by that moment in a disperse form in the central sector of the La Concordia, on the south.

The lack of concretion of the *Plano Regulador* in the proposal to the interior of the communities prevented to obtain the balance and to concrete the relations between its components. The initial idea to conform self-sufficient homogenous zones was not possible. The city, in some way, was specialized, its sectors, soon began to show differences.

Plan de Desarrollo Urbano and Ordenanza de Zonificación: The social and spatial segmentation is emphasized

The *Plan de Desarrollo Urbano* for San Cristóbal is elaborated by the *Ministerio de Obras Públicas* in 1971 and given to the Municipality for its approval. In spite of certain initial

confrontation and some observations to the document, this would be constituted in the foundation of the *Ordenanza de Zonificación* elaborated by the local authority and promulgated in 1976. This decree is still effective, from the administrative point of view and that differs in very few aspects from the elaborated by the *Ministerio*².

Some of the proposals of the instrument elaborated by the *Ministerio de Obras Públicas* are similar to those in the *Plano Regulador* of 1952: the imposition of limits to the growth and division of the city in sectors. Other aspects are approached with greater depth. A detailed diagnosis of geographic means, the physical conditions and the population are made, this last one, in its social and economic constitution.

The scope of performance includes San Cristóbal, Tárriba and Palmira —cities located to the north of San Cristóbal—. The *Plan de Desarrollo Urbano* considered to increase from 1.424,7 hectares, urbanized total area in 1970 to 5.901 hectares. It is used like reason, the existence of a conurbation between these cities. Reasons not sufficiently sustained, if the cartographic documentation of San Cristóbal is observed, by that moment: a series of fragmented portions that are scattered to the north and that still were important to articulate and to put under urbanization processes. This impulse, of legal character, in the conquest of new territories, out of jurisdictional political frame of the city, implied on the contrary, to grant unlimited power to those land proprietors. The role of metropolitan service center is assigned to San Cristóbal, so new conquered territories had to be under the dominion of San Cristóbal, in a clear application of concepts of centrality and primacy.

As an effective tool of control and management, the physical-space plan is used. With the establishment of uses and intensities, private agent is pretended to be controlled. The elaboration of zoning ordinance constitutes the main purpose of all this process. The *Plan de Desarrollo Urbano* constitutes an exhibition of good intentions, referred to downy of communication infrastructure, services, equipment and housing. The *Ordenanza de Zonificación* is elevated in the directional map that will govern the growth and conformation of San Cristóbal in the next years. Of imposed nature, its objective is to separate and characterize the components and to distinguish parts in the city. At the same time functions are separated, the people are separated too. The density becomes the main index to measure the concentration of the population.

In the *Ordenanza de Zonificación* approved for San Cristóbal, the urbanism in two dimensions dominates the scene and the differentiation of the space is reduced to a chromatic symbol. Regulations for the uses of the land are established, minimum surface of parcels, minimum distant of the front of terrains, maximum percentage of occupation of the land, maximum densities and altitudes. With the ranks of heights it is tried to control the densities and it is tried to avoid a violent rupture with the homogeneity; however, the topographical conditions, so important in San Cristóbal are ignored. The zones, not only are standardized in physical but social terms.

The public space consolidates as a result of the regulations applied to the private space. It constitutes the rationalization of the territorial ordering and functional simplification is taken to its greatest expression. This simplification is seen from diagnosis that the *Ministerio de Obras Públicas* makes. The space is divided into zones and sectors. A representation form that facilitates the analysis and that allows to induce a proposal focused in the zoning and a greater specialization. "... To the effects of the detailed analysis of the use of the land, in relation to the physical organization of the city, the urban space has been subdivided into five big zones that include smaller groups as well. These zones correspond with revealing specific circumstances of their performance and socioeconomic dynamics or its possibilities for future developments "(*Ministerio de Obras Públicas*, 1971).

The demarcation of the limits between the zones responds essentially to the streams, natural elements that have accompanied the city. In the *Plan de Desarrollo Urbano*, the

differentiation between the space pertaining to Táriba and Palmira, the north zones, mid-north, central and south is seen. Conformation of sectors to the interior of the zones is based on the presence of homogenous characteristics of occupation and space performance

Differences between zones and sectors are expressed in terms of uses and densities, location of stratum of the population according to their incomes. The proposal of the Plan is focused in the structuring of an urban complex, which would be integrated by centers of urban activities, that ratify, somehow, the changes experienced by the city in 50s and 60s and vocation that different sectors presented derived from precise performances from the public and private initiative (Fig. 2).

With determinist concepts, economic activity is hoped to be stimulated from the conformation of areas destined to the industrial use, in spite of being this function other than the vocation of the city. Excessive areas in relation to the real demand are privileged. Three zones of industrial services, La Concordia, Puente Real and Altamira are proposed. These zones would be connected with other two industrial centers, Las Lomas and Paramillo.

By the moment of the elaboration of the diagnosis, the north zones and mid-north, —3 and 4 according to the denomination used— had the lowest densities, in average, 54.3 and 76.1 inhabitants/hectare. In that direction, the city had begun to experience its growth, by means of dispersed fragments in the territory, supported in the elemental communication infrastructure.

Confronted to this reality, increase of densities is proposed, the minim of 110 inhabitants/hectare in zones as El Lobo and Las Lomas: the maximum between 780 and 1055 inhabitants/hectare, in Pueblo Nuevo. Also, other uses between those that emphasize green, university and industrial zones are included. Areas of protection of streams and the zones of maximum inclination are identified.

In the reality, these densities are not going to accomplish their assignment to anticipate the requirements in the infrastructure systems. Its increase, simply, will impulse the desires of proprietors of lands and promoters. With these numbers the values in the market are guaranteed. The vertiginous increment that experienced the construction sector and supported by prosperous Venezuelan economy is favored with these decisions.

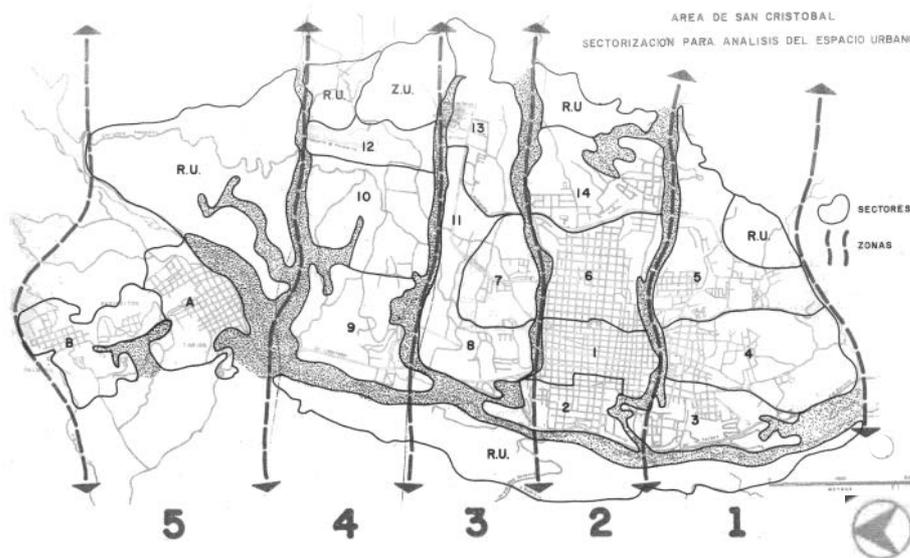
La Concordia, on the south, —zone 1—, presented at the moment of elaboration of the Plan the highest density. There the highest proportion of informal establishments is quantified. Approximately 64.5% of the precarious housing, that are located in the scope of performance of the Plan, is located in this zone. There are also sectors occupied by industrial facilities that, in an isolated way, have been built in this zone. In relation to the informal establishments its renovation or eradication is established and are subject of the establishment of urban variables similar to the proposals for the rest of the city. In relation to housing for low income population, the Plan and the *Ordenanza de Zonificación* settle their position as instruments of social segregation favoring certain groups. The areas are quite inferior in surface, in comparison with other uses. In addition, they are located in the periphery of the urban area, to the north and the south, in lands occupied by informal settlement and near water streams.

Another important aspect in the formulation of the plan is the introduction of the concept of urban renewal as a whole of physical transformations in some sectors of the city. It includes all the eradication and rehabilitation processes in the informal settlement as well as the revalorization of the central area.

Zone 2 —Central— corresponds to the traditional area of San Cristóbal as it is delimited in the plan. According to the diagnosis made, it presents the highest proportion of properties assigned to commercial use; however, these properties have a specific location, on 5th and 7th Avenues, recently built.

The routes, streets, avenues constitute another aspect to be pointed. In the document presented by the *Ministerio de Obras Públicas* in 1971, it is well remarked the importance to

retake the idea of circumvallation, proposed in the *Plano Regulador*, in order to enlarge the incomplete routes and wide others to create circuits which allow a greater fluidity to the traffic. The *Ordenanza de Zonificación* of 1976, in general, maintains the proposals of the *Plan de Desarrollo Urbano*. In a detailed way, it presents the sections of the roads according to their hierarchy: principals, collectors, local principals and secondary and in industrialized zones.



When the *Ordenanza* begins to be applied a great proportion of the avenues were finished which had been proposed in the *Plano Regulador*. Time among these planning instruments had been especially important for the construction of roads and for the expansion of the city. The sectors surged along the new roads behaved as catalyses of important processes of real estate speculation. The localization of productive spaces, residential and commercial areas was strongly influenced by the new circulation system. However, a considerable number of road projects remained in big files of studies and proposals. Others were interrupted in their construction. The new situation of the Venezuela with a strong economic declination, as well as, the occupation of the land by big groups of population affected negatively the execution of plans.

The *Plan Rector* and the *Plan de Ordenación Urbanística*: Differentiation of territorial ambits

The conception of the city in the wider territorial ambits pointed in the *Plan de Desarrollo Urbano* of 1971 is evident in a concluding manner in the urban instruments outlined for San Cristóbal in the following decades: the *Plan Rector* of the 80s and the *Plan de Ordenación Urbanística* of the 90s.

In San Cristóbal the new city plan elaborated in 1984 with the name of *Plan Rector del Área Metropolitana de San Cristóbal-Tárriba-Palmira-Cordero* for a surface of 7908 hectares was the result of a cooperation contract which had been subscribed on April 11th, 1981 among the *Ministerio de Desarrollo Urbano*, the *Ministerio del Ambiente y los Recursos Naturales*

Renovables, the *Ministerio de Transporte y Comunicaciones*, *Corpoandes*, *Universidad Nacional Experimental del Táchira*, *Universidad de Los Andes* and the respective municipalities. At the present, it constitutes a reference frame for the authorization of urban executions in those areas of the city out of the limits of the *Ordenanza de Zonificación*.

The ambit of performance —San Cristóbal, Táriba, Palmira y Cordero— constitute a territorial imposition with two contradictory sides. On the one hand, it is pretended to restrain the growing of the city and, on the other hand to qualify a land, for urban use which up to the present was irrelevant for the real state market.

The technical report on which the *Plan Rector* is based, constitutes a detailed exploration on which the tendencies of growing are reviewed, and the situation that experiment the ambit of performance at that moment is emphasized. The diagnosis, descriptive in some way, adjusted again to rational paradigms approaches physical, demographic, basic services, residential, touristy, occupational space aspects of each of the axis and urban centers involved. It focuses its interest on the methods of quantitative analysis, questionnaires by sample, projections. New social and spatial indicators are under research.

As well as in the other instruments of this generation made for the main Venezuelan cities, the most important aspects in the *Plan Rector del Área Metropolitana de San Cristóbal* is the territorial integration. In the technical report the circulation system is analyzed from a regional perspective. In this document appears as a very relevant result the approximations effectuated to the occupation of the main ways that connect San Cristóbal to the nearest towns. On a direct manner the conurbation is approached as a reality, mainly accentuated with the occupation by people with low incomes.

Despite the extension and profundity of the analysis the version of the *Plan Rector* expressed in the Resolution published in the *Gaceta Oficial* was changed into a zoning plan and into a communication infrastructure proposal, with a list of specific actions by subject. Under a rigid pattern just the same than other *Planes Rectores* that would be done in the country from 1980 to 1985.

The proposal actions are focused on the definitions of circulation system. The roads adopt the sections corresponding to each hierarchy. The importance that is given to the proposal of this expansive system only pretends to emphasize the relevant character of the use of private automobile that had been settled in our way of life.

The proposal emphasizes again the construction of avenues, the widening or culmination or works which had begun. Proposals, that in its majority have remained on paper, not because of a more reflective attitude, according to new ideas about ways of transportation, but for the repetition of inoperative models of management which are not an innovation in the Venezuelan urban history.

The content of the *Plan Rector* outlined in a plan, expresses an ambit of actuation spatial zoned. Again, this way of zoning implies a segregation of uses and a reinforcement of central areas of San Cristóbal and Táriba as spaces that concentrate commercial and administrative activities. Important densities are proposed, if they are compared with proposals in the *Ordenanza de Zonificación* de 1976.

The requirement of space that the growing population made, lead to ask for the incorporation of new zones to the urban area in order to be used in new developments. Between these zones and the developed areas some differences are established. The use of the urban land and its intensity is defined. The investments to be done by Government are reflected on matters such as: housing, education, attendance and industrial services, recreational, sportive and touristy areas, communal, metropolitan services and infrastructure.

Procedures, that most of the cases, were just intentions. Despite the strategic character which was pretended in those plans and the supposed concerted actions in charge of the different public organisms are, again documents without any concretion. Similar to the 70s

generation plans, requirements and proposals are placed on the same level, without analyzing the feasibility of the latest and their priorities.

In its formulation, the administrative organs, which will concrete the plans, are ignored. The difficulties to integrate all the government local instances of different jurisdictional scope are also ignored. The orientation and general character of this plan is not explained, which should arrive to a latter formulation of instruments of local urban scope. Some of the actions pretend to be very concrete in a complex and broad spatial ambit.

A spatial ambit that would be pointed again on the next plan formulated for San Cristóbal. It is the *Plan de Ordenación Urbanística del Área Metropolitana de San Cristóbal* which was presented between the years 1993 and 1995. It is the first instrument of urban regulation made for the city after the promulgation of the *Ley Orgánica de Ordenación Urbanística*. It is adjusted to the organized system of plans considered in this legal instrument and in the *Ley Orgánica de Ordenación del Territorio*, since 1984.

Same as the *Plan Rector* formulated in the 80th, the *Planes de Ordenación Urbanística* could be associated to the Structure Plan of England Urban Legislation and to be related to the hierarchically minor instruments, *Planes de Desarrollo Urbano Local* or their correspondence to the Local Plans England.

A relation that will not be done in San Cristóbal because the *Plan de Ordenación Urbanística* will never be approved and consequently the correspondent *Plan de Desarrollo Urbano Local* will never applied either. This is a matter that causes a little trouble and it is being retaken by these days in order to substitute the *Ordenanza de Zonificación*, an instrument that already has 30 years.

Despite these problems it is very important to point out some aspects related to this instrument—which was part of the last generation of the Venezuelan Plans—regarded to a wider vision of the relations of the city and the territory. The *Plan de Ordenación Urbanística del Área Metropolitana de San Cristóbal* is a document that tries to enclose itself in an ambit of higher performance that the precedent ones and to offer a view in connection to an area that is shaped with a higher complexity degree.

In the formulation of this plan is evident the consciousness of the complexity of San Cristóbal in the territory, the aspects related to its localization and relations. It follows the logic of rationality although it is mixed with a progress spirit. To approach the diversity and complexity of a space that goes beyond the ambit of the city towards the territory that encloses it, a structural vision is included. The concepts of urban structure and urban systems are introduced.

Obviously the performance ambit is changed. It is made up of three closed polygonal, that encloses 14.999,50 hectares. It is almost the double of the surface considered in the *Plan Rector* ten years before. The contexts of performance of the plan are structured in two territorial scales: general urban and intermediate ambits. The first of them contains the urban area of the following municipalities: Andrés Bello, Guásimos, Cárdenas, San Cristóbal, Torbes, Libertad e Independencia.

So, the *Plan de Ordenación Urbanística* intents to approach the aspects of disposition of physical space of seven municipalities that irremissibly seem related in the cartography of the XX century. It is pretended to prosecute the course of some transformation that have escaped from the conduct of the administrative instances involved. Intermediate urban ambits—ten in its totality—respond to consideration of functional kind and relations of identity, to a place sense, to a sense of belonging to the communities that conform them; to be an area of tributary equipment for collective use in its different levels, a manner of structuring the urban space, in order to guide public investment toward services and required equipment. The other aspects that made up plan correspond to prediction about demographic growing, definition of the uses of the land and intensity of occupation.

Zoning is used again as organized schema, localization of equipment, general trace of the service nets for infrastructure. Its last objective is to establish the features of public investments and of orientation of private investments. Under an approach that intends to show a strategically orientation, objectives, periods of execution, actions, involved organism and investments to be done, are established.

Conclusions

Despite the pretended objective that is attributed to urban plans organizing San Cristóbal growing, a greater emphasis on the capital service is observed. Qualification of the land that still has not been demanded, codes of Modern Urbanism are translated into generous roads and the zoning of the city imposed schema that, in its totality, will be directed to benefit the land market. The informal settlements, relevant signs of urban reality are ignored or eradicated. The housing public promotions are relegated to the areas of lower price in the market.

On the contrary, other aspects included in these instruments and that would have benefited the city are ignored, that is the case of the view of big open spaces, park or the rescue of streams. That is to say, plans will only benefit a group of the population and will mark with great emphasis the spatial, social and functional sectors organization of the city.

An instrument after another one will be tried to be always imposed with the perspective of generating economic benefits to the private sector or to regularize processes which have been followed the course of events. "The city is transformed into a unique object that summarizes those agreements between agents and their respective strategies that lead the process of its construction, growing and progress". (Roch, Fernando, 2000).

On the other hand, the generality of the content of these plans is simply a bunch of intentions which, because of management incapability, is converted into dead letter. The urban management has not been the strong side of San Cristóbal like in other Venezuelan cities. The urban *laissez faire* has been a constant characteristic, being the cause nothing contemptible of the territorial transformations and appearance of the city at the beginning of the XXI century.

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¹Maurice Rotival, Prost, Lambert and Wegenstein are contracted to work in the Plan of Caracas in 1939. First of them it would give the name to this Plan and would have, in the successive thing, a marked influence in Venezuelan urbanism.

² He is effective only from the administrative point of view inasmuch as, for the date of his approval, one had recommended his revision every five years, situation that not yet have happened, in spite of the substantial changes that the city has experienced.

BACKYARDS AND THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRAZILIAN DWELLING

Luís Octávio da Silva *

Key Words: backyard, urban form in Brazil, form of the Brazilian city, history of the Brazilian city, history of urban form in Brazil.

Abstract

The objective of this work is to bring a contribution to the history of the form of Brazilian cities starting from the analysis and interpretation of an element that is frequently forgotten in studies made on the urban landscape. Forgotten because a large number of the studies on the non-built habitat propose a look over and from public spaces, as is the case of analysis on squares, streets and façades. Well, the backyard is precisely that veiled space, not accessible to the public eye, and that, however, constitutes a considerable portion of residential urban spaces. The central argument is that the existence of the backyard constitutes a specific feature of Brazilian cities, quite different from internal patios and the back of lots that exist in other western cities.

Starting from a historical-comparative perspective, we move on to an analysis in the scope of its morphological evolution, identifying vestiges of backyards even in the spatial organization of contemporary apartments. We will see that the study of these spaces constitutes an element that will help to understand Brazilian cities, not only in their utilitarian-functional aspects, but also in what concerns more subtle and subjective angles. The lack of systematized information on the subject made us use fragmentary quotations from urban history, history of technique, history of domestic architecture, as well as of the study of private life, of relations between employers and employees, of iconographical material, and of travel reports.

Introduction

This work proposes an analysis of the form of cities as an explanatory and interpretative dimension of the urban phenomenon. Without having the intention of affirming that the spatial dimension by itself is able to constitute the key for understanding a phenomenon of multiple dimensions and of a high degree of complexity, as is the case of cities, one must not, on the other hand, deny that the spatial organization constitutes an unavoidable factor for the interpretation and articulation of the different sides of the urban phenomenon. About Brazilian cities particularly, there already exists a considerable volume of literature dealing specifically with their morphological aspects, mainly regarding their Portuguese origin. The central debate in this literature opposes two interpretations. On one side, the largely refuted but still recurrent argument that says that Portuguese colonial cities in America would be the result of chance, of a sloppy urbanism, and of a short-sighted colonial project¹. On the other, the analysis that

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¹ We here transcribe two emblematic passages of this view:

interpret that Portuguese colonial urbanism did not lack formal concerns, but that this urbanism developed guided by a pragmatic and rather flexible mentality in relation to the circumstances under which it was applied (Reis Filho, 1968; Centurião, 1999; Teixeira e Valla, 2000).

The objective of this work is to give a contribution to the history of the form of Brazilian cities undertaking the analysis and interpretation of an element that has been frequently left out of the studies on the urban landscape. Forgotten because most of these studies propose a look over and from public spaces, as is the case, for example, of the analysis on the configuration of squares, streets and façades. Well, the backyard constitutes precisely a veiled territory, inaccessible to the public view that, however, makes up a considerable surface of urban space. The central argument is that the existence, the use and the symbology of backyards constitute a specific feature of Brazilian dwellings.

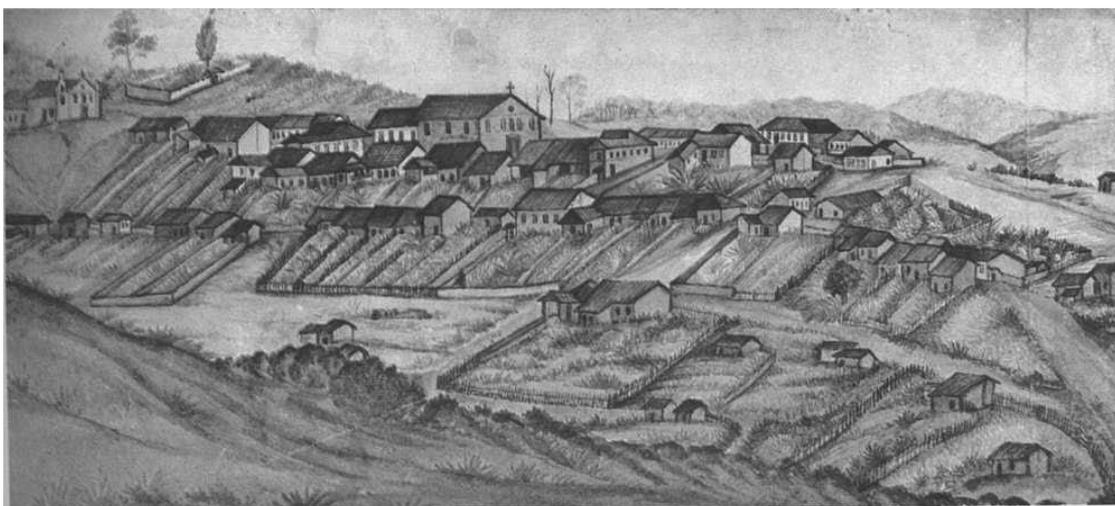


Figure 1. Unidentified XIX century city. Water colour by Miguel Dutra (Source: *Miguel Dutra o poliédrico artista paulista*, Museu de Arte de São Paulo, São Paulo, 1981: 19).

Methodological Procedures

This work proposes a historical approach as methodological procedure, as it makes evident the existence, configuration and functions of backyards in Brazilian colonial cities and the transformation they have undergone to present time. This historical outlook is situated from a frequently comparative procedure, trying to make evident the ways in which the existence and use of backyards translate a Brazilian singularity. The characterization of backyards as an element of identity of the cities in this country becomes clearer along the last part of this text, when the analysis identifies traces of backyards in the very configuration of apartments in contemporary residential buildings.

“The city that the Portuguese built in America is not a product of the mind, it does not contradict the natural order, and its silhouette intertwines with the landscape outline. No rigidity, no method, no providence, always this meaningful abandonment that expresses the word ‘carelessness’ ...” (Holanda, 1936; apud Bueno, 1996: 505)

“Order was ignored by the Portuguese, as travelers were delighted to mark. Their streets, ironically called ‘direita’ (straight), were crooked and full of ups and downs, the squares irregular as a rule ... The Portuguese invented nothing in the planning of cities in the newly discovered countries. Different from the Spanish, who were instructed by law to execute regular grid of streets that would cross each other around a central square, the Portuguese kept no rules, except the old one, that of the defense by the occupation of the higher grounds.” (Smith, 1955 quoted by Bueno, 1996: 505).

Without restricting itself to the description of the constructed environment, the study of such spaces constitutes an important element for understanding how Brazilian cities function, not only in relation to their utilitarian aspects, but also regarding their more subtle and subjective dimensions. Given the lack of systematized information on the subject, this work is based on rather fragmentary passages and quotations from studies on the history of domestic architecture, on the history of cities, as well as on analysis on the scope of private life, of daily routines and of the relations between domestic employers and employees. Several of such studies have, on their turn, based themselves on more “conventional” sources, such as inventories and letters as well as on iconographical sources, on fictional literature, and on the endless array of travel reports. The result is a mosaic containing considerable gaps, but that allows a glimpse at the importance of the chosen object as well as the launching of hypothesis for further research. It is fundamentally a preliminary portrait, without having the intention of exhausting the subject.

The Backyard within the Physical Organization of the Colonial City

In relation to the occupation of lots, Brazilian colonial cities constitute a very particular case. Especially from the second half of the XIX century on, many were the transformations this physical organization went through. We will come back to this aspect in due time. During the whole colonial period this model remained relatively unchanged. Its main characteristic consisted on concentrating the building in the frontal part of the lot, with no retreat between the sidewalk and the frontal façade of the building, and no lateral retreat between the lateral limits of the lot and the building’s lateral façades, leaving a large ‘free’ space behind the main construction, inside the limits of the lot. This form of occupation corresponded to a certain building technique based on poorly qualified slave labor, and on the use of local material such as earth. The external walls were not yet made of baked bricks. They were made of adobe or mud molded by wooden planks, and therefore had to be protected from water. The solution adopted for sheltering took into account the lack of specialized labor as well as the restricted options of materials. The roof, made in two slopes with large eaves was technically easy to make and allowed for the protection of both the front and rear façades. The absence of retreat between a house and its neighboring constructions enabled the protection of the lateral walls. These technical determinations were connected to the institutional system of access to urban land. Urban land was not sold, but the object of grant. In this system the emphasis was much more on the linear footage of frontal façade and access to the street than on the total square footage of the lot. The urban occupation pattern resulting from this system was consequently made of very narrow, long, and many times geometrically not very regular lots, delimited not in a very precise way in relation to the public space (Marx, 1991). The most important parameter was the façade; the access to the public thoroughfare was more coveted than the total square footage of the lot.

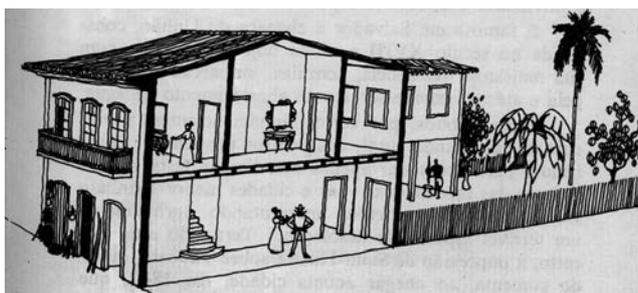


Figure 2. Schematic internal view of a Brazilian colonial house (Source: Reis Filho, Nestor Goulart. *Quadro da arquitetura no Brasil*. São Paulo, Perspectiva, 1995 : 29).

This manner of building inside the lots resulted in a peripheric occupation of the blocks, leaving a great deal of free space in its interior, frequently full of trees. This was not common space. It was divided among the lots that composed the block. This individualized part of the block's central space is precisely the backyard. Such a composition was responsible for the appearance of great urban density to the eye of the onlooker from the public space. In reality, it signified a rather low density if compared to cities of Spanish colonization. In that case the occupation of the lots occurred in a much more intensive way, around successive patios with no large space remaining behind the main building. The final density was much higher than the one resulting from the Brazilian model. In the Hispanic-American case there was practically no arboreous vegetation in the interior of the blocks, which were totally occupied, except for the patios. Apart from this particular implantation and the clearly narrow and long configuration of the lots, the Brazilian colonial backyards differed from the backyards of other western cities in terms of the practices that took place in them. Activities linked to subsistence supplies, as well as domestic convivial practices, in a determined context of private everyday life in relation to public life.

The Backyard and the Subsistence Supply

Historically backyards were connected to certain activities typical of agricultural societies that, when transposed to the urban environment, will reproduce practices of the rural areas. The activity of food production can be researched through linguistic clues, iconographical documentation, available information about the food supply situation, travelers' reports, legal documents on the foundation of cities and even through *post mortem* inventories. Let us see, then, briefly, some of these documents.

The word 'quintal' (backyard), according to the Aurélio dictionary, has as its meaning "a small 'quinta'" (country seat) or "small rural area, usually with a garden or a vegetable garden, behind the house". Notice, then, that the etymology of the word 'quintal' implies an idea of rural production. We are not talking about country houses or small farms outside the city, but of an element that is present in all residences, regardless of social class, urban location or geographical region. Several travel reports, particularly those of the XIX century mention the low density of Brazilian cities of that time (Marx, op. cit.). As we observe the urban iconography of the time we can see it indicates that the backyards ran in general deep into the blocks, and that the open surface in each lot was significantly larger than the constructed area. Even in its most central neighborhoods, the Brazilian city of that period, looked from above, had the air of a rural environment. The low demographic density made it look like a 'ghost town'. The continuous façades gave the pedestrian a false idea of densely constructed areas, but these areas were in fact of considerably low density until the last decades of the XIX century. Countless passages of literature on Brazilian cities, prior to the XX century mention the existence of orchards and vegetable gardens in backyards (Mattoso, 1992: 446; Menezes, 2000: 6). Raising small animals was also a frequent activity in these places (Graham, 1992: 29). Some travel reports mention specifically a lack of ornamental species in the backyards. Brazilian colonial society, as well as that of the XIX century, was based on an export economy. The best land and the most dynamic ventures were in their greater part involved with exportation products. Brazil was not a colony of settlements and small rural property, but a territory of exportation in which the basic rural unit was the big export-oriented property. Until the XX century the

internal market of food products lived under the threat of scarcity (Schwartz, 1984: 382-3). This made the urban homes adopt strategies for complementary food supply that performed a central role during the periods in which the exporting economy went through more dynamic phases. During such phases farmers were still more reluctant to produce for the domestic market. In this context backyards constituted a resource of fundamental importance for urban food supply.

The importance of backyards as a constituting element of urban sites can also be detected by their being specifically mentioned on the Royal Charters that regulated the foundation and physical organization of the cities; in the urban lot grant documents; as well as on the descriptions and *post mortem* inventories. Jucá Neto (2000: 12), for example, quotes from a Royal Charter on the foundation of the city of Icó, dated October, 20, 1736 on which the king determines “the delimitation and demarcation of straight streets sufficiently broad leaving space for the construction of houses... and their backyards”. Algrandi (1997: 91) mentions that the inventory of a certain Francisco de Almeida, in 1616, listed, “houses in the village, walls made of mud on wood lattice, covered with tiles with the backyard”. These specific mentions, which were rather frequent, by the way, are a strong evidence that backyards were not simply residual spaces, but, on the contrary, important factors for the city’s functioning.

Backyards: Annexes and Sanitary Function

During the colonial period, but also during the XIX century, backyards were occupied by several facilities detached from the main building. Directly linked to food supply, that was where chicken pens and pigsties could be found. Very frequently urban homes functioned not only as consuming units but also as domestic production units. Stocking food, making flour and even some craftsmanship implied necessarily the implantation of annexes in the space of the backyards. The kitchen itself was one of the first elements of Portuguese vernacular architecture to undergo transformations as of its transposition to the Brazilian territory. In Portugal it occupied a central place in the house. In Brazil, due to the tropical climate, from the beginning of colonization it was removed to the extremity of the construction and, in the backyard, a supplementary kitchen was installed, called ‘dirty kitchen’. It was destined to the longest cooking activities, which radiated more heat (Lemos, 1989: 19-20; Algrandi, 1997: 102-103; Veríssimo e Bittar, 1999: 112). In the more affluent houses, the slaves’ lodgings were also placed in the backyard. And finally one cannot but mention that in the backyards were placed the sanitary facilities, such as the outhouse, the cesspool and excrement tanks (Algrandi, 1997: 95; Graham, 1992: 55). All these facilities implied the implantation of annexes in the backyards, about which little information is available. Directly connected to these more ‘organic’ functions, backyards were in principle, veiled spaces, hidden from the street, and hidden from the eyes of the foreign travelers, who were the main authors of reports on the urban environment of these past times. Referring to the activity of food preparation, Graham (1992: 62) quotes the Report on the salubrity measures claimed by the city of Rio de Janeiro (1851): from the “garbage piled in the patio (the backyard) dangerous ‘miasmas’ emanated. They (the cooks) fought against the ‘black mud’ of the earth backyards that did not drain the water properly; or then, the kitchen in which they worked was not far from the ‘open cesspool, clogged with filth’”. There we have at least one of the reasons why the backyards were not shown to visitors. They hid the archaic functioning of the Brazilian city until the end of the XIX century, almost entirely based

on slave labor, even for water supply and sewage manual evacuation.² The stylistic innovations and the ‘beautifying’ of the buildings that took place along the XIX century were not entirely followed by innovations that could have made them more ‘modern’ from the utilitarian point of view.

Another typical aspect of Brazilian backyards, which distinguishes them from similar facilities in other countries, is their topographical location in relation to watercourses.

Directly linked to the sanitary functions of the backyard as well as the spontaneous and flexible aspect of Portuguese colonial urbanism, the thoroughfare system followed the water courses, which, by their turn, served as rear limits for the urban lots. José Newton Coelho Menezes (2000: 8) affirms that it was the French mission of Lebreton that transformed the traditional scheme of thoroughfares, orienting the façades from then on to the direction of the watercourses. He mentions the case of São João del Rey, described by Livia Romanelli d’Assumpção (1989 apud Menezes, op. cit: 8), as an example of this new kind of expansion plan of XIX century neoclassical inspiration.



Figure 3. Backyards and topography. Panoramic view of the Tamanduateí marshland, city of São Paulo. Water color by Arnaud Pallière, 1821-22 (Source: Reis Filho. *Imagens de vilas e cidades do Brasil Colonial*, FUPAM, São Paulo, 2000: Cdrom ref. SP01BC).

The Backyard: A Feminine and Intimate Space?

The functional aspects, however, do not exhaust the role performed by the backyards in the history of Brazilian cities. Until the XIX century the urban public space in Brazil, was associated to danger and the unpredictable, and therefore not to be frequented by white women of ‘good families’ (Graham, 1992: 57-68). Such stigmatization of the public space has been the object of studies and considerations, even in the field of linguistics. While the word ‘casa’ (house) is associated to the term ‘casamento’ (marriage), in relation to the word ‘rua’ (street) there are countless metaphors, all of them with a negative connotation. Compare, for example, ‘estar em casa’ (being at home) with ‘ir para o olho da rua’ (to go to the middle of the street)³. Gilberto Freire even affirms that street and house are “enemies” (1936: 47 apud Da Matta, 1991: 60). Such concept of urban spaces and their meanings gave the frontal part of the lots, the porch, an intermediate connotation between the public domain (the street) and the private space (the intimate core of the residence). “The interior of the houses, reserved to women, is a sanctuary in which a stranger will never penetrate” (Da Matta, op. cit.: 57). Veríssimo and Bittar (1999: 220) affirm that the seclusion of women inside the

² In Rio de Janeiro, the implantation of sanitary infrastructure started relatively early, from the beginning of the 1860-decade through the following decade (Graham, 1992: 69).

³ This expression is associated with being dismissed from a job.

residence, in the Brazilian case, would have roots in Muslim practices, through the Portuguese tradition. In domestic Hispanic architecture, the existence of internal patios is doubtless a Moorish influence. In Brazilian colonial architecture this influence can be recognized in the “muxarabis”⁴ and “rótulas”^{5 6}. Paradoxically the space of the backyard, in spite of being external, is the most deeply private in the public / private scale. Would it be a reminiscence of an originally Muslim conviviality? Further research into this aspect could surely be enriched if supported by contributions from the fields of anthropology and ethnology. Algrandi (op. cit. : 92-3), while mentioning the facilities placed in the backyard, affirms that “in such work places people spent good part of their time, specially the women of the house”. Auguste de Saint-Hilaire, who visited the country from 1816 to 1822, wrote, “the gardens, always placed behind the houses, are, for the women, a poor compensation for their seclusion, and like the kitchens are scrupulously forbidden for foreigners” (1975: 96 apud DaMatta, op. cit. 57).



Figure 4. “Muxarabis”, architectural elements of Moorish influence (Source: Veríssimo and Bittar. *500 anos da casa no Brasil: As transformações da arquitetura e da utilização do espaço de moradia*, Ediouro, Rio de Janeiro, 1999:59).

Paradoxically the backyards were surrounded by low walls, thus not completely guarded from the neighbors’ eyes. The great distances and the lack of hotels made hospitality an obligation of Brazilians toward travelers. If, by any chance, the house did not dispose of a room for such purpose, usually reached from the veranda, the visitor would be lodged in one of the annexes, in the intimacy of the backyard! Algrandi (op. cit. : 98) concludes that “in spite of the care taken in the construction of the houses concerning privacy, such as lattices on windows, backyards or gardens and orchards, they seem not to have been efficient enough to preserve the dwellers from a more intimate contact with the street and the neighbors, which was so typical of the time”.

The Transformations that Took Place in the XIX and Beginning of the XX Centuries

Along the XIX century the development of the capitalist economy on global scale implied a new insertion of Brazil in this new trade context. In 1808, soon after the

⁴ A Moorish protected balcony, from which one could see without being seen.

⁵ Wooden lattice grid used on windows.

⁶ System of window panes and balcony grids made of wooden lattice that allow for ventilation, while preserving the intimacy in the interior of the house. Such elements, as well as the alcove, were and still are seen as symbols of feminine seclusion. More recently, other interpretations have been introduced: such devices were well-adapted solutions for the hot weather and for a time when glass was still an expensive material. The alcoves, by their turn, would be the possible solution for internal rooms, given the fact that the houses were laterally attached to each other (Algrandi, op. cit: 97-8).

arrival of the Portuguese royal family and court, Brazilian harbors were opened to industrialized goods, namely the English ones. The cities that were more closely connected to the import / export economy expanded and new districts began to be occupied. In 1850 the old regime of grants of land was substituted by a new system that institutionalized the private property of the soil (the Law of Lands and the Decree 1318 of 1854). The establishment of new districts became the work of “loteadores”, agents of a trade operation in which the land was morseled and began being sold in square meters, differently from the previous system, through which the important factor for appraisal was the length of the frontal limit of the lot along the thoroughfare. In general terms the new lots thus shaped kept the rectangular geometry, but in much less evident way (Marx, 1991). This had direct implications on the geography of backyards. In Brazilian cities we did not have the implantation of back alleys, as was the case of several North-American cities during the XIX century (Ford, 2000; Hanna, 1980). The basic idea behind the rebirth of back alleys, which had been absent from Western cities since the Middle Ages, consisted of beautifying the public thoroughfare, removing to the alley precisely the elements that made it ‘ugly’ (car entrances, recipients of residues, etc.). In Brazil, the regular beautification actions began with the arrival of the Portuguese court. They were, fundamentally a set of actions that tried to confer to Brazilian cities, above all to Rio de Janeiro, a more “civilized” look, eliminating the Moorish influence, such as the lattice covered windows and balconies hanging over the streets, unacceptable to the eye of the newcomers (Lemos, 1989: 46).

On the other hand, as the social structures developed into more complex patterns, the adoption of new architectural typologies became necessary. In the cities’ central areas many properties had their original use altered and, in these cases, backyards started being occupied by extensions of the main buildings, by warehouses for commercial activities, by employees’ lodgings or simply by extensions of the main activity of the lot. Flophouses became the most current residential activity for a good part of the population in major cities. A row of small rooms by an access corridor did not correspond any more to the morphological typology of backyards, as defined initially in the scope of this work. They continued to exist, however, in the more traditional residential typologies and suffered the influence from the changes that took place in the urban habitat, parallel to the implantation of districts that were more and more specialized. Such changes became more evident in the districts oriented to higher-income social classes.

A new and more specialized labor force made up of immigrants could now dispose of new industrialized materials, namely baked brick as well as metal sheets that enabled the setting of roof gutters and ridges, and other roof construction details. The possibility of more elaborate roofs, and walls that were less vulnerable to water allowed for lateral detachment between the houses, and the lateral limit of the lots. ”At first a timid lateral retreat was tried out, as well as a new lateral façade on just one of the sides of the house. The entrance was removed from the frontal façade to the lateral one. Another novelty was the introduction of a small lateral garden, usually in formal French style. Later on, as this lateral garden expanded, another retreat appeared, a rather narrow one on the other side of the house. It served as a service passage that accessed the backyard directly. The backyard by this time was no longer the only construction-free portion of the lot. This retreat of the two lateral sides of the house from the limits of the lot was followed by the establishment of an internal organization of the lot into “zones”, outlining in a very clear and distinct way one ‘social’ and one ‘service’ circuit. Finally the building retreated from the frontal limit of the lot. The front garden appeared and immediately became a space of representation at its best. It could not under any

circumstance be confounded or mingle with the backyard. There was always the implantation of elements that signaled this difference very clearly, and frequently hid the back space of the lot from the indiscreet looks coming from the street. The front garden, by its turn, was just what the proprietors desired to show. The very choice of plants that were to compose this garden was quite meaningful of this aimed representation. While the backyards remained occupied by vegetable gardens, and orchards of Brazilian or acclimatized African and Asian species, these same species were absolutely forbidden for the front garden, where only species of European origin were accepted. Nestor Reis Filho (1995: 74), while commenting this fact, mentions the existence of an ethnic-cultural paradox faced by the Brazilian elites of the second half of the XIX century. They identified Brazil as a country of European lineage. However, the nearly 400 years of slavery had made it a country of half-breeds, too 'dark' for this ideal. During colonial times Brazil's relation with European civilization was mediated by Portugal. From the moment independence was achieved, the reconstruction of this identity became necessary, at each moment, in each space.

Effectively, along the second half of the XIX century, Brazilian society and Brazilian cities went through a series of changes that had direct implications on the internal organization of homes and evidently on the functions and configurations of backyards. The new hydraulic-sanitary materials were responsible for the disappearance of the outhouse, the w.c. that was installed in the backyard. This facility merged with the bathing facility, making up the bathroom, an internal room to the house (Lemos, 1989, Verissimo and Bittar, 1999). The expansion of the urban scale, in the case of the big cities, brought along the individual transportation equipment for the upper classes. The backyard lodged the garages for this equipment and, a few decades later, for the automobiles. The food supply functions lost importance in a society more and more marked by capitalist relations. The urban home increasingly abandoned its production unit feature to restrict itself to the consuming function.

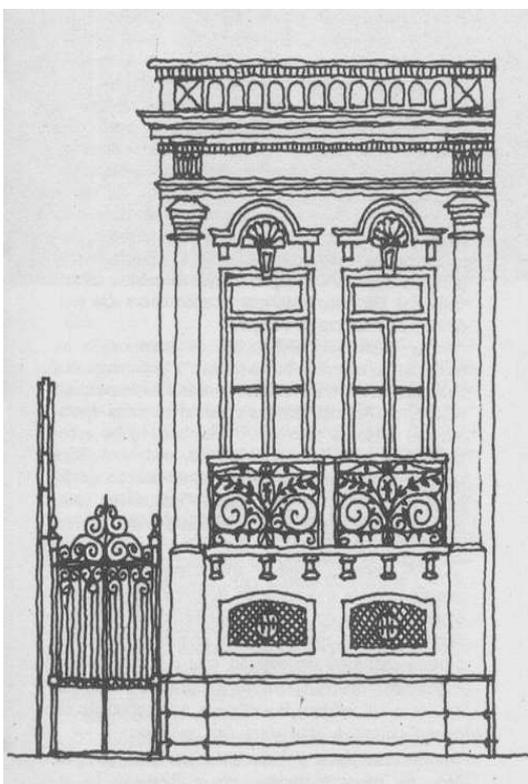


Figure 5. Residential occupation scheme by the end of XIX and first years of XX century (Source: Reis Filho, Nestor Goulart. *Quadro da arquitetura no Brasil*. São Paulo, Perspectiva, 1995:47).

The new European-based habits expanded along the XIX century, and the abolition of slavery brought on significant changes to the public-private relations existing until then, as the very concept of family in which included the house slaves and the 'agregados' (kind of permanent guests). Women began to perform an increasingly active role in public life. With the introduction of kerosene lamps, and of gas lamps later on, private spaces were open to evening visits (Algrandi, op. cit : 1150. During the hegemony of slavery, captives and masters shared, up to a certain point, the same spaces. With the end of such regime, a social / 'public' circuit redefined itself in relation to another one, considered a service circuit. This phenomenon was reinforced by the introduction of European maids in the interior of the upper-class residences. "No promiscuity is allowed" (Rolnik, 1993: 41). Each one and each function began to have its proper place.

The Backyards of the XX Century

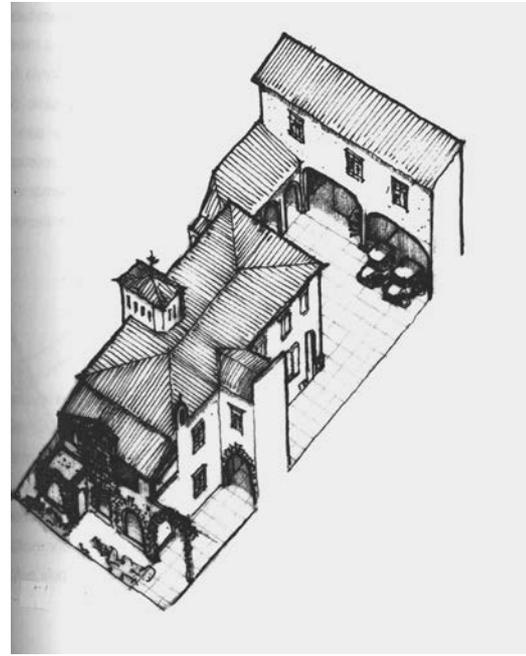
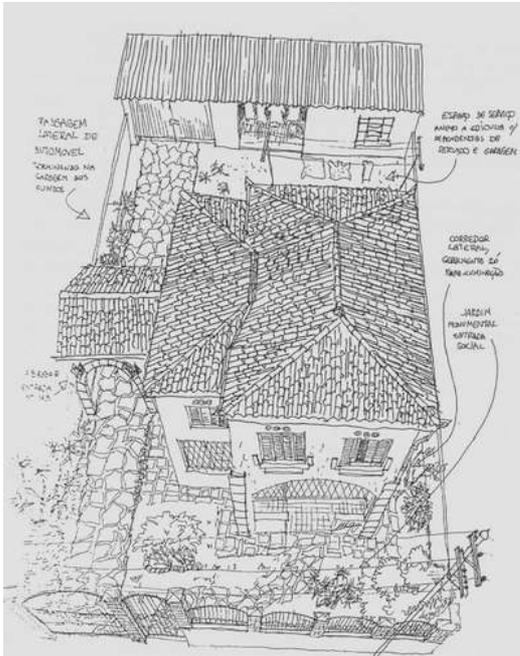
The backyards were consolidated as service areas by excellence, antipodes of the 'social circuit' in the Brazilian domestic geography. It is there that the laundries and maids' quarters are placed. Before the installation of the sanitary infrastructure, clothes were washed outside the house, at public fountains or at the margin of rivers and streams. The existence of domestic maids, even in middle-class residences, is one of the characteristics of societies in development that in Brazil gained contours rich in ambiguity and contradiction.

Always of the feminine sex, the domestic servants shared the intimacy of the family without, however, constituting a complete part of it. Those who live with their employers can "even" frequently sit in the television room, usually making use of a stool placed in some corner. In leisure hours, the backyard is their habitat. Their lodgings open to this space. It is in the service circuit that they are allowed to receive their friends, but never their boyfriends.

In the less affluent residences the backyard survived, but with an increasingly diminished area. In popular neighborhoods, in lots that were already originally small, the backyard space became an access to supplementary rooms, built to be sub-rented or destined to relatives. Vegetation barely exists. Even in middle-class residences an aseptic aesthetics imposes itself, non-built spaces are almost entirely paved and impermeable (Silva, 1991: 83).

As a whole, during the XX century this confirmation of the service function of backyards constitutes a Brazilian characteristic, if compared for example with what occurred to the back of the lots in North-American cities. In that continent, from the middle of the XIX century, a new model of structuring the blocks was diffused: the back alley. In commercial blocks they served for dispatching goods, delivery entrances or access to the deposits. In more residential neighborhoods, their function was of access to garages, to employees' quarters or as an entrance to a second house built in the back of the lot to be sub-rented. They conferred status to new real state enterprises or were open in blocks that had already been established. Some decades later, the *backyards*, to which one had access through the alleys, assumed a negative connotation, identified with unkempt areas and more and more associated with *slums*, beggars, and urban degradation. In the United States in 1938 the Federal Housing Authority decided to no longer grant mortgage coverage to new land parceling projects, if the urbanistic project included back alleys. From this period on, alleys were no longer used in the new suburban projects (Ford, 2000: 151). After World War II, with the middle classes

buying their first or second automobile, garages were moved to the front of the lot. The houses, by their turn, started being oriented toward the back, which increasingly became leisure areas (Jacobs, 1961), for example, the *back patios* or the *decks*, instead of more ‘utilitarian’ functions. This constituted a completely different phenomenon from the one taking place in Brazilian middle or upper class homes, where the existence of domestic maids living in the house, and the polarized character of the society kept the backyard linked to service functions.



Figures 6 and 7. Residential occupation scheme of around 1930 (Source : Catilha, Marcos. “O moderno na arquitetura da paisagem e a obra de Waldemar Cordeiro”, in *Paisagem e Ambiente*, 1982, p 153; Veríssimo and Bittar. *500 anos da casa no Brasil: As transformações da arquitetura e da utilização do espaço de moradia*, Ediouro, Rio de Janeiro, 1999 : 53).

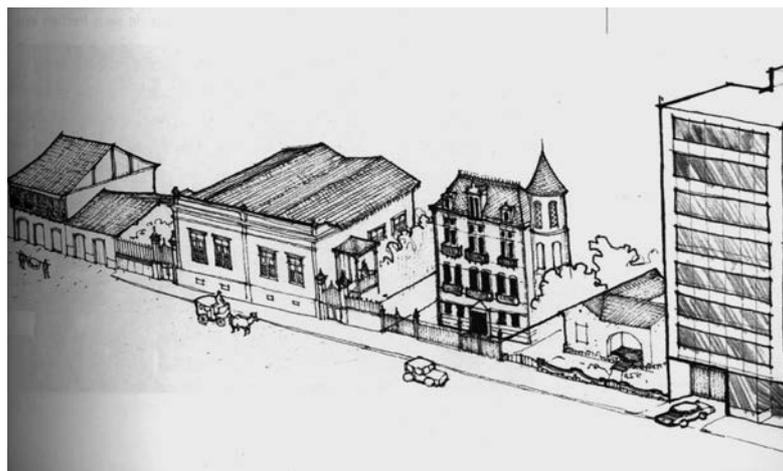


Figure 7. Typological evolution of Brazilian cities. (Source: Veríssimo and Bittar. *500 anos da casa no Brasil : As transformações da arquitetura e da utilização do espaço de moradia*, Ediouro, Rio de Janeiro, 1999 : 29).

The Reproduction of the Backyard Inside the Apartments

A particularity of the Brazilian cities in the second half of the XX century, specially the medium-sized to big ones, is the apartment building, for middle classes as well as for the upper classes. The internal plan of the units, as well as the plotting of the building inside the lot reveals the transposition and the reproduction of the backyard to this a non-traditional residential typology. First, at ground level, a 'social' circuit exists almost always separate from the service circuit. Even in what concerns the elevators. The interdiction of the 'social' elevator to the domestic maids is by now an object of anti discrimination laws in some cities. In the internal part of the apartments, as well as in the access areas on every floor, the two circuits (the 'social' and the service one) coexist separately whenever possible.

The reproduction of the geography of backyards can also be noted by the occurrence of other elements of the spatial organization of the apartments. First the almost inexistence of common equipment or infrastructure for service is a characteristic shared with the house-occupied residential blocks. Even in the case of large buildings made up of rather small apartments, there are no shared laundries. Only recently has this picture undergone some alterations. The general rule is for each apartment to dispose of a small service area, a reminiscence of the backyard, exclusive for each unit. Surrounding this area one has the exit from the kitchen, the service entrance to the apartment and the access to the maids' quarters, following a scheme that is very similar to the one existing in the 'real' backyards. Even more revealing of the symbolic notions that follow such permanence is the fact that, even in the case of considerably small apartments, whose dwellers are increasingly unable to afford having a resident maid, the maid's room persists, generally in dimensions very close to 'comical'. An apartment without a maid's room is worth considerably less than another with the same total area. Obviously this implies the reduction of the size of the other rooms.



Figure 8. Plan of middle-class apartment (Source : publicity advertisement).

Conclusion

Every society establishes a certain geography of its habitat. This geographical grammar is directly connected to the social relations existing among its members. The particularity of the backyard as an element of identity of Brazilian cities and homes is given not only at the level of its physical organization, but also in the meanings and subjectivities that such a spatial order reveals and reproduces in relation to the established social order.

If, on the one hand, the projects of erudite architecture (the one produced by architecture offices) can adopt a rather respectful attitude in relation to the existing order, on the other hand, some questioning in relation to such physical organization has begun to come up. On one side we can notice several points of struggle for a more equalitarian society, as is the case with the anti discrimination laws about the elevators, as well as other movements carried on by the organizations that defend the rights of domestic employees, namely through the professionalization of this occupation and the end of the resident maid. On the other side one can detect the mergence of new architectural propositions that take into consideration more functional factors and the new operational context of domestic tasks.

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**LANDSCAPE LAW, BUILT ENVIRONMENT EDUCATION AND CITIZEN PARTICIPATION
-A CASE STUDY OF JAPANESE EXPERIENCES AND EXPERIMENTS-**

KEY WORDS : LANDSCAPE LAW, BUILT ENVIRONMENT, EDUCATION , PARTICIPATION

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1. Introduction

To continue to be a place of vitality, it is important that it be a place where residents and visitors would appreciate its beauty and attractiveness and find it to be a comfortable space in which to live and work. In Japan, the "Keikan-ho" (Landscape Law) was enacted by the Diet in 2005. Its purposes are to facilitate landscape formation and to create/conservate a beautiful landscape. Main aim of this paper is to analyze possibility and issue of built environment education and citizen participation relating to the law. Built environment education enables us to consider how we choose to shape the rural landscape and the urban townscape which would result in creating sustainable environment. It includes consideration of different kinds of environmental design, including the built heritage, architecture, planning, landscape architecture, and so on. In this paper several programmes for built environment education are evaluated.

To consider a relationship with citizen participation and the Landscape Law, a few example of entangled high-rise apartment projects would be analyzed.

2. Transition in Japan's Landscape and Urban Policy

Landscape is at times blemished by human activity, but also rises again to its former beauty. In the past, Japan was home to a beautiful landscape. Records left by foreign visitors at the end of the Edo and start of the Meiji period pay unanimous testament to Japan's natural beauty. This beauty was not however limited to nature, but could be also seen in the distinct downtown streetscape which makes use of wood, earth and bamboo as its main ingredients, achieving a natural balance that gives rise to an overall feeling of uniformity.

Two turning points in Japan's history have seen the deterioration of such beautiful natural and

urban landscape. The first being introduction of unfamiliar western culture at the start of the Meiji period, and the second being post World War II. The problem is postwar Japan. Postwar restoration in Japan focused on low-cost, minimum fuss urban development with a disregard for cultural values.

Although Japan was fortunate to achieve rapid economic growth in the postwar years, urban investment in individual buildings, roads and railways was undertaken without the establishment of a central governing philosophy. There was no real conscious effort to look at the whole urban picture¹⁾.

As recent apartment building conflicts show, it has become clear that there is an ever-present gap between reality and a system (building standard law, city-planning law etc.) designed on the presumption that citizens would move to protect their own residential environment.

3. Elicit Domestic Issues: High-rise Apartment Construction in Urban Areas

Transition in Japan's landscape and urban development is as stated above. Now, however, I would like to introduce two examples of high-rise apartment construction in urban areas, an issue which is especially controversial at the moment.

1) The case of Kunitachi City

Kunitachi City is an academic city with a population of approximately 72,000 people positioned on the outskirts of Tokyo. Concerted action by residential groups such as "Sakura-mori (protect the cherry-blossoms)" and "Treasure Kunitachi Citizens' Gathering" has helped to nurture and maintain the urban landscape which is represented by the lush greenery of Daigaku Street. Landscape regulations were established in 1998 as a direct result of such groups. Amidst all this, a plan was brought forth in 1999 to construct an 18 storey (53m tall) apartment building along Daigaku Street, the city's symbol. Residents collected 50,000 signatures in response to this and petitioned that the plan be reviewed. Residents also presented a district plan that limited buildings to a height of 20m (maidenhair trees lining the street set as the standard), filed a provisional deposition to stop construction and took various measures to appose the plan, but all to no avail as the apartment building was eventually built. However, an unusual decision at the subsequent civil



Photo 1. 18 Storey Apartment along Daigaku Street

lawsuit in 2002 ordered that parties involved partially dismantle the building. (The ruling was overturned 2 years later)

This was a landmark decision, the first time citizens' "landscape profit" had been acknowledged by a court of law. It is also interesting to note that a statement was sent to the parties involved stating; "You should not forget your social responsibilities. It does not suffice to merely fulfill the city-planning law and other related legislation." It is not sufficient nowadays for enterprise to seek profit simply based on strict conformation with regulations, but rather it can be said that there is an ever-increasing need for consideration of the living (landscape) profit of local residents.

2) The case of Utsunomiya City

Utsunomiya City, placed 100km north of Tokyo, is the prefectural capital of Tochigi and home to 450,000 people. Although the city has flourished since the middle ages as the gate town for Futaarasan Shrine and as a castle town and post station in modern times, almost all historic buildings were burnt down in the 2 wars during recent times. It is at the gates of the historically rare Futaarasan Shrine that there are now plans to construct a 24 storey high-rise apartment building. Local authorities had been looking to utilize the site since ever since the locally owned department store previously placed there had gone bankrupt, leaving the lot vacant. However, there are of course calls to stop a 24 storey building that would look down upon the shrine, with the opposition placed to take civil action if necessary. Although not directly related to this,



Photo2. Plan of 24 Storey Apartment in front of Futaarasan Shrine

local groups are also actively working to bring people to discuss urban development and landscape regardless of their stance, their activities published daily in local newspapers. Many residents are still indifferent despite such movements, with a considerable number completely unaware that there is even a problem in the first place. Utsunomiya City differs greatly to the before mentioned Kunitachi City on this point. Although these cases both involve apartment buildings, they differ in accumulative experience with regards to civil movement, making comparison a difficult affair. But, why is it that this difference came to be? There are 2 possible reasons. The first is Utsunomiya City's favorable geographic situation, with active induction of post-war production bases leading to urban development based on economic priorities. The

second being an increasing drop in the awareness of citizens who have been overwhelmed by the economically prioritized ill-sorted town landscape, eventually leading to a complete indifference to town landscaping.

It was in 2004 that the Landscape Law was established and “landscape” was finally brought to light in terms of urban development. As a result, local bodies are expected to expand as they now have legal backup for their landscape & urban development activities.

4. The Landscape Law and Citizen Participation

According to research by the National Highway & Transport Bureau, there were 494 regulations established in 450 communities (14% of the total number) as of September 2003. The Landscape Law was brought into full use in June 2005 to reinforce landscape regulation along with the landscape administration of autonomous bodies²⁾.

The Landscape Law consists of 1) the section which sets down basic regulations; basic philosophy surrounding landscape, residents, business sector, local authorities, and governmental responsibility; 2) the section about land use regulations surrounding landscape planning, landscape zones etc.; 3) the section dealing with the constituent factors of landscape such as derogation of public facilities; protection of landmarks such as important architectural landscape and important tree landscape; and 4) the section which sets down the support system; landscape agreement, landscape conference, landscape maintenance machinery etc.³⁾.

Moreover, this law clearly states citizens’ responsibilities, the creation of a system that involves citizens being one of its main characteristics. An outline is given below.

1) Joining the Landscape Planning Process

The main planning body of landscape planning is the landscape administration body (local authorities that take on the responsibility of administering the Landscape Law on a whole) . Such events as public hearings are held during the planning process to reflect the opinion of residents as a condition of the law (term 9).

2) Landscape Conference

Landscape Law term 15 is mainly concerned with the governing of landscape administration bodies, landscape maintenance machinery, and important landscape public facilities, setting out the organization of landscape conferences to deliberate on suitable landscaping for the proposed landscape planning zone. It is possible to join landscaping and the promotional activities of residents as a constituent member as necessary. In other words, citizens have the right to give their

opinion and deliberate on issues that include maintenance and administration of public facilities.

3) Landscape Agreement

The Landscape Law allows for an agreement to achieve suitable landscaping within the proposed landscape planning zone through agreement between the landlord and leaseholders, in other words the signing of a “landscape agreement” is permitted⁴⁾.

However, in order to fully implement Landscape Law policy, regional consensus and maintenance of a support system becomes indispensable. It is thought that efforts centered on accumulative citizen participation geared to the region based on self-motivated citizens and the unique policies of self-governing bodies make landscaping a reality.

For this reason, the next chapter will look at built environment education and citizen participation, necessary to foster awareness as a citizen.

5. Built Environment Education and Landscape

1) Urban Development

This section looks at urban development. While there are various definitions of urban development, it can be clearly said that the aim is “lifestyle development.” “Urban Development Textbook Vol. 1; Urban Development Methods” (2004) raises the following 10 areas for basic urban development.

- (1) Revitalization of the “town center” where local activities are focused
- (2) A sustainable local society where all can feel safe living
- (3) Urban development which allows one to get around on foot during everyday life
- (4) Maintenance of landscape/landscape along with creation/revitalization of historical, cultural and artistic places of interest
- (5) Local society where a diverse range of lifestyles and culture coexist
- (6) Compact town planning that doesn’t allow waste of resources
- (7) Revitalization of town planning that coexists with the natural environment and eco-system
- (8) Urban development that warmly welcomes all and allows for diverse exchange
- (9) Recycling-oriented local economy based on community business etc.



(10) Construction of a local society system based on local authorities

A special note should be made that “(4) Maintenance of landscape/landscape along with creation/revitalization of historically, cultural and artistic places of interest” is shown amongst the 10 areas.

Urban development deals with the everyday topic of lifestyle development, landscape, history, and culture eventually forming into unique local symbols as a direct result of such daily efforts. In other words, landscape is a reflection of lifestyle development and urban development. Particularly, it is in essence an expression of the values and esthetic feeling of the people who live there. It goes without saying that such aspects can become a substantial local asset.

2) About Landscape

Built-up areas generally consist of natural environment and artificial environment. Natural environment points to greenery, rivers, sky etc., while artificial environment is broken down further into public and private property. Civil structures and public facilities such as roads constitute public property, with private property consisting of commercial establishments, housing etc. Individuals can only be directly involved in private property.

Accordingly, landscape is seen as having a “public nature” in western countries, with many architectural restrictions in place even for privately owned land. However, there are few instances where the surrounding environment is taken into consideration when constructing privately in Japan, as private land is still viewed as a personal asset. As fore mentioned, individual awareness is directly expressed with regards to private property, the values of the people who live there reflected by the natural environment and public property of the region. It is not so difficult to imagine that, for example, the overall landscape of a town with a large number of residents that want to “preserve nature and history” would differ slightly from that of a town with residents wanting to “entice factories and develop industry.” As mentioned at the top of this paper, most post-war cities in Japan took the later, regional identity lost along with the landscape as a result of pushing urban development with priority on economic activity during the years of steep economic growth. The appearance of “swing back” phenomenon has become common in attempts to balance the scales that have been up to now heavily tipped by economic activities, built environment education being placed as one of the important tools in this process.

3) The Possibilities of Built Environment Education

Built Environment Education is a place for citizenship education, taking interest in one's residential environment, awareness and skills to find and actively solve issues through self-intuitive. In other words, fostering the ability to actively participate in the sustained maintenance and creation of a comfortable residential environment can be seen as built environment education. It is said that built environment education originated in England. In 1969 in England, it was proposed in the Skeffington Report that citizenship education be included in compulsory education in order to nurture urban planning qualities⁶⁾.

One of the key persons in built environment education in England is Lady Eileen Adams. She has been involved for many years in attempts to integrate built environment education into environment education methods. As a specialist in arts, Lady Adams claims that it is possible to increase receptiveness to the environment through environment education focused on design. This method can also be referred to as environment design education, where "realization" evoked by activities such as workshops develops into "understanding" and "expression". To be more precise, efforts are focused on fostering the children's observational skills. For example, the children are asked to sketch the shape and color of buildings, benches, the school yard and other landscape, or make a landscape collage through combination of various photos⁷⁾.

Such efforts by Lady Adams should be noted from a "landscape and sensitivity" perspective with a special eye on "increasing environmental receptiveness" and "fostering children's landscape observation skills."⁽¹⁾

Everyone possesses the ability to be aware of and evaluate landscape. Lady Adams' built environment education is an extremely informative method for developing such abilities, whilst also hinting at the possibilities of built environment education.

There is a need to develop the potential of each and every one in order to be aware of good landscape. It is therefore necessary to firmly convey to children what is good landscape, and what is not.

On the other hand, there are various domestic efforts taking place with regards to built environment education. 1 examples are introduced below.



Fig 2 Teaching Manual for Built Environment Education by Lady Adams (Source : K. Teramoto 、 Machizukuri through Comprehensive Learning. p.45)

Table 1 Classroom based Landscape Study for Junior High Students

Technique	Elective social studies lesson
Implementation Period	2003 , 17 hours
Implementer	Miyazaki City, teacher in charge at the school
Subject	13 3 rd grade junior high students in 2001, 33 in 2002, 21 1 st grade and 27 2 nd grade students across 2 schools in 2004
Content	“Implementation of Landscape Education” ”Studying Urban Development” “Landscape Observations and Census Research” “Making Landscape Models” “Looking back at Classroom based Landscape Study”
Reaction of Participants	Now notice the surrounding buildings. Now think about good Landscape and bad Landscape. Now concerned with the color of buildings, signs, etc.
Effect	Developed an eye for evaluating the Landscape where one lives

Data: Tani, N (2005) “Classroom based Landscape Study for Junior High Students”, ‘City Planning’ No. 253, *The City Planning Institute of Japan*, PP.34-35.

4) Built Environment Education Issues

As stated above, there are various domestic efforts with regards to built environment education at schools and on a regional level. A steady stream of results can be seen with efforts all around the country that include such activities as utilization of supplementary reading material, interviews of regional members, dioramas about one’s town, and participation by experts. However, on the other hand, it cannot be said that study to improve “receptiveness” to the environment, as mentioned above with relation to Lady Eileen, is not exactly at a satisfactory level. For example, when looking at Landscape it is necessary to pay attention to the aesthetic beauty of individual buildings (design, color, shape) as well as taking into consideration how they will all come together (balance, proportion). This is not something that can be attained merely as a skill.

Without training to properly make use of this receptiveness, the built environment education



Photo 3 Built Environment Education at Elementary School in Tochigi City

that lies ahead eventually runs the risk of becoming a shallow affair. It can be said “sensitivity education” is important in order to raise “receptiveness” at this stage, especially as Landscape is a theme within built environment education that is closely related to one’s “sensitivity.”

As fore mentioned, built environment education involves taking interest in one’s residential environment, fostering awareness and skills to find and actively solve issues through self-intuitive. For this reason, it can be said there is a necessity to undertake sensitivity education to nurture receptiveness to things of beauty along with acquiring urban development skills through the use of the “supplementary reading material” mentioned above.

It would probably also be wise to consider integration of built environment education and environment education in this case. Sajima (1995) raises the following 4 points as “environmental ethics”⁽²⁾ to nurture in terms of school education. (1) concern for the environment; (2) posture toward the environment; (3) understand the environments pain and empathize; (4) strive to preserve the environment. Moreover, Sajima points out that (1) represents sensitivity to the environment, “The most important thing of all in regards to the environment is being able to sense that what is beautiful is beautiful, and what is dirty is dirty”⁽⁸⁾. Can it not be said that integrating the best points of environment education and built environment education gives rise to the possibility of a new direction in education aimed at nurturing sensitivity to Landscape.

6. Conclusion

“Japan is sick. Not only on the surface, but it is sick from within. This sickness is represented by the industrial promotion of housing via a housing policy that continues to produce residential areas that sap individualism, road planning that continues to construct streets solely for motor vehicles where people can’t walk, a production/distribution system of mass-production/mass marketing that destroys neighborhood business streets, agriculture and forestry that lay waste to mountains and fields along with the related policies. It is a comprehensive and root deep sickness.”⁽⁹⁾

Kouyama express the comprehensive and root deep internal sickness this country faces in the fashion above. Appropriately, he comments that this sickness cannot be cured simply with superficial design policy.

As previously stated, Landscape is a reflection of daily lifestyle development and urban development. Particularly, it is in essence an expression of the values and esthetic feeling of the people who live there.

Therefore, there can be no real cure for the “root deep sickness” pointed out by Kouyama without nurturing of our values and aesthetic feeling. There are high expectations for built environment education that fosters children’s receptiveness to landscape and the environment, along with the possibility of opening up new horizons through integration with environment education.

Note(1) Lady Adams raises the following points in the case that an expert comes to the school from outside. There are increasing opportunities for those outside the education system to be involved in school education on a guest or charity level by taking advantage of comprehensive learning time. Lady Adam’s following suggestions should be taken into serious consideration.

“In the case an expert joins the educational process, it is undesirable that the importance and necessity of environment learning be forced upon the school or its teachers, overworking teachers and overloading the school curriculum. Also, there is no point in a method that causes the teacher to lose self confidence. It is important to formulate a plan of attack, partnership or system that sees teachers actively moving to improve the environment, leading to a different working stance in the school education system not seen up to now.” (Reference 5) , PP.46-47)

Note(2) Sajima suggests looking at the 3 areas of natural rights as environmental ethics, future generation ethics, and earth environment/regional environment on a whole as the eco-system. He also states that the environmental ethics of natural rights dictate inorganic air, earth and water should be valued above all as our subsistence fund, going on to point out that cultural assets and landscape are too included in natural rights. (References 7) P.170)

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URBAN PLANNING PRACTICE IN BRAZIL IN THE 1960s: LEAVING BEHIND THE PUBLIC AGENCIES

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Introduction

In general, the discussion about urban planning in Brazil in the 1960s has focused on the effectiveness (or not) of the prepared plans, in the questioning of their importance for planning in Brazil and, in relation to the performance of urban planning institutions created in the period, on the recurrent emphasis on the centralizing and authoritarian nature of such institutions, based on a reasoning that establishes a relation in line with the authoritarian regime at the time. We might say that the analyses relating to the 1960s are still in a simplifying stage, and such simplification generally relates to the way the institutions are addressed in the recent historiography of urban planning in Brazil. The institutions have been placed on a lower level both in terms of studies focusing on the formulation, execution, and application of planning practices that involve the performance of distinguished urban planners and in terms of studies that address the influence of international ideas in Brazil. In fact, the institutions are more similar to spaces that contain urban ideas and practices than as part of a long process where both national and international administrative models and urban planning conceptions are suited to different conditions of political, economic, and social relations between the State and the society that, in each historical moment, involve specific practices.

The process leading to the constitution of SERFHAU – Serviço Federal de Habitação e Urbanismo (Federal Housing and Urbanism Service) is, in this sense, exemplary. The creation of SERFHAU constitutes a particular moment in the urbanism industry's organization in Brazil in the institutionalization cycle that is conceived in the 1930s and is completed in the 1970s. From a legal-institutional standpoint the cycle is marked by two authoritarian periods intercalated by a democratic period, but there are evident remaining factors that enable us to define a period where the common denominator in urbanism institutions created is the planning conception as a government function, as management technique.

The process that includes SERFHAU's creation is not linear. On the contrary, throughout almost five decades, institutions are created and terminated at time intervals that are sometimes very short, but those interruptions do not represent a rupture in relation to the administrative reform project that starts at the *Vargas Era*, based on the American theory of scientific management school-identified for prioritizing technical solutions to administrative problems, for separating the technical activity and the daily political action of the administration

In our text we will seek to outline the three movements that shape the institutions created and regulated in the 1960s, rescuing the origins of the three trends of professional performance in the field of urban planning that were built as from the 1930s in Brazil: technical assistance to municipalities, planning agencies in municipal administrations and engineering consulting companies.

Planning as a government function: the technical assistance/municipal agency arrangement

From the 1930s to the 1970s, the field of urban planning in Brazil is structured based on three movements that are intrinsic to the accelerated urban planning and industrial growth processes that the country undergoes in the

period: a first movement, where the urban territory as a whole is recognized as the field of operation for urban planners; a second movement, that places urban planning as a process involving a comprehensive approach to “all urban problems”; and a third movement, relating to the development of engineering consulting activity in the management and execution of large urban development works. Different trends of operation correspond to those three movements. Those trends extend the urban planning professional field, both regarding the multidisciplinary level that occurs in the preparation of plans, and in relation to the types of institutions created and their relation with the State apparatus.

As from the 1930s, in a context where industrialization forces a urbanizing process on an unprecedented scale in Brazil, an “urbanizing standard that is apparently, in many degrees, in many points, superior to the pace of industrialization”ⁱ, for the first time, both problems of capital cities, that at that time are the focus of interventions aiming at providing them with a metropolitan image, and also the difficulties faced by the cities in the interior of the states are included in the agenda of urban planners. It is at that time of the formation of a urban-industrial consciousness that is started the insertion of urban planners in the process of formation of a bureaucratic elite unrelated to politics, that pursues the criteria of efficiency, economy and rationality placed by the public administration modernization project started in the so-called *Vargas Era* (1930-1945).

One of the paths of such insertion will be through the state agencies, embryos of the institutionalization of the technical assistance activity to the municipalities in Brazil – the so-called Departments of Municipalities or Departments of Assistance to Municipalities. The structure of those agencies starts to be outlined in a context of radical political and financial centralization, for the purpose of controlling and assisting technically the non-capital municipalities in financial issues. Gradually, start to aggregate specific functions in the field of urban planning, through the action of distinguished urban planners

such as Luis Inácio de Anhaia Mello and Washington Azevedo, in São Paulo and Minas Gerais, respectively.

In the capital cities, the insertion of urban planners occurs in consultative commissions oriented to the preparation, discussion and execution of city plans. Unlike the technical commissions that were being constituted since the end of the nineteenth century, including administration employees or outsourced expertsⁱⁱ, those commissions are characterized by the free collaboration and for not incorporating experts only, but also “Brazilian citizens that were not state or municipal employees or employees from companies subsidized by the government”. Those commissions provide the possibility of an instance of society’s participation with the municipal administration, with political representation of the elites for which assignment criteria and mechanisms are established by decree.

The Plan Commissions are constituted as a privileged space in the urban debate around prepared plans or plans in progress. In the 1930s, consultative commissions are instituted in Recifeⁱⁱⁱ, Belo Horizonte^{iv}, Salvador; Rio de Janeiro^v, and also in Porto Alegre^{vi}. Although some plans did not come true and the permanence of the commissions has not been regular, undergoing dissolutions and restructurings, as is the case of Recife and Rio de Janeiro, they were constituted as embryos of municipal administration planning agencies oriented to the preparation of plans that, as from the 1940s, are structured in the large urban centers, and as from the 1950s also in the non-capital cities.

Both the consultative commissions and the agencies that are their successors operate to provide the urban planning sector a coordinating role for the several sectors of municipal administration, in an attempt to install a planning process that reverts the then current logic, where urban planning was characterized as a specialized activity performed by engineers.

In the so-called democratic period (1945-1964), the decentralizing principles of the Brazilian 1946 Constitution are combined with the municipal administration's modernizing project. On the political level, the "municipalistas" acted through the ABM – Associação Brasileira dos Municípios (Brazilian Association of Municipalities), created in 1946, for the strengthening of the municipal power, and included among their objectives from "promoting the best exchange possible among the Municipalities..." to "providing complete and effective assistance to Municipalities"^{vii}.

In the mid 1950s, Departments of Municipalities were active in Pará, Rio Grande do Norte, Pernambuco, Sergipe, Bahia, Espírito Santo, Rio de Janeiro, Paraná, Rio Grande do Sul, Minas Gerais and São Paulo^{viii}. Disseminated through different regions of the country, and deprived from their exclusively controlling and monitoring role, assume the task of qualifying the administration to perform its functions^{ix}. The creation of EBAP – Escola Brasileira de Administração Pública (Brazilian School of Public Administration) of the Getúlio Vargas Foundation, in 1951, through a technical cooperation program with USAID- United States Agency for International Development, as a center for training technical professionals for the public service, reveals the dimension of the importance assigned to the public administration work. The insertion of urban planners in the field of technical assistance follows that process. Throughout the 1950s, they intensify their work in the training of technical staff, promoting courses for architects and engineers that are employees of the State, publishing bulletins intended to instructing technical professionals, experts and entity representatives in the planning tasks, especially in the preparation of master plans.

The growing importance of urban planning issues in the field of technical assistance becomes clearer in the 1950s with the creation of multiple institutions: IBAM – Instituto Brasileiro de Administração Municipal (Brazilian Institute of Municipal Administration), created in 1952 in Rio de Janeiro, as the

technical arm of the ABM^x, institutions relating to schools of architecture and urban planning, such as CPEU – Centro de Estudos and Pesquisas Urbanísticas (Centro of Urbanism Studies and Research) at the University of São Paulo, CEPUR – Centro de Pesquisas em Planejamento Urbano e Regional (Urban and Regional Planning Research Center) in the Federal University of Pernambuco, SAGMACS – Sociedade de Análise Gráfica e Mecanográfica Aplicada a Complexos Sociais (Society of Graphic and Mechanographic Analysis Applied to Social Complexes), related to the Economics and Humanism Movement, that articulates different institutions and disciplinary areas. In addition, the national architects entity – IAB – Instituto de Arquitetos do Brasil (Institute of Brazilian Architects) has a strong political presence, articulating on a national level the architects around the idea of planning, and dialoguing with the municipal, state and federal spheres of the executive and legislative branches.

Up to the 1950s, technical assistance institutions outside the administration and planning agencies in the municipal administrations had defined two trends of professional operation for urban planners: one internal to the public machine, and another external to it, in institutions that, when orienting plan preparation, target the organization within the municipal administrations a planning sector with multidisciplinary teams and creation of commissions with civil society representatives. That is, up to that time, those two types of institutions operate in an articulated manner – technical assistance always seeking to strengthen the role of municipal agencies.

This arrangement represented the continuity of the significance of the planner's work inside public administration in Brazil. Differently of the United States, where the urban planning profession originate out from the public agencies, through the consultants' performance and voluntary commissions, in Brazil, since the end of the nineteenth century the municipal engineers' professional competence was highly considered.

SERFHAU (dis)arrangement: the plan outside the public agency

During the authoritarian government of the military regime implemented in 1964, urban planning as a government function reaches the federal level with the creation of the first agency whose explicit role was to prepare and coordinate the national policy as regards the integrated local planning - SERFHAU – Serviço Federal de Habitação e Urbanismo (Federal Housing and Urbanism Service).

In this long institutionalization cycle, the particularity of the 1960s lies in the introduction of a new element – engineering consulting companies. Although the sectors involved in the process of creation of urban planning institutions since the 1930s continue to legitimate the planning activity, to disseminate the idea of a general plan for the city, and to qualify urban planners, combining interests of a technical and political nature, the establishment of engineering consulting companies, benefiting from the institutional milestone consolidated by the SERFHAU, results from the economic interest in the financial resources under the responsibility of the BNH — Banco Nacional de Habitação (National Housing Bank), to which the SERFHAU is subordinated.

SERFHAU, as a concept, is an arrangement – a different version of the institutions organized since the 1930s – however with the same content. Such arrangement –technical assistance to municipalities / planning agencies / engineering consulting companies – materialized in the 11-year period of SERFHAU existence: from 1964 to 1975, seemingly a contradiction, is an integral part of the administrative conception whose main characteristic is the divorce between the technical activity and the daily political action of the administration. SERFHAU as an institution consubstantiates the building of urban planning as a technical field in Brazil which has been introduced since the 1930s.

On the one hand, SERFHAU reaffirms the plan/technical assistance/planning agencies tripod – that since the 1930s has guided urban

planners' effort toward legitimating their area of activity. The creation of a fund of an accounting nature - "Fundo de Financiamento de Planos de Desenvolvimento Local Integrado" (Fund to Finance Integrated Local Development Plans) – intended to provide funds to finance integrated local development plans and studies, establishes that, to benefit from the Fund, the regions and municipalities are required to create permanent local planning and development agencies. Resource granting is also subject to the acceptance, by the beneficiary entities, of the technical assistance SERFHAU deems necessary to local planning agencies, and the expenses resulting from such technical assistance become an integral part of the financing request itself.

On the other hand, only one article of the decree published in 1966 to regulate SERFHAU establishes the conditions for a sector, excluded from the institutionalization process and from the professional urban planning field in Brazil, to play a significant role in the preparation of master plans and qualification of technical professionals of different areas of expertise. It is article 27, whereby “regional, interstate, state, intermunicipal and municipal agencies and entities willing to contract and prepare integrated local development plans and studies may benefit from the ‘Fund to Finance Integrated Local Development Plans’”.

The possibility to contract plans provided in SERFHAU regulation is part of the process that introduce engineering companies in the so-called “urban development” sector, involving from master plan preparation to roadway construction, leveraged by the creation of the BNH. As responsible for the management of the FGTS – Fundo de Garantia por Tempo de Serviço (Government Severance Indemnity Fund for Employees), the BNH becomes a financial powerhouse and, by expanding its area of operation beyond housing projects and also by moving out of the universe of low-income population demand, “it imprints its hallmark to the main dimensions of urban policies”. Its growing activity in providing urban infrastructure occurs either directly through

public agencies or indirectly through a large number of private companies that gravitate around the resources it controls and operates.^{xi}

The Brazilian companies then hired by the municipal governments to prepare master plans are established in the end of the 1950s, most of them as engineering companies operating in the Rio de Janeiro-São Paulo axis. Such is the case of Hidroservice, created in 1958, CNEC -Consórcio Nacional de Engenheiros Consultores S.A, and SERETE, created in 1959, and also of PROMON, created in 1960. Throughout the 1960s, due to the large expansion of State investments in infrastructure, the area of engineering consulting services become a business industry in itself. The level of expertise required for planning and implementing large engineering projects, started with the Target Plan for the 1956-1961 period, favors the emergence of companies integrating several competencies and specialties. The creation of the ABCE – Associação Brasileira de Consultores de Engenharia (Brazilian Association of Engineering Consultants) in 1966 emphasizes the sector's organization level in that period and the increasing demand for such services. The performance of such companies goes beyond the Brazilian territory. On the other hand, foreign engineering consulting companies also operate in Brazil. In 1971, a Latin-American entity is created, FELAC - Federación Latinoamericana de Consultoria (Latin-American Consulting Federation), of which ABCE is a member.^{xii}

The companies registered with the FINEP - Financiadora de Estudos e Projetos (Study and Project Financing Agency), in the 1970s, performing Urban Development-related activities, prepare master plans for cities located anywhere in Brazil, as well as projects relating to sanitation, railroad, roadway, subway transportation, water supply, hydroelectric power plants, etc. Only 20% of those companies existed before the creation of BNH and SERFHAU. The CNEC, for instance, is permanently expanding its range of professional qualifications: in 1969, it incorporates Camargo Corrêa and, later, it aggregates Topp,

Brasconsult, Caeel and Milder Kaiser. In the 1960s, architecture firms are also registered as consulting companies with the FINEP, and some become planning companies. The inclusion of architects in the labor market connected with plan preparation, as associates or hired by engineering consulting companies, increases with the creation of SERFHAU.^{xiii}

In 1971, SERFHAU's register, created to make available to the municipalities interested in contracting plan preparation, included 2,412 technical professionals and 257 firms specializing in planning. The professional category distribution of the registered technical professionals gives an idea of the multidisciplinary level achieved through the contracted plans: about 60% in the so-called physical sector, including architects, engineers, geologists, geographers, and agricultural engineers; about 15% in the economic sector, including economists and statistics experts; almost 12% in the institutional sector, including lawyers and administrative technicians; less than 6% in the social sector, including sociologists and social workers, and the other 8% including other professional categories.^{xiv}

In 1975, of the more than 100 State of São Paulo municipalities with master plans, 91% had their plans prepared as from 1967, that is, after SERFHAU regulation. The vast majority of the plans (54%) were prepared by specialized companies (43.7%) or individual consultants (10.3%), in that the former prepared larger municipal plans. Public entities and universities account for 21.8% of the plans, and only 13.8% are prepared by the municipal governments themselves. In other words, 75.9% of the plans are prepared by specialized institutions other than the planning agencies of municipal administrations.^{xv}

The consequences of article 27 are clear: on the one hand, SERFHAU creation represents the legitimacy of planning and of the idea of an integrated local development plan and reverberates in the establishment of planning agencies structured to perform such activity in the municipal administrations; on

the other hand, the incorporation into the federal legislation of the possibility for municipal governments to contract plan preparation increases professional practice outside the administrations. Plan preparation practice no longer belongs to the public administration, and the consultancy activity in the field of professional urban planning is structured in multidisciplinary teams. Planning as a government function becomes frail, leading to planning activity segmentation: whereas the plan remains in the consultancy sphere, mainly linked to large engineering consulting companies, the planning agencies specialize in the normative practice. As a result, in Brazil as from 1960s, it is especially outside the urban planning institutions of public administrations that the practice of plan preparation flourishes, and where qualified technical professionals are massively formed.

ⁱ Oliveira F.1982 p.41

ⁱⁱ For example, according to Law 264 of 1896, the Technical Commission for the General Plan of the City of São Paulo is created in the Department of Civil Works, which is in charge of organizing the general city plan or project. The commission members will include the following: a chief engineer with monthly earnings of 1:500\$000; an assistant engineer with monthly earnings of 1:000\$000; a designer architect with monthly earnings of 600\$000; five technical assistants with monthly earnings of 500\$000 each.

ⁱⁱⁱ The Commission is legalized in 1932, by Decree 197 of January 9.

^{iv} Filgueiras Gomes, MA and Lima, Fabio JM (1999:123)

^v Decree 6092 of November 8, 1937

^{vi} See in this respect, MACHADO, Nara Helena Naumann 1998

^{vii} ABM objectives are published in all editions of *Revista Brasileira dos Municípios*, an agency of the Conselho Nacional de Estatísticas and Associação Brasileira de Municípios, published quarterly by IBGE from 1948 to 1968

^{viii} *Notícias Municipais*, 1955, Jan-Feb, no.8:4

^{ix} Mello, L. (1957: 154)

^x IBAM is constituted in the scope of the technical cooperation program on public administration with the USAID - United States Agency for International Development, counts on the financial support of USAID and has among its directors professionals with specialization in urban administration in the United States, mainly at the University of Southern California.

^{xi} Cintra (1977: 202).

^{xii} www.abce.org.br. Nos anos 1990 A FELAC se converte em FEPAC – Panamerican Federation of Consultants

^{xiii} FINEP,1974,1976

^{xiv} Vizioli, 1998: 45, 46

^{xv} Azevedo, 1976:53

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Title: “Conceiving the environmental and landscaping context for the fluvial park along Batalha River”

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- **Sustainability and environmental approaches**
- **Global and traditional contemporary local planning styles**
- **Technology and infrastructure**

Abstract

The naturalistic parks, nowadays, are not an easy representation of reserves or sanctuary of naturalness to be protected, but in the last few decades they have become scenarios for the creativity and the experimentation, which allow new forms of sociability. The American and European citizens, who spend great part of their time in constructed environments, can now enjoy open spaces, that can stimulate them to the use cultural and natural resources inside and outside the city: meaning, patrimony (museums, monuments, historical centers, archaeological sites, etc.); cultural experiences (tourism, restoration, show, sport, exhibition, etc.). Thus, the parks have turned into places for a new lifestyle where learning, pleasure, entertainment and education activities mix and create new opportunities for economy, that can spread out its influence to the territorial scale. Similar experiences in this direction reached formidable achievements such as Emscher Park (Germany), Greenwich Peninsula (England), Town Planning for Stockholm (Sweden) that stimulated an urban regeneration and revitalization founded on the ecological dimension.

The natural parks receive in America and Europe approximately 115 and 110 million persons every year, to claim that the access to cultural and environmental education *on site* is a primary citizenship right. The parks planning embraces the responsibility to focus on park's formative mission to build a civil society more and more active in the decisions making process because informed and aware, and not only distracted and relieved from heavy thoughts. The thematic parks must return us with images of the territory which the viewer is inspired by.

On these bases, the vision of a new region around the main administrative and commercial biggest municipality, Bauru, found its foundation, recognizing the shape the territory has assumed: the dispersed city. The spread out urban structure is growing around a common pole, the Batalha River, which gives a sense of identity to the landscape. The rivers flows for 167km from the mountain ridge Serra da Jacutinga inside the territory of Agudos, to the Tietê River across the municipalities Agudos, Bauru, Piratininga, Avaí, Presidente Alves, Reginópolis.

State and local agencies have been monitoring the conditions of the environment surrounding the Batalha River, emphasizing the need to urgently act in order to mend the seriously compromised state of health of river. There are two main reasons causing this situation: the intensive demand of water supply for civil and industrial uses in Bauru (380000 Hab., 50% served by superficial water from the Batalha River) and the consequent pollution (just a little part of the sewer is destined to the treatment system, but almost the totality debouches directly back into the river). The lack of planning in

the occupation of the territory caused even more severe impact on the land and the natural ecosystem: the native vegetation is reduced a few spots, the rivers are silting up and the land is cut by considerably big erosion cracks.

It is urged therefore to start a discussion about regional and town planning of these areas, exploring the hypothesis that an aquatic park along Batalha River could play an essential role, according to some guidelines:

- Formation of a productive structure inside the park to breed work (private and public investments);
- Realization of new dwelling forms;
- Offer of social, cultural and sport activities.

The objectives must be searched by means of a dialogue among the members of the society, including the population and all the stakeholders in order to develop strategies for ecological recuperation of degraded zones.

General Aspects

Batalha River is situated in the Southeastern part of Médio Tietê Superiore drainage basin and with its 2343,77km² of catchment area it is the biggest territorial division (figure 1).

Fig.1

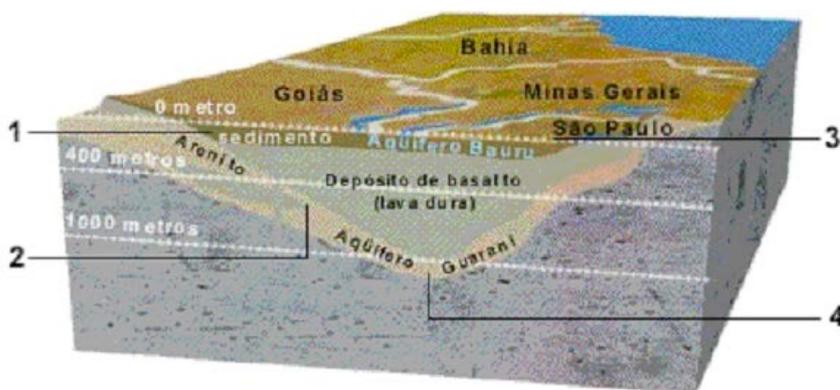
From a geological point of view, Batalha Basin is formed by sedimentary rocks and volcanogenic deposit in Serra Geral Formation (Mesozoic Era). The basaltic rocks derived from intense volcanism, during the beginning of the Cretaceous, when the desert conditions were dominating. The tectonic perturbations caused the bowl-like shape you can still see nowadays. During the Late Cretaceous Period, in a semi-arid climate, sandstone rocks of the Bauru Group deposited over the basaltic stratifications in fluvio-lacustrine climate: Km – Marília Formation and Ka – Adamantina Formation, both belonging to the Bauru aquiferous unit (figure 2).

Fig.2

The underground water availability can be evaluated according to the aquifer geometric and hydraulic characteristics, as well as to consideration on the well excavation and productivity.

The Report “Estudo de Águas Subterrâneas das Regiões Administrativas 7 (Bauru), 8 (São José do Rio Preto) e 9 (Araçatuba)”, developed by DAEE in 1976, classifies the lito-stratigraphic units that occur in the area in three great water-bearing systems: Bauru Aquifer, Serra General Aquifer and Botucatu Aquifer (even known as Guarani Aquifer). According to these studies, Bauru and Botucatu Aquifers permeability depends on the “granular porosity” and Serra General Aquifer permeability on “fissure porosity”. The figure illustrates a synthesis of the general hydrogeology characteristics of the three water-bearing units (figure 3).

Fig.3



**COMPARING RURAL AND URBAN
CHILDREN'S PERCEPTIONS OF AN IDEAL COMMUNITY**

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COMPARING RURAL AND URBAN CHILDREN'S PERCEPTIONS OF AN IDEAL COMMUNITY

ABSTRACT

Although young people have a right to participate in urban design and planning, and the skills to effectively contribute, children have traditionally been excluded from the planning process.

While research on children's participation in planning has evolved over the past decades, needed are investigations on how children understand or perceive community and community design, and if geographic location has an effect. The objectives of this study are i) to educate minority children on urban design, ii) identify children's ideal community elements, and iii) determine if there are any differences in rural and urban children perceptions. This study uses both qualitative and quantitative methods. Using two design charrettes, models of an ideal community are created. Model content is analyzed using multivariate statistics to identify element and pattern preferences. Charrette participants are ninety-three children between third and tenth grade in a rural Michigan community and 50 children between fourth and eighth grade in urban Grand Rapids, Michigan. Principal component analysis of the resultant 38 models reveals that for the urban children six components are considered significant dimensions and explain 67% of the variance. The first component, which represents what is familiar, has the strongest explanatory power, accounting for nearly 27% of the variance. For the rural children, four components are considered significant dimensions and explain 51% of the variance. The first component has the strongest explanatory power, and accounts for nearly 15% of the variance. Spatial diagrams are created and indicate that there is a difference between the rural and urban models. The rural diagram suggests that a social community and an individual setting are distinct and separate for the children. The urban diagram is very different and contains a central component with strong

linkages to surrounding components, suggesting that the ideal community for urban children is more cohesive and connected than for the rural children.

COMPARING RURAL AND URBAN CHILDREN'S PERCEPTIONS OF AN IDEAL COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION

Children and young people have traditionally been excluded from urban design and planning processes (Knowles-Yáñez, 2005; Bridgeman, 2004, Sutton and Kemp, 2002). The absence of children in planning is in part due to belief systems that children are not active citizens or valid stakeholders. Simpson (1997) notes that the notion of children's citizenship is viewed in two ways: children are current citizens versus children will become future citizens. In reality children are both current citizens and future adult citizens, and planning needs to recognize both roles. In the past three decades, this recognition has led to the evolving practice of having children participate in environmental and urban planning (Chawla and Heft, 2002; Driskell, 2002; Francis and Lorenzo, 2002; Race and Toma, 1999; Talen and Coffindaffer, 1999; Hart, 1997, 1979; Moore, 1986; Ward, 1977; Lynch, 1977).

The role of children in planning is part of an overall movement in participatory planning which emerged and became part of the foundation for community development and planning, be it through advocacy planning, collaborative planning, or equity planning (Brody et al., 2003; Sanoff, 2000, 1985; Checkoway et al., 1995; Krumholz and Clavel, 1994; Clavel, 1986; Hester, 1984; Burke, 1981; Arnstein, 1969; Davidoff, 1965). The code of ethics defined by the American Institute of Certified Planners dictates that planners must strive to expand choice and opportunity for all persons, recognizing a special responsibility to plan for the needs of disadvantaged groups and persons (AICP, 2005). Because children are one such group, and they are highly affected by planning decisions (Talen and Coffindaffer, 1999, p.321), they have a right to participate in the planning process. This right has been codified and supported by the United Nations Convention

on the Rights of the Child, adopted by the UN in 1989, and further articulated at the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro (Frank, 2006, p.352).

Not only do children have a right to participate, the literature shows that they have the skills to effectively contribute to the planning process. An appreciation of the environment begins at an early age, marked by an intensity of exploration usually lost on adults. (Talen and Coffindaffer, p. 321). Research has found that children possess an inherent spatial cognition (Halseth and Doddridge, 2000; Nagy and Baird, 1978; Blaut, 1969, 1987; Hart and Moore, 1971; Hart, 1987, 1997). These skills are in contrast with most children's education which excludes urban and environmental planning (Hart, 1987; Kowaltowski et al., 2004). Children are keen observers of their environmental setting and are capable of analyzing and understanding their surrounding landscape (Lynch, 1977; Moore et al. 1987; Horelli and Kaaja, 2002). While Piaget (1967) found that children were capable of producing two-dimensional representations of a model village, other planning researchers have found that children were capable of producing three-dimensional models (Machemer, 2006; Horelli and Kaaja, 2002). Horelli and Kaaja (2002, p. 191) note that young people in Finland, Switzerland, and France are keen analysts of their settings, creative producers of ideas for planning, and able to apply planning enabling tools. Frank (2006, p. 364) noted that youth demonstrated competence with the standard planning techniques of research, analysis, and design.

Frank (2006) also identified four societal views hampering youth participation in planning: developmental, vulnerable, legal, and romantic. The developmental view holds that youth are lacking the level of knowledge, skills, attitudes, behaviors, and social connections to participate in planning. The vulnerable view sees young people as less powerful and therefore in need of adult protection. The legal view assigns youth partial citizen status, because youth do not legally hold the full rights and responsibilities of adults. And the romantic view treats youth as having values and capabilities that are distinct from those of adults. Despite these four views, youth were found to exhibit more creativity, curiosity, enthusiasm, and concern for community

and environmental well being than adults (Frank, 2006, p.353). Work by Francis and Lorenzo (2002) also identified seven realms precluding children's participation in city design and planning, namely: romantic, advocacy, needs, learning, rights, institutionalization, and proactive.

Knowles-Yanez (2005) identified four approaches in which planning interacts with children: scholars studying children's views of their communities; educators teach children about planning; practice, where organizers engage children in community development; and rights-based, which supposes that children have a right to participate in decision making that affects their lives. Regarding scholarship, Talen and Coffindaffer (1999) categorizes children's participation research under four types: children's knowledge/understanding of their environment; the environmental preferences of children; children's acquisition of spatial knowledge; and the effect of environment on children. Given the limited research on children's perceptions of their environment, information on environmental preferences is lacking (Sutton and Kemp, 2002; Burton and Price-Spartlen, 1999; Talen and Coffindaffer, 1999). The current investigation is focused on environmental preferences of children, and in particular, uncovering rural and urban children's preferences in community design (and determining if there is a difference).

While some researchers have demonstrated differences between children growing up in rural and urban environments (Ward, 1978, 1988; Lynch, 1977), others have found that children value the same qualities about their environment across rural and urban locations (Chawla 2002). In studying housing style preference, Devlin (1993) found that no regional differences existed in children's housing preference. While Bogner and Wiseman (1997, p. 111) found no difference between the responses of rural, urban, and suburban groups with respect to environmental perspective and behavior, they acknowledge that the environmental psychology literature includes claims that rural and urban populations differ in their environmental and ecological perspectives. Talen et al. (1999) did find that gender does impact environmental preference, but there is little research that investigates this focusing on the geographical location of the children.

Kyttä (2002) found that the difference in availability of affordances (the provision of opportunities for physical or social activity) in environments of varying degrees of urbanization (urban, suburban, small town, and rural) was statistically significant. In one study Bouchier et al. (1996) found that English children's knowledge of European geography varied as a function of their social class, geographical location (urban versus rural), and gender, with urban children tending to have more knowledge than rural children (Bouchier et al., 2002, p. 80). However, in a more recent investigation, Bouchier et al. (2002) found locality had no significant affect on geographical knowledge level. While research has shown that gender does have an effect on environmental preference, there seems to be limited research regarding effects of geographic location on environmental preference.

In addition to the conflicting literature about the effects that geographic location (urban or rural) has on children, there is a research gap on how children understand or perceive community and community design. In addition, differences in these perceptions and what might be considered a child's vision of an ideal community is also unknown between rural and urban children.

This study aims to address some of the gaps found in the literature and will i) begin to educate minority children on urban design, ii) identify what elements children would include in their ideal community, and iii) determine if there are any differences in rural and urban children perceptions of an ideal community.

METHODS

Qualitative and quantitative methods are combined in this investigation. Qualitative data was gathered through a landscape planning design charrette that allows active engagement and participation of children while producing data similar to a picture preference survey. Instead of the typical survey questionnaire, physical models are created and later analyzed. This active

process of preference selection is more appropriate for children as they are more active than passive. Simpson (1997, p.923) suggests that children's participation must be encouraged through the creative processes which relate to their capabilities. Once the data is collected, quantitative analysis using multivariate statistics is used to identify element and pattern preferences. This technique allows interpretation of multiple variable measurements and the reduction of dimensions linked to those variables (Johnson and Wichern, 2002).

The Active Teaching Activity - The Landscape Planning Design Charrette

The gap in knowledge about how children experience place-based inequities is greatest for impoverished racial and ethnic minority youth because even less attention has been paid to the particular challenges of growing up within a racially segregated society (Sutton and Kemp, 2002, p. 173). Therefore, the participants selected for the landscape planning design charrette are ninety-three children between third and tenth grade in a rural Michigan community (Blissfield) and 50 children between fourth and eighth grade in urban Grand Rapids, Michigan. All of the children are minorities and are considered underrepresented in the landscape planning process (Fein, 1972; Robinette, 1973).

A design charrette is both proactive and particularly suited for children. This communicative and visionary process (Francis and Lorenzo, 2002) is goal oriented and takes advantage of children's creativity. Taking on the role of a landscape planner, these children were asked to spend one hour creating a foam-core model of their ideal community. Research by Horelli and Kaaja (2002) support the notion that children can produce models.

After concepts in urban and landscape planning were introduced, three or four children worked together, along with an adult assistant on the model. The materials used were a two by two foot "island" base, modeling grass, trees, and shrubs, unlimited two inch squares of foam core, and 52 picture of community elements.

The adult assistants consisted of either a landscape architect or urban planning professor, an artist consultant, or a landscape planning student. These assistants were charged with addressing the goals and objectives of the charrette. The goals consisted of actively engaging and guiding the children to design through experimentation and conversation, and the objectives were that the children have a two-way education in landscape planning and that the key elements in their ideal community be identified.

The models were created in this study in two phases. In phase one, the students selected elements that they wanted in their ideal community. The images included multiple copies of plazas, fountains, entertainment places, parks, recreation fields, forests, open-space, various housing types, schools, religious facilities, commercial establishments and shops, offices, farms, industries, and service facilities. If a student wanted something not found in the images, they were encouraged to create their own.

Phase two consisted of the interactive process of placing the elements on the island base and experimenting with various spatial arrangements. The students, with the guidance of the assistants, engaged in dialogue and discussion of design concepts as related to element placing. Team members then debated as to the ideal placement of elements and discussed what arrangement worked, which did not, and most importantly why.

The Research Study on Children's Preferences in Designing an Ideal Community

The charrette produced 38 models, which were quantified to create a database suitable for statistical analysis. While rural children created 23 of these resultant models, urban children created the other 15. The database consisted of records representing each community element selected by the students and used in their model. Additional records were added for community elements identified by children that were not in the original 52 picture set.

Using principal component analysis (PCA), this database was examined to answer the following three research questions:

- i) What are the key dimensions of an ideal community for these children?
- ii) Are there hidden patterns of preference for certain images?
- iii) Is there a difference between the urban and rural models?

This form of analysis (PCA) is well suited since it examines relationships among the ratings instead of looking at the magnitude of the ratings (Kaplan, 1985). PCA is able to categorize the data and to determine the number of dimensions. Groups of ratings are thus identified and the variance in the picture data set is determined. Eigenvalues, which represent the strength of the dimension, are calculated and are related to the principal components by rank. The largest eigenvalue represents the largest proportion of the variance that can be explained and it is related to the first principal component. Mapping these eigenvalues in multidimensional space shows the first and second largest eigenvalues to be perpendicular from each other and thus independent. The significance of the dimensions is determined by either their eigenvalue or their scree plot. If this eigenvalue is greater than or equal to one, then it is considered significant. (Burley and Brown, 1995). At the point where the scree plot of eigenvalues and their rank order shows a bend, this indicates the appropriate number of components (Johnson and Wichern, 2002) and that the remaining eigenvalues are small and similar in size.

The analysis for this current investigation was based on covariance and extracted dimensions (components) of images that were grouped together in terms of the pattern of ratings. Each dimension or component contains a set of eigenvector coefficients that specify the relative association of each variable (image) with the dimension (Burley and Brown, 1995). These eigenvector values are used to characterize or explain the dimension. Specifically, strongly associated eigenvector values are used to characterize the dimension. The criterion for strong association was a minimum loading of 0.4 on no more than an eigenvector. Eigenvector coefficients greater than or equal to 0.4 are identified as being strongly associated with its dimension (Kaplan, 1985; Burley and Brown, 1995).

Since each dimension is based on a grouping of images clustered together, each dimension or component is considered independent from each other. Some dimensions show preferential groupings of images; if one image was present, another image was also likely to be present. This was indicated by the similar value of their coefficients (either positive or negative). The opposite was also shown. If one image was present, another image was likely not to be present. This aversion of images was indicated by the dissimilar/opposite values of their coefficients (one positive and one negative). Using these values, a spatial dimension map was generated that graphically shows the dimensions with eigenvalues greater than one and their relationships to each other (Burley and Burley, 1998; Gellar et al., 1999). Preferences for some images and the relationship within and between dimensions and images are represented. Two separate spatial dimension maps are shown for the rural and urban charrettes. The component (dimensions), relative eigenvalues, and connections (shared significant images between dimensions) are presented in the spatial dimension map and may indicate a difference between rural and urban children's perceptions of an ideal community.

Although a useful tool in showing relationships and preferences, definite results using PCA require hundreds of subjects. This study was based on 38 models created by 150 children, and additional models are needed to strengthen the analysis. Looking at PCA's strengths, it does allow for investigators to come up with hypotheses and generate more refined and focused research questions.

RESULTS/FINDINGS

Rural Charrette

Six components were considered significant dimensions given their eigenvalues were greater than 1.0. These first six eigenvalues explain 67% of the variance. Using a scree plot, 5

components appear significant, and account for 61% of the variance. Furthermore, PCA revealed 89% of what is important to the rural students regarding “ideal communities” can be explained (see Table 1). While a total of thirteen clusters or components were revealed, component 12 had no image with a loading value of 0.4 that was not found in any other cluster. Thus, twelve clusters provide the explanatory value. The first component has the strongest explanatory power, and accounts for nearly 27% of the variance.

Table 1: Initial Eigenvalues for Rural Charrette with 50 Image Variables

Component	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	5.175	27.276	27.276
2	2.099	11.065	38.341
3	1.681	8.863	47.204
4	1.378	7.263	54.466
5	1.304	6.872	61.339
6	1.031	5.435	66.773
7	0.930	4.903	71.676
8	0.844	4.446	76.123
9	0.769	4.051	80.174
10	0.682	3.593	83.767
11	0.558	2.939	86.706
12	0.431	2.269	88.975
13	0.392	2.065	91.040

This first component contains eight images that meet the criterion, and each has a positive value (ranging from .618 to .903), indicating if a student team selected any of the nine they were likely to select the other eight (see Table 2). Components 2 through 6 and Component 9 all have at least two images with significant values. Additionally, within each component the significant values have the same direction (positive or negative), indicating student teams who showed a preference for one image were likely to select the other images (and, conversely, if they

were not likely to select an image, they were unlikely to select the other images). Five of the clusters have only a single image with a loading of 0.4 and not found within any other cluster.

While the PCA reveals that thirty images are important and provide explanation, twenty-two images are not prevalent. These twenty-two images account for 11% of the variance, and the statistical analysis reveals little about these images.

Table 2: Eigenvector Coefficients for Rural Charrette Eigenvalues

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
cinema	-0.084	0.193	0.016	0.308	-0.586	-0.089	0.182	-0.020	0.373	-0.181	0.089	-0.390	-0.074
courthouse	0.043	-0.004	-0.071	-0.197	-0.120	0.466	0.423	-0.065	0.099	-0.172	0.232	-0.386	0.221
Guggenheim	-0.195	0.229	-0.179	0.035	-0.098	0.410	0.519	0.060	-0.146	0.027	0.383	-0.259	-0.033
juicebar	-0.213	0.366	0.069	-0.038	-0.133	0.524	-0.257	0.221	-0.262	0.347	-0.146	0.179	-0.081
theater	-0.251	0.229	-0.228	-0.111	0.137	0.349	0.714	0.176	0.227	0.052	0.019	0.033	0.224
restaurant	-0.126	0.322	0.016	0.208	-0.161	-0.398	-0.050	0.354	0.560	0.257	0.102	-0.086	0.022
Mcdonalds	-0.158	-0.163	0.373	0.346	0.182	-0.262	0.251	0.124	-0.008	0.162	-0.329	0.163	0.182
baseball	0.011	0.043	0.615	0.378	0.177	0.161	0.218	0.084	-0.365	-0.074	0.035	0.137	-0.293
basketball	-0.200	0.023	0.328	0.365	-0.501	-0.185	0.257	-0.107	-0.291	-0.042	0.005	0.214	0.064
soccer	-0.124	0.067	-0.041	0.490	-0.026	-0.203	0.462	-0.448	-0.064	-0.161	0.324	0.134	0.229
stadium	0.010	0.037	0.039	0.159	0.314	0.206	0.100	0.252	0.099	0.195	0.390	0.252	-0.463
tennis	0.102	0.019	-0.110	0.392	-0.202	0.293	0.408	0.142	-0.146	-0.556	0.061	0.083	0.108
glass office	0.549	0.021	-0.427	-0.065	-0.008	-0.270	0.023	-0.114	0.188	0.290	0.074	-0.113	0.072
Office	0.618	0.002	-0.249	-0.041	-0.105	-0.114	-0.054	0.203	0.141	-0.263	0.356	0.300	-0.264
Mixed-use	0.620	-0.135	-0.192	0.070	-0.260	-0.147	0.141	0.146	-0.414	-0.179	-0.005	-0.059	-0.270
farmstead	-0.191	-0.028	0.472	-0.020	-0.073	-0.315	-0.064	0.233	0.390	-0.175	0.032	-0.501	0.033
Farm	-0.126	-0.332	0.501	-0.296	-0.074	0.185	0.137	-0.208	0.427	-0.281	-0.206	0.102	0.164
gas station	-0.059	0.305	0.839	0.034	0.134	0.224	-0.105	0.229	-0.132	-0.114	-0.019	-0.131	-0.056
hotel	0.834	0.115	0.145	-0.320	0.078	-0.075	0.088	0.097	0.095	0.107	0.049	-0.078	0.132
Eiffel	0.391	-0.362	0.225	0.068	-0.119	0.382	-0.095	-0.336	0.439	0.127	0.126	0.028	-0.357
industry	-0.021	-0.238	0.099	-0.155	0.044	-0.112	-0.192	-0.035	0.167	-0.010	-0.321	-0.364	0.054
nuclear towers	-0.163	-0.131	0.051	-0.146	0.279	0.023	-0.270	0.216	0.481	-0.150	-0.026	-0.043	0.100
high-rise	-0.219	0.141	-0.003	-0.105	0.000	0.509	0.707	0.016	-0.006	0.260	-0.137	-0.001	-0.067
duplex	-0.251	0.606	-0.037	0.459	-0.471	-0.157	0.149	-0.100	0.104	0.060	-0.109	-0.148	-0.114
apartments	-0.128	0.188	-0.017	0.194	-0.359	-0.224	0.174	0.382	0.534	-0.045	0.164	-0.259	-0.011
row house	0.876	0.030	-0.054	0.119	-0.160	-0.271	-0.068	0.061	-0.111	0.175	0.038	0.052	0.029
playground	0.838	0.248	-0.032	-0.138	-0.224	0.173	-0.124	0.193	-0.019	0.147	-0.052	-0.037	0.056
skate park	0.380	-0.023	0.387	0.370	0.106	0.024	0.288	-0.004	0.299	0.335	-0.155	0.393	0.011
natural park	0.530	-0.333	-0.222	0.528	0.308	0.215	-0.017	-0.060	0.107	-0.168	-0.263	-0.054	-0.029
trad_fountain	0.786	-0.095	-0.205	-0.105	-0.088	0.364	0.080	0.015	-0.057	-0.058	0.102	-0.079	-0.004

mod_fountain	0.631	0.221	0.510	-0.239	0.150	-0.197	0.151	-0.371	-0.016	0.019	0.077	-0.013	0.018
Euro plaza	-0.202	0.069	-0.105	-0.081	0.397	-0.238	0.294	0.161	0.436	0.127	-0.290	0.348	0.140
mod_plaza	0.019	0.057	-0.280	-0.044	-0.235	0.422	0.261	0.108	0.213	-0.574	0.101	-0.122	0.377
religious	0.903	-0.022	0.016	-0.044	0.086	0.016	0.027	-0.107	0.055	-0.014	-0.257	0.021	-0.036
mosque	0.822	0.095	0.047	0.090	0.182	-0.135	0.134	0.227	-0.037	-0.299	0.027	0.151	0.110
chapel	0.895	0.115	0.036	0.165	-0.273	0.028	0.120	0.097	0.121	-0.033	-0.040	-0.040	0.018
elementary	0.261	-0.247	-0.003	0.591	0.354	0.170	-0.135	-0.092	-0.099	0.071	0.449	-0.027	0.292
elem_dis25	0.149	-0.334	-0.095	0.487	0.320	0.103	-0.205	-0.178	-0.362	0.288	-0.168	-0.209	0.095
high school	0.302	-0.004	0.277	0.707	0.208	0.164	-0.080	-0.093	0.157	0.173	0.195	-0.238	-0.016
mod_sculpture	-0.178	0.351	0.059	-0.060	-0.300	0.532	-0.101	0.141	-0.375	0.254	-0.330	0.147	0.189
stone sculpture	-0.178	0.137	0.028	-0.099	0.160	0.133	0.149	0.680	0.216	0.404	0.115	0.158	-0.184
singlefamily_sub	0.076	0.837	-0.223	-0.018	0.200	0.157	-0.206	-0.318	-0.008	-0.167	-0.024	0.065	-0.022
singlefamily_urb	-0.063	0.429	-0.251	-0.086	0.677	-0.205	0.352	0.200	-0.080	0.121	-0.030	-0.126	-0.112
commercial	-0.247	0.350	0.255	0.395	0.069	0.083	-0.281	0.446	0.179	-0.045	0.086	0.262	-0.010
grocery	-0.078	0.229	0.207	0.382	0.186	0.128	-0.281	0.064	0.031	0.334	0.513	0.002	0.332
mall	0.326	0.286	-0.039	0.353	0.375	-0.399	-0.154	0.288	0.206	-0.245	-0.207	-0.137	-0.048
neigh-grocery	-0.117	0.212	0.109	0.082	0.055	-0.193	0.009	0.084	-0.296	-0.499	0.117	0.288	-0.360
pharmacy	-0.169	0.579	-0.127	0.114	-0.173	0.032	-0.237	0.295	0.199	-0.264	0.037	0.193	0.264
hospital	-0.314	0.513	-0.314	0.010	0.156	0.225	-0.071	-0.014	0.384	0.319	0.039	0.103	-0.003
police	-0.246	0.361	0.167	0.147	-0.417	-0.001	-0.279	-0.157	0.245	0.190	-0.219	0.206	0.221

Urban Charrette

Four components were considered significant dimensions given their eigenvalues were greater than 1.0. These first four eigenvalues explain 51% of the variance. Using a scree plot, 3 components appear significant, and account for 40% of the variance. Furthermore, PCA revealed 65% of what is important to the urban students regarding “ideal communities” can be explained (see Table 3). While a total of thirteen clusters or components were revealed, only components 1 through 5 and Component 10 had at least one image with a loading value of 0.4 that was not found in any other cluster. Thus, six clusters provide the explanatory value (65% of the variance). The first component has the strongest explanatory power, and accounts for nearly 15% of the variance.

This first component contains three images that meet the criterion. While two images have positive values (.778 and .672), the last image has a negative value of -0.577 , indicating

student teams who showed a preference for the two images with a positive value were likely not to select the other (negative value) image, and visa versa. Component 2 has four images with significant values – two images with positive values (.512 and .827) and two images with negative values (-0.528 and -0.699). Component 3 has two images that meet the criteria, both with positive values (.711 and .553). Components 4, 5 and 10 have only a single image with a loading of 0.4 and not found within any other cluster, while eight components have no images meeting this criteria.

Table 3: Initial Eigenvalues for Urban Charrette with 51 Image Variables

Component	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	1.636	15.233	15.233
2	1.488	13.852	29.085
3	1.204	11.207	40.292
4	1.155	10.750	51.043
5	0.976	9.085	60.128
6	0.773	7.197	67.325
7	0.748	6.962	74.287
8	0.674	6.272	80.559
9	0.561	5.226	85.785
10	0.484	4.506	90.291
11	0.403	3.747	94.038
12	0.347	3.229	97.267
13	0.213	1.982	99.248

While the PCA reveals that twelve images are important and provide explanation, forty images are not prevalent. These forty images account for 35% of variance, and the statistical analysis reveals little about these images.

Table 4: Eigenvector Coefficients for Urban Charrette Eigenvalues

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
cinema	-0.394	0.438	0.138	-0.465	-0.253	0.389	0.034	0.293	-0.075	0.131	-0.043	-0.293	0.045
courthouse	-0.738	0.133	0.007	0.494	0.038	0.075	-0.152	-0.048	-0.012	0.030	-0.099	0.236	-0.281
guggenheim	0.004	0.827	0.255	0.123	-0.031	0.131	-0.137	-0.269	-0.198	0.017	0.234	-0.085	-0.162
juicebar	0.235	0.313	-0.049	0.242	0.126	0.578	-0.149	-0.600	-0.203	0.021	0.076	0.014	-0.081
theater	0.136	0.774	0.116	0.091	-0.169	-0.150	0.403	-0.230	-0.223	0.027	-0.169	0.094	0.052
restaurant	0.360	0.512	-0.353	0.054	-0.259	0.236	0.276	0.295	-0.211	-0.205	0.263	0.171	0.062
mcdonalds	0.021	-0.084	0.343	0.490	-0.257	0.152	-0.309	-0.151	0.459	-0.063	0.371	-0.159	0.218
baseball	0.686	0.249	-0.119	-0.473	-0.343	-0.058	-0.152	0.190	-0.001	-0.106	-0.077	-0.151	0.092
basketball	0.339	-0.412	0.404	0.102	0.328	0.574	-0.004	0.239	-0.162	0.099	0.030	0.020	0.085
soccer	-0.135	0.460	0.685	-0.030	-0.079	0.034	0.253	0.109	0.055	-0.233	-0.353	0.011	0.177
stadium	-0.344	-0.528	0.194	0.294	-0.270	0.097	-0.256	-0.267	-0.226	0.270	0.123	0.005	0.322
tennis	-0.026	0.444	0.684	-0.343	-0.064	0.263	0.070	0.122	0.019	-0.251	0.054	0.186	0.097
glass_office	0.446	0.641	0.276	0.351	0.070	-0.130	-0.012	0.281	0.062	0.164	-0.204	-0.109	0.079
office	0.294	0.278	-0.560	0.194	0.255	-0.334	-0.309	0.435	0.028	0.025	-0.074	-0.033	0.126
mixed use	-0.365	-0.058	0.360	0.358	0.418	-0.455	0.008	0.350	-0.044	-0.130	0.200	0.197	-0.028
farmstead	0.225	-0.062	-0.151	0.091	-0.205	0.214	0.140	0.707	0.220	0.431	-0.038	-0.234	0.052
farm	-0.297	-0.064	-0.384	0.279	0.044	-0.140	0.069	0.338	0.159	-0.599	0.170	0.342	0.106
gas station	0.414	0.317	0.323	-0.197	-0.438	-0.195	0.445	0.138	-0.210	0.157	0.240	0.022	-0.105
hotel	-0.604	0.042	0.070	0.441	0.064	-0.119	0.139	0.448	-0.055	0.213	0.289	-0.178	-0.171
Eiffel	0.183	-0.113	-0.173	0.725	-0.449	-0.083	-0.030	0.073	-0.341	-0.072	-0.002	-0.127	-0.160
industry	-0.397	0.046	0.383	-0.041	-0.437	-0.290	-0.106	-0.216	0.506	0.016	0.002	-0.229	-0.224
nuclear towers	-0.577	0.182	-0.254	0.115	-0.300	0.261	0.090	-0.317	-0.185	0.166	0.191	-0.346	-0.251
high-rise	-0.346	-0.223	0.193	0.318	-0.266	-0.107	0.502	-0.461	0.008	-0.295	-0.090	-0.019	0.141
duplex	-0.125	0.388	-0.112	-0.645	0.318	0.082	0.218	-0.207	0.123	0.250	0.042	0.280	-0.091
apartments	-0.035	-0.528	-0.111	0.133	0.075	0.321	0.524	0.038	-0.182	0.512	-0.068	0.068	0.028
row house	-0.081	0.034	-0.121	-0.179	0.580	-0.184	-0.545	0.186	-0.209	0.010	-0.322	-0.251	-0.180
playground	-0.205	0.739	-0.160	-0.099	0.411	0.113	-0.059	-0.253	0.044	-0.317	0.122	-0.063	0.061
skate park	0.376	-0.347	-0.273	-0.056	-0.154	0.258	0.019	0.131	0.515	-0.040	0.102	0.508	-0.122
natural park	0.778	0.090	-0.083	0.062	-0.187	0.009	0.328	-0.072	0.333	-0.069	-0.179	-0.261	0.073
trad_fountain	0.162	0.146	0.055	0.637	0.298	-0.001	0.505	0.143	-0.159	0.146	-0.180	0.276	0.149
mod_fountain	0.130	0.213	-0.421	0.717	0.043	0.441	0.079	-0.096	0.013	-0.022	-0.152	-0.078	0.045
Euro plaza	-0.721	0.231	0.085	0.250	-0.150	-0.151	-0.069	0.071	0.437	-0.206	0.179	0.064	0.179
mod_plaza	-0.618	0.016	0.129	-0.158	-0.143	-0.023	-0.411	-0.180	0.147	0.278	-0.404	0.064	0.292
religious	0.435	-0.001	-0.088	-0.262	0.639	-0.193	-0.223	-0.214	-0.170	0.142	0.320	-0.027	0.186
mosque	-0.196	0.573	-0.460	-0.068	0.381	0.035	-0.070	0.102	0.315	0.223	0.291	-0.076	-0.021
chapel	0.250	0.614	0.176	0.317	0.279	-0.464	-0.182	-0.132	0.091	0.235	-0.014	0.131	-0.052
elem_dis25	0.069	0.361	0.447	0.205	-0.163	0.471	-0.451	0.202	0.142	0.256	-0.045	0.147	-0.002
high school	0.055	-0.013	0.039	0.354	0.568	0.265	0.113	0.110	0.129	-0.632	-0.133	-0.079	-0.039
mod_sculpture	-0.190	0.443	-0.408	0.317	-0.060	-0.031	0.426	-0.061	0.443	0.233	0.193	-0.037	0.147
stone sculpture	0.001	0.246	0.567	0.154	0.567	0.171	0.178	-0.041	0.228	-0.177	-0.310	-0.144	-0.074
singlefamily_sub	0.475	0.080	0.658	0.088	-0.090	-0.259	-0.220	-0.186	-0.224	-0.032	0.015	0.330	-0.072

singlefamily_urb	0.280	-0.202	0.711	-0.143	0.232	0.102	0.214	0.317	0.206	-0.027	0.120	-0.195	-0.218
commercial	0.443	-0.184	0.097	0.461	-0.399	0.043	-0.437	0.179	-0.108	-0.213	0.319	0.036	0.061
grocery	0.500	-0.077	0.638	0.244	-0.108	0.127	-0.156	-0.195	0.280	0.266	0.141	-0.099	0.091
mall	0.613	0.165	-0.191	0.041	-0.341	-0.526	-0.039	-0.353	0.144	-0.024	0.030	0.025	-0.127
neigh-grocery	-0.392	0.396	0.553	-0.076	0.044	-0.306	0.186	0.069	0.335	0.207	-0.144	0.227	0.045
pharmacy	0.672	-0.187	-0.176	0.348	0.091	-0.049	-0.096	-0.145	0.324	0.307	-0.247	0.033	-0.207
hospital	0.291	-0.236	0.111	0.312	0.648	-0.231	0.117	-0.255	-0.136	0.092	0.219	-0.275	0.123
police	0.187	-0.128	0.057	-0.427	0.397	0.490	0.128	-0.229	0.308	-0.064	0.399	0.129	0.010
ngrocery_foreign	-0.313	-0.077	0.633	-0.021	0.087	-0.463	0.280	0.105	-0.074	0.265	0.168	0.126	0.231
fire station	0.188	-0.699	0.198	-0.132	0.120	-0.247	0.382	-0.256	0.185	-0.056	0.146	-0.181	-0.106

DISCUSSION

While the PCA analysis of the rural charrette models yielded 13 components, and the analysis of the urban charrette models yielded 13 components, only the components with initial eigenvalues greater than one will be discussed (Table 1 and 3). For the rural models, the first six components have values greater than one. And for the urban models, eigenvalues greater than one are associated with the first four components.

RURAL CHARRETTE

Component 1 accounted for the largest variance and showed the widest dimension range. There were eight images in this component: one of attached townhouses, a playground, a fountain, two commercial buildings, and three depict religious structures (Figure 1). This cluster of images suggests that the children selected what was familiar to them and what they interact with in their everyday lives (religion, home, play area, and work). This set of essential and familiar elements in the children's lives is labeled *Their Place*. Devlin (1994) cited the importance of a familiarity hypothesis in explaining children's housing style preference. Kowaltowski et al. (2004) found when children were asked to furnish a house, they distributed the furniture so that it replicated the arrangement of their home. They simply designed what they

knew, not what they could imagine. The picture set of 52 images contained 3 images of religious structures (a synagogue, a mosque, and a church). These three images have the highest values within this component and all of them are included (Table 2). From this, we draw the hypothesis that religion is important to these rural children.

The cluster of images in component one contains townhouses and an office building that looks like an apartment building. There are no single-family homes and this may imply that these rural children live in apartments. Single-family homes are absent in this component, yet present in component 2. This may suggest that component 1 is an image cluster of what children are familiar with, rather than what they find to be their ideal. Since single-family homes are found in component 2, one may conclude that rural children see these homes as part of the overall community though they may not consider them part of theirs (component 1). Does this mean that children are modeling what they know instead of what is their ideal? Why is there an absence of single-family homes in component 1 if this is their ideal community and thus, why are there townhouses and apartment buildings selected as their ideal. The best responses to these questions will need to come from the children whose preferences resulted in these picture clusters and caution will need to be taken not to bias them from one form of density and house style over another. Asking the children to generate hypotheses about why they believe the components surfaced and how they would group the images would shed much light into the children's perception of their environment.

Figure 1: Rural Component 1 – *Their Place*



Religious



Chapel



Rowhouse



Hotel



Playground



Mosque



Traditional Fountain



Office

The second component is made up of three images, a single-family home, a pharmacy store, and a hospital (Figure 2). Because it seems to represent safety and security, this component was labeled *Home and Health*. There were two images of single-family homes in the picture set, though the one selected was the only one to meet the criterion. This image contains a typical two story suburban home with an attached garage that was probably built in the 1990s. It shows a lawn and trees throughout the property. The image that was not selected shows a single-family house with a smaller lawn and other homes adjacent, giving it a sense of greater density and a more urban environment.

Figure 2: Rural Component 2 – *Home and Health*



Single family - suburban



Pharmacy



Hospital

The *All-American* label was given to component 3 because its contents included an image of a baseball field and a typical commercial gas station (Figure 3). These icons, baseball, cars and convenience may be considered to be the typical American community. This interpretation needs to be verified by including more images that represent sports, cars, or convenience or through conversations with the rural children.

Figure 3: Rural Component 2 – *All-American*



Baseball



Gas Station

Component 4, labeled *Campus*, has two images, an elementary school and a high-school (Figure 4). These images may represent education, social, or recreational functions. While the overall image set had 38 structures, this cluster included two of the three schools represented. Of all the buildings in this picture set, these schools are the places where children typically spend a significant amount of time and are most directly associated with them.

There are three images in Component 5, labeled *Teen Needs*, namely: a modern cinema, a basketball court, and a police station (Figure 5). While the cinema and basketball courts are typical teen gathering locations, the police station may be included as a necessary element when creating public spaces. As the children constructed the models, there were instances where children placed a public gathering image (e.g. restaurant/bar, basketball court) and then commented that they needed a police station nearby. To test whether these images are associated

with teens, further analysis must include the codification of participant age and examining if there is any correlation between image preference patterns and age patterns.

Figure 4: Rural Component 4 – *Campus*



High School



Elementary

Figure 5: Rural Component 5 – *Teen Needs*



Cinema



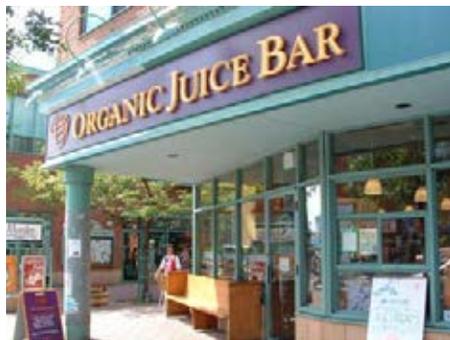
Basketball



Police

Component 6 includes two images, a juice bar and a modern sculpture (Figure 6). While both images represent public spaces, these may define a single dimension because the images are of clean, colorful, and show small scale modern structures. Referring to Maslow’s hierarchy, these images may represent higher needs (art and organic food), and thus this component is labeled *Higher Needs*.

Figure 6: Rural Component 6 – *Higher Needs*



Juice Bar



Modern sculpture

URBAN CHARRETTE

Component 1 has three images: natural park, pharmacy, and nuclear plant, and is labeled *Home, Health, and No pollution* (Figure 7). While the natural park and pharmacy have positive eigenvalues, the nuclear plant image has a negative eigenvalue. This indicates that if children were inclined to include natural parks in their ideal community, they would be inclined to include a pharmacy, but would be disinclined to include the nuclear plant image. This component for urban children seems to parallel component 2 (*Home and Health*) for the rural children. However, the urban children see the nuclear plant in opposition to their “Home and Health”.

Figure 7: Urban Component 1 – *Home, Health, and No pollution*



Natural Park



Pharmacy



Nuclear Plant

Component 2 has two positive eigenvalue images (Guggenheim museum and a restaurant) and two negative eigenvalue images (stadium and fire station), all of which are examples of structures with architectural interest – giving this component the label *Intriguing Architecture* (Figure 8). All of these images are public or quasi-public spaces, and may represent architectural forms that are beyond the urban children’s personal experience. Yet, the children may be aware that such stadiums and fire stations given their prevalence in mass media images. Children have indirect experiences with the physical environment through mass media and interpersonal communication (Talen and Coffindaffer, 1999). This may contribute to the image value signs, with the intriguing architectural structures that are familiar through mass media having negative values, while the intriguing architectural structures unfamiliar through experience or media exposure having positive values.

Figure 8: Urban Component 2 – *Intriguing Architecture*



Guggenheim



Restaurant



Stadium



Fire Station

There are two images in Component 3, a single-family detached house in an urban environment and a detached neighborhood commercial store (Figure 9). Neither of these images met the loading value criteria to be included in any of the rural charrette components, but both depict stereotypical urban spaces. Taken together with the rural charrette results, this finding may indicate that urban children are cognizant of these spaces, while rural children are not. This component is thus labeled *Urban Neighborhood*.

Component 4 contains a single significant image, of a three-story duplex (Figure 10). This component, having only a single image, indicates that the associated image may either be important or not important. There is a group of students who will select it for their ideal community and there is a group who will not select it, independent of the other components or clusters.

Figure 9: Urban Component 3 – *Urban Neighborhood*



Single family urban



Neighborhood commercial store

Figure 10: Urban Component 4 – *Duplex*



Duplex

ACROSS BOTH THE RURAL AND URBAN CHARRETTES

One measure of difference between the two groups of children, rural and urban, may be found in the images not utilized by any of the students within their respective charrette. For the rural charrette, none of the student groups used a fire station image or the neighborhood store with the foreign character signage. Regarding the fire station, many rural communities rely on volunteer fire departments, and rural children may not be aware of the role of fire stations.

Regarding the neighborhood store, there were two images of small grocery stores, yet only the one with the familiar text was utilized. Similarly, the models produced in the urban charrette did not use one of the two elementary school images. Of the two elementary schools included in the image set, the one not utilized appears to be in a rural or suburban setting. This observation highlights a challenge regarding the validity or relevance of the pictures selected for the original image set. While issues with the images were highlighted by students in the modeling activity and by the statistical analysis and subsequent scrutiny, additional modeling efforts to test the presence of these clusters with this same picture set need to be conducted before any images are replaced or thrown out. Once the original data set is tested in additionally modeling efforts, specifically with urban and suburban children, an analysis of the pictures will be conducted to improve the image set.

The diagrams presented in Figure 11 and 12 represent the conceptual spatial maps of an ideal community for all the rural and urban charrette participants. The size of the circles, their layout and the strength of the linkages, are based on the principal component analysis. Each circle represents a component with an eigenvalues greater than 1, with larger circles representing larger eigenvalues. The spatial arrangement shows the linkages between components based on shared images. This linkage is shown only for images with a loading value greater than 0.4, but were not unique to one dimension (see Table 2 and 4, gray cells not in bold). If components share more than one image, this link is represented by a stronger (thicker) line. The shared images are listed on the line.

For the rural charrette (Figure 11), the spatial diagram shows a grouping composed of *Campus, Home and Health, and Public Places*. Note, that all three components are linked by the same image, a duplex. One of strongest linkages in found within this grouping between *Public Places* and *Home & Health*. The grouping of *Campus, Home and Health, and Public Places* components may represent the charrette participant's ideal community or mesosystem as compared to *Their Place*, which may represent their familiar community. The *Campus, Home*

and Health, and *Public Places* group may represent the mesosystem of the children participants (Bronfenbrenner 1979), as it includes images of the children's social spaces beyond their home. This diagram suggests that what is social community and what is individual setting are distinct and separate for the children. However, there is a single image link between the *Their Place* and the *Campus, Home and Health*, and *Public Places* grouping, namely the Natural Park image. The *Their Place* component and the *All-American* component are linked by two pictures of a modern glass office and a modern fountain. It is interesting that *All-American* is not linked with the *Campus, Home and Health*, and *Public Places* group and that may indicate the difference between basic needs and higher (yet familiar) needs. The only component that met the criterion (Eigenvector greater than one) and had no linkages to the other selected components was the *Higher Needs*, and may represent the highest level of needs (organic juice and sculpture).

The spatial diagram for the urban charrette is very different than the rural one. The linkages are much stronger (components share a multitude of images) and there seems to be a central component linked to all the other ones. The central component *Home, Health, No Pollution* has a three image connection to *Intriguing Architecture*, *Duplex*, and two image connection to *Urban Neighborhood*. Given the requirement of an eigenvalue greater than one, the urban diagram has only four components as compared to six for the rural group, and its spatial layout is central with all the components being linked to each other. The strongest connection occurs between *Intriguing Architecture* and *Urban Neighborhood* with five images, three of which are athletic spaces (basketball, soccer, and tennis). This diagram suggests that for the urban children, their ideal community is more cohesive and connected than for the rural children.

Figure 11: Rural Charrette Conceptual Spatial Diagram

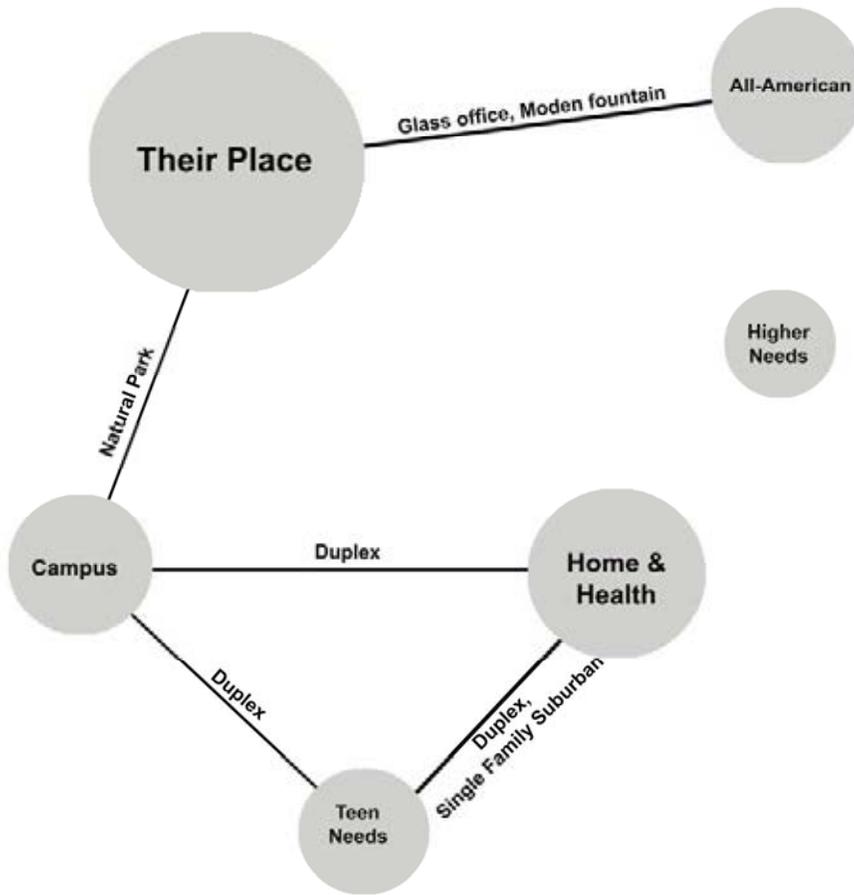
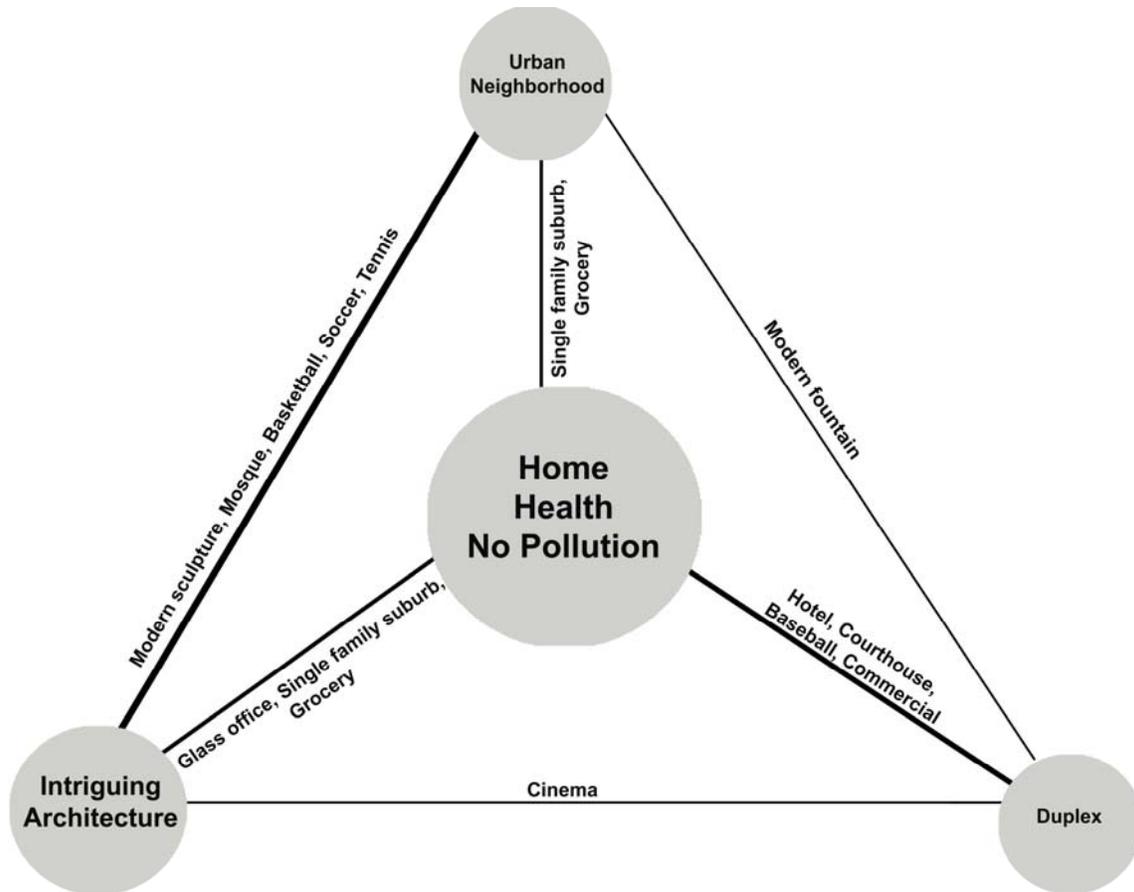


Figure 12: Urban Charrette Conceptual Spatial Diagram



CONCLUSIONS

This investigation and its use of principal component analysis is an initial step in understanding children’s perceptions about their ideal community. The preference patterns that emerge from the analysis provide insight into children’s perceptions, and how rural and urban children differ. Regardless of their geographic location (rural or urban) the children use a diversity of images in their ideal community. This diversity reflects a community that allows for social interaction and places for activity. The urban diagram is more dense and connected while the rural diagram has fewer connections with less density. Rural and urban children do design

differently. All of the children, rural and urban, have the interest and a level of understanding that allow them to actively participate in the charrettes, and be active participants in the planning process.

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Abstract Ref. No. 187

Paper Title: COLONIAL CONSTRUCTION AND POSTCOLONIAL PERSISTENCE OF THE “IMPERIAL” IN THE NEW DELHI PLAN.

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Key words: Urban Design, New Delhi, Colonial, Postcolonial

Abstract (Ref. No. 187)

New Delhi is not only the capital of India but the capital of the world’s largest democracy. Conceived and built by the British, the New Delhi plan translated British India’s home policy verbatim in sandstone. The government’s administrative hierarchy and centralization of power was directly represented in the physical plan that impressed its magnificence and power over a country awakening to freedom. A realized grand vision, imperial plan in an ideologically contradictory circumstance of independence and democracy is the unique departure point for this work. Divided in two parts corresponding to the colonial and postcolonial timeframes, this paper attempts to answer the central questions of:

- *How was the “Imperial” constructed and manifested in the New Delhi plan?*
- *How and why has it persisted in the postcolonial evolution of New Delhi?*

At the macro level, this research engages intersecting themes of political ideology, physical planning, policy, culture and evolution in contemporary city form. The motivation for this research emerges from my own subscription to the fact that “[New Delhi today is] a kind of an overgrown capitol complex, resolutely detached from the rest of the city.”¹ In my view, it is the persistence or resistance of the “Imperial” in the post colonial democratization of New Delhi that is largely responsible for the fractures in the city’s identity, urban form, sustenance and evolution.

The research methodology is derived from contemporary postcolonial theory found in the writings of Edward Said, Anthony D. King, Edward Soja, Homi Bhabha and Henri Lefebvre among others. Using comparative case studies, this paper interrogates the physical, social, cultural and political production of imperial urban space in colonial New Delhi. Using imperialist ideology as the broadest signifier of designed urban space in colonial New Delhi, this paper traces the city’s postcolonial evolution to prove that such ideologies not only persist but continue to resist the physical, social, cultural and political democratization of the plan. The research concludes with a series of recommendations that validate the motivation behind this study and provide future directions in creating democratic urban space for the citizen’s of New Delhi.

¹ Vale, Lawrence J. *Architecture, Power and National Identity*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992): 96

On Delhi

New Delhi, the capital of India represents a palimpsest of over 3500 years of history and splendor witnessed in the remains of many cities built, abandoned, plundered, renovated and rebuilt over succeeding waves of time. Its persistence and continuous existence has lived through nearly four centuries of documented urban planning since Shahjahan's old Delhi (1638) through Lutyens' New Delhi (1912) and the continuing master planned Delhi (1957 onwards). In the past, this strong tradition of planning has often been informed or perpetuated by events of political upheaval. These include the Mughal occupation of India (pre-nineteenth century), East India Company defeating the Mughals in 1803 to take over Delhi, shifting the British capital of India from Calcutta to New Delhi (1911) and finally the partition & independence of the country in 1947.

Today the National Capital Territory of Delhi occupies an area of 1486 sq. km., housing a population of nearly 13.8 million people². In comparison, when conceived by the British, New Delhi was to cover an area of 13 sq. km. for a projected population of 65,000 people³. At this time, in 1911 the population of Delhi was about 400,000⁴ which rose to 636,000⁵ (rest of Delhi and the new planned city over an area of 170 sq. km.) in 1931 after the completion of the capital. The advent of Indian independence and partition saw an exodus of nearly 500,000 refugees from Pakistan to Delhi between 1947 and 1950.⁶ Over the following years, New Delhi assumed the significance of a capital as well as a central employment center for North India continuing to attract numerous migrants from the rest of the country. Today, a National Capital Region (NCR) covering 30,000 sq. km. has been delineated to manage its growth while the city continues to sprawl outward attracting a population of about 250,000 people annually. What remains interesting in all this expansion and population explosion is the persistence of a 'garden city' suburb with low densities in the heart of the city (British planned New Delhi). The lack of public infrastructure and growth management strategies, rising land values, unemployment and a dysfunctional planning mechanism have further caused visible fractures between the capitol district and the capital city.

Whether there is a disconnect between the planning process and existing ground realities or simply the lack of socio-political will that drove strong traditions of urban planning in the past, "[New Delhi today is] a kind of an overgrown capitol complex, resolutely detached from the rest of the city."⁷ For many reasons, this paper begins its diagnosis at the heart of the city – *British*

² <http://www.economywatch.com/stateprofiles/delhi/profile.htm>

³ Singh, Patwant and Dhamija, Ram (eds.) *Delhi: The Deepening Urban Crisis*. (Delhi : Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1989):17

⁴ *ibid*: 17

⁵ Jain, A.K. *The Making of a Metropolis: Planning and Growth of Delhi*. (New Delhi: National Book Organization, 1990): 73

⁶ Singh, B.P. and Varma, Pavan K. (eds.) *The Millennium Book on New Delhi*. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001): 56 (caption).

⁷ Vale, Lawrence J. *Architecture, Power and National Identity*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992): 96

Imperial Delhi to find symptoms that may lead to the root cause of Delhi's present day problems of inequity, inefficiency, sprawl, constrained resources, rising land values etc. Although the basis for the first colonial settlement in Delhi was perhaps directly related/ influenced by the Mughal walled city of Shahjahanabad, this study assumes British planned New Delhi to be the precursor for urban form and evolution of the capital as we see it today.

The documented historical evolution of the imperial (British) city reveals inherent physical, economic, socio-cultural and political drivers implicit in the plan that propagated the development of the city (land use patterns, density distribution and segregation) in the post colonial era. The consequence of these implicit drivers of form allowed to manifest in the absence of a comprehensive master plan (in the postcolonial era) has New Delhi struggling with the densities and urban implications of contesting tri-polarities - in simultaneously representing a defensible seat of power (ceremonial precinct), a residential enclave for the elite and a central business district for the entire city. Furthermore, the imperial plan's relationship (more so the lack of it!) with Shahjahanabad is briefly discussed in the planning of the imperial city but mostly discounted for the lack of its determinant role in the postcolonial period of the city's evolution. This elucidates the fact that the implicit drivers of form responsible for segregation from the native city continued to operate in the postcolonial era; in effect isolating the capital district from the haphazard development of rest of the city and in part being responsible for it.

On Colonial and Imperial

It may be useful at this stage to also make a distinction between the *colonial* and the *imperial*. Several writers have used these terms interchangeably. In his article '*A Definition of Colonialism*', R.J. Horvath maintains that the important difference between the two phenomena appears to be the presence of a significant number of settlers from the colonizing power in the colonized state. He asserts that while 'Colonialism refers to that form of inter-group domination in which settlers in significant numbers migrate permanently to the colony from the colonizing power, Imperialism on the other hand is wherein few if any, permanent settlers from the imperial homeland migrate to the colony'⁸. Anthony King, on the other hand does not accept Horvath's classification of India under the imperial order for two reasons – "first, the British community in India referred to themselves as 'colonial' and to their society as a 'colonial society'; [second,] "because there were always a large number of permanent roles in the colonial system in India which were continuously filled from metropolitan society."⁹

This paper takes into account both views. While it acknowledges King's contention that British presence in India was in fact 'colonial', however, the act of British planned New Delhi was 'imperial' for two reasons – first, the British themselves referred to conceiving the city under imperial collective memory and under the imperial mode of urban design; second, by the time the capital was completed in 1931, the inevitability of Indian independence had catalyzed the

⁸ Horvath, R.J. '*A definition of Colonialism*', *Current Anthropology*, 13, 1, 45-57. (1972).

⁹ King, Anthony D. *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, social power and environment*. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1976): 17-18. King describes New Delhi as a colonial city. "The British colonists may change but as fast as one man goes, another steps into his place..."

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steady decline of the British empire. The years between 1931 and 1947 witnessed the gradual return of the British administration to their imperial homeland. Hence, New Delhi's circumstantial existence rests upon unique parameters that validate its imperial antecedents - A city conceived to enshrine the ideals of western imperialism, populated by a declining colonial population in preparation to be handed over to house the capital of the largest democracy in the world under India self rule.

On Imperialism

“The British when they built New Delhi, for example were clear about what they wanted - they wanted an Imperial City. They were also clear in their mind when they developed Calcutta, Bombay and Madras – they wanted colonial cities.”¹⁰ At the time, the collective memory of the classical imperial city, pre-eminently Rome had a marked impact on urban design across the globe especially for competing British imperialists.¹¹ Although Rome itself was little more than a provincial town with some impressive ruins, the idea of Rome was ubiquitous. As torchbearers of the Roman imperial legacy, the British used Classical architecture to represent the idea of Rome, because to them “...the Classical was the embodiment of the highest aspirations of imperialism...”¹²

Britain's self proclaimed imperial inheritance from the Romans “took shape in a variety of ways, from the iconography of individual buildings and public statutory, through the shape and form of public spaces, both permanent and ephemeral, to the planning of the whole cityscapes.”¹³ In New Delhi, the imperial memory was manifested through the overwhelming scale and Classical iconography of buildings strategically placed at the termini of hexagonal axial geometry imposed on the cityscape. It's embodied meaning that of a new dominating social order was carefully choreographed in spatial organization almost in a theatrical display of power and control at all times. Also implicit in the metaphor of exhibition and theatre (discussed in detail further on in the paper) were the hierarchical separationist structures between the theatre (imperial) and the circus (native); inclusive and the exclusive and finally the haves and the have-nots.¹⁴

¹⁰ Evenson, Norma. *The Indian Metropolis: a View towards the West*. (London: Yale University Press, 1998):182.

¹¹ Betts, R. ‘*The allusion to Rome in British imperialist thought of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries*’ *Victorian Studies*, 15 (1971) 149-159

¹² Lang, Jon and Desai, Madhavi. *Architecture and Independence: The search for identity – India 1880-1980* (Delhi, India: Oxford University Press, 1997): 147.

¹³ Driver, Felix and Gilbert, David (eds.). *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity*. (New York: Manchester University Press, 1999): 9.

¹⁴ Fletcher, Yaël Simpson. ‘*Capital of Colonies: real and imagined boundaries between metropole and empire in 1920's Marseilles*’ (136-154) in Driver et al.; Ryan, Deborah S. ‘*Staging the imperial city: The pageant of London, 1911*’ (117-135) in Driver et al.; Jyoti, Hosagrahar. ‘*City as a Durbar: Theatre and Power in Imperial Delhi*’ (83-105) in AlSayyad, Nezar. (ed.). *Forms of Dominance*. (Brookfield: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1992)

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In their article ‘*Imperial cities: Overlapping territories and intertwined histories*’, Driver and Gilbert cite Eric Hobsbawm’s foreword to *Art and Power* in which he “identifies three demands which the state makes on public art and architecture – the glorification of power itself, organization of art as public drama and service of art as education or propaganda.”¹⁵ They further assert that imperial urbanism has time and again used these demands to exploit architecture and urban design. The case of New Delhi exemplifies this exploitation and points to a deeper meaning implicit in Hobsbawm’s three demands revealing a duality in the nature of imperialism (one of power accompanied education). The same duality is also embedded in the term ‘dominion’ which implies domination and subjugation, but by the same token engenders political allegiance to the subjugated in working towards the peaceful betterment of the whole. Seen as two contrasting sides of the same coin, a **regressive** desire to express power and superiority reinforces a **progressive** responsibility to educate and modernize the subjugated. Similarly, the responsibility to modernize requires the necessary superiority and power to bring about positive change. The exploitation of architecture and urban design that Driver and Gilbert refer to stems from this duplicitous nature of imperialism where the built expression of power is justified by the responsibility to modernize, often leaving the latter unfulfilled, rather dubiously magnifying the former as a result. It is to make this distinction clear in intention and action for which imperialism may be understood as the combination of the following:

Conservative Imperialism: Form of imperialism primarily concerned with the subjugation/domination of new territory and its subjects which is usually manifested through a regressive desire to display power and control at all times.

Liberal Imperialism: Form of imperialism primarily concerned with the pledge of political allegiance which is usually manifested with a progressive responsibility to uplift, educate and modernize the dominated territory and its subjects.

While one may be used as the means to the other’s end (discussed in detail further on in the paper), either way, New Delhi may be seen as an imperial *urban artifact* of British Colonialism in India. The terms colonial and postcolonial are strictly used to refer to time frames while the term imperial is used as the primary qualifier in this study. Although the Mughal city of Shahjahanabad also fits an imperial qualification, British planned New Delhi remains the focus of this paper.

On Persistence of the Imperial

Examining the capitol district of New Delhi as an imperial urban artifact provides physical, social, cultural and political benchmarks of comparisons (through colonial and postcolonial timeframes). These comparisons are used to construct a coherent narrative that corroborates the claims made in this paper. Although on the face of it, New Delhi appears to have accepted changes in use and meaning over the years, the physical determinism of the imperial (not limited only to type but also ideology, symbolism, identity and institutionalization) persists and embodies the city’s inertia to resist change. The relatively unchanged characteristics of the plan’s built imperial ideologies are a testimony to this inertia. They have therefore led to a notion of

¹⁵ Driver et al.: 10

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persistence of the imperial, which has defied the democratization of the plan as attempted through the master planning of Delhi in its postcolonial era. Many have viewed this persistence more as a resistance in support of an imperial image of Delhi “as a sheltered enclave for the administrative elite.”¹⁶

Anthony King points out that the symbolic representation of imperial power continues to persist in Delhi. He argues that “the inherently separationist structures of the [imperial] city and its asymmetrical power relations are being continuously reinvented, albeit in an internal [imperialist] form.”¹⁷ In his essay ‘*The Contemporary Architecture of Delhi*’, Menon concurs citing an institutional persistence of the imperial propagating the continuance of assumptions and policies implicit in the imperial plan. “After independence, continuing the pursuit these urban and architectural intentions became an article of faith with planners of Delhi.”¹⁸ Menon’s view owes its origins to western imports of experts recruited by the Ford Foundation to set up the first Master Plan of Delhi shortly after Independence. “Far from rejecting westernization, many Indians persisted in equating it with progress, optimistically anticipating an era of technical advancement and industrial prosperity.”¹⁹ It seems ironic that the conservationists (to mobilize two decades after independence) were fighting for the same cause as the progressivists at the advent of independence while the ideologists still continue the struggle to break away from their imperial ghosts in pursuit of a purely indigenous paradigm. “The preservation of the colonial buildings and layout of Lutyens’ New Delhi is largely the result of the extent to which political and administrative elites continue to invest in this area.”²⁰ Whether it was the plan itself, the ideology it promulgated, the origins and development of the post-colonial planning process, vested political interests, antiquity or simply the lack of foresight and comprehensive planning, the imperial persists and impedes sustainable development and the future of New Delhi.

It is in the light of these views, that this paper is conceived. Broadly divided into two parts corresponding to colonial and postcolonial time frames, the paper attempts to answer the central research questions of:

How was the ‘Imperial’ constructed in colonial Delhi?A
How and why has it persisted in the postcolonial evolution of New Delhi?B

¹⁶ Evenson: 192

¹⁷ King, Anthony D. *Spaces of Global Cultures: Architecture Urbanism Identity*. (London, U.K.: Routledge, 2004) : 142

¹⁸ Menon, A.G.K. “*The Contemporary Architecture of Delhi*.” in Dupont, V., Tarlo, E. and Vidal, D. (eds) *Delhi: Urban Space and Human Dimensions*. (Delhi: Manohar, Centre De Science Humaines, 2000) : 147

¹⁹ Evenson:183

²⁰ Gupta, Narayani. “*Concern, Indifference, Controversy: Reflection on Fifty Years of Conservation*.” in Dupont, V., Tarlo, E. and Vidal, D. (eds) *Delhi: Urban Space and Human Dimensions*. (Delhi: Manohar, Centre De Science Humaines, 2000) : 147

Through an urban historical narrative, the first part examines the construction of the ‘Imperial’ while the second part validates its persistence by analyzing critical decisions that were influential in the inception and urban evolution of the postcolonial city.

A. Construction of the Imperial – Imperial Designs, Indian Realities

Separation, Land use and Zoning

Although built adjacent to the native city of Shahjahanabad, New Delhi had little to do with it. In 1916, the New Delhi Municipal Committee was constituted, which only became effective by 1925. As a part of its five-year sanitary public works program, the committee proposed demolition of the old city wall between the new capital and Ajmeri Gate. Lutyens strongly opposed the idea “to protect New Delhi from the rats of Old Delhi”²¹. This opposition befits elitist ideals of Conservative Imperialism in contrast to ideas of native upliftment preached by liberal imperialists such as Baker and others in the Town Planning Committee. While the new imperial city was being laid out, a significant increase in population, particularly from migrant laborers that came to work on the capital made matters worse. Their over consumption of the already deteriorating infrastructure of Shahjahanabad and its quarantine like separation from the new capital was eventually reducing the indigenous settlement to a giant slum.

Apart from its clear distinction from the old city, the imperial geometry of the new capital also had within it clear hierarchical separation marked by land use and zoning. “From the Viceroy, via the Commander in Chief, Members of the executive Council, senior gazetted officers...down to sweepers and *dhobis*, a carefully stratified order was integrated, both in terms of physical distance and spatial provision, to the social structure of the city.”²² Proximity to the Capitol complex and the central vista directly corresponded to the race, rank and socioeconomic status of the placed citizen. The allocation of plot size and compound within each of the occupational categories was also based on status and position within it’s ranks. Urban nomenclature further reinforced the imperial taxonomy of the plan. As pointed out by King, “the status of any particular accommodation was communicated by one or more of ten indicators: elevation, distance from Government House, size of compound, size of dwelling, width of road, name of road, name of area, number and index of housing type, quantity of vegetation and presence of various facilities.”²³

Besides the intended symbolic and physical separation, New Delhi’s stratified land use and zoning presented functional hardships for lower income employees (placed at a greater distance from the center) to get to work in the absence of a robust public transportation system. “New Delhi with its vast dimensions has been described as the first city specifically designed to the scale of the motorcar.”²⁴ The provision of a tramway (initially discussed) was also rejected as it

²¹ Jain (1990): 74.

²² King (1976): 246

²³ Ibid., 268.

²⁴ Evenson (1998): 153. More appropriately, the city was designed to the use and the scale of private transportation. While the horse carriage may have been the primary mode of private transport when the capital was conceived, it

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was unlikely to generate a satisfactory return given the sparse density of development. The plan's tribute to the motorcar was further exemplified by the zoning of Connaught Place²⁵, the city's proposed commercial center. Evenson points out that the placement of Connaught Place (zoned halfway between the capitol complex and the old city, 1917) relative to the residences of upper class residential districts reflects an assumption that the patrons arrived in automobiles akin to a contemporary suburban mall like setting. In other words, the proposed commercial center was neither meant for, nor was conveniently accessible by the native population. The rising commercial need to service local population was hence met by the over consumption of services in the *Chandni Chowk* area in old Delhi.

Duplicitous Imperialism in Plan, Landscape and Buildings

Prevalent throughout the planning process, was an ongoing battle between the conservative and liberal imperialists. While the liberals showed more respect for the Indian context and the need for its social reform, the conservative camp concentrated on their elitist agenda of power play and domination over the natives. Although it remains difficult to ascertain the ideology behind each decision, the common overall situation presented was hypocritical in nature – one where ideals representing holistic native reform were employed in plan, landscape and building (which the British maintained as their politically correct position throughout) but clearly manipulated them to serve their conservative imperial aspirations. When not intentionally manipulated, the embodied power of the plan and the rest of the structures were strong enough to override nobler intentions.

New Delhi: A realized Master Plan in a confused circumstance

In February of 1931, the imperial capital had been finally completed at an inflated cost of more than £10,000,000. The opening festivities seemed bleak in the shadows of the Round Table Conference, which had convened in London to chart the course towards Indian self-rule. The British media had already begun to regard Raisina as representing the government's 'altered spirit'. The British Empire was in a steady state of decline. It seemed almost ironical that, 'history would now associate New Delhi with the beginning of real self government; its geometry or buildings would not be seen as vainglorious gestures of dominion and the trappings of imperial power.'²⁶ The irony was that independence had challenged the imperialist notion of dominion that was being monumentalized in planning. The capital, its identity, geometry, architecture and symbolism would be given away or left behind as a parting gift by the British.

soon gave way to the motorcar by the time it was completed in 1931.

²⁵ Irving, Robert Grant. *Indian Summer*. (London, UK: Yale University Press, 1981): 311-314.

“The town planning committee had envisioned a monumental plaza ringed with shops, hotels, businesses and dominated by a railway station on the north terminus of the Queensway.... Railway authorities later decided that a terminal station at Connaught Place was impracticable and abandoned the idea in favor of a large interchanging station at Paharganj, near Shahjahanabad.” The north terminus of the Queensway retained its conception as a commercial plaza and was eventually built as present day Connaught Place.

²⁶ Irving (1981): 340.

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The inherent symbolism of scale, power and rule would be reinterpreted to house the democracy of a new era. Reminiscent of the Canberra case, it remains a paradox that large gestures in architecture or urban design could possibly represent two meanings entirely contradictory to each other. While the British were committed to mask the content of dominion with Indian styles in all their political correctness, the built reality of European Classicism was soon to become the facade of the Indian democracy. For the British, it was perhaps an unreal moment where one can aptly recall Georges Clemenceau's words, when he first gazed upon the half built city in 1920: "This will be the finest ruin of them all."²⁷

Urban confusion did not end only with the (now inevitable) symbolic change of identity; it became widely apparent in the misgivings of disconnected and elitist civic structures that the plan propagated. The population of old and New Delhi together rose from 348,000 persons in 1931 to 522,000 in 1941.²⁸ The plan that had seen many additions and changes since its original conception continued to change unabated with the same separationist planned agenda together with a native unplanned urban sprawl partly as a consequence of it and largely due to the lack of a comprehensive master plan. These changes included a major decision to use the North East quadrant of Delhi (originally reserved for the extension of the old city) for housing non-gazetted officers in 1933, forcing the old city to sprawl westward to Shahdara and eventually across the river. The issue of demolishing the old city wall had come up several times but rejected in order to protect the pristine new capital from the unsanitary conditions of Shahjahanabad. "The President of the Delhi Municipal wrote to the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi:

*"If ever the Government decided to demolish the wall, the New Delhi Municipal Committee would insist on an absolute unclimbable fence being erected in its place, and erected before the wall was demolished. (In File B4 (187) Education, Office at the Chief Commissioner, Delhi, 1934, D.A.)"*²⁹

In 1935, at the agitation by Asaf Ali (a prominent freedom fighter), the wall between the new capital and Ajmeri Gate was demolished. By 1936, the imperial government had appointed A.P. Hume as the officer on special duty to prepare a report on 'Relief of congestion in Delhi.' Hume observed a two fold problem in Shahjahanabad - congestion of people in a single dwelling and the congestion of dwellings on land, estimating about 100,000 more people in the city than its capacity.³⁰ The demolition of the wall (accompanied by the land disputes that broke out as a result) and Hume's idea of 'slum clearance' as a response to congestion led to the clearing and landscape of a large swath of land between the two cities where the wall had been demolished.

²⁷ Ibid., 355.

²⁸ Breese, Gerald. *Urban and Regional Planning for Delhi-New Delhi Area: Capital for Conquerors and Country*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974): 16.

²⁹ Goodfriend, Douglas E. "The Tyranny of the Right Angle: Colonial and Post Colonial Urban Development in Delhi (1857-1957)." in Singh, Patwant and Dhamija, Ram (eds.) *Delhi the Deepening Urban Crisis*. (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1989): 28.

³⁰ Jain (1990): 74.

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The *cordon sanitaire* of *Ram Lila* ground or the landscaped swath persists till today marking yet again a clear intention of elitist imperialism through urban planning.

In 1937 the Delhi Improvement Trust was formed with A.P. Hume as its chairman, to solve the city's problems of blight, congestion and unplanned expansion. The Improvement Trust published its first report in 1939 which bluntly described the problems of the city and its poor planning administration thus far. With the prevailing urban mess at hand, the British were ready to wash their hands off the situation and transfer a slippery baton to the Indians – one which would be difficult to get a grip on. Policy changes prompted by the DIT were simultaneously taking shape. "In 1943 the Delhi Rent Control Ordinance was passed and the Delhi Planning & Siting Committee was established."³¹ A new stage was being set with new patrons who would chart the future course of the imperial plan in the era of democracy.

Construction of the Imperial: Conclusion

Most colonial and postcolonial literature begins with the idea of extension of, expansion into and domination on native cultures. While the bulk of the text focuses on what happens in the dominion, little is discussed about events at 'home'. In the context of this paper and construction of the 'Imperial' in New Delhi, the discourse on imperialism begins at 'home' in London. It is perhaps the western construction of the Orient and its reified meaning that first allowed the empire to place itself as superior relative to its dominions. Established superiority and using the rhetoric of modernization to uplift the native, soon gave way to Conservative Imperialism, if that was not already the intention to begin with. "Colonial powers marked their political intentions using the rhetoric of modernization and maintained control through rituals of authority that reinforced patterns of superiority and subordination."³²

However, imperialism may be understood as "a hybrid though still uneven experience, shaping the identity of the colonizers as much as that of the colonized."³³ This is evident from the spatial organization of expositions like the Imperial Exhibition (1911) in London and Exposition Nationale Coloniale (1922) in Marseilles. While negotiating one's own imperial identity vis-à-vis its dominions, a hierarchical spatial structure (of inclusion and exclusion) was evolved demonstrating the empire's superiority and power over its oriental subjects. The spatial organization itself glorified the need to exhibit superiority to the world, almost in theatrical pageantry of power and control.

To the advantage of the British, such a power structure already existed in Delhi in the form of the Mughal Imperial Durbar. Here the native was accustomed to hierarchical stratification and separation while maintaining loyalty to the imperial crown. A successful mimicry of the Durbar seamlessly displaced the Mughal crown charting Delhi's destiny as Britain's own imperial swansong. Interestingly, the spatial structure of these Assemblages shared three common

³¹ Ibid.

³² Jyoti, Hosagrahar. "City as a Durbar: Theater and Power in Imperial Delhi." in Alsayyad, Nezar (ed.). *Forms of Dominance*. (Brookfield: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1992): 83.

³³ Driver et al. (1999): 7.

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characteristics (hierarchical setting, display and identity formation attributed to hierarchy in setting) with the exhibitions and preceding Mughal Durbars. These characteristics were eventually translated into the plan for the capital as seen in previous sections.

An erstwhile critic once remarked that the plan for New Delhi “was a setting for a perpetual Durbar.”³⁴ In her article *City as a Durbar: Theater and Power in Imperial Delhi*, Hosagrahar uses the analogy of theater to animate the imperial intentions behind the Durbar. She too teases out three components of the imperial theater as the *set*, *performance* and *role* akin to the three common characteristics seen in the spatial structure of imperial designs. New Delhi’s axial arrangement, processional avenues, imposing plazas, classical buildings and ordered landscape provided the ideal set for the performance of British Imperial pageantry. Furthermore, the embodied hierarchy in the plan also defined distinct roles for the actors in the play. In other words, the imperial government’s administrative hierarchy and centralization of power was directly represented in the physical plan. It translated British India’s home policy verbatim in sandstone, hence constructing the ‘Imperial’ in New Delhi.

B. Persistence of the Imperial: Indian Designs, Imperial Realities

Separation, Land use, Zoning, Symbolism

In his book, *The Making of a Metropolis*, Jain writes “today two of these cities – Shahjahanabad and New Delhi are the living cities and constitute the urban core, combining an introvert Old City and an expansive New City.”³⁵ Jain’s statement reveals an interesting contradiction in what constitutes the urban core of a city. Strictly, from a density standpoint in activity and inhabitation, Shahjahanabad qualifies as an urban core over the British imperial city (in which it can be compared to the post MPD (1962) high densities of Connaught Place), however as seen through this paper, the old city had little to do with the evolution of Delhi apart from being a shock absorber for imperial policies at the center. Perhaps it due to this lack of role in the city’s postcolonial evolution, that Jain refers to Shahjahanabad as an ‘introvert’ city.

For the context of this paper, it is important to understand, that the construction and persistence of the Imperial in New Delhi is in fact largely responsible for Shahjahanabad’s ‘introvert’ character today. Perpetuating imperial ideology of separation and sanitation, the MPD (1962) labeled the old city a slum. While the new MPD (2001) has only recently designated the old city as a ‘special zone’ (without any further articulation), campaigns to preserve the Capitol District (British imperial city) precede in importance and continue to dominate the agenda of Delhi’s elitist administration. The newly found ecological justification to preserve Lutyens’ Delhi offers a convincing argument to legitimize this precedence in planning for the city as a whole. Furthermore, the old city’s organic character, chaos, multiple ownership issues, land tenure problems, infrastructural inadequacies, racial issues (majority of Shahjahanabad is Muslim) etc. make it very difficult to articulate it in planning, design and policy, beyond a superficial label of ‘special zone’.

³⁴ Irving (1981): 89.

³⁵ Jain (1990): 150.

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The persistence of such imperial policies by design (in the formative years of Indian planning after independence) and now by default (as a result of irreparable damage caused by the persistence of imperial policies) continue to emphasize the physical separation between the old and the new city. As a result, Shahjahanabad remains a densely packed appendage on the urban form of the city rather than constitute an active urban core of the capital. Its physical separation today is evident in:

- Visibly different organic fabric from the rest of the city
- Containment (in most parts) within the limits of the city wall which is now mostly demolished
- Swaths of landscape (Ram Lila ground) used to separate (sanitize) and negotiate the contrasting geometries of the British imperial city and old settlement grid
- Replacement of the city wall (in some places) by a barrier of taller development at the junction of the old and the new city
- Forced expansion of the old city across the river Jamuna
- Socio-economic, cultural and ethnic makeup of the old city
- Congestion, chaos, lack of infrastructure and planning guidelines

By the same logic of separation or isolation, one may question the validity of the British imperial city as Delhi's urban core. Its own separation with the rest of the city is evident in its low densities, urban fabric, geometry, character, socio-economic & cultural makeup and stratified hierarchy etc. By no means can one describe Lutyens' Delhi as an 'extrovert' city based on Jain's implied contention in contrast to the 'introvert' old city. The Capitol District remains largely insular due to the persistence of imperial ideologies within its own physical and socio-economic structure. Apart from its brief desecration as a consequence of short-sighted planning, the preservationist movement (mobilized largely as a result) has made the persistence and (now) permanence of the imperial structures a tangible reality. Interestingly, the very attributes that legitimize the capitol district as Delhi's urban core are in fact responsible for its estrangement with the old city and the postcolonial expansion of the new city. Furthermore, it is the propagation of these imperial attributes in the absence of comprehensive planning that has led to irreparable damage in the urban fabric of the city as a whole. "The basic pattern of segregation, created and encouraged by the British, however was never broken. The city became cluttered with highly segregated colonies for the rich and poor. Even today a mere location or name of the colony reflects the economic status of the individual."³⁶

Till very recently, 'blanket' zoning and segregated land use was the norm in practice for planning the city. Mixed use developments only occurred owing to market forces and were consequently seen as violations of the MPD or as illegal unplanned extensions in need of control. Within the Capitol complex itself, blanket zoning and segregated land use persists in its tri-polar format (ceremonial precinct, bungalow zone & commercial zone) waiting to be permanently fossilized under the auspices of (eco)logical preservation. Apart from the commercial center, government properties and land in the Capitol District do not raise a fraction of the money that is spent on their upkeep. Moreover, politicians occupying the bungalow zone rarely pay their heavily subsidized rental, electricity, water and phone bills and thus this part of the city is a great

³⁶ Kambo, D.P. and Chanda, R.N. "*Beyond Connaught Circus*" in Singh et al. (1989): 66.

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burden on the exchequer.³⁷ As described by King, the persistence of the physical spatial form of the imperial continues to place an immense strain on the city's resources. Functional hardships also continue to inhabit the inefficiencies that are produced as a result of imperial persistence in form and ideology. Adverse live work relationships³⁸ compounded by a poor public transport system have added to traffic, congestion and pollution problems in the capitol district. The success of Connaught place as a Central Business District and shopping center has only added to these problems. True to Gordon Cullen's contention that New Delhi is a city which was planned to the scale of the private automobile, Narayani Gupta points out other functional hardships associated with the spatial structure of the Central Vista. "For tourists, the image of the Vista is a broken one, and the distance between the various elements of visual or cultural interest, too great to be traversed pleasurably."³⁹ She explains that the Rashtrapati Bhavan and the Secretariat complex is at a distance from the Museum which is too far to walk and too short to hire public transport. The passage of heavy traffic through the vista in turn makes it a hostile pedestrian environment limiting any possibilities of walking from one destination to another.

However, despite the fractures in the Vista, all is not grim. Sporadic pockets of vibrant public activity hint at the possibilities of returning the Vista to public realm. "When Nehru lamented [upon] New Delhi's lack of soul, he, like all sophisticated Indians, showed his ignorance of the amazing ability of middle class Indians to create playgrounds and restaurants where neither had previously existed."⁴⁰ While the northern water channel along the Vista has evolved into a Boat Club, the eastern end of the Vista comes alive as a vibrant public space after dusk. Interestingly, the Boat Club serves two purposes – providing respite to the citizen on a dry summer afternoon and as the staging ground for protests and processions as it is the nearest assembly point to the Parliament House where decisions are made. The eastern end of the Vista is mostly patronized by people from homes without gardens or neighborhood parks. Although not entirely legal but allowed to stay (by paying monthly bribes to policemen) are numerous ice-cream vendors, balloon sellers and hawkers that facilitate the public nature of the Vista at night. This part of the Vista is perhaps the only expression of true democracy – one which was not planned, yet circumvented as a result of apparent public need.

Akin to the unwelcome market forces that once threatened to take over the capitol complex (expansion of CP), the welcome forces of democracy today call out for planned interventions in repairing the fractures within the capitol complex envisioning its much needed return to public realm. It then reinforces a justification to preserve some parts of the complex. Although the need for return to public realm is clearly acknowledged by Delhi's planners and citizens, recent terror attacks on the parliament have made it impossible for the government to address this need in

³⁷ Bakth, Sikandar. "Green Bungalows of New Delhi – Should they stay?" in *Indian Architect*, Delhi. (July-August, 1989).

³⁸ Majority of the workers in the capitol district do not live nearby as a result of high land values.

³⁹ Gupta, Narayani. "Kingsway to Rajpath: The Democratization of Lutyens' Central Vista." in Asher, Catherine and Metcalf, Thomas R. (eds.) *Perceptions of South Asia's Visual Past*. (New Delhi: Oxford and IBH Publishing Co. Pvt. Ltd., 1994): 262.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 263.

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view of security concerns. Police barricades, visible security forces and barbed wire are the latest additions to the imagery of the Vista driving away whatever little activity that had circumvented the persistence of the imperial over the years after independence. Symbolically, the imperial order of the capitol complex is once again being engendered with domination and control (though in view of national security) causing it to isolate itself from its citizens. The persistence of the imperial geometry and ideology has only reinforced this isolation.

Institutional persistence of the Imperial in Plan, Landscape and Buildings

In an ironic twist of fate, the City Beautiful and Garden City ideals which formed the origins of the plan (not its interpretation) seem to fit the valid justification for its preservation today in contrast to the chaotic urban conditions as seen in rest of the city. Time and again, it is the dual nature of imperialism that has accommodated two contrasting expressions and use of power in symbolizing the capital. New Delhi's British imperial legacy was inherited by Indians who subscribed to the tenets of Liberal Imperialism and viewed imperial planning as a device to achieve modernization all over India. This is evidenced from the fact that the imperial organization in Lutyens' plan was not only appreciated in New Delhi but also replicated in various other schemes all over the country. The Darulshafa Scheme (un-built scheme for a new government complex in Lucknow commissioned by the Uttar Pradesh government) was designed by the State PWD in the late 1940's where "the Council House sits at the head of the scheme with secretariats on either side of a Council Avenue in a classical Beaux Arts City Beautiful Manner."⁴¹

It is perhaps an institutional persistence of the imperial that was largely responsible for the propagation of imperial philosophy under the rhetoric of modernization and industrialization in Indian cities after independence. Not only was the first MPD (1962) set up with the help of foreign architects and planners from the Ford foundation, most of the Indian planners that took over from the British were either old stalwarts who were educated under British tutelage or newly returned western educated professionals subscribing to Nehru's brand of modernization. Architectural education was dispensed through the All India Council of Technical Education which too was based on the Royal Institute of British Architects' framework.⁴² The idea of master planning was in itself a British legacy and not entirely suited to Delhi given its continued hyper immigrant growth. Problems assessed in 1962 (with short sighted projections till 1981) completely changed and compounded exponentially during the implementation phase of the MPD. The subsequent Five Year Plans too suffered the same fate where problems assessed at the commencement of the plan were entirely different by the time it was being implemented rendering the exercise fairly futile to begin with.

Where Lutyens' plan was not directly used as an inspiration, the MPD (which preserved almost all of its ideals in terms of architectural and planning practice) being the first Master Plan in the country, was used as a model for cities all around the country. "The Central and State PWDs and major Anglo-Indian architectural firms working in India continued to practice with little change,

⁴¹ Lang et al. (1997): 154.

⁴² Gangadhar, Keshav. "Architectural Education in India: Directions to Build." Unpublished undergraduate dissertation, School of Planning and Architecture, New Delhi. (1991).

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apart from personnel, until the 1960s. The building codes and regulations inherited from British practice continued to be used. Indeed they have proved to be remarkably resilient to changing political conditions, so much so that fifty years later they are still largely in place.”⁴³ Most public buildings in the Capitol complex were designed by the PWD after independence as the government controlled all the land. “Many of the buildings such as Vayu Bhavan, Krishi Bhavan, Udyog Bhavan, Rail Bhavan, and the Supreme Court use *chujjas* and *chattris*, and are topped by domes to give an Indian character. They are really pastiches of Indian elements, following the forms established by Lutyens rather than capturing the spirit of Indian architectural heritage or of Lutyens’ work.”⁴⁴ This pastiche is also reflected in the design for the Ashoka Hotel (1955-56) in New Delhi by Revivalist architect Sris Chandra Chatterjee who was responding to the Lutyens context with a symbolic revival of Indian traditions almost reminiscent of the design brief of Baker and Lutyens themselves.

While “the aesthetic values of the British endured in the ranks of the PWD employees....”⁴⁵, a new generation of Indian architects and planners did emerge (after the 1960s) from the shadows of western modernism and empiricism inspired by the works of Le Corbusier, Louis Kahn, Richard Neutra and Frank Lloyd Wright. Some of the later buildings in the Capitol complex like the Rabindra Bhavan (1959-61) by architect Habib Rahman, Sri Ram Center (1966-69) by Shivnath Prasad and Jawaharlal Nehru Library (1968-1969) by Mansinh M. Rana are clear inspirations from the listed modernist masters. Following the FAR changes proposed by the MPD (1962), multi-storey development sprung up around Connaught Place without any architectural or urban design guidelines. As seen from previous sections, the mobilization of the preservationist movement saved the day against undesirable development that was desecrating Lutyens’ Delhi.

Almost in every way, Indian designs in New Delhi were dictated or shaped by built imperial realities of its colonial past. Just as for its British predecessors, the duplicitous nature of imperialism provided convincing justification for symbolic changes in meaning and propagation of imperial philosophies by Indian administrators. Finally, with the preservationist movement, the construction and persistence of the imperial hence has come full circle legitimizing the preservation of the imperial under the following justifications:

- **Plan** – Where preservation justified the basis of City Beautiful ideals to offer respite from the rest of the chaotic congested city
- **Landscape** – Where preservation justified the basis of the Garden City ideals to offer an ecological resource for the entire city
- **Buildings** – Where preservation justified the basis of protection from non responsive or non conforming contextual response to the imperial

⁴³ Lang et al. (1997): 190.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 206.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 194.

CONCLUSION - B

In conclusion, the persistence of the imperial after independence may be better understood in the following phases:

- Intentional appropriation of Lutyens' Delhi was only limited to symbolic reinterpretation where democracy was superimposed on imperialism. At the time of independence, the transfer of capital was literally from the British elite to the Indian elite in the name of democracy but housed in the same imperial structure of the plan. Moreover, security concerns today threaten to peel off the symbolic decal of democracy, once again exposing an authoritarian imperial order of distance and control from citizens.
- Resistance of the imperial plan and its ideologies continued to persist through elitist socio-political power structures, under the rhetoric of modernization, institutional structures (based on the British system) and as a general rule of thumb from previous administrators. Some of these are true even today.
- Operating imperial ideologies at the center coupled with the lack of comprehensive planning (in a continuous hyper immigrant circumstance) caused irreparable damage and visible fractures in the urban fabric of the city. This is clear from the role that Lutyens' Delhi played in the steady degradation of Shahjahanabad and also (in part) the sprawl of the postcolonial city. As a result, the Capitol District today remains insular from the old city and the rest of the postcolonial development.
- Consequences of poor planning threaten the Capitol District and the city as a whole. Today urban development control is far greater at the center than the rest of the city.
- Re-assessment of the Capitol District vis-à-vis rest of the city provides the impetus for preservation. The persistence of the Imperial, largely responsible for creating the contrast between the Capitol District and the rest of the city is being preserved based on the contrast it created – one of a beautiful 'garden city' suburb and a congested, polluted and sprawling metropolis.
- Permanence of the Imperial - Intellectual argument justifying the origins of the plan and its corrected interpretation today coupled with the eco(logical) rationale of preservation comes full circle.

It may be fair to say all's well that ends well given the ironic twist in fate where the reformist ideals behind the plan's origins will finally be represented in its built form (owing to the preservationist movement). However, it remains a looming question that had the imperial not persisted, would there have been a better, equitable, livable and sustainable expression of democracy in New Delhi.

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Matera and La Martella: resi-duality as resource?

Both a symbol and a myth for Italy, the town of Matera became an important site for post-war planning endeavours in a time when the country was struggling with the (re)construction and development of its territory. Located in one of the poorest and southernmost areas of Italy (Figure 1), the town was labelled as a national disgrace due to the insalubrious and overcrowded cave-dwellings named the *Sassi*. These had characterised the town’s evolution through time and were still consistently inhabited in the 1950’s. Out of urgency and post-war commitment a series of coordinated policies and interventions were set up, intended at the time as an “integrated planning process” (Valle, 1959: 58).

Some planning scenarios were at the origin of architectural and urban design projects set within a general Master Plan which provided a frame for both new urban districts and for satellite villages serving the surrounding agricultural land. These projects became the terrain on which several protagonists of Italian modernism - Luigi Piccinato, Giancarlo De Carlo, Carlo Aymonino and Ludovico Quaroni amongst others - fought their battle in the name of an anti-rhetorical architecture that would touch upon reality to answer “real” needs. This paper investigates such process, focusing on a particular case study within the various interventions making up the transformation of Matera. La Martella - one of the five *borgate rurali*¹ planned and the only one to have come close to full completion - seems to concentrate all the crucial aspects of the intertwining resources allocated, strategies implemented and visions proposed.

Throughout the entire transformation process, the designers involved critically and “anxiously” (Casciato, 2000) revised the Modernist tenets considered insufficient for registering Matera’s complexities. Many local specificities of the town in effect, became key elements that on one hand were used to deviate from planning models introduced from abroad, and on the other turned out to be the reason for which part of the knowledge transferred into Matera’s setting did not contribute to reaching the objectives determined². For this reason a brief note on the context remains crucial for understanding the succession of projects and development plans that radically transformed Matera’s region in the post-war period.

Particularly crucial in the role they played were the geo-morphological conditions of the settlement, known as the *Sassi* – literally the “stones”. The particularity of these cave-dwellings, formed around 7000-6000 B.C., was such that the town’s development consisted

¹ rural villages

² For the relationship between policy transfer and policy “failure” see Dolowitz, David & Marsh, David, (2000), *Learning from Abroad: the Role of Policy Transfer in Contemporary Policy-Making*, “Governance, n°13, pp. 5-23

mainly in a consecration of the agglomerate, ideal settlement typology for an area characterised by sequential invasions. By the beginning of the 11th century Matera's dwelling system had already assumed the spatial organisation that would persist until the post-war intervention: divided into *pittagi*³, the houses followed the glens' contour lines and were articulated around the main spaces of devotion (Figure 2). The presence of wells and cisterns, yards and gardens, smaller empty plots and depots allow to assert that the *Sassi* were not an over-densified residential area at that time, but were characterised by built fabric as much as by open space. Speculation – the open areas owned by higher ranks of society were lucratively used as building ground – and the demographic explosion of the '800, put an end to this semi-rural condition: stables, snow depositories, barns, oil mills, churches and gardens all gave way to an important process of densification, based on the poverty-dictated obligation of using all possible space suitable for building.

The organic growth of Matera within its own system of intensification started to be considered as something to “cure” when the unfamiliar eye – responsible for the external imposition of a certain administrative role upon an urban structure – came into contact with the *Sassi*. First in 1663 as Regional capital, then in 1927 as Provincial Capital under the Fascist regime, Matera's status was upgraded. In both cases the cave-dwellings were associated to insalubrious and miserable life conditions. Matera's limit seemed thus to be in its own genesis (De Fonseca et al., 1998: 97), with a core that to the outsider's view was doomed to a peripheral role, crammed with peasants that seemingly had an endless capacity to grow and accept population until the diffused insalubrious environment would bring about its downfall.

Such an idea of inevitable decline will appear in several descriptions by 20th century visitors, to whom Matera's *Sassi* appeared as a “picturesque” macrostructure teemed with individuals and continuously densifying through impenetrable auto-rules of growth. Incomprehension however, became growing alarm; the preoccupation for the *Sassi*'s conditions in the first half of the 1900's was such that Matera came to the foreground several times. The upgrading of its living conditions became a priority action for both President of the Council of Ministers in 1902, Giuseppe Zanardelli and for Mussolini, who announced the end of the city's misery twenty-five years later Zanardelli's action. With larger scale urban challenges to deal with [colonisation and the foundation of new towns], and the beginning of the second world conflict, Matera's rehabilitation however fell back once again from the list of priorities.

In fascist years however, Matera was not forgotten. Due to its insularity, the town's peculiar function was in effect to imprison Carlo Levi, one of the various uncomfortable intellectuals confined by the regime in the most isolated portions of the Italian territory. When, after liberation, the description of his exile was published in a novel that would become renowned⁴, Matera's backwardness was offered to the country in the book's pages, causing the town and the *Sassi* to be repetitively labelled as “Italy's shame”. From then onwards the rehabilitation of Matera became urgent for many actors that all seemingly aimed at redeeming the city from its misfortune. The articulation of the various and subsequent interventions were all subordinated to one major decision: in 1952 a national clearance act was passed and the *Sassi*'s inhabitants were to all be relocated.

The cross-national transfer of planning ideas in the case of Matera and La Martella took on a three-fold declination within the general urgency to ameliorate the town's conditions once and

³ local and archaic term for neighbourhood

⁴ *Cristo si é fermato ad Eboli*, 1945

for all. Firstly, the Southern city was - as many others in the country - subject to the great wave of [re]construction efforts that followed World War II, and were also closely intermingled with anti-fascist resistance. Secondly, Matera was considered and studied whilst the whole idea of multidisciplinary survey was being shaped as a tool and a premise for planning. Moreover, the post-war years coincided with a wave of agrarian reforms that hit several European countries besides Italy, triggering various reflections on strategies for managing an agricultural society whose relation to a growing urban economy - that a decade later would be booming - was changing radically.

A. [RE] CONSTRUCTING THE SOUTH

1. The *Mezzogiorno*: an “autobiographical” awakening

The fascist regime had, for the entire period of its duration, reinforced the idea of an agrarian south, implementing its agricultural character through reclaimed land and a variety of other policies. The 40's saw peasant revolts and anti-fascist insurrections combine together explosively in what became the effort to appropriate agricultural land. In most cases the demand for rights accompanied land occupations since working conditions were subordinated to what was still very similar to a feudal system. In their fight for land, farm labourers and peasants also received strong support from the intellectual class with which they had fought against fascism.

For the intellectuals of the time, close contact with subaltern masses and incorporation of the values accompanying the *Resistenza*⁵ could only be translated into a direct engagement in Italy's (re)construction. In the architectural domain, continuity with pre-war tendencies – such as the 1936 exhibition on vernacular architecture born from the need to counter fascist rhetoric - was established through the traumatic confrontation with a post-war “reality” that was also a post-fascist dimension. (Tafuri, 1982:15) By analysing, learning from and describing such “reality”, architects and urban planners actively contributed to Italy's rebirth, as participating in a series of surveys and sociological inquiries meant giving a face and a shape to the world of the no-longer-to-be exploited.

2. Development as an American Dream

By 1949 the case of Matera had reached far beyond Italy's national borders: funds from the European Recovery Program triggered off a series of initiatives, in addition to the Economic Cooperation Administration (E.C.A.)⁶ mission whose main aim was to suggest ways to rationalise the relationship between Matera and its underexploited countryside. More generally speaking, the development of the *Mezzogiorno*⁷ became a priority within the perspective of decentralising industrial development, a standpoint to which an enlightened entrepreneur such as Adriano Olivetti particularly adhered to. New Deal models, and more particularly the Tennessee Valley Authority (T.V.A.) experience, supported the idea of improving underdeveloped areas in which reaching a territorial balance would be more viable than in parts of the country already compromised by certain trends of growth and development. Paul Hofman, one of the Marshall Plan technicians in Italy, suggested the concentration of maximum resources in the southern part of the country in addition to the assignment to public organisms of running the development agenda. The fragility of these

⁵ Name given to the Partisan revolt against Fascism and the German occupation

⁶ American board in charge of executing the Marshall Plan throughout the European continent by allocating European Recovery Program funds.

⁷ Name given to Southern Italy

however, also meant that only with great difficulty would such an intense programme be implemented. As no large governmental planning agency would be instituted, fulfilling such requirements became an even more complicated endeavour.

A main difference with the T.V.A. experience appears however to have been underestimated, as the premises were laid down for a planning process that in Olivetti's eyes would have efficiently echo of the transoceanic approach: whereas in Tennessee the regional plan set up was responsible for a joint development of both industry and agriculture, no mention of such synergy was made in Basilicata, in spite of Ludovico Quaroni's overall plan for the region presented in 1952 at the 4th INU⁸ National Congress. Moreover, the number of organisms responsible for the different scales of intervention in Italy was not at all the same as the unique geopolitical entity with some of the powers of a state [such as eminent domain] that in the USA tackled all scales of the development project, without any external intervention (Restucci, 1976: 43).

The E.C.A. task was the first study to be commissioned. Entrusted to Professor Mazzocchi-Alemanni and his collaborator Calia, they proposed a solution at a territorial scale. Their 1950 report suggested the creation of a series of rural townships to settle the question of the *Sassi*: peasants would no longer be separate from the land they were working in, nor would they be living in inhuman conditions the cave-dwellings were characterised by (Figure 3). Each settlement would provide space for 2000 inhabitants and be located at a 10-12 km distance from the agglomeration of Matera. The town's central core was therefore to be exploded outwards in Matera's surroundings, whilst the *Sassi* became a place to be totally evacuated before disappearing completely as a figure within the city in the 1956 Master Plan by Piccinato (Figure 4). The fact that surveys had declared the cave-dwellings only partially inhabitable made the *Sassi*'s evacuation all the more problematic for those reluctant to leave them.

When European Recovery Funds were granted to the UNRRA-Casas⁹, the latter pursued the objectives of the E.C.A. mission by taking up the construction and management of one of the five satellite villages, namely La Martella. This endeavour would therefore largely overlap with the newly-created Ente Riforma, institution responsible for reforming land property. The socio-spatial models for the rural villages the establishment had in mind however, differed on several fronts with those of the UNRRA-Casas. This discrepancy was to become a serious obstacle for the full realisation of La Martella.

B. AN OPEN CITY FOR A CLOSED COMMUNITY

As a first step of the transformation process, one of the main concerns appeared to be the necessity for an objective and scientific survey of the social-spatial qualities of Matera's *Sassi*. Political groups, institutions and the abovementioned organisations in charge of designing La Martella summoned various specialists for the investigations. In their concrete translation, the surveys were to be used mainly for identifying comfort needs and housing

⁸ National Institute of Urbanism.

⁹ Developed as part of the aid program developed by the U.S.A. for Italy, this organism was the outcome of the fusion of UNRRA and Casas, the first having as main objective rehabilitation and the second born as a sub-organism providing housing and other related forms of aid. Supposedly established for a sixth month period to intervene in the most disadvantaged areas of the country, the UNRRA-Casas' results were so efficient that it was decided to extend its period of action period and to allow interventions within larger cities as well.

typologies that most appropriately would answer requests expressed by peasants and farm labourers. A common theme to look into and adopt as a tool for designing was the idea of community, interpreted either with respect to the preciousness of the existing one in the cave-dwellings – which was studied and idealised – or by abstractly isolating and extracting some of its social processes considered particularly valuable. These conceptions, though dissimilar and ambiguous, concurred in defining a line of action that was also the expression of an experimental collaboration between different organisms.

1. Frederick G. Friedman, Ernest De Martino and the *Commissione di Studio*

Amongst the protagonists of the surveys was the Fulbright scholar Frederick G. Friedman, affiliated to the University of Arkansas and interested in examining Matera's exemplary "closed community" of peasants. Little before him, George Peck, Professor at the University of Leigh, had been in charge of a similar study concerning another community of the Basilicata region, namely the population of Tricarico, a village not far from Matera. Both researchers echoed through their work the previous American surveys examining the mountainous communities of Tennessee. Encouraged by Adriano Olivetti - President of the UNRRA-Casas and vice-chairman of the INU - both found ground for expressing their findings. Several Italian politicians and intellectuals in effect, including the Piedmontese entrepreneur himself, placed Mumford's works before any others on their bedside tables. Terms such as "purity" and "timelessness" used by Friedmann to describe the *Sassi's* inhabitants seemed to fully support the de-centralist and communitarian models Olivetti was promoting.

The collaboration between Friedman and Olivetti was so successful that the sociologist's survey work continued within the *Commissione di studio della città e dell'agro di Matera*, an interdisciplinary workforce set up in 1951. It is worthy of note however, that the model introduced by Friedman was strongly disapproved of by Ernesto De Martino, who refused the former's offer to participate as the group anthropologist. De Martino would lead instead numerous surveys in Matera's region (Basilicata) throughout the entire decade, describing the 1951 research as "lacking a real problematic nucleus directing the respective contributions of the various specialists" (De Martino, 1995: 45). The anthropologist's refusal is perhaps a first sign of internal dissatisfaction against what he perceived as a dangerous transplant of ideas. Presenting inter-disciplinarity as a guarantee for the successful reading of social complexity was in De Martino's view not sufficient; calibrating research objectives to what locally needed to be sounded out was a fundamental aspect that the Italian researcher could not find in Friedman's team.

2. Adriano Olivetti's *Comunità*

Unlike Palmiro Togliatti and Alcide De Gasperi, Adriano Olivetti never held a speech in Matera, promising the imminent clearance of its disgraceful dwellings. His involvement in the town's transformation, however, was fundamental. In effect, through his double leading role in both the INU and the UNRRA-Casas, some of his convictions were set forth, as was his catalysing force. The multifaceted impulse Olivetti gave to the project reflected how the latter was intended by him as a full methodology including interdisciplinary research, planning scenarios and community-building, consequently fostering the county's reconstruction but avoiding the hegemonic power of physical building. It was in this respect that he followed Friedman's suggestion of setting up a permanent organ with the task of constantly studying Matera and providing analyses that would persistently nourish the planning process.

Both Olivetti's publishing company and political organisation were named after his most significant fascination, the *Comunità*¹⁰. The latter was also the basis of a communitarian ideology that would echo the anti-urban manifesto of Ferdinand Tönnies, whose *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* was not surprisingly published by Olivetti's *Comunità* editions. Critical mass, emancipation and territorial definition were all aspects the Piedmontese strongly believed in: "our Community must be concrete, visible, tangible, neither too small nor too big, territorially defined, endowed with power, able to provide that indispensable coordination of all activities. A too small Community is incapable of sufficient development; on the other hand large metropolises depersonalise man because of their monopolistic and concentrated nature [...]. The new Community, based on the freedom of mankind, on autonomy and dignity of human existence, presupposes a world freed from subjection, strength and money's excessive power (Olivetti, 1955)."

Friedman's "closed community" and Olivetti's *Comunità* differed therefore substantially. Whilst the first was pure but inevitably in its decline, the second was to be emancipated and free from all subordination dynamics. The entrepreneur's concern transformed the E.C.A. townships into a trial for his idea of *Comunità* and made the planning of Matera's satellite villages an experimental one. In his opinion the issue of economical power was the starting point for any community-building process, as a society could become effectively autonomous only by controlling the means of production. Olivetti therefore, reinforced the idea of making the *borgate rurali* self-sufficient and exemplary both in terms of management and of territorial intervention. The UNRRA-Casas thus took care of the housing program in one of the five rural villages, namely La Martella, and aimed at demonstrating through its realisation the crucial necessity for innovative methodologies of investigation and intervention, particularly in the underdeveloped south.

C. FROM DUAL TO RESIDUAL

The fact that research material and strategies selected had in common the depiction of a peasant world somewhat pure in its relational richness meant that a great effort went into ideally preserving such complexity. Moreover, if the discovery of the South had meant the unearthing of the peasant world, dealing with the latter implied the organisation of the rural realm. Much less resources however, were directed towards individuating how agriculture could be adapted to the rapid changes the post-war years had in store for the country. Agriculture, the peasants' primary source of subsistence, was intended to remain as such in the various development scenarios produced. Luigi Piccinato, responsible for Matera's Master Plan, declared that "in Matera more than anywhere else the problem of giving a real house to the 15 000 inhabitants of its grottoes is not a housing problem to be solved within the urban dimension. The question is rather to create for this population, mainly made up of peasants, a new and truer reason for living, asserting new and truer forms of agricultural economy and social wealth through the transformation of the municipality's desolate territory, one of the vastest in Italy (Piccinato, 1955)."

Matera's specificity however, consisted in a peasant condition which was not the counterpart of a city-related society, but was on the other hand geographically located within a concentrated agglomerate, and thus somewhat permeated by urbanity. As the process of land allocation would later on reveal, a strong attachment to land within the *Sassi*'s community

¹⁰ Community

was largely absent. The cave-dwellings' inhabitants in effect, appeared to prefer living out the paradox of peripherally self-organising themselves inside the town's heart, as the *Sassi's* congestion was a far better guarantee of survival than land labour. Either by sharing and redistributing resources or by working occasionally in other domains than agriculture, households managed to make their day in spite of a generalised and extreme poverty. Nonetheless, trapped by the dichotomies of the time, Matera was considered the "capital of the peasant world" (Musatti, 1955:28) and its surrounding open spaces seem to never have been thought of in any other terms than those concerning its productivity and its opposition to the urban world.

1. The shaping of place: countryside urbanity

Contemporary ruralist theories and regionalist approaches in other contexts however, rarely excluded the idea of giving an industrial backbone to those villages situated in agricultural areas. Gaston Bardet, for instance, encouraged the formation of a French semi-rural, semi-industrial "race" that would be the outcome of a network of small enterprises dispersed in such a way that the new rural villages could benefit from their presence in the territory. Similarly, one of the T.V.A.'s objectives was to encourage the development of productive industrial areas to bolster the economy of the region. In Matera's case on the other hand, underdevelopment was not cured by industrialisation but through the amelioration of housing and working conditions related to agriculture, whose production in 1950 was already lower than other sectors. Matera's "urban" peasants on the other hand, were exploded out into a surrounding countryside they were unable to benefit from nor did they end up governing or owning, "only to be soon re-injected in the town's economy that in the meantime had been transformed into a city of public offices and housing construction for which the uninhabitable *Sassi* created a perfect alibi." (Restucci, 1976: 45)

In Olivetti's view, the *Mezzogiorno* was to be the real test for the organic planning he had in mind, born out of the progressive urbanism of the time and of those techniques related to industrial organisation. The industrialist's interpretation of the rural villages around Matera reveals the relevance of his American training; nostalgia for the New Deal appears in the idea of avoiding the rough opposition between village life and the city of capital, suggesting instead that the decentralised nuclei create a network around the main town "allowing the synthesis of man and society, development and democracy, capitalism and socialism." (Restucci, 1977: 38).

The experience of Norris Town differed however on two substantial aspects. Whereas one of the objectives in the American case was to encourage the development of productive industrial areas as well as agricultural ones, in Matera's case rural villages such as La Martella were left however without the necessary infrastructure and an industrial endorsement, making it extremely difficult for them to spend their way out of recession and become an alternative socio-economic system. Agricultural methods such a crop rotation and use of fertilizers were introduced successfully into the traditional farming communities relocated by the T.V.A.

Yet another sign of the abstraction of the *borgata rurale* model was the scale of the project, which was more of a territorial model applicable to large metropolitan areas than one suitable to a town inhabited by 30000 people. In effect, no mention of growing satellite villages seems to have been made at the time; their evolution – eventually proportional to the incremental achievement of the inhabitants – seems to have not been taken into account as a fundamental aspect of the development process. Crystallized through the idea of optimal critical mass, the

rural villages were instead forced to struggle for existence as not many of those who were contacted were prepared to move in. Travelling to the land they worked - twice a day, back and forth, morning and evening – appeared to be considered by Matera’s peasants less of a disadvantage than living outside the city (Figures 5, 6).

2. The Ente Riforma

Continuous exploitation and distance from the countryside therefore, were both elements characterising the semi-rural life of Matera. Due to these specific conditions, reforming agricultural land ownership became a particularly delicate task: the problem to be solved could not only be unravelled by land assignment, but the typologies accompanying the reorganisation of the allotments would necessarily be of crucial importance if dislocation, as it seemed from the 1952 clearance act, was the only viable solution. The Ente Riforma, the public institution established in 1951 and responsible for the redistribution of land during the agrarian reform, promoted nevertheless the idea of a small land ownership based on dispersal throughout the countryside, antipodal to the community-based settlements. As a result, this residential model was even more decentralist than the one of the *borgate rurali*, atomising the *Sassi*’s congestion to the point that no form of socio-spatial aggregation would be possible at all.

According to the Ente Riforma’s model, land assignees were given 5 to 7 hectares of land as well as a small house, all of which were to be granted definitively after a three-year trial period. Such dwellings were distributed along the main roads and had as only service the colonisation centre¹¹ that was in charge of diffusing modern equipment to the farm labourers. The criteria upon which such reorganisation was based clashed however with the costs necessary to activate it; if the first year grants and advances were given to several assignees, during the second year of the grant the Ente Riforma withdrew from all revenues – in addition to a 40% fixed rate – whatever amount was required for reimbursement, leaving the peasants with a minimal amount of wheat for the year.

The new settlements were therefore born as a *Janus bifrons*, out of a conservative and traditionalist trend – expressed institutionally by the Ente Riforma – and the commitment of the INU and UNRRA-Casas (both directed by Adriano Olivetti at the time) to establishing an anti-urban community-building process. Neorealist architecture enhanced the ambiguities characterising the rural village model by referring to the importance of tradition and the vernacular in design: “avant-gardism, populism and *retours à l’ordre* became thus interchangeable.” (Tafari, 1982: 15)

D. A CASE STUDY – The paradoxical prototype

The largest out of the five hypothesized rural villages, La Martella was also the first *borgata* to be built and was intended as an experimental trial for the other four hamlets (Figure 6). Prior to the 1952 clearance law, La Martella was planned after having directed European Recovery Funds towards the UNRRA-Casas for the construction of 200 homes. The design team was composed of Ludovico Quaroni, Federico Gorio, Luigi Agati, Pier Maria Lugli and Mario Valori. The services it was supposed to be equipped with were determined on the basis of a hypothetical 2000 inhabitants, which through time never grew to be more than half.

¹¹ ¹¹ The term “colonisation” in Italian also refers to the act of claiming and then cultivating inaccessible land. This service was therefore provided to encourage innovative cultivation techniques.

This township effectively epitomises the problematic matrimony of contrasting strategies both in terms of the planning process and of socio-spatial organisation. This *borgata rurale*, in effect, was designed according to the idea of making it as “community-friendly” as possible, however ambiguous such objective turned out to be when limited only to morphology and presence of institutions. In direct opposition with the Ente Riforma’s ambitions, La Martella’s layout was based upon the idea of bringing “urbanity” into a rural environment, where the first meant a qualified and culture-related life, and the second was considered the place for a static and backward existence. The satellite rural village was therefore designed following Olivetti’s aspirations: La Martella would be autonomous and fully equipped with all services necessary for leading a complete life.

1. Neighbourhood units and patterns for peasants

The *unità di vicinato*¹², a system of cave-dwellings organised around a courtyard, had been identified by the 1951 sociological study as the constitutive element of the *Sassi*’s urban structure and inherently related to the aggregative logics of the agglomeration (Figures 8, 9). At the basis of several social practices, this constitutive unit had been branded by Friedman as the socio-spatial expression of the *Sassi*’s peasant community. Each *vicinato* had its characteristic ritual, its own chief and therefore the capacity to mediate between the enlarged family scale and the entire society through one representative.

It was this entity that was selected by the designers as the foundation for preserving group culture and potentially fit for promoting innovative social configurations when translated into a designerly approach for La Martella. The village’s new inhabitants, it was believed, would be able to revive those forms of communal solidarity that had caught the attention of several researchers and would be able to do so by recognising within the rural village’s fabric a series of typological constants deriving from the *Sassi*. The designers’ aspiration was therefore to suggest – through the re-elaboration of a typology that went beyond a single housing unit – a self-sufficient settlement mode.

Re-proposing such a fundamental component as the *vicina* necessarily meant a translation of it to a dimension that had to include architectural and hygienic considerations. The chief conviction was that social relationships would be maintained by evocating the original neighbourhood structure, whose fundamental role had seemingly been idealised by La Martella’s designers. By confronting the first plan for La Martella (Figure 10) with the actual configuration built, the changes brought about by the identification of a matrix capable of softening a more rigid and schematic elaboration are evident. Before proposing the *strade-vicinato*, the village’s organisation was based on a series of rectangular blocks surrounding a central square of similar shape and proportions. In the last configuration on the other hand, the dwellings are irregularly set along streets whose structure was designed to provide similar intricacies to the *Sassi*’s neighbourhoods. It was therefore the street - and not the square or the close - which Quaroni and his assistants conceived as the first level of association after the private sphere of the home.

The principles identified to reach this complexity were used to organise the built environment along streets in such a way that these were all different from one another in addition to having an apparently casual and spontaneous structure (Figures 11, 12). Reference to the *Sassi* is evident: though the houses of La Martella are all alike, they appear different because

¹² Neighbourhood unit

irregularly arranged. The linkage between building units was based on a system of paired houses, either forming a square structure or a long rectangular one. If this aggregative logic made it possible to avoid the monotony of having identical elevations on both sides of every street, it also was of primary importance for achieving a differentiation between private open spaces and public ones by varying distances between the units.

A brief summary of certain characteristic elements in the *Sassi* and La Martella (Table 1) allows a further examination of what of the agglomerate's structure the designers of La Martella found worth distorting and preserving in the new layout:

Table 1

	Neighbourhood in the <i>Sassi</i> [<i>vicinato</i>]	<i>Strada-vicinato</i> in La Martella
DENSITY	6-12 cave-dwellings [1 family per house]	20 houses in average [1 family per house]
ENTRANCES, BORDERS, EDGES	Gates and other "open" structures introduce each <i>vicinato</i> , whereas the <i>Sassi</i> as a whole are separated from the rest of Matera by topography and other public buildings	Streets converge radially towards the civic plaza [distorted panoptical structure] and are closed towards the landscape by community ovens
PUBLIC BUILDINGS	No public buildings are found inside the <i>Sassi</i>	Organised around a central civic plaza
RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS	One church per neighbourhood	One main church placed centrally and acting as a landmark
DENSIFICATION PROCESS	Open areas and other buildings are incorporated as the <i>Sassi</i> densify mainly through vertical extensions	Appropriation of space occurs through the incorporation of intermediate spaces i.e. green areas between front yards and the road used for vertical connections reaching new additions such as roof-terraces and two-floor apartments replacing the stable
TYPOLOGIES	Dwellings are distributed on two floors [cave and <i>lammione</i>] and the second level is accessible only through a steep staircase	Row and coupled party-wall houses.
BUILT/ OPEN SPACE RELATIONSHIP	Houses are grouped around a central open and collective space	Dwellings are combined in such a way that irregular streets are created. The irregularity is enhanced by a system of low tuff walls that further enlarge or diminish the road section, so that in its widening small elongated plazas appear

2. Bread before wheat [Brief chronicle of a failure]

In terms of socio-economic planning and management, La Martella can easily be described as a failing coexistence of UNRRA-Casas supervisors and social assistants with Ente Riforma representatives. Promising first steps were made by entrusting the running of social services to an organisation which was not involved in the financial management of the newborn village and by providing social assistance during the first moments of the traumatic dislocation process. The assistants' main activity however, turned out to be the mitigation of hostilities between different land assignees due to difficulties arisen during the land allocation process.

Autonomy, it was believed, would be guaranteed by the provision of numerous urban services included in the project: a welfare centre, a colonisation¹³ centre, a sports centre, a social centre equipped with a small auditorium, offices for social assistance, an assembly hall, a post office, a municipal delegation, a hotel, a restaurant and a bar, a medical consultation room, shops and workshops, a kindergarten, a nursery and a primary school, a fair site, an administration centre supplied with a silos, staff-rooms and garages, a church with a parish

home and a building for the distribution of material and machinery to the inhabitants were all part of the original scheme (Figure 13).

It was at the expense of such functional richness that the conflict between the traditionalist forces of the Ente Riforma and the militancy of the UNRRA-Casas personnel was played out. Paradoxically, out of all the facilities programmed, the agricultural centre was never built, and all resources available for the promotion of a cooperative management of agriculture and distribution of goods had been allocated in vain. If subsequently La Martella did not appear very different from other residential fragments, it was due to the fact that the missed insertion of the various facilities made it simply another mono-residential area for commuters living segregated from the existing city.

Only long after completion will the chief urban designer of La Martella denounce the opposition received by the Ente Riforma. Disappointed both by the actual outcome of the design process and by his collaboration with Olivetti, the main promoter of the project, Quaroni claimed that the fear of politicising the population had taken over all domains, bringing about the disruption of a community that till then had formed a homogeneous entity with the agglomeration it inhabited: “projects have been made for the construction of isolated homes, with an independent terrain; a new insertion of man in space; everything has been made for this man, that lived in close proximity with beasts but from them maintained a moral distance, until this man himself has been made a beast because what differentiates him from animals has been taken away: the possibility of living freely in a system of active exchange belonging to the collective realm”. (Quaroni, 2002)

D. SURROGATE OR SIMULACRA?

1. La Martella as a *sujet à questions*

Opposing an *urban* structure to the rural surroundings was an objective La Martella shared with several other settlement layouts. This resistance was not obtained simply by making the village a reduced version of the city, but was often a consequence of a regionalist approach. What conferred a computably urban character to La Martella was the “major emphasis set on the design of the centre, with the public element exalting the functional and formal autonomy of the settlement.” (Ciorra, (1989: 103) The way in which the services were incorporated within the rural village’s fabric is reminiscent of Bardet’s illustrations and of other anglo-saxon examples: both Norris Town and Thomas Sharp’s new village for instance, concentrate the non-residential functions in the townships’ centres, creating an institutional core that is morphologically configured by a system of closed squares around which are located the public and communal facilities (Figures 14, 15).

La Martella’s public core appears as the most ambiguous element of the village’s configuration and was the most debated upon with the various power groups related to the representative buildings the central square would accommodate. Whereas the dwellings maintained their original configuration throughout the design process, the public and religious buildings were greatly modified. The church is a worthy example of this alteration: originally intended to be no higher than the two-storey dwellings, it became La Martella’s landmark. Efforts to mitigate its grandeur are consequently evident in the formal repertoire adopted by Quaroni: the bell tower’s shape reminds the one of a barn, just as the turf walls of several public edifices are reminiscent of rural buildings in the nearby countryside.

The idea of a people's collective epic – struggling towards imminent rebirth – explains why, when “urban” was assimilated to (re)established democracy, it was pursued as an emancipatory condition within the rural villages. The underlining of La Martella's borders in such a way that they act as an edge should be read as a further device to make the village a city-like entity capable of fostering through its spatial conditions, group culture and social cohesion. The neighbourhood-streets, closed by collective ovens at their extremities, are never open to the landscape, so that “the edge between built and non-built is clearly defined.” (di Meo-Bonollo, 1992: 285).

The reconstruction of what devices were used by Quaroni and his collaborators to provide La Martella's inhabitants with a spatial structure they would recognise and build on is a valuable basis for examining the changing role of public and open space through time. Questions referring to a rhetoric of loss might not be sufficient to investigate the process of spatial transformation but coincide with the general approach La Martella's designers appeared to share both in their critical evaluation of the project and in their interpretation of the *Sassi* as an agglomeration inevitably doomed to decline. By 1954 Federico Gorio, one of Quaroni's collaborators, subtitled his article on the experience of La Martella “A self-criticism” (Gorio, 1954: 31). The evident state of neglect – if not abandonment – much of the rural village's civic space is in today questions the relationship between the conception and perception of architecture. If, by hypothesis, a conflict between architectural intentions and users' reactions has occurred, queries must be formulated for verifying whether the architect, “always blaming himself or his colleagues, rightly does so.” (Boudon, 1985: 2)

2. Beyond and beneath urbanity

The fact that particular attention was attributed to designing La Martella's urbanity, guaranteed through the provision of a nucleus of services, can also be interpreted in terms of the open and public space planned complementarily to such facilities. The use of an urban archetype such as a civic core can be interpreted as a desire to confer a democratic imprint to the site but also a way to assure the representation of the state upon the territory. The spatial structure proposed appeared to contradict the social intricacies they were trying to preserve within the community in spite of dislocation: not coincidentally, no public buildings were found inside the *Sassi*, but all were instead concentrated around the agglomeration's perimeter.

If one agrees with the underlying meaning attributed to public space when it is read as a fundamental “programme for society” (Cupers & Miessen, 2002: 34) in terms of providing a platform for the representation of profane and religious power, a reading of today's configuration and how such institutional display implied a homogeneous interpretation of La Martella's inhabitants is even more revealing. Could it be that the presence of a homogeneous society La Martella's core of services implied prevented such central public space from becoming a place of encounter and coexistence of difference? Does the absence of disruptive appropriation mean that the imposition of a disciplining set of institutions mitigated the liberating force of their vacancy?

More information in terms of appropriation is provided by the residential areas that were based on a spatial device internal to the previous *mode de vie* of the inhabitants prior to dislocation. Such process of accumulation, densification and incorporation of open space appears to have continued relentlessly (Figures 16, 17).

Much of La Martella's ambiguity appears to have derived from the tension between an anti-urban ideology and the attempt to provide a village-scale urbanity allowing emancipation and self-organisation. The role of architecture was therefore one of "packaging": devices were used to mitigate the contraposition between the two models. When a locally generated system was used in such a concealing process, a dialectical attitude within the re-signifying of space appears to have been the outcome, encouraging appropriation. When, on the other hand, a collection of social facilities were injected exogenously into La Martella's layout. It can be hypothesised that this lack of action – both in terms of simple consumption and of active recuperation – upon the representative space of the civic plazas derives from the incapacity to implicitly disrupt it. Abandonment and neglect, however, can also derive from the fact that the erosion of the signifier was a characteristic of the central core from the very beginning, and that the communitarian image suggested by these edifices burnt out rapidly.

From such considerations it is possible to conclude that Quaroni's urbanity was not strong enough to counter the anti-urban ideology of Olivetti's *Comunità*. The neighbourhood unit proved indeed to be an entity providing the right scale of socio-spatial features to re-interpret, but also coincided with the two main political theses that appear to be at the origin of the rural village model. On one hand the refusal of integrating the idealised peasant community of the *Sassi* in an urban setting derived from a misinterpretation of what complex nature Matera's peasant community was characterised by, on the verge of urbanity as they were. Secondly, the transfer of the *Sassi*'s pre-capitalist social form was believed would resist the dislocation due to its purity and cohesion. The peasants' transfer would thus belong to the family of those "renovations without rupture" (Restucci, 1976: 45).

The interstitial space where urban designers identify criteria and/ or modalities revealing "in what way rules has been deformed (von Moos quoted by Goldhagen & Régault, 2000)" was too tight a space for Matera's peasants. Quaroni's disquietude as a committed designer, very much dependent on the idea of what methodology would best be able to warp models without disfiguring them completely, was not sufficient to allow La Martella to emerge as an urban fragment. The legacy of the modern movement which was defended and publicised as an emblem of re-established democracy, was contemporaneously challenged by a *reprise* of historical and traditional idioms that allowed for an ambiguous reading of La Martella's layout. Quaroni himself would conclude: "We are so used to such things, that the eye stays dry and the brain switches to the mood reserved for history, fables, reminding us how difficult it is for an architect to correctly interpret his role, which is to comprehend the lives of others, and know what they want and they need. Is it possible, for an intellectual – because that is what an architect is – to understand the meaning of life for a social class? Is the same thing possible for politicians, administrators, without their viewpoint being altered by their own electoral interests or by the doctrine of their political party? And finally, is it possible for the user, whatever his social class, to correctly express his needs and wishes, which perhaps do not even coincide? (Quaroni, 1977)

Figure 1



Figure 2

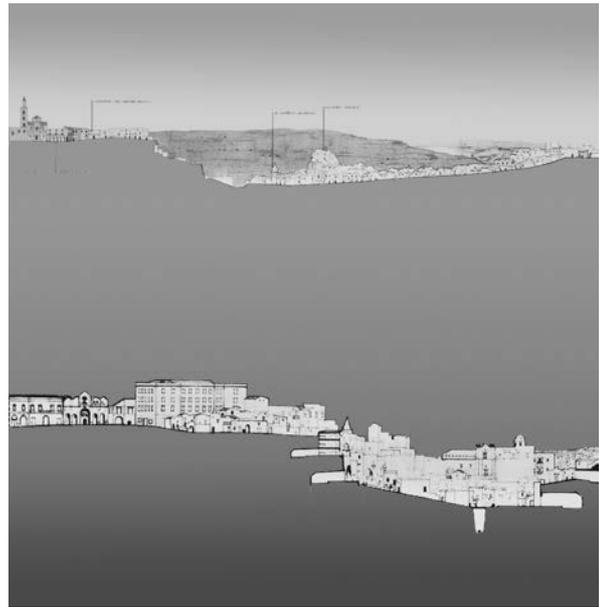


Figure 3

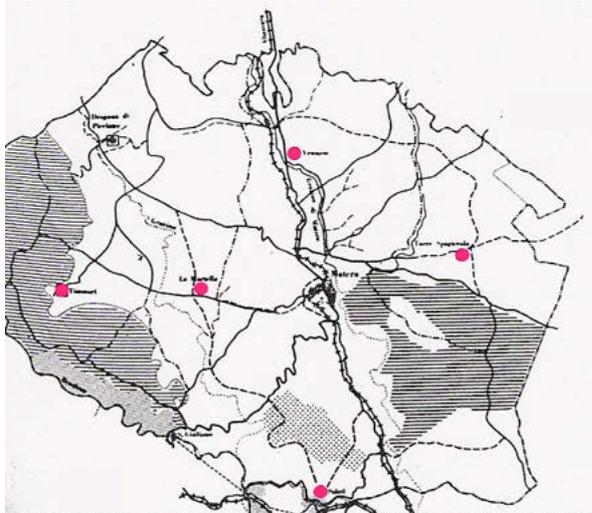


Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7



Figures 8 and 9

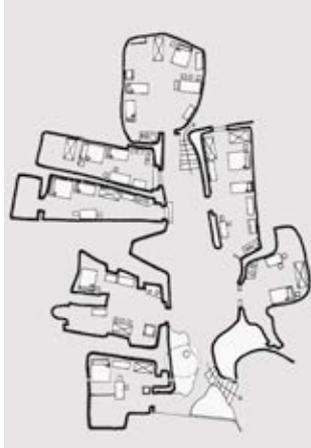


Figure 10



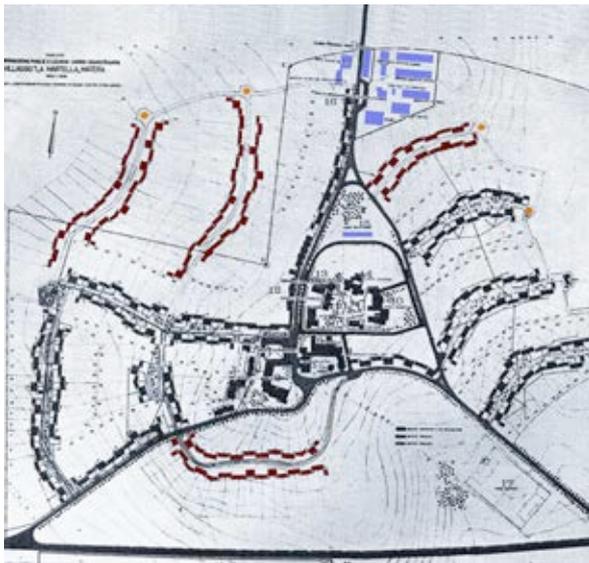
Figure 11



Figure 12



Figure 13



Figures 16

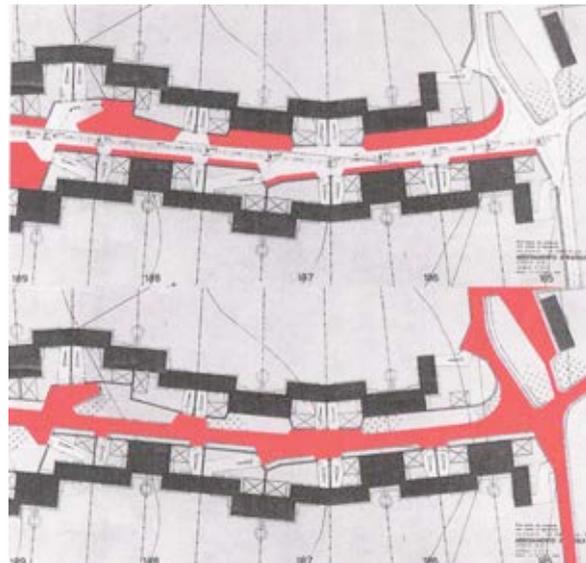


Figure 14, 15



Figure 17



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Cosmic Cities: Mythological Beliefs in City Planning



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Kadambini Pandey and Dnyanesh Deshpande are young urban planners with a wide range of experience in urban design and planning in India and Canada. Kadambini is an Architect and Urban Planner; and has an extensive experience of working with NGOs such as UNDP, UNESCO. She has also offered her services as an Planner for Delhi Development Authority. To pursue her further interests in Environmental issues, Kadambini is currently pursuing a masters Degree in Environmental Planning at York University. Dnyanesh holds degrees in Architecture, urban design and planning; and is currently working with a Toronto based firm called Urban Strategies Inc. At Urban Strategies he had privilege to work on some large scale urban design projects in North America. This paper is an outcome of a collective research of for last 8 months.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Very little is known about the origins and methods of planning in the ancient cities. Mythological beliefs and stories have always influenced the social and cultural development of our cities. The relationship between city planning and various mythological beliefs is worth studying for an urban planner. Detail knowledge about such a link might inform us about various principles that could be applicable for building today's modern cities.

There are two streams of ideologies related to origins of historical cities. The first stream believes that ancient cities evolved over a period of time as a response to social, political and economic systems at that time. Mythological and diagrammatic explanations were added later by other researchers. Other stream establishes their argument based on cities such as Jaipur and Beijing; where mythological and diagrammatic origins are clearly evident.

In the following chapters we will investigate the origins and development principles of various cities with an intention to understand the validity and relevance of above mentioned thought processes.

Chapter 2: Urban Pattern as a response to social, political and geographic characteristics

Chapter 2 discusses the first stream of thought in detail. The aristocratic, social, political and overall geographic patterns that influenced the city pattern are discussed with the help of various illustrative diagrams. The physical pattern of various ancient cities was often influenced by one of the following factors such as:

1. Security concerns: Need of appropriate fortification and security mechanisms was of extreme importance in ancient cities especially in the medieval era. The existence of huge fortification walls and other military needs were the guiding factors for the urban pattern.
2. Geographic location: Accessibility to abundant source of drinking water has always been an important criteria for city builders.
3. Long Term Labor Camps: Various megaprojects such as pyramids always needed a great work force. The temporary cities built by kings for their workers, often became the foundations of many future big cities.
4. Prophecies and treaties: prophecies and treaties established by scholars and philosophers have always provided strong guiding principles for cities in the eastern and middle eastern civilizations such as Jerusalem, India, China.
5. Nature: Natural forms have always been a source of inspiration for human mind. Many City builders have taken inspiration from natural processes and geographic landscapes to lay the streets and the built form.

Following is a detail discussion of each of these factors.



Figure 1. Ancient city of Rome.

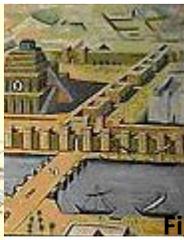
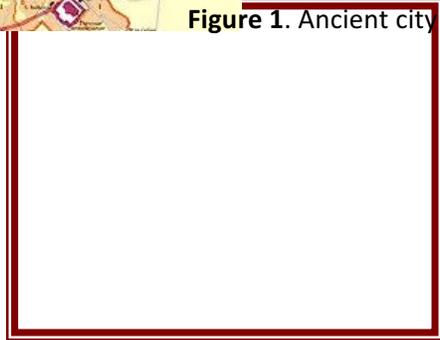


Figure 2. Plan of Babylon – 6000 BC.



An examination of the plans of ancient cities, as well as of those of the mediaeval and later periods in Europe, shows how important in their design was the protection against military attack. In the degree of their fortification and in the smallness of their size, they had the characteristics of great castles. The common purpose of their occupants being military security, these cities shows a high degree of uniformity in their artificial arrangement; but a study of them shows that they comprised distinctive types. They resemble the cross-road town, the bridge-and ford town, and the harbor town of modern times. Each fortress city was usually developed around a central meeting and marketplace, such as the Greek agora or the Roman forum, with wide processional ways leading from it to the gates of the city, and having crowded blocks of land, intersected by narrow streets, in the parts where the people lived.



Plan of **babylon** (Reproduced from Babylon: the Holy City, by Eckhard Unger, Walter de Gruyter and Company, Berlin and Leipzig, 1931.) This plan shows the line of the outer wall and the inner wall of the

oblong city. The city occupied both sides of the River Euphrates. A great street and fortified wall existed parallel with the river. The main thoroughfares extended from the palace to the gates, but did not run straight through the city. A stately portal spanned the road at the Ishtar Gate. Conformity and formal arrangement of avenues and planning advocate the harsh rule of Sumerian civilization

2.2. Geographic location and transportation

Another feature common to all ancient cities was the limited means of communication and importance of geographic location. Long distance transportation had to be by water, and cities had to be close to estuaries or situated in the valleys of navigable rivers. Purposes of sanitation also required that they be accessible to flowing water. The Chaldeans and the Egyptians laid out their important cities in the valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile; while the great Greek and Roman cities were near to ports or had rivers flowing through them. All land communication being by road, the primitive condition of highways. Although these were developed to a comparatively high degree of excellence by the Romans, restricted the areas from which food supplies could be obtained. The need of security, coupled with the undeveloped character of road communications, influenced the selection of sites and size of cities. These had to be comparatively small to enable the population to be fed from the surrounding land. The great size of the modern city has been made possible chiefly by the development of transportation.

2.3. Long Term Housing for Labor



Figure 3. City of Kahun in Egypt.

Excavations have shown that a city of the name of **Kahun** in Egypt was laid out in rectangular form between 3000 and 2500 B.C. It has been described as the oldest example of town planning, but some earlier cities, in India for instance, appear to have been laid out in the same formal pattern. Kahun was built for the men engaged in the construction of the Illahun pyramid and has the straight streets and crowded blocks of small workers dwellings that might be expected under the leadership of the pyramid builders. The Acropolis was not situated in the center of the city, but on high grounds adjacent to the boundary. This suggests that an elevated site was more important than a central location for the seat of government and religion. The sanitary facilities appear to have been comparatively good, a system of drains having followed the middle lines of streets.

2.4. Prophecies and treaties: The old Vedic treatises contain descriptions of the town planning and building laws and regulations which were imposed on towns in India in very ancient times. The character of these is shown in the following extracts from the treatise *Viśvakarmaprakāśā*

- (1) First lay out the town and then only plan the houses. Violation of this rule portends and brings evil.
- (2) First plant the trees and erect the premises thereafter: otherwise they will not look graceful and seemly. . . .

(3) The houses of Brāhmans should be chatuślāmacr;; that is, they must occupy the four sides of a quadrangle which is an open space in the centre. Sālā means a long structure of one span only. The houses of Kshatriyas should be triślā, i.e., occupying the three sides of the rectangular plot. The houses of Vaigyas should be dviślā, i.e., forming the two sides of the plot, while those of Sūdras should be ekaślā [on one side]. . . .

(4) The imperial palaces should be raised to eleven storeys; the buildings of Brāhmans to nine storeys; those of the ordinary kings to seven storeys; the buildings of the provincial satraps (sāmanta) to five storeys; Vaiśyas and the soldier class (Kshatriyas) should have four-storeyed buildings and Sūdras should have their houses one to three storeys high. . . .

According to Important regulations were imposed to secure space about buildings: footpaths, for instance, were required to be as wide as onethird the breadth of the house; all the houses had to face the royal roads, and at their backs narrow lanes were provided to allow passage for removal of offal and night-soil; between any two houses, or between the extended portions of any two houses, the intervening space had to be four pādas or three pādas (feet).¹

Prof. D.P Sharma from National Museum, New Delhi, India points out that in Indo-Aryan tradition the beginnings of town planning are traced to Brahma, and the treatise Viśvakarmaprakāśā is attributed in origin to the renowned divine architect Viśvakarmā. The knowledge of town planning appears to have been as extensive as it was intensive. Even laymen knew something of the subject, as is evident from the descriptions of the towns that are met with in the various literatures of India. The Mānasāra and the Mayamata discuss the following cognate topics of town planning: examination of soil, selection of site, division of the grounds into squares, the planning of villages and towns, buildings and their different

¹ ibid.



tion of buildings. Also the directions given by Krishna about the planning of his
ed to the selection of building plots and the placing and spacing of buildings,
ular plots at the junction of roads, and the orientation of buildings. These

descriptions of ancient laws afford even more striking testimony to the knowledge and common sense of the early peoples of India in regulating their building development than is revealed in the excavations of ruined cities. They indicate a remarkable wisdom in the administration of municipal affairs.²

2.5. Nature as an inspiration for city pattern :

Mother Earth is seed of all art, invention. We have tendency to integrate nature in our day to day needs
It is also seen that products based on nature were always more apt and sustainable as compared to man made products. To name a few Ayurveda and yoga. Right from ancient to modern times, city planners have used natural and mythological beliefs in planning. In this chapter we would discuss this point further with examples such as Chandigarh, Paris and Beijing.

Planning of Chandigarh based on Human body

Le Corbusier's plan for the City of Chandigarh resembles the functional characteristics of the human body. The capitol complex represents the head. City centre forms the heart of the city. Roads form the circulatory system and the leisure valleys represent lungs. Le Corbusier also used golden section in various proportions of the city plan which can be seen in the human body.



nk and Company, Calcutta and Simla (India), 1925, p.



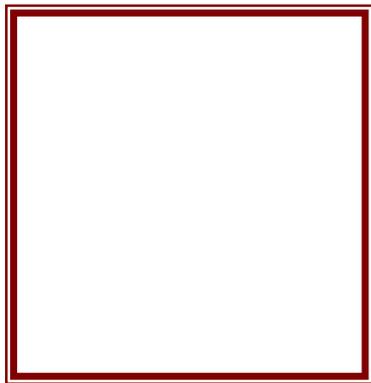
Figure 5. City of Jerusalem.

Figure 4: Plan of Chandigarh and its relationship with the human body

In addition to above mentioned influences there are a series of structural and functional characteristics that govern the urban pattern. These characteristics include

- a. Zoning
- b. Transportation and Road network
- c. Neighborhood Design

2.6. Early Origins of Zoning

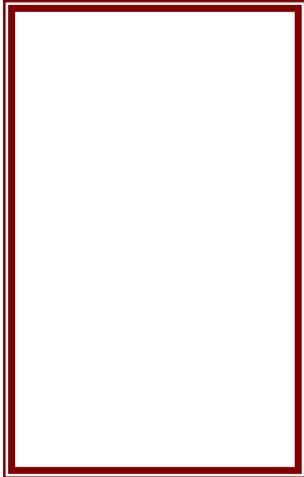


In Palestine, between Egypt and Mesopotamia, lay the historic city of **Jerusalem**, occupying the watershed between the desert and the sea. During the 33 centuries of history through which this city has maintained her spirit, she has undergone 18 reconstructions. The first mention of "zoning" is in connection with Jerusalem. The city was besieged by Nebuchadnezzar in 597 B.C. and he carried its people, including Ezekiel the prophet, into exile. In his prophecies, Ezekiel described the division of the land of Palestine into "zones." Which as follows: Next to Judah, from east to west, shall be the

tion which you must set apart, eight and a third miles wide, and as long as one of the clan-zones
 t; the sanctuary shall stand there. . . . No part of this choice land is ever to be sold or exchanged
 ated; it is sacred to the Eternal. The remaining section of the reservation, a mile and two thirds
 d eight and a third miles in length, shall not be sacred; it is for the city with its houses and

Figure 6. City of Harappa.

suburbs, the city lying in the middle.



The similar pattern of zoning is observed in Indian cities; Two sites in the Indus Valley, at Mohenjo-Daro in Sind and at Hapappa in the Punjab, have been excavated, resulting in the bringing to light of buried cities. Five thousand years ago this valley supported a great urban civilization, and evidence indicates that its cities were planned and built in rectangular blocks. Broad, straight streets, well laid with burnt bricks, provided access to two story houses, which were built around small courtyards and were mostly occupied as flats. Sanitation was of a high order, streets being drained with covered sewers led into soak pits at intervals, and it is even suggested that every large house had a bathroom. The cities were apparently well organized and planned, and the remains that have been excavated show little distinction between the richer and poorer streets. No vast temples or palaces have been found in these cities.³

³ Panorama of Harappan Civilization/D.P. Sharma and Madhuri Sharma.

2.7. Transportation and Road Network: A number of U.S. cities such as Detroit and Radburn were designed for car as a basic transportation mode. The focus on automobile as the main mode of transport had a drastic impact on the cities. The suburbia became a reality as people could travel long distances in a very short time due to extensive road network and the car. A complex web of freeways, expressways have become a common feature of modern cities. A significant shift in planning ideology was experienced in the postmodern era where main focus is on building strong neighborhoods and communities. New Urbanist and neo-traditional communities in North –America clearly indicate the paradigm shift.

2.8. Neighborhood Design

An old map of Japanese city of Heian shows a large palace in the center of the northern part, with an avenue of great width, separating the city into two parts. The city was further divided into sections of 16 blocks each, the blocks being about 400 feet square. Each section was administered as a neighborhood with its superintendent who enforced local regulations. These neighborhood units comprised about 75 acres, including their street areas, and the population of each section appears to have been about 6,000. Streets 80 feet wide cut across the city every few blocks, the intervening streets being 40 feet wide. The four boundary roads had canals down the center and there were six canals from north to south. Later on this neighborhood concept became very famous and was largely adapted on larger scale by various modern day city planners in city like Chandigarh , India planned by Le Corbusier

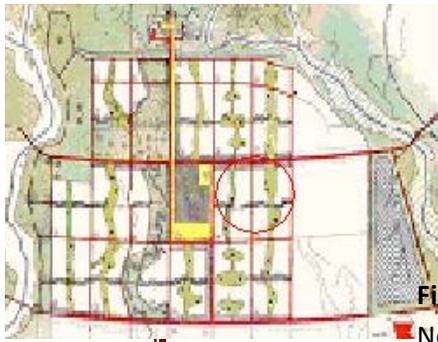


Figure7. Chandigarh Planned on
Neighborhood Concepts

CHAPTER 3 : Urban Pattern as a Response to Mythological Beliefs

In this chapter we would discuss those cities which have evolved organically, but later on mythological and religious belief were attached to it .

Banaras , India based on Indian Mythology



Historical Map Of Banaras showing the outer city in the form of circle and the inner city shown in the form of a Square

Figure 8. Historical Map of Banaras

Banaras is the most visited pilgrimage destination in all of India; it is the oldest living city in the world and thousands of tourists visit Banaras every year for spiritual and religious reasons .As a city, the order of Banāras is conceptual and symbolic, rather than geographical;. No visitor in the maze of narrow lanes in modern Banāras would apprehend the maṇḍala pattern of the sacred city. But they are indeed three myths which are associated with origin or planning of Bnaras. According to first myth; the whole city is symbolically organized as a mandal resting on a shiva’s Trishul. The word mandal has originated from Sanskrit scriptures characteristically; a Mandala is a sacred shape consisting of the intersection of a circle and a square.The square shape is symbolic of earth, signifying the four directions which bind and define it. Indeed, in Hindu thought whatever concerns terrestrial life is governed by the number four (four castes; the four Vedas etc.). Similarly, the circle is logically the perfect metaphor for heaven since it is a perfect shape, without beginning or end, signifying timelessness and eternity, a characteristically divine attribute. Thus a Mandala (and by extension the temple) is the meeting ground of heaven and earth. So Banaras according to Hindu mythology is union of heaven on earth resting on God’s Trishul which is trident lethal weapon of Shiva , Lord of all Gods.

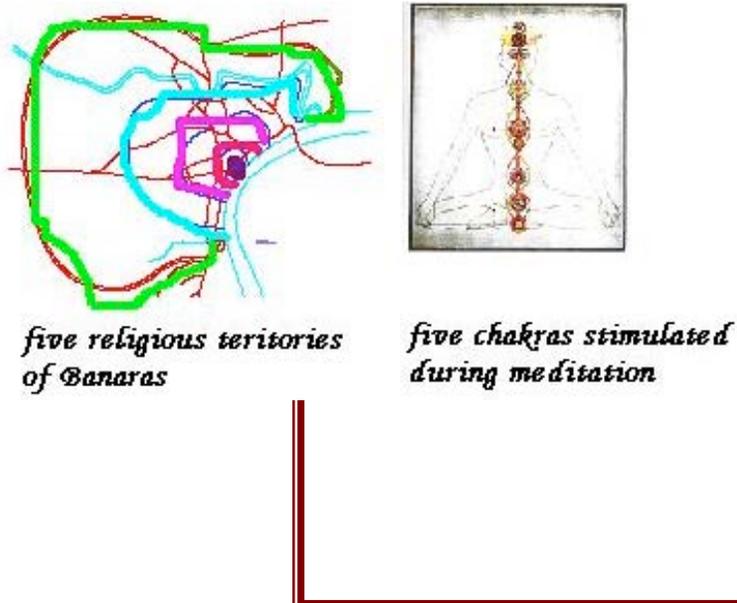
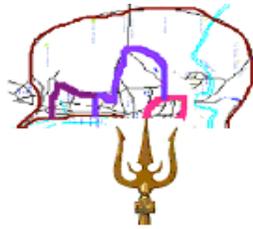


Figure 9: Five religious territories and chakras of Banaras

According to second myth; Banaras has Five Religious Territories of city which symbolically represents Five Chakra's in Yoga Position. Each charka correspond to primary energy center when one is practicing meditation; five charkas are stimulated leading experience unique healing experience which purifies the body. According to sacred Hindu scriptures; Upanashidas these five charkas also represent five elements in nature; Earth, fire, water and Air Human body is also believed to be composed of these five elements, so in order to purify Human body it is necessary to stimulate these charkas. Similarly It is believed that purification of Human soul can only be achieved by encircling five territories of Banaras.

According to third myth Banaras has bow shape depicting Lord Rama's bow which is resting on Lord Shiva's Trishul. So here we can see this myth is associated with lethal weapons of two main God of Hindu Mythology lord Rama and Shiva.



picture taken from hindu scriptures showing city form of banaras resting on shiva's trishul

city of banaras has bow shape form like lord Rama's Bow resting on Shivas trishul

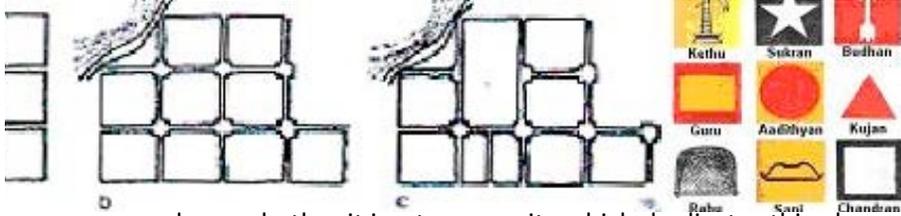
Banaras map like Rama's bow resting on Shivas's trishul

Figure 10: Religious beliefs behind the plan of Banaras

Myths are continuously evolving and here we can see how these religious myths were exploited by local population to glorify Banaras. As a result, today Banaras happens to be the major attraction not only for Hindu devotees but also for international tourists and research scholars.

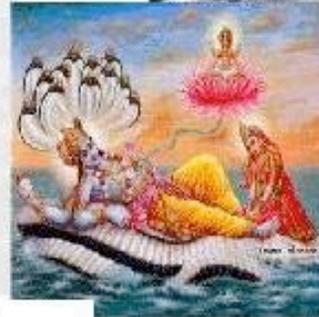
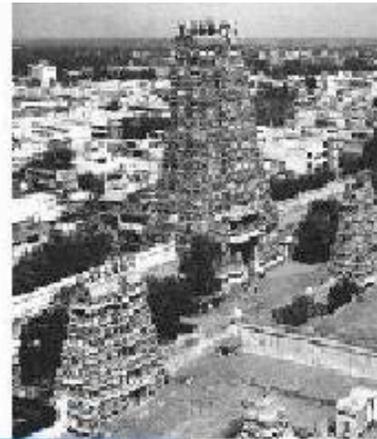
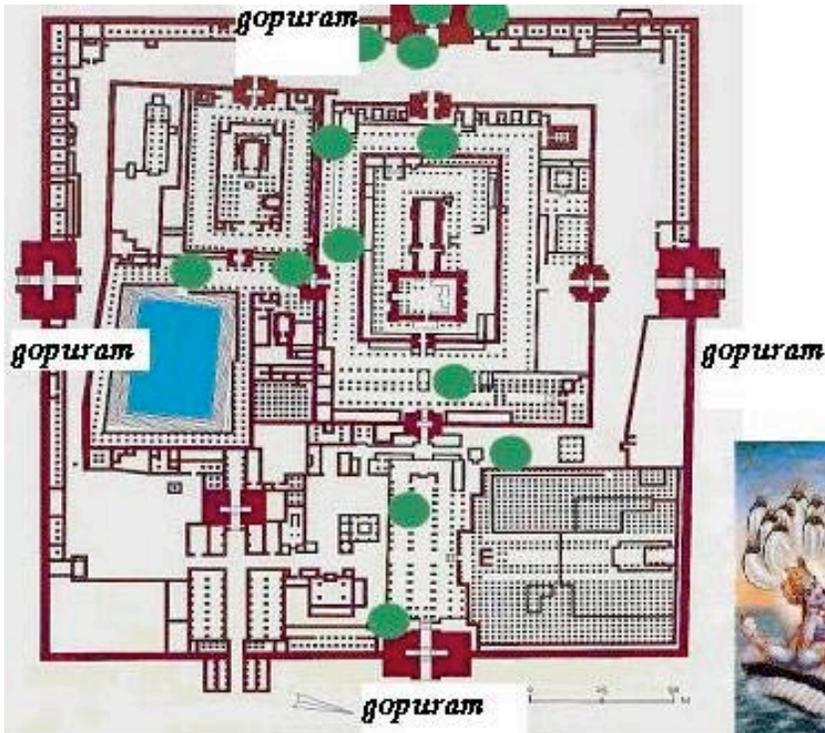
Temple cities of south India

In Madurai in South India, however, the order of the city as maṇḍala is unmistakable. The temple of the Goddess Mīnākṣ and Śiva Sundareśvara stands at the center of the city. Its rectangular enclosing walls have high temple gates, gopuras, in each of the four directions, marking access to the sacred space of the temple itself. Around the whole temple complex are four concentric, rectangular, processional streets along which the festival images of the divine are carried or pulled in huge temple carts. Again, the mythic traditions of the city emphasize this center symbolism. It is said that Madurai blossomed like a lotus from the navel of Viṣṇu, at the beginning of creation. The four-petalled lotus is, of course, associated with the structure of Gopuram. Like Banāras, the city is circumambulated. Even the winds are said to circle Madurai in the clockwise direction of the pradakṣiṇa. In Tamilnadu there are smaller cities and towns, such as Suchindram, and even individual temples, such as that at Tiruvaṅṅāmalai, that repeat the essential



quadrants of the four directions, laid
cosmic mountain with its cities of the

gods, or whether it is a town or city which duplicates this plan.



*Four
gopurams
correspond
ing to four
leaves of
lotus*

It is said that Madurai blossomed like a lotus from the navel of Vishnu and four gopurams correspond to four leaves of lotus

Figure 11: Plan of Madurai Temple Complex

Planning of Indian city based on Vastu



Nearly two millennia later, in the eighteenth century, Jaipur was designed by a Bengali architect well versed in Manasara shilpa shastra. The city was the capital of Sawai Jai Singh, a dedicated astronomer and the governor of Amber, a territory in the State of Rajasthan. The plan of Jaipur is a version of the

are

nine squares also known as mandal dedicated to nine planets; concept adopted from Vastu, one square displaced towards the southeast as a result of a hilly outcrop. While there is no documented evidence that the vaastu shastras were consulted in laying out the city, their influence is unmistakably clear. The foundations of the city were laid out by Sawai Jai Singh's Brahmin guru in 1727 C.E. The cohesive urban fabric of Jaipur has survived 250 years. Indeed the quality of its civic spaces and the architectural subordination of individual buildings and an overall urban aesthetic have brought it much acclaim.

Influence of Feng shui on Chinese city planning

The tendencies toward symmetrical arrangement of land divisions and destruction of scenic beauty by railways and other enterprises have been counteracted to some extent in China by the superstitious belief in fêng shui, meaning "wind and water." An ancient Chinese characteristic has been worship of the spirits of hills, rivers, and other natural objects. Artificial changes in the landscape that affect use are judged by whether they provide the necessary fêng shui to commend them to the spirits and thereby bring luck to cities and their inhabitants. As valleys surrounded by hills are supposed to be the chief abodes of the spirits, the preservation of much lovely scenery has been one of the beneficial results of belief in fêng shui.

Influence of Buddhism on City Planning: Buddhism, which first gained a hold in China in the sixth century B.C., had considerable influence in promoting the art of city building and other arts. The organization of communities is referred to in the second set of rules in the Viñāya-pítaka. It was in the northwestern



MYTHOLOGICAL BELIEFS IN CITY PLANNING

ularily in Honan and Kansu that Chinese culture had its origins. The plans of
of Kaifêng (the capital of Honan), and of Lanchow (the capital of Kansu),
rly examples of city planning. Evidences of such planning are mostly in the

capitals where great rulers dominated and erected their palaces, temples, and fortified works.

Sian-fu, capital of Shensi, China

Sian-Fu (or "western repose") occupies a strategic position at the entry to China from the west. The city is square tending to oblong in shape, and includes within its boundaries two large urban districts. The early plan shows a rectangular arrangement of roads of varying width with four gates each provided with a barbican. There are extensive walls or fortifications surrounding the city and fine temples and public buildings within it.



Figure 13: Plan of Sian- Fu Capital of Shensi, China

Plan of Peiping (formerly Peking), China

Probably no city on rectangular lines has a better plan than Peiping (formerly Peking). This is because its functional arrangement, interior land and water spaces, important buildings and system of enclosing walls, gates and approaches have been developed in harmony and in proper scale to the original layout

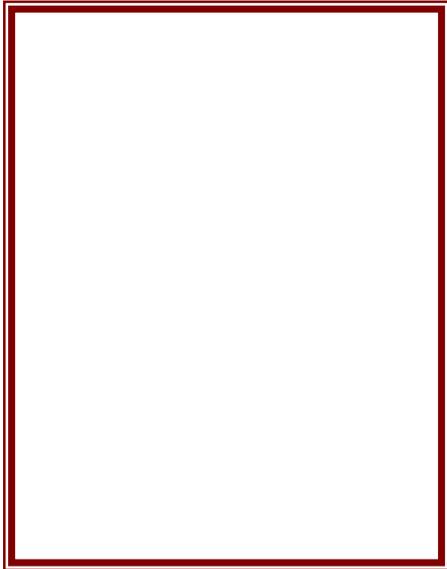


well conceived, a rectangular plan may have no particular merit, and if ill conceived
aphy, or if ample open squares are not reserved, it may be the least meritorious of
ason why it is incorrect to assume that formality in street arrangement is a mark of
anning in ancient cities, any more than in modern cities. Inner fortified city in the

own as Imperial city or **Forbidden City** as this part was forbidden by local people. This

Figure 14. Peking – The Red Forbidden City

part of city was well guarded by seven artificial lakes which formed an irregular chain from the north wall
to the south wall and all the palaces and temples were grouped around the lakes.



Chapter 4: Conclusions

Various cities discussed in chapter 2 clearly indicate that ancient cities were generally evolved with a strong theme. They were either military strongholds, places religious importance or places with critical geographical locations. Today's contemporary cities are eclectic with many

complex issues. Multicultural cities were first possible in the twentieth century. Advanced transportation technologies, increasing awareness about environmental stewardship and ever-increasing public awareness about sustainability require a paradigm shift in the ideologies about urban pattern. Urban planners need to address following issues to build cities that are livable, economically and environmentally sustainable and most importantly provide social equity. They are:

1. **Social equity:** Cities should provide equal opportunity for all citizens. To achieve such social equity strong municipal governance policies and overall public awareness is critical.
2. **Environmental Sustainability:** Cities should focus on growth strategies that use less ecological footprint and consume less energy. Detail strategies Include:
 - a. compact urban form
 - b. alternative transportation fuels
 - c. Investment in public transit
 - d. Specific targets to reduce energy consumption and use of renewable energy sources.
 - e. Emphasis on building strong communities based on smart growth principles,
3. **Economic sustainability:** Today's cities are competing with each other for economic investments. Cities need to focus on developing a cutting edge public realm which acts as a magnet to attract private investments.

Although mythological beliefs and ancient principles are not relevant in today's context, they are still critical to induce strong cultural identity. Various cultural beliefs and practices definitely

help to distinguish one city from the other. Preserving these cultural identities is the most critical challenge for urban planners in today's technocratic cities.

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Urban Land Growth and Its Management in China —Its Evolution and Contemporary Characteristics

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ABSTRACT:

The contemporary urbanization in China has been paid a worldwide attention for its striking speed and its management from the planned system to the market-oriented system. Rapid expansion of urban land is probably the most conspicuous character during the Chinese urbanization process, which is expected to continue in the following decades. Due to China's special land tenure system, administrative structure, and the historical tradition, the urban land growth has developed into its unique pattern. However, until now, little research has been developed to discuss the role of the transiting urban land use planning and control system on the implementation of urban land growth management at the national level of China.

The present research examines the role of urban land growth management in China by answering the following questions: how the contemporary urban land growth system was established; whether the urban land growth in China has been under the control of the government during the transition from the planned system to the market-oriented system; and what challenges the urban land growth management in China are facing now and will still have to deal with in the near future. Through reviewing the historical changes of the urban land growth pattern and the evolution of policies for management and analyzing the relationship between them, this paper suggests that, first, the implementation of urban land use planning and control system has been limited by the fragmentation of the power of planning and management and the lack of a wide support in the field of urban land use control; second, although the government's power on economic field shrunk greatly after the transition from planned regime to market regime, it still has a leading impact on urban land growth, especially on shaping the physical patterns of urban land growth.

KEYWORDS :

Urban land growth, urban land use planning and control, government, China

Introduction

Although industrialization was applied as one of the most important objectives for the whole country after the foundation of P. R. C. in 1949, its physical carrier- urbanization, was never emphasized as a national effort. Before 1980s, primarily due to the limited food provision ability for urban area, a strict household registration system was established to constrain the flow of population from rural area to urban area and to control the urban population. Almost no opportunities were available in a city or town for people who do not have its permanent residence. Moreover, all the lands are owned by the state or collective units. Land can not be transferred or mortgaged as commodity or personal asset, and all the private investment was prohibited at that time. Therefore, there was little impetus to urban expansion. Although the central government had strategies to put more public investment into inland cities and small cities for the purpose of national defense before late 1970s, urban land allocation was regarded as just a by-product of investment planning (Institute of Finance and Trade Economics of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and Institute of Public Administration USA 1992). Both the central and local governments had very little interests in monitoring and managing urban land growth issues.

The attention of the national government on urban land growth issues arose from 1978, when the reform and opening-up policy was confirmed by the 3rd Session of CCP and the focus of the whole nation moved from political movements to economic development. Several consequent events showed the growing trend of government's attention to urban land growth. First, the success of reform in rural area after the reform in 1978 resulted in a great increase of crop yield. This solidly guaranteed the food provision of the urban areas, and ensured the urban population growth. The subsequent boom of urban economy also boosted the growth of urban population, and led to the great need for urban land. Whereas the average annual growth of urbanization ratio in China was 0.25% from 1949 to 1978, it increased to 0.91% from 1979 to 2004 (Gu 1992; Chinese Academy of Science 2005; National Bureau of Statistics 2005). The urban built-up area increased from 8.8 thousand square kilometers in 1984 to 12.8 thousand square kilometers in 1989 (Institute of Finance and Trade Economics of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and Institute of Public Administration USA 1992), and 30.4 thousand square kilometers in 2004 (Ministry of Construction 2005). Particularly, the national urban land reform in 1988 stipulated the separation of land use right from land property right and legitimized the non-state investment into urban real estate development, further stimulating the amplification of urban land use demand. Since mid-1980s, the dramatic loss of cultivated land resulted from the increasing occupation by urban and rural construction, and the inefficient land use in the existing urban area prompted the central government to take measures to manage urban land growth. Second, the compensated land use system introduced nationwide in 1988 has yielded substantive revenue for the governments. By the year 1993, 123.1 billion Yuan (about 15.4 billion US Dollars) had been acquired by the governments through land conveyance and transfer. In 1995, the land conveyance fee reached as much as 550.5 billion Yuan (about 68.8 billion US Dollars), in which 70% was shared by the local governments. In early 1990s, urban land conveyance usually counted for over 25% of the city fiscal revenue, and in some cities could be as high as 50%-80% (Li 2004). The vast benefits derived from urban land reform has not only

increase the motivation of the government sector to management land growth, but has also led to contest of land management authority among different levels and sectors of government. Moreover, the continuous trend of a striking urban land growth until the mid of this century has also contributed to the increasing attention to urban land growth management. According to the prediction of National Population and Family Planning Commission of China, the population of China will reach 1.56 billion by the year 2050 (National Population and Family Planning Commission 2003), when the urbanization ratio of China will be over 75% by the prediction of a recent influential report (Editorial Committee of China Urban Development Report and Mayor Society of China 2002). That means a total urban population of 1.17 billion in 2050, which is 710 million more than that in 2000. Based on the current urban land use standard for urban master plan which requires about 100 square meters per capita in new urban planning areas, about 71 thousand square kilometers of land from 2001 to 2050 or 1.42 thousand square kilometers of land each year need to be provided for the increasing urban residents. Consequently, by the year 2050, the total urban built-up area will be as much as about 100 thousand square kilometers.

The great amount and striking speed of urban land growth will definitely, have profound influence on the urban pattern and all the social and economic life in China. The basic structure of most of the Chinese cities will be formed within the first half of this century. In addition to the impact on urban land use pattern, the growth would also have great influence on rural land use. Particularly, cultivated land, which is usually located surrounding urban areas, has become one of the most vulnerable types of rural land that is continually encroached by the urban expansion. Since the 1999 Land Administration Law (promulgated in 1998, valid from 1999), the protection of cultivated land has been legally confirmed as a national objective. Many policies to achieve this objective, such as cultivated land reclamation, land rearrangement, and land use quota control, all have correlations, to different extent, with the urban land growth. Since the post-Mao period, the objectives, contents, and methods of urban land use management have all experienced a big change. However, a continuous common trend of management can still be found during this period. Generally, whereas local governments focus more on the location and characters of urban land growth management; the central government's concern has been primarily concentrated in the field of urban land growth management, especially the management of the amount of urban land use (Han and Nishimura 2006). Until now, there is very little literature on the institutional structure and implementation of land growth management in China. Whereas traditional studies argue that the government's intrusion has been largely retreated from the economic field since 1978; the present paper finds an opposite trend developing in the field of urban land growth. To approach this argument, this paper first reviews how the contemporary urban land growth system was established through the institutional evolution of three government sectors related to urban land use planning and control. Then, it analyzes the characteristics of current urban land growth system. This follows by the examination of the operation of contemporary urban land growth management. Particularly, it discusses whether the urban land growth in China has been under the control of the government. Finally, this paper summarizes basic findings and discusses how these findings contribute to the future policy making.

Towards an Understanding of the Ideological and Utopian Underpinnings of the Nineteenth Century New England Mill Community

John Mullin and Zenia Kotval

INTRODUCTION

Over the past twenty years, as academics and professional planners, I have focused my research and practical work on the “once and future New England mill town.” This community, in many ways, is quite different from the Region’s first settlements built during the Puritan, Colonial and Early Republican years: These communities were evolutionary, settled largely by peoples of a common faith and culture, agriculturally oriented, self sustaining (at least in theory) and stable. The mill town was quickly established, settled by people with little commitment to place and who were of different faiths and ethnicity, were utilitarian and were built for profit. Largely developed in the 19th century, the mill town as a municipal entity still exists in New England and, in many ways, still exhibits the characteristics found at their very beginning. Throughout our work, we have been regularly struck by the ambivalence of both residents and non-residents toward these communities. From the residents’ side, one can note pride, a positive work ethic and a commitment toward community. And yet, one can also note an almost constant desire to leave: They live and work there because they have to and, given the opportunity, most, we believe, would leave in a minute. From the perspective of people in other towns, the mill communities are clearly places where one works but does not live. One tolerates them because they are a present economic opportunity. However, one does not risk one’s family, social capital or social rank by committing to these places.

Having noted this ambivalence, I began to seek out reasons for it and quickly became convinced that it is in part rooted in the earliest philosophies, ideologies and visions that have guided the development of the region. The thoughts of the region’s political and social thinkers have indeed had a profound impact on how we perceive these communities. And yet, there have been minimal efforts to date to place these perspectives in context. This paper is intended to make a contribution toward correcting this shortcoming.

NEW ENGLAND

New England is America’s first settled, smallest, most defined and arguably most studied region. Consisting of six states clustered in the northeast corner of the nation, it has long been noted as a place where religion, political ideologies, technology, immigration and innovation have coalesced to create a region where work, innovation and change have been embraced. In the late 17th and throughout the 18th and 19th century, New England provided the tools that built the nation, the clothes that kept the people warm, the books that educated the people and the guns that protected them. In the 20th century, it was a center of science, medical and educational innovation that clearly revolutionized how the nation’s people lived. And today it continues to change as its laboratories and universities focus on genetics, bioengineering and nanotechnology. It is a place where work is highly valued. How this climate emerged, in the 19th century, in an ideological sense is concisely explained below.

PURITAN INFLUENCES

The nature of manufacturing (“of making things”) in New England stems directly from the time of Puritan settlements and their commitment to community. The covenanted community, guided by the counsel of Micah and John Winthrop’s “City on a Hill” ideals, was a place of toil: “A community of faith truly exists when it is a community of work” (Smith, p. 8). As time passed, and other Protestant sects arrived and established settlements in New England, the ideals of Winthrop’s covenant were regularly echoed. As Folsom and Lubar have noted, the encouragement of manufacturers “... starts from, among other places, the Protestant assumption that industry, in its several senses, is good for us” (Folsom and Lubar, p. xx). The familiar adage that “idleness is the devil’s workshop” comes to mind. Indeed, from the writings and commentary of Protestant clergy and community elites, one can regularly note that industry was perceived, from the time of the earliest communities, as a means of social control: The local mill was an ideal place for providing sustenance to the orphaned, widowed, landless and indigent. Indeed, as Powell has noted in his famed book on the Puritan new town of Sudbury, the maintenance of a prosperous local mill was a matter of public concern (Powell, p. 144).

Thus, in our earliest towns, we can note the beginnings of industrialization and their place in community. The presence of the smithy, gristmill, granary and sawmill is almost constant. There are religious, political, social and economic reasons for the acceptance of these activities. And yet, from all of these perspectives, they must be controlled. They are not a natural part of the community. They are tolerated and accepted only as a necessity. In fact, as the population of the Massachusetts Bay Colony grew in the late 17th century, it became quite clear that household production could not meet the needs of the citizenry. For this reason, political leaders regularly urged compulsory training in spinning and weaving, provided incentives to the operations of saw and gristmills and even provided bonuses to companies that produced cloth. And yet, even here, when husbandry required “technique” (i.e. the windmills, the gristmills) to bring products to market, there was distrust. John Stilgoe, after examining the monopoly given to a mill operator in Scituate, a town in Massachusetts’ Plymouth County, noted the following: “Beneath the accords reached in town after town, lay always a tenseness that familiarity never wholly vanquished. Always the mill was necessary, and always the miller kept some part of the husbandman’s harvest; sometimes he inundated their land as well or decreased the flow of streams on which they depended. Now and again he inadvertently mired or drowned their livestock” (Stilgoe, pp. 306-307). In short, early industry was a requirement and necessity. Yet, the operators and activities were not considered to be “quite right”: They were of the community but not part of it. As an old German adage states: “No miller goes to Heaven” (Stilgoe, p. 300).

THE COLONIAL ERA

As we move from the Puritan community to the towns of the Colonial era, the debate over the role and place of industry in New England society continues. Thomas Jefferson, taking a Physiocratic approach, argued strongly for a nation based upon agricultural production, seeing little added value for industrial productivity. Jefferson described his concerns in his book Notes on the State of Virginia, echoing the themes found in our Puritan communities. For example, he states that “Those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God...” He then goes on to note the mobs found in the great manufacturing cities of Europe and considers this form of community a degeneracy and a “...canker which soon eats to the heart of [a republic’s] laws and constitution (In Folsom and Lubar, p. 15). There is also a spatial component in Jefferson’s thinking. He perceived that European cities were compact. The American countryside, in contrast, represents an “immensity of land”. It is best that all of our citizens should be employed in its improvement” (In Folsom and Lubar, p. 15). Jefferson was joined by John Adams who argued that the new nation did not have the means to develop an industrial base (Dunwell, p. 11). On the other hand, Alexander Hamilton, Tench Coxe and Mathew Carey, as representatives of the Neo-Mercantilist Approach, saw great merit in the sponsorship of industry. And, in the middle were the proponents of Adam Smith who argued that there was no place for governmental intervention and that the new nation should let market forces work through its “invisible hand.”

While the debate was ongoing, the Industrial Revolution in England was in full flower with Manchester serving as its crown jewel. New Englander after New Englander traveled to England to observe the English innovations (Jeremy, pp. 14-16). While much enamored with England’s Arkwright System, along with other innovations, they also were quite concerned with the quality of life found in the nation’s industrial centers: These cities were grim places. It is the era of Blake’s “dark Satanic mills”, where God places value in green pastures, while the Devil is perceived as an engineer” (Perrin, p. 12). And where did such communities fit in the context of the nation? As Mumford has noted, the industrial city, “...as a social unit, lay outside the circle of invention.” Indeed, the great industrial cities of Birmingham and Manchester were not even incorporated as boroughs until 1838: “... they were man-heaps, machine warrens, not organs of human association.” It is clear that the superimposing of standardization, technology and systems on the natural community was suspect! (Mumford, p. 148).

THE NEW ENGLAND PROTOTYPES

The perceptions of the English experience on the part of New England’s early industrialists were indeed profound. On the one hand, there was great respect and awe over the technology that stimulated the creation of factories. On the other hand, there was great concern over the form and quality of life of English industrial cities. How did this interplay between desire to accept the New England context? They were initially commonly developed in two forms. On one side were the early industrial hamlets that were

created by what came to be known as the Slater or Rhode Island system of manufacturing. On the other side there were the great cities of Lowell, Lawrence, Manchester, Holyoke and Chicopee.

The Slater System, named after Samuel Slater, who is frequently noted as one of the fathers of the American Industrial Revolution, can be found most commonly in Rhode Island, the Blackstone Valley of Massachusetts and the Quinebaug Valley of Massachusetts and the Quinebaug Valley of Connecticut. Slater and his investors build scores of these hamlets employing similar planning schemes in each. One found a river, dam, housing, factory, factory store and well-shaded roads in these places. Typically, these towns were locally owned, privately financed, employed families and sold their products directly in the market place (Dunwell, p. 52). These hamlets were hardly upsetting to the status quo: They depended upon local resources, endeavored to fit into the local environment and sought to create conditions that would be attractive to families. Coolidge, after examining these settlements state that they appear "... like the realization of some utopian dream" (Coolidge, p. 11). It is exactly the point that they fit into the environment rather than physically dominating space or changing the social order that caused these places to be at least tolerated. One could argue that Slater was not only adept at bringing English technology to America but was equally skilled in replanting the English manorial system in Southern New England. For this reason, the Slater system represents, at a minimum, a progression in the evolution of the New England mill community. At a maximum, it was a prefigurement of our industrial cities. Francois Choay, in his studies of urbanism makes a distinction between progressive planning (looking to the future and based on visions of social progress) and culturalist planning (nostalgic in orientation and based upon visions of shared cultural values) (Choay, p. 31). Within this comparison, where would we fit Mr. Slater and his communities? It is a difficult question to answer. In a cultural sense, the manorial elements of these settlements were nostalgic. However, despite the image of bringing families to the community and creating an atmosphere marked by a complementarity of class interest, there was none. In the progressist sense, Slater saw great value in embracing technology and creating an environment that would prevent alienation. In a final analysis, Slater's communities are far more progressist than culturalist. Moreover, they match many of the ideas of such social theorists as Robert Owen, Charles Fourier and Etienne Cabet (Choay, p. 31, Repts, pp. 464-465).

As small and as balanced in the landscape as were the Slater System Mills, the Lowell System Mills were huge and dominating. The Lowell System takes its name from Francis Cabot Lowell who, after learning of the English system, endeavored, like Slater, to bring it to America. However, unlike Slater, he perceived that it would require high investments to truly develop our industrial base. Working with his Boston friends, he first developed a prototype factory at Waltham. After his death in 1817, his compatriots chose the newly named community of Lowell as the site for its first industrial community.

The plans for the City of Lowell were unlike any that America had ever seen. It was clearly a city built for profit. There were no efforts to match the character of the new community to the surroundings, no overt desire to improve quality of life for the good of society, and minimal efforts to provide amenities: The dictates of production determine community (Dal Co, p. 192). From its very beginning, the city was a success and it grew and grew. Throughout its early years there were utopian overtures that could be found throughout the community. One could note the campus layout of the structures, the pursuit of a strong moral code for all workers, the desire to promote an image of class complementarity among all workers, and, perhaps most interestingly, the desire to bring women into the workforce. Unfortunately, utopia only survived as long as profits and production improved. When Lowell began to feel the pressure of increased competition and changing market conditions, the social experiments, and even the veneer that the City was special, quickly were stripped away.

What is most interesting is that the developers of Lowell were willing to experiment and to try to develop new ways of living and working. They were very much aware of the evils of Manchester and, indeed, even asked themselves if, by developing this new city, they were unleashing powers that could change the social order and threaten their own places in society. And yet, they persisted. Their initial success, in a political and social sense, occurred, in part, because of their ability to insure that they were adding economic and social value to the New England community. Nowhere could this be better noted than in their efforts to attract the famed "Yankee Girls". As Lowell was first being developed, it became clear that the machinery was too complex for children. It also became clear that, with the boom brought on by the

War of 1812 and the fact that the west was “opening up”, there was an extreme labor shortage. With these points in mind, the developers sought out young women from New England’s farm communities to work in the factories. They quickly realized that factory work for women was considered demeaning, degrading and immoral. To overcome this stigma and to entice these women to work in the mills, they established a moral code for their female workers that included model boardinghouses, matrons to watch over them, compulsory church attendance, bible reading and educational opportunities. At times this arrangement took on the patina of a secular industrial convent.

The idea of Lowell was, in short, to create a powerful center of production without the evil side effects of Manchester. The owners realized that they had to overcome the fear of industry, social change and urbanization. They also realized that they had to create an atmosphere that was attractive to workers. Above all, the Lowell developers sought to create an environment that would enhance the complementarity of class interests. Between 1823 and 1837, the owners were quite successful and Lowell was frequently hailed as an industrial utopia. And yet, once again, as competition increased and markets fluctuated, all pretenses were removed and the city increasingly took on the characteristics of “evil” Manchester: After 1837, strikes, lock outs, wage cuts, new workers and new immigrants who were willing to work for less, overcrowding and slum-like conditions became commonplace. Utopian Lowell, as an idea and experiment, had ended.

Can we trace these utopian ideas of Lowell to any defined school of thought or utopian writings? Not directly. As Dalzell has written: “No doubt the entire sequence of events would present less of a puzzle if the principle actors had said more about it” (Dalzell, p. 6). However, it is known that Francis Lowell undertook an extensive visit to England and Scotland between 1810 and 1812. In that period, he would have been quite aware of the successes and failures of creating new communities as England continued to be industrialized and undertook various planning experiments (i.e. the “Improvement” efforts in Scotland to consolidate communities, build villages and train/educate the citizenry). However, in an abstract sense, one can find nothing that caused Francis Lowell to create his vision. Coolidge suggests, in summarizing Francis Lowell’s thinking the following: “In one sense his project was but the first of all those attempts to build a new abode of sweetness and light according to a preconceived plan for the ideal society which were characteristic of Transcendentalist New England” (Coolidge, p. 22).

INDUSTRY AND THE CITY

After mid-century, the Slater and Lowell communities were regularly replicated across the New England landscape and shed all of their unique characteristics. They had become commonplace. And yet, they were still not accepted as appropriate communities in the landscape. The mill workforce, always suspect, was becoming more so as inexpensive immigrant labor entered the nation. The idea of the balanced community was giving rise to the ever-expanding city and technological changes were constantly changing markets. And even in smaller towns, one can find new tensions as workers and managers clashed and mill owners and town governments began to define themselves as adversaries (Prude, p. 213). In the New England context, we can turn to the likes of Emerson, Hawthorne, Thoreau and the Transcendentalists to observe reactions to these changes in our small, traditional communities. Ironically, several of them lived near the Concord River, which was one of the major tributaries that fed Lowell’s power! All of them take a culturalist approach to the rise of the industrial community and consider the rising city an anathema. Perhaps what is most important is that their influences have continued into the present (White, p. 44).

Can we point to any philosopher or utopianist who sees the rise of the New England industrial community as positive? Is there someone who, like Voltaire, sees industry as virtuous, or Adam Smith who saw the industrial city as a stimulus to prosperity or even Johann Fichte who saw the rise of the industrial city as stimulating culture? I think not. Indeed, the changes in community and the cultural shifts caused by the Civil War created a strong sense of romanticism, nostalgia and desire for the simplification of life. The post Civil War Era was a time of myth making, a period when the Colonial Revival was extolled. It was an image of a nativist, conservative, Protestant, burger-esque environment where one was settled on the land: There were no belching industries, no efforts to expand the electorate, no immigrants, no Catholics and no landless transients. Romance ruled!

It is only with the writings of the Utopianist Edward Bellamy, from Chicopee, Massachusetts, that we see a commitment to the industrial community. In fact, his utopian cornerstone is the Industrial Army. To Bellamy, the acceptance of technology, the embracing of efficiency and the commitment to production are critical to creating an idealized state. Bellamy saw great merit in balancing the city and the countryside and of creating “field and factory” relationships. His writings have been profoundly influential across New England and even the world. From Henry George to John Dewey and John Maynard Keynes, all recognized his brilliance. And, in a planning sense, Bellamy had a significant influence on the ideas of Ebenezer Howard and his Garden City Concept, Arthur Morgan and the Tennessee Valley Authority and even the City Beautiful Movement. Bellamy died in 1898, the year that Howard’s “Garden Cities” was published (Bellamy, pp. 7-28). And the rest is history!

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it is interesting to note that we can see differing perceptions toward the role of industry in the New England community. At the time of the Puritans, we can note industry as being purposeful in religious, social and economic contexts. Here the influence of Micah and Winthrop’s covenant are strong. From the Colonial Period, we can note the Jeffersonian-Hamiltonian debate over the role of industry. Jefferson also cloaks the debate with a religious patina and adds a new dimension linking industry with urbanization. This debate is played out “on the ground” in New England where small industrial hamlets are built under the Slater system. As a counterbalance, we see the rise of the industrial city as exemplified by Lowell. Both of these had ideological elements. The Slateresque communities were outgrowths of the English manorial system while Lowell represented a totally new form of community: A city built for profit. Still, as the century progressed, the role of industry in the New England community continued to be discussed. The rise of industry and the city in general were vilified by many of the Region’s most famed writers. Among them were Emerson, Hawthorne, Melville and the Transcendentalists. It was only with the utopianistic vision of Bellamy that we finally see a positive perspective of the New England industrial community.

AFTERWORD

The legacy of these perspectives continues in many of our New England’s small industrial towns. Any researcher or practitioner involved in developing industry can note the almost constant worry of local citizens concerning its impact. There is still the perception that something negative is associated with it. Industry brings noise, odors, vibrations, bright lights and traffic. It also brings the potential of different people and environmental degradation. Then and now, there is still the desire to have it go away.

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Cityscape, Architecture and Planning. Cultural transfer and exchange in a colonial environment: Algiers, 1925-1942

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Algiers, Al-Jaza'ir ("the islands", the name taken from a group of small islands facing the city, later engulfed in the embankments forming part of the port structures), Barbaresque city and Ottoman capital, an important North African centre that, between the 16th and 19th centuries, enjoyed a period of power and prosperity, mainly related to the piracy rife throughout the Mediterranean and on account of which this Moslem city – "scourge of Christianity" - was feared all over Europe. In 1830 a French expedition landed on the Algerian coast, its officially declared purpose being to put an end to piracy but, most probably, also to take possession of the "booty of Algiers" at a time with the patrimonies of a number of important French noble families were experiencing difficulties. The hard-won conquest of the Algerian coast and its cities by the French marked the beginning of a period of great upheaval for the ancient Ottoman city of Algiers, suddenly finding itself, so to say, catapulted into the modernity of the Western World. Thus it was that Algiers became the main urban centre of Algeria, a lately formed colonial political entity defined by its present-day borders between Morocco and Tunisia.

Being the African port nearest to Marseilles, its advantageous geographical position singled Algiers out as capital of the new colony. Lying roughly midway between the main towns of the Maghreb countries of Morocco and Tunisia – French protectorates respectively since 1881 and 1912 – Algiers also occupied a favourable position for distribution on the African continent. With its exceptional demographic and economic growth, it was still the capital in 1962 when the country won independence after a sanguinary and cruel war fought between the independence movement and the French army, during which a million lives were lost.

In the early days Algiers was called upon to ensure the presence of a supporting garrison for France, later becoming a military base to protect the new colonial urban and agricultural settlements inside the country. The army proceeded to strengthen its power as a stronghold in a way similar to French fortified ports such as Toulon. Construction of the second city wall began in 1840, enclosing the ancient Arab quarter with its Turkish fortifications called "Casbah" by the French, extending the European quarter and thus doubling the size of the city. Work to increase and improve the port was put in hand at the same time and, after 1860, construction was undertaken of the two most important works of the century, the *quai* on the seafront, a series of porticoed buildings along the whole length of the new port, and the

“boulevard des anglais”, a series of ramps to take vehicles, flanked by stores and shops, to join the port to the seafront separated by a difference in height of 20 m. Considered by many architects, including Le Corbusier, as the most original “contrivances” and as examples of the finest 19th century “European” city architecture, these two works formed the frontage of the new harbour and seaward business area, facing onto the Mediterranean and towards France, expressing a significant reversal of the traditional image of an inaccessible and fortified Arab city compelled, as it had been over past centuries, to defend itself from the numerous British French and Dutch military expeditions.

In the period following the conquest of Algiers and at least until 1880, dominating military rule decisively enforced its own requirements on urban change. The first decades of French occupation saw widespread destruction of the minutely small-scale fabric of the Arab city which had to make way for streets and squares of a suitable size for troop movements. It was only after 1880, when economic growth and port activity, following the development of wine production and consequent “pacification” of the country, increased the power of the civic authorities, that a decline in importance of the military role set in, accompanied by new ideas on urban planning.

From a “small provincial town” to capital of the “French North African empire”

During the first decades of colonial rule, Algiers therefore had no clear administrative or political role since government was in the hands of a governor appointed by the military authorities and, as in the case of the main administrative bodies, political authority was wielded by France. The corps of military engineers and private speculators, sustained by capital from traders and from the first settlers who meanwhile had begun establishing their economic interests in the town, became the chief protagonists of urban change. Although in the early decades of the 20th century, encouraged by the governor Jonnart, research for a better quality of architecture and an identity for the “European” city had resulted in adoption of a “neo-Moorish” style, the middle of the 1920s saw a reaction against any form of stylistic “confusion” and against any idea of resorting to use of the local architecture for modern buildings. In spite of some attempts to alter the cityscape in the early years of the 20th century, around that time nearly all artists and writers who had visited Algiers expressed disappointment with the monumental series of porticoed buildings that fronted the French city onto the port, describing the effect as a “poor copy of the rue de Rivoli”. According to them, the Algiers of those years seemed more like a small provincial town in France than the colonial capital they had expected to see. These expressions were commonly heard until the 1930s.

Algiers had no town plan until halfway through the 1920s, a time that marked the advent of urban planning for the city. Of the many projects for expansion, drawn up between 1840 and 1880, including one for a “Napoléon-Ville” by Charles-Frédéric-Henri Chassériau in 1858, based on regular geometrical-type layouts, none were ever implemented. The city therefore

spread outward to the South-East in a spontaneous and disorderly manner, covering more and more ground on the narrow coastal strip between the sea and the hills.

The first attempt at a «Plan d'aménagement et embellissement» for the entire town consisted of several versions drawn up between 1885 and 1912 by Eugène de Redon, officially adopted by the Algiers Municipality and used as rough sketches for deciding city expansion; this plan, however, served mainly to direct speculative building towards areas made potentially interesting by the new possibilities of raising land rents, but was never used as a planning instrument, nor were its strategic aspects for urban development ever appreciated.

These earlier events may well justify the opinion expressed by Maurice Rotival (1897-1980), Parisian engineer and planner¹, colleague and collaborator of Henri Prost who, when paying his first visit to Algiers in 1930, declared: «Algiers (...) is a small provincial town (...). Perhaps because, always looking landward and unceasingly busy, they have considered it as an auxiliary, a merely accessory part of colonisation»². It was in the early 1930s, however, when the debate on planning in Algeria was begun by Rotival and by other architects and planners, members of the Société Française des Urbanistes (SFU) like Henri Prost and Tony Socard, and then Le Corbusier, that a turning point was reached in planning for Algiers, when discussion on how to modernise the city, and the projects worked on for this purpose acquired a different scale and higher cultural level. Insistence on how Algiers was to be made into a modern city, be turned from «a small provincial town» into the «capital of North Africa» became the leit-motiv of that period.

A capital in search of its identity

Two interesting aspects characterise the turning point reached in Algiers between the late 1920s and the 1930s in the field of urban planning. The first is the role of testing ground for this discipline in France to which the plans, successively drawn up by René Danger, Henri Prost and their colleagues, were subjected. Recent discussion³ on this aspect has once more brought out the function of colonial countries as “workshops”⁴, a subject which will not be dealt with here since this study proposes to explore the influence that planning cultures from outside sources had on the Algerian debate. The second aspect of interest lies in the dialogue with cultures of planning and related architecture that were not the exclusive pertinence of France. What emerged from a study of the local press⁵, but also from architectural production, was an unceasing search for elements and a comparison with models, certainly originating in France, but most of all from Morocco, Spain, from Graeco-Roman classicism, as well as from

¹ For an overall view of Maurice Rotival's professional life, see Hein 2002.

² «Alger (...) est une petite ville provinciale (...). Peut-être parce que, le regard tourné vers la terre, occupés de leur labeur incessant, ils n'ont, jusqu'ici, conçu la ville que comme un auxiliaire, un élément très accessoire de la colonisation (...)», Rotival 1931, p. 28.

³ Hakimi 2002, 2005; Vacher 1997.

⁴ Vacher 1997; Cohen, Eleb 1998.

⁵ See in particular *Les Chantiers nord africains* a magazine published in Algiers.

America. Among these a particularly rich example may be seen in a sort of competition-comparison with Casablanca, a spirit of emulation which Algerians appeared to cultivate, judging by the frequent appearance in Algerian publications of pictures showing the spectacularly modern buildings put up in that city. The “small provincial town” must have felt extremely sensitive both on account of the elegant public buildings in French-Moroccan style designed by groups of architects, followers of Henri Prost and *Marechal* Lyautey, but also in view of the super-modern buildings by architects such as Marius Boyer. Casablanca appeared to be more daring in the direction of modernisation; paradoxically Casablanca, *ville nouvelle*, seemed less troubled by conflicting ideologies than was the case with Algiers.

The late 1920s, however, ushered in a period of turmoil for Algiers. In 1925 the Parisian surveyor and planner René Danger was appointed to draw up an urban plan ⁶, in accordance with the Cornudet Act, applicable in Algeria since 1922, which required all towns with a population of over 10,000 to have a plan. Simultaneously with this, and thanks to the possibility of obtaining a considerable sum from the French government for events to celebrate the Centenary of the conquest (1830-1930), several building projects were undertaken which did much to encourage the lively debate then in progress on change in the city. These buildings included public institutions like the House of the Settler and the Fine Arts gallery at Oran, a House of Agriculture at Algiers and at Oran, the *Foyer civique* (City Hall) and the Governor’s House at Algiers, museums and numerous schools throughout Algeria, all representing architectural trends then in vogue in the country ⁷. A lively cultural atmosphere prevailed, many associations were formed among which was the «Friends of Algiers» followed shortly by a branch of the Parisian «Society of Modern Architects (SAM)»⁸. These groups both agreed, each in its own way, with the need to modernise the town, and each proposing more or less “radical” versions of modernism. The Friends of Algiers⁹ were particularly active in promoting important cultural initiatives with the aim of contributing to the debate on urban modernisation, initiatives that included the conferences attended by both Le Corbusier and Maurice Rotival, at which they explained their views on the future of the city, and the two exhibitions on City Planning (1933) and on Modern Architecture (1936), unequalled in France during the 1930s.

Much debate took place around the style to adopt for modern architecture in Algiers. It was widely agreed that the neo-Moorish style, so favoured early in the century, was not only anachronistic but even “ugly”; at the same time interest was still felt in maintaining ties with

⁶ René Danger (1872-1954), Parisian surveyor and city planner was the author of plans for Smirne, Beyrouth, Aleppo, Damascus and others, founder and member of the *Société des plans regulateurs des villes* to which some of his family also belonged. The «Plan d’aménagement et embellissement de la ville d’Alger» was prepared between 1925 and 1930, and approved in two stages in 1932 and 1934. See Hakimi 2002.

⁷ *Foyer civique* (City Hall), Arch. Claro, 1930; Maison de l’Agriculture, Algiers, Arch. Guiauchain, 1930-33; House of the Settler, Architects Wolff and Brunier and the Fine Arts Gallery at Oran, Arch. Wolff; Fine Arts Gallery at Algiers, Arch. Guion, 1930 as well as a great many schools too numerous to list.

⁸ The Algerian group of the *Société des architectes modernes* was set up in 1932 by Léon Claro with François Bienvenu, Marcel Lathuillière, Charles-Henri Montaland, Xavier Salvador and Albert Seiller.

⁹ Founded in 1929 by Rodolphe Rey, a lawyer, members of this association included the most well-known exponents of Algerian art and culture.

local architecture and therefore with local identities, though even over this different points of view were expressed. So it came about that a single issue of a magazine would include articles on art deco in modern shops or on sky scrapers, alongside others on traditional forms of ornamentation in Moorish houses; a reportage extolling modern garages in Tunis and Casablanca alongside another in enthusiastic praise of the examples of stylistic refinement to be found in fortified towns among the Atlas mountains of Morocco. This duality continually recurred, like the debate on the features of modern architecture to be used for Algiers, and is well represented in a series of articles by Jean Cotereau entitled «Towards a Mediterranean architecture»¹⁰.

Though considered of conservative and imperialist views, the attitude taken by Cotereau¹¹ illustrated two aspects of the situation: one, an attempt to discover cultural roots for the colony in a geo-political setting, a hypothetical Latin Roman Mediterranean, potentially useful for projecting the French presence in North African into a future of some significance (obviously modern), revitalizing an “alliance of peoples” of remote origins though at that time subject to a campaign of revival by Fascist governments such as Mussolini’s; the other aspect being the reluctance, as in Cotereau’s case, to perceive the “other” when too close at hand, a difficulty also experienced by those architects, born and raised in the colony, who viewed the Moslem population, with detachment or even as non-existent, as constituting a political problem. It fell to the lot of architects like Le Corbusier, less involved with the Algerian environment, to show interest in the local culture, or else to others of a later generation such as Roland Simounet in the 1950s. On the other hand Cotereau was aware how slight were the chances of finding any roots in such a distant past. In Mediterranean architecture he sought specific and distinctive features of the landscape, such as the white buildings of Greece that stand out so sharply against a blue sky, or the stylistic unity of ruins belonging to remote ages when the Mediterranean was a single political entity, as during the Roman Empire, a force for cohesion, “creator” of landscapes and of cultures. Having found association or assimilation of the Moslem culture an impossibility, Cotereau and other modern architects¹² felt that for settlers the only prospect was that of a Latin/Mediterranean identity based on a traditionalist utopia. A prospect of modernisation devoid of regional features seemed impracticable in a colonial context of such fragile identity¹³.

Among the architects of importance in the 1930s, the personality of Xavier Salvador (1898-1967) stands out in this connection. Born in Spain, his family emigrated to Oran and later settled in Algiers. Though having had no institutionalised training, Salvador was very prolific architect; he was considered by his contemporaries as highly talented and worked out a personal style for himself based on a study of local identity and tradition. Desiring to take root in a Mediterranean tradition, he made use of a wide variety of sources; from the local vernacular, though avoiding any trace of neo-Moorish elements, to a sort of Graeco-Latin neo-classicism

¹⁰ Cotereau 1929-31. Articles published in *Les Chantiers nord-africains*.

¹¹ McKay 2000.

¹² The group of *modern* architects close to Cotereau, particularly Marcel Lathuillière (1903-1984) and Albert Seiller (1901-1937), formed what was known as *the school of Algiers*.

¹³ McKay 2000.

and to a Hispano-Andalusia style of architecture. His work occupies a position between attempts to produce a variant to modernism allied to some form of regionalism, but less marked by any ideological affinity. The use of local features such as the roof-terrace, the patio, inner courtyard, large number of balconies, loggias, screens and whatever else might mitigate conditions in a hot climate like that of Algiers, shows an attempt to produce a modified modern form that, while taking due account of housing traditions and local customs, made possible some kind of adaptation to the climate for housing purposes in a geographical area to be inhabited by Europeans. Some of Salvador's architecture, like that for the Lazerges primary school and the university residences, express an effort to devise a rich variety of innovative and pleasing forms, even making use of architectural features from traditions not necessarily consistent one with another. As a supporter of the need for modernisation and for a different type of architecture based on a "new spirit", as one who had studied the writings of Le Corbusiers whose theories he approved and whose books he quoted, Salvador always sought to include features from local architecture in his work.

In a colonial environment like Algiers, research on modern styles was sensitive to the tension between regional and vernacular elements and the new needs of Western life in the "machine age". As a result, critical appreciation of local building traditions was selective and models were produced that rejected those aspects considered as unsuitable for "Western" habits. In my opinion, the fact that interest for the vernacular Arab moved on to a study of other traditions, such as the Moroccan, shows indifference to the reality of the local identity and, above all, a lack of interest in seeking ways of adapting to it – why not a form of neo-Moorish style other than the Algerian! Cotereau explicitly states this when writing that, if a sort of regionalism must intervene to moderate excesses of internationalism in modern architecture, it must not be a Berber regionalism or perhaps even Kabyle, in other words a plurality of styles to reflect the varied regional types of architecture in Algeria, but a regionalism modified by French rationality expressed in design, to further the French identity. Modern housing design had in fact to reflect Western efficiency even if accepting some features of the local tradition, such as the patio, the loggia and the terrace. In any case research for an identity in colonial Algiers, concentrated on regional characteristics, held the attention of Western-trained architects, the only ones who took part in the debate.

Algiers following in the steps of New York

At the Conference held in Algiers on 12 December 1930 at the invitation of the Friends of Algiers Association, entitled «Is Algiers to become a capital?»¹⁴, Maurice Rotival, engineer and city planner, explained his general proposals for transforming the city. He believed that Algiers should be turned into a real capital city by means of a decisive step forward in the scale and quality of its functions, and an overall improvement in its infrastructures – especially traffic control – to be achieved by correct planning. Rotival was a decided

¹⁴ The text of the conference was published in the Algerian architectural and city-planning magazine *Les Chantiers nord-africains*. See bibliographical references, Rotival 1931.

supporter of planning as a means for solving the “evils of the city” and urged that such action be taken in Algiers, thus echoing the vehement pleas expressed by Le Corbusier in his writings¹⁵. Rotival’s arrival at Algiers and his speech at the Conference greatly encouraged the debate on how architecture and urban planning could make the necessary changes towards modernising the city, bringing onto the scene protagonists and themes of North American modernisation, such as sky scrapers, and preparing the ground for proposals considered as futurist or, in the words of Mayor Charles Brunel, as being “a hundred years ahead” when commenting on Le Corbusier’s Plan Obus «A»¹⁶. Rotival’s proposals also had considerable repercussions on the work of other architects taking part in the debate, including Le Corbusier himself, identifying some nodal areas for the future of the city. The project illustrated here was drawn up in its original form in 1930, revised in greater detail shortly after and presented at the Exhibition of Planning and Modern Architecture in 1933.

Rotival based much of his work on a comparison between New York and Algiers, or rather on projecting a “newyorkian” idea of modernity into the future of the city. This was not limited to a mere use of illustrations or suggestions, but involved adoption of American methods such as zoning and their inclusion in the French conception of urban planning, applying these methods to a context such as colonial Algiers more likely to be receptive than would a more traditional area such as Paris. Making special reference to the Manhattan peninsular, Rotival believed that the long and narrow structures of both cities favoured creation of a linear rather than a concentric form, such as Paris or London. Algiers could therefore benefit from the example of New York where – he said - the crisis, caused by loss in value around 1880 of the historic areas, was offset by city planning and a skilful use of zoning that enhanced the specialization of district functions. In interpreting the layout of Manhattan as a rational sequence of specialised districts, first and foremost the Wall Street business area facing onto the seafront right at the end of the peninsular, Rotival even imagined a similar one for Algiers. His idea of a new linear setup, by “districts”, envisaged situating a business area, similar in every way to Wall Street, in the historic centre of Algiers to replace the ancient rundown Navy Quarter already due for demolition. The business area was to consist of a group of tall buildings that would totally alter the image of the city along the seafront. The new quarter was to mark the beginning of a plan of reorganization based on zoning to lay emphasis on district vocations such as trading, manufacturing, port activity, and at the same time offer a solution to the city’s serious traffic problem, so totally at variance with the needs of modern life.

The comparison with New York did not end there. The second crucial point of Rotival’s proposal was to unite into one the former individual stations for transport by sea, rail and bus, and at the same time carry out overall reorganization of the “European” town. Once having created the new station, «a vital part of the whole, the real «Grand Central of New York» was to be built on different levels, a meeting point for the various means of communication, by

¹⁵ Le Corbusier 1925.

¹⁶ Cit. in Le Corbusier 1933.

rail, underground, etc. of the city»¹⁷. To give an inviting and modern air to his description of a future life and, somewhat naturally, to make his proposals seem more attractive, Rotival resorted to picturing a famous New York facility. Among the ideas under study in those years, that of combining all the different stations in one place was among those most persistently canvassed, and in 1948 it finally took shape, though in a less ambitious version from the practical standpoint, this being the new maritime station built to a design by Auguste Perret and Urbain Cassan.

The complex multi-station proposed by Rotival was to be situated along a historical roadway through the city, the second core of European settlement after the first one in Place du Gouvernement, forming a “hinge” between the new areas of expansion to the South-East and the ancient centre of the Arab town. Starting from the wharfs of the port, this “vertical axis” climbed from the seafront up the slopes of the “boulevard des anglais” and, passing through Square Bresson – where Chassériau’s Théâtre de l’Opéra still stands – reached the higher ground. This important roadway was constructed at the point where the Arab town met the areas of French expansion, becoming the centre of activity of the settlers.

The already existing and the future stations (for public transport by rail, sea and road) were situated together in a single underground structure at several levels, replacing the theatre and square which Rotival intended to pull down. The pier and the “boulevard des anglais” were replaced by new buildings, extending wharf space and rising to the level of the *quai* by a series of stairways. The new maritime station was placed close to the point where ships were moored, the “Grand Central Station” of Algiers, comprising the new rail and bus stations, being built underground. A fast coastal motorway was to be constructed at a lower level along the seafront to allow space for pedestrian traffic above. Connection between this level and the higher inland ground - to be used for residential expansion - was provided by a mechanical elevator and a viaduct-bridge to carry private and public road traffic. The mechanical elevator, situated close to a large car park, was placed inside a tall American-style building with a passageway from its top leading to the higher ground and along the main highway to the Sahara and Niger. Transport was thus intended to be mainly by road. Several tower-like constructions were therefore added to the viaduct-bridge and used as further support for the viaduct.

In all this the population of Moslem origin played but a secondary role, the views held by Rotival on the point being generally in line with French colonial ideology, as already noted by the critics. His plans included nothing more than a new “indigenous” quarter to be erected, in full respect for «the local customs and magnificent architecture», on the hills behind the Casbah where only a short while after Le Corbusier intended to place the luxury housing *à redents* in his Plan Obus. For the Casbah itself it was proposed that «at the request of the natives, the hundreds of houses in ruins should be got rid of», preserving only «those of

¹⁷ «(...) on rassemblera là, à des niveaux différents, le véritable «Grand Central de New York» où aboutissent tous le moyens de communication, chemin de fer, métro, etc. de la ville», Rotival 1930, p.36.

artistic or historical interest»¹⁸. Rotival thought that Arab cultural institutions such as museums, might well find a place in the “cleaned up” Casbah, and a *fondouk* for tourists (tourism having by then become a valuable economic activity, often the only incentive for preserving the native quarters). Among the urban planners who came from France to work in Algiers during the 1930s, on the whole Rotival seems to have been the one least interested in relating planning to local identity.

The future Algiers as seen by Le Corbusier, landscapes natural and artificial

The circumstances leading to Le Corbusier’s arrival at Algiers are well known. In March 1931 he spoke at the two conferences held after Rotival’s, part of a series of meetings organized by the Friends of Algiers¹⁹ although, as will be seen later, this was not the only link between his proposals and those of the engineer-planner, friend and colleague of Henri Prost. Le Corbusier had read about Rotival’s ideas, published in *Les Chantiers nord-africains*, and to some extent agreed with them. While in Algerian circles, relations with local culture were on the whole confined to questions such as “Mediterraneism”, stylistic research or history of art, Le Corbusier felt a keen interest in the local culture, so much so that his studies of the Moslem habitat included preparation of models to be used in urban planning. No mention will be made here of Le Corbusier’s political involvement with Algiers about which much has already been written²⁰.

Le Corbusier visited Algiers twice in 1931. His first contacts with the city and with Maghreb civilization, his initial studies and exploration of the area, of the ancient Ottoman town transformed by colonialism, were fundamental experiences for the lines initially taken by his projects and never abandoned. As Giordani²¹ has shown, in explaining the effects that views of Algiers from the steamer had on his first sketches, this moment already contained much that appeared in his later formulations. The sketches he made on the boat, when leaving the port of Algiers after spending three concentrated weeks full of discoveries and observations, showed an acute elucidation of the location and, above all, the structure of the natural and built-up landscape as a basic planning component. His sketches expressed a highly interpretative synthesis of what he had observed during his stay. The view from a plane, so important for his South American projects, at Algiers was replaced by a view from the sea; a panorama seen from a lower level, the bay spread out in all its beauty, underlining the significance of the city’s role as a port. This vision from the sea expressed a destiny and future for Algiers confirmed by Le Corbusier in describing its role as the «head of Africa», the capital of North Africa.

The sketches produced during the two conferences announce the basic themes for Algiers: vertical sections and topographical limitations, a close relationship therefore between

¹⁸ Rotival 1931, p. 34-35.

¹⁹ The two conferences took place at Algiers on 17 and 20 March 1931.

²⁰ McLeod 1986; McKay 2000.

²¹ Giordani 1987.

landscape, topography and design. The sketch entitled «Skyscraper project for Algiers»²² showed in advance his intention to confer a role of new “acropolis” on the hills above the amphitheatre of Algiers, an area destined to see a substantial expansion of residential housing crowning the city; in these may be read the salient features of the urban landscape: the *arcades des anglais*, the obelisk at Fort-L’Empereur, the Casbah so greatly admired, and the new Government Building in course of construction. The drawing entitled «Work on the Boulevards and blocks of housing running up the gullies» indicated a clear appreciation of the city’s main structural and constructional problems, showing the hills stretching out towards the sea, along the bay, with buildings here and there set at right angles to the seafront, their roofs extending into and merging with the furrowed ground, forming a new horizon, *horizontale en l’air*, and bringing some order to the randomly placed series of slopes and gullies. The sketch entitled: «An attempt at classification» announced his proposed strategy in which he identified the basic features of the topography of Algiers: 1) the coastal plain; 2) the steeply sloping “ribs” of land; 3) the high ground above the urban amphitheatre; 4) the new artificial element added to the landscape in the form of a building standing at right angles to the contour lines and extending in depth so as to leave clear a view of its surroundings.

«For Algiers I see no excessively tall skyscrapers, but rather long single-unit buildings, perpendicular to the horizontal line of the city, forming promontories of some kind».²³

In these proposals Le Corbusier showed his dissent from Maurice Rotival’s idea of an Algiers buttressed up with tall buildings, and made alternative suggestions as to how such buildings should be used. To some extent, however, his idea of a group of skyscrapers on the hills of Fort L’Empereur, as well as his proposal for overcoming the difference in level between the seafront and the higher ground, do in fact echo those of Rotival ²⁴. The first *Plan Obus «A»*, of 1931-32, which includes a skyscraper on the seafront in the Marine Quarter, joined by a viaduct-passageway for cars up to the high ground behind the Casbah, contains something of Rotival’s design. The theme of skyscrapers and vertical sections was destined to remain a subject of discussion becoming a constant feature of Le Corbusier’s later designs for Algiers. The hypotheses, discussed in their entirety at that time in debates on architecture and planning, produced ideas that reappeared in several projects, and were continually confirmed as practicable alternatives right up to the 1950s.

Another line of action: Henri Prost and the projects for Algiers

²² Le Corbusier, *Projet de gratte-ciel pour Alger*, initial ideas drawn from the steamer’s deck, 1931, carnet B7, Paris, Fondation Le Corbusier, cit. in Cohen, 2003.

²³ «Je ne vois pas à Alger de gratte-ciel démesurés, mais des bâtiments très longs, d’un seul tenant, perpendiculaires à l’horizontale de la ville, formant en quelque sorte des promontories». Le Corbusier, interviewed by Paul Romain: «Le Corbusier à Alger: ‘La Ville Radieuse’», *Chantiers nord-africains*, No. 5, May 1931, p.102.

²⁴ Cohen 2003.

The local administration in the meantime undertook action for the city, the most important events including demolition of the 19th century French walls, and the decision to pull down the decaying Marine Quarter. Land was made available for the most important achievement of the 1930s: the complex of open spaces and public buildings on the boulevard Laferrière, new centre of the “European” town, where the new Government Building was put up²⁵. As regards the central Marine Quarter, the decision to pull it down after a collapse that killed a great many people, opened the way to an innumerable series of designs, one variant among which, by Tony Socard, was not built until the 1950s. To deal with the many emergencies with which planning was faced, the progressive Mayor, Charles Brunel, elected in 1929, called on Henri Prost to come to Algiers and draw up the regional plan. On his arrival Prost was appointed to a number of tasks, all to be carried out at critical points in the city, from the Marine Quarter to the boulevard Laferrière, to problems of traffic, in addition to the initial task of designing the regional plan, completed in 1929-1930. It was Prost who then called in Maurice Rotival, already a collaborator of his, as well as the Parisian architect Tony Socard²⁶ whose help was devoted more to architectural projects, such as that for the Marine Quarter (1932-37).

To assist with drawing up the plans and projects air photographs were taken in 1929. These showed up the condition of built-up areas such as the ancient quarter of the Marine, the degree of environmental decay and the alterations in building types that had taken place throughout the course of time. Such modern instruments enabled a more precise knowledge to be gained of prevailing conditions and, for the first time, concepts such as preservation and landscape were introduced in planning procedures. At the time when the call came from Algiers, Prost was engaged on a plan for the Paris region, having already completed one for the Côte d’Azur²⁷. In advance therefore on enactment of the law on regional plans in France²⁸, Algiers had to face the complex operation of extending planning to a scale covering several municipalities.

While Prost and Danger were working together to find how best to deal with this complex urban system which included tackling the traffic problem for Algiers as well as the study of regulations for landscape conservation, Prost began work on the zone of the *Tagarins*²⁹, an important area at the end of the boulevard Laferrière, the new centre of the “European” town. Prost’s plan showed great environmental sensitivity towards the green spaces between the various open-air sports facilities. In laying out these open spaces it was proposed to place here and there a variety of pleasing features such as viewing points, terraces and stairways, where

²⁵ 1929-1937, architect Jacques Guiauchain and building contractors Perret Brothers.

²⁶ Tony Socard (1901-1997), holder of a diploma at the Paris Ecole des Beaux-Arts, stayed on and worked in Algiers as an architect until the country won independence.

²⁷ Henri Prost (1874-1959), architect and planner trained at the Paris Ecole des Beaux-Arts, *Prix de Rome* in 1902, student at Villa Medici in Rome between 1903 and 1907; after an appointment on planning in the Morocco Protectorate (1914-22) he drew up the plan for the *Côte d’Azur varoise* (1922-26) and was then asked to prepare the Plan for the Region of Paris (1928-34).

²⁸ A decree of 25 July 1935 that made regional plans compulsory.

²⁹ 1933, *Aménagement des Hauts d’Alger*.

there were no buildings, so as to allow people to gain a better view of the landscape. The search for suitable viewing points, linked together by pedestrian paths, was the basic element of the whole project. Its connection with the two main city highways – the Laferrière and Guillemin boulevards - was emphasised, it having been decided that the views along the boulevards were to be left free of any future building while, in some places, it would be advisable to pull down those of little value to improve the view.

Roadways around the new quarter were redesigned by straightening and widening some parts of the most important ones like the ancient Turkish Télemly road, in this way facilitating access to the new projects. All this meant undertaking highly detailed work right in the core of the city and making suitable adaptations to the existing urban fabric. The cutting of wide highways reproducing features of a square, an esplanade or a boulevard recalls Henri Prost's plan for the great city highway in Casablanca between Place de France and the port.³⁰

There are also affinities between these proposals and some projects in Henri Prost's plan for the *Côte d'Azur varoise* of 1922-1926 where work was done on road networks in an area important for its environmental value. The idea expressed here of cutting roadways with great care so as to preserve the natural surroundings is also to be found in parts of the Plan for Havana on Cuba revised by the architect and landscapist Jean Claude Nicolas Forestier (1861-1930) between 1925 and 1930. On the other hand a study of the theme of design applied to the dawning age of motorways was also evident in Prost's later work, for example in his plan for Istanbul where his project for the Atatürk Boulevard shows the same association between practical complexity (various means of transport operating at different levels) and classical composition; similarities with work done by the architect Jacques Gréber (1882-1962) also appear in his "avenues-promenade" to replace the fortifications of Paris (1919) or in some of the carefully designed layouts included in his plan for Marseilles (1933).

How technical aspects of road making should be related to the environment was a recurring theme that dominated the work of architects-planner members of the Société Française des Urbanistes of that time, as appears from a study of the city plans realized during the 1930s in several countries where these aspects were continuously being reviewed and widely discussed.

Functional complexity and monumental aesthetics were therefore characteristic features of the approach shown by these planners to the relationship between planning techniques and architecture testifying both to abandonment of the "colonial" culture, predominant in these fields during the 1930s, and to a move towards a more widely accepted cosmopolitan professionalism that found expression in the East, in Latin America, in the United States. In the ideas they contained, far removed from the perplexities characteristic of the colonial type of planning in vogue during the first thirty years of the 20th century, these proposals expressed great care over questions of landscaping, a matter of great importance to the planners of the time. It should also be noted, however, that attention to this question had

³⁰ 1914-23, boulevard du IVe Zouaves, Casablanca.

already appeared in a most determined manner in the planning done in Morocco between 1913 and 1924, the protagonists there being Prost and Lyautey. In their plans for Moroccan towns scrupulous care had been taken over the scale of urban and architectural plans, examples of this being evident in the layouts of public open spaces, road designing and in adoption of a “modern” regional style, one far distant from that stigmatized as excesses of the “pastiche” in the use of neo-Moorish styles in Algeria.

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Entertainment-retail Centers in Hong Kong and Los Angeles: Trends and lessons

Introduction

This paper explores the trends in the evolution of entertainment-retail centers (ERCs) in Hong Kong and Los Angeles. Through a comparative study of selected ERCs in these two global cities, we examine how imperatives of globalization, tourism, international competition, politics, socio-cultural factors, and physical urban conditions are affecting and are affected by the creation and transformation of these spaces. Within the vastly different contexts of the two cities, we are interested in understanding processes of convergence and/or divergence of urban design and planning practices, their causal factors, and their implications. We hope this will provide some insight about the role played by local factors in mediating the influence of globalization.

The research questions driving this work are: How does the development of ERCs compare in these cities? What factors have caused a convergence or divergence of the planning and design of ERCs in these cities and what do we learn from them regarding the specificity of these cities and the ways in which their urban fabric have mediated by global economic and cultural forces? And what policy, planning, and design recommendations can be made regarding the future development of ERCs in both cities so that they maintain or enhance their economic attractiveness and best respond to urban and cultural determinants and needs? The analysis is driven by four major themes, each of which has some subvariables: land use, transportation, urban design, and consumption patterns. Based on qualitative case study methodology, the project employs triangulation of research methods to explore these issues. The methods employed are literature review, spatial site analysis, participant observation, semi-structured

interviews, and user surveys. The study results in recommendations for future urban design, transportation, land use, and city image-making policies related to ERCs, and lessons for designers, planners, city officials, and developers in these two cities and beyond.

The conceptualization of the ‘entertainment-retail’ center follows the observed trend, in recent years, of the increased cohabitation of entertainment (including spaces for congregation and interaction) and retail activities in spaces of consumption. This tendency to create an economy of scale in terms of clientele also has political implications. Most significantly it brings certain activities that were traditionally part of the public sphere, into the private realm. Additionally, the pressure of relentless urban growth in many cities around the world, have led to the creation of consumptive societies, and the propinquity of entertainment and retail has facilitated this process. The resulting hybrid urban form of REC is a product of the interaction of local places - their people and their environment - with spaces designed for a specific globalized economic and cultural agenda.

Findings from the research suggest that there was a convergence in retail center styles in the two cities with Hong Kong, in the 1980s, following the trends observed in Los Angeles (and the United States in general), since the 1960s. However, this was followed by divergence of style with each city developing in its own spatial, political and economic context. In recent years, a degree of convergence has once again emerged with hybrids of earlier styles being observed in both cities. This new convergence suggests that in postmodern global cities, certain urban processes are becoming increasingly context-free. In other words these processes are being defined by “agencies of globalization” (Pizarro et al., 2004) rather than by local characteristics.

At the same time urban planning and design are far from homogenized. At the beginning of this century Hong Kong seems to be leading the innovation, with special attention to smart growth policies. In the last part of the paper we have drawn lessons from the case of Hong Kong for Los Angeles.

Methodology

Based on qualitative case study methodology, the project employs triangulation of five key research methods. They are literature review, site analysis, participant observation, surveys and semi-structured interviews. We have employed a framework of analysis that includes land use, transportation, architectural and urban design, and consumption patterns. This framework is carried forward throughout the different research methods employed, as follows.

Literature Review: The fieldwork for this research is informed by a scholarly literature review on space and identity in these two cities in general, and shopping centers, entertainment and retail uses in particular. These documents also serve as data for content analysis that contributes to our understanding of how ERCs reflect market segmentation in each city and how they are used for image-making by these cities' promoters. Additionally, information regarding the land use, urban design and transportation characteristics of the two cities, and in particular the case study areas, is drawn from existing literature.

Site Analysis: Comparative site analyses of ERCs in HK and LA have been performed to document and understand its current conditions. We have studied the land use, transportation, architectural and urban design, and consumption patterns that characterize these ERCs.

Additionally the interface with urbanized areas adjacent to the ERCs, and the potential for design interventions has been examined. Further, we have studied one representative case study of the most recent typology of ERC development in each city. The Grove has been selected as Los Angeles's '*Millennium Generation*', while Hong Kong's '*Transit-oriented ERCs*' are represented by Pacific Place.

Participant Observation: We used participant observation in both cities to experience and assess the ambience and urbanism of the ERCs. The participant observation aims to respond to the following questions: Who visits ERCs (age, gender, ethnicity, class etc.), what are the purposes of the visits, for how long, what retail and entertainment elements are more (or less) patronized, and how do the subvariables studied (related to land use, transportation, urban design and consumer patterns) influence the experience of the ERCs.

Survey: We have collected more than 60 user opinion surveys administered online. This survey was designed to assess the perceptions of visitors regarding their experience of using ERCs in *both* cities. Therefore, the selected respondents were people who have visited ERCs in both cities. The subjects were sought in students' associations at USC and UCLA and from among other acquaintances that have experienced ERCs in HK and LA. These subjects were in turn asked for referrals to other subjects, who were then selected using the snowball sampling technique. Visitor surveys and interviews were used to validate information gathered with other research methods. From among those who expressed willingness to be interviewed further, a dozen survey respondents were randomly selected for follow-up semi-structured interviews.

Interviews: We drew on face-to-face and phone semi-structured interviews with several scholars who have done research and fieldwork in either Los Angeles or Hong Kong, or both. We interviewed a dozen survey respondents using a semi-structured format for each interview, inquiring about their specific perceptions of our interpretation of the factors and subvariables in each city.

Why compare Hong Kong and Los Angeles

The seemingly disparate cases are both globally important centers of consumption, and nodes of high capital and information flows. In analysis presented by Beaverstock et al (2000), both cities are counted among the “alpha” (p.127) cities of the world. The designation denotes the “level of service provision” by firms in “accountancy, advertising, banking/finance, and commercial law” (ibid), and 10 out of 55 “world cities” have been classified as ‘alpha’ cities. The authors also analyze linkages to London based on the services provided by London-based firms located in the other cities. Although Hong Kong is found to have a stronger link to London, Los Angeles is in the second tier, based on this relationship (with only 3 cities in the first tier). According to a study based on air travel data presented by Smith and Timberlake (2002) Los Angeles and Hong Kong holds ranks 7 and 8 respectively (in 1997). Here the rank represents relative “power”, defined as the “ability to dominate the whole system across spheres” (Burt and Schott as cited by Smith and Timberlake, p.123). This broad definition is somewhat loosely associated with air travel by the authors. However, we are able to conclude that both cities in question are amongst the most influential in the world and quite close to each other in global ranking, by various standards based on capital, information and human flows.

Further, both cities are home to large multicultural populations. Significantly, the two cities are also centers of large entertainment industries, including film, television and music. These industries have wide regional spheres of influence, and are engines of cultural productions. The large immigrant populations in both cities interact with media flows to create an imagined (although somewhat asymmetrical) relationship between these two cities. In terms of urban form, however, the two cities are poles apart. Whereas Hong Kong is characterized by high density and reliance on public transport, Los Angeles represents sprawl and car-dependence. These remarkable differences notwithstanding, the two cities show a convergence in the approach to designing retail spaces. The authors realize that this convergence is not typical of these two cities alone. However, in the authors' opinion, the vast differences that separate these two cities, are exactly what make the similarities more significant, and worthy of inquiry.

Evolution of shopping centers in the two cities

Both Los Angeles and Hong Kong have inspired a vast body of work on all aspects of planning. Undoubtedly, both are urban phenomena in themselves. This paper deals with only a specific part of these complex cities. We are looking at the historical evolution of entertainment-retail centers in the context of the variables of land use, transportation and urban design, along with associated socio-economic and cultural trends. Additionally, we are concerned with how these cities evolved as centers of consumption and entertainment, and how these functions, mediated by the entertainment-retail spaces came to be a major determinant of the very identity of these cities.

Although there had been shopping centers in the United States in the 1920s and 1930s, it was only in the post-War period of construction boom that the malls became really popular.

Therefore the phenomenon of malls shares a temporal correlation with suburbanization. The causes of suburbanization, including race relations and the rising automobile ownership and dependence, assisted the growth of malls as well (Hanchett, 1996). Hanchett particularly draws attention to the federal tax policies including “accelerated depreciation” (p.1083), which in the mid-1950s made the construction of large structure a lucrative tax abatement strategy for developers. Data on the number of malls in the United States between 1947 and 1960 presented by Hanchett (1996) show that there was a rapid proliferation of both “regional centers”¹ as well as shopping centers of all kinds (scales) considered together. In concurrence with Hanchett’s hypothesis, a large spurt occurred right after 1954 when the new Internal Revenue Code was passed into law². The number of new large regional malls constructed annually rose from five in 1955 to 25 in 1956. In the same period the total number of malls (of all types) constructed annually rose from 104 to 156.

Jackson (1996) summarizes the causes of rapid proliferation of centralized retail activities in the postwar era and through the 1960s. These include tax policies that allowed retail to precede residential development, availability of cheap developed land at the peripheries of cities, relatively weak land regulations, subsidized automobile travel, and the conveniences afforded by malls due to depreciation of land rent in the suburbs.

¹ Defined as “[c]enters of over 300,000 square feet each” (Hanchett, 1996, p.1098).

² The law was passed under the Eisenhower administration when the Republican Party enjoyed a majority in the senate.

Cohen (1996) also notes that consumption was glorified in the early postwar years. She also argues that suburbanization nurtured malls by providing cheap locations in the midst of wealthy residents. Her main point, however, is regarding the political effects of the shift of retail activity from town centers to shopping centers. Cohen argues that privatization of retail activity through shopping centers contributed to segregation and exclusion. Significantly, she also points out that by the 1960s, malls had already become the “distinctive public space.... for a new kind of community life” (p.1068).

The view that shopping centers have compromised substantively democratic public space is shared by other scholars (Jackson, 1996; Goss, 1993). Cohen cites court cases from past decades to illustrate the jostle between private property rights and First Amendments guarantees of free speech. Although courts have ruled both ways on the issue, the arguments from both sides leave no doubt about the mall having replaced city streets as the preeminent “public” forum. As Cohen perceptively points out, the proponents for free speech operating in private shopping centers, are, by their very presence there, endorsing the very institutions that undermine their existence. The issue then is not about free speech, but about a “transformation of the public sphere” (Habermas XXXX). Goss (1993), offering a Marxist critique, calls the modern mall a “pseudoplace” where developers disguise the “contemporary capitalist social order” with facades and activities that give the impression that “something else other than mere shopping is going on” (p.19). This need for “something else” goes a long way in explaining the recent emergence of entertainment-retail complexes. We will return to this idea later in the paper.

Another body of work addresses the issues of the organization of space within the mall, and its architectonics (Chase, 1991; Goss, 1993; Sterne, 1997). This work is useful in understanding how design mediates the cognitive relationship of the consumer with the commodity. However, these mainly architectural studies are by definition limited to the building, and not oriented towards the urban setting.

For the purpose of this study, we can identify two related strands in the literature on space of consumption and entertainment. The first deals with economic *reasons* for the development of these spaces, and the second with the social, cultural and political *implications* of the phenomenon. Therefore, at the risk of some reduction, malls have predominantly been studied as economic entities with socio-political implications. There are two limitations to this approach that this study would like to address. Firstly, there has been a lack of attention to processes of globalization and transnational flows of capital and culture in the analysis of shopping malls. Furthermore, a largely U.S.-centered approach has left out an understanding of the significance of the mall as a social product in other societies. Secondly, the literature lacks an appreciation of the particularities of urban planning and design associated with shopping centers. This paper seeks to address this gap by moving towards an understanding of the relationship of shopping spaces to their urban context. In other words, this study is a departure from current literature in that it considers a mall in Hong Kong and Los Angeles the construction of not only economic but also social and cultural forces, and simultaneously an agent for the mediation of the very same forces in the built environment of localized places. To this end the study will categorize typologies of ERCs and will seek to show how different kinds of ERCs were and are the results of the interaction of a complex set of forces.

Jabareen (2006) offers a review of sustainability criteria. These include variables such as density, diversity and compactness. According to the author urban form can be analyzed in the framework of these variables. However, low-moderate-high ranking of variables is somewhat arbitrary, bundles a large number of subvariables, and does not account for the possibility of overlap among them. Additionally, the typology of cities is minimalist and does not account for the infinite diversity of cities and places. We find Jabareen's matrix a useful summary of best practices. Our study offers empirical evidence of two of his variables.

Entertainment-retail spaces in Hong Kong and Los Angeles

Los Angeles

The earlier entertainment-retail developments in the US occurred at the turn of the nineteenth century, between 1895 and 1920, when the downtown entertainment district and the multi-storey shopping emporium were created. The earliest forms recognized as shopping centers in the US date back to the 1920s and 1930s. With a fast industrialization process, the traditional organic street shops were reorganized into formal blocks under the street grid system. Shopping was developed in separated buildings with housing and offices above in a uniform coherent way. This type of development was named the urban block model, or street shopping. Street shopping was usually designed as part of a new town center. Eventually it became a basic composition form of the city and spread on many main streets.

Suburban and urban regional centers: beginning in the 1950s and continuing

In the process of suburbanization during the 1930s and 1940s, a shopping mall type known as the dumbbell mall was created as a fundamental element in the strategies of decentralization.

Originally its basic form consisted of two large department store anchors connected by a series of outdoor pedestrian atrium spaces. It was utilized to reform the fragmented nature of development in both urban and suburban areas (Crawford, 2002).

In the 1950s, developers, planners, and architects endeavored to increase urban density and integrate commerce into community life. The pioneer mall designer Victor Gruen developed a new mall type – the enclosed mall, which grouped everyday shopping under covered and climate-controlled central spaces. During the next few decades, the enclosed mall expanded to regional mega malls, suggesting new forms of civic realms. The following two decades, designers and developers generated several distinctive mall types. Some basic configurations of regional malls in the LA region include: the enclosed mall with atrium centers built around a dominant centralized space, for example, the Westside Pavilion in Westwood, and Santa Anita Fashion Park in Arcadia; the multi-storied, vertical centers, usually located in restricted sites or city centers, such as the Seventh Market Place in downtown LA; and the arcade and galleria centers that constitute linear features in suburban areas, such as Glendale Galleria in Glendale, and the Galleria at South Bay, Redondo Beach (Barry, 1990).

The character of these entertainment-retail centers resembles a standardized product with reproducible features that could be built on any site with adequate space. Most suburban malls are two to three storey building with a retail space ranging from 80,000 to 125,000 square meters. Typically, suburban shopping centers in Los Angeles are essentially mono-functional,

the centers are far from the central areas of the city and difficult to access without a personal vehicle, the surrounding areas of the development are dominated by non-residential services and traffic, the shopping places are inward oriented, and have little connection with the surrounding communities because of their enclosed nature, the outside facades are blank and uninteresting (the centers look like “big boxes”), and the interior activities are invisible from the street.

Reinvented street

New styles of retail and entertainment centers emerged at the beginning of the 1980s. Many projects combined nightlife, shopping, and dining. In the 1960s a section of Third Street in Santa Monica was converted into a pedestrian mall, but had turned out to be an unsuccessful project. In the 1980s the mall was successfully reinvented once again as the Third Street Promenade and involves a popular mix of activities devoted to movies, recreation, nightclubs, and restaurants.

Invented street

Following Banerjee, and Banerjee et al., we concur that there exists a “vernacular LA tradition” for the creation of entertainment retail centers – that of “invented streets”. Through the 1990s, Los Angeles witnessed the growth of ‘invented streets’. These newer entertainment-retail centers transformed the old retail landscape by introducing themed entertainment, new media, and stage setting to enhance their image. City Walk in MCA Universal Studios is a street set designed from scratch, that offers a mix of specialty stores, signature restaurant, and entertainment options. Another prominent example of the ‘invented street’ is the Rodeo Drive in Beverly Hills, which is characterized by its European theme, and high-end retail brand names.

Millennium generation: hybrid, themed complexes

Recent mixed-use entertainment-retail centers such as Paseo Colorado in Pasadena, Hollywood and Highland, and The Grove in Los Angeles, represent new trends of adopting relatively higher density development patterns, creating special cultural nodes, and blending them into the urban fabric. We call this type of entertainment-retail centers the *Millennium Generation*. These centers build upon the typological features developed by the aforementioned predecessors, particularly the reuse and reconfiguration of existing commercial space, to cater to a better-defined market.

Hong Kong

Hong Kong's shopping history is closely related to its colonial history under the British government, and to mainland China. From 1530 to 1840, foreign merchants gradually established offices in Macao and Hong Kong as well as in Canton, China. After the liberation of China from the British in 1949, Hong Kong was flooded with two million immigrants who brought capital and skills to help establish many manufacturing industries. Between 1949 and 1997, Hong Kong still operated under British rules, and served as a gateway to China. In 1997 when Hong Kong was returned to the Chinese government, it had become a world-class commercial center with many modern skyscrapers, a strong urban infrastructure, and a population of over six million.

Multiuse buildings: beginning 19X0s and continuing

In Hong Kong, shopping has been an integral part of the urban fabric from the very beginning. Liang (1973), in an analysis of land use in Hong Kong, has developed a hierarchy of “business centres” (p.111). Liang's analysis reveals that apart from the areas of high-income residential

uses, the ground level of almost all the urban land on Kowloon is occupied by commercial uses. “This commercial stratum extends vertically in certain nucleations, like cones, to different heights and extents, depending on the accessibility and spatial distribution of purchasing power.” (p.111).

Land use in Hong Kong determined height and bulk regulations for buildings to compensate for the paucity of usable land in the city. Understandably there were predominantly tall buildings that could generate floor space, since building horizontally was not an option. Hence single-storey big box stores were precluded from the start. In the tall buildings, the share of floor space for commercial use was determined by a market-based allocation. In contrast, in Los Angeles, the availability of open space created an incentive to sprawl, and the overarching grid was the preeminent determinant of urban form. The market-based allocation of land uses in Los Angeles was therefore horizontal, whereas it was vertical in Hong Kong. The availability of land therefore assumed priority in determining form in each city. However, the allocation of uses was determined by market principles in both cases.

Shopping malls: beginning 1960s and continuing

In Hong Kong, traditional street retail within mixed use zones has been the norm since the city began to grow under British occupation in the 19th century. It was only in the 1960s that shopping malls appeared in Hong Kong. Relative to Los Angeles, the phenomenon of the shopping mall came 15-20 years later to Hong Kong, but significantly, with a difference. In Hong Kong malls developed as a part of the urban fabric, not a destination on the outskirts of the

city. Malls in Hong Kong were within walking distance of residential quarters and public transport.

Large scale shopping centers in Hong Kong used to serve as tourist attractions for western customers, but now they constitute an essential part of the Hong Kong lifestyle, and the built environment in Hong Kong. Compared to Los Angeles, Hong Kong's shopping developments are more mixed-use, directly linked with housing, entertainment, and other related programs. Most developments have only happened in the past 40 years.

In the 1960s, Hong Kong was transforming from an industrial colony to a financial center in Asia. The Ocean Terminal shopping mall, opened in 1966, is the first generation of Hong Kong's shopping centers and marked the beginning of Hong Kong's malling. Ocean Terminal was originally conceived to cater to tourists, but it also started influencing local Hongkongers' way of life and consumptive habits. In the following years, the Ocean Terminal became a part of a larger complex, the Harbor City shopping mall.

Refurbished mall: beginning 1990s

In the 1970s, a large number of shops and shopping centers opened in different parts of Hong Kong. A hierarchy of shopping centers emerged, defined by brands, status of merchandise on sale, and the social background of clients. There was a general tendency of integrating shopping with business and housing, not only in the main urban areas but also in the new towns. Efforts were also made to link new developments to appropriate public transportation systems, including bus routes and the metro. City Plaza is a massive new housing and retail project for the middle

class dating from that period. After the project was built, public housing residents were no longer seen as poor working class, but rather as affluent people who could afford high consumption (Liu, 2001). The government policy to mix housing with retail changed the socio-economic status and living conditions of public housing residents. Another remarkable development from that period is the Landmark shopping center in the Central District, which is right above the Central MTR subway station.

Transit oriented ERCs: beginning 1980s and continuing

Since the late 1980s a new generation of entertainment-retail centers has come into being and has established new categories according to the status of shops and purchasing power of the new customers. More gigantic entertainment-retail centers such as Pacific Place, Dragon Center, Times Square, Plaza Hollywood, and Festival Walk were built. They contribute to shape the current consumptive and entertainment culture of Hong Kong. Each of these shopping centers is composed of a group of high-rise towers with housing, offices and hotels on a podium. A variety of venues such as retail, entertainment, commercial and sports clubs are included, which support an increasingly sophisticated urban life. Compactness draws the flossing of people through an intensive network of multi-modal circulation. Many developments are prefabricated for cost effective construction. According to Yeung (2002) the structures are repetitive, coded under the planning restrictions and real estate market demand. Although this may be true of the general layout of the ERCs, it should also be mentioned that the designs, especially the interiors aspire for a unique quality through the use of fixtures, art installations, lighting, views etc.

In the next section we will compare a typical entertainment-retail center each from Hong Kong and Los Angeles that represent the most recent styles in both cities. We will consider Pacific Place mall, of Hong Kong's multiuse transit-oriented style, and compare it with The Grove, which is a typical example of the Millennium Generation of Los Angeles.

Comparing Los Angeles's *Millennium Generation* with Hong Kong's *Transit-oriented ERCs*

In this section we will compare a case from each city's contemporary style of ERC design. The comparison is made along the variables of land use, transportation, urban design and consumption patterns. We see that the styles of ERCs in the two cities, which are very alike in their adherence to common features of product cycles for consumer goods in the global economy, have evolved along different trajectories. However, the following discussion emphasizes a second convergence in the design and planning of ERCs in the two cities (the first being the original similarity in the design of malls when they first took shape in Hong Kong). We also see that the impact of globalization is not to completely homogenize urban form, and that despite the convergence, key aspects of previous styles remain. Whereas Hong Kong followed Los Angeles (and in general the United States) in the 1960s, now it is mostly Los Angeles that can draw lessons from the Hong Kong ERC design.

LA's Millennium Generation: The Grove

The Grove has been designed by Caruso Affiliated ostensibly to resemble "the great Los Angeles boulevards of the 1930's and 1940's" (Caruso Affiliated 2006, *sic*). It is hard to imagine the shop fronts of the 1930s being anything like the ones at The Grove, however the scheme of (false) facades and other effects, including a trolley running quarter-mile circles around the site, does

attempt to emulate, or rather simulate, an older period. In a region with next to no architectural unity, even a faux attempt at harmony is an agreeable departure, as proven by the 18 million people who visited in the first year alone (ibid). However, the horizontal mall with two to three-storey box-stores hardly does justice to the model of the boulevards of the 1930s and 1940s. Ironically, the mall looks away from the real Los Angeles streets. It is designed around a central pedestrian core and leaves its parking facility facing the street.

The ratio of width of the pedestrian circulation to the height of the abutting buildings and the style of façades and streetscape suggest that there is a muted attempt to create the ambience of a European central city. In keeping with typical images of European urbanism, some cafes are allowed to spill into the circulation area. The space often gets pretty crowded and a certain degree of random interaction is achieved. However the preeminence of consumerism over *flanerie* is a noticeable difference between The Grove and most European comparison. Moreover, the bulk of the buildings, the use of false façades, the giant chain stores (Apple, Gap, Barnes and Noble, and Cheesecake factory to name a few in different product categories), and the lack of mixed use make the European project rather superficial.

There is no question about the success of The Grove, with “sales per square foot that are 40% above the industry average” (Caruso Affiliated, 2006). There is also little doubt regarding the exclusive nature of this upscale retail space. According to the website of The Grove’s developers (Caruso Affiliated, 2006), the average local customer visits 34 times a year, and 92% of the times leaves with an average purchase of \$126. The local customer base for this impressive consumption is drawn from some of the upscaled neighborhoods in Los Angeles.

To its credit, the mall is not completely cut off from public transport. This is largely due to the fact that The Grove was created well inside the thickly populated parts of the city and public bus lines were already in place. No new lines have been added on account of the development of The Grove. There are no studies of public transport usership of The Grove clientele. However, if the usually packed eight-level 3,500-space parking is any indication, the average \$126 shopping is rarely carried away in public buses. There is no metro station in the vicinity of The Grove, and there has been no attempt to run shuttles to the nearest metro station, or to install a taxi service, or have new bus lines (in collaboration with the existing transit authority or independently) service the primary catchment area of the shopping center.

As shopping centers go, The Grove deserves credit for attempting to buck the trend and create a place (especially with the help of special events) rather than a mall. Its popularity is evidence of its success. From a mall design and marketing perspective, The Grove ranks highly for its innovations. However in an analysis of public space, The Grove cannot avoid the charge of being elitist and oblivious to the larger agenda of community and city planning. On urban design criteria, The Grove falls into the category of a hybrid and manufactured place, made popular by the context of Los Angeles's general paucity of good public spaces. Transportation connections exist but are used primarily by the lower-income workforce of The Grove. Clients are encouraged to use cars (3,500 space and free parking for two hours with validation, and 3 hour-parking costs only \$2.00).

Hong Kong's Transit-oriented ERCs: Pacific Place

The Pacific Place mall is a massive mixed-use complex in Hong Kong's commercial center. The site includes three five-star hotels (Marriot, Shangri-La and Conrad), apartments, office space, conference center and shopping mall. The high-rise design has five modern buildings of 40 to 60 floors. The project was built in three phases beginning in the late 1980s with the most recent building being completed in 2004 (Emporis Buildings, 2004). The mall at Pacific Place has five floors with plenty of circulation space, relatively high-end shopping options and a four-screen cinema theatre. It is crowded around the clock thanks to the neighboring mixed use and the fact that the mall is located directly above the intersection of two subway lines, with an exit opening directly inside the mall. This is Hong Kong's model for paying for its metro stations – allowing malls to be built directly above them. The developers pay for the station and in turn receive a ceaseless flow of pedestrians walking through their mall.

The integration with public transport between the two malls is an obvious difference. On the website of The Grove, directions were offered for cars approaching on the various freeways. On the Pacific Place website directions are for access through subway, buses, and taxis. In fact, Pacific Place with all its mixed use and five million square feet of floor area has only 500 parking spots, conveniently located underground. The entire center, like the rest of the city, is designed around public transit and pedestrians. In Hong Kong, the activity of flanerie has shifted to climate-controlled indoor environments. The air conditioned subway system, malls, and walkways attract pedestrians for 'hanging out' as well as for commerce. Another huge distinction is density. The Grove has 585,000 square feet of floor area on a site of 17.4 acres. In comparison the Pacific Place has five million square feet of floor area on only 6.5 acres. This density, also

sustained in the surroundings of the mall, ensures both viable public transport and economic vitality of the shopping center.

Hong Kong's transit-oriented ERCs are a result of strategic planning and public-private partnership. Malls, as seen in Pacific Place and other similar centers (such as the IFC and Skywalk) are a way of life in Hong Kong because they are fully integrated into the functions of everyday life. Hong Kong's strategy is not to make malls a destination, but rather to place them on the way to every destination. This is how this newest category of retail has evolved in the peculiar context of Hong Kong and become a well-adjusted vernacular style.

Conclusions

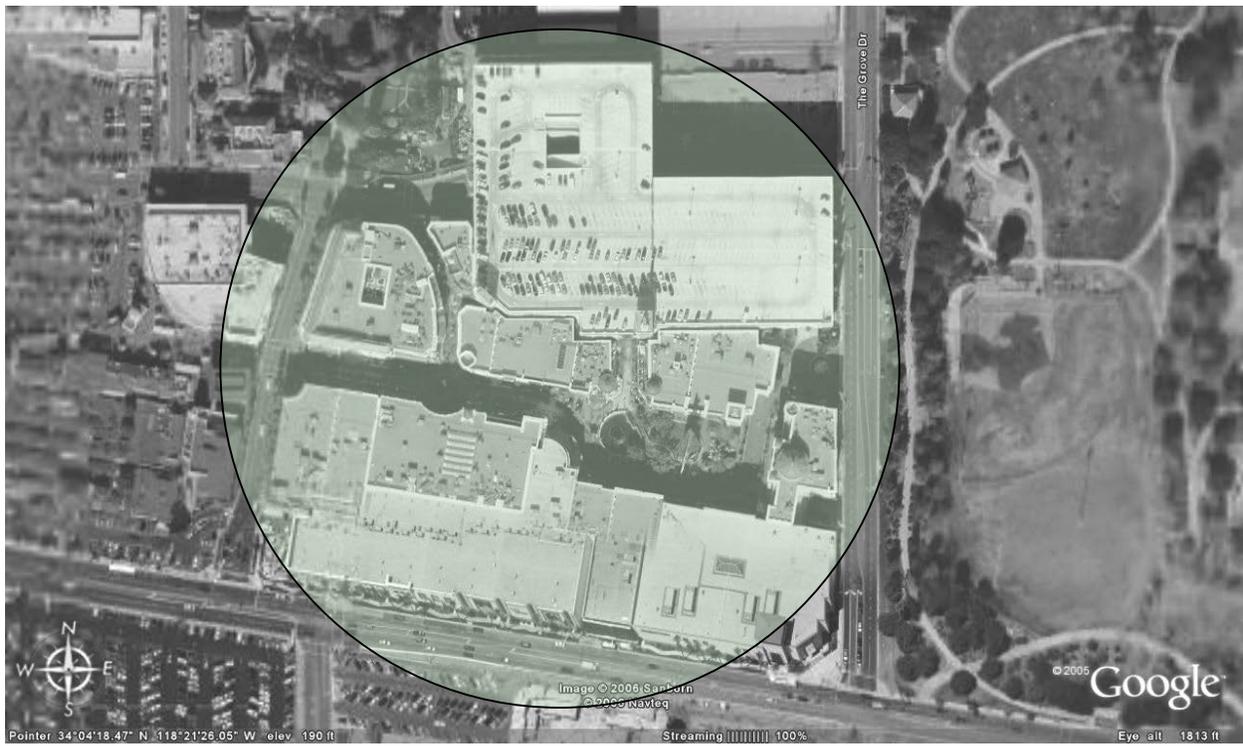
There are two main lessons to be drawn from this comparative study. First, even within the very specific topic of retail entertainment design, evidence suggests that globalization does not simply homogenize practices and values. Although there are pressures towards homogenization in terms of the marketing strategies and location criteria of multinational corporations, a large part of a city's morphological and cultural evolution is ultimately context-dependent. Both our cases are cities that operate under capitalist institutions, are highly consumerist, and are often classified as postmodern due to their post-industrial economies and cultures influenced by the fashion and media industries. Even though the financial and marketing logic of combining entertainment and retail has been realized in both cities, the styles in the two cities have evolved along different trajectories. It is easy to point to land scarcity in Hong Kong as the impetus for its higher density and all other concomitant features. However geography alone does not explain why public transport is not more popular in Los Angeles, or the city's uneasy acceptance of mixed use.

The second lesson we learn is that whereas Hong Kong was catching up with the American mall phenomenon in the 1960s, it is now in some ways leading Los Angeles in the design and development of ERCs. After the technical power of controlling climate and the logic of mass production and consumption were harnessed by shopping malls, styles of retail showed convergence in the two cities, albeit temporally staggered (trends arriving later in Hong Kong). Then, local contexts took the retail activity in different directions, as discussed in the paper. It is only in recent years with the new logic of combining entertainment and retail in highly stylized and thematized environments that ERCs have emerged as a new point of convergence. However mixed-use, transit-oriented ERCs of Hong Kong, which appeared in the late 1980s, are at the cutting edge of such development. About 20 years later, Los Angeles ERC planning has a lot to learn from their Hong Kong counterpart. Three most important principles recommended for Los Angeles based on the Hong Kong examples are as follows—planning for mixed use, encouraging public transit, and thinking strategically about the entire city. These are principles closely related to smart growth strategies. Two of these three also appear in Jabareen’s (2006) “sustainable urban form matrix”. The third, of comprehensiveness, is our addition.

Mixed use has long been accepted as an integral component of smart growth. The case of Hong Kong, and in particular the latest generation of ERCs, show how this can be done without compromising profitability and to the mutual benefit of all land uses. Public transit is a sector where Los Angeles is particularly deficient. The city needs to wake up to the negative externalities of its car-dependence and look for innovative practices such as market segmentation for public transit, shuttle services, and shared cars and taxis. Los Angeles lacks adequate

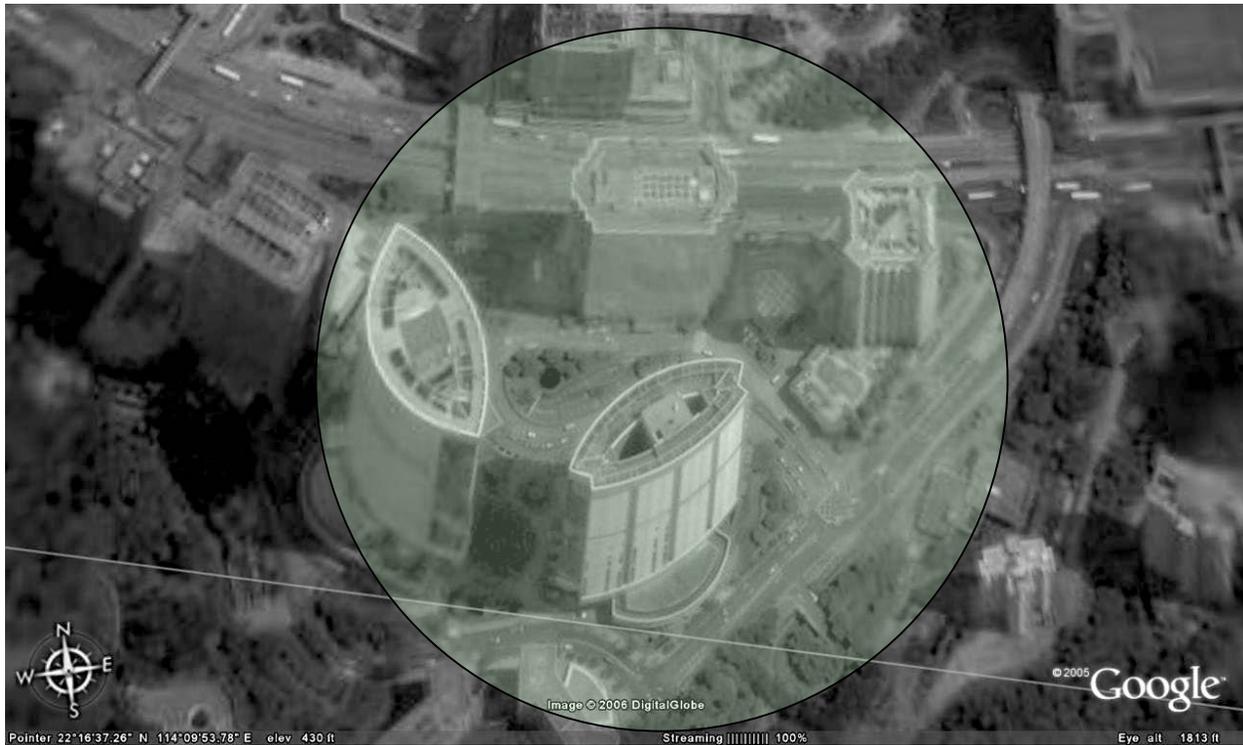
comprehensive strategies and vision because of its decentralized planning culture and interest-group politics. In Hong Kong planning has existed within a capitalist framework and development has been largely led by the interests of the real estate industry. Hong Kong's transit-oriented ERCs present a good example of public-private and cross-sectoral cooperation, which cannot simply be ascribed to geographical contingency.

Figure 1: Aerial view of The Grove, Los Angeles



Source: Google Earth

Figure 2: Aerial view of Pacific Place, Hong Kong



Source: Google Earth

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MASS HOUSING AND URBANIZATION:
on the Road to Modernization in Santiago of Chile, 1930-1960
(Abstract Reference n°201)

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1 INTRODUCTION: the modernization of housing

The creation of the *Caja de la Habitación Popular* (Popular Housing Fund) in 1936 was in part a quest for the design of a model home and a modern city. The *Caja* operated for twenty-six years until 1962 - building 43,310 houses during three different presidential administrations - as a way to develop the country, modernize society, bolster the economy, support industry, and signaled what was to be the continuous role public housing programs would play for the rest of the century.

It was also during this time that major changes occurred in Chile, particularly in Santiago, which was transformed, from a traditional city with postcolonial architecture to a modern metropolis with new urban infrastructure, and modern domestic conveniences such as gas stoves and electricity. While previous administrations had been primarily motivated by partisan politics, the new era of public administration would be based upon an objective planning system. In this regard, this notion of the modern public official was profoundly influenced by the European model of technicians that managed modernization by combining pragmatism and intellectual theory with the idea of the new welfare state. The *Caja* had an uninterrupted run of successive projects for nearly two decades, becoming the main provider of housing and the primary architect of the urban built environment. Even though its designs have frequently been viewed as clumsy and inexperienced, the agency's portfolio undeniably played a strong role in establishing the basis for Santiago's modernization.

Its efforts to meet the housing demand over such a sustained period resulted in a legacy of projects that experimented with the potentialities and limitations of design. The true significance of these projects does not reside in a particular example of housing, but in the quantity and variety of housing designs. Overtime and taken as a whole, these projects constituted an integral and significant component of the city's rapidly evolving urban fabric. In a sense, the decades of *Caja* housing construction changed the image of home from that of an insulated room and facilities to a means of linking the domestic realm with its particular urban context.

2 THE CHILEAN URBANIZATION

This early period also characterized by a sequence of demographic changes, and particularly by mass migration into cities. The innovations in transportation systems, particularly railways and in urban services, such as sewage systems, electricity and the telephone, as well as the expansion of the government administration into a more complex and professional organization, were all developments, which accompanied and contributed to the growth of the cities. In 1920, the proportion of non-city dwellers was significantly higher than that of urban dwellers. By 1930, they were equal. By 1950 for the first time, the urban population exceeded the rural population, and by the 1960s, 60% of the population lived in cities.

Between 1930 and 1950, Santiago's population doubled due to internal migration. In other words, during the 1940s 20,000 people moved to the capital annually (Table 1). Other cities with populations larger than 20,000 in 1930 shared the same 16.1% population of Santiago, yet by 1940, those had only increased by 17.4%. Moreover, cities with less than 20,000 person, by 1930, had also the same exact 16.1% population living among them, and a decade later it had decreased to 14.4%. Within a decade, while other cities experienced minor or even negative growth, Santiago had a constant rate of increase that would not stop until the late 70s (Table 4).

By 1930, Santiago, in its pre-metropolitan size, had an area of 6,500ha, a population of close to 700,000, and a number of main parks and green areas already established. Green areas accounted for 800ha, making up 12% of the urban area and representing over 11m² per person (Pavez, 2002). Overall, the expansion and processes of transformation also impacted planning policies (Figure 1) (Gross et al., 1985) (Gross et al., 1985).

By 1940, Santiago's population had increased to over 960,000, now representing 19.0% of Chile's population, but little in the way of parks or any other green area had been added to the city. The shortage of affordable housing reemerged as an issue in the late 40s, when illegal occupation of slums surrounding Santiago (Correa, 2001). This in turn, generated other social problems, such as high unemployment rates, disease and hunger. The area of the city itself also grew during this period. While in 1930, Santiago was 6,500 ha., by 1960 it had expanded to 20,900 ha. By that time, the city authorities had to implement a more complex and thorough planning instrument - the *Plan Intercomunal* (Inter-municipal Plan) - to deal with the new demands of the emerging metropolis.

The new national development policies and institutional reforms not only reshaped Chile's economic and productive structure, but also had an impact on urban migration and overall demographic growth. Migration to cities started in 1907 as a consequence of the international and domestic economic crisis. By 1930, it had already brought about 250,000 people to the capital. In the following decades, Santiago would double its population. From 1930 to the early 40s, the city grew from 696,231 to one million inhabitants, and by 1952, the population had risen to 1,353,400 (Hidalgo, 2000). By 1940, when Santiago had 1,000,000 inhabitants, over half of Chile's population resided in urban areas (Table 5).

3 THE CHANGING FACE OF HOME

3.1 Modernization & Development through Housing

The Chilean government has historically adopted housing policies to address the lack of basic services provided to its neediest members of society. Since the 1920s, laws mandating the provision of housing and encouraging economic growth through construction and industrial activity have been in effect. The Chilean government's promotion of these policies was accomplished in two stages (Hidalgo, 2000). First, the state took steps to regulate housing standards and irregularities that constantly appeared in the housing system. Secondly, the state developed itself the organizational capacity to produce housing.

In large part, the evolution of housing in Santiago parallels its urban development and form. The process represents a complex interplay of internal urban renovations, the city's accelerated geographical spread out growth, and the scale Santiago metropolitan transformation (Cáceres, 1995). In this sense, by that time there was an attempt to introduce a technical and professional concept of governmental action. The government administration, known as public activity, was linked to the idea of a 'Modern Government' trying to reach a higher purpose than solely a political party is responses to immediate situations. The 'Modern Government' should attempt to build a planning system that coordinates the diverse bureaucratic decision-making, as also these decisions should be based on technical aspects rather than political pressures within the institutions (Hidalgo, 2000). During these years, engineers, planners and architects gradually filled key official positions. Consequently, specially trained professionals could make objective decisions regarding the allocation of public resources without being swayed by political pressures.

Housing issues did not exclusively concern the public sector. The private sector was also to play a strong role through its investment leveraged by the developmental policies. To modernize society it was necessary to reform the government and build partnerships with the private sector. The concept of modernization had the dual goal of developing a high standard of public administration and attracting private investment through incentives.

3.2 Karl Brunner's urban plans & housing sketches for Santiago

Karl Brunner, a Viennese planner, received the first commission to study the city of Santiago by invitation of Chile's president. In 1929, Brunner generated a series of recommendations for the development of the city and its peripheral suburbs and a strategic plan for transformation, called the *Ciudad de Santiago: Estudio del Futuro Ensanche* (Santiago City: A Study for Future Expansion). Subsequently, in January of 1931, Brunner participated in the Second Congress of Mayors as a consultant to the Chilean government. He designed the *Exposición de Urbanismo y Progreso*

Industrial (Urbanism and Industrial Progress Exhibition), in which a series of projects of the *Oficina de Arquitectura* (Office of Architecture) of the *Dirección de Obras Públicas* (Public Works Department) were shown. In close collaboration with government officials such as Luis Muñoz Maluschka, Brunner designed several approaches for the organization of the city. In view of the Chilean capital's lack of urban spaces and landmarks, Brunner's 1933 plan for Santiago proposed 'to architecturalize' the space and to configure new centers and axes, while open spaces were given great importance in shaping the city (Almondoz, 2003).

These Chilean architects introduced Brunner's 1929 and 1932 plans to Santiago's urban structure through a dedicated implementation by urban planners. Effectively, culminating in the plan for the Municipality of Santiago based on the guidelines of Brunner's initial 1929-30 proposal.

In 1934, a second invitation was issued to Brunner to visit Chile. This visit resulted in the plan *Santiago: Estudio sobre el Plano Regulador de la Parte Central* (Santiago: Study on the Regulatory Plan of the Central Portion of the City) supported by a local team led by architect Roberto Humeres, Chief of Urbanism in Santiago. The *Plano Oficial de Urbanización de la Comuna de Santiago* (Official Plan for the Urbanization of the Municipality of Santiago), in large part a modified version of Brunner's plan, was finalized by Humeres and finally approved in 1939 (Figure 2).

In 1932, Brunner published some of the projects proposed in the Santiago seminar, in his book *Santiago de Chile: su estado actual y futura formación* (Brunner, 1932). Moreover, if they began by looking at the facts and realities of the city, basing their design decisions on the existing urban context and its new urban space in a selective manner. The idea was to assume the preconditions of the site as facts that linked the project to its urban context, almost as if the project proposed a response to a previously unanswered question. On one hand, the proposals presented a continuation of the urban fabric, which penetrated the housing project as the designs integrated street patterns within the existing one. In other words, they represented an attempt to reconstruct the discontinuities of the city. On the other hand, the spatial qualities, configurations, densities, and other design issues of the proposal were aimed to create their own unique set of rules for daily domestic life (Pavez, 2003).

Brunner's influence extended beyond his seminar. The bulk of his urban proposal, synthesized in the *Plano Oficial de Urbanización de la Comuna de Santiago* (Official Urbanization Plan for the Municipality of Santiago), described design features of housing developments, configuration between houses, and volumetric composition of open spaces. It was to become a direct instrument for the development of housing complexes for the next two decades. By utilizing two or three stories dwellings and the correct proportion of parcels that will accommodate the adequate densities, he encourages more efficient typologies than the *conventillos* to build this periphery. The dwellings would be set up one next to the other to avoid building two extra façades, and as a result, the group of dwellings would transform into a new scale of domestic urban component. The housing design outside of the traditional center of Santiago acquired a physiognomy and identity clearly preserved until today (Figure 3).

In other words, an urban project is made up with "remainders, memories, fragments and directions," (Sola-Morales, 2002) these proposals were essentially about the housing neighborhood developed as urban projects. The proposals clearly made an effort to look beyond residential housing design. In a sense, the proposals described in Brunner's book could be viewed as a preview of the shape and structure of the 1934 plan. They represented a reverse process of planning which went from a general to specific approach, from a macro urban to a micro domestic scale. In fact, the drawing presented by Humeres in 1939 matched in great detail the locations and forms of future housing designs built by the *Caja* from 1936 to 1952.

4. THE "CAJA DE HABITACIÓN POPULAR"

4.1 The organization of a bureau

The new housing agency was established as a technical bureau that would centralize housing administration and be funded with the necessary resources to implement the housing agenda. It would be responsible for implementing a series of laws that had produced an independent collection of housing options, including affordable housing, workers' orchard houses, land loans and many other housing programs. By merging administrative and executive functions, the agency would be able to incorporate the experience of its predecessors. *Caja's* overall goal was to promote the construction of sanitary housing for the entire population of Chile. Its main functions were to allocate resources for

the construction of dwellings, housing loans, the upgrading of existing housing developments, subsidy grants, and other financial and managerial services (Bravo, 1959).

Newly constructed houses were available for rent, or long-term sale, via installments. Transfer of ownership took place two years after initial rental, if the individual maintained an excellent record of payments and obligations. Rental payments up to the date of sale were deducted from the price of the house. Once the tenure title was transferred and 25% of the payment was made, the *Caja* reduced the balance by 10%. When 50% of the investment was paid the *Caja* settled another 25% of the balance (Bravo, 1959). Many policy mechanisms were implemented since the late 20s. For example, to apply for the housing benefits, previous savings were required.

The housing agency *Caja de Habitación Popular* was the first organization to deal with the problem of housing on a nationwide scale, as mentioned earlier. The work was basically experimental from one project to the next, resulting in a wide range of responses in terms of scale, urban design approaches, housing layout and configuration of domestic space. In addition, paradoxically, the flexibility in decision-making demanded a more careful attention to each project, essentially from the lessons learned and the ability to build expertise through them. Throughout, the *Caja* not only dealt with housing projects but also started to gather data and information on housing needs, user priorities, and other issues. Overall, the evolution of the projects reflected outside architectural influences, internal debates, new methods for implementing the master plans of Santiago, current economic development and the particular inhabitants involved in the process.

The *Caja de Habitación Popular* model reflected modernization trends, which attempted to achieve national development through institutional reform. Only a new agency, it was believed, would be capable of bringing a modern lifestyle to the neediest Chileans. From its inception, the CHP had the dual task of coping with an accumulated housing deficit and setting a standard in housing design. It would become the arm throughout the government would actively respond to every housing need, setting a high standard for quality and total number of units to be produced by the newly created housing agency. In fact, the government, workers' associations, social groups, architects and the population as a whole had very high expectations for the agency's ability to cope with the housing shortage.

4.2 Dualities

Yet, its performance had serious critics since the beginning. During the *Exposición de Habitación Económica* (Affordable Housing Exhibition) of 1936 (Hidalgo, 2000), Luis Muñoz Malushka, from the *Departamento de Arquitectura* (Architecture Department) at the *Dirección General de Obras* (General Works Office), presented a proposal of fundamental ideas for a *Plan Nacional de la Vivienda* (National Housing Plan). He also argued that the *Caja's* prediction of 13,000 houses annually was insufficient, because demand had risen to 37,000 houses annually (Muñoz, 1937). Eventually, the main reason the *Caja* was unable to meet housing needs was that the anticipated funding never materialized because of internal conflicts within the government. Moreover, the agency was to be the only housing entity within the government. Indeed, the *Caja* could not cope with the shortage. Not all these funds were allocated, nevertheless, despite limited finances, between 1937 and 1942, the *Caja* built 9,180 houses 58%, of which were constructed directly.

He stated that the real housing problem was in the growing cities, which absolutely required a plan, starting with economic development. Where housing was either in critical condition or nonexistent, Muñoz conceded that providing every person with a modern and sanitary house was unrealistic. Instead, he turned the responsibility of substandard houses and slums over to the municipalities and private initiatives to solve. Such argumentation served a very practical purpose. The feasibility of the Plan Nacional depended on providing housing for a specific productive sector. By targeting a specific segment of the population, Muñoz immediately reduced the housing deficit, calculated at that time by the *Asociación de Arquitectos* (Architects Association) to be 370,000 dwellings, by one quarter. In fact, the building categories that Muñoz used followed the plan's selective housing logic. The categories of "provisional" and "light", house construction was considered to be supporting categories for the "definitive" house version.

"This category of construction is reserved solely for wage earners with stable occupations and to wages above to \$20 pesos daily. The construction of European type economic apartments, without elevators, should be within reach of those that can pay a

maximum monthly rent of \$250 pesos, to employees with monthly pay of up to \$1000 pesos. In our opinion, it must happen inserted into an initiative of economic fostering.

As far as their location, these buildings must be set in the sectors where conventillos are actually placed and, as permanently established in the cities official urbanization plans, in principle near the commercial and industrial zones.” (Muñoz, 1937, p.48)

A pragmatic approach to residential design was evident throughout the presentation. For more efficient residential designs, the first issue to consideration was integrating and standardizing *mobiliario doméstico popular* (popular domestic furniture) appropriate for the new housing and educating the people about modern habits of living. The second issue to be considered was the urban design of the housing.

The final remarks were targeted at the *Caja de la Habitación Popular*, financial independence hoped to encourage. According to the *Ley General de Construcciones y Urbanización* (Construction and Urbanization General Law), written by Muñoz and enacted in 1929, all cities with over 20,000 people were obliged to comply with a master plan which remained within their own departmental responsibilities. In practical terms, Muñoz ensured that the definitive design of the *Plan Nacional de la Vivienda* would be based on these urban plans, despite the creation of the semi-autonomous *Caja de la Habitación Popular*. As a way to set a precedent, he presented a draft version of a *Plan de la Vivienda* for Santiago, apparently completed in 1939 when a more detailed version appeared in the design proposal for the *Gran Santiago: Estudio Regulador* (Great Santiago: Planning Study), which was identical to Roberto Humeres' 1939 plan for Santiago. The housing projects designs in Santiago appear in the plan made by Muñoz office were ultimately adopted in the *Caja* housing projects clearly laid out before the organization was operational. Yet, the real struggle was handing over the authority of housing, to a semi-public institution, which had broken free of the government's recently reformed centralized structure. The *Departamento de la Habitación* (Housing Department), which was also placed within the Ministry of Development, was suppressed and its staff was transferred to the recently established *Caja*.

Although Muñoz was not able to prevent the transfer of housing finance, design and construction to the *Caja*, he conspicuously set up the overall government planning apparatus in such a way that the *Plan de la Vivienda* itself would remain in his department. If by any chance that did not happen, at least the urban planning base would be under his direct supervision, and through it he would still have a strong hand in planning decisions.

“Nevertheless, we (the government) considered that the Public Administration would not be able to do without its own organization to coordinate the actions of all the organizations taking part in the municipal planning problems corresponding to integrated regulatory planning.

Certainly, on the subject of Normas y Ordenanzas Locales de Construcción (Norms and Local Decrees of Construction) and other similar problems, the Caja, as a semi-public organization will not have the necessary authority to conceive nor to develop a plan that would have to be under the authority of independent authorities like Municipalities and other public departments such as the Dirección de Sanidad (Sanitary Office) or the Dirección de Obras Públicas (Public Work Office) in its supervisory role of the Ley General de Construcciones y Urbanización (General Law of Constructions and Urbanization).

Therefore, considering the task of studying and of compiling the antecedents of the Plan de la Vivienda (Housing Plan), it will have to depend on the same public office that studies and correlates the official urbanization plans in accordance with the transportation and technical territorial plan related to the Plan de Fomento (Development Plan) and to the regional economic development.” (Muñoz, 1937, p.67)

In fact, as noted by Violich during his meetings with Muñoz in the early 40s, the Urbanism Section was established in the Ministry of Development in 1936 and directed by Muñoz. The office had complete authority to conduct the necessary planning studies for all municipalities of over 8,000 people and to produce their official master plans.

At the spring inauguration ceremony of the housing exhibition, two conflicting concepts of public administration and policy collided. On one hand, the politician Senator Lira Infante made a clear statement about his persistent and ultimately successful vision for a semi-independent housing agency. He believed the agency should concentrate on the construction of its own housing projects,

which later could be sold or rented to worker's families. Lira estimated that 166,000 houses could be produced within thirteen years although the projects would start slowly as funds accumulated. Following the new principles of decentralization, he also acknowledged that the investment had to be distributed according to population rates throughout the country. Lira's speech was abundant in positivism (Infante, 1937). This struggle over the orientation of the housing policy would not be over soon. Finally, in 1952 this agency would merge with the doomed *Caja*. The merger would establish a centralized housing corporation, the CORVI, operating within the Ministry of Development and directed by Muñoz, and in 1965 the *Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo* (Ministry of Housing and Urbanism) would also be established by him (Merino, 1948).

4.3 Impact of the *Caja* in Latin America

In his publication of 1949, Violich compared the number of public housing dwellings in Chile with that of other countries (Violich & Jones, 1949). Although Violich's data were estimates based on various reports and his own research, they highlighted the advanced state of housing in Chile and the central role the *Caja* played in it. Throughout the continent, Chile's production is significantly higher than that of other countries at a similar level of modernization. Leading the list with 18,000 dwellings, Chile is followed by Brazil with 15,000. The number then drops sharply to Argentina's 7,500 and Venezuela's 5,000 dwellings. The remaining Latin American countries have under 2,500 dwellings and in some cases as few as 100. Argentine President Perón launched a plan for affordable housing in the mid 40s, and effectively ended the period of programs based in full state housing finance (Gaggero & Garro, 1996; Violich, 1944; Ballent, 1999). The new program adopted a policy of direct credits to owners. Previously, housing was undertaken by the *Comisión de Casas Baratas* (Affordable Houses Commission) which operated for three decades with an impact almost completely focused on the municipality of Buenos Aires. Brazil's first housing policies were announced in 1926 (Hidalgo, 2000). However, it was a decade before housing programs were initiated undertaken by a number of agencies operating at different levels of the Brazilian government. These included the *Institutos de Aposentadoria e Pensões* (IAP) (Retirement and Pension Institutes) created in the 30s, the *Fundação da Casa Popular* (FCP) (The Public Housing Foundation), created in 1946, and the *Departamento de Habitação Popular da Prefeitura do Distrito Federal* (Municipal Department of Public Housing of the Federal District). These were coordinated under a national development project forged during President Getúlio Vargas' 34-year regime from 1930 to 1964. One of the 36 housing projects built by the IAP between 1937 and 1950 accounted for a total of 31,587 units (Bonduki, 2001). Overall, federal housing production 142,127 residences, with over half of them located in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, another 15% in the state of Minas Gerais and Brasília, and the rest distributed among several other states (Tables 2&3) (Bonduki, 1998).

5 THE OLD PROBLEMS AND THE REFORM

5.1 1939's Earthquake

In January 1939, an extremely destructive earthquake struck the south and central regions of Chile. The most affected cities were Chillán and Concepción, 300 and 400 km south of Santiago respectively. This natural disaster along with the mounting growth of Santiago and other Chilean cities would lead, as alluded to earlier, to the establishment of a new parallel housing organization. The *Sección de Urbanismo* office led by Luis Muñoz Maluschka adopted a development-oriented political model that would grow during the years of World War II. For Maluschka, it was the perfect opportunity to start a housing re-planning process integrated with urban planning.

By the end of April, two new agencies were established. The *Corporación de Reconstrucción y Auxilio* (Corporation for Reconstruction and Assistance) and the *Corporación de Fomento de la Producción* (Corporation for Development of Production - CORFO) were initially formed to deal with the earthquakes disaster. Again as described earlier, the first of the twin agencies (Violich, 1944) were focused on developing plans for the devastated regions. The planning process undertaken by the organization paid special attention to health, sanitary conditions, transportation and traffic, zoning and land use. The organization included a planning department, called *Sección de Urbanismo* (Urbanism Section), at the time directed by Federico Oerhens. This section produced master plans for many of the major cities in the affected areas. The second agency dealt with national industry and economic development. By extension, it was also concerned with long range planning of natural and industrial resources (Merino, 1948).

Even though organizations dealt with housing and in a certain sense broadened the responsibility of the *Caja*, the overall performance of housing production was becoming increasingly complex (Hidalgo, 2000). Poor administration resulted in duplicate functions and lost resources. Gradually, the administrative system grew confusing and bureaucratic, as initiatives meant to solve the housing problems were superimposed on mechanisms intended to raise funds for the construction of houses. The different housing institutions struggled and competed among themselves, but this did not help clarify how to bring together the stipulated investments in a complementary way. Finally, in 1943, the housing policy was reformulated and the agency reorganized.

5.1 Reasons of failure

The governing party, *Frente Popular*,¹ had maintained promotion of national development through stimulation of local industry since the beginning of its administration, and looked for more compelling social justification for development. One of the main objectives of the agenda was to overcome poverty, and housing easily became the primary vehicle for driving such a process, as it had been a persistent problem over a long period. In fact, in 1938 when the *Caja's* ineffectiveness began to become apparent, it was imperative for the governing party to maintain a healthy housing policy embodied by a vigorous and productive entity that would convey their political ideas. However, the promised funds to finance the projects were neither acknowledged, nor effectively accumulated. In effect, a lack of political coordination and a lack of funds were imperiling the *Caja's* future. It is agreed that these were the two issues that led to a complete revision and reorganization of the *Caja* at the beginning of the 40s (Hidalgo, 2000; Bravo, 1959). Firstly, the financial reality of the *Caja* was not what the housing policy initially intended. Several internal government transfers of monies and loans never occurred. As a consequence, the accomplishments during the initial seven years of the *Caja* fell short of the promised goals. What was supposed to have been a steady stream of housing solutions only directly built 5,324 houses by 1942 and only 18,195 even after the reforms. Indirect housing production provided other 3.856 by 1942 and another 16,979 houses during the next period (Table 10).

“The Caja de la Habitación has received to date less than 45% of the funds that were supposed to have been allocated, meaning that less than half of what could have been achieved has been. Despite this, the completed work places the institution at the top of similar state organizations in the entire world.” (Popular, 1947, p.19)

Secondly, while the *Caja* was meant to be the only governmental organization with housing responsibilities, the reality was that organizations with fragmented housing functions proliferated (Merino, 1948). These factors diminished, in real terms, the public perception of the *Caja's* contribution to housing in Chile. The general feeling about the agency's early period as a well-intentioned but not well-done contribution remains the image of its performance. Even today many texts and scholars dismiss the housing projects done under the *Caja's* direction as a nice but naïve approach to the urban design of housing.

5.2 The new *Caja*

The goal of the 1943 reorganization was to refocus on the construction and promotion of healthy and affordable dwellings. In 1940, during the early phases of the reform, the authority and functions of the *Caja* were widely dispersed throughout the government the finance and execution of housing were set apart inside the state apparatus. As a way to complement the increase in the agency's autonomy and capacity, in 1943 the financial sources were also diversified to guarantee that the appropriate funds went to the program. These funds were to be collected through new taxes and increased withdrawals from the *Caja de Previsión* (Prevision Funds). Virtually all the major sources of taxes, such as mining, social funds such as pensions, mortgages, and insurance were to become direct partners of the *Caja*, as it collected the funds and invested them in housing.

The *Caja's* reform also included a new standard for the dwelling itself. For the first time the size and scale of housing was debated and then established in a policy. After the 1943 reform affordable or social housing was to be between 36m² and 100m², a range of sizes that ensured the inclusion of as many housing typologies as possible. Also, the national building code was connected with the *Caja* not only to set housing standards, but to establish the standard urbanization for the dwellings. Minimum construction site areas, floor heights, maximum sun exposure, ventilation, and interior

¹ The *Popular Front* was a center and left oriented coalition governing from 1938 to 1952.

circulation of the dwelling were some of the regulated aspects. Other general criteria were given concerning urban design, open space, complex grouping, densities, street width and building setbacks. The third aspects to be regulated, as a consequence of the hygienist movement at the beginning of the century, were urban infrastructure such as water, sewage, public lighting, electricity and gas. By combining and setting these standards, the norm produced a classification of affordable housing, which made a gross distinction between “healthy”, “unhealthy” and “unlivable” (Hidalgo, 2000-b).

As a consequence of the reform, a second generation of housing projects were built by the *Caja*. The new housing projects produced by the CHP in some cases achieved higher densities, other projects were strongly integrated into the urban fabric, but almost all of the dwellings increased in size. The number of houses per proposal also increased, *Caja*'s response to the criticism it was not even scratching the surface of the housing deficit. Interestingly enough, this requirement for more houses was not reflected in design innovations for urbanization, such as the single house or ‘suburban’ distribution, which was attempted by some early projects prior to the *Caja*. The housing urban design strategy still reflected the German *Siedlung* or Viennese *Höfe* style of dwelling. It seems that the CHP reform did not rid the agency of its European influence.

6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

6.1 The Housing Question

The housing struggle and its role in shaping the city of Santiago has been underplayed in the existing literature. Studies about the *Caja* housing projects are no exception. In general, the projects are classified according to a simplistic timeline dividing the old, conventional housing configurations, which repeat the city’s context, from the new generation of modernist building layouts, starting with *Población Arauco*, that are independent of the urban fabric.

The diversity of design solutions contradicts the many [stereotypes that persist even today](#) regarding the monotonous modern housing landscape. Instead, *Caja* designers offered an assortment of housing proposals, at least through the initial periods, as changing ideological concepts in urban issues and architecture influenced their ideas. These dwellings extended over the city, forming new street façades, shaping interior patios, and adding a distinct character.

As lifestyles changed from the 30s to the 60s, the *Caja de la Habitación Popular* indisputably played an active role in the housing question. The opportunity for experimentation inside the Technical Department must have been exhilarating as new possibilities appeared with each design. The designers must have been conscious of carving out a new approach to housing. The thinking process involved in each case, the policies and social contexts in which the housing was built, and its final result would all impact successive proposals (Table 7).

[In addition to the size of the housing projects](#) (Table 8), [the urban spaces of the designs also changed from site to site](#) (Table 9). [Despite assertions in the literature that the increase in housing production coincided with the establishment of *Caja*, in fact it seems that Karl Brunner’s visit and the overall concern about housing issues at that time prompted housing construction.](#)

6.2 Organization & rationalization of a perfectible world

Even though the first attempt to adopt a national housing plan [did not occur](#) until 1953, the high level of government involvement was remarkable. Each housing project contributed a lesson that could be applied to successive designs. Many of the key figures in housing design and policy were active in the field for several decades, and in one way or another ensured the continuity of housing policies. At the time, government officers, politicians, stakeholders, technicians and professionals were expected to operate in a cooperative and coordinated manner in order to seriously confront the housing question.

To overcome an acute housing shortage without creating a socially intolerable environment requires more than a manipulation of dwelling units. Housing poses problems not only of accommodation but also of community life and culture. Nothing [but](#) expert professional planning would do, planning that would respond rationally - through the concerted organization of technical and economic factors - to a pressing social issue. Since architecture was indispensable to such plans, such professional solutions clearly had to be devised by architects. In addition, since the new housing was to play a crucial role in containing masses of citizens under potentially explosive circumstances, it had better be capable of appeasing its inhabitants as well as reassuring the authorities (Forster, 1999).

Unfortunately, a political struggle about how to organize the government and its branches put the new housing agency in a compromised situation. The government mainstream, paradoxically, was not comfortable having a strange organism like the *Caja* involved in their most basic matters. Luis Muñoz Maluschka's discomfort with the *Caja's* semi-public, institutional status was based on his strong belief in a perfectly centralized public administration based on a strict hierarchy. The scientific planning approach [that applied](#) the same principle of a rational sequence of stages to be accomplished sequentially appealed to Muñoz. A centralized government organization for planning, designing and implementing a housing program conflicted with the reality of an autonomous *Caja*, independent from the central planning structure. No other public department or division had that level of self-sufficiency, and this threatened the administration. In fact, this political battle resulted in Muñoz retaining the planning function, keeping it out of the *Caja's* reach. In other words, the Ministry of Public Works immediately set limits on what was to be a self-governing, fully funded organization with the capacity to plan, design and build housing. [The stipulated financial transfers from other public agencies to the housing agency failed materialize](#) (Table 6) (Merino 1948).

This was dramatically different in other Latin American countries. For example, in Brazil [a diverse group of independent public agencies deliberately managed housing](#). The administration did [not](#) attempt to concentrate its efforts to resolve the housing situation into a single organization. Instead, it established separate agencies, institutes, foundations, and state and municipal entities that were semi-autonomous. With such strong governmental support, Brazil produced over 141,000 houses from the mid 30s through the mid 60s. However, as was the case with Chile's *Caja de la Habitación Popular*, the supply of new housing was not able to meet demand. Nevertheless, the quality of the *Instituto de Aposentadoria e Pensões* (Pension and Retirement Institutes - IAP) and the *Fundação da Casa Popular* (Popular Housing Foundation - FCP) dwellings introduced radical new design typologies into the domestic life and new urban space of the Latin American city.

In contrast, in Chile, few of the housing complexes directly or indirectly produced by the CHP were sufficiently radical to serve as a symbol of housing innovation. Influenced by European urban renewal practices and the modern movement, the CHP instituted an operational system based on a technical, practical and direct approach.

6.2 Housing after the New Housing

The impact of such [criticism](#), substantially aggravated by the ineffective structural and financial reforms intended to adjust the cracks of the system, [has lingered, circumventing](#) any other attempt [to place](#) a housing agency outside the structural core of the government. [Until](#) today, housing [in Chile](#) remains one of the more centralized public programs and services. Health, education, and many other social welfare services [operate within both](#) public and private organizations [and at various levels of the government](#). [However,](#) the *Caja's* detractors indirectly [limited housing agencies to](#) the central axis of the public administration and [a](#) national scale approach [to housing issues](#).

[Part](#) of the confusion in recognizing the design value of the *Caja's* projects, continue to depend [on](#) revealing the real causes of [the agency's](#) apparent failure. Political struggles and [budgetary conflicts](#) profoundly affected the overall performance of the *Caja*, and tainted the architectural [legacy of mass housing](#) in the modernization process of Santiago and other Chilean cities.

Similar design issues as these experiences can potentially repeat again. The *Caja*, under the adverse conditions of no political [support](#), financial [problems](#), and [little](#) planning capability, devoted itself to each of the projects as potential urban generators of a new city. Each project [was an](#) opportunity to [assertively](#) transform the urban grid into a new [and integrated](#) version of the city. The *Caja* explored a variety of designs in [its efforts](#) to adapt and adjust to new internal requirements and external influences. Indeed, the range of projects [are](#) impressive in [their](#) diversity, sizes, densities and FARs. Such diversity, easily [misinterpreted](#) by scholars as [inconsistency](#), [initiated the expansion of the city](#) through a unique involvement of public and private housing projects. These projects, mostly [built](#) during the first stage of the *Caja*, triggered denser designs [and](#) bigger and more peripheral approaches [in its later stage](#). Among these projects [are some that](#) explored new [avenues to growth](#), [while](#) maintaining a sense of continuity and stretching the urban relationships.

The work of the *Caja* in terms of the modernization of the city had a unique yet undervalued contribution to Santiago. The urbanization process [resulting from](#) the mass housing projects designed by the *Caja* distinctively marked a cautious and careful expansion of the city from [its](#) 19th century colonial grid to [a](#) more complex and richer urban form. The next agency, the CORVI, would inherit

some of these approaches, such as the multiple scale projects in diverse urban locations in the city center, in its surroundings and in the [furthest](#) peripheral areas. Unfortunately, today much innovation is devoted to financial strategies, [the precise](#) targeting [of needy](#) populations and efficient delivery mechanisms. [Few](#) advances focus [on](#) design solutions, technological improvements, urban environmental conditions and other [key components of a conscientious](#) approach to new housing design solutions.

Stripped of its power and some of its primary planning functions [and](#) unable to get funding, [the Caja was rendered](#) theoretically ineffectual. [Therefore](#), the *Caja* did not pursue [radical](#) housing designs. [However, its](#) design adaptations to the context and economic conditions [of its](#) era [resulted in respected projects that have successfully withstood the test of time](#).

6.3 Expressive Norms & Intermediate Spaces

The Höfe and the Siedlung

Although, the *Caja* housing proposals at the time were concentrated [at](#) the edges of the city, they made a clear allusion to the urban features of the Viennese *Höfe*. Rather than building affordable housing projects in the remote periphery--as repeatedly happened in Europe, North America and Latin America--the *Caja* designs were meant to be integrated into the urban growth of Santiago. The projects allocated for the city fringes, were still within Vicuña Mackenna and Emilio Ansart's transformation plan for Santiago. In fact, the majority of the selected cases are located inside the complex geometry of the urban fabric extension intersecting with the railroad ring. If this was a conscious decision made by *Caja* officials, there is no proof of it. Roberto Humeres methodically drew the master plan for Santiago under Brunner's close supervision and remained faithful to the plan's implementation. The master plan placed a few of the proposed dwellings within the existing city limits. It seems as if the proposal intended to generate a new version of the old city through its shape and its new patterns of growth.

The first outlines of the *Caja* housing projects in Humeres' plan (Figure 2), and even earlier in Muñoz's master plan (Figure 4), suggest a highly expressive new urbanization design. The attention to composition through the shape of streets and by the strategic position of open spaces, [directly alluded](#) to the *Höfe's* morphological concepts. [However, by](#) no means [were](#) the early [Santiago](#) housing designs in Santiago [duplicates of the small](#) Viennese *Höfe*. [In fact](#), they [were](#) far less radical, even though they were regarded as [innovators](#) of the urban space.

The norms of composition, [as with](#) the *Höfe* housing, [implied a direct](#) relationship to the urban context. The projects usually [incorporated strategically selected](#) urban elements to guarantee [continuity](#).

A fundamental distinction between Viennese housing estates and German privileged social housing can be made at once: while German [planning favored](#) the 'Zeilenbau'-long slabs, often laid out in parallel rows--the Viennese projects fully deserve the customary designation as 'Höfe', or courtyards. Höfe tend to enclose their territory with building wings that wrap around the perimeter and sometimes extend inward to subdivide the enclosed area into several courtyards. Streets run right through the Höfe, which, by means of internal passage differences in height, and articulation of individual blocks, achieve a distinctive physiognomy of their own (Forster, 1999).

By the end of the *Caja's* operations in the early 50s, housing design's close relationship to its urban [context was diluted](#) as bigger urbanizations [were](#) better [suited](#) to the *Siedlung* German model. The [openness](#) of the collective space, consequently, increased as housing configurations simplified [their](#) geometries. The horizontal slabs and tower prototype designs grew independent [of](#) the public space surrounding them.

The broken grid of housing

Cities with a Spanish colonial grid followed [its](#) geometrical traces as a basic urbanization unit for development. The abstract [nature](#) of the square grid, together with [its](#) geometrical simplicity, tolerates elemental yet multiple parcel partitioning. Consequently, a vast [amount](#) of architecture in Santiago's foundational center adapted [to](#) the grid. The *Caja's* projects are directly or indirectly connected to the geometrical urban grid or [reflect](#) deviations [from it](#) produced [at](#) the turn of the 19th century as the first expansion of the city occurred (Figure 3).

The introduction of housing design in Santiago generated a new evolution and understanding of its urban [structural](#) cycles. The design mechanisms utilized by [designers of](#) public and private

housing projects [from](#) the 30s to the 60s in Santiago invalidates the notion of a complete [dependence on](#) foreign references. The particular characteristics of Brunner's housing exercises in the seminar [held](#) at the *Universidad de Chile* in 1930 and even his own proposals [for](#) the outskirts of the city, such as Santiago's southeast park designed the same year, contrast with the projects done by the *Caja*. Brunner rarely [planned](#) projects [within the](#) colonial grid or in [the city's](#) extensions [using](#) its geometric influences.

On the other hand, the internal adaptation of influences was in part an accommodation of the *Höfe*, *Siedlung* and Modernist housing typologies into the urban grid, which very early became a mathematical and geometrical compositional challenge. Several of the initial housing complexes of the *Caja* incorporated the proportions found in the subdivided blocks. Despite the obvious simplicity of the strategy, the collective spaces add a more complex aspect to the design. Some other examples existed to the southeast of the city at [the beginning of the](#) 19th century. The emergence and successful use of intermediate urban spaces between the public realm and the private [one](#) continued in the majority of the *Caja* designs. Until the 30s, [a strict division between the](#) public and private [areas had been observed](#) until the block's subdivision process disclosed the opportunity to introduce a new quality of urban spaces.

Other cases partially included the grid structure and took advantage of particular [contextual](#) urban geometries, [which were integrated into](#) the design. Inevitably, the subdivision of the grid resulted in a set of design features that adapted the grid pattern to [irregular](#) geometries. Portions of both urbanizations reference the geometries of the grid, yet they [also introduce](#) new compositions of block and street patterns.

Through [out](#) this process of development, [which disrupted](#) the regularity of the city's [foundation](#) and its strong morphological extensions to the immediate periphery, two [elements](#) are clear. One is the grid and its mutations as a generalized organizational matrix. The other one is the intermediate space as a new component in the organization and transformation of the urban grid pattern. In the cases of the privately [built, residential high](#) rises, the intermediate spaces are introduced as voids [within](#) the whole residential volumetric design. These voids achieve such shapes and contours that the dwellings always refer back to them as much as in the collective horizontal spaces formed by the *Caja's* architectures.

The domestic semi-public/collective experience

The semi-public space represents [an](#) evolution in the residential typologies proposed by the *Caja*. [It was](#) an [unintentional](#) benefit [derived](#) from the [need to provide proper access to and from the building](#). [This in turn](#) created [new](#) typologies that [impacted and](#) regenerated [the](#) city. [It was](#) the [design of Población Central de Leche](#) in 1937 that consolidated [this](#) new component [of](#) Chilean residential design. The project is an outstanding [example of a](#) housing solution [that in a geometrically simple manner brings together the dwelling, open space and the urban setting](#).

The addition, the collective spaces [are](#) strategically positioned [to act](#) as a sort of [buffer or transitional area between](#) the [residence](#) and [outside](#) urban life. The collective spaces [in their various manifestations as](#) plaza, courtyard, pedestrian passageway or [specially designed](#) street treatments, together with the complementary morphological responses of the buildings, [are](#) new [components](#) in the parcel distribution and attributes, and strongly influence the volumetric capacities of [the](#) dwellings. Before the introduction of semi-public spaces, the land parcel was exclusively designated [for](#) private lots. The collective space substantially modified the property system and added a previously unknown value to the real estate market. This new emptiness [denoted](#) new urban spatial associations, in which the further utilization of the collective space demonstrated a maturity and complexity in the conceptualization of housing's morphological definition of the city.

The collective space also provided [some](#) solutions to the controversial discussions of community identity. [It](#) became an identifiable place [where](#) community dwellers symbolically imagined themselves [circulating](#) through [in the course of their daily lives](#). The idea of [a](#) dwelling was [enlarged](#) from the private domestic confines to the collective image of a modernized and developed way of living [within](#) a [social](#) community.

Housing has been a prime site for experimentation throughout the history of modernism. From the late 19th century reforms of the Arts and Crafts to the early 20th century *Siedlungen* of European social democracy and the Four Functions of CIAM, domestic architecture has been the most visible expression of modern society's belief in progress – and architects' desire to translate those beliefs into

built form. Today, even more than in the past, housing encompasses many domains: market-rate and subsidized multi-family dwellings, shelters for marginal populations, and mass-produced housing. And yet, with the rise of New Urbanism and signature neo-modernism in the last few decades, many prominent architects focus their talents solely on expensive custom designs for single-person or single-family dwellings (often second houses). Sometimes they dismiss housing altogether as inevitably monotonous and confining. Yet this remains the very essence of architecture as a discipline: at once the most elementary kind of construction and new technological challenge, a universal need for shelter combined with a potentially infinite variety of objects and desires (Wright, 2001).

In its majority, these cultural, social, and political transformations (changes which occurred during the first decades of the 20th century), corresponded to the will of the people who were unsatisfied with the state of things and attempted to create new forms of expression: extend the reach and nature, reshape the social order and diminish the influence of the traditional social hierarchies, and renew ancestral gender relations based on a different ideal of equality between complementing characteristics of masculinity and femininity. Although with different degrees of intensity, all these pointed to a more modern urban society, in which tradition was increasingly questioned, and not only in terms of ideas as, in fact, had a noticeable transformation (Correa, 2001). Hence, the introduction of economic and social development policies starting in the 1900s, goal of securing modernity and development brought increased coherence to their efforts in the 30s.

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TABLES & FIGURES

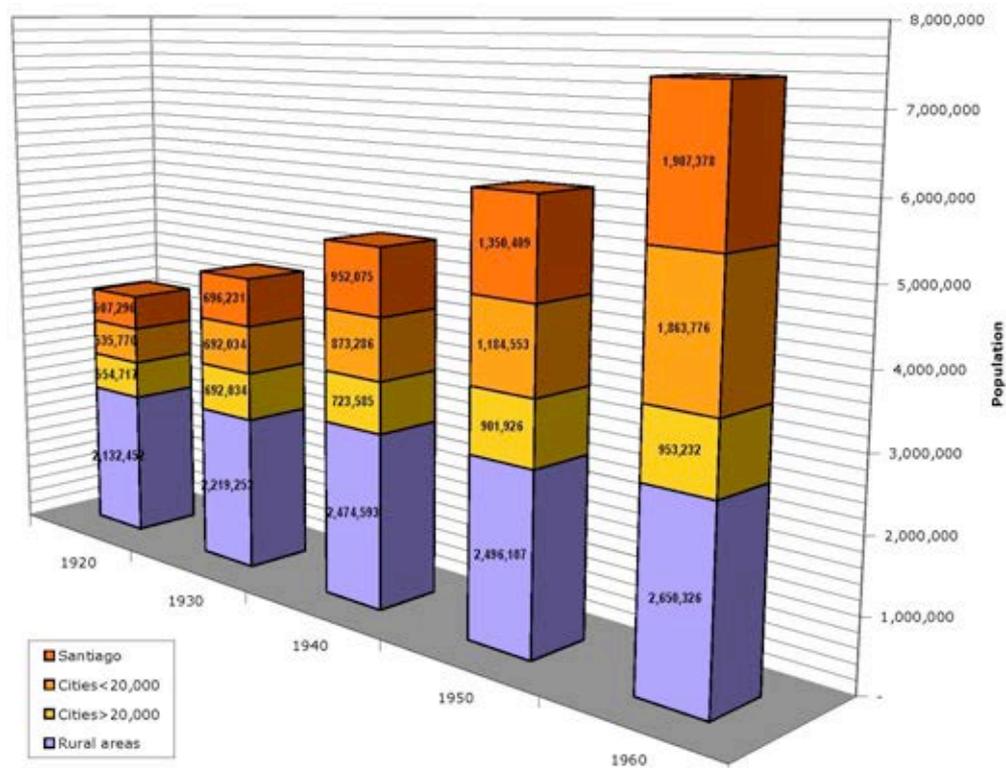


Table 1: Population growth in Chile 1920-60. Source: Hidalgo, R. "El papel de las leyes de fomento" (2000). *During the first half of the century, Chile's population began to concentrate on the capital city and other large urban centers. It was during half of the century that Santiago's population had its first spike, almost doubling from 3,730,235 to 7,374,712. In comparison, during these 40 years the rural population grew barely 24%. Smaller cities with less than 20,000 inhabitants had a 72% growth rate, while cities with more than 20,000 inhabitants grew three times more, at a 250% rate. During this period Santiago grew as much as 276%, four times more than small cities and ten times more than rural settings. Such dramatic growth in Santiago produced an emerging and active middle class and an expanding working class.*

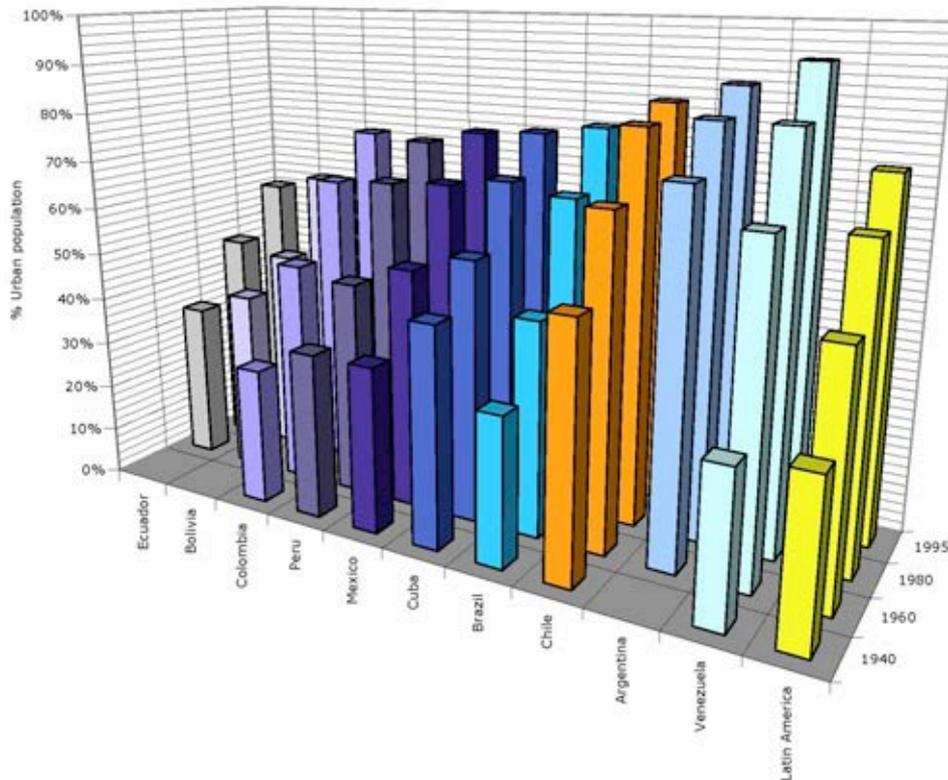


Table 2: Urban population in Latin America 1940-95. Source: Gilbert, A. and L. A. Bureau. (1998), p. 26. *In 1920, 43% of the Chilean population lived in urban centers. By 1960, its cities continued to rapidly grow, and achieved the highest urban population in Latin America, together with Argentina: 61% of the Chileans lived in an urban area. It would only be reached by Venezuela in two more decades, with a massive outburst of illegal settlements. This 'urban life' trend has not changed since then, and Chile's 86% urban population is among the highest in the world and dramatically expanding the cities as Santiago.*

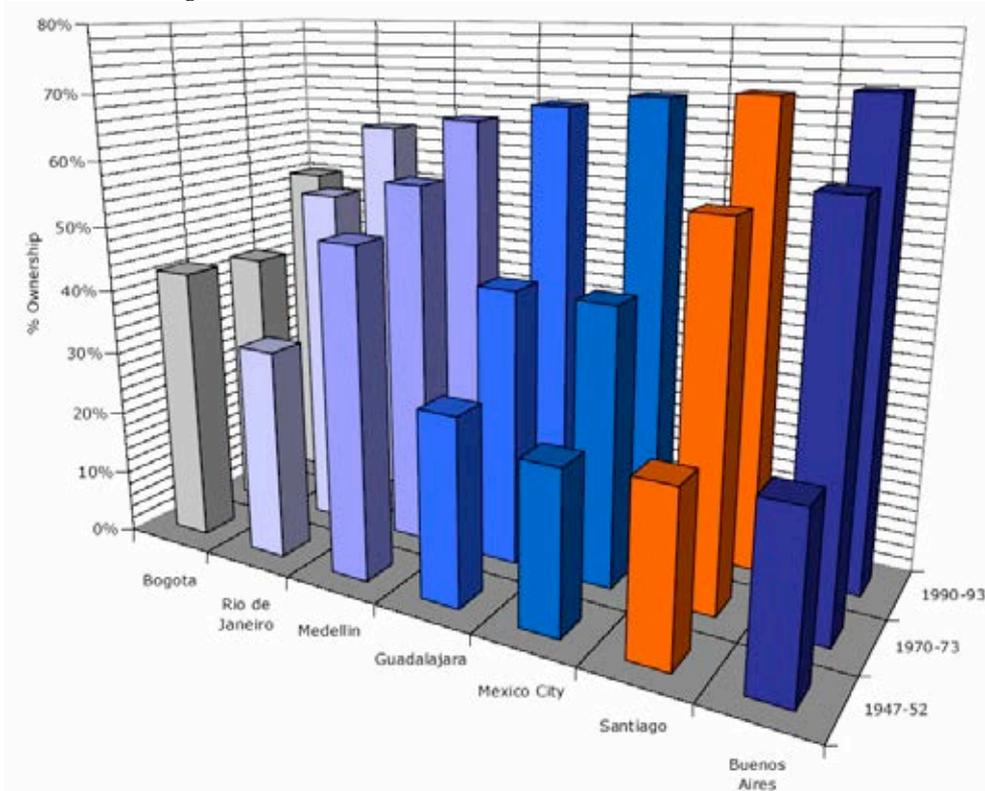


Table 3: Housing Ownership in mayor Latin American cities 1920-1960. Source: Gilbert, A. and L. A. Bureau. (1998). *The Latin American city*. London, New York, Latin America Bureau; Distribution in North America by Monthly Review Press, p. 92.



Figure 1: Plan of Santiago of 1930. Source: (1995) *Santiago quince escritos y cien imágenes*. Santiago, Ediciones ARQ.

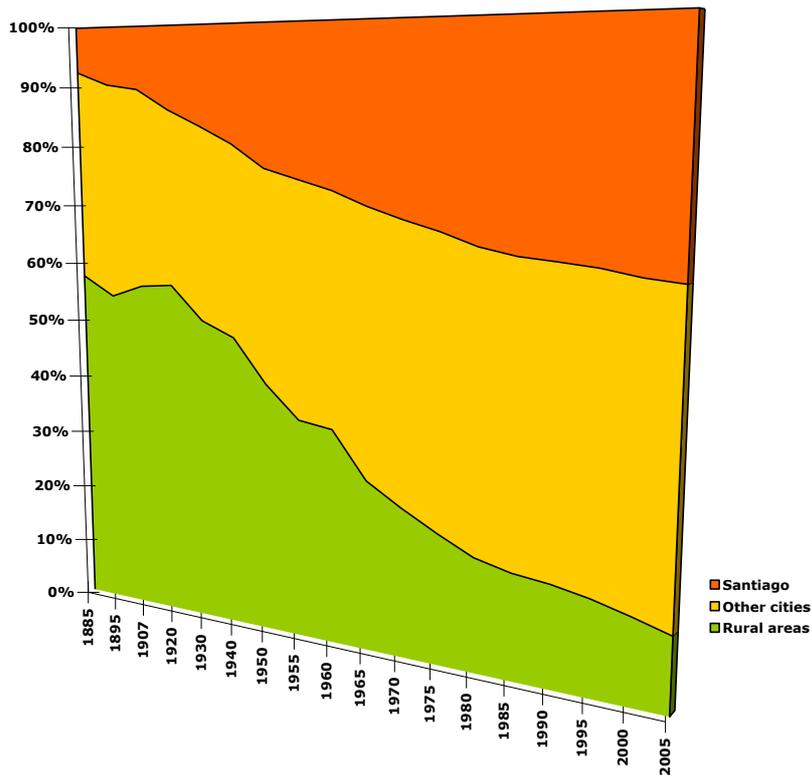


Table 4: Rural, Santiago's and other cities' average population in Chile 1885-2005. Source: Hidalgo, R. "El papel de las leyes de fomento" (2000).

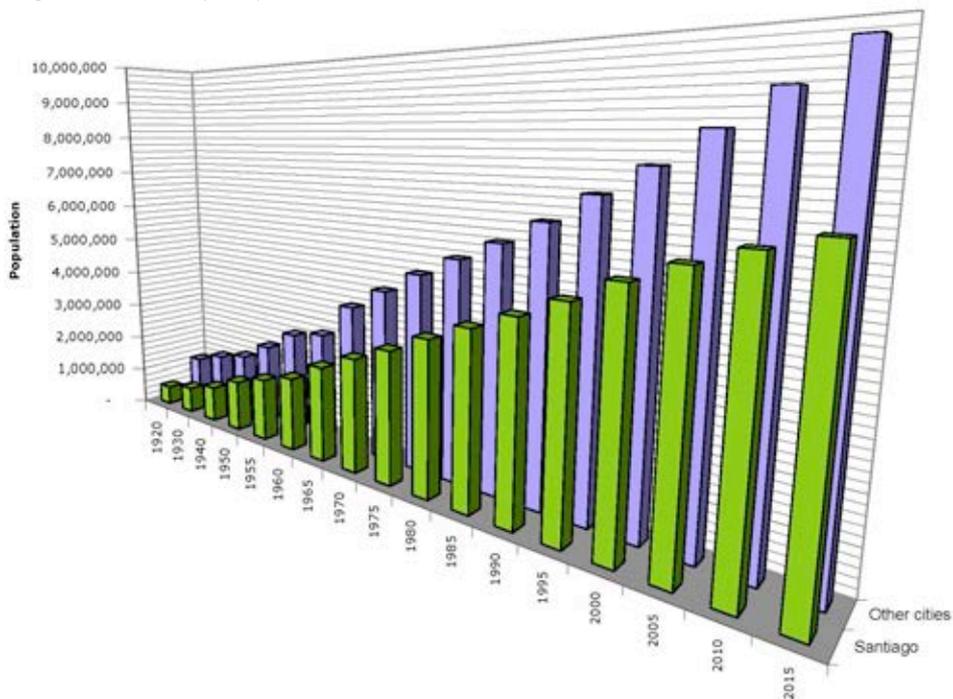


Table 5: Urban population growth in Chile's cities and Santiago from 1920 to 2015 projections.



Figure 2: *Plano Oficial de Urbanización de la Comuna de Santiago*, approved in 1939 and done by Roberto Humeres under the guidance of K. Brunner. Source: Gurovich W., A. (1996). Photo in the U.F. Archivo A. Bello, U. de Chile. "La venida de Karl Brunner en gloria y majestad: la influencia de sus lecciones en la profesionalización del urbanismo en Chile." *Revista de Arquitectura*(8): 11.

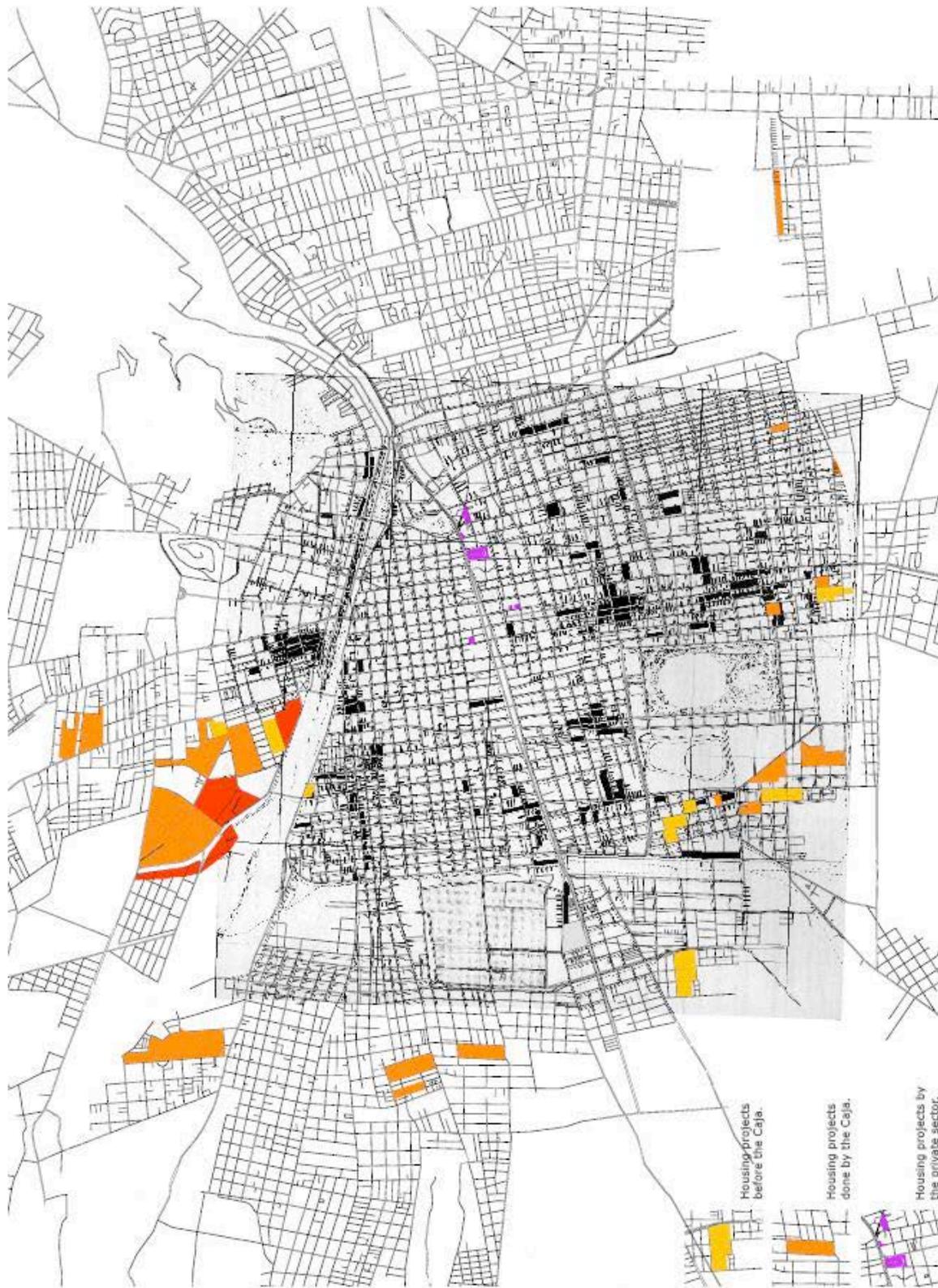


Figure 3: Plan of Santiago by 1950 with the conventillos existing at the time, housing projects before, done, and others after the *Caja de la Habitación Popular*. Sources: author's plan and Palmer T., M. (1985). "La vivienda social chilena: 1900/50." *CA: revista oficial del Colegio de Arquitectos de Chile*(41): 11.



Figure 4: Master plan for Santiago done by Luis Muñoz Malushka around 1932 at the *Sección de Urbanismo* of the *Dirección General de Obras Públicas*. Source: Violich, F. (1944). *Cities of Latin America: housing and planning to the south*. New York, Reinhold publishing corporation, pg. 132.

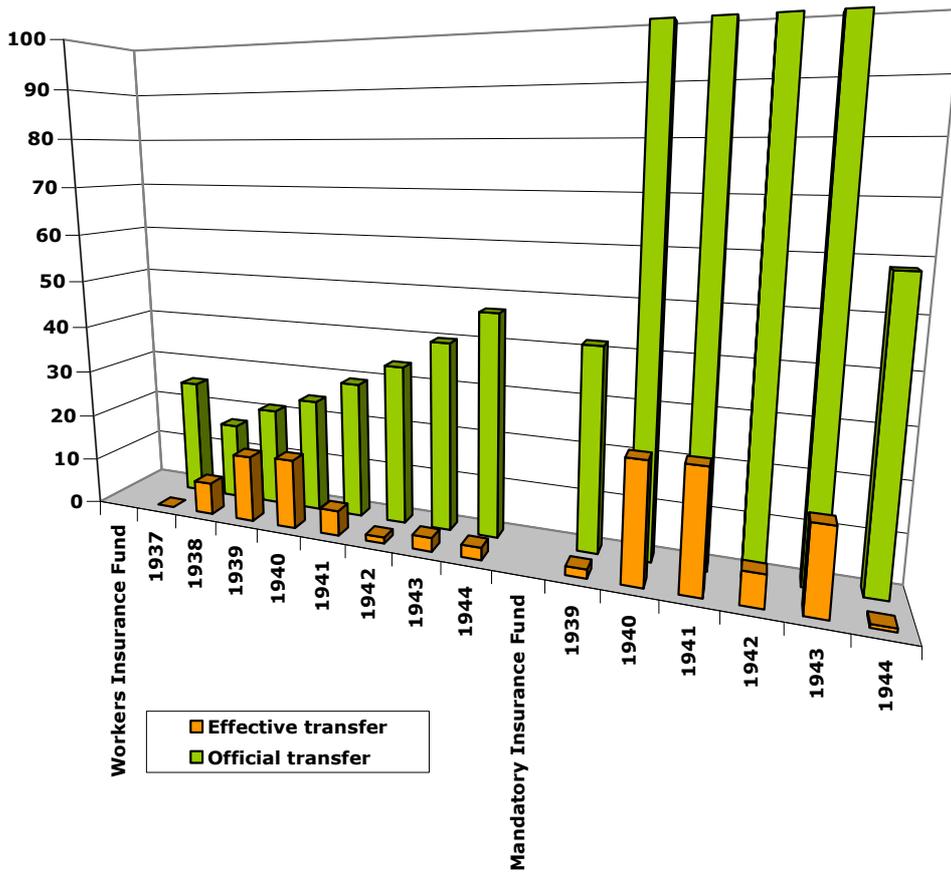


Table 6: The official budget and effective transfers of two main fund sources to the *Caja de la Habitación Popular*. Source: Merino C., J. (1948). *Contribución al estudio del problema de la habitación*. Concepción: p. 29.

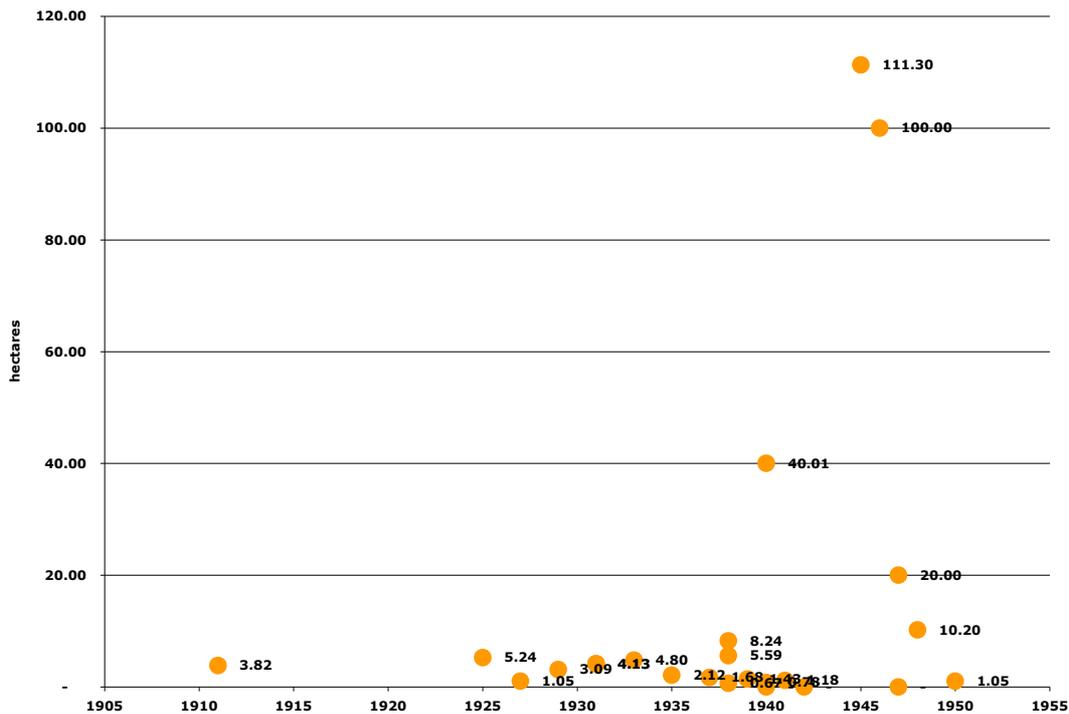


Table 7: Site areas of some pre-Caja are housing cases and the earlier agency's cases. Source: author's survey. Palmer T., M. (1985). "Las ciudades de la vivienda social entre 1900/50." *CA: revista oficial del Colegio de Arquitectos de Chile*(41): 22. *The sizes of the housing designs increase in chronological sequence. The site size of the early projects done prior to the Caja are very similar, such as, Población Huemul I (1911), Población Carrera (1930), Población Javiera Carrera (1931) and Población San Eugenio (1933) All range between 3 ha and 5 ha. The Caja housing designs can be divided into three size ranges. The first is from 0.5 ha to 1.5 ha, as in Población Central de Leche (1937), Población Zenón Torrealba (1938), Población Sargento Aldea (1939), Población Huemul II (1943) and Población Isabel Riquelme (1943). The second ranges from 10 ha to 20 ha, as in Población Lo Franco (1947) and Población Simón Bolívar (1948). The third group are isolated cases and represent the first attempts at larger sizes, as in Población Arauco (1945) of 40 ha, Población President Rios Sector 1A (1945) of 111 ha and Población President Rios Sector 2A (1946) of 100 ha.*

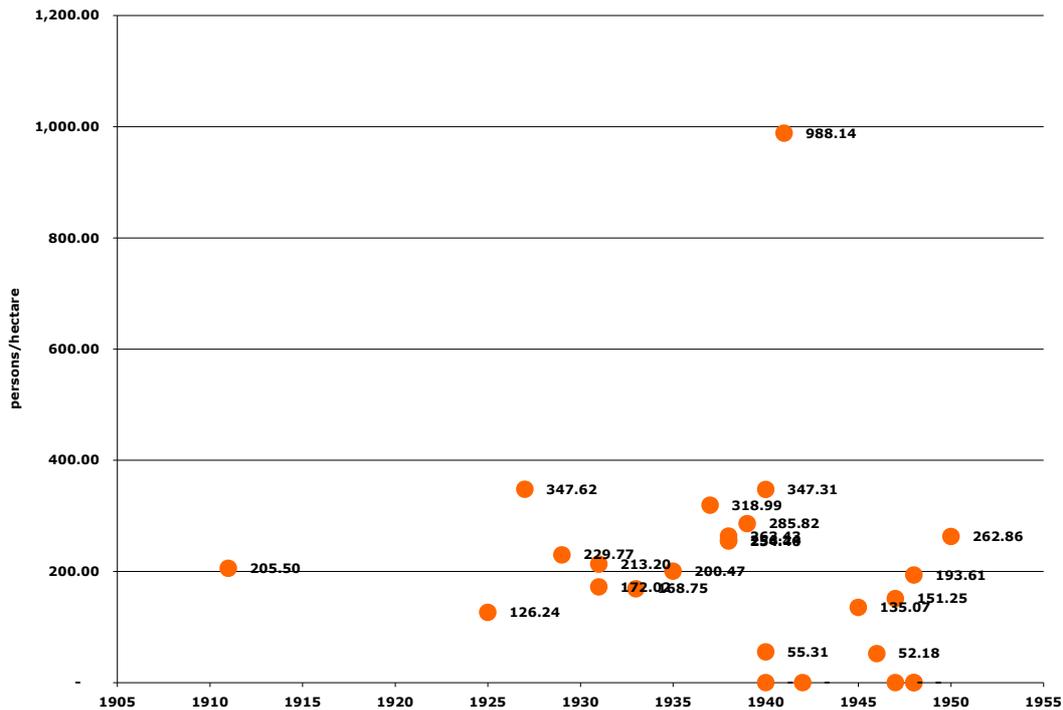


Table 8: Housing densities of some pre-Caja are housing cases and the earlier agency's cases. Source: author's survey. Palmer T., M. (1985). "Las ciudades de la vivienda social entre 1900/50." *CA: revista oficial del Colegio de Arquitectos de Chile*, (41): 22.

From the late 20s to the mid-30s the housing project densities hovered around 200p/ha with a minimum of 170p/ha. The first projects done by the Caja experimented with higher values averaging 300p/ha until the end of the 30s. Still, by the time Brunner's book *Manual de urbanismo* was published in 1939, the density range used in housing was remarkable, probably signifying the highest spike in the first half of the century. After 1940, housing activity decreased as reforms to the Caja were implemented. As projects gradually began to increase again, the density ranges did as well.

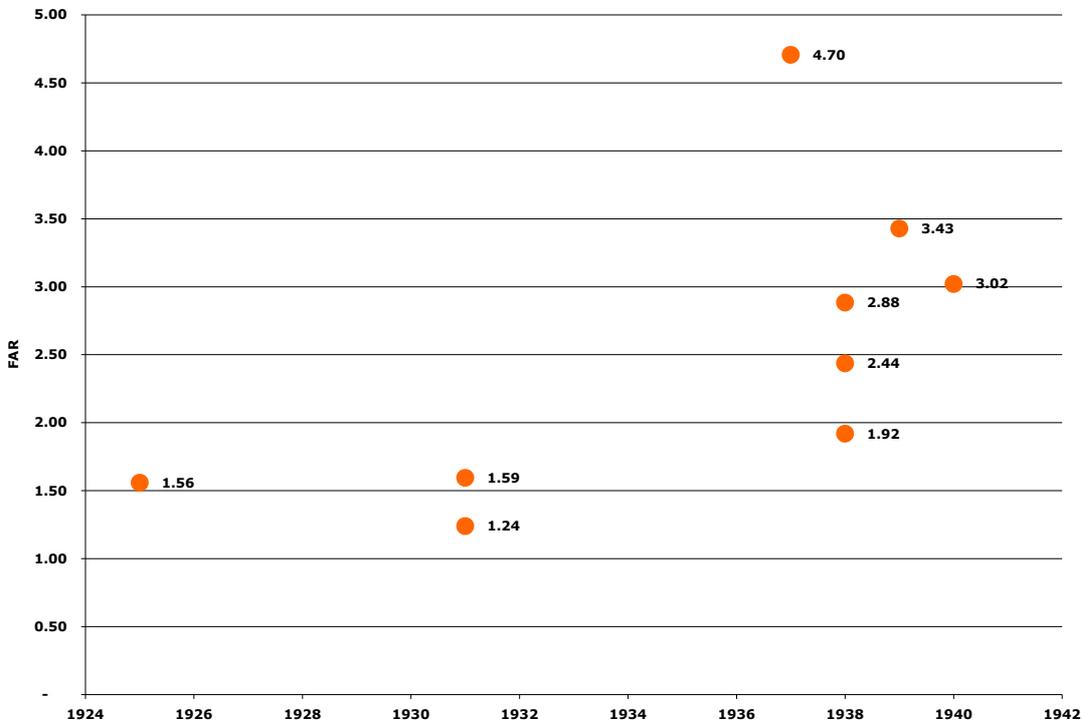


Table 9: FAR of some pre-Caja's housing cases and the earlier agency's cases. Source: author. Starting with Población Huemul I (1911) and until the case of Edificio Zenteno (1958), the FAR coefficients are strikingly diverse, specifically during the first phase of the Caja's operational years.

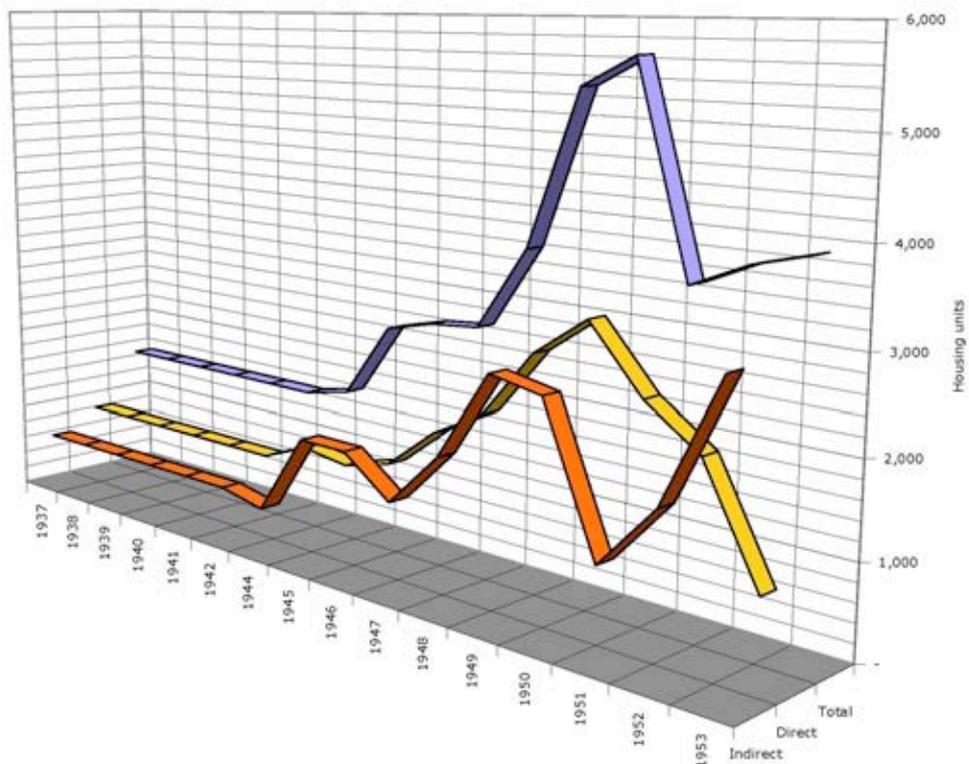


Table 10: *Caja de la Habitación Popular* direct and indirect housing production 1937 to 1953. Source: Hidalgo, R. (2000). "El papel de las leyes de fomento de la edificación obrera y la *Caja de Habitación Popular* en la política de vivienda social en Chile, 1931-1952.". (Note: From 1937 to 1942, the housing production per year is unknown except for the total amount of the period. The total of houses equally divided by the years of the period, resulted in a constant production).

The provision of parks and open spaces in Dhaka under the Pakistan rules, 1947-1971: A critical analysis of the problems of basic planning tools of the Dhaka Improvement Trust.

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This paper examines the impact of major political and administrative change on a key social problem in Dhaka: the question of parks and open spaces. After the final departure of the British Administration from the Indian sub-continent in 1947, the pace of urbanisation and the challenges facing Dhaka City became alarming. Open space and parks especially, or rather the lack of it, became acute due to the population growth and much of the existing parks and open spaces stock was already inadequate, congested and narrow. The Master Plan for Dhaka 1959, inspired the DIT for a development movement of establishing open spaces, parks and playgrounds for whole of Dhaka City. It signified a wider, new planning approach for Dhaka City, based on the philosophy of modern planning perspectives. This paper argues that disappointingly, the DIT failed to understand the philosophy and anticipated messages of the proposed plan. It also observes that the DIT and government not put much care and effort into executing the plan according to the Master Plan. It is therefore, reveals that in practice, the DIT mostly developed small-size civic amenities haphazardly and ignored the Master Plan deliberately, as it was not a profitable undertaking. It concludes that the DIT failed to undertake the benefits of Master Plan of 1959.

Introduction

This paper examines the problems, planning and prospects of open space, parks and playgrounds in Dhaka City. Public amenities, such as urban open space, park and playgrounds are basic physical and social infrastructures of a city that facilitate a better and healthy development of people. This paper is also devoted to a critical analysis of the plans and works of the Dhaka Improvement Trust in regard to the parks and open spaces problems of Dhaka City under Pakistan rule.

The politics of change

Formation of the Dhaka Improvement Trust

There were various central and local government agencies and autonomous organisations empowered with different functions and responsibilities for providing comprehensive urban infrastructures, civil amenities and facilities for the citizenry of Dhaka City. From a long list of agencies involved in development activities in Dhaka, the most important was the Dhaka Improvement Trust (DIT), which was one of the autonomous urban agencies that came into existence in 1956 during the Pakistan period for the *development, improvement and expansion* of the towns of Dhaka and Narayanganj and certain areas in their vicinity.¹ The creation of the Dhaka Improvement Trust in 1956 was under the Town Improvement Act, 1953, which was the replica of the Calcutta Improvement Trust, 1911, that manifested the need for planned development and land regulation in the urban area of East Pakistan.² The concept of Improvement Trusts for civic development of cities was generated by the British in the nineteenth century and was first practised in few cities in Britain such as Edinburgh and Birmingham among others.

¹ *The Town Improvement Act, 1953* (Passed by the Assembly on the 29 October, 1952), East Bengal Act XIII of 1953, Government of East Pakistan, Legislative Department, ["Dhaka Gazette, Extraordinary", 15 May, 1953], 1.

² K. Siddiqui, et al., *Overcoming the Governance Crisis in Dhaka City* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2000), 110.

Objectives, responsibilities, jurisdiction, limit of the DIT

The Town Improvement Act, 1953 constituted an autonomous body to carry out the provisions for development, improvement and expansion of the areas concerned by opening up congested areas, laying out and altering streets, providing open spaces for the purposes of ventilation or recreation, demolishing or constructing buildings, acquiring land for the said purposes and for the re-housing of persons displaced by the execution of improvement schemes. Moreover, this Act established a 'Board of Trustees' that was invested with special powers for realising the objectives of the Act of 1953.³ In the course of time, there were a good number of additional responsibilities, such as the provision of housing accommodation and buildings for public use, the creation of new or improved existing ways of communication and facilities for traffic, offering better amenities for conservation and building parks and playgrounds.⁴ However, it is worth mentioning that some of the above assigned activities were not mentioned and were not even well-defined in the Act of 1953.

The jurisdiction and limit of the Act was applicable to localities within the limits of the Dhaka Municipality. However, it was also regulated in the Act that the Provincial Government secured the authority of any alteration or annexation of stated limits, including the areas within the limits of the Narayanganj Municipality, as well as such other areas in the vicinity of Municipalities aforesaid, which were specified in the official notification. Within the following decade, the jurisdiction of the Trust gradually expanded from south of Narayanganj to north of Tongi, with the Sitalakhya and the Balu rivers to the east, and the Dhaleswari and the Turag Rivers to the south and west, covering an area of about 250 square miles.⁵ In reality, since its inception, the area of jurisdiction of the Dhaka Improvement Trust was far larger than that of the Dhaka Municipality.⁶

³ *The Town Improvement Act, 1953*, 1.

⁴ S. N. H Rizvi (ed.), *Dhaka: East Pakistan District Gazetteers* (Dhaka: East Pakistan Government, 1969), 435.

⁵ Rizvi, (ed.), *Dhaka: East Pakistan District Gazetteers*, 435.

⁶ M. G. Murtaza, 'Urban Development Expenditure in Dhaka City-A Case Study of Dhaka Improvement Trust, Dhaka Municipality and Dhaka Water and Sewerage Authority', Unpublished Thesis, joint Master's Degree Programme, Sheffield University, UK and Bangladesh University of Engineering and Technology (BUET), (1979), 24.

Political power and authority of the DIT

According to the Town Improvement Act of 1953, the Board of Trustees of the DIT was a body-corporate and had the provision of perpetual succession and a common seal, and should, by the said name, sue and was sued.⁷ This Board was equipped with special regulatory powers for achieving the goals and objectives of the Trust. Originally, the Board was consisted of 9 trustees, who administered the overall mechanism of the DIT.⁸ However, although the Dhaka Improvement Trust was an autonomous organisation, the Government's prime motive was to stamp its authority on the DIT and the Act of 1953 allowed the government accordingly to retain its bureaucratic control by appointing an official Chairman from the Secretarial Administration of Pakistan.

The Members of Trusts including the appointment of *ex-officio*'s, was appointed by the Provincial Government. Not only in the appointment of Trustees, the Provincial Government also preserved its authority in the removal of Trustees if the government desired and the removal of any trustees, other than the *ex-officio* Trustee, was achieved through government notification.⁹ However, in respect to a salaried servant of the government, his continuance in office as a Trustee was completely dependent on the good will of the Provincial Government.¹⁰ This was another effective weapon of government to maintain control of the Trustees of the Dhaka Improvement Trust in an official fashion.

It is clear from the preceding analysis of the appointments of officials in the DIT that the government was more concerned with political control than with the fate of the city and its inhabitants. However, before implementation of any major changes, a drastic turn took place in the political and administrative setting of the Central Government of Pakistan by the proclamation of the Martial Law in 1958 that seized the political power of the state and abandoned the Constitution of 1956. This major change introduced a massive reshuffling in the inner structure of Central and

⁷ *The Town Improvement Act, 1953* (Passed by the Assembly on the 29 October, 1952), East Bengal Act XIII of 1953, Government of East Pakistan, Legislative Department, ["Dhaka Gazette, Extraordinary", 15 May, 1953], 2.

⁸ Rizvi, (ed.), *Dhaka: East Pakistan District Gazetteers*, 435.

⁹ *Ibid*, 5.

¹⁰ Rizvi, (ed.), *Dhaka: East Pakistan District Gazetteers*, 435; *The Town Improvement Act, 1953*, 6-7.

Provincial Government as well as the setting up of local government including the formation and composition of the Dhaka Municipality and the Dhaka Improvement Trust. Immediately after the imposition of martial law in 1958, most of the administration of central Government was taken over by the officially appointed Administrator, including the two municipalities of Dhaka and Narayganj.¹¹ By virtue of the regulatory practice of the Act of 1953, the Chairman of the Dhaka Municipality was one of the *ex-officio* Trustees of the Dhaka Improvement Trust, which gave the military rulers the authority to control the activities of the DIT in a passive way. Moreover, apart from the Chairman of the Dhaka Municipality, out of the 9 Trustees of the DIT, the Chairman and the Director of the Public Health, East Bengal, were servants of the Provincial Government, directly appointed by the Government. Nevertheless, the three Trustees, namely two Commissioners and an elected member of the Chambers of Commerce, were incorporated into the Trust in a democratic manner but, in reality, they were not as influential as the other Trustees. The government had an opportunity to appoint members of the social and bureaucratic Elite as the Trustees of the DIT from categories of people who were loyal and politically-inclined towards Government. Taking the above-mentioned situation into consideration, it would not be misleading to say that government influenced an autonomous organisation like DIT from a political point of view and, in practice, it became a surrogate government department in the guise of an autonomous body because the Dhaka Improvement Trust had virtually no authority to act independently owing to the constant political pressure and, control of the government.

The authority to prepare a Master Plan

The amendment of the Act of 1953 in 1958 brought a significant change that empowered the authority to prepare a Master Plan for Dhaka City.¹² The amendment of 1958 opened a new chapter in the progression of the Dhaka Improvement Trust. A British architect and town planning consultants' firm-Moniprio, Spencely and P.W Macfarlane produced a 'Report on the Master Plan for Dhaka 1959, which highlighted several aspects of urban issues such as the extent of planning area,

¹¹ Rizvi, (ed.), *Dhaka: East Pakistan District Gazetteers*, 427.

¹² Murtaza, *Urban Development Expenditure in Dhaka City*, 24.

transport, public buildings, population, housing, education open spaces, commerce, industry, public utility services and land for special purposes and included summary and recommendations.¹³ One of the unique features of this Report was the inclusion of a thoughtful suggestion how the over all planning should be administered and implemented.

The main objective of the Master Plan was to establish planning principles and the preparation of detailed proposals that would follow agreement of principles discussed in the Plan.¹⁴ The Consultants, working on behalf of the DIT, successfully prescribed the planning principles and worked out a land use map in the final report of 1959. The plan covered the then Dhaka Improvement Trust area of approximately 220 square miles, with a population sharply exceeding 1 million, of when 575,000 were in Dhaka City. It should be emphasised, however, that the Master Plan of 1959 was a single-land use master-plan map that did not classify detailed use of the vast area of the Dhaka City lot by lot, by land use or on a zoning basis. This Master Plan was chiefly focussed on development control of Dhaka City and its principle means of implementation with regard to setting up an urban structure of Dhaka City administered by the DIT.¹⁵

However, for various reasons, this approach did not achieve its purposes. The implementation of any urban plan generally depends on a joint effort of both the government and private sectors of a country. In the case of Dhaka, neither was the government sincere and well-equipped nor was there in existence a private sector in operation.

As a plan, it was not bad, however, it was drawn up by foreign experts without the involvement of the people of Dhaka City. In fact, this plan was prepared during the Martial Law period of Ayub Khan and the administrators did not have much time to involve the citizens in the planning process. They were interested in

¹³ *Report on the Master Plan for Dhaka 1959*, Dhaka Improvement Trust and Minoprio and Spencely and P. W. Macfarlane, London, December 1959, 1-62.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 53.

¹⁵ *Dhaka Metropolitan Master Plan (A Development and Management Plan for Dhaka)*, UNCHS Project Management, Government of Bangladesh, United Nation Development Programme, Preparation of Structure Plan, Master Plan and Detailed Area Plan (Metropolitan Development and Plan Preparation and Management in Dhaka and Chittagong), A RAJUK Project Supported By UNDP/UNCHS BGD/88/052, (November, 1993), 1 & 3.

going ahead as quickly as possible for political propaganda purposes. As a result, there were some problems raised that were very much institutional and cultural; that is the implementation of the plan was not organised and was not well suited to the people's values and practices. There is another belief that the Master Plan of 1959 was a policy of urban building rather than an integrated town plan. Whatever its shortcomings, the Master Plan of 1959 has remained the basis of the present development.

International perspective of making parks, open space

They were an integral part of a planned urban environment in cities across the world in the twentieth century. Generally, the stock of urban public open spaces, parks and public playgrounds is conserved and maintained by the public authorities and government in order to protect public welfare. Ali has pointed out that in the urban centres of East Pakistan, including Dhaka City, this was not the case and little was done to preserve open spaces, parks and playgrounds.¹⁶

In Europe in the nineteenth century, when public authorities had failed in this respect, private philanthropists, such as the members of the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association in the UK, had persuaded parliament to pass the Open Space Acts of 1887 and 1890. Ultimately, since 1887, *open space* was recognised as the official generic term for administering parks, walks and gardens. In addition, the consolidating Act of 1906 is considered the principal Act governing public open spaces in the UK.¹⁷ During the Pakistan period, unfortunately, owing to cultural differences, there were no such organised humanitarian groups and civil societies in Dhaka to inspire the government to follow the example of the UK.

¹⁶ K. Ali, *Towards a Livable City*, Souvenir, the Centre for Urban Studies (CUS), 30th Anniversary Conference-1972-2002, Dhaka, 1-2 November 2002, 25; Nizam, 'Problems of Municipal Administration', in M. A. H. Khan (ed.), *Problems of Municipal Administration* (Dhaka: National Institute of Public Administration, 1968) 42.

¹⁷ E. K. Morris, Changing concepts of local open space in inner urban areas, University of Edinburgh, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, 1980, quoted in *Urban Parks and Open Space-A review*, Tourism and Recreation Research Unit, University of Edinburgh, The Sports Council, Social Science Research Council, (1983), 13.

Regional perspective of making parks, open space

A city like Dhaka with strong sun and a long rainy season obviously needs a sufficient number of shaded benches on roadsides, open spaces and neighbourhood parks for pedestrians to rest. Ahmed's study provides the temperature profile of Dhaka City showing that it experienced the highest temperature in the pre-monsoon period (March, April and May), with occasional thunderstorms, reaching maximum temperatures between 35.4 degrees and 41.0 degrees in April (1961-1990). The longest season, the monsoon (June - September), is marked with a heavy torrential rainfall of 781 mm to 1499 mm in Dhaka City.¹⁸

The amenities for children's recreation were very limited in Dhaka City during the Pakistan period. The study by Noman and others highlighted the magnitude and nature of the problems and the inadequacy of the recreation facilities in Dhaka City. The parents were concerned about the inadequate available existing facilities for their children, particularly for girls growing.¹⁹ The empirical research of Nilufar also found that Dhaka City had a great need for open spaces for its residents.²⁰

Open space standards: regional and international perspective

During the 1950s and 1960s, it was the standard requirement of western planning that 10.5 acres of land should be preserved for recreational purposes per thousand population of a city.²¹ In the case of Britain, the National Playing Fields Association had set the standard for playing fields as 6 acres per 1,000, of which 4 and 2 acres should be for public and private playing fields respectively. Besides, provision was recommended to preserve 1 acre per thousand for parks and 3 acres

¹⁸ K. S. Ahmed, *Approaches to Bioclimatic Urban Design for the Tropics with Special Reference to Dhaka, Bangladesh*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Environment and Energy Studies Programme, Architectural Association School of Architecture, London (1995), 15-24.

¹⁹ A. Noman, et. al. *Children Recreation in Dhaka: As the Parents Look at It*, College of Social Welfare & Research Centre, Dhaka (1962), 10-11.

²⁰ F. Nilufar, *For Urban Life, Specially Dhaka City: Its Past, Present and Future- Urban life and use of public open space-study of responsive public open spaces for supporting urban life in Dhaka City*, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dhaka (1999), 33.

²¹ L. Koppelmen, & J. D. Chiara, *Urban Planning and Design Criteria*, [1st Edition], (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1969), 203.

for school playing fields that finally accounted for a total at 10 acres of open space per 1,000 persons. However, London miserably failed to fulfil this requirement, owing to population pressure and the acute shortage of open space in the central areas. Therefore, the County of London aimed at providing of a total 2.5 acres per thousand of the population. Similarly, Singapore planned not to exceed 2.5 acres per thousand because of its extremely high population density and a great scarcity of building land. However, Karachi in West Pakistan had a better plan than London and Singapore and aimed at 4 acres per thousand persons.²² The volume of open space aimed at in Karachi was almost 7 times higher than in the existing conditions of Dhaka City. Dhaka City provided only 0.5 acres per thousand of the population, which was frighteningly low for a normal living environment, extremely disappointing and highly noticeable in any respect. It had only 19 acres of open space for 300,000 persons, of whom a high proportion were children. Hence, there was very little open space, parks, playing fields or small amenities, except for the River Buriganga and some scattered water tanks in the old town, where the population density was the highest in the city.²³ There was no children's park in old Dhaka, except for one or two fenced areas that were inappropriate to function as good, modern parks.²⁴

An absence of any central control or compulsory regulatory provision and plan contributed to the further deterioration of the living environment of the city. The cultural response to open space was poor and the urban agencies of the city had not seen any clear policy outline for the control, preservation, reservation and uses of its public open spaces, parks and playgrounds. Nilufar observes that the physical condition of these amenities was very poor. Another key problem was that the public and private bodies unlawfully occupied public open spaces, for example, near Dhanmondi Lake and Gulshan Lake in Dhaka City.²⁵ Dhaka suffered from a lack of perception among its rulers for the need for open space and what meagre facilities that existed were prone to causing social problems, rather than alleviating the pressures of urban life. In Dhaka, there was a clash between the accepted philosophy

²² *Report on the Master Plan for Dhaka 1959*, 27.

²³ *Ibid*, 27.

²⁴ *Establishment of Two Parks*, Sl. No. XX, Proforma for Submission of Development Schemes to the Planning Commission, Appendix-1, Form. P.C.I, Dhaka Improvement Trust (1957), 2.

²⁵ Nilufar, *For Urban Life, Specially Dhaka City*, 27-29.

of twentieth-century planners across the world (especially in Europe) about the need for open space and how open space was viewed in Dhaka. Huq identified several impediments, such as rising land prices due to the scarcity of suitable land, rapid movement of the population, poor urban planning and the lack of control of land use, which all obviously obstructed the development of recreation facilities, including overall land use in the city. He also argues that regrettably, the provision of outdoor and indoor recreation facilities for Dhaka City was never seen as a top priority.²⁶ The Town Improvement Act of 1953 gave a mandate to the DIT for planning to afford better access to conservancy and to provide open spaces, parks, playgrounds and similar services²⁷ but the DIT had other more pressing considerations to deal with and parks did not generate income.

Records show, however, that the DIT was not concerned with decorating, beautifying and offering comfort to the citizens through the provision of open spaces, parks and playgrounds. However, the British planners expected that the DIT would develop large open spaces, parks and playgrounds in the city including the old town, according to the Master Plan for Dhaka, 1959. They argued that the rapid growth of slums, construction of *pucca* houses, buildings and other development work would occupy an enormous amount of land and, within a few years, the acquisition of suitable areas for open space would be almost impossible for the DIT.²⁸ But the DIT was still not too concerned over this prospect because primarily, the DIT was devoted to and involved in developing profitable ventures, like housing, commercial and industrial plots, building shops and markets and extended areas of lands. Therefore, undoubtedly, the issue of establishing open spaces, parks and playgrounds was rarely referred in the ordinary and special meetings of officers as well as at the Board of Trustees of DIT. They gave priority to the improvement of existing parks in the old city, namely Ganderia, Pkasthan Maidan and Sirajuddulla Parks and Rajarbag Park, rather than making new parks.²⁹ The DIT Board was aware of the challenges that stood in the way of the implementation of schemes and development of parks in

²⁶ S. M. M. Huq, *Abstract, Outdoor Recreation Pattern, Resources and Problems: Case Point Dhaka*, Souvenir, CUS, 30th Anniversary Conference-1972-2002, 40.

²⁷ Rizvi, *Dhaka, East Pakistan District Gazetteers*, 435.

²⁸ *Provision for Parks and Playgrounds and Public Amenities in Dhaka and Narayanjang*, Scheme.35, Sl. No.9, 1965-1970, Dhaka Improvement Trust.

²⁹ *Proceedings of the 123rd ordinary meeting of the Board of Trustees, D.I.T held on 20.6.66*, Dhaka Improvement Trust (1966), 2.

the city. The availability of land for making parks appeared as a critical issue before the Board. The Board also argued that it was not possible to address the problem without having effective and timely government support to make available the Khas lands earmarked in the Master Plan as parks and open spaces. Moreover, the safeguarding of the Master Plan by the government became crucial in the preservation and improvement of areas protected in the Master Plan for those amenities.

Two phases of making open space, parks in Dhaka City

During the Pakistan period, Dhaka City saw two distinctive phases of establishing open spaces, parks and playgrounds that can be grouped under the following headings:

1. A period of complexity, contradiction and frustration: no plans and goals from 1947 -58
2. A period for plan, movement and reconstitution: 1959 -71

It appears that in the first half of the 1950s, making an open space, park or playground in Dhaka City was a very complicated task. As it was a corporate responsibility, no authority was solely responsible for it. Many urban organisations such as the Dhaka Municipality, the Health and Local Self-government Department, the Communication, Building and Irrigation Department, the Ministry of Works and later the DIT were closely associated in the process to put in hand this particular duty without having any comprehensive plan and concrete goal to achieve. However, according to the East Bengal Act, 1932, the Dhaka Municipality was the key player who was responsible for initiating plans to establish such facilities. It emerges from an official document of the H and L.S.G Department that the then-Governor of East Pakistan gave emphasis to establish children's parks or children's corners in the new and old city of Dhaka, although it was not a profitable venture. The commissioners of the Dhaka Municipality were requested to provide such parks at convenient

places, especially at the most congested *bustee* (slum) areas of the old city.³⁰ Furthermore, the Government requested the Dhaka Municipality to provide the funds for children's parks.³¹ However, according to the record, the Dhaka Municipality responded reluctantly and left the issue on the shoulders of Government and the DIT in the following manner:³²

The Commissioner agrees with the proposal of the Government and deeply feels the necessity of such parks, but due to paucity of funds at the disposal of Municipal Commissioners, they cannot execute this.

It is therefore resolved that the District Magistrate Dacca (Dhaka) be requested to move Government for making the Childrens' parks as proposed, out of the fund at the disposal of the Government at the 5 years' plan.

It is further resolved that a copy of this resolution together with the memo of the District Magistrate, Dhaka be sent to the Dhaka Improvement Trust with the request to take up the matter by the Trust.

It was recorded that so far, no report had been produced on this matter by the Dhaka Municipality. The Municipal Commissioners were reluctant to make a decision and realising the proposal for the development of children's parks. Finally, it was discovered that this initiative would be overlap with the DIT, as it also drew up schemes for two parks at Nawabpur (extension) and on either side of Jinnah Avenue, so it was decided that schemes for making open space and parks should be implemented by the DIT.³³

³⁰ *File No. LSG-14-6/57*, Refe: Proposal for Children's Parks or Children's Corner in the New and Old City, Health and L.S.G Department, Government of East Pakistan, Dhaka, 10.12.1956 and Letter No. 649, L.S.G, 20.12.1956, Health and L.S.G Department, Government of East Pakistan, Dhaka.

³¹ *Memo No.13183-MPL/50, dated 3.12.56*, the Additional District Magistrate, Government of East Pakistan, Dhaka (1956).

³² *From an Ordinary Meeting of the Municipality Commissioner*, held in the Municipal Office, Dhaka (6.2.1957).

³³ *File No. O.I. 6496-L.S.G*, dated- 20.12.1956 and *O.I 545-LSG* (8.2.1957), 1.

When an attempt was made delegating the responsibility to the DIT, Mr. Madani, the first Chairman of the DIT, identified it as a non-productive scheme and made the following careful comments:³⁴

Parks are not going to be productive in the financial sense. If Govt. accept the principle of subsidising non-productive schemes, the Improvement Trust would be only too glad to go for provision of Parks and other amenities. In view of the improvement of the matter L.S.G Department is requested kindly to convene a meeting of representatives of depts concerned to discuss the ways and means of financing such schemes and as to which agency should be responsible for their execution.

Apparently it seems that the Chairman of the DIT was also reluctant to carry out the responsibility in the first place. In fact, the Chairman made this cautious observation due to some practicalities that existed in realising these schemes because the DIT had no idea about the blueprints of the schemes, which had been made before its inception. Mr. Madani was not sure which agency should be responsible for their execution and was not in agreement with the opinion of the Dhaka Municipality, although other government departments thought that it was the function of DIT to examine and decide such cases.³⁵ Moreover, the newly set up DIT had not yet started working properly. Furthermore, the finance for implementation of such schemes was not discussed and provided beforehand. The chairman rightly observed that this work required co-ordination among the previously concerned government departments, such as the Dhaka Municipality, H & L.S.G. Department and Regional Telecommunication. It was the prime responsibility of the Dhaka Municipality to establish children's parks in the city. Regrettably, the Municipal Commissioners refused to take the responsibility owing to the inadequacy of the funds and asked the government to allocate funds under the Five-Year Plan.³⁶ Presumably, financial insecurity might cause serious trouble for the development of

³⁴ *File NO. LSG-14-6/57*, Ref: Proposal for Children's Parks or Children's Corner in the New and Old City, Health and L.S.G Department, Government of East Pakistan, Dhaka (18-2-1957), 2.

³⁵ *Correspondence regarding proposal for Children's Parks or Children's' Corner in the New and Old City*, East Bengal Form No.1, Collection No. XI, Dhaka Improvement Trust (1957), 8.

³⁶ *Children's Parks at Dhaka City*, Ref: Your memo No. 13189-MPL/50, dated- 3.12.1956, No. 5024, Municipality Office, Dhaka,

parks and playgrounds in the city because establishing parks was not a profitable venture from an economic point of view.

The necessity for open spaces, parks and playgrounds was reflected in the schemes of the DIT for the following years. The record shows that in 1957, the DIT planned to establish two parks in the old part of city on approximately 5.5 acres of land by clearing the unhealthy spots and swamp ground. However, the amount of land was not adequate to establish a suitable park. The amount of expenditure sanctioned was only Rs. 7,00,000 lakhs, of which Rs. 6,80,000 came from internal sources and Rs. 20,000 came from external sources to implement the scheme within the three years from 1957-1960 under the First Five-Year Plan (1955-60).³⁷ Basically, it was a government-subsidised scheme. Subsidised money was planned to compensate from the profits of other schemes of the DIT. Initially, however, the Central Development Loan was identified as a prospective funding source. In terms of the financial implications of this scheme, it was expected that no direct financial gain would be achieved, but the physical comfort of the citizens, especially children, would contribute significantly to the development of the mental health of population and society.³⁸

Finally, this scheme commenced in 1958 with the target of completion by 1960. To reach the target, Rs. 3,96,066 were spent within two and a half years. Only less than half (40 per cent) progress was achieved and 60 per cent of the work was left to be completed after only six months. It seems that the pace of progress was very slow. Surprisingly, the DIT provided misleading information and argued that the project was going forward according to schedule without any delay and difficulties. This report was eventually sent to the Ministry of Economic Affairs within 21 days of the close of the stipulated period for examination and consideration.³⁹ After that, disappointingly, further progress was unexpectedly slow so that only 1 per cent achievement occurred in the following three months until

³⁷ *Form P.C III for submission of Progress Report on Development Projects for quarter ending 30 June 1962*, Dhaka Improvement Trust, 1-2.

³⁸ *Establishment of Two Parks*, Sl. No. XX, Proforma for Submission of Development Schemes to the Planning Commission, Appendix-1, Form. P.C.I, Dhaka Improvement Trust (1957), 1-8.

³⁹ *Form P.C III, submission of Progress Report on Development Projects for quarter ending 30 June 1962*, Dhaka Improvement Trust 1-2.

September 1962.⁴⁰ Eventually, three years later than scheduled, only 48 per cent progress had been made at a cost of nearly Rs. 5,00,000 lakhs and 52 per cent of the work was left to be completed for which only Rs. 2,00,000 lakhs were left available. The relevant authority did not care about the delay to the scheme. It did not mention any reasons for delays and difficulties in its reports,⁴¹ so it is not hard to assume that while the scheme was on the verge of ruin, the DIT did not reassess and evaluate the progress of scheme sincerely and adequately. Presumably, the DIT had a great lack of motivation, including a lack of technical and administrative experience and knowledge to carry through this kind of project.

The second phase of establishing parks and open spaces 1959-1971

Before the inception of the Master Plan for Dhaka 1959, some scattered and spontaneous attempts were made by the DIT, along with the joint efforts of Dhaka Municipality and other organisations, to develop open spaces, parks and playgrounds in Dhaka City. However, all these efforts did not produce satisfactory results, owing to lack of funds, proper planning and co-ordination, political commitment and bureaucracy. Therefore, for the first time, the Master Plan for Dhaka offered systematic proposals for the said purposes. It was proposed, on a 1:3960 scale plan of total open space, to provide 4 acres per 1,000 persons, of which 2 acres would be for parks and 2 acres for neighbourhood open space mostly in the form of playing fields.⁴² It also hypothesised that in the case of densely built-up central areas, it would not be possible to achieve quite this figure of 4 acres per thousand of the population, so an alternative option was to provide at least 2 acres of open space for the same figure in neighbourhood layouts that would work out at between 3 and 4 acres per 1,000 people.⁴³ Moreover, this plan successfully identified major open spaces totalling 1,338 acres, of which 291 acres were already in existence (0.50 per 1,000 persons) and 1,047 acres were proposed and located on Key Plan-5 (Figure-1.1).

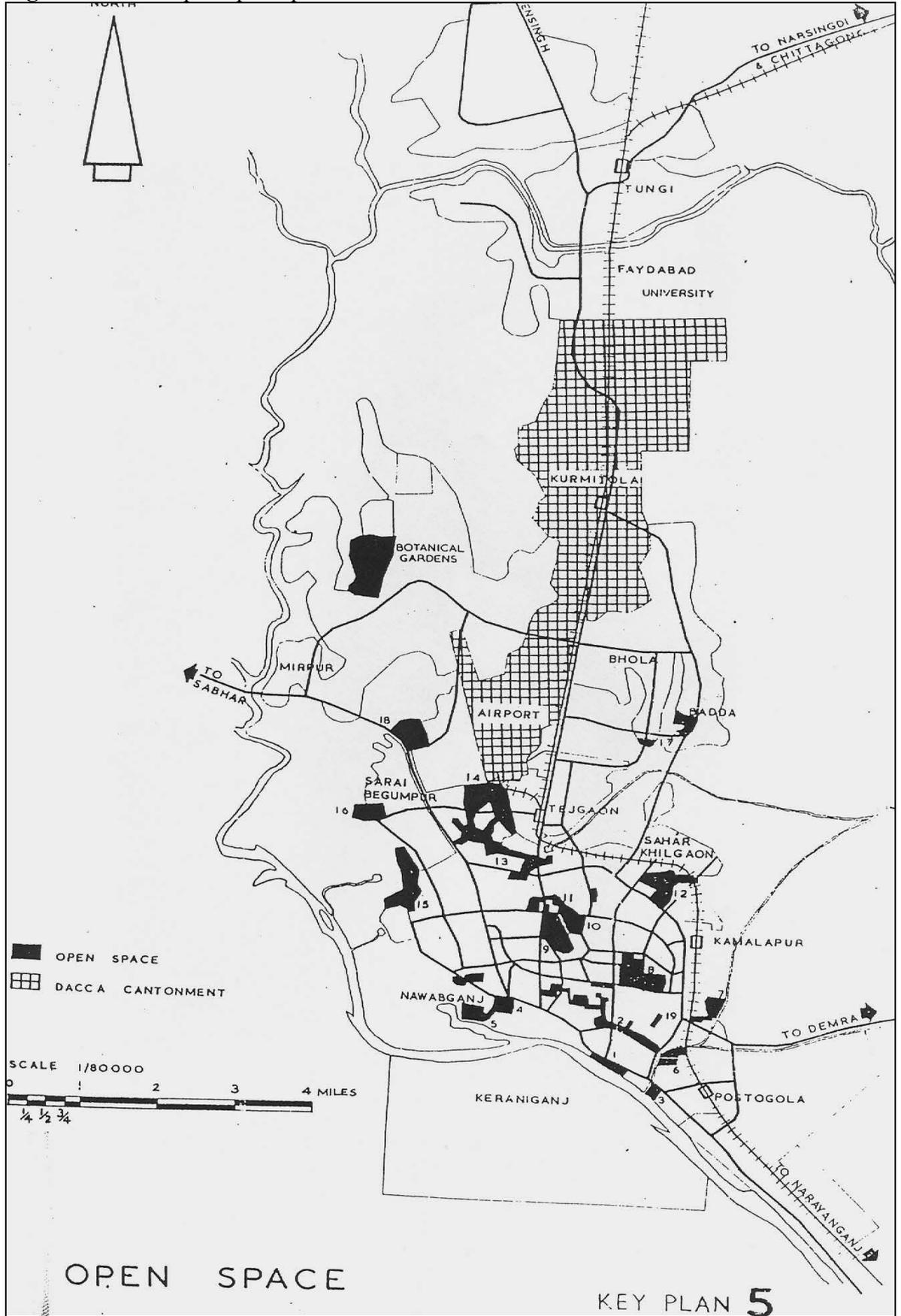
⁴⁰ *Form P.C III for submission of Progress Report on Development Projects for quarter ending 30 September 1962*, Dhaka Improvement Trust, 1-2.

⁴¹ *Form P.C III for submission of Progress Report on Development Projects for quarter ending 31 March 1963*, Dhaka Improvement Trust, 1-2.

⁴² *Report on the Master Plan for Dhaka 1959*, 27.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 27.

Figure-1.1: Principal Open Spaces in Master Plan for Dhaka 1959



Source: Report on the Master Plan for Dhaka 1959, Dhaka Improvement Trust.

The provision for making open spaces, parks and playgrounds in Dhaka City was developed, particularly following the example of Karachi, the largest city of Pakistan and the country's main centre for commerce, industry, culture and educational activities with a potential for future growth.⁴⁴ It was done primarily for political reasons to impress the people of East Pakistan. During this period, the political relation between the East and West wings of Pakistan was very tense, owing to economic disparity, political disagreement and exploitation, social stratification and cultural aggression, especially over the language issue. The planners and bureaucrats (posted from West Pakistan) became aware of the antagonized political relations between East and West Pakistan and their immediate consequences, so that the political repercussions against military government and the social acceptability of the Master Plan for Dhaka became a matter of concern. Therefore, beforehand, to avoid the political tension and comparison and complicated problems between the east and west, this plan was adopted with a policy of check and balance approach of using scarce lands for establishing public amenities in Dhaka City at 4 acres per thousand of the population, the same as Karachi. During the 1960s, the population of Karachi City was only 3.4 million, slightly more than the half of the population of Dhaka City. Presumably, this approach was adopted much more to satisfy people's political aspirations rather than to fulfil the topographic and demographic needs.

Another noticeable aspect of this plan was that it carefully pointed out the principal open spaces (existing and proposed) in the form of parks and playgrounds, low-lying lands often covered with water and their linkage with the *Khals* (narrow canal/channel/water course), vegetation grounds, parks, park strips, parkway systems, waterways, lakes, swamp areas, river fronts and banks, walkways, historic sites, *bustees*, sewage-disposal areas, *idgah* (public place of bi-annual prayers), flat lands, popular open-spaces and parks, the peninsular, zoological and botanical gardens, sports stadium and other open spaces in both thickly congested central parts of the old town and the relatively less congested areas of the new town of Dhaka City. However, some open spaces (100 acres) were not shown on the key plan-5, ranging between 1 and 27 acres. The principal open spaces (existing and proposed) was illustrated with shading along with numbering (1-19) on the key plan-5 of the

⁴⁴ *K.D.A Development Decade 1958-1968*, Karachi Development Authority (KDA), Karachi (1968), 3.

Master Plan for Dhaka. For a better understanding of the content, the names of the principal open spaces (1-19) including areas of land in acres, and areas not shown on key plan-5 have been given in Appendix One,⁴⁵ page 25-26.

The most important thing to mention about the Master Plan was its aim to develop a long-term visionary movement of creating three distinctive categories, such as big, middle and small open spaces, parks and playgrounds for Dhaka City. Probably, the planners were inspired by the successful movement to make such amenities available in different cities in the United Kingdom and Dhaka City itself in the nineteenth century and the very beginning of the twentieth century. In the UK, a series of public open spaces, parks, playgrounds and gardens successfully came into being in the middle years of the nineteenth century, produced by private philanthropists and certain municipal authorities alarmed at the deterioration of the urban built environment caused by industrialisation and the problems of public health.⁴⁶ Similarly, the colonial administration in India successfully created open spaces, parks and playgrounds in Dhaka City, namely Raman Green and Park (72 acres), Ramna Race Course (102 acres), Victoria Park (created in the first half of the nineteenth century) and other small parks, which afforded recreational facilities and fresh air for city dwellers.⁴⁷

Seemingly, the DIT as well as the Central Government of Pakistan was not keen to discover the facts that obstructed the implementation of the scheme, as all the progress reports were forwarded to the President's Secretariat, Planning Division (Evaluation Section), Karachi, for examination and considerations. The government was interested in the reports in order to publish them for political propaganda rather than to pursue the real progress of the work. It was because government effort was more devoted to using them as propaganda machinery to celebrate the so-called Decade of Reforms and Development (1958-1968) of General Ayub's regime. Indeed, the potentiality of schemes to make parks and playgrounds witnessed serious setbacks and uncertainty.

⁴⁵ *Report on the Master Plan for Dhaka 1959*, 28-30.

⁴⁶ *Urban Parks and Open Space- A Review*, Tourism and Recreation Research Unit, University of Edinburgh, The Sports Council, Social Science Research Council (1983), 4-5.

⁴⁷ Rizvi, *East Pakistan District Gazetteers, Dhaka*, 427.

The Third Five-Year Plan contained two directives for the DIT. First, it was desired to complete some of the ongoing schemes of the Second Plan Period within the Third Plan period. Second, it was to include some new schemes to commence during the Third Plan period, subject to the extent of work and the availability of funds, especially from foreign assistance, for the implementation of these projects. However, many of them were similar in nature to the past schemes and were taken to address the requirements and changing conditions of the city. Provision for parks, playgrounds and public amenities in Dhaka and Narayanganj were proposed on the basis of the Master Plan for implementation on the large open spaces before the land could be occupied by fast-growing of slums, *pucca* houses and other unauthorised constructions. The estimated cost was Rs. 10 lakhs to acquire the land, develop the parks and construct a planetarium. The record shows that the scheme was scheduled to be completed within five years (1965-70).⁴⁸ The new and most important item added in this proposal was the construction of a planetarium, apart from the development of open space, park areas, playgrounds, facilities for amusement, sports and educational facilities especially for children and students. It was hoped that apart from its educational value to young people, it would also fulfil the purpose of creating amenities and recreation and obtain foreign aid to acquire projectors, machinery and equipment for the erection of the planetarium.⁴⁹ What types of foreign aid would be available for this particular purpose was not mentioned in any document of the DIT.

The available record states that to struggle with the emerging situation and to address the increasing demand for land for residential purposes, the DIT planned to develop approximately 1,000 acres of land within the Greater Dhaka area to establish 5 neighbourhoods, including the residential area on the east and west of the Gulshan area. Although the original record shows that this scheme had been conceived some years ago, the actual area was taken over as per the Master Plan and the total estimated cost was Rs.3, 30,00,000 million.⁵⁰ Notably, this scheme provided for the

⁴⁸ *Project Statement for the 2nd and 3rd five-year plan*, Dhaka Improvement Trust, CE-27.7 (1963), 1.

⁴⁹ *Provision for Parks, Playgrounds and Public Amenities in Dhaka and Narayanganj*, Scheme No.35, SL. No. 9, Dhaka Improvement Trust, Schemes for Third 5-Year Plan-1965-1970.

⁵⁰ *Development of 1000 acres of land in Greater Dhaka for Residential Purposes*, Scheme NO. 17 (1 of 2nd Plan), SL. No. 18, Dhaka Improvement Trust (1960-1965).

following service facilities for modern life in each neighbourhood to make it a self-contained township.⁵¹

- (a) Education: high school and primary school
- (b) Outdoor Recreation: play ground and park
- (c) Indoor, Social and Cultural: Assembly and recreation space, library, place of worship
- (d) Shopping and Commercial: food and drug stores, stationary shops and markets
- (e) Service Industry: laundry, garage, repair shop and petrol pump, tailoring shop, bakery and butcher shops
- (f) Health Services

Taking many factors into consideration to meet the needs of people, this scheme proposed 340 acres of land for ancillary uses out of a total of 1,000 acres, including 65 and 60 acres (estimated 1.5 acres for 1000 population) for schools and playing fields and parks and playgrounds respectively. According to the DIT records during the Pakistan period, the number of children attending primary school in Dhaka City was very high. The census of 1951 demonstrates that the 0-9 age group constituted 25 per cent of the total population of East Pakistan.⁵² This project commenced in 1962 with the aim of being complete by the year 1967-68. The progress report of the DIT reveals that Rs. 25.00 lakhs was sectioned for the financial year 1962-63; an amount of Rs. 28.12 had already been spent (3.12 more than actual allocation) in six months, whereas only 15 per cent of the work was completed, which was quite frustrating for the overall progress.⁵³ Nothing was mentioned in the report as to why more money was needed, while the pace of progress was slow and time-consuming. Moreover, it did not furnish any information about the problems and prospects of the ongoing project. However, it was learnt from the following progress report that delays, difficulties and bottlenecks were

⁵¹ *Development of 1000 acres of land within Greater Dhaka for Residential Purposes*, Proforma for Submission of Development Schemes to the Planning Commission, Appendix-1, Dhaka Improvement Trust, N.D. 3-4.

⁵² *Ibid*, 6.

⁵³ Part-III, Collection No.5, File No.12, *Progress Report on Development Project*, Dhaka Improvement Trust (1962), 2.

caused by an injection order from the High Court.⁵⁴ The materialisation of the scheme thus became critical. Presumably, the ultimate fate of the overall project, including making 5 parks in the marked localities, became very uncertain, owing to litigation and interference by the High Court. Fortunately, the fate of the scheme again came back into the light, while the litigation was resolved. After this, the scheme still witnessed very slow progress in the following years and it was reported that after spending the substantial amount of Rs. 223.11 lakhs, only 25 per cent of the entire project had been achieved up to the end of March 1965. Difficulties in getting possession of the ear-marked land hindered the development of the project.⁵⁵ Only 10 per cent progress was made after using Rs. 3.37 million in the succeeding months and 35 per cent of the entire scheme was completed by the end of 1965. The heavy monsoon seriously obstructed the progress of some specified works.⁵⁶ The total budget of the scheme was Rs. 330 million and the estimated period of execution was 5 years, extending beyond the Second Five-Year Plan period (1960-65). Practically, only 35 per cent physical progress was achieved, after investing more than two thirds of the money and leaving less than one third to achieve completion within the following three years. No doubt money was spent lavishly without caring and measuring the achievement and progress of the overall project. This kind of reckless and irresponsible activity indicates that the DIT was incredibly inefficient in handling this kind of development project. Consequently, the fate of the project became gloomy and quite uncertain. If the scheme again followed the pace of progress of the previous period, it might require a further Rs. 420.48 million and nearly 6 years more time to complete the whole project, so the question of money and time again became a matter of great concern for the DIT, but no answer was provided as to how the DIT would reach its ultimate goal of 100 per cent achievement.

⁵⁴ Form P.C III (Revised), *the Progress Report for the quarter ended 30 June 1963 in respect of Development of Parks & Play-grounds*, Submitted by, Noman, M, Project Director, Dhaka Improvement Trust (23-7- 1963), 1-3.

⁵⁵ Form P.C III (Revised), *the Progress Report for the quarter ended 31st March 1965 in respect of Development of 1000 acres of land within Greater Dhaka for Residential purpose*, Submitted by, Hafiz, M.A, Project Director, Dhaka Improvement Trust (2-6- 1965), 2-3.

⁵⁶ Form P.C III (Revised), *the Progress Report for the quarter ended 31 December 1965 in respect of Development of 1000 acres of land within Greater Dhaka for Residential purpose*, Submitted by, Hafiz, M.A, Project Director Dhaka Improvement Trust (1966), 3.

After that, the DIT made no special effort to remove the difficulties and bottlenecks from the path of its schemes to bring the rate of progress back on schedule. The Planning Division of Provincial Government, the monitoring authority of development works, was satisfied with the slow and fragmented progress and extravagance of the DIT. This authority also had similar evaluation regarding the development of parks and playground in Dhaka City.⁵⁷ In fact, nobody felt serious concern about the progress of the scheme, as only 5 per cent progress was made in the following year. It was mentioned that slow progress was made because of the curtailment of the sanctioned budget during the financial year 1965-1966, as well as owing to heavy rain.⁵⁸ Consequently, the slow pace of progress continued and unfortunately only 43 per cent of the entire scheme was completed by the middle of 1969.⁵⁹ According to official records, the problem of the acquisition of land again hindered the progress of the scheme, which appeared as one of the crises for the overall development schemes of the DIT during the Pakistan period. The DIT miserably failed to complete this scheme until the end of Pakistan period. Therefore, it continued after the post-independence period and the first phase of the scheme, including making parks and playgrounds, was finally completed in 1992.⁶⁰

The record shows that under the Second Five-Year Plan 1960-65 of East Pakistan, the number of ongoing schemes of the DIT intended to achieve the physical development of Dhaka City during the financial year 1960-61 was sixteen. Out of all the schemes, only one was designed to develop the physical infrastructure of parks and playgrounds. While the total estimated cost for all the schemes was Rs. 2023.50 lakhs, only 0.34 per cent (7.00 lakhs) of the budget was devoted to development of parks and playgrounds in Dhaka City, which was a very insignificant number in comparison to other projects of the DIT. Moreover, during the financial year 1961-62, only Rs 1.00 lakhs out of an estimated cost of Rs. 7.00 lakhs was

⁵⁷ *Review of Progress of Development Work for the 4th Quarter of the Year 1964-1965*, Planning Department (Projects Division), Government of East Pakistan, Dhaka, 33-34.

⁵⁸ Form P.C III (Revised), *the Progress Report for the quarter ended 30 September 1966 in respect of Development of 1000 acres of land within Greater Dhaka for Residential purpose*, Submitted by Karim, M.A, Project Director, Dhaka Improvement Trust (1966), 3.

⁵⁹ Form P.C III (Revised), *the Progress Report for the quarter ended 31 March 1969 in respect of Development of 1000 acres of land within Greater Dhaka for Residential purpose*, Submitted by Karim, M.A, Project Director, Dhaka Improvement Trust (1969), 3.

⁶⁰ *Development of 1000 acres of land for residential purpose (Banani, Baridhara & Nikunja), Rajdhani Unnayan Karthipokha-formerly- Dhaka Improvement Trust)* N.D. 1.

allocated to carry out the establishment of parks. It clearly indicates that the needs of social recreation and development of public health, especially for children, got less priority in the development agendas of the DIT. In order of priority, the establishment of parks was at the bottom in terms of financial allocation.⁶¹ During the year 1962-63, the number of the DIT's projects noticeably increased to 23, of which only two were dedicated to developing parks and playgrounds in the city.⁶² Consequently, the progress of work in the different schemes, including the making of parks and playgrounds, was not satisfactory. No projects of establishing parks and playgrounds had been taken up, although there was budget provision for that in the same financial year.⁶³ However, this year, the DIT formulated one more project devoted to the development of parks and playgrounds than in the previous financial year. The number of development projects fell again to 17 during 1964-65 and only one project was taken on for the development of parks and playgrounds,⁶⁴ so the acquisition and development of land for parks was under the active consideration of the DIT. During this year, the financial target was fixed at Rs.221.00 lakhs. Out of this, the Financial Department only released Rs.145.00 lakhs to reach the physical target by implementing various schemes, including establishing parks and playgrounds in the city. Fortunately, the DIT achieved physical progress by constructing the Central Park at Gulshan this year. Besides, the development of Armanitola and Sirajddullah Parks, conversion of the area in front of Government House into a park and the making of two parks in the Gulshan area were in progress.⁶⁵ Besides, there were 15 schemes under progress in 1965-66 under the concept of long term planning adopting during the Third Five-Year Plan, 1965-70 of Pakistan⁶⁶ and, out of them, only one project was dedicated to the development of parks and playgrounds as in the previous year.⁶⁷ Similarly, the DIT dealt with the

⁶¹ *Record of on-going schemes of Dhaka Improvement Trust*, Physical Achievement during July'61 to March' 62, Dhaka Improvement Trust (1962).

⁶² *Letter of Chief Engineer*, Memo No. DIT/2386-L dated the 16 October 1962, Dhaka Improvement Trust, 1962.

⁶³ *Progress of Schemes during-1962-63*, Dhaka Improvement Trust (15.5.1963).

⁶⁴ *Record on List of the Schemes of D.I.T for 1964-65*, Dhaka Improvement Trust (2-6-1965), 1.

⁶⁵ *Materials for inclusion in the year 1964-65* (Housing and Settlement Sector), Dhaka Improvement Trust, 2.

⁶⁶ S. S. Ahmed, *Talks on the 3 Ps of Development*, the DMDP 90- Minute Seminars, Dhaka Metropolitan Development Planning (December 6, 1992), 2.

⁶⁷ *Record on List of the Schemes of D.I.T for 1965-66*, Dhaka Improvement Trust (6-6- 1966), 1.

same schemes during the year 1966-67 without inclusion or deduction of any new schemes⁶⁸ and the same conditions continued at the end of Pakistan period in 1971.

Delay in approval and actions ruined the credibility of schemes of making parks and open spaces of the DIT. Designed schemes suffered badly from the huge gap between project planning and the approval of the government that created tension and debate between the authorities. Indeed, delay in overall procedures certainly increased the cost, required more time and brought more suffering in urban life. Delay in approval and the pace of implementation strongly indicates that the government, as well as the DIT had never taken the necessities of the city people seriously. Rather, the government was more interested in increasing the number of schemes for the purposes of political propaganda. Obviously, the causes of delay and negligence were basically rooted in the red taps of bureaucracy and political commitment that ultimately ruined the future prospects of Dhaka.

Most of the schemes of the DIT experienced some major administrative, financial and technical problems that impaired satisfactory progress. Owing to the lack of good governance, the DIT could not even utilise its assets duly and on time. Deviation from the schedule caused more financial implications for public money. At the very beginning of the schemes, financial matters always created hardship for the DIT, as all projects were planned to develop from external loans from the provincial or central planning authorities of the Government of Pakistan. The authorities never released the finance according to the proposed project proforma of DIT. Untimely and imbalanced mobilisation and allocation of resources brought disaster to the implementation of projects.

The DIT provides a unique context for the study of the development of a city with planning, as it was a city which had greatly different cultural parameters from the western models of urban planning. For example, the Master Plan for Dhaka clearly suggested a balanced development of three kinds of open space and parks (big, medium and small). This Master Plan inspired the DIT for a *development movement* of establishing open spaces, parks and playgrounds for whole of Dhaka City. It signified a wider, new planning approach for Dhaka City, based on the philosophy of modern planning perspectives. Disappointingly, the DIT failed to understand the philosophy and anticipated the messages of the proposed plan. Consequently, it did not put much care and effort into executing the plan according to the Master Plan. In practice, the DIT mostly developed small-size civic amenities haphazardly and ignored the Master Plan deliberately, as it was not a profitable undertaking. Consequently, the DIT failed to undertake the benefits of Master Plan of 1959.

⁶⁸ *Record of the list of the Scheme of D.I.T. for 1966-67*, Dhaka Improvement Trust, 1.

Appendix One: Principal open spaces (existing and proposed) referred to the Master Plan for Dhaka, 1956

Open Spaces Shown on 1:3960 Scale Dhaka City Plan			
No	On Key Plan- 5		Area in acres
	Existing Open Spaces	Proposed Open Spaces	
1	Buckland Bund		23
2		Dholai Khal	83
3		Mill Barracks	16
4	Lalbagh Fort		23
5		Nawabganj (reclamation)	68
6		Gandaria	39
7		Sewage Disposal Works (Kazirbagh)	60
8	Government House and Paltan Maidan (stadium)- (partially existed)		123
9	Ramna racecourse		102
10	Ramna Green		72
11		Shahbagh	22
12		Sahar Khilgaon	72
13		Dhanmondi	172
14		Experimental Farm	121
15		Tannery Area (hazaribagh)	91
16		Satgumbed	40
17		Bhola and Badda	56
18		Zoo	50
19		Botanical Gardens (Balda)	3
			1,238 acres
Area not shown on key plan			
	Armanitola		3

Bara Katra and Chota Katra		3
Azimpur (ladis Park)		1
French Road		5
Victoria Park		3
Nawabganj		27
Miscellaneous small areas		58
		100 acres
Total Open Spaces defined on 1:3960 scale Dhaka City Plan		Total- 1,338 acres

Source: *Report on the Master Plan for Dhaka 1959, 28-30.*

AUROVILLE IN PERSPECTIVE:
Auroville in the Context of Western Eco-Settlements

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ABSTRACT

Since the 1960s, a variety of communities and towns in the West have been planned for ecological sustainability, from quasi-suburban developments to New Urbanist communities, to inner-city brownfield sites. Most are a response to urbanization of some kind, either through transit-oriented development, redevelopment of contaminated land, or through escape into adjoining wilderness. Auroville, in South India, has been roughly contemporary with many western-style ecological communities since its official inauguration in 1968, and shares a number of familiar characteristics: commitment to sustainable living and locally grown products, focus on new technologies for conserving resources such as water and energy, and search for a viable employment base. While Auroville's origins in the mysticism of Sri Aurobindo and Mira Alfassa, and its embeddedness in a rural village network, distinguish the township from Western counterparts, there are many points in common.

This paper traces Auroville's relation to contemporary western eco-settlements, exploring a number of recurring issues: financing eco-developments in the face of market compulsions; finding work and employment in eco-friendly environments; sustaining a community's idealism, and finally, addressing contradictions between goals and realities. The paper draws on a broader study of model communities post World War 2, searching for replicable solutions to emerging development issues.

Overview: Auroville in International Context

The experimental community of Auroville in South India's Tamil country, thirty miles south of Chennai, has been called a hybrid of high European utopianism and Hindu spirituality (Sorkin 2002). Auroville has been numbered with a long tradition of western utopian settlements in India, from Akra to Chandigarh (Pillai 2005; Singhi 1987). Today, Auroville's international message and global membership reinforce this inclusive identity, as do its high style architecture and futuristic goals. Notably also, since the community's official inauguration in 1968 by the Indian Government, Auroville has come to resemble western ecological settlements in very specific ways. With the launching of training and research programs to explore low-cost solutions to energy shortage and sustainable housing, Auroville now shares parallels with more recent Western endeavors to bring systematic enquiry into sustainable living arrangements.

Continuously under development since the late 1960s, Auroville is a contemporary, for instance, of master-planned eco-villages such as Village Homes in California, The Woodlands in Texas, and more recent urban initiatives such as Civano in Arizona. Auroville also shares parallels with contemporary brownfield initiatives such as Hammarby Sjostad in Sweden, Sydney Olympic Village, or the transit-oriented Almere in the Netherlands. All are committed to living arrangements which maintain balance with nature, and all share idealistic roots. All seek some form of systematic enquiry into environmental impacts, and dissemination of new findings.

This paper traces Auroville's relationship to a western ecological context, examining a relation to three contemporary western approaches to large scale environmentally sensitive development: eco-villages and towns; brownfield eco-developments; and transit oriented developments. While the paper notes key and obvious differences between these traditions and the Auroville case, such as Auroville's far more explicitly spiritual origins and its embeddedness within an economic network of rural villages (Pillai 2005; Sorkin 2002; Glenn 1979), we identify common ideological, social, and practical concerns shared by environmentally conscious communities worldwide today. All grapple with air pollution, energy use, habitat loss, solid waste and water quality. At this time, all have needed long-term funding, and all keep seeking ways to sustain their ideals, draw on new scientific findings, and express ecological concerns in built form.

The paper draws on a broader study of model cities post World War II, concerned with their success in shaping urban planning and design. This larger work involves research into some dozens of planned communities through site visits, over 200 interviews, archival work, and synthesis of earlier findings. Our focus has been on developments that provide alternatives to the mainstream of urban development, with the capacity to be replicated by others in areas of social diversity, cultural separation, village design, technology, and environment.

Planning for Environment since the Nineteenth Century: Western Perspectives

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries cities grew bigger, intensifying human use of land in some areas and expanding across the countryside in others. When people lived in small cities and at low densities, the waste products of human settlements were relatively contained and could be hidden with some ease. The smoke from fires could blow away; rubbish could be buried in holes and

covered by mounds and the scars of clearing could grow back. This was not possible in larger urban areas, and the many environmental crises following urban expansion have consumed the attention of western planners, environmentalists and city-builders since the mid-19th Century.

However, systematic thinking about environmentally responsive designed communities has thus been relatively recent in Europe and North America, and western planners have taken time to incorporate scientific-based programs into city-building.

Nineteenth and early twentieth century planners and designers were indeed concerned about environmental degradation, perceived as a growing disconnection with nature. Some, influenced by Patrick Geddes and Benton Mackaye, thought about regional scale landscape patterns. Others, influenced by the English Landscape Gardening School and North American Transcendentalism, focused on bringing nature closer to urban dwellers. Classic suburbs such as Chicago's Riverside (1870s) or Baltimore's Roland Park (1890s) often showed great sensitivity to land form and vegetation, but were typically inspired by aesthetic and romantic feelings as to what was environmentally sound. Most have been criticized as human-centered. Similarly the efforts of landscape architects, planners and engineers at ventilation control, pollution control and improved parks and streetscapes are criticized for their focus on human comfort and health at the expense of long term environmental sustainability (Cranz 1982).

This human-centered approach to nature continued through the first half of the twentieth century and arguably continues today. However, contemporary forms of the environmental tradition have come to represent an increasingly complex understanding of the natural world and of relationships between people and nature. By the second world war, damage to urban environments had accelerated through new economic and technological capacities to harm nature. Crises such as Three Mile Island and the Love Canal, inflamed the public consciousness in the 1970s and 1980s (Castells 1997, Beatley 2000). At the same time scientific advances in understanding ecology were creating a new sense of urgency about ecological damage. During this post-war period, western thought about nature has evolved with some rapidity. In this context of changing knowledge and emerging crises, Healy and Shaw (1994) have identified distinct phases in the treatment of the environment in British planning and urban design since the 1940s as perceptions shifted from an appreciation of scenery or natural resources to concern for nature as part of an ecological system with intrinsic value. This change from stewardship of the 1940s, through growth management of the 1960s, resource based management of the 1970s, to broader concerns for sustainable development starting in the 1990s, may also be seen elsewhere in the world as well.

This path of rapid change has continued. Since the 1990s, scientific understanding of ecology, the heat island effect, hydrology and energy consumption has again posed new challenges for innovative living arrangements, raising the bar for planners and designers yet again. At the same time public perceptions of environmental disasters, ubiquitous degradations and increasingly obvious damage from urbanization are growing, informed in part by the emergence of new vocal interest groups such as Greenpeace (Castells 1997; Steiner 2002).

Dimensions of Ecology and Urban Form

Given this evolving context, several key dimensions of ecological concern are especially linked to

urban design and have engaged planners and designers creating new communities such as Auroville. Few developments manage to address all of these dimensions but between them they scope out the range of ecological concerns (Sears 1947; Leopold 1949; Carson 1962; McHarg 1963, 1969; Blake 1964; Castells 1997; Beatley 2000; Steiner 2002). In many cases, ecological issues challenge existing urban form while presenting fresh contradictions and conflicts.

- 1 Air pollution from transportation and industries leads to health issues and requires reduction and dispersal. However, suburbanization enables people to avoid concentrated manifestations of pollution, yet exacerbates it by increasing transportation.
- 2 Energy use caused by fossil fuel consumption leads to climate change and rising water levels with the last affecting coastal areas, along with acid rain. Alternative energy sources remain expensive, and can produce side effects such as toxic pollution, radioactive waste, deaths of birds (in windmills).
- 3 Habitat loss affects plants and animals through overall urbanization and also through fragmentation due to the pattern of urban development. Ecological research has until recently focused on large pristine habitats rather than complex urban environments (Forsyth and Musacchio 2005). There is now a new interest in linear parks, native planting, patches, urban creeks and waterways to encourage habitat and habitat migration. However, the actual benefits of such measures may be small compared with reducing the overall urban footprint
- 4 Solid waste from construction and subsequent use is still a major issue in many areas.
- 5 Both the urban heat island effect and urban oasis effect alter the climate. The heat island increases temperatures in colder climates. In deserts, increased urban vegetation may lower urban temperatures this draws on valuable water resources.
- 6 Water quality impairment due to impervious surface, sewage, toxics, and fertilizers leads to health issues. Low impact design involving on site infiltration is a common solution, as is water recycling for outdoor use and toilet flushing (Forsyth 2005). However, conservation devices such as double piping and green roofs add significantly to the high costs of water management, and infiltration plans which spread out development increase energy and transportation costs.
- 7 Growing concerns about peoples' perceived spiritual disconnection, or loss of connection with nature. This has been the basis of a number of suburban and exurban experiments, yet ironically has destroyed wilderness and agricultural land.
- 8 Pressures to find combine eco-sensitive development with employment opportunities.

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Ecologically Sensitive Planned Communities: Key Western Approaches

Given the diversity of environmental issues and the evolving state of relevant research, it is not surprising that design with nature in cities is extremely diverse. Buzz-words are frequent, from "eco-villages," and "car-free neighborhoods," to transit-oriented design or "TODs," each with associated images of better development. In most cases, the trend towards ecological balance has grappled with the social organizations reflecting and supporting ecological values. We have identified three main examples of ecological planning in the period since the second world war.

Greenfield eco-villages and eco-towns

At times the complexity of the city has taken people away from it to build model communities,

either as neighborhoods, satellite new towns, or freestanding towns and villages. From The Woodlands, near Houston, to Village Homes, in Davis, using permaculture principles, many of these developments have been essentially suburban in character and reflect the interests of landscape architects (McHarg 1969; Morgan and King 1987; Forsyth 2005; Cooper Marcus 2000; Francis 2002; Corbett and Corbett 2000). Greenfield eco-villages often have strong roots in earlier 19th Century tradition of garden and elite suburbs, designed primarily to bring people closer to green space (Girling and Helphand 1994).

Greenfield development has a number of advantages over redevelopment in inner cities. It is generally less complex in real estate and regulatory terms because land is available in larger portions and regulation is typically more supportive of new development. A peripheral location brings people closer to what they perceive as natural surroundings in the tradition of pastoral suburbs. Greenfield developments usually offer some ecological value by protecting local water quality, local food production, and energy use at the building scale.

Several developments have become prominent exemplars of this greenfield approach, attracting many study trips and research reports. California's Village Homes, a 70 acre development of 240 single and detached homes on the outskirts of the college town of Davis, has been exemplary as an eco settlement in the U.S. since its launching in 1971 (Francis 2002; Thayer 1977). Village Homes is notable for its early use of solar panels and permaculture, for food gardening close to homes, and a pedestrian-friendly site plan. The Woodlands, north of Houston in Texas, is visually notable for its heavily wooded landscape, planned to aid water infiltration. The settlement was initially planned by the firm of Wallace McHarg Roberts and Todd (Sutton and McHarg 1975). Arizona's eco-settlement of Civano, 14 miles southeast of Tucson, has since 1993 developed an 820-home neighborhood of energy-efficient desert homes, grafting low-impact house design on to a more typical new urbanism in the attempt to stimulate communal activity close to the home.

For all their professed eco-consciousness, most greenfield developments are open to criticism for appropriating pristine wilderness and agricultural land that might otherwise have been saved. Many have struggled to maintain full occupancy over time, as for example in the case of The Woodlands, initially planned for about 150,000, but now housing approximately half that number.

Transit-oriented development

Transit-oriented developments have become popular in the U.S. because of their promise of new urbanist lifestyles. Most 'TODs' also focus on energy efficiency, and are welcomed as a solution to burgeoning highway congestion (Calthorpe 1993). There is much debate about what true transit-oriented development involves, but it typically comprises an area of high density within 0.5 miles, or a 10 minute walk, of a transit station, as well as walkable streets and paths, mixed use and mixed housing types, reduced or managed parking, and compact open space.

A number of Asian and European new towns are transit-oriented, including many Dutch, Swedish, French, Japanese, and Singaporean developments. For example Almere in the Netherlands, a development planned to house 400,000 people, offers a dual rail and bus rapid transit systems. Many new towns known for their general design are also transit-oriented, as for example Vallingby outside Stockholm, and Marne-la-Vallee outside Paris. The Hammarby Sjostad and Almere are both

Transit Oriented Developments with the first on a light rail spur that will eventually form a circular route around all of inner Stockholm. Almere includes train stations and bus rapid transit. TODs also tap into an existing tradition of transit-oriented metropolitan planning used in Europe, Australia, South Africa, and developed Asia since the middle and latter part of the twentieth century (Newman and Kenworthy 2000; Calthorpe 1993; Calthorpe and Fulton 2001; Cervero 1998). However, not all such developments fit the definition of a designed community as involving substantially new development with a comprehensive, coordinated plan around transit.

However, while avoiding many of the typical criticisms of new urbanism such as their environmental determinism and nostalgic architecture, transit orientation of itself does not create communities that have a holistic approach to ecological issues. Almere provides easily accessible transit, and has an innovative recycling program but is in a filled polder that in its natural state was sea. In contrast, Hammarby Sjostad is a brownfield that has extensive recycling and onsite water treatment, but can be criticized for its very high cost and largely high income population.

Brownfield eco-developments

Many inner-city developments have focused on reusing leftover land in a comprehensive manner that addresses multiple environmental issues. Most such developments are outside the U.S. Brownfield redevelopment has of course been going on constantly in Europe, initially spurred by the need to restore city centers damaged by World War 2, as in the cases of Rotterdam, Dresden, and London. However, brownfield development has accelerated in Europe and the U.S., as people have been attracted back into center cities and as development on the urban edge has become more expensive.

Hammarby Sjostad stands out as being a model city innovating in urban design as well as building and landscape technologies. Due for completion in 2010 with an estimated 25,000 residents, this harborside development includes recycling and energy efficiency, along with views of water and nearby green space, represents the new generation of infill ecological design, centrally located in the urban fabric and aiming to re-intensify the use of the urban area. The Sydney Olympic Park, site of the 2000 Olympic Games, is projected to accommodate multiple urban uses, together with sports stadiums, on a former brownfields site.

Again, there are many brownfield developments and only a few are comprehensively planned; even fewer take account of other ecological issues such as transit use and water quality. When they do they are often expensive, highlighting some of the dilemmas of ecological design.]

An Ecologically Sensitive Planned Community: Auroville

Like western eco-communities, Auroville has been a response to a diversity of environmental issues. As with the west, Auroville's planners and leaders sought the advantages of cheap land and de-regulation, typically retreated from the complexity of the city, and grappled with social organizations to support their ecological values. However, there were differences. Whereas western planners were for the most part designing within or around cities, confronting an urban real estate market and urban

pressures for work and location, Aurovillians functioned within a rural village context. Of course there were rural ecovillages in Europe, Australasia, and North America, but these were not of the scale proposed in Auroville.

A history of Auroville shows progress from a small group of 60 followers gathering in the 1920s, to an officially recognized development from the late 1960s (Pillai 2005). Originally coming out of the Sri Aurobindo Ashram in Pondicherry, in 1966, key leader Mira Alfassa (the Mother) organized Auroville's separation from the ashram (Pillai, 2005).

Landmarks of the between the early 1960s and the present show growing business consciousness, move to broaden the community network from idealistic, well-educated elites to include world-wide membership of residents, and surrounding village communities. The early 1960s witnessed the purchase of adjoining farmland, and initiating eco-farming of traditional Indian vegetables (<http://www.auroville.com>). The 1970s saw a move to grow local produce for sale (1974), to form an official Food Growing Cooperative in 1979, and by 1983 to expand produce from native snake gourd, green papaya, tapioca, pumpkin and beans to more marketable western fruits. At the same time a loan fund was established for capital investment. The 1980s also witnessed formal inclusion of surrounding villages as part of Auroville's greater community, and the setting up of village training programs, and an Auroville Village Action Group. During the 1980s, additional programs included a health center, and schools along with programs to teach skills for home building and home repair and for cottage industry such as handicrafts, incense making, needlework and leatherwork, pottery (Pillai 2005).

In 1968, the community was inaugurated as a self-governing town, with delegates of 124 nations brought together by the Indian Government, to establish the Auroville Charter, outlining commitment to harmony with nature, world peace, and a life free of violence. In 1968, UNESCO committed support and funding, and in 1988 Auroville Foundation was ratified through an act of parliament, controlled by the Ministry of Human Resource Development, which also owns half the township's total land (<http://www.auroville.com>).

Far from being suburban, or inner-city, Auroville lays claim to an identity which is both cosmic and village. Members have, on occasion, devoted much study and research into this relationship, exploring local history, local agricultural practices, language and culture in the attempt to identify and preserve what they believe are sustainable village traditions. Aurovillians, for instance, claim to preserve the original Dravidian tradition of yogis as opposed to more superficial "idol worship" (Pillai 2005). However, this relationship has left Aurovillians open to criticism for imposing middle class cultural values on a peasant culture (Jhunnghunwala 1996; Sorkin 2002; Pillai 2005).

Analysis of Auroville in Western Context

Many dimensions of ecological concern are shared by Auroville and the West. These include a focus on alternative and low cost energy sources, water conservation, water recycling and water infiltration, preservation and regeneration of native habitats and plant communities, and efforts to

combine work opportunities with locations that enable sustainable community living. Auroville's research laboratories are addressing low-cost fuel, housing, waste disposal techniques, while Civano, Hammarby Sjostad, and Sydney Olympic Park explore design for energy efficient living, the low-cost use of grey water and water infiltration.

All seek to contribute in some way to a pool of knowledge. Hammarby Sjostad boasts innovative ecological gadgets including a vacuum-based central recycling system and a number of green roofs. Village Homes and The Woodlands feature reduction of infrastructure and utility costs below conventional norms—with The Woodlands savings in stormwater infrastructure and Village Homes in energy. Village Homes regularly publicizes results to home buyers or professional communities (Francis, 2002). The Sydney Olympic Park circulates findings about brownfield and wetland restoration to interested urban communities, public and tourist bodies. Civano aims to influence building practices, particularly for arid cities, and Auroville commands an international readership and membership, many with interests in aiding developing countries. All (with the possible exception of Village Homes) are, or aspire to be, comprehensive master planned developments which include mature commercial centers, schools, health care, and other such facilities. Tables 2 and 3 outline how our chosen developments deal with the above issues.

However, all face recurring challenges in this search for living solutions to growing environmental problems. The following section traces three issues for today's ecological communities. The most important challenges appear to be economic, given the demands of eco-design and its unfamiliarity to the conventional market, and also the relationship to employment. However, challenges also include focusing and sustaining an idealistic way of life, again unfamiliar to the mainstream and easily abandoned or weakened. This includes personal aspirations (often through personal leadership), but often relates to lifestyle and memorable design. Finally, the challenge has involved addressing the many contradictions resulting from the choice to pursue an ecologically sustainable path.

Government Role and Economic Sustainability

Like all large scale developments in the mainstream, the eco-communities discussed in this paper have needed to raise significant financial backing. Unconventional designs have often made this more complicated. Most commonly financial aid has come from government support. Government support has helped purchase the land, and develop the land using innovative and often expensive new forms of infrastructure and building design. Even developments enjoying private backing, such as The Woodlands, have received federal government loan guarantees to reduce the cost of loans. Table 3 lists different kinds of government support assisting the eco-developments discussed in this paper.

Auroville has drawn heavily on government support. The noteworthy feat of salvaging eroded land and restoring a dry-forest habitat and traditional village culture has from the outset drawn financial aid from the Indian government, in recognition of Auroville as a model for social and ecological development (Pillai, 2005). Since the 1970s, aid has also come from UNESCO and other global agencies. Since 1984, Auroville's Center for Scientific Research (CSR) has promoted further research projects in alternative technology. In addition, however, Auroville leaders have taken advantage of their location within a village network to generate cottage industries. In addition to

training programs to help rural villagers become self sustaining, through health and family planning, solar cookers, prefab housing, low-cost construction, and traditional organic farming, Aurovillians have generated local revenue through the sale of local pottery, weaving, stonework and other crafts (<http://www.auroville.com>).

For western eco-villages and towns, the question of land acquisition and land development has typically been fraught. The advantages of cheap land on the urban periphery have often been offset by employment problems over the long term, prolonging the need for government assistance (Forsyth 2005). In contrast, in the urban core, heavy cleanup costs have offset the low cost and convenience of contaminated industrial land or brownfields around the central city, although proximity to employment centers may outweigh these in time. Overall, government assistance has taken various forms, involving support from energy commissions and other environmentally friendly agencies. Government agencies have in addition proved willing to support innovative zoning, innovative building practices or land use plans, and have regularly financed what they perceive as worthy demonstration projects, hoping to stimulate sustainable building practices. This has been notable in recent brownfields projects of Hammarby Sjostad and Sydney Olympic Park.

In addition to financial aid from the government, ecologically-based developments have benefited from various kinds of government encouragement. Developers have often needed support for special variances. Village Homes developers Michael and Judy Corbett, for instance, used government connections to support special zoning for narrow streets, reduced setbacks, and on-site stormwater drainage. Civano used encouragement from the state governor, to expand on an initial 10-unit solar village into a major development of energy efficient desert-adapted homes, again with non-traditional setbacks (<http://www.civano.com>).

When suburban-type greenfield eco-villages have survived in the west, they have survived as a profitable real estate venture, successfully targeting homebuyers by demonstrating the success of modest changes in house design and land use for increasing domestic comfort and cutting costs, or the effectiveness of greenbelts and common agricultural land for cooling ambient temperatures, encouraging biking, and saving trips to the store (Francis 2002; Marcus 2000). However, only The Woodlands has attracted significant numbers of jobs, with more jobs than households in the 2000 census, and most have relied on a population of environmentally-friendly homebuyers. Village Homes benefits from the proximity University of California, Davis, while Civano benefits from the area's growing retirement community. All have faced criticism of being commuter suburbs, attracting like-minded residents, and falling short of becoming well-rounded communities.

Overall, those developments which seriously endorse stringent environmental measures significantly challenging accepted norms have so far needed extra support, and have embarked on strenuous measures to maintain the "showpiece" quality of their environment, often soliciting publicity from research and other media..

Sustaining Ideals and Aesthetics

Eco-villages and communities have often emerged from the vision of one or more idealistic individuals. Auroville was inspired by the thinker and sage Sri Aurobindo, and his collaborator

Mirra Alfassa, also a spiritual leader. In the United States, The Woodlands was founded by George Mitchell, a billionaire who, having made money from fossil fuels, turned his interest to more sustainable development. Village Homes' developers Michael and Judy Corbett had authored the 1981 book *A Better Place to Live*, advocating a return to the simple humanity of traditional urban centers. Written texts have often reinforced a personal message, as in the case of Aurobindo's spiritual writings advocating "a life of practical dedication, contemplation and pursuit of knowledge," or the preachings of Scottish landscape architect Ian McHarg, whose *Design with Nature* (1969) advocated an informed use of the land, and an anti-urban message. Civano (20 years later) is influenced by New Urbanists such as Duany, Calthorpe and others (Calthorpe 1993; Duany et al. 2000).

Charismatic leadership and philosophic underpinnings have helped broaden the support base of eco-settlements, generate publicity, and also give physical form to a holistic lifestyle that challenges the mainstream. In all cases eco-settlements have created distinctive landscapes; many have been designed by noteworthy figures, and many offer a pedagogical message for those outside.

Landscapes of western eco-villages find many ways to express some return to nature, either through an image of the pastoral village or the old-fashioned farm (as in the case of Village Homes) or the pristine forest (as with The Woodlands), or through traditional styles such as the Indian or Spanish-adobe settlements of Civano. Compared with brownfield developments and TOD, eco-villages try to look different. Village Homes landscape combines orchards, vegetable patches, grapevines, and pristine bogs to advocate food cultivation near homes, natural drainage and natural climate control. The appearance is frankly unkempt by suburban standards, but is advocated as a new, eco-sensitive aesthetic (Williams, 2000; Thayer, 1977). The Woodlands is set within an equally unkempt forested landscape of rotting branches and undergrowth, again with the pedagogical intention of demonstrating wise use of native forest to assist water infiltration, hydraulic control. The "New Urbanist" Civano advocates fuel efficiency through adobe-style architecture surrounded by a landscape of desert-tolerant plants. Rammed earth and straw bale techniques further demonstrate the effectiveness of sound building techniques, while tanks and cisterns exemplify sound water conservation. At the same time, porches and narrow streets encourage a New Urbanist community feel.

Auroville demonstrates a mix of physically memorable landscapes, but all are somewhat unfamiliar to western eco-villages. From the central focus on a large globe-like *Matrimandir*, or "temple of the Divine Mother," as a place for contemplation, the settlement moves outwards towards a spiral of modernist and futuristic buildings, each expressing new relationships between humans and the cosmos. Circling this central village are thirteen traditional villages carefully preserved, and—throughout Auroville—a restored pristine landscape of dry forest, groves, and organic farming. This highly deliberate landscape arrangement gives expression to the ecological message, and intentionally contrasts with the surrounding fabric of Pondicherry, a rapidly growing tourist city of burgeoning real estate.

In contrast, Hammarby Sjostad aims at high style architecture that maximizes views of the surrounding parks and lakes, also with pedestrian footpaths and train stations. Almere has a neat landscape that while striking does not specifically evoke nature.

Holistic messages are also perpetuated by some kind of participation. The township of Auroville, which welcomes people from all parts of the world to live together and explore cultural educational, scientific spiritual and other pursuits in accordance with the Auroville Charter,” encourages daily visits to the Matrimandir temple and regular festivities expressing a shared mission. Texts from the writings of Sri Aurobindo, the Mother, and the Auroville Charter, are placed throughout the township. Participatory events in western eco-communities include village meetings for residents, shared membership and shared ownership, and symbolic annual events (Pillai 2005).

Contradictions

All settlements examined in this paper confront contradictions—contradictions between avowed goals to protect the environment and actual damage caused, and an attenuation of an originally idealistic commitment.

Aurovillians have complained that the pioneering spirit motivating early residents has given way to bureaucratic management (Pillai, 2005; Singhi, 1987; Jhunnghunwala, 1996). Others complain that individual members treat their homes as private property, undermining the spirit of sharing (as part of a commitment to simple living in accord with nature. Also, rising property values from Pondicherry are preventing the community from buying up remaining land within Auroville’s greater region (Pillai, 2005).

Western eco-settlements have other complaints. They are blamed for perpetuating the evils of suburbanizing, in spite of their good intentions (Beatley and Manning, 1997). Village Homes and—for the present—Civano function as commuter suburbs, since they have few jobs and the population works elsewhere. They increase the traffic, have eroded the wilderness. While The Woodlands now has more jobs than households, this took three decades to achieve.

Eco-villages in cities have avoided this criticism but remain expensive. While they certainly provide the most compelling path forward, the costs of cleanup make this path a challenging one.

Conclusion

Imagine a “green city.” One kind of green city is compact. It saves land because people use it more intensively. It allows for greenbelts. It saves energy in transportation and heating and cooling. It saves money as infrastructure serves more people. People are physically closer—so there is not as much space for social exclusion. It has greenery within it but it is an urban center that keeps to itself without overrunning its edges. This is the Euro green city.

A second kind of green city is one filled with plants, dotted with houses, green in color. Open space is part of the fabric of the city that spreads far into the landscape, both as a uniform smattering of development and as small clusters. Nature is brought close to every home. Parkways bring nature to streets. This is the green city of suburban pastoral idyll or a rural ecotopia.

In this ecological tradition, leafy suburbs of an earlier period, were followed by more scientifically based planning such as is demonstrated in The Woodlands, Auroville, and Village Homes. More

intensively urban brownfields redevelopments such as Hammaby Sjostad come from a different starting point if sharing some similar aims. However, there have also been regional differences with, for example, models still based in greenfield development in the U.S., such as Civano.

A common element has been the idealism underlying the planning and carrying out of these developments: this has often been through single individual(s); a holistic philosophy, and a landscape design which expresses this idealism. This has helped generate interest and commitment within the community, guide a community into endorsing a distinctive and holistic lifestyle; and generate more general public support. Also striking is the relationship to funding. Those which have succeeded have all maintained a good relationship with government, both for long term support and for support in creating eco-sensitive alternatives to mainstream planning.

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Shopping malls in Australia: the changing planning response.

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ABSTRACT:

For its first one hundred years, from the mid 19th to the mid 20th century, Melbourne had an urban form which focused on its centre. Although the city grew rapidly, it expanded outwards along transport routes, train and tram lines and roads, which radiated from the centre. The central city established a role as the primary retail centre, with many strong and prosperous secondary and neighbourhood centres developing in particular along the tram routes and around train stations (Davison 1979; Mees 1995). Such centres were mixed use, providing venues for a range of businesses, retailing, community facilities and medium density housing above shops. This form resembles that which is often advocated now as transit-orientated or new urbanist inspired development (Duany, Plater-Zyberk et al. 2000; Cervero 2004). However, from 1960 onwards, Melbourne, like so many other cities around the globe, was introduced to the American style shopping mall. There was a rush of construction of these during the 1970s and 1980s within the existing urban form, and they are now the standard form for retailing and community centres in new subdivisions on the fringes of the metropolitan area, (Goodman 2005).

This paper tracks the history of Melbourne's relationship with the shopping mall. It examines the changing role played by the planning profession, which at first promoted malls in the post-war era as a desirable way of the future, then attempted to restrict their expansion and protect the traditional centres during the early 1980s, and now exhibits a degree of ambivalence within planning policy indicating a form of resigned disapproval.

Introduction

The ubiquitous American style shopping mall has become the standardised form of new retail development in very many countries around the globe, including Australia. The chief characteristics of this style of development are that they are centrally controlled through corporate ownership or management, they have an enclosed and inward looking urban form, and they are designed to be accessed by car, with ample parking space provided. Such shopping malls tend to be located on major arterial roads away from other retail and commercial uses and, because of their size and design, integrate very poorly with surrounding areas. They also tend to have a negative impact on pre-existing and older forms of retailing. For these and other reasons many recent analyses of this style of retail development have concluded that the form has a number of significant disadvantages and should be discouraged. Car dependency is now recognised as being a contributor not only to environmental degradation but also to poor health through obesity and respiratory problems. A great many countries have now moved to regulate against out-of-centre shopping malls in order to protect the viability of existing multiple ownership town centres and protect access to goods and services of people without cars (Bromley and Thomas 1993; Laursen 1997; Evers 2002).

Melbourne, Australia, is following this trend to some degree. Its most recent strategic planning policy, *Melbourne 2030* makes it clear that stand alone single use retail centres are to be discouraged, and yet it has named the largest of the shopping malls as being suitable for further expansion and development and has fallen short of prohibiting the establishment of new stand alone malls. In fact, early evidence suggests that new centres being currently developed in the growth areas on the fringes of the metropolitan area are generally in this form (Goodman 2005). This suggests a degree of policy confusion which may be a legacy of the history of Melbourne's experience with the shopping mall.

This paper tracks that aspect of Melbourne's planning history. It examines the changing role played by the planning profession, which at first promoted malls in the post-war era as a desirable way of the future, then attempted to restrict their expansion and protect the traditional centres during the early 1980s, and now exhibits an ambivalence within planning policy indicating a form of resigned disapproval.

Early Melbourne growth and the first planning scheme

Since its foundation in 1835, Melbourne has grown to be a metropolis of approximately 3.3 million people in 2001, spread out over a large urban area of nearly 2,000 square kilometres, (Department of Sustainability and Environment 2006). Suburban settlement extends at least 30 kilometres out from the GPO in most directions and beyond 50 kilometres to the southeast. Whilst the urban area spreads out evenly through the ring of inner and middle suburbs, the newer suburbs have been developed along particular corridors creating a pattern of tentacles of growth and semi-rural green wedges. A critical factor in establishing the pattern of suburban settlement in Melbourne was the early introduction of an extensive public transport system based on a rail and tram network radiating out from the centre of the city. The first suburban train line was opened in 1857 and this was soon followed by others. The network was electrified by 1923. Neutze, (1977:30), has noted that "compared with cities in most other countries Australian cities spread over large areas at a low density. One reason is that most of their growth has occurred in the era of mechanised transport. There has been no necessity to live within walking distance of jobs, shops and other services". The earlier development of suburban trains in Melbourne meant that in the 30 year period from the 1890s when Sydney's

density was still increasing, Melbourne's was falling. The connection between Melbourne's public transport system and its urban form is also clear to Mees, (1995:3). "The reality is that, not only has suburban sprawl been compatible with successful public transport through most of Melbourne's history, it was created by it. Melbourne has a low population density because its founders built an excellent urban rail system and the city grew up around it".

Melbourne's early retail structure followed its public transport system, (Davison 1979; Mees 1995). There were significant strip shopping centres built up around tram and train lines during the latter part of the 19th century in inner suburban areas. Some of these shopping streets, notably Smith Street, Collingwood and Chapel Street, Prahran, rivalled the CBD for retail predominance, (Mees 1993). However, the opening of the first Melbourne Myer department store in Bourke Street in 1911 led the way for many of the major retailers to relocate to the city and in the decades, which followed the CBD, became pre-eminent. The CBD's dominance weakened as the metropolitan area expanded substantially in the post-war era along with car ownership and a number of shopping malls opened in suburban locations. The first American-style shopping mall was built in 1960. Several others were to follow during the 1960s with a few more in the 1970s and 1980s. By the 1990s the rash of shopping centre developments had slowed to a trickle, with only one significant shopping mall built in the last decade in an established suburban area, and two more to service the growth areas of the northern and north-western suburbs, (Property Council of Australia 2000).

Melbourne's first comprehensive plan was the *Melbourne Metropolitan Planning Scheme 1954*, which was released in 1953, introduced as an Interim Development Order in 1957, but not formally gazetted as a planning scheme until 1968. The plan was developed by the Melbourne Metropolitan Board of Works, a statutory authority made up of representatives of local government, which had been given the power to prepare Melbourne's first planning scheme under the *Town and Country Planning (Metropolitan Area) Act 1949*.

Ian Alexander, (2000: 111), writes of this time in Australian history as being

...years of great initiative and energy in Australian metropolitan planning...Plans were drawn up under the strong influence of international movements such as modernism, and British planning ideas and personalities played an important part. In turn these planners, and Australians in general were increasingly influenced by American cultural values. The plans were being implemented in a society governed by conservatives and heavily influenced by the power of capital. Increasingly the cities were imbued with values of patriarchy and consumerism.

These values, and the influence of America, can be seen particularly in the attitude the Scheme to retail development.

A major concern expressed within this first planning scheme was the need to decentralise the city to deal with the congestion caused by the rapid increase in car usage the city was experiencing. Car ownership rates had grown from.... "The needs for shopping will be affected by the increasing difficulties arising from traffic congestion and car parking. It is reasonable to assume that as in America, these factors will tend to divert a proportion of central area shopping to suburban centres", (MMBW 1953b:206).

The degree to which non-food shopping in particular was focused on the central business district (CBD) in the 1950s can be seen in the figures from the 1956/7 retail census conducted by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. This shows that retail turnover within the

CBD accounted for 27.1% of total metropolitan turnover, (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1956). However this proportion looks more impressive if we consider only the higher order categories of goods such as sales from department stores, clothing, footwear, music, books, jewellery and photographic equipment. By 1967/7 this figure was 49.2% indicating a strong concentration of comparison retailing in the CBD, (Goodman 2001). The 1954 Scheme notes that suburban shopping was dominated by food provision, with 97% of all food purchases being made in suburban locations, (MMBW 1953a:61).

It was not only central city shopping that was criticised by the scheme but much of the existing suburban shopping centres as well. In particular, the traditional strip shopping centres which had developed along tram lines were dismissed as inconvenient because of the lack of car parking, (despite the fact that the majority of people at that time were not travelling by private car). The most prosperous suburban shopping centres, the Board suggested, would be those that can improve themselves "in keeping with modern trends, above all making adequate provision for the motorist", (MMBW 1953a:67). Thus the problems were seen to have a clear solution. Melbourne should follow American trends and suburbanise business and particular shopping.

Much of the activity within the central business area is associated with retail shopping, and to many housewives a visit to the city for shopping and entertainment is a pleasant experience, but to an increasing number shopping in the central area is becoming wearisome and irksome. In America the stage has been reached where the larger department stores, originally located mainly in the central business areas in Melbourne, have been compelled to establish branch stores in outer suburban areas to meet the demands of their customers and to preserve their business.

The most potent factor in bringing about this new departure is the motor car. In Australia the use of motor vehicles has generally followed the American trend; although the ratio of cars to population lags about 20 to 25 years behind that in the United States. We must anticipate, therefore, that the decentralisation of retail shopping will be found just as necessary and desirable in Melbourne as in American cities, (MMBW 1953a:53).

The 1954 Scheme recommended the establishment of five District Business Centres, spread geographically across the metropolitan area, to be sites for future growth and development. These were to be based on existing traditional shopping and mixed use centres all based around train stations: Footscray, Preston, Box Hill, Moorabbin and Dandenong. However the scheme also promoted a new style of centre not yet seen in Australia – the American shopping mall. Two large photographic illustrations of the style were included: Framingham near Boston (MMBW 1953a:60) and Stonestown, San Francisco (MMBW 1953b:101). These models appear to be favoured because of their ample car parking provisions.

The increasing use of the motor car has given the house wife in particular and the shopper in general a greater degree of mobility and independence, thus enabling advantage to be taken of shopping facilities over a wider area and permitting more discriminating choice of venue. Overseas this is resulting in the establishment of centres designed to cater for the car shopper, in association with which there must necessarily be ample provision for car parking, (MMBW 1953a:62).

The Scheme suggested that the key to successful retail decentralisation lay in

the provision of facilities similar to those offered in the central area by the department store... In practice this would resolve itself into the establishment in suitable centres of branches of the leading department stores, around which would develop the other retail

activities necessary to provide for all the normal shopping and personal needs of the housewife (MMBW 1953a:53).

The establishment of shopping malls in Melbourne

Melbourne had a number of successful department stores, but by far the largest and most successful has been the Myer Emporium, established first in 1900 in Bendigo, by Sidney Myer a Polish immigrant, and then in Bourke St in the Melbourne CBD in 1911. The problems of traffic congestion and lack of car parking in the central city had not escaped the notice of the Myer Emporium. In 1953 Myer built an 800 car parking lot in the city to provide space for the growing number of shoppers wishing to arrive by car (Marshall 1961). However, Kenneth Myer, Sidney's son, returned from a period of study in America convinced that the future lay in the new model of suburban shopping mall (Marshall 1961:228). His brother Baillieu had worked for Macy's in America and had visited several of their suburban retail developments, (Davison 2004). With the encouragement the Myers would have no doubt gained from the newly released Melbourne Metropolitan Planning Scheme, Kenneth went back to America in 1953 specifically to study the latest in shopping centres, consulting with design firm Welton Becket and Associates in Los Angeles (Marshall 1961:230).

In 1958 the Myer corporation bought a 30 acre site from the Convent of the Good Shepherd approximately 12 kms from the CBD. The site for such a centre had to be easily accessed by major arterial roads, a sufficient distance from the CBD to access a new customer base and not detract from its flagship Bourke St store, and with sufficient land for at least 2,500 car parking spaces (Marshall 1961:229). The site which became Chadstone, Melbourne's first shopping mall, met those requirements as it was located to the south-east the direction of the greatest suburban expansion of Melbourne.

Chadstone was dominated by the large Myer store at one end (153,000 sq feet) connected by a covered walkway to an open air mall containing 85 shops. It also included doctor's rooms, an auditorium, a child minding centre, and even a radio station. These shops were leased out with a new American system of rents and the new Myer building "incorporated every worthwhile new idea the organisations' scores of travellers had gleaned overseas", (Marshall 1961:234). A 1960 promotional brochure on Chadstone proclaimed that the centre had been 'developed to conform to proven American standards', and that it was 'designed along the latest American lines', (Spearritt 1995:99). The success of Chadstone led to Myer Corporation to buy other sites around suburban Melbourne establishing Northland in 1966 and a number of others thereafter.

Changing attitudes of the planning profession

In 1964 the MMBW's chief Town Planner E. F. Borrie, who had been in charge of the preparation of the 1954 Scheme just a decade earlier, produced a report on planning for the central area of Melbourne (Borrie 1964). The problems of congestion and traffic in the central city, first raised in the 1954 Scheme, were considered again, but in this report the negative side of decentralisation had begun to be considered. The relative decline in retail activities in the central area was one of several trends identified as having affected the city. Borrie noted a small increase in floorspace but a considerable decline in employment, and most worryingly, an 8% decline in the real value of retail sales in the

Central Business Area and a 5% decrease in the proportion of total metropolitan sales in the five years from 1957 to 1962, (Borrie 1964:18).

The identified cause of this decline was the establishment of Chadstone Shopping Centre. Borrie warns that several more such centres were likely to follow (as a second centre in Melbourne's northern suburbs, known as Northland, had already been approved). Just as in the 1954 scheme, this report suggested that Melbourne was following American trends, but this time they were not greeted so warmly. "This decline in the relative importance of the central retail area is following the pattern of many cities overseas. In a survey of retail activities in and around New York it was found that retail sales shifted outwards even more rapidly than retail employment", (Borrie 1964:18).

Concern for the effect of suburbanised shopping on the city was expressed in evocative language.

The maintenance of an active and virile central retail area is important to both city property owners and the community generally. Not only does it help to determine the character of the city but it provides a service to the community - both metropolitan and the country - which cannot be effectively provided by suburban or country shopping centres, even those of the Chadstone type, (Borrie 1964:22).

In order to effectively compete with the suburban centres the city needed to be able to provide comparable facilities, amenities and attractiveness. Specifically it needed to provide: ready access via the public transport system; ample and readily accessible car parking convenient to the shopping core; and the separation of pedestrian and vehicular traffic (Borrie 1964:22). The report details how some of these things should be realised, focussing particularly on increasing the convenience of rail travel by constructing an underground rail loop.

Concern about protecting the central city continued to be expressed in planning documents in the 1970s (MMBW 1971). In 1979 the Victorian Government requested that the MMBW review state planning policies regarding the location of shopping centres, following increasing concern at the impact the spread of shopping malls, and stand alone supermarkets, discount department stores and convenience stores, would have on the traditional retail structure, (Technical Advisory Committee on Retailing 1980:8). The Technical Advisory Committee (TAC) appointed by the Board was a broadly representative group made up of individuals from the Ministry of Planning, the Town and Country Planning Board, the MMBW, the trade union movement, small business, consumer organisations, the large retailers, regional shopping centre operators and the investment industry, (1980:9). Their task was to look at the impact which new shopping centres would have on existing businesses and communities.

The TAC report stated that retail planning policy should take into account the following critical issues: the requirements of consumers; local amenity; infrastructure; functional viability of centres; traffic and accessibility; the needs of commerce and employment impact. The report endorsed the concept of planning for the greater community good. It differentiated between the consumers' wants and needs, suggesting that this can be equated with the difference between the requirements of the individual and the requirements of the community. The example given to illustrate this distinction was that whilst many consumers may be demonstrating what they want by 'voting with their wheels' and driving to free standing discount department stores this may not be what they and the community need.

The report states that are advantages to the community in maintaining

smaller stores which provide for the individual's needs for social interaction, access by foot and public transport and which generally enhance the convenience and quality of life in localities. The Committee recognises that the requirements of the individual consumer are not necessarily always compatible with those of the community at large (1980:35).

The objectives which retail planning policy should seek to achieve include "to ensure that net benefits to the public as a whole will result from retail development proposals, having regard to strategic concerns relating to energy, efficiency, equity, environment and employment" and "to ensure that established centres containing significant community assets are not prejudiced by new developments elsewhere", (1980:2). Large activity centres which contain a mix of activities should be favoured as they increase accessibility to services, provide opportunities for new businesses, a higher degree of competition between retail outlets and an enhanced range of goods for shoppers. In addition large mixed use centres have the potential to decrease fuel use through multi-purpose trips and the use of public transport, (1980:3).

In 1980, with the benefit of the TAC Report, the MMBW indicated the direction that it believed the planning of Melbourne should be taking through the publication of the *Metropolitan Strategy*. Concern for the impact of Melbourne's sprawling dispersed pattern of settlement expressed in this strategy reflected the growing community awareness of environmental issues and the finite nature of fossil fuels which followed the 1974 OPEC oil embargo. The *Metropolitan Strategy* recommended a policy of incremental growth, which meant primarily encouraging growth in existing areas with only modest expansion allowed at the fringe.

The *Metropolitan Strategy* also supported activity centres policy of directing development into selected locations well served by public transport. This was elaborated on the following year, 1981, when the MMBW published *Metropolitan Strategy Implementation* giving details of the new District Centre Policy. District Centres were identified as mixed-use regional centres spread evenly throughout metropolitan Melbourne that perform secondary functions to that of the CBD providing not only retail but also commercial and other community services to their surrounding regions.

Fourteen District Centres were identified with six additional potential centres named. They were chosen on the basis of size, mix of functions and accessibility by both private and public transport. None of the stand alone shopping malls such as Chadstone or Northland were included as they did not meet either the mixed use or public transport requirements. The new policy was to be enforced through regulation. An amendment to the Melbourne Metropolitan Planning Scheme, known as Amendment 150, required that all retail developments over 4,000 square metres should locate either in Central Melbourne or in a District Centre as a first preference. Developers wishing to locate large developments elsewhere would have to show why they cannot or should not be in either the central city or a District Centre. The next most favoured location was either within or near other commercial centres well served by public transport, (MMBW 1981:53).

The struggle to restrict shopping mall growth

Pressure to abandon the restrictions on shopping mall expansion within the District Centre policy began almost as soon as the policy was announced. The policy inevitable brought the government into direct conflict with the owners of the large shopping malls, the most prominent of which was Myer. The then Minister for Planning, Evan Walker,

was the subject of considerable lobbying from Myer which wanted to double the size of both Chadstone and Northland. The policy dictated that new areas of retailing should go into district centres and so the Minister and his department, (planning was transferred from the statutory body of the MMBW to a government department in 1983), tried to convince Myer to invest in the nearby district centres instead of expanding their malls.

Walker recalled later in interview that Myer claimed that land ownership patterns within district centres made it impossible for them even if they wanted to, which they did not. “We continued to say – that’s our policy and we don’t believe it’s impossible for you. They became very hostile and upset about that.” (Walker, interview, August 1993). According to press reports at the time the Ministry for Planning even went so far as to propose a joint venture between itself and Myer (Australian Financial Review, 18 May 1982, p.6). The proposal entailed the government supplying Myer with the land, which could be acquired using the MMBW’s acquisition powers, for a new retail development. This was also apparently unacceptable to the large retailer and the government eventually agreed to an increase of 25% of floor space, being convinced by the argument that the centres needed a certain level of growth to keep financially healthy. This concession did not stop the pressure from Myer however, which in frustration eventually sold their shopping centres to the Gandell Corporation and continued on only as tenants (Walker, interview, August 1993).

The Myer Corporation was involved, albeit belated, in perhaps the most well publicized breach of the District Centre policy. This was not over a shopping mall expansion but the national headquarters of the company after it merged with another large retailer G. J. Coles. The locating of the Coles headquarters on a stand alone site away from a district centre and public transport has been documented elsewhere (Goodman and Moloney 2004). Whilst initially opposed to the idea, the government eventually capitulated, at least in part because the company threatened to move their headquarters to Sydney (Cain, interview, August 1993), although their official view was that the approval was given because it was not a speculative development and Coles were to be the end user (Logan 1986). Opinions differ as to whether this was only bluff or a realistic option for the company. After the original plan was approved Coles merged with Myer to form the nation’s largest retail company. The plans for the headquarters expanded considerably from what was originally approved and the resulting 16,000 square meter black glass which was built served to remind many involved, including the Premier, John Cain, of their capitulation to pressure, which he at least later regretted (Cain, interview, August 1993).

Analysis at the time suggested the District Centre policy was overly ambitious and unrealistic. Logan (1986:6) believed that the policy underestimated the power of the large corporation. “Such giant retailers are in the powerful position of being able to play off planning agencies against those in other states”. In 1989 the Government released its Activity Centre Policy which acknowledged that the private sector had continued to invest around stand-alone shopping malls. The new strategy was to work with local governments to better integrate those centres. There was no mention of trying to further restrict out of centre developments.

In 1990 the Government commissioned Marjorie Moodie to conduct a review of the District Centre Policy. The review found that the government’s support for the policy had been inadequate, ad hoc and under-resourced. It suggested that local government should have been involved in the selection of centres, and that support for local government had been inadequate and variable. It also found that the policy had not received the necessary

support from transport policy critical to the success of a district centre policy (Moodie 1991). Freeway construction had continued throughout the 1980s and there was little improvement in public transport services at or connecting with district centres. The review concluded that the State Government ought to widen its commitment to the policy in terms of resource allocation and awareness across government departments and agencies. While the Government took up some of the Moodie Report's recommendations when it released its 1992 'Cities in the Suburbs' Activity Centre Policy, it had little time to implement them before there was a change of Government the same year.

The incoming government, led by the flamboyant Jeffrey Kennett, was primarily concerned with development facilitation and was most reluctant to restrict the growth on any form of development. Many aspects of planning practice were privatised or subjected to compulsory competitive tendering and the public portrayal of planners by both the Premier and the Minister was of interfering bureaucrats who were stifling business initiative (Nankervis 1999; Buxton, Goodman et al. 2005). The last vestiges of the District Centre Policy were officially abandoned, as was any notion at all of directing the location of large retailers or preventing the spread of the shopping malls. While some commentators disagreed, the District Centre policy was in the end regarded as a failure (Goodman and Moloney 2004). It was that experience that no doubt played on the minds of state government planners when they next considered how to treat the shopping malls in planning policy over a decade later.

The new version of centres policy, accommodating the malls - ambivalent policy

In 2002 the Victorian state government released a new strategic plan *Melbourne2030*. One of its most prominent features was a new strategy is an attempt to direct a proportion of future residential growth away from the outer edge of the metropolitan area and into sites well provided with infrastructure and services. These sites known as activity centres are "the focus for services, employment and social interaction in cities and towns. They are where people shop, work, meet, relax and live" (DOI 2002b:3). Not only is an increased proportion of residential growth supposed to occur at such sites, but future commercial and retail investment should also be focussed on them.

To an extent this represents a return to a locational policy like the previous District Centre policy, but with a few critical differences. Most obvious is that a very large number of centres (over one hundred) were named as suitable sites for further investment of retail, commercial and residential development (Department of Infrastructure 2002a). The centres named were in four categories: firstly the central city on its own at the top of the hierarchy, then 25 'Principle' centres, 79 'Major' centres and 10 'Specialised' centres were named. A further departure from previous policy is that all the major corporately owned shopping malls were included in these lists, thus avoiding any possible confrontation with their owners over restraint to future growth. Not only does the new policy not limit the growth of the stand alone shopping malls, it actually encourages it.

There is, however, degree of confusion and ambivalence in this position. *Melbourne 2030* states that "stand alone single uses do not constitute activity centres" (DOI 2002b:3). Clearly the large shopping malls do not fit within the description of the ideal mixed use centre "usually well-served by public transport, they range in size and intensity of use....They are not just shopping centres, they are multifunctional" (DOI 2002b:3). With regard to design the strategy states that "Many planners and designers argue that internalised (inward looking), stand alone, mall-based developments are inconsistent with a sustainable urban form...A development sited in the middle of a large car park, with

poor public transport services, inconveniently located bus stops and poor walking and cycling connection to the surrounding community, is designed primarily to service car uses,” (DOI 2002b:36). Yet all the largest examples of such centres in Melbourne, (Chadstone, Southland, Northland, Highpoint, Fountain Gate, Epping Plaza), are included as Principle centres, the primary sites in Melbourne chosen for future growth.

The justification for including them is not completely clear, however by implication it might be so that they become the focus for structure plans for their improvement. Local government is required under *Melbourne 2030* to develop structure plans for each of the Principle and Major centres. It is hoped that through this process change can come about and the strategy gives suggestions for improving the design of shopping malls. “The changes that will affect activity centres focus on identifying a network of centres, ensuring a mix of uses in centres, providing for new housing, controlling development outside centres, integrating transport and emphasising urban design” (DOI 2002b:5).

Conclusion

Current policy on the stand alone shopping mall is at best ambivalent, at worst contradictory. Over the last fifty years the planning profession in Melbourne has had a varied and uncertain relationship with such shopping centres. The current approach to the problem of the car based, self-contained mall appears to be to avoid confrontation and to work towards gradual improvement. The policy choice to depend on encouragement and engagement rather than regulation and compulsion fits within the general neo-liberal climate which has affected planning policy in Victoria in the last decade and a half (Buxton, Goodman and Budge 2005). However, in addition to an ideological aversion to regulation it also appears to be the result of the learning of a lesson from history.

The collective memory of the upper echelons of the planning profession in Melbourne responsible for state policy appears to have recorded the most serious attempt at limiting the growth of malls, part of the 1980s District Centre Policy, as a failure, the like of which should not be repeated. This is based both on an oversimplified version of events, and a misdiagnosis of the cause of failure. The most comprehensive evaluation of the policy suggested that the problems lay not with the underlying policy or its intent, but with inconsistent and half hearted implementation (Moodie 1990). What was required were greater resources, cooperation from all sections of government, and a consistent application of the policy over a much greater length of time. This is the lesson which should have been learnt from the 1980s. That planning policy, whether about retail developments or anything else, can only succeed when consistently applied, with determination and political will, over a sustained period of time, providing developers and the community with the certainty to reliably plan for the future.

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The rich and the poor: three traditions in modern western urbanism

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As ever a magical place, seat of all technical and scientific, cultural and institutional innovation, privileged seat of all forms of biopolitics (Cavalletti, 2005), the city has always featured and has for a long time been imagined in the western countries as a space of social integration. But the same has always also been in different ways a powerful machine of separation, alienation and exclusion: of ethnic and religious groups, of activities and professions, of individuals and social groups of different statutes. The rhetoric of the western urban policies has for long periods been dominated by themes of integration and equality, but in various cases their consequences have been and are the opposite. The rich and the poor in the western city have often met up and continue to meet up, albeit also being often visibly set apart from each other.

Rich, in the notes that follow, not only denotes persons, families, groups that have a high income and/or conspicuous assets. The term rich is also used, in the words of Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1979), to define persons of a consistent cultural capital, i.e. a high professional skill, or consistent social capital, i.e. with an extensive network of relations among the dominant groups of the society. In the same way poor doesn't denote only persons, families, groups that have a low income and assets, but also people that don't have, even potentially, some fundamental right, for instance the citizenship rights.

Both groups, rich and poor, are thus very varied groups, mobile and with an unclear identity. In the contemporary "liquid society" (Bauman, 2003) they are usually articulated groups not clearly defined with respect to their position within the productive process, the way one could once schematically represent the *bourgeoisie*, or to their position within a consolidated hierarchy of "nobility" and the former territorial jurisdiction of the aristocracy. Rather, more simply the definition lies within the more vague, complicated, contradictory and revocable geography of power.

Within modern democratic western societies, the grouping of the "rich" is in line with the principle of an open body: everyone can hope to become part and everybody should know that the risk of being expelled from the same is real. But one cannot be surprised if, as with all the

dominant social groups of the past, today's grouping of rich attempt to use indirect principles of cooptation and self-defence, this also in conflict with other social groups and at the cost of limiting the spaces of democracy. That in other words one cannot be surprised if they attempt, using a series of devices, even spatial ones, to limit and bar access to some, at the same time giving visibility to those that are part of the group. Some aspects of the contemporary western city appear as the terrain on which these strategies and conflicts are played out and temporarily represented.

The aim of the paper is to show that in the recent history of the modern western city and urbanism almost three main traditions can be recognized, each one with its typical design practices, shared rules and spatial devices, conceptualizing and tackling in a different way the problem of integration or exclusion of the different social groups: roughly speaking the European tradition, the north-American and the Latin-American. In other words these three big areas of the western world facing the problems coming out from the inequality in a different way, by mean of specific spatial, juridical and institutional devices. Obviously it could be easier to catch the differences within the western world observing economic policies, especially the public expenditure policies, or the fiscal and institutional policies, especially the policies reinforcing or weakening the citizenship rights, or investigating the public opinion and the behaviour of the two groups. But, as Carl Schmitt told many years ago, political ideas not concerning a specific space as spatial principles non concerning specific political ideas don't exist. The aim of the following pages is to explore the spatial devices, usually designed by architects and urbanists, that had relevant consequences on the social inequality.

From this point of view to give a name and a location, to draw a border, to separate, to take away or to link and join, to open or close, to increase or decrease the spatial comfort are the principal devices of the welfare redistribution and the basic element of a safety idea. To define the settlement and typological principles of a part of the city, big slabs, urban villas or single family houses with a garden; to define its infrastructural level or the density of its equipments, how many parking places, playgrounds, nurseries, schools and sanitary equipments; to link the same part of the city to the centre by an easy and fast public transport network; to locate it on the slope of an hill, with a view on the sea, or down in the valley near a polluting industrial zone: each one of these devices has its long history that we can apprehend by many writings or discourses, by statement with a pretension of a scientific character or with a moral content, by specific institutions, administrative procedures, norms and rules, juridical concepts, and obviously, by plans and architectures. The three traditions I'm referring to utilized differently all these heterogeneous

materials building three different discourses about rich and poor in the city: what is making their difference.

Obviously these three traditions are not completely separated and independent; intersections and superimpositions are frequent. We can find many elements of the European tradition in north America and many of the north-American tradition in Europe and so on. We can find also, as it is well known, many elements of the European, north-American and Latin-American tradition in many Asiatic and African cities. But the roots of each tradition and their results seem to me to be different and to pose some problem to the future of the city (Chinese or Indian city included) and to its project.

1. *Comment vivre ensemble*

In the seventies, promoted by Michel Foucault, three series of courses, to my mind fundamental for the history of European and western culture, were held at the Collège de France. The first series features the courses started in 1970 by the selfsame Foucault and now for the most published: a long reflection on the formation of the western society observed from the point of view of the structures of power; one of the clearest and most successful attempts to elucidate the basic characters of both modern society - running from the Renaissance to the beginning of the twentieth century, as well as contemporary society. Foucault's hypotheses have rightly met with many reservations, but nonetheless they constitute one of the few attempts to understand and give meaning to the history of the western world over extensive periods.

The second series is constituted of courses, organised at the behest of Michel Foucault and held by Roland Barthes. Begun in 1976, while Foucault was preparing his course on "security, territory, population (Foucault, 2004), with the title *comment vivre ensemble* (Barthes, 2002) they continued up to Barthes's death in 1980. Lastly, the third series, yet again prompted by Michel Foucault in 1976, apparently distant from the first two, comprises courses held for the following twenty years or so by Pierre Boulez and now published under the title *Leçons de musique* (Boulez, 2005), courses that, over and beyond their intention, enable those that deal with urban and territorial problems to gain an understanding of many of the deep reasons of the specific characters of contemporary musical and visual culture and the crisis of modern culture, including the specific spatial characters of the contemporary city and the crisis of the modern city (Secchi, 2000). Some years ahead of time in Italy, as it is well known, an important reflection was made in terms of the crisis of the productive organization of the western world in the last phase of modernity and, as far as architecture and urbanism are concerned, relative

to what appeared as the “crisis” of the program of architecture of the Modern Movement (Tafuri, 1968-1976).

In the wake of these reflections and more in general, of the reflections covering the crises of modernity that have insistently traversed the last decades of the twentieth century and that by now have been much written about, one has the changes that came about after the Second World War and highlighted by strong conflict at the end of the sixties. Changes in individual and collective behaviour, in the society, in the economy and in western institutions, in the same idea and images of progress and the future that have traversed western culture throughout modernity (Lasch, 1991).

Roland Barthes’ course, starting off from examples very different from each other and differently situated in time and in space, tried to highlight how different social subjects are induced, through practises chosen by or imposed on the same, to experience space, both urban as well as territorial space, with their own “idiorrhhythms”; with their own specific temporality. In the light of Barthes reflections, right from the start the city appears as a regulator of the various idiorrhythms: by way of physical, juridical and institutional devices the city has always transformed the various idiorrhythms into articulated and very often complex spatial relations. What changes down the history of the city is much more the regulatory sense and role of each device rather than the catalogue of devices, and it is through this regulating action that the city becomes a machine for social integration or exclusion as the case may be. Placing a strong attention on the geography and the history of the various idiorrhythms, Roland Barthes’ course draws the attention to daily practises; an attention that is not new, that sets its roots in preceding reflections (Secchi, 2000), but that, starting off from the early eighties, sees to the fact that many studies insistently look into the everyday, ordinary and specific. That is many scholars, in the last two decades of the century, have gone back over the world observed by them in terms of continuous, repeated, daily, ordinary experiences, describing them in evermore detailed and accurate manners in a return to experience as the primary source of knowledge. It has been a return beset by doubts, preoccupied by but also aware of the slow and inexorable dissolving in contemporary society of public truth that had connoted the expectations of modernity. A return that appeared, at least initially, deeply marked by the recovery of the common sense of things, of a common way of feeling and speaking, that was ever further off from the wording and the grammar and the syntax typical of institutionalised knowledge. Perhaps this can be considered as one of those many cyclical moments that has marked the history of western culture (Hirschman, 1982).

At the end of the twentieth century these studies tell of bodies and differences: bodies that encounter each other, reciprocally attracting, rejecting, adapting and modifying each other. Bodies in movement that with their shifting explore territories a lot greater than times before. Men and women's bodies that encounter houses, pavements, bits of tarmac and stone, cars and trains, safe areas but also obscure and fearsome areas going to work, to school, to the market, to the cinema and to friends within a network of social and spatial relations that are evermore vast and varied. Single and collective bodies that emerge even further to impose themselves in literature, in the cinema, in dance and the visual arts. Modernity had expropriated the city from the presence of the body; in a huge process of abstraction it had homologated the behaviour within the image of a homogeneous mass society. The phenomenology of the contemporary places the body back at the centre of experience. Regaining contact with experience and with the everyday means, in the turn-of-the-century literature and art, rediscovering the ordinary sense of things, the tactile, olfactory, sonorous features (Sennet, 1994). The corporal dimension of the city is discovered by the topological character of the space, comparison and contraposition of the plurality of experience of the body and the uniqueness of the geometry and legitimate representation, the great moralising idea of modernity.

The universalistic characters of modernity, in particular the internationalism of architecture and the urbanism of the Modern Movement, hence appear excessive for a world that, emerging from the stereotypes and the nightmares of the culture of mass society, begins to notice individualism and to appreciate evermore evident "traces of community" (Bagnasco, 1999) at a local level and that, consequently, requires a greater attention to contextual characters, to the specificity of the situations, to the infra-ordinary dimensions of practises and daily rituals, to everyday urbanism (Chase, Crawford, Kaliski, 1999).

The study of the everyday produced, in the European context and in the last decades of the century, a true and proper wave of projects and interventions above all attentive to the design of public spaces, imagined like the places where the various social groups can meet up and integrate. Stressing the value of the proximity it has produced an enormous quantity of architecture inspired by an overriding "populism", but it has also now allowed us to understand how the solution of the problems of the contemporary city have to necessarily face up to the history and the complexity of the mentalities and the imagery. It has also allowed us to comprehend, with scholars of various leanings such as Henri Lefebvre, Karel Kosic, Agnes Heller or Philippe Ariès (Lefebvre, 1947; Ariès, 1977), the risk of closing oneself off in the intimacy and familiarity of the

everyday; the risk that a society too attentive to the construction of its own small local world that, for ethical-intellectual short-sightedness, becomes implicitly and at times explicitly responsible for the cruellest aspects of a vaster world.

Furthermore, a large part of the projects and the undertakings devised to give new quality to public spaces has found a serious limit in the evermore rigid division between public and private. In fact contemporary culture continues to nostalgically look back on the cities of the *ancien régime*, but insists in not wishing to see what and how deep are in the ancient city the intersections, superimpositions and identification in private space and privacy and public space, where one is in public and where the public is represented. With the rules that prevail in many western cities it would be impossible to construct spaces like the Venice or Siena did, or indeed as any other city of the *ancien régime*.

2. *building a tradition*

The last two decades of the century have thus imposed a deeper reflection on the tradition of modern western urbanism in its different declinations, for example in its European, North American and Latin American declinations and their changing during the twentieth century. One of the themes that this reflection has highlighted concerns the ongoing search, in twentieth century urbanism of a multiplicity of spatial, juridical and institutional devices for social integration, the constant search for the *comment vivre ensemble*.

A specific feature of European urbanism during the century has been the attempt to give a concrete dimension, physically perceptible to individual collective welfare and to its distribution among the various social groupings. A way to represent physically the democratic ideals of the European society. Observed from this point of view some of the juridical-institutional, procedural and spatial devices of the urbanism of the twentieth century appear more sophisticated than successive banalised practise has made them seem: zoning, the relation between characters and the sizes of each zone and the quantity and characters of public facilities, the construction of parameters that bind the various “materials” together that go to make up the city - houses, schools, kindergartens, hospitals and green spaces, the long reflection on traffic and the infrastructure of mobility belong to this study, the value of which can be appreciated when compared to other experiences.

In a rather different way North American and Latin American urbanism in fact have, throughout the century and above all in the second part, followed a different pattern, that has in many cases, as in north-American suburb or in the north and south-American gated communities, become a

search for separation, exclusion and even for social alienation, an approach that is not absent also in Europe.

Europe is a continent plenty of ethnically and racially homogeneous countries. In many cases this homogeneity is the outcome of an effort of the central governments in order to build a national identity. Because this homogeneity it was difficult in Europe to demonize the poverty; homogeneity was, till the end of the XXth century, facilitating the welfare distribution among the different social groups. United States and Latin America on the contrary are strongly inhomogeneous, with a strong over representation, among the poor of visible minorities; as a consequence it was easy to use racial and ethnic distinctions as a tool to fight the welfare state (Alesina, Glaseser, 2004). An approach that is not completely absent in Europe.

3. *Antwerp: a hard city*

Starting from the seventies Antwerp, like many other European cities, has been subject to intense flows of immigration. Firstly a Moroccan-Maghrebian population and then more generally north-African, Turkish, Indian and, lastly, Balkan and eastern-European has invaded the city and above all a sizeable part of its nineteenth century belt. The reaction of Antwerp's inhabitants has been twofold: a sizeable number abandoned the city transferring to the immense *diffused city* (Indovina, 1990) of the *Flemish Diamond* and the *North Western Metropolitan Area*, a vast region featuring a strong settlement dispersion, an immense *diffused city* within which some important supranational (Brussels) and national (Den Haag) as well as regional (Amsterdam, Antwerp and Cologne) capital cities can be found, along with many important administrative and executive centres of the public and private sector, many productive areas and two of Europe's most important ports. Within which many cities famous for their history, to use the words of Fernand Braudel *world-cities*, can be found, important emporiums of the fifteenth century such as Bruges, Antwerp and Amsterdam or cities such as Ghent, Leuven, Mechelen, Maastricht, Aachen, Delft, Leiden, Haarlem, Utrecht or Breda, and where many important examples of modern urbanism and architecture can be found, some new towns and many *grands ensembles* built in the postwar period that set, even if now in a less dramatic fashion, the same problems as the French *banlieues*. Naturally there are many anonymous peripheries and above all a sea of single family houses on allotments. The *North-Western Metropolitan Area* is not a suburb, nor a collection of towns and cities, it is a new form of huge city, a *Megacity* different to the likes of London or Paris. Connotated by the absence of a dominant centre with its own peripheries, it rather resembles a vast inhabited region where,

steeped in settlement dispersion, one can recognise some denser knots: compact medium-sized towns and cities that bear witness to the most ancient of European urban framework and some villages with an equally long history behind them. Important executive and productive activities, cultural-, sports-, school and health facilities, many leisure areas are spread across this immense campus, both in the larger poles as well as in the rich dispersed low density area, featuring high levels of individual and collective affluence in the diffused city. The *North-Western Metropolitan Area* is at the same time *Megacity* (Geddes, 1915; Hall, 1997), *world city* (Braudel, 1966; Hall, 1966) and a *global city* (Friedmann, 1986), may be a superior form of city, including in a more advanced system of spatial and functional relationships, the forms of the past.

The European *diffused city* like the *North-Western Metropolitan Area* is different from the *sprawl* of the American suburbs. In its ideological background (Tafari, 1972-73) there are not Jefferson, the American pastoralists, Thoreau, Emerson and Wright, nor the FHA pushing “to disperse our factories, our stores, our people; in short to create a revolution in living habits” (Pellegrini, 2006); above all there is not “the dream house as a uniquely American form”, when “for the first time in history a civilization has created an utopian ideal based on the house rather than the city or the nation” (Hayden, 2002). In other words, behind the European *diffused city* there is not the north-American tradition, the specific way in which American democracy tried to represent itself, but the search of a positive welfare by the European middle classes (Giddens, 1998), a different way to represent an individualized society. But even if different from the north-American suburb, from the *American dream* now strongly criticized (Pellegrini, 2006), the European *diffused city* uses many of its materials and has some of its qualities. Many European regions are similar to the *North-Western Metropolitan Area*: in Germany, as in France, in the north-east Italy, in the north-east Spain or in the north of Portugal.

Another part of the population of Antwerp has reacted to the intense flow of immigration with a policy of separation: separating or leaving ethnical-religious groups, activities, idiorhythms, lifestyles, use of spaces, and public facilities to separate; breaking the central part of Antwerp down into a sort of puzzle of different *tesserae* strongly connotated from an ethnical and social points of view: a “mediated” policy, fruit of implicit negotiations, of the *comment ne pas vivre ensemble*, something we can find in many American and Latin-American experiences. A policy probably implicitly suggested by ancient Jewish immigration to the diamond working capital and their concentration in a fully recognisable part of the city. A policy anyway well known in the north-American experience, but at same time a policy that inevitably

encounters its own contradictions when the various *tesserae* of the social puzzle expanding end up by touching each other, triggering a strong competition for space.

From that moment Antwerp has become a city beset by a heavy, drawn-out conflict that has led to serious tensions, to a feeling of un-safety and a demand from the society for the construction of some *gated communities*. Antwerp is just an extreme case, not an anomalous or exceptional case, but in a situation of this kind, as in all those, to return to the words of Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1993), where *la misère du monde* is gathered it is perhaps an illusion to think one can solve the problem by merely showing a greater attention in terms of analysis and planning to everyday practices, in the same way as it would be elusive to think that the revolt of the *beurs* of the Parisian and French *banlieues* is to be blamed on the architects and town planners that built the same. My experience, both at Antwerp as well as the French *grands ensembles* has led me to different conclusions.

Moving to the diffuse city, abandoning the city centre and its important parts to the extra-European population of recent immigration and the building of the urban puzzle are two aspects of an identical policy of social separation started up on different scales. A policy that has a long history, that as the occasion has it was seen in the building of the exclusive middle class *beaux quartiers* of Paris, London, Berlin or Milan and their peripheries, that is a substantial part of the building and the running of the modern capitalistic city even if the Roubliovka in Moscow, the richest part of the city where the “new rich” are living and the *zabor*, the walls, that are marking their villas, was firstly inhabited by the soviet bureaucrats during the thirties. A policy of distinction that stands out from the *ancien regime* city, the consequences of which the welfare state like the patient quest of many architects and urbanists throughout the twentieth century have attempted to make more bearable by trying to ensure that the distance between the quality of the space used by each social group be lesser than that which runs between respective income and power. Because the spatial distinction, which the European urban project has tried to oppose, seems to me to be a fundamental part of the working mechanism of the capitalist world and even more so of contemporary society.

4. *Gated communities, fractionamientos, condominios fechados, barrios cerrados, cortiços, ciudad vallata*

Europe has a long history of cities and, within the complexity of the European “palimpsest”, many aspects of our world and its possible future appear blurred and confused. A virtual journey through the American continent can however clarify and teach us many things.

If from Canada we move south through the United States, Mexico, the countries of central *America*, Brazil, Columbia, Chile and Argentina, we become aware of the gradual increase in the number and the progressive changes in the rationality behind and nature of *gated communities*. Some cities in central and southern America have become clear examples of *comment ne pas vivre ensemble*, a physical manifestation of the processes of social distinction and exclusion/inclusion. The phenomenon is not limited to the American continent: there are also gated communities in Indonesia, Turkey, South-Africa, Egypt and Russia. We can speak of a consolidated tradition; of a new way to manage integration and exclusion. Observing the phenomena in its extreme forms, understanding how much of our future may lie in them and perceiving the differences with which they appear in various contexts, without taking refuge behind the consoling myth of our difference and specificity, seems to me to be interesting. It may lead to mistakes being made but it often allows one to see in advance, to “predict” something which is in front of our nose and which we stubbornly refuse to acknowledge.

In the United States in 1997, in the first years that is of the expansion of this form of urbanisation, at least eight million people were living in *gated communities* (Blakeley, Snyder, 1997); today they are much more. In Brazil the American company Alphaville built, and is still building, dozens of large *condominios fechados*: veritable new cities with populations that can, in some cases, exceed a hundred thousand inhabitants. In Argentina, in the Buenos Aires area, there are about 450 differently named *condominios cerrados* (Svampa, 2004; Ceceres, Sabatini, 2004). A great deal has now been written about this (Svampa, 2001; Caldeira, 2001; Bordorf, 2002). The urban model most frequently referred to is that of “new urbanism”, a model conceived in the United States in the ‘80s which in Pieter Calthorpe, its inventor and advocate, proved to be ambiguously of a piece with the founding charter of architecture and urban planning of the Modern Movement, that is the Athens charter, reinterpreted in the light of aesthetic criteria which is inevitably said to be “populist” despite being directed at middle-high classes. The Brazilian Alphavilles are a more advanced version of *new urbanism*, a version which appropriates the principles of modern urban planning like all new environmental theories using both within a larger marketing rhetoric where on one hand the theme of safety and on the other the quality of the environment become cornerstones in the creation of a new society.

Obviously it is the rich who live in these cities in Brazil, United States, Mexico, Columbia, Ecuador, Venezuela or Argentina. Families and individuals equipped, as Pierre Bourdieu put it, with an elevated economic and/or cultural and/or social capital; and elevated income and/or elevated

level of education and/or a network of social relationships with the highest echelons of power, are co-opted in. The admission criteria are different in different cases but always submit the new arrival to the consensus of the previous “tenants” (Thuillier, 2005). The case of an Argentinean *gated community* which turned down Diego Maradona’s application is well-known. The emerging classes who live in *gated communities* gear their incomes and their status to their counterparts, whether they live in New York, Los Angeles or in other *gated communities* scattered throughout the world. The poor, unemployed or those who do the most menial jobs cleaning houses, gardens, streets or club swimming pools live in *favelas* often located in the immediate environs of the *gated community*. The nineteenth century bourgeoisie put *chambres de bonnes* in attics. The *gated community* is the negation of a city as we know from the western, mainly European history. The technical-spatial devices of the city play different functional and symbolic roles in the *gated community*. The street, reduced to a minimum, is not a place for socialising, while the clubhouse, the golf course or the swimming pool is. Social relationships are established not with those living nearby but with those whose status is identical. At the same time the *gated community*, a veritable physical and social enclave, becomes, along with the *favelas* which inevitably go hand in hand with them, the spatial representation of the traits of the new society and its politics of distinction or, in other words, inclusion/exclusion.

But the *gated community* is something more. It is a place suspended from the legal institutional order of the country it belongs to, a limitation to its sovereignty. It is a place where new and specific forms of *governance* are created ad hoc and accepted in a pact of mutual solidarity with its inhabitants. It is a state within a state. There is an immediate reference to what Gunther Teubner (Teubner, 2006) calls “civil constitutions”, to the specific private and autonomous legal regimes of various global sectors. Like global sectors *gated communities* tend to invent organisational and procedural rules and regulations for themselves which safeguard their independence and freedom. They create regimes which have no hierarchical order and which elude the organic nature of politics, eventually discovering them to be conflicting. The legal-institutional aspects of the *gated community* are just as important as the physical-spatial aspects.

Naturally the world of *gated communities* is extremely diversified and their importance and social make-up differs depending on the social structure of the various countries and various metropolitan areas in which they are found. The city and the territories formed by *gated communities* are increasingly distinct and different. The role and extension of middle

classes are, in any case, the most important variable in determining their structure and spread. What is interesting to observe in different cases is how the politics of distinction operates on the middle classes. If they are not able or willing to resist affirming their own identity and role, what is always very difficult to do, they are partially absorbed and embraced in the richest layers of society, including therefore *gated communities*, while another larger part is gradually excluded and pushed into creeping poverty. Europe, north-America and Latin-America are different from this point of view, what can explain the different frequency and nature of the phenomenon.

5. *Rich and poor*

The western world healed the wounds and the political consequences of the two post-war periods in the twentieth century by first inventing the Keynesian policies and following that the welfare state. In the former and latter urban and territorial policies contributed in a manner that was greater than what is normally retained. But in the period of the seventies the potential and the possibilities of both seem to have run out in a politically and economically evermore globalised world. At the beginning of the eighties everywhere a new accumulation phase began that even more than in preceding eras required the forming of vast markets and, through a strong class separation, the forming of a vast reserve army. The violent urbanisation in Latin America, Japan, China, in India and in various African countries, an urbanisation that strangely no longer generates the anguish that it produced between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century in European countries and in north America, is one of the ways in which vast markets, spatially concentrated, homologated and global are built. The forming of a vast reserve army is no longer based on the opposition of bourgeoisie/working class, on an opposition that is that has its roots in the form of production of goods, but simply of that between rich and poor, the poor being flexible, that is available for any type of work as humble and precarious as it might be. This policy, like all policies, requires an ideology and this also needs to be represented in a coherent spatial policy, in a series of spatial devices that make the separation visible to the various scales while at the same time concealing the same; that allow the separation to be seen, as one could see the separation between factory-working quarters and offices-upper class quarters, but that at the same time closes away and confines the most provocative aspects of social inequality to the private sphere. Security and environmental rhetoric do finely here. Indeed the new world economy has perhaps not been built in Europe, but in another hemisphere: this is where, for some time now, it has been

carrying on its experiments. But if we think about it something similar is happening in Europe too.

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WOMEN AND CITY PLANNING

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ABSTRACT

This paper is an attempt to one of the missing components in the pattern of urbanization in India. It highlights the fact that needs of women are not reflected and not met in urban planning in a much required manner, as a result of which the trend of urbanization poses problems for women especially for the working class women. The paper focuses on the flaws in town planning approaches that perceive city as various divided zones, such as, residential area, work area and leisure area. Such a perception has created various problems for the women community in particular because their needs are reflected in planning. Although weaknesses are increasingly been realized by women planners in the west, much has to be done so far as India is concerned. Here planning process has to recognize and incorporate the fact that urbanization is ever increasing the economic inequality. The poor urban dwellers, specially the poor women, require immediate planning efforts on shelter development, transport facility and childcare. Indian women are burdened by various cultural and religious patterns which add to their inability to uplift their standard of living and their status in the society. Their cultural attitudes and lack of appropriate education excludes them from higher levels of planning, decision-making and management. These aspects are highlighted with special reference to Delhi. The poor women dwellers were encouraged to participate at the level of survey conducted to collect data for planning purpose.

With the analysis of present pattern of urbanization, we have realized that what we see today is what we could not see before There has been a shift of work force from agricultural to non- agricultural sector i.e. migration of labour from to urban sectors resulting growth of unauthorized slums in urban areas more ever. Women have been forced into urban and peri-urban concentration due to lack of access to rural land, water, and above all due to their inability to make a living in the rural areas.

Taking small steps towards improving present scenario of cities as unprejudiced, in terms of gender, shall in the long run, improve the status of women socially and economically, and will make them as an equivalent part of the predominantly men oriented urban fabric. While planning for 'the people', women's needs and the way they use the built environment should be one of the major considerations. In the article we have also provided certain suggestions for women oriented urban planning.

The whole issue of 'women and planning', though being crucial has long been neglected in India. Whereas, in western countries such efforts have already been started, India awaits an awakening call so far as spatial planning for women is concerned.

INTRODUCTION

"The relationship of women to cities has long preoccupied reformers and philanthropists. In recent years this preoccupation has been inverted: the Victorian determination to control working class women has been replaced by a feminist concern for women's safety and comfort in city streets. But whether women are seen as a problem of cities, or cities as a problem for women, the relationship remains fraught with difficulty. " (Wilson, 1991)

Women comprise 48.4% of the population in India. Since 'planning is for the people', half the attention of the planners should reasonably, be focused on the needs of women. In the past 'planning for people' has arguably 'meant' by default 'planning for men', for gender considerations were not consciously taken into account when the vast majority town planners were men. However, is it really necessary to plan 'specially' or 'differently' for women than for men?

It is argued that women's urban needs and, the way they use the city, are different from men's. This is because firstly, they are responsible for both productive and reproductive roles in the household, all of which generate different usage of urban space. Secondly, they comprise the majority of public transport users in many areas.

Thirdly, women's daily activities and travel patterns are likely to be different and more complex than men's, as many will be combining work with child care and other commitments. Therefore the classic mono-dimensional 'journey to work' upon which so much transportation planning policy has been based in the past, does not fit in well with women's lives and needs. Fourthly, women also form the majority of the elderly, disabled, low paid, single parent families, caretakers, urban poor and total ethnic minority population. Traditional images of women as just 'housewives' are outdated for urban areas.

A gender perspective shows that the urbanization process is being accompanied by an increasing diversity of household types, with single adult households and women-maintained families emerging as an important and growing household form. Single adult households are invariably headed by women. It is estimated that globally one third of households are now de facto women-headed, with the percentage often being higher in urban areas. However, in these households income is low. They are disproportionately affected by unsatisfactory housing, poor urban design, environmental degradation and the failure of local government, or the private sector to respond to their priorities in relation to infrastructure and services, and these household should be kept in mind at every step of planning, that is, from the urban to the community level.

Thus it is necessary to re-evaluate the nature of cities from a 'women and planning' point of view. This perspective has arisen as a major challenge to conventional town planning in recent years as more women become town planners, and are concerned with community environmental issues.

METHODOLOGY

The approach of the study is based on analysis of secondary data collected through various resources such as books, research papers and websites.

The topic of 'Loop holes in pattern of urbanization in India and their effects on women' shall be discussed under the following three sub heads -: Women and land use pattern, Women and Transportation planning, Effects of forced evictions of slums and decentralization on women.

The stress is to bring to notice the missing component in the present pattern of urbanization in India and highlight the fact that needs of women are not reflected and not met in urban planning in a much required manner. To reinforce the same, we have used the results of study conducted at a slum called Sanjay camp in Delhi as evidence. Lastly we have also suggested certain solutions to avoid such planning defects.

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

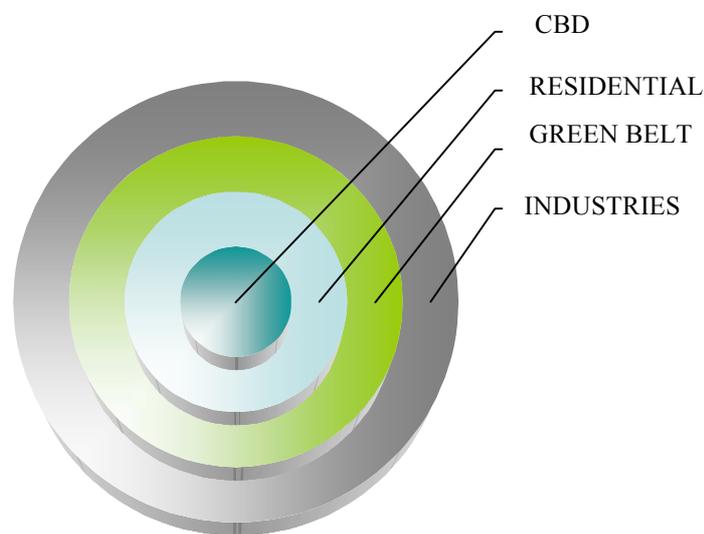
India currently has the second largest urban population in the world but it is still one of the least urbanized countries. Urban growth in the Indian cities has taken place due to natural growth and large-scale migration from rural to urban areas, indicating the uneven spread of economic activities and the concentration of work opportunities. The inevitability of this phenomenon has been accepted by the city planners and various attempts have been made to cope up with the fast pace of urbanization and vast expansion of cities. But the pattern of urbanization and attempts made by planners has neglected the needs of urban women

specially working class women in urban planning. This has created various problems for women and added to their drudgery. The loop holes in pattern of urbanization in India and their effect on Indian women have been discussed and analyzed further.

Loop holes in pattern of urbanization in India and their effects on women

Women and land use pattern -:

The planning process in India has been strongly influenced by that of foreign countries and planners. Foreign Planning theorists such as Geddes, Abercrombie and Le Corbusier saw the main components of the city as consisting of 'home areas, work areas, and leisure areas'. It seemed logical to planners to encourage the separation of work and home by means of land use zoning, which was intended to lead to greater efficiency and less pollution from a public health view-point. But this approach to town planning posed problems for women. This tradition still influences cities in India and around the world today.

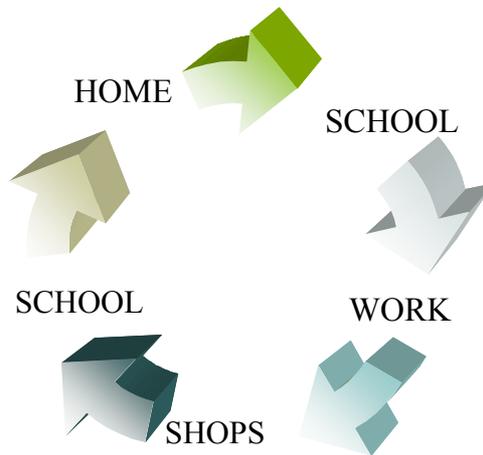


Zoning of land uses into work, home and leisure areas

However, this disregarded the fact that increasingly women were adopting two roles, that of homemaker and also worker. As these days, over 60 % of women work outside the home. The separation of work, home and other facilities such as shops, schools, and community facilities, increased the travel burden of women.

In discussing the issues of employment, the illogicality of the separation of work and home becomes apparent for women. Yet this division is reinforced through zoning. Large numbers of women work in the retail industry, in factories, in routine office jobs and in call centers. Many of the poor urban women in towns are employed in industries as low paid laborers. Rezoning and decentralization of industry on to green field sites, created major problems from these women as industries are located on the edges of urban areas away from home.

The separation of work and home creates major problems for urban women with children; indeed the whole ethos of the business world is unwelcoming to them. Much transport policy is still based upon 'the journey to work' which is assumed to be by car, an uninterrupted journey from home to work. But women workers often undertake intermittent broken journeys, rather than radial journeys straight to and from the city centre. Such journeys were often undertaken outside the rush hour if they work part-time. For example, a woman's daily journeys might be as follows-: *Home - school - work - shops - school - home* and may not necessarily be by car.



Urban women's daily travel pattern

Those women who work full-time and have cars are likely to break their journeys in a similar manner, and have to contend more with the pressures of achieving it all within the rush hour.

Many women experience problems because of lack of childcare, or simply in juggling office hours with school hours and food shopping trips. Although on average 60% of all workers in offices are women, and 80% of all worker in the central area, including shop workers, are women, there is very little provision of childcare either in the office buildings themselves or out in the central business district. Many women argue there is need for more childcare spaces than car parking spaces.

Retail development areas act as both work areas to large numbers of women and essential areas to carry out shopping. But planners and developers see shopping as 'fun' and 'leisure' and have little idea of the difficulties and time pressures which women operate under. The shopping policy emphasizes on quantitative factors, such as the 'attraction' of large centers to the car-borne shopper, as against qualitative factors, such as accessibility and provision of facilities such as crèches and public toilets, which may be a greater 'attraction' factor for women with small children and the disabled.

The individual planning of zones like work area, residential area and leisure area has again neglected women's need. There has been relatively little specific consideration of women's leisure needs in contrast to the immense amount of land, money and effort which have been devoted to playing fields and sports centers primarily used by men. Women's needs tend to get subsumed under the needs of their children for 'play area'. Provision of generalized grassed open space and 'playing' fields, designed by men planners for 'women and children' have come in for much criticism from women planners in the west because unless open space areas are adequately supervised they can rapidly become vandalized, thereby posing a threat for women and children

In residential zones, changes in architectural design, planning and housing provision affect women badly, as they spend more of their time at home to carry out household chores and childcare. Although the grid pattern is increasingly being adopted in housing projects, it is often resisted by women as they prefer a circular pattern which allows for collective child-minding, greater sociability and security, and reduced isolation. Women, especially those with children do not like high-rise blocks, as all sorts of problems regarding supervision of children, disposal of rubbish and drying and washing arise. Many women living on their own feel particularly vulnerable in blocks of flats where there is no escape except onto a corridor or dangerous lift shaft system.

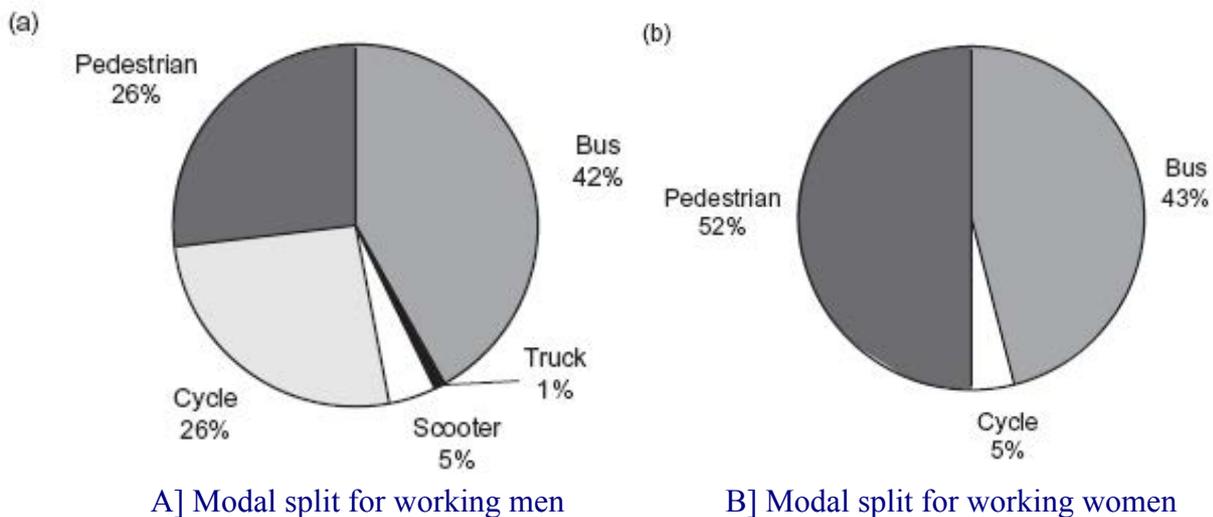
Many Indian women conduct economic activities in their houses. The low-income neighborhoods are designed in a way that does not allow women to work in or around the home. This is reinforced by zoning regulations that prohibit commercial activity in residential areas. Planning laws that prohibit economic activities and food growing in residential areas render women's survival strategies illegal.

Women and Transportation planning:-

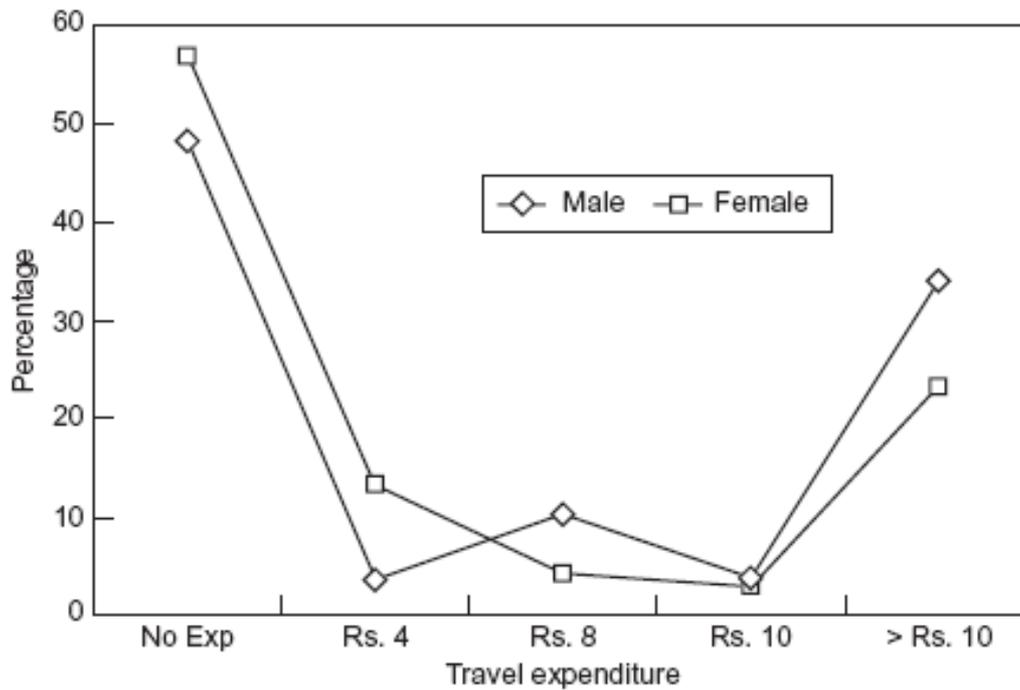
The zoning of city in work area, residential area and leisure area has increased the travel burden of women. The transport planning in India is not based on an understanding of the effects of poor accessibility on the lives of the urban women, and clearly has no gender perspective. Much transportation planning is based on the assumption, that the journey to work, in the rush hour by car, was the main category of journey in the urban area. This attitude ignores the existence of poor urban women who cannot afford private vehicle.

A study of the profile of working women and their mobility issues was carried out for a slum called Sanjay camp located in the heart of the affluent section of Delhi. The study involved developing a conceptual framework for the analysis of gender and mobility needs. It also generated primary data through a household survey to illustrate the causal link between transport and poverty. The results of the study showed that Women's opportunities are affected by their degree of access to transport facilities and that the transport sector can contribute effectively to alleviating women's poverty.

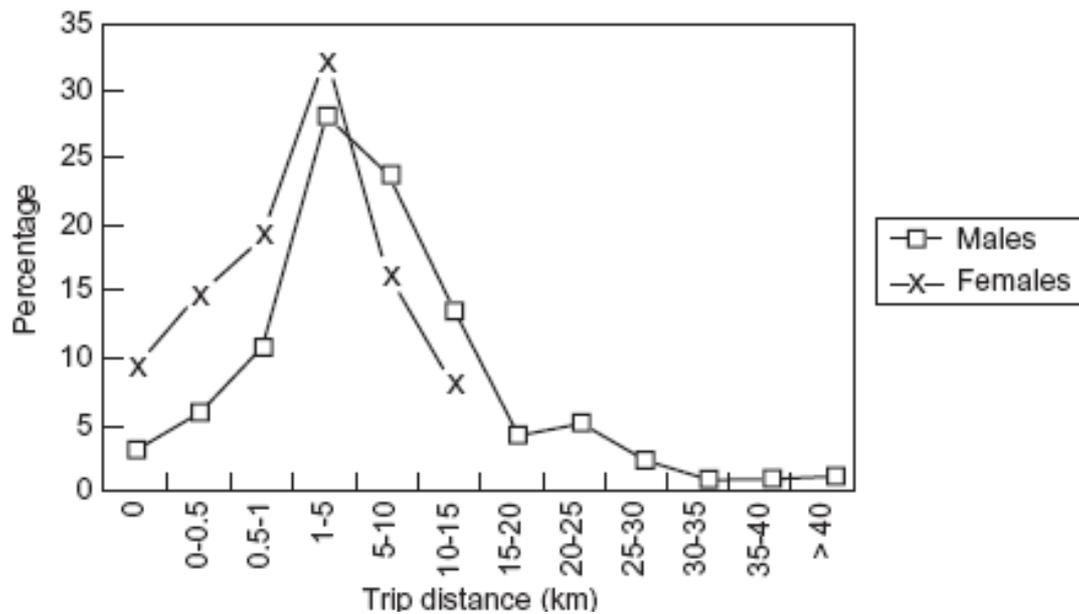
Majority of journeys are undertaken by women at times spread throughout the day, and chiefly by public transport, and by walking. This is evident in the surveys of modes of commutation to work by the residents of Sanjay camp. Women either walk (52%) or use public transport bus (43%) to commute to work. The percentage of women walking to work is significantly higher than the percentage of men (26%).



The women of lower-income households experience greater transport deprivations as compared with men. They spend more time traveling on the less expensive and slower modes of transport, {Fig. 1} when their intensive household schedules would be better served by access to the faster and more expensive modes of transport. They cannot afford expensive means of transport hence they look for work at shorter distances from their home, {Fig. 2} thus decreasing their choices and opportunities.



[Fig. 1] Gender trends of cost of travel



[Fig. 2] Gender trends of trip distance

Women feel unsafe when traveling to their workplaces and this perception of risk has two dimensions to it. Firstly, with the design of the infrastructure. The absence of footpaths on roads, badly designed pedestrian crossings (on surface and underpasses), the poor location of bus shelters and the high steps of public buses all contribute to an infrastructure that is uncomfortable for all users, but which is hostile to the needs of women. Second, is personal safety. Women are the targets of sexual harassment while travelling to work. Harassment while walking down the street or travelling on a bus is a common occurrence for working women and are exacerbated by the absence of adequate lighting on streets and subways and

by the small, lonely paths connecting the slum with the bus stops. The women prefer to travel with their husbands or in groups to ensure their safety.

It is evident from the above discussion that the nature of the entire transportation system of the India cities is not only insensitive to the needs of women, but also actively disables accessibility and induces poverty. Women lack mobility in the city due to gender-based restrictions, inferior access to transport means, a high dependence on low-quality public transport, and a lack of availability of affordable modes of travel. The ability of women to contribute to the alleviation of their standard of living and their status in society is severely limited by their disabled mobility and their constrained accessibility to the transport system of the city.

Effects of forced evictions of slums and decentralization on women:-

A major feature of Indian cities is the ever increasing slums. The urban population in India has increased in great proportions as compared to rural population. This is because of the shift of work force from agricultural to non agricultural sector and inadequate housing facilities have resulted in floods of unauthorized slums in urban areas. In the past 50 years, the number of unauthorized and slum settlements in Indian cities has increased. In 1951, approximately 64 000 people lived in slum settlements in Delhi, whereas today it is approximately 3.2 million. The number of the slum clusters has also increased from 200 to 1160 during this time.

Over time, these slums have become an integral part of the spatial and socioeconomic fabric of the city. They occupy land in the city; use its services and infrastructure, and interact with the rest of the city both socially and economically.

Since 2000, Delhi has been witnessing a spate of evictions of slum dwellers and relocation of these slum clusters, with the purpose of developing a better infrastructure for the city.

Women suffer disproportionately from the practice of forced eviction, due to discrimination against women which often apply in relation to property rights or rights of access to property or accommodation, and their particular vulnerability to violence and sexual abuse when they are rendered homeless.

Women have been forced into urban and peri-urban concentration due to traditional lack of access to rural land, war, disaster and inability to make a living in the rural areas. Since Indian culture hinders women's access to jobs in stores, factories, and the public sector, the informal sector is particularly important for women. The informal sector includes jobs such as domestic servant, small trader, artisan, or field laborer on a family farm [Table 1]. Most of these jobs are unskilled and low paying and do not provide benefits to the worker. [Table 2]

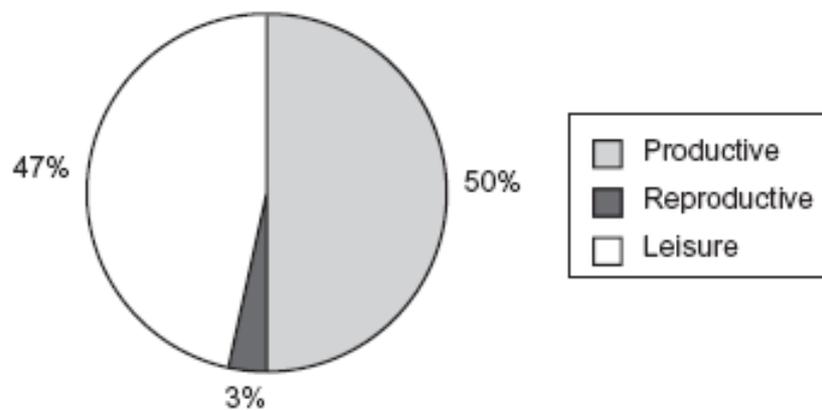
[Table 1] Gender distribution of the working population at Sanjay camp by occupation

Types of work		Male		Female		Total	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Regular income jobs	employed	56	28.1	33	44.6	89	32.6
	self-employed	60	30.2	27	36.5	87	31.9
Irregular income jobs	skilled	38	19.1	0	0.0	38	13.9
	unskilled	45	22.6	14	18.9	59	21.6
Total		199	100	74	100	273	100

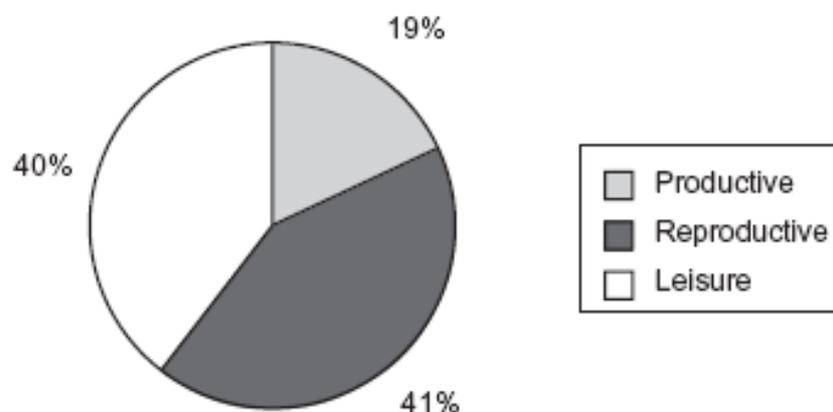
[Table 2] Gender distribution of individual incomes at Sanjay camp

Income (Rs)	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
≤ 1000	12	6.0	26	35.1	38	13.9
1001–2000	73	36.7	23	31.1	96	35.2
2001–3000	63	31.7	20	27.0	83	30.4
3001–4000	10	5.0	0	0.0	10	3.7
4001–5000	27	13.6	4	5.4	31	11.4
5001–7500	10	5.0			10	3.7
7501–10000	3	1.5			3	1.1
≥ 10 000	1	0.5	1	1.4	2	0.7
Total	199	100	74	100	273	100

A diary of a typical workday was recorded for both men and women at Sanjay Camp and their daily activities were categorized as productive, reproductive and leisure (including sleeping, bathing, etc.) activities. Figures 3 and 5 clearly illustrate that, while men’s typical day can be clearly divided into productive and leisure activities with very minimal involvement in reproductive work, the load of reproductive work for women is very high, reducing their leisure time and the time they can spare for productive activities. These figures show that if women have to spend more time traveling to work because of relocation of slums, it will reduce either the time they can give to the household chores or their leisure time.



[Fig.3] Daily activity profile of men



[Fig.4] Daily activity profile of women

Within the constraints of their limited mobility and household responsibilities, women find ways of accessing work near their homes. This allows them to minimize travel time and balance the overlapping schedules of work and the household thereby enabling them to take care their productive and reproductive chores. An example of this is a domestic worker. She walks to work in a nearby affluent colony, washing and cleaning in the morning. She returns home in the afternoon, takes care of the children and other household chores, and returns to work in the evening to wash the after-lunch utensils and organize the dried clothes. Again, she reaches home well in time to prepare the evening meal for her family. All this she can manage without spending anything on her personal transportation.

If the slum cluster is relocated to the city outskirts, either this woman will not be able to work because of the exorbitant costs of transportation and the family will suffer due to the loss of additional income, or alternatively she will go to work but her family will suffer because of her absence at home. The forced out-migration will severely affect the social and economic status of the women. If the families are relocated 30–40 km away from their original settlements in the city and even if the authorities try to provide public transport access to the original area, this public transport access may not help the women in retaining their jobs because of the following:

- The increased travel time to work would severely impact their reproductive work time, in which the family would suffer, or alternatively reduce their leisure/personal time.
- It would convert their zero-cost trips to some-cost trips, which they cannot afford due to their resource poverty.
- This would also convert the previously non-motorized trips into motorized trips, which is not desirable from the environmental and traffic perspective.

Thus, a gendered approach to studying the impact of relocation on the poor in the city is essential to understand the real-time implications of these policy decisions.

The trend of decentralization in India has been started as central areas are becoming more congested and inconvenient. In the future the trend may be to keep a central area headquarters but to decentralize office accommodation elsewhere. And this would be an ideal moment to suggest that it should be moved into the suburbs, rather than into the green field, out of town sites that are difficult to reach for those without transport and miles away from shops, schools and other facilities.

Present status of the invisible majority

Women, a majority of the world's population receive only a small share of developmental opportunities. Even though they comprise more than 50% of world's population, they own only 1% of world's wealth. It is estimated that One-third of households are headed by women as a result of men's migration, broken marriages, wars and terrorism etc.

There has been decline in women's situation inspite of all the information, publicity and pressure surrounding women in the last two decades.

The following points give an idea about the present conditions of Indian women which have to be realized and provided for, in the planning process.

- 1) In India majority of poor women are illiterate and thus they know little about their rights. {Literacy rate of India : 65.38 % Males : 75.96 % Females : 54.28 %}

- 2) Indian women form a large proportion of the poor, lacking adequate housing and habitat services. At present, at the national policy-making level, women's housing concerns remain largely ignored and are therefore unrecognized and unplanned for.
- 3) Indian women are also burdened by various cultural and religious patterns which add to their inability to uplift their standard of living and their status in the society. Their cultural attitudes and lack of appropriate education excludes them from higher levels of planning, decision-making and management.
- 4) In India the women in rural sector have less constraint and fewer problems as compared to women in urban sector. Therefore we need to focus on poor urban women while planning as they have to face extremely hostile situations. They are at disadvantage with regard to access to good, secure housing, as well as safe and clean neighborhoods. At the same time they bear an inordinately heavy burden in providing their families with food, personal care and clean homes.
- 5) Indian urban women face the constraints of shortage of space, economic pressure, joint families and social ties, religious and cultural practices and customs etc. Though not all factors are applicable to all women as the higher class is usually spared because of better financial status, relatively less spared are the middle class women and the worst hit are the lower class women and so on. The MIG woman with her educational background is conscious about the family size; health; hygienic etc. While the woman from LIG lands up with normally large family sizes; smelly dwelling units etc. Thus the economic pressure and the shortage of space put together have major repercussions for her. It is she who is the worst hit in the urban sector and such women have a sizable number. Studies conducted about urban poor women have indicated that they give weightage to work and home in a different way i.e. house is the first priority. Their family ties are stronger with old parents; married brother and sisters; relatives etc. It's very ironic considering they are the worst hit in all respects and yet they try to keep up with the continuity of traditional rituals and customs.
- 6) The lack of gender awareness both at the grassroot level and at human settlements development process, the exploitation of women's labour in that development process, and the absence of women at decision-making levels, leaves India behind the other countries.
- 7) There has been much data collection on women's living condition even in a developing country like Africa. Whereas in India, regarding many areas of life, data on women does not exist. The absence of meaningful data and statistics attributes to general lack of awareness and neglect of women's needs.
- 8) A very depressing point in our country is the wide spread corruption in implementation of any policy which is not so prominent in other countries. This corruption further adds to drudgery of women, especially the poor ones, who do not have access to their rightful facilities and services.

A step towards city planning for women

While planning for 'the people', women's needs and the way they use the built environment should be one of the major considerations. The above article illuminates certain guidelines which are to be worked upon, while planning for women-:

- 1) Realigning the relationships between land uses by integrating work and home and relocating other land uses and facilities in relationship to this.
- 2) Major changes in transportation system should be brought by providing easy access to the transport system and cheaper and faster means of transportation. Introduction of

bus services run especially for women which will cater to day and late night journeys from work to home, will provide security as well as increase their opportunities of seeking well paid far away jobs. Proper location of bus stops, well lighted footpaths and comfortable seats are small corrections in the transport planning and systems that would help a great deal.

- 3) Greater provision of purpose built crèches and childcare facilities are needed nationally, integral to residential and employment 'zones' away from home. Provision of ladies toilets, baby changing and sitting areas in the office buildings, central business district, shopping malls, recreational centers and sport pavilions are important factors for catering women's needs.
- 4) Provision of shops at local residential area and near offices can be very useful for women, especially for women office workers who can only shop in the lunch hour.
- 5) To reduce the vulnerability of women living in flats, simple solutions such as, increasing the level of lighting, improving visibility, providing alarms and surveillance, etc, would help a great deal.
- 6) Residential high-rise blocks should incorporate restaurants, sport facilities and childcare facilities for residents. The addition of caretakers and security staff, and a concierge system someone who can take in their parcels, keep an eye on the place and screen visitors would be favored by women.
- 7) More communal facilities should be provided within low-rise housing estates too. For example providing a crèche and community center for each group of 20 houses would be very useful.
- 8) Traditional parks with keepers and a range of activities within them are more useful than windswept unsupervised play areas. Better back-up facilities such as public conveniences, clearly defined supervised, play areas, with suitably safe surfaces, instead of hard asphalt and muddy grass around play area should be provided
- 9) The townscape should be designed to avoid negative spaces, narrow alleyways, blind corners and poorly lit back routes.
- 10) Straight footpaths with good visibility on all sides and in full view of houses and other buildings shall avoid risk of women's harassment and abuse while commuting alone.
- 11) The landscaping should inculcate long and thin stem trees and short heighted bushes rather than dense bushes to provide clear visibility into the open areas. Open railings rather than hedges around parks and prominently positioned sitting areas allow for proper surveillance.
- 12) Proper lighting and security in parking lots, public spaces and open spaces would reduce chances of sexual harassment.
- 13) The decentralized office accommodation should be moved into the suburbs, rather than into the green field, out of town sites that are difficult to reach for those without transport and miles away from shops, schools and other facilities.
- 14) In India the women in rural sector have less constraint and fewer problems as compared to women in urban sector. Therefore planners need to focus on poor urban women while planning as they have to face extremely hostile situations. They should be provided with access to good and secure housing, as well as safe and clean neighborhoods.
- 15) Many Indian women conduct economic activities in their houses. The low-income neighborhoods should be designed in a way that allows women to work in or around the home. Planning laws that prohibit economic activities and food growing in residential areas should be revised.

- 16) In case of forced evictions of slums, the working women residing in these slums should be provided with alternative job opportunities and free-of-cost transportation system so that they may not lose their jobs.
- 17) Policy-makers and planners, whether women or men, need to be gender-aware in order that women's needs and interests are addressed and women themselves are brought in to the planning process. For example, gender-aware urban planning would be sensitive to the increasing phenomenon of women-maintained household, their particular vulnerability to poverty and their specific economic survival strategies.

CONCLUSION

God exists in minute details. Taking small steps towards improving present scenario of cities as unprejudiced, in terms of gender, shall in the long run, improve the status of women socially and economically, and will make them as an equivalent part of the predominantly men oriented urban fabric.

In India there is a need to actively involve women in gathering data on women's shelter concerns, using grassroots professional as well as lay women. The data thus collected should be used in policy-making and planning as well as in designing courses and learning materials for, say, urban planners.

Governments need to ensure that women and men –especially the poor – have basic rights in housing, which includes services like water, sanitation, waste disposal, clinic, markets, shopping centers and recreational facilities. All human resources – including those of women – need to be tapped for shelter development.

Women build homes and neighborhoods despite the serious constraints facing them—such as low incomes, lack of access to credit, lack of land rights and security of tenure, lack of recognition and often outright harassment by authorities. National governments, non-government organization, donor agencies and international organizations need to give greater recognition to the situation and needs of women. More gender-sensitive planning and housing policies are required to ensure that housing projects are more people-friendly and take into account the requirements of men, women, girls and boys.

Women are capable of uplifting their standard of living and their status in society if their access to work is made more convenient. The transport planners in our country bear the responsibility of designing systems of transportation and access which deals sensitively with the mobility issues of the women using them.

Women's needs, along with those of men, can only be adequately met if women and men participate equally in human settlements planning and management at community, local and national levels.

It is necessary to think of a woman who is poor, under-nourished and probably anemic; who has to carry water over a long distance; who gets water from a polluted source; who has to walk a long distance for pre-natal care and immunization for her children; who lives in a house with no proper sanitary facilities; who has to earn an income but has no access to childcare facilities....then one begins to get an idea why it is necessary to focus specifically on women!!!

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WOMEN AND CITY PLANNING

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INTRODUCTION

"THE RELATIONSHIP OF WOMEN TO CITIES HAS LONG PREOCCUPIED REFORMERS AND PHILANTHROPISTS. IN RECENT YEARS THIS PREOCCUPATION HAS BEEN INVERTED: THE VICTORIAN DETERMINATION TO CONTROL WORKING CLASS WOMEN HAS BEEN REPLACED BY A FEMINIST CONCERN FOR WOMEN'S SAFETY AND COMFORT IN CITY STREETS. BUT WHETHER WOMEN ARE SEEN AS A PROBLEM OF CITIES, OR CITIES AS A PROBLEM FOR WOMEN, THE RELATIONSHIP REMAINS FRAUGHT WITH DIFFICULTY. " (WILSON, 1991)

WOMEN COMPRISE 52% OF THE POPULATION AND SINCE 'PLANNING IS FOR THE PEOPLE', HALF THE ATTENTION OF THE PLANNERS SHOULD REASONABLY, BE FOCUSED ON THE NEEDS OF WOMEN. IN THE PAST 'PLANNING FOR PEOPLE' HAS ARGUABLY 'MEANT' BY DEFAULT 'PLANNING FOR MEN', FOR GENDER CONSIDERATIONS WERE NOT CONSCIOUSLY TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN THE DAYS WHEN THE VAST MAJORITY TOWN PLANNERS WERE MEN. HOWEVER, IS IT REALLY NECESSARY TO PLAN 'SPECIALLY' OR 'DIFFERENTLY' FOR WOMEN THAN FOR MEN?

It is argued that women's urban needs and, the way they use the city, are different from men's. This is because firstly, women are more likely to be responsible for childcare, shopping and a range of other caring roles, all of which generate different usage of urban space. secondly, less women than men have access to the use of a car, and they comprise the majority of public transport users in many areas.

Thirdly, women's daily activities and travel patterns are likely to be different and more complex than men's, as many will be combining work with child care and other commitments. Therefore the classic monodimensional 'journey to work' upon which so much transportation planning policy has been based in the past, does not fit in well with women's lives and needs. Fourthly, women also form the majority of the elderly, disabled, low paid, single parent families, carers, urban poor and total ethnic minority population. Traditional images of women as just 'housewives' are outdated for urban areas.

THUS IT IS NECESSARY TO RE-EVALUATE THE NATURE OF CITIES FROM A 'WOMEN AND PLANNING' POINT OF VIEW. THIS PERSPECTIVE HAS ARISEN AS A MAJOR CHALLENGE TO CONVENTIONAL TOWN PLANNING IN RECENT YEARS AS MORE WOMEN BECOME TOWN PLANNERS, AND ARE CONCERNED WITH COMMUNITY ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES.

OBJECTIVE S

- 1) THIS PAPER RE-EVALUATES THE NATURE OF CITIES FROM A 'WOMEN AND PLANNING' POINT OF VIEW.
- 2) OUR PAPER ALSO RECONSIDERS THE DEVELOPMENT OF MAIN LAND USES IN CITIES AT INTERNATIONAL LEVEL
- 3) ANOTHER OBJECTIVE IS TO ANALYSE WHAT IS HAPPENING IN INDIAN CITIES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO DELHI.

- 4) LASTLY, TO PROVIDE CERTAIN SUGGESTIONS FOR WOMEN ORIENTED URBAN PLANNING.

METHODOLOGY

THE APPROACH OF THE STUDY IS BASED ON ANALYSIS OF SECONDARY DATA COLLECTED THROUGH VARIOUS RESOURCES SUCH AS BOOKS, RESEARCH PAPERS AND WEBSITES.

THE TOPIC OF 'LAND USE PATTERNS ACCORDING TO WOMEN' SHALL BE DISCUSSED UNDER THREE SUB HEADS SUCH AS:- RESIDENTIAL, EMPLOYMENT, AND RECREATIONAL AREAS.

THE STRESS IS TO BRING TO NOTICE THE LOOP HOLES PERTAINING TO CITY PLANNING AND RELATED POLICIES, WHICH, SO FAR HAVE NOT TAKEN WOMEN INTO CONSIDERATION. LASTLY WE HAVE ALSO SUGGESTED CERTAIN SOLUTIONS TO AVOID SUCH PLANNING DEFECTS. ALL THE DISCUSSION IN THE ARTICLE HAS BEEN DONE WITH REFERENCE TO THE INTERNATIONAL AS WELL AS THE INDIAN CONTEXT.

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

WOMEN AND LAND USE PATTERN AND TRANSPORT SYSTEM

WHILE AT PRESENT MUCH OF 'WOMEN'S PLANNING' SEEMS TO BE PREOCCUPIED WITH TRADITIONAL WOMEN'S ISSUES SUCH AS CHILDCARE FACILITIES, PROBLEM OF 'SAFETY' AND LOCAL DESIGN PRINCIPLES, TO PLAN EFFECTIVELY FOR WOMEN WOULD IN THE LONG RUN REQUIRE RECONSTRUCTING OF OUR CITIES AT MACRO, CITY-WIDE, DEVELOPMENT PLAN LEVEL, IN ORDER TO REALIGN THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN DIFFERENT LAND USES, AND TO INTRODUCE MAJOR CHANGES IN TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS.

PLANNING THEORISTS SUCH AS GEDDES, ABERCROMBIE AND LE CORBUSIER SAW THE MAIN COMPONENTS OF THE CITY AS CONSISTING OF 'HOME AREAS, WORK AREAS, AND LEISURE AREAS', AND THIS TRADITION STILL INFLUENCES ATTITUDES TODAY. IN CONTRAST, MANY WOMEN WOULD ARGUE THAT THIS VIEWPOINT MAKES THE FUNDAMENTAL MISTAKE IN EQUATING WORK WITH WHAT IS DONE OUTSIDE THE HOME, AND IGNORING ALL THE 'HOME-MAKING' AND CHILD-CARE WORK WHICH OCCURS INSIDE THE HOME. FROM THIS ATTITUDE FLOWS A WHOLE SERIES OF FLAWED APPROACHES TO TOWN PLANNING. IT SEEMED LOGICAL TO PLANNERS TO ENCOURAGE THE SEPARATION OF WORK AND HOME BY MEANS OF LAND USE ZONING, WHICH WAS INTENDED TO LEAD TO GREATER EFFICIENCY AND LESS POLLUTION FROM A PUBLIC HEALTH VIEW-POINT.

HOWEVER, THIS DISREGARDED THE FACT THAT INCREASINGLY WOMEN WERE ADOPTING TWO ROLES, THAT OF HOMEMAKER AND ALSO WORKER. AS THESE DAYS, OVER 60 % OF MARRIED WOMEN WORK OUTSIDE THE HOME, THE SEPARATION OF WORK AND HOME AND THE ASSOCIATED SEPARATION OF BUSINESS RELATED LAND USES AND FACILITIES FROM SHOPS, SCHOOLS, AND

COMMUNITY FACILITIES INCREASED THE TRAVEL BURDEN OF WOMEN, THE VERY ONES WHO ARE FAR LESS LIKELY TO HAVE ACCESS TO A CAR IN THE DAYTIME. TO COMPOUND THE PROBLEM, MUCH TRANSPORTATION PLANNING WAS BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE JOURNEY TO WORK IN THE RUSH HOUR BY CAR WAS THE MAIN CATEGORY OF JOURNEY IN THE URBAN AREA. THE REALITY IN SOME AREAS, IS THAT THE MAJORITY OF JOURNEYS ARE UNDERTAKEN BY WOMEN AT TIMES SPREAD THROUGHOUT THE DAY, AND CHIEFLY BY PUBLIC TRANSPORT, AND (OF NECESSITY) BY WALKING, AS SHOWN IN A SURVEY UNDER TAKEN BY THE GLC IN LONDON (1983) "ON THE MOVE".

THE THREE CATEGORIES OF HOME (RESIDENTIAL), WORK (EMPLOYMENT) AND LEISURE WILL NOW BE DISCUSSED FROM A WOMEN AND PLANNING PERSPECTIVE.

RESIDENTIAL AREAS:-

THE IDEA OF SEPARATING THE LAND USES ARE NOW OUTDATED, BECAUSE MANY LAND USES ARE FAR LESS "NOXIOUS". THE DECENTRALIZATION OF SHOPPING AND OTHER COMMUNITY FACILITIES TO OUT-OF-TOWN LOCATIONS REFLECTS OUTDATED LAND USE IDEAS ABOUT 'THINNING OUT' CITIES AND REDUCING CONGESTION. THEREFORE, IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT MANY WOMEN PLANNERS NOWADAYS PRESS FOR STRONG POLICY STATEMENTS ON THE PROVISION OF SHOPS AT THE LOCAL RESIDENTIAL AREA LEVEL, AND GREATER CONTROLS ON OUT-OF-TOWN SHOPPING CENTRES, AND A REVITALIZATION OF THE FOOD SHOPPING COMPONENT OF CENTRAL BUSINESS AREA RETAIL UNITS FOR WOMEN OFFICE WORKERS WHO CAN ONLY SHOP IN THE LUNCH HOUR.

CHANGES IN ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN AND HOUSING PROVISION AFFECT WOMEN BADLY, AS THEY SPEND AND MORE OF THEIR TIME AT HOME TO CARRY OUT HOUSEHOLD CHORES AND CHILDCARE. WOMEN, ESPECIALLY THOSE WITH CHILDREN DO NOT LIKE HIGH-RISE BLOCKS, NOR THE SMALL SIZE OF ROOMS IN SUCH SCHEMES. IF THE FLAT IS AWAY FROM THE GROUND FLOOR ALL SORTS OF PROBLEMS REGARDING SUPERVISION OF CHILDREN, DISPOSAL OF RUBBISH AND DRYING AND WASHING ARISE. IT IS OFTEN SUGGESTED THAT FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN SHOULD BE TAKEN OUT OF HIGH RISE FLATS AS THIS KIND OF ACCOMMODATION IS MORE SUITABLE FOR SINGLE PEOPLE. MANY WOMEN LIVING ON THEIR OWN FEEL PARTICULARLY VULNERABLE IN BLOCKS OF FLATS WHERE THERE IS NO ESCAPE EXCEPT ONTO A CORRIDOR OR DANGEROUS LIFT SHAFT SYSTEM.

MANY WOMEN ARCHITECTS AND PLANNERS SUGGEST THAT REALLY QUITE SIMPLE SOLUTIONS, SUCH AS INCREASING THE LEVEL OF LIGHTING, IMPROVING VISIBILITY, ETC, WOULD HELP A GREAT DEAL. MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL, LISTENING TO THE PEOPLE WHO ACTUALLY LIVE IN THE FLATS AND WHO ON A DAILY BASIS ENCOUNTER ALL THE 'LITTLE' PROBLEMS AND ACTING ON THEIR ADVICE WOULD SOLVE SOME OF THE PROBLEMS WITHOUT CREATING THE NEED FOR MAJOR UPHEAVALS.

TO HIS CREDIT LE CORBUSIER ORIGINALLY DESIGNED IN HIS UNITED

HABITATION BLOCK, AN INTEGRAL PLAY AREA, COMMUNITY AND NURSERY ROOMS. IT IS NOT UNCOMMON IN OTHER COUNTRIES TO FIND COMMUNAL LOUNGES, HOBBIES ROOMS, AND LAUNDERETTES INTEGRATED WITHIN THE SCHEME. IN NORTH AMERICA THERE ARE QUITE UP-MARKET RESIDENTIAL HIGH-RISE BLOCKS WHICH OFTEN INCORPORATE RESTAURANTS, SPORTS FACILITIES, AND CHILDCARE FACILITIES FOR RESIDENTS, PARTICULARLY IN PRIVATE SECTOR CONDOMINIUMS. MANY WOMEN FAVOUR THE ADDITION OF CARETAKERS AND SECURITY STAFF, AND A CONCIERGE SYSTEM SOMEONE WHO CAN TAKE IN THEIR PARCELS, KEEP AN EYE ON THE PLACE AND SCREEN VISITORS AS IS COMMON IN FRANCE. SOME WOMEN WOULD LIKE TO SEE MORE COMMUNAL FACILITIES WITHIN LOW-RISE HOUSING ESTATES TOO. FOR EXAMPLE THE DESIGNATION OF SAY, ONE IN TWENTY HOUSES AS A COMMUNITY AREA WITH A BUILT IN CRECHE AND COMMUNITY CENTRE, WOULD BE VERY USEFUL. MANY WOMEN WOULD WELCOME THE RE-USE OF REDUNDANT BUILDINGS IN CENTRAL AREAS AS CRECHES OR AS USEFUL FOOD SHOPS RATHER THAN AS TRENDY SHOPS AND PUBS.

AGAIN THE EMPHASIS ON DETAIL AND THE IMPORTANCE OF GIVING INDIVIDUAL BUILDINGS MULTIPLE USE AND THE QUESTION OF INTERNAL HOUSE DESIGN IS SEEN AS BEING DIRECTLY RELATED TO EFFECTIVE TOWN PLANNING.

WOMEN, AS PRIME USERS OF HOUSING AND HUMAN SETTLEMENTS, OFTEN HAVE INSIGHTS WHICH CAN IMPROVE DESIGN AND PREVENT FAILURE AND WASTAGE. ALTHOUGH THE GRID PATTERN MAY BE EASIER TO DEVELOP IN HOUSING PROJECTS, IT IS OFTEN RESISTED BY WOMEN WHO, IN INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS ARRANGE THE CONSTRUCTION OF DWELLINGS ON A COMMUNAL, CIRCULAR PATTERN ALLOWING FOR COLLECTIVE CHILD-MINDING, GREATER SOCIABILITY AND SECURITY, AND REDUCED ISOLATION. CONSULTATION WITH WOMEN IS ALSO IMPORTANT FOR THE DESIGN, DELIVERY AND MAINTENANCE OF URBAN SERVICES AND COMMUNAL FACILITIES. WOMEN'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR HOUSEHOLD AND COMMUNITY MANAGEMENT GIVES THEM A PARTICULAR VESTED INTEREST IN SAFE WATER SUPPLY, EFFICIENT SANITATION, SOLID WASTE REMOVAL AND THE PROVISION OF AFFORDABLE AND RELIABLE SOURCES OF ENERGY.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW TOWNS HAS BEEN MUCH COMMENTED UPON FROM A 'WOMEN AND PLANNING' PERSPECTIVE. THERE ARE MANY PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH THE CONCEPT OF THE 'NEIGHBOURHOOD'. IT IS BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT IT IS CHIEFLY A WOMEN'S ZONE SEPARATED FROM THE 'REAL' WORLD OF WORK INTO A WORLD OF COMMUNITY AND CHILDREN, IN WHICH MEN WHO ARE PRESUMABLY AWAY AT WORK, HAVE LITTLE INVOLVEMENT IN THE DAY TIME. IN FACT MANY OF THE WOMEN IN NEW TOWNS ARE EMPLOYED; CHEAP FEMALE LABOUR WAS ONE OF THE FACTORS WHICH ATTRACTED THE LIGHT ENGINEERING AND ASSEMBLY INDUSTRIES TO THESE AREAS. WHILE THE PLANNER MIGHT PUT THE SHOPS AND SCHOOL IN CLOSE PROXIMITY WITHIN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD, THEY WERE LIKELY TO PUT THE FACTORIES OUTSIDE IT CREATING MAJOR TRANSPORT PROBLEMS, AND MUCH 'RUSHING TO AND FRO' BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT LAND USES.

A GENDER PERSPECTIVE SHOWS THAT THE URBANISATION PROCESS IS BEING ACCOMPANIED BY AN INCREASING DIVERSITY OF HOUSEHOLD TYPES, WITH SINGLE ADULT HOUSEHOLDS AND WOMEN-MAINTAINED FAMILIES EMERGING AS AN IMPORTANT AND GROWING HOUSEHOLD FORM. SINGLE ADULT HOUSEHOLDS ARE INVARIABLY HEADED BY WOMEN. A GROWING PHENOMENON IS AN INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF WOMEN-MAINTAINED FAMILIES. WOMEN USUALLY EARN LESS THAN MEN BUT THIS IS PARTICULARLY LIKELY IF THEY ARE AMONG THE GROWING NUMBER OF WOMEN-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS BOTH IN THE INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES OF THE WEST AND IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD. IT IS ESTIMATED THAT GLOBALLY ONE THIRD OF HOUSEHOLDS ARE NOW DE FACTO WOMEN-HEADED, WITH THE PERCENTAGE OFTEN BEING HIGHER IN URBAN AREAS. HOWEVER, IN THESE HOUSEHOLDS INCOME IS LOW. THEY ARE DISPROPORTIONATELY AFFECTED BY UNSATISFACTORY HOUSING, POOR URBAN DESIGN, ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION AND THE FAILURE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT, CITY OFFICIALS OR THE PRIVATE SECTOR TO RESPOND TO THEIR PRIORITIES IN RELATION TO INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES, AND THESE HOUSEHOLD SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND AT EVERY STEP OF PLANNING, THAT IS, FROM THE URBAN TO THE COMMUNITY LEVEL.

SAFETY:-

THE 'SAFETY' OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD CONCEPT AND THE SEPARATION OF PEDESTRIAN FOOTPATHS FROM MAIN ROADS HAS BEEN MUCH CRITICIZED. MANY OF THE FOOTPATHS WERE DESIGNED IN SUCH A MEANDERING MANNER THAT PEOPLE MADE THEIR OWN SHORT CUTS OR RISKED STRAYING ONTO BUSY MAIN ROADS. MANY WOMEN PREFER STRAIGHT FOOTPATHS, WITH GOOD VISIBILITY ON ALL SIDES, PREFERABLY IN FULL VIEW OF HOUSES AND OTHER BUILDINGS. THIS PROBLEM IS NOT JUST A CHARACTERISTIC OF THE NEW TOWNS, BUT A FEATURE OF MANY 'DESIGN' GUIDES. IN THEIR DESIRE TO CREATE AN 'INTERESTING TOWNSCAPE', ARCHITECTS AND PLANNERS UNINTENTIONALLY CREATED A THREATENING ENVIRONMENT FOR WOMEN, WITH BLIND CORNERS, NARROW ALLEY WAYS, FOOTPATHS AWAY FROM THE HOUSES, PEDESTRIAN UNDERPASSES, POORLY LIT BACK ROUTES AND 'VARIED TEXTURES' OF PAVED SURFACES WHICH RUIN WOMEN'S SHOES AND MAKE THE MANOEUVRING OF PUSH CHAIRS AND WHEELS CHAIRS DIFFICULT.

EMPLOYMENT AREAS:-

IN DISCUSSING THE ISSUES OF EMPLOYMENT, BOTH IN RESPECT OF INDUSTRY AND OFFICE DEVELOPMENT, THE ILLOGICALITY FOR WOMEN OF THE SEPARATION OF WORK AND HOME BECOMES APPARENT. YET THIS DIVISION IS REINFORCED THROUGH ZONING AND A WHOLE RANGE OF OTHER PUBLIC HEALTH, BUILDING AND OFFICE AND FACTORY RELATED LEGISLATION. LARGE NUMBERS OF WOMEN WORK IN THE RETAIL INDUSTRY. VAST NUMBERS OF WOMEN WORK IN FACTORIES, IN ROUTINE OFFICE JOBS AND IN THESE TIMES IN (TELEPHONE) CALL CENTRES. THE POST-WAR TREND IN TOWN PLANNING, TOWARDS BOTH REZONING AND DECENTRALIZATION OF INDUSTRY ON TO GREEN FIELD SITES, CREATED MAJOR PROBLEMS FROM WORKING WOMEN. THIS TREND CONTINUES TODAY AS INDUSTRY SEEKS TO LOCATE NEAR MOTORWAY INTERSECTIONS ON THE EDGES OF URBAN AREAS.

THE SEPARATION OF WORK AND HOME CREATES MAJOR PROBLEMS FOR WOMEN WITH CHILDREN; INDEED THE WHOLE ETHOS OF THE BUSINESS WORLD IS UNWELCOMING TO THEM. MUCH TRANSPORT POLICY IS STILL BASED UPON 'THE JOURNEY TO WORK' WHICH IS ASSUMED TO BE BY CAR, AN UNINTERRUPTED JOURNEY FROM HOME TO WORK. BUT WOMEN WORKERS OFTEN UNDERTAKE INTERMITTENT BROKEN JOURNEYS, RATHER THAN RADIAL JOURNEYS STRAIGHT TO AND FROM THE CITY CENTRE. SUCH JOURNEYS WERE OFTEN UNDERTAKEN OUTSIDE THE RUSH HOUR IF THEY WORK PART-TIME. FOR EXAMPLE, A WOMAN'S DAILY JOURNEYS MIGHT BE AS FOLLOWS;

HOME - SCHOOL - WORK - SHOPS - SCHOOL - HOME, AND MAY NOT NECESSARILY BE BY CAR. THOSE WOMEN WHO WORK FULL-TIME AND HAVE CARS ARE LIKELY TO BREAK THEIR JOURNEYS IN A SIMILAR MANNER, AND HAVE TO CONTEND MORE WITH THE PRESSURES OF ACHIEVING IT ALL WITHIN THE RUSH HOUR.

MANY WOMEN EXPERIENCE PROBLEMS BECAUSE OF LACK OF CHILDCARE, OR SIMPLY IN JUGGLING OFFICE HOURS WITH SCHOOL HOURS, AND FOOD SHOPPING TRIPS. ALTHOUGH ON AVERAGE 60% OF ALL WORKERS IN OFFICES ARE WOMEN, AND 80% OF ALL WORKER IN THE CENTRAL AREA, INCLUDING SHOP WORKERS, ARE WOMEN, THERE IS VERY LITTLE PROVISION OF CHILDCARE EITHER IN THE OFFICE BUILDINGS THEMSELVES OR OUT IN THE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT.

MANY WOMEN PLANNERS ARGUE THERE IS NEED FOR MORE CHILDCARE SPACES THAN CAR PARKING SPACES. A WHOLE SERIES OF OTHER POLICIES WOULD FLOW FROM THIS REALLOCATION OF SPACE, FURTHER INTEGRATING WORK AND HOME, AND INEVITABLY OTHER LAND USES AND FACILITIES WOULD GRADUALLY SHIFT AND REALIGN IN RELATION TO THIS.

BUT THE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT AND ITS OFFICES MAY BE DOOMED FOR THE FUTURE, AS MORE OFFICES DECENTRALIZE, AND CENTRAL AREAS BECOME MORE CONGESTED AND INCONVENIENT. WHILE THE TRADITIONAL ARGUMENT STILL HOLDS GOOD THAT THERE HAS TO BE FACE-TO-FACE CONTACT IN BUSINESS, THIS ONLY HOLDS TRUE FOR MORE SENIOR PEOPLE. IN THE FUTURE THE TREND MAY BE TO KEEP A CENTRAL AREA HEADQUARTERS BUT TO DECENTRALIZE OFFICE ACCOMMODATION ELSEWHERE, AND THIS WOULD BE AN IDEAL MOMENT TO SUGGEST THAT IT SHOULD BE MOVED INTO THE SUBURBS, RATHER THAN INTO THE GREEN FIELD, OUT OF TOWN SITES THAT ARE DIFFICULT TO REACH FOR THOSE WITHOUT TRANSPORT AND MILES AWAY FROM SHOPS, SCHOOLS AND OTHER FACILITIES.

RETAIL DEVELOPMENT AREAS ARE BOTH WORK AREAS TO LARGE NUMBERS OF WOMEN AND ESSENTIAL AREAS TO CARRY OUT SHOPPING. BUT PLANNERS AND DEVELOPERS OFTEN GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY SEE SHOPPING AS 'FUN' AND 'LEISURE' AND HAVE LITTLE IDEA OF THE DIFFICULTIES AND TIME PRESSURES WHICH WOMEN OPERATE UNDER.

SHOPPING POLICY HAS BEEN BEDEVILLED BY THE EMPHASIS ON RETAIL GRAVITY MODELS WHICH HAVE EMPHASIZED QUANTITATIVE FACTORS, SUCH AS THE 'ATTRACTION' OF LARGE CENTERS TO THE CAR-BORNE SHOPPER, AS

AGAINST QUALITATIVE FACTORS, SUCH AS ACCESSIBILITY AND PROVISION OF FACILITIES SUCH AS PUBLIC TOILETS, WHICH MAY BE A GREATER 'ATTRACTION' FACTOR FOR WOMEN WITH SMALL CHILDREN AND THE DISABLED.

LEISURE AND PLAY:-

THERE HAS BEEN RELATIVELY LITTLE SPECIFIC CONSIDERATION OF WOMEN'S LEISURE NEEDS IN CONTRAST TO THE IMMENSE AMOUNT OF LAND, MONEY AND EFFORT WHICH HAVE BEEN DEVOTED TO PLAYING FIELDS AND SPORTS CENTRES PRIMARILY USED BY MEN. WOMEN'S NEEDS TEND TO GET SUBSUMED UNDER THE NEEDS OF THEIR CHILDREN FOR 'PLAY AREA'. PROVISION SPECIFICALLY, DESIGNED BY MEN PLANNERS FOR 'WOMEN AND CHILDREN' HAVE COME IN FOR MUCH CRITICISM FROM WOMEN PLANNERS. THE FIXATION WITH PROVIDING GENERALIZED GRASSED OPEN SPACE AND 'PLAYING' FIELDS FOR, APPARENTLY THE NEEDS OF ALL AGE GROUPS AND TYPES OF PEOPLE, WITHIN BOTH OLD AND NEW NEIGHBOURHOODS HAS BEEN QUESTIONED FOR MANY YEARS. THE PROBLEMS OF 'OPEN SPACE AS UNPAID CHILD MINDER' REFLECTS DEEPER PROBLEMS IN SOCIETY ITSELF.

TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING HAS ALWAYS BEEN INBUED WITH A REVERENCE FOR THE IMPORTANCE OF LOTS OF GRASS AND TREES TO IMPROVE AREAS. IT IS OFTEN ASSUMED THAT 'STREETS' ARE BAD AND OPEN SPACE IS GOOD FOR CHILDREN TO PLAY IN. IN FACT UNLESS OPEN SPACE AREAS ARE ADEQUATELY SUPERVISED THEY CAN RAPIDLY BECOME VANDALIZED, AND THE POTENTIAL LOCATION (OR 'TURF') OF GANGS OF YOUTHS, AND DOGS THAT FRIGHTEN SMALLER CHILDREN. THE PROVISION OF CHILDREN'S PLAY AREAS OR EVEN PLAY STREETS WITHIN HOUSING ESTATES CAN CAUSE PROBLEMS. IT ASSUMES THAT THE MOTHERS, AND OTHER RESIDENTS, HAVE LITTLE TO DO BUT KEEP AN EYE ON THE CHILDREN. SOME PLANNING GUIDES SUGGEST THAT KITCHEN WINDOWS SHOULD OVERLOOK THE STREET OR PLAY AREA FOR THIS PURPOSE. IT TAKES NO ACCOUNT OF THE NOISE AND DISRUPTION THAT CHILDREN MAKE, WHICH MIGHT BE DISTURBING TO PEOPLE SEEKING TO WORK AT HOME. THE ASSUMPTION IS THAT CHILDCARE IS A WOMAN'S JOB AS THE MOTHER IN THE HOME, ALTHOUGH MEN, WHO ARE ALSO PARENTS AND FATHERS, DO NOT APPEAR TO SEE CHILDCARE AS PART OF THEIR ROLE.

TO SOLVE SOME OF THESE PROBLEMS MANY WOMEN PLANNERS SUGGEST THAT WHAT IS NEEDED IN A CLEARER DEFINITION OF THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF OPEN SPACE WITH ALTERNATIVE USES AND MORE SUPERVISION. TRADITIONAL PARKS WITH KEEPERS AND A RANGE OF ACTIVITIES WITHIN THEM ARE MORE USEFUL THAN WINDSWEPT UNSUPERVIZED PLAY AREAS. MANY WOULD LIKE TO SEE BETTER BACK-UP FACILITIES SUCH AS PUBLIC CONVENIENCES, CLEARLY DEFINED SUPERVIZED, PLAY AREAS, WITH SUITABLY SAFE SURFACES, INSTEAD OF HARD ASPHALT AND MUDDY GRASS AROUND PLAY, AREA EQUIPMENT. TO DIGRESS, THE ISSUE OF PUBLIC CONVENIENCES IS ANOTHER NATIONAL PROBLEM. AS EXPLAINED IN 'AT YOUR CONVENIENCE' (WDS, 1990) FACILITIES FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN ARE UNDERPROVIDED ; IN FACT, MEN HAVE THREE TIMES THE AMOUNT OF PROVISION COMPARED WITH WOMEN ACCORDING TO AN OFFICIAL SURVEY OF LONDON (WDS, CURRENT). MANY MALE PLANNERS DO NOT SEE THIS AS A PROBLEM AS THEY CAN ALWAYS USE A PUB OR CLUB, AND ARE UNLIKELY TO HAVE CHILDCARE RESPONSIBILITIES. GREATER PROVISION

OF PURPOSE BUILT CRECHES AND CHILDCARE FACILITIES ARE NEEDED NATIONALLY, INTEGRAL TO RESIDENTIAL AND EMPLOYMENT 'ZONES' AWAY FROM HOME (BTA, 1999).

WHAT ARE THE OPEN SPACE NEEDS TO WOMEN THEMSELVES, ASSUMING ONLY SOME OF THEM WANT 6 ACRES OF PLAYING FIELD PER 1000 POPULATION ? FIRST, MOST WOMEN, ARE NOT ACCOMPANIED BY CHILDREN, AND THOSE WITH DEPENDENT YOUNG ONES FORM A RELATIVELY SMALL PROPORTION OF THE FEMALE POPULATION. MANY WOMEN ON THEIR OWN ARE WARY OF PUBLIC OPEN SPACE, BUT WELCOME THE EXISTENCE OF PARKS AND GREEN AREAS. HOWEVER, IN ANY LANDSCAPING OR PARK SCHEME ATTENTION SHOULD BE PAID TO SECURITY AND SURVEILLANCE FACTORS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE USE OF OPEN RAILINGS RATHER THAN HEDGES AROUND INNER CITY PARK AREAS ENABLES WOMEN TO SEE INTO THE AREA THEY ARE WALKING INTO. PUBLIC CONVENIENCES AND SEATING AREAS SHOULD BE PROMINENTLY POSITIONED, NOT HIDDEN BEHIND BUSHES. SPORTS FACILITIES SHOULD PROVIDE CRECHES, AND PLAYING FIELDS SHOULD BE EQUIPPED WITH ADEQUATE CHANGING FACILITIES FOR WOMEN AS WELL AS MEN, ALTHOUGH THE 'SPORTS PAVILLION' IS USUALLY SEEN AS MALE TERRITORY.

RESEARCH HAS SHOWN THAT YOUNG WOMEN, AND FOR THAT MATTER ETHNIC MINORITIES ARE LESS LIKELY TO USE OPEN SPACE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE FOR LEISURE COMPARED WITH MEN (GREED, 1994A). ARGUABLY, THERE EXISTS A RATHER MACHO YOUTH CULTURE IN THE WORLD OF RURAL PLANNING, AND RURAL ESTATE MANAGEMENT, IN WHICH THE EMPHASIS ON ROCK CLIMBING, ADVENTURE SPORTS, AND FELL WALKING, RATHER MARGINALIZES WOMEN, ALTHOUGH SOME WOMEN DO UNDERTAKE SUCH ACTIVITIES. POLICY ATTITUDES OFTEN APPEAR IMBUED WITH CONTEMPT FOR AND DISPARAGEMENT OF PEOPLE IN CARS AND THE PROVISION OF TOURIST FACILITIES FOR THE URBAN MASSES. IN FACT MANY WOMEN WHO DO VISIT THE COUNTRYSIDE DO SO IN THE FAMILY CAR BRINGING THEIR CHILDCARE RESPONSIBILITIES WITH THEM IN THE BACK SEAT. ELDERLY PEOPLE TOO, IN COACHES AND CARS, MAY WANT LOOK AT THE COUNTRYSIDE THROUGH THE VEHICLE WINDOW BUT HAVE NO INCLINATION TO DO A TWENTY MILE WALK. THE NEEDS OF ALL GROUPS NEED TO BE RESPECTED.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF PLANNING

THUS WOMEN'S USE OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT IS DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF MEN, BECAUSE OF DIFFERENT LIFESTYLES, DAILY ACTIVITY AND TRAVEL PATTERNS; AND BECAUSE OF A RANGE OF DIVERSE CULTURAL, CLASS, ETHNICITY AND AGE CHARACTERISTICS TOO.

LEGALLY, TOWN PLANNING IS STRICTLY SPEAKING TO DO WITH PHYSICAL NOT SOCIAL ISSUES. HOWEVER, THERE HAVE BEEN INSTANCES OF PLANNING AUTHORITIES PUTTING CONDITIONS ON PLANNING PERMISSION TO ACHIEVE PROVISION FOR WOMEN.

MANY WOULD SEE THE DISTINCTION AS TO WHAT COUNTS AS 'SOCIAL' AS AGAINST 'PHYSICAL' LAND USE BASED PLANNING LAW, AS GENDER BIASED. THE NEED FOR SPORTS FACILITIES USED PREDOMINANTLY BY MEN FOR LEISURE

ARE OFTEN ACCEPTED WITHOUT QUESTION AS BEING WITHIN THE AMBIT OF 'PHYSICAL LAND USE PLANNING', WHEREAS THE PROVISION OF CRECHES USED BY WORKING WOMEN ARE FREQUENTLY SEEN AS A 'SOCIAL MATTER', ALTHOUGH THIS ISSUE MIGHT HAVE MAJOR IMPLICATIONS FOR CENTRAL AREA OFFICE DEVELOPMENT.

INTERNATIONALLY PLANNERS HAPPILY ACCEPT THE NATIONAL PLAYING FIELDS ASSOCIATION'S TRADITIONAL STANDARD OF PROVIDING 6 ACRES OF OPEN SPACE PER 1000 POPULATION IN URBAN AREAS, BUT FEW WOULD ACCEPT THE IDEA OF PROVIDING ONE CRECHE SPACE PER 500 SQUARE FEET OF OFFICE SPACE AS PART OF NORMAL PLANNING. MANY WOMEN WANT DECENT PUBLIC CONVENIENCES, BABY CHANGING AND SITTING AREAS IN SHOPPING CENTRES, AND WOULD ARGUE THIS IS A MATERIAL PLANNING MATTER AS IT AFFECTS THEIR ACCESS AND USE OF RETAIL DEVELOPMENT.

THERE IS NO CIRCULAR OR WHITE PAPER WHICH SPECIFICALLY GIVES GUIDANCE ON GENDER ISSUES IN TOWN PLANNING, AND THOSE WHICH GIVEN INDIRECT SUPPORT ARE NOW SOMEWHAT DATED. MANY ARGUE THAT 'WOMEN' ARE A MATERIAL CONSIDERATION IN PLANNING, BECAUSE WOMEN AND MEN USE SPACE IN DIFFERENT WAYS.

REQUIREMENTS FOR THE PROVISION OF CRECHES, TOILETS, BABY CHANGING FACILITIES AND OTHER SUCH SOCIAL FACILITIES WERE LIKELY TO BE SEEN AS 'IMPOSING QUOTAS' AND SETTING DETAILED SPACE STANDARD REQUIREMENTS WHICH WERE NOT SEEN AS BEING APPROPRIATE AT THE DEVELOPMENT PLAN LEVEL. SUCH DECISIONS MAY BE SEEN AS SOMEWHAT BIASED, FROM A GENDER-PERSPECTIVE POINT OF VIEW, AS MANY DEVELOPMENT PLANS INCLUDE CAR PARKING STANDARDS AND THESE HAVE NEVER BEEN SEEN AS INAPPROPRIATE. IT IS ARGUED THAT THE PROVISION OF SUCH FACILITIES IS A 'LAND USE' MATTER, AS IT AFFECTS THE WAY PEOPLE ' USE LAND', HAVING SWAY ON ACCESSIBILITY AND INFLUENCING THE NATURE OF DEVELOPMENT ITSELF.

ALTHOUGH THERE HAS BEEN A SPREAD OF GOOD POLICY STATEMENTS IN DEVELOPMENT PLAN DOCUMENT, THERE IS NOT, AT THE END OF THE CENTURY, AS YET, A COMMENSURATE LEVEL OF APPROVAL AND IMPLEMENTATION. THE SITUATION IS VERY VARIABLE BETWEEN DIFFERENT AREAS, AND, AT THE 'COAL FACE' OF DEVELOPMENT CONTROL, IN SOME LOCAL AUTHORITIES 'WOMEN AND PLANNING' CONDITIONS ON A PLANNING PERMISSION GO THROUGH WITHOUT QUESTION, WHEREAS IN OTHERS THEY ARE OVERTURNED. THIS AGAIN REFLECTS ADHOC APPROACH BROUGHT ABOUT BY LACK OF STRONG CENTRAL GOVERNMENT GUIDANCE. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS WHAT HAPPENS IN A PARTICULAR LOCAL AUTHORITY, DEPENDS ON THE WILLINGNESS AND PERSPECTIVE OF THE LOCAL PLANNERS AND WHETHER THEY ARE CO-OPERATIVE OR NEGATIVE IN THEIR SUPPORT OF SUCH ISSUES. THERE IS A NEED FOR TRAINING OF PROFESSIONAL PLANNING STAFF TO BE AWARE OF THE ISSUES.

POLICY-MAKERS AND PLANNERS, WHETHER WOMEN OR MEN, NEED TO BE GENDER-AWARE IN ORDER THAT WOMEN'S NEEDS AND INTERESTS ARE

ADDRESSED AND WOMEN THEMSELVES ARE BROUGHT IN TO THE PLANNING PROCESS. FOR EXAMPLE, GENDER-AWARE URBAN PLANNING WOULD BE SENSITIVE TO THE INCREASING PHENOMENON OF WOMEN-MAINTAINED HOUSEHOLDS. THEIR PARTICULAR VULNERABILITY TO POVERTY AND THEIR SPECIFIC ECONOMIC SURVIVAL STRATEGIES WILL ONLY BE REFLECTED IN URBAN POLICY-MAKING IF CATEGORIES LIKE THE "HOUSEHOLD" AND THE "NEIGHBOURHOOD" ARE DISAGGREGATED BY GENDER AND FAMILY TYPE.

POLICY AND PLANNING WITH AN UNDERSTANDING OF GENDER DOES NOT COME NATURALLY TO PROFESSIONALS, WHETHER WOMEN OR MEN. CHANGES IN ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE AND OPERATIONAL PROCEDURES WILL BE REQUIRED TO FOSTER GENDER-SENSITIVE ANALYSES AND CONSULTATIVE PROCESSES.

DIVERSITY IS A REALITY OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT. A GENDERED APPROACH TO PLANNING OFFERS SOLUTIONS TO MANY OF THE CHALLENGES PRESENTED BY SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DIVERSITY. THESE CHALLENGES WILL BE MET WHEN THE COMPLEXITY OF WOMEN AND MEN'S SOCIAL ROLES IS RECOGNISED AND THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN THE CONTROL OF THEIR EVERYDAY LIVES IS WELCOMED.

SCENARIO IN INDIA

THE SCENARIO IN INDIA CAN BE BEST UNDERSTOOD BY OBSERVING THE CONDITIONS OF WOMEN IN ITS CAPITAL CITY- DELHI. AS THE SAME GENDER PREJUDICE ENVIRONMENT EXISTS IN OTHER CITIES, THE ONLY DIFFERENCE IS IN THE MAGNITUDE OF NEGLIGENCE TOWARDS WOMEN'S NEEDS AND CONDITIONS.

ACCORDING TO NATIONAL CRIME RESEARCH BUREAU DATA (2003), DELHI HAS THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE OF REPORTED CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN AMONG INDIA'S 35 MEGA-CITIES (14.8 PER CENT). IF YOU BREAK UP THE DATA ACCORDING TO THE CRIME, DELHI TOPS IN MOST, WITH 30 PER CENT OF REPORTED RAPE CASES, 18 PER CENT OF DOWRY DEATHS AND 15 PER CENT OF MOLESTATION CASES.

THERE ARE BROADLY THREE SETS OF FACTORS THAT AFFECT THE SAFETY OF A PUBLIC SPACE. ONE IS THE INFRASTRUCTURE, WHICH INCLUDES LIGHTING, THE STATE OF PAVEMENTS, HOW WELL TREES ARE TRIMMED, WHETHER THERE ARE DARK CORNERS ETC. ANOTHER SET OF FACTORS IS THE LOCATION OF POLICE BOOTHS, PUBLIC TELEPHONES, AND THE PRESENCE OF SHOPS AND OTHER VENDORS. THE THIRD ASPECT IS THE REACTION OF PEOPLE TO SEXUAL HARASSMENT OR THE GENERAL ATTITUDE OF THE PUBLIC TOWARDS VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN OR ANY OTHER VULNERABLE GROUP.

FOR EXAMPLE, A BUSTLING MARKETPLACE CAN BE SEEN AS A SAFER SPACE THAN A DESERTED AREA. YET, A CROWDED MARKETPLACE ALSO ALLOWS FOR THE ANONYMITY THAT OFTEN LEADS TO SEXUAL HARASSMENT. IN SUCH A SITUATION, PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES AND THEIR RESPONSE TO ACTS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS PLAY A BIG ROLE IN MAKING A SPACE SAFE. IN THAT RESPECT, DELHI WOULD SURELY FARE VERY BADLY. VERY RARELY DO

WOMEN GET ANY PUBLIC SYMPATHY, LET ALONE SUPPORT, WHEN THEY ARE HARASSED IN A PUBLIC SPACE.

‘JAGO-RI’, A NEW DELHI-BASED WOMEN'S GROUP, HAS BEEN CONDUCTING SAFETY AUDITS IN SOME AREAS AROUND THE CITY. THE AUDITS IN DELHI WERE CARRIED OUT IN RESIDENTIAL AREAS, MARKET PLACES, UNIVERSITIES, RAILWAY AND METRO STATIONS ETC. THE FINDINGS FROM THE AUDIT REINFORCED WHAT MANY OF US KNOW BY JUST LIVING IN THIS CITY. FOR EXAMPLE, PARKS LOCATED IN AND NEAR RESIDENTIAL AREAS ARE USED BY MEN AND WOMEN, BUT WOMEN AND CHILDREN TEND TO USE IT EITHER IN THE MORNING OR IN THE EVENING BEFORE IT GETS DARK. ALSO, WOMEN USE PARKS IF THERE ARE OTHER WOMEN THERE. PARKS LOCATED IN MORE PUBLIC AREAS ARE MORE LIKELY TO BE MALE-DOMINATED SPACES - LIKE THE AREA ABOVE PALIKA BAZAAR OR AT ROUNDABOUTS.

PAVEMENTS ARE ALMOST NON-EXISTENT ON DELHI ROADS. THIS MAKES PEOPLE WHO WALK ON ROADS MORE VULNERABLE. SINCE THE NATURE OF TRAFFIC IN DELHI HAS CHANGED OVER THE YEARS AND THERE HAS BEEN A GREAT INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF FLYOVERS, WE HAVE A SITUATION WHERE IT HAS BECOME ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO CROSS MAJOR ROADS. THE UNDERGROUND SUBWAYS ARE THE ONLY WAY TO CROSS A ROAD AND THESE BECOME SAFETY HAZARDS IF THEY ARE NOT WELL-LIT OR WELL-USED. THE STUDY FOUND THAT SUBWAYS THAT HAVE SHOPS AND VENDORS WERE, IN FACT, SAFER FOR WOMEN TO USE FOR THERE WOULD ALWAYS BE LIGHT AND PEOPLE IN THE SUBWAY.

LIGHTING IS A MAJOR ISSUE. THERE ARE MANY STRETCHES OF ROAD THAT HAVE LITTLE OR NO LIGHT. THERE ARE SPACES WITHIN RESIDENTIAL COLONIES OR MARKETPLACES THAT ARE PITCH DARK AT NIGHTS. PARKING LOTS ARE ANOTHER AREA WHERE LIGHTING IS VERY POOR.

WOMEN FORM AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE WORKFORCE ORIGINATING FROM THE SLUMS IN THE CITY OF DELHI, INDIA. THE WOMEN OF LOWER-INCOME HOUSEHOLDS EXPERIENCE GREATER TRANSPORT DEPRIVATIONS AS COMPARED WITH MEN AS WOMEN SPEND MORE TIME TRAVELLING ON SLOWER MODES OF TRANSPORT TO ACCESS WORK; THE FASTER MODES ARE MORE EXPENSIVE. THEIR TIME-POVERTY DEMANDS THAT THEY LOOK FOR WORK AT SHORTER DISTANCES FROM HOME THUS DECREASING THEIR CHOICES AND OPPORTUNITIES.

THE BASIC ARGUMENT IS THAT THEIR ABILITY TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE ALLEVIATION OF THEIR STANDARD OF LIVING AND THEIR STATUS IN SOCIETY IS SEVERELY CURTAILED BY THEIR LIMITED MOBILITY AND THE CONSTRAINED ACCESSIBILITY TO THE TRANSPORT SYSTEM OF THE CITY. THIS TRANSPORT DEPRIVATION BECOMES FURTHER EXACERBATED BY THE PROCESS OF FORCED EVICTION AND RELOCATION OF LOW-INCOME HOUSEHOLDS TO THE PERIPHERY OF THE CITY, CAUSING THE WOMEN TO LOSE LIVELIHOOD OPPORTUNITIES.

WOMEN FEEL UNSAFE WHEN TRAVELLING TO THEIR WORKPLACES AND THIS PERCEPTION OF RISK HAS TWO DIMENSIONS TO IT. FIRST, WITH THE DESIGN OF

THE INFRASTRUCTURE. THE ABSENCE OF FOOTPATHS ON ROADS, BADLY DESIGNED PEDESTRIAN CROSSINGS (ON SURFACE AND UNDERPASSES), THE POOR LOCATION OF BUS SHELTERS AND THE HIGH STEPS OF PUBLIC BUSES ALL CONTRIBUTE TO AN INFRASTRUCTURE THAT IS UNCOMFORTABLE FOR ALL USERS, BUT WHICH IS HOSTILE TO THE NEEDS OF WOMEN. SECOND, IS PERSONAL SAFETY. WOMEN ARE THE TARGETS OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT WHILE TRAVELLING TO WORK, HARASSMENT WHILE WALKING DOWN THE STREET OR TRAVELLING ON A BUS IS A COMMON OCCURRENCE FOR WORKING WOMEN AND IS EXACERBATED BY THE ABSENCE OF ADEQUATE LIGHTING ON STREETS AND SUBWAYS AND BY THE SMALL, LONELY PATHS CONNECTING THE SLUM WITH THE BUS STOPS. THE WOMEN PREFER TO TRAVEL WITH THEIR HUSBANDS OR IN GROUPS TO ENSURE THEIR SAFETY AND MOST OF THEM HAVE A RESIGNED ACCEPTANCE OF THESE DAILY INCIDENTS OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT. THE NATURE OF THE ENTIRE TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM OF THE CITY IS THEN NOT ONLY INSENSITIVE TO THE NEEDS OF WOMEN, BUT ALSO ACTIVELY DISABLES ACCESSIBILITY AND INDUCES POVERTY.

WOMEN ARE CAPABLE OF UPLIFTING THEIR STANDARD OF LIVING AND THEIR STATUS IN SOCIETY IF THEIR ACCESS TO WORK IS MADE MORE CONVINIENT.THE TRANSPORT PLANNERS IN OUR CITY BEAR THE RESPONSIBILITY OF DESIGNING SYSTEMS OF TRANSPORTATION AND ACCESS WHICH DEALS SENSITIVELY WITH THE MOBILITY ISSUES OF THE WOMEN USING THEM.

EACH TIME A SLUM IS DEMOLISHED AND LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE RELOCATED, THE ISSUE OF THE SAFETY OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IS NEITHER SERIOUSLY DEBATED NOR CONSIDERED. WHEN A MALL, SUBWAY OR A MULTIPLEX CINEMA IS BUILT, THE IDEA THAT THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT SHOULD FACILITATE RATHER THAN IMPEDE THE SAFETY OF WOMEN IS NOT GIVEN ANY ATTENION.THE PREVENTION OF RAPE AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE IS ONLY ABOUT TELLING WOMEN TO LEARN THE SKILLS OF SELF-DEFENCE, USE CELLPHONES, AVOID GOING OUT IN THE DARK OR CALLING FOR INCREASED POLICE PRESENCE.WHILE THE PLANNING OF THE CITY BY ITSELF WILL NOT STOP ALL SUCH INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE, SURELY PLANNERS WHO TAKE DETERRENCE SERIOUSLY COULD CONTRIBUTE SIGNIFICANTLY IN CREATING WOMEN-FRIENDLY URBANENVIRONMENTS.BY TREATING RAPE AS AN ISOLATED INSTANCE IT ALLOWS PLANNERS TO IGNORE THE FACT THAT PUBLIC SPACES ARE GENDERED, AND THE CITY IS DIVIDED INTO SEXUALISED ZONES THAT ARE SEEN AS PERMISSIBLE SPACES.

IN OTHER WORDS, WHERE THERE ARE NO EFFECTIVE TECHNIQUES OF SURVEILLANCE IN PLACE OR WHERE THE URBAN LANDSCAPE HINDERS THE MEANS TO RESIST VIOLENT ATTACKS, THE CONDITIONS FOR RAPE TO OCCUR ARE CREATED. THE PHYSICAL AND MATERIAL ATTENTION TO THE PLANNING OF URBAN SPACES IS NOT FRIENDLY TO WOMEN IN VERY BASIC WAYS. THE DELHI UNIVERSITY CAMPUS, FOR INSTANCE, IS ONE SUCH SEXUALISED ZONE, WHICH IS MARKED BY STATE LICENCE TO RAPE OR HARASS WOMEN. THERE IS TOTAL OR NEAR TOTAL ABSENCE OF TRAFFIC REGULATION OR SURVEILLANCE BY THE POLICE.

IF THERE ARE NO PREVENTIVE MEASURES SET UP IN PARKING LOTS AND

OTHER SUCH PUBLIC SPACES, IT ADDS TO THE CONDITIONS OF CRIMINALITY. IF THERE IS NO TRAFFIC REGULATION, IT ALLOWS MEN TO STALK WOMEN IN CARS AND ABDUCT THEM. THE DELHI ADMINISTRATION DOES NOT TREAT THE UNIVERSITY CAMPUS AS A GENDERED SPACE, TO WHICH THE PREVENTION OF RAPE AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT OUGHT TO BE CENTRAL.

TRAVELLING THROUGH DELHI ON FOOT, BY PUBLIC TRANSPORT OR PERSONAL VEHICLES HAS ALWAYS BEEN FRAUGHT WITH SEXUAL DANGER. THE GOVERNMENT, URBAN PLANNERS, AND THEORISTS SHOULD THINK OF HOW TO BUILD WOMEN-FRIENDLY URBAN ENVIRONMENTS AS A SMALL BUT CRITICAL STEP TOWARDS ADDRESSING THE PREVENTION OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN PUBLIC SPACES. WE NEED TO ENCOURAGE WOMEN TO USE PUBLIC SPACES WITHOUT FEAR RATHER THAN LAYING DOWN RESTRICTIONS ON THEIR MOVEMENTS.

CONCLUSION

GOD EXISTS IN MINUTE DETAILS. TAKING SMALL STEPS TOWARDS IMPROVING PRESENT SCENARIO OF CITIES AS UNPREJUDICED, IN TERMS OF GENDER, SHALL IN THE LONG RUN, IMPROVE THE STATUS OF WOMEN SOCIALLY AND ECONOMICALLY, AND WILL MAKE THEM AS AN EQUIVALENT PART OF THE PREDOMINANTLY MEN ORIENTED URBAN FABRIC. WHILE PLANNING FOR 'THE PEOPLE', WOMEN'S NEEDS AND THE WAY THEY USE THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT SHOULD BE ONE OF THE MAJOR CONSIDERATIONS. THE ABOVE ARTICLE ILLUMINATES CERTAIN GUIDELINES WHICH ARE TO BE WORKED UPON, WHILE PLANNING FOR WOMEN:-

- 1) REALIGNING THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN LAND USES BY INTEGRATING WORK AND HOME AND RELOCATING OTHER LAND USES AND FACILITIES IN RELATIONSHIP TO THIS.
- 2) MAJOR CHANGES IN TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM SHOULD BE BROUGHT BY PROVIDING CHEAPER AND FASTER MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION. INTRODUCTION OF BUS SERVICES RUN ESPECIALLY FOR WOMEN, WHICH WILL CATER TO DAY AND LATE NIGHT JOURNEYS FROM WORK TO HOME, WILL PROVIDE SECURITY AS WELL AS INCREASE THEIR OPPURTUNITIES OF SEEKING WELL PAID FAR AWAY JOBS.
- 3) PROVISION OF CRECHES, LADIES TOILETS, BABY CHANGING AND SITTING AREAS IN THE OFFICE BUILDINGS, CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT, SHOPPING MALLS, RECREATIONAL CENTRES AND SPORT PAVILLIONS ARE IMPORTANT FACTORS FOR TO CATERING WOMEN'S NEEDS.
- 4) THE TOWNSCAPE SHOULD BE DESIGNED TO AVOID NEGATIVE SPACES, NARROW ALLEYWAYS, BLIND CORNERS AND POORLY LIT BACK ROUTES.
- 5) STRAIGHT FOOTPATHS WITH GOOD VISIBILITY ON ALL SIDES AND IN FULL VIEW OF HOUSES AND OTHER BUILDINGS SHALL AVOID RISK OF WOMEN'S HARRASMENT AND ABUSEMENT WHILE COMMUTING ALONE.
- 6) THE LANDSCAPING SHOULD INCULCATE LONG AND THIN STEM TREES AND SHORT HEIGHTED BUSHES RATHER THAN DENSE BUSHES TO PROVIDE CLEAR VISIBILITY INTO THE OPEN AREAS. OPEN RAILINGS

RATHER THAN HEDGES AROUND PARKS AND PROMINENTLY POSITIONED SITTING AREAS ALLOW FOR PROPER SURVEILLANCE.

- 7) TO REDUCE THE VULNERABILITY OF WOMEN LIVING IN FLATS, SIMPLE SOLUTIONS SUCH AS, INCREASING THE LEVEL OF LIGHTING, IMPROVING VISIBILITY, PROVIDING ALARMS AND SURVEILLANCE, ETC., WOULD HELP A GREAT DEAL
- 8) PROPER LIGHTING AND SECURITY IN PARKING LOTS, PUBLIC SPACES AND OPEN SPACES WOULD REDUCE CHANCES OF SEXUAL HARRASMENT.

THE ABOVE GUIDELINES ALSO HOLD TRUE IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT. CITIES ARE SPACES WHERE PEOPLE CREATE HOMES, WORK AND MOVE AROUND. PUBLIC SPACES ARE OPEN TO AND USED BY ALL. WHILE THE POLICE HAVE A CLEAR ROLE TO PLAY IN ENSURING SAFETY FOR WOMEN BY EFFECTIVELY ADDRESSING CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN, THEIR ACTIONS ALONE ARE NOT ENOUGH TO MAKE ANY CITY SAFER. NEITHER IS IT JUST THE RESPONSIBILITY OF WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS TO ENSURE WOMEN'S RIGHT TO SAFETY.

WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IS NOT JUST A 'WOMEN'S ISSUE'. THERE ARE MANY DIFFERENT SETS OF ACTORS WHO HAVE A ROLE TO PLAY AND WHO HAVE A STAKE IN CREATING A SAFER CITY, INCLUDING NGOS, CITIZEN'S GROUPS, COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS, EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND PLANNERS IN ADDITION TO THE POLICE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES.

WHAT WE NEED TODAY IS A MORE RESPONSIBLE CITIZENRY. ALL PEOPLE LIVING IN A CITY SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO LIVE, WORK AND MOVE AROUND SAFELY IN A CITY. IF EVERY RESIDENT OF THE CITY FEELS A SENSE OF OWNERSHIP AND RESPONSIBILITY IN MAKING IT A SAFER AND MORE CARING PLACE, WE WOULD ALREADY BE MANY STEPS AHEAD OF WHERE WE ARE TODAY.

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Urbanisation in India: A Colonial Perspective

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Abstract

The history of urbanisation in India is almost as old as the history of human civilisation. The ancient cities of this country truly reflect the development of each civilisation, their prosperity and ultimate decline. The form and structure of these cities reveal the manner in which the challenges posed by the growth demands of the society were responded to by them at each stage, and how they were made to serve the economic, social, cultural and political interest of the society. Our study focuses on the structure of urbanization in India in the pre-colonial period which underwent certain fundamental changes with the advent of British rule during the early 19th century. It has been found in the study that apart from the colonial port cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, most of the urban centres that were developed in the colonial period failed to generate economic activities concomitant with their expansion and therefore lost their significance in the post independence period.

1.1 Introduction

There is one element of obvious contrast in the history of urbanisation in Asia, particularly India compared to Europe. In case of European countries, many of the cities and towns which rose within the feudal societies as trade centres survived even after the disintegration of feudalism from the 14th century, perhaps because they had become largely politically autonomous and self governing with their own charters, drawn up by their merchant guilds. In India, the cities on the other hand emerged as centres for administration, collection of revenues, location of armies and places for the production of manufactured goods, including textiles, pottery, and arts and crafts. There was no assertion of autonomy by the towns from the feudal authority; no domination of merchant guilds over the town governments which then distanced itself from the central feudal power and developed it's own charter as was the case in Europe. Hence there were no trade wars between the towns. However, in order to understand the growth of modern cities and

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towns in the Indian subcontinent, it is necessary to study it in a colonial perspective, starting with a discussion of pre-colonial economy.

1.2 Urbanisation in the pre-colonial period

“The medieval economy of India was essentially feudal”¹ in nature and consisted of a checkerboard of semi-closed, rural based economies. The circuits of interaction between spatial units were formed primarily on the basis of the appropriation of agricultural surplus /or of trade. “The pre-colonial town evolved, expanded or declined in terms of their relationship with these circuits”². Among the factors that contributed to this process must be mentioned the political circumstances favourable to expanding economic activity. The expansion of both long distance trade within India itself and India’s international trade with a network of Asian and European markets, and, finally, in response to the latter an enormous expansion of all aspects of textiles manufacturing and marketing also largely contributed to the growth of towns and cities in the medieval period.

Apart from the textile industries during this period that displayed the most varied form of labour organization, a second major sector of urban employment was the building industry. The arrival of ‘Saracenic’ architecture represented something more than a change of appearance and design of buildings. With lime mortar as the cementing material and arch, dome and vault providing new devices for roofing, there was in the 14th century a remarkable spurt in the brick construction in the towns. The extensive ruins of Delhi speak for themselves. It is during this period a large number of forts; mosques, palaces and other public buildings were also built in a large scale.

By the mid 18th century, the development of market forces had made deep inroads in to the subsistence character of Indian agriculture and the poorer agriculturists depended on traders and money lenders for the supply of seeds and food grains six months in a year (Raychaudhuri T., 1984). The involvement of the farmers with the traders and the traders with farming, the extensive dependence on market oriented production on advances from

buyers and wide prevalence of local markets led to the commercialisation of agriculture and simultaneously resulted in the growth of small towns in the pre colonial period. “The qasbas or townships, of which in Akbar’s time there were said to be 3,200”³, also seem to have grown in this period. It has been established that “there has been a large increase both in the inter-regional and external trade during the Mughal period”⁴. Inter - regional trade, which was far larger than external trade gave birth to regional markets and in case of certain products - such as cotton, silk and metal - even national markets were created with trading activities. In the process of long distance trade, some of the towns were able to reap large profits and there was a considerable development of merchant capital, which led to further expansion of trade and handicraft production (Chandra B., 1970). This led to the expansion of several old trading towns and the emergence of new towns. Thus, we can say, urbanism was a distinctive feature of the economic history of medieval India, and urbanisation may well have been the most significant historical process of the period from 13th to the 18th century.

It has been plausibly postulated that, during the above period, four distinct types of urban centres can be identified at least in northern India. First there were those cities whose prime function was administrative and where other roles, manufacturing or sacral, were of secondary importance. Such were Agra, Delhi, Lahore and Hyderabad. These cities also served as imperial residences for an extended period. Secondly, there were those cities enjoying a predominantly commercial and manufacturing character, to which might have been attached administrative functions which, nevertheless remained subordinate to their economic functions. Both Patna and Ahmadabad in the Mughal period fall into this category. Thirdly, there were the pilgrimage centres like Benaras and Mathura, where trade and craft activities were drawn to as there was already a concentration of both permanently settled or transient population. Apart from these cities, there were centres that developed and flourished because of some distinct manufacturing techniques, craft skill and local commodity, which ensured their ongoing prosperity (Hambly, 1982). Thus, the first part of the Mughal period appears to have been a veritable golden age of urbanisation as there was both the expansion in the size of pre-existing cities and towns and the proliferation of new foundations.

It has been found that the great expansion of commerce during the Mughal period inevitably brought increased wealth to the major urban centres of the country, especially to those cities whose location made them natural entrepots whether by land or sea. It is during this time, “the ports of Surat, Broach and Cambay on the West Coast and Masulipatnam on the east, as well as Patna and Benaras on the Ganges entered upon the period of greatest prosperity”⁵. Since most of the urban centres for their prosperity depended on the political conditions favourable to the steady pursuit of their particular trades and specialised craft industries, they were disastrously affected by the political instability in the later period. In the urban history of India one can witness that “the flowering of the urban based economy and the urban culture during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shajahan, and for much of the reign of Aurangzeb, derived largely from the establishment of political conditions highly advantageous to commerce and to the trading and artisan classes of the cities”⁶. In fact the urban centres flourished where the political instability could be held at bay. A most striking feature of India’s urbanisation in the subsequent period shows that “urban growth in the 18th century was most conspicuous in the port cities (e.g. Calcutta, Madras, Pondichery and Bombay) which came under the control of foreigners and were relatively immune to disorder consequent upon the Mughal political decline. Thus, in general, evidence suggests that so long the Mughal regime flourished, so also did the towns and the cities”⁷.

1.3 Urbanisation and Colonial Rule in India

The structure of urbanisation of medieval India underwent certain fundamental changes with the advent of British rule in India during the early 19th century. The British conquest of India through the agency of East India Company led to the most drastic changes in the village way of life (Thorner D. and Thorner A., 1962). The most fundamental of these changes was the destruction of the older structure of the village community, partly because of the new land revenue system introduced by the British Government and partly as a result of the spread of commercial agriculture in the 19th

century. The British government was mainly concerned with securing the largest possible revenue. Hence, “By the middle of the 19th century three basic land revenue systems had been gradually introduced in the provinces of British India namely the Zamindari, Ryotwary and Mahalwari-all serving the same ends, namely, to conserve for the British colonialist, the feudal exploitation of the Indian peasantry”⁸.

In reality all the three forms of land revenue systems introduced by the colonial rulers carried some features that shook the backbone of the cultivating peasant class. The land revenue systems with a number of variants introduced in course of the 19th century, were dominant from 1793 to 1947. The introduction of some of the rights of private property in land, the purchase and sale of Zamindar’s holdings, were explicitly sanctioned by the laws that went against the peasants. Besides this, contrary to the Mughal land revenue system under which land taxes could be paid in crops (Habib I., 1982), now there was rigorous insistence upon prompt and complete payment of the stipulated sums in cash on stipulated dates. In cases of default, the peasants could be evicted. “The new land system made mobile both the land and the peasants, and left the way open for the growth of money lenders and absentee land lords”⁹.

“The land and taxation policy of the British government ruined the agricultural economy of the country and its commercial policy thwarted efforts at industrial development”¹⁰. The older rural framework of India weakened and commercial agriculture grew. By the end of the 18th century, Britain itself passed through industrial revolution which was consolidated in the first half of the 19th century. British manufacturers clamoured for raw materials and sought anxiously for good markets to dispose of their finished products. Hence the coastal towns of India were linked with Britain and later in the 1850’s, railways were opened up. The railways facilitated the siphoning out the raw materials from India to the world market. Wheat poured out of Punjab, cotton from Bombay, and jute out of Bengal (Thorner D. and Thorner A., 1962). As commercial agriculture and money economy spread, the older practices associated with self subsisting economy declined. The same railroads that carried away the commercial crops brought back machine made industrial products to the villages. The flooding of Indian markets by

cheap machine made goods from the metropolitan country from the 1820's led to the collapse of indigenous handicrafts production and the destruction of Indian artisans and craftsmen.

The destruction of indigenous industries and the pauperisation of the peasant class created a situation of falling land-man ratio in the colonial period gave rise to acute underemployment in the rural areas. Thus, millions of rural unemployed and under employed were forced to go to the cities in looking for job. It was found that “during the course of six decades from 1871 to 1931, the proportion of agricultural labourers to total agricultural population increased from a meagre one seventh to more than one third”¹¹.

The following data give the proportion of agricultural labourers to the total agricultural populations in percents:

Year	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Percent	13.0	25.1	22.0	26.2	38.0

Source: Quoted from *Agricultural Labourers in Modern India and Pakistan*, by S. J Patel, p.4.

With the increased pressure on land and rise in the number of land less labourers, “India had become by the end of 19th century and probably even earlier an integrated economy as far as mobility of labour was concerned”¹². The movement was caused at the source by the precarious condition of existence, partly among the land less labourers. Since 1850, a dwindling proportion of the village artisans also had to migrate to the urban centres to find other ways to gain a livelihood. The main flow of population during this period was from north and central India to Bengal and Assam, and to the canal colonies of Punjab, from central and western India to Bombay and from north to south (Davis K., 1951). Of these flows, the east west one was the most significant in terms of numbers of men involved. New employment opportunities in plantations, mines and factories stimulated the movement towards the eastern provinces. The Royal Commission on agriculture noted that 75% of the labour employed in 15 sugar mills in Bihar and Orissa during this period was composed of such migratory labour¹³. The agricultural movement

towards Bombay also seems to have been stimulated by the growth of factories. “In India though the mobility of labour was the most important contributing factor in the process of urbanisation, the level of urbanisation however remained low till 1921”¹⁴. The Table 1.3.1 reveals that, the total population of the country living in urban areas was 10% in 1901. The slow growth of urban population in the subsequent decade was due to the ravages of plague, which led to massive exodus of population from the urban areas.

With the decade 1921-31, urbanisation became a noticeable phenomenon in India and the urban population growth rate accelerated with each decade since then. The Second World War further accentuated the process of urbanisation in India. Many industries did brisk business during the war period due to the unprecedented demand for goods from England and foreign markets. The rapid industrialisation during this period also led to massive migration of people from rural areas to work in the secondary and tertiary sectors of economy. Partition of the country in the following decade again brought mass migration of displaced persons that had a phenomenal impact on India’s urban growth. The migrants from Pakistan mostly settled in the urban areas (Bogue, 1962).

The low level of urbanisation process that never showed any tendency to accelerate during the colonial period is also evident from the degree of urbanisation in British districts and feudatory states in India as shown in the Table 1.3.2.

In spite of the low level of urbanisation, the mobility of labour from the rural sector continued even in the post colonial period as the agrarian reform policy which was formulated by the Congress Agrarian Reforms committee with the objective of ‘land to the tiller’ was not implemented fully and failed to pave the way for a rapid agricultural development. “The legal provisions did not aim so much at abolishing the intermediary as at preserving his dominant landholding position, provided he undertook to change his form of domination from indirect cultivation through tenants to direct cultivation through hired labour”¹⁵. This played a most crucial role in speeding up the process of eviction of small peasants and simultaneously increasing the concentration of more and more land in the hand of the landlords.

The process of economic concentration of land holdings in India continued in the next decade. During this period, the so called 'Green Revolution' and the adoption of new production techniques, where it had taken place, is recognised to have been largely confined to the top cultivating strata. Vaidyanathan has also elaborated the fact that there is a deceleration in the growth of agricultural output since mid sixties. According to him "the concern has been further heightened by the stagnation of agricultural output and in turn severely constrained the growth of the rest of the economy"¹⁶. It was further found that Green Revolution only helped the already better off areas to make their economic position still better by initiating a process of an unbalanced growth in the agricultural sector. The rich farmers became richer leaving the poor farmers in despair. So under such circumstances there was little desire on the part of the small peasants and land less agricultural labourers to remain in the same position for any length of time. In fact they were forced to a position of wandering from place to place in search of work mainly of non - agricultural nature. The migrants also included petty cultivators who could find a job, which is a little, more profitable than cultivating his tiny holding. These people generally moved towards city centres where work is easier to find (Patel S. J., 1952).

1.4 Conclusion

In the colonial situation greater concentration of population occurred in the major colonial port cities (Calcutta, Bombay and Madras). "The other urban centres developed or patronised by the metropolises often failed to generate economic activities concomitant with their expansion since much of their expansion was often related to specific colonial /military/political and other considerations"¹⁷. Even after the decolonisation began, many of the cities continued to be the linking centres thereby delaying the process of industrialisation in the country. In fact these cities were prevented from playing the urbanising role being successfully played by the western cities. So the post independence period witnessed an unbalanced urbanisation process resulting in concentration of population, industries, expertise and economic activities along with massive exodus of

population from the countryside. A number of development economists even argued that because of their colonial heritage or certain accidental factors a large concentration of population in India is seen in a few metropolitan centres. It is believed that where as the spread of urbanisation in India in the 19th century could be attributed to the large scale emigration of land less agricultural labourers in industrial centres to join industrial pursuits, the modern cities of twentieth century are an extension of the first industrial city of the previous century, albeit with greater sophistication and technical advancement (Ahuja S., 1995).

Table 1.3.1
Decadal Growth of Urban Population of India

Year	% of urban popln to total popln
1881-1901	9.30
1901-1911	10.00
1911-1921	11.38
1921-1931	12.13
1931-41	13.91
1941-51	17.29

Source: Hoselitz 1962: 158

Table 1.3.2
Degree (Level) of urbanisation in the hinterland of Calcutta (1872-1921)

Population	1872	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921
above 25,001	3	2	3	4	3	6
10,001-25,000	4	2	2	6	6	4
5,001-10,000	4	5	6	8	6	10
2,001-5,000	12	14	18	16	16	14
1,001-2,000	23	26	23	25	26	28
0-1,000	89	86	83	76	78	73
Total	135	135	135	135	135	135

Source: Based on census of India (1872-1921), Part II, Imperial Tables for population in Towns.

The table indicates that -

1. The level of urbanisation was very low. As many as, 50-65% of the districts had a mean city population size between 0-1,000 during the decade under consideration.
2. The number of districts, which showed a comparatively higher level of urbanisation, was very small. Only 2-4% of the districts have an MC size of 25,000 and more.
3. Most of the feudatory states had a very low level of urbanisation, and
4. The level of urbanisation remained stagnant over the decades under consideration.

Notes

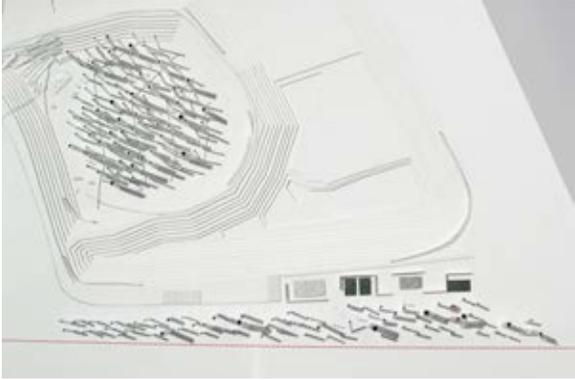
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Landscapes of water

Paola Viganò



merotto gravel-pit requalification project, view of the model

This paper is the result of a research project¹ that deals with the theme of re-qualification for a part of the Veneto Region's territory - sprawling, fragmented and contaminated - starting with the complex system of its water resources.

1 an approach

MOVE 1 the first move was to qualify and identify the physical materials that outline the territory of waters. To name these materials, frequently a relic, requires recalling a history of marsh drainage and territorial transformations that have overlapped in time, indicating layers of successive (often contradictory) approaches and rationalities through which contemporary oppositions and conflicts are revealed.

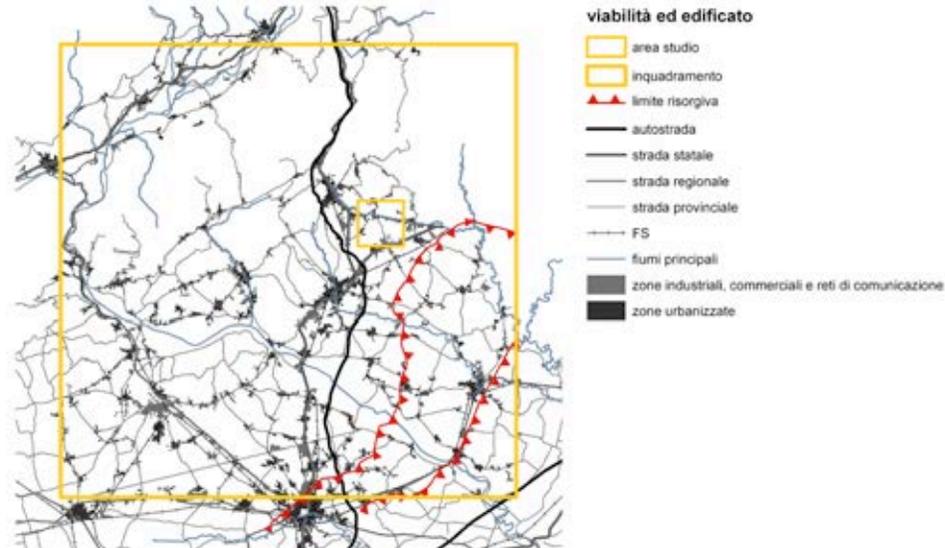
MOVE 2 in second place, we attempted to recognise the various processes during which different forms of rationalities have been posited in the form of concrete infrastructure and objects. Today, this transformation and modernization process appears extraordinarily accelerated and requires the development of new hypotheses and proposals for future scenarios.

MOVE 3 in third place, this research has led us to re-think the concept of void space, its functions and symbolic role. The landscape of waters has for centuries been one of the principal infrastructures of this region, and it can also be the starting point for a reflection on the sense and forms of open, public and collective space of a territory of dispersion.

MOVE 4 the project of isotropy. The utopia of an isotropic territory thrives in parts of this area, as it often does in other territories of dispersion. Although incomplete, such grand vision and its consequences in the designs and practices for space are perhaps today the only ones capable of

¹ This research is part of the European research project REKULA – Restructuring Cultural Landscape –INTERREG IIIB CADSES – IUAV University of Venice: responsible: Paola Viganò, together with Uberto degli Uberti, Griet Lambrechts, Tullia Lombardo, Giambattista Zaccariotto (organization); GIS: Sandro Capparelli; consultants: for the vegetation aspects, Giustino Mezzalira; for hydraulic aspects Vincenzo Artico and Consorzio di bonifica Sinistra Piave.

reconstructing an informed inside look and hypothesis, combined to confer new sense and meaning to the construction of the contemporary territory.
 MOVE 5 this research ultimately aims to contribute in the elaboration of new forms of modernity and new alliances between research and regards, among different fields of knowledge.



the main mobility network and the built areas

1.1 a paradoxical territory

The territory of Veneto, like many contemporary situations, is a place of paratactic combinations of a great number of paradoxes. It is a mutating territory, like many European territories of dispersion and sprawl, where significant causes of crisis come to light that are modifying the character traits of the diffused city, which was being described starting at the end of the 1970's. I am referring to the specific mix of housing and working in an extended territory, usually living in a single detached house and working in a small enterprise. This model of diffusion and of "development without fractures" (Fuà, Zacchia, 1983) has been described in Italy both by economists, sociologists, geographers and urbanists starting from the end of the seventies and especially during the last twenty years (Indovina, 1990, Secchi, 1991).

The different paradoxes and elements of crisis brought to light by these characters are deeply linked to the distinctive features of settlement dispersion, an ongoing phenomenon, of *longue durée*, that has invested a great part of the Veneto territory, within which specific infrastructural configurations were defined: for instance, the diffused networks of waterways and roads.

The paradox of isotropy is among the most intriguing: an almost utopian feature of an egalitarian and, at the same time, individualist territory, where resources and opportunities are uniformly and regularly distributed, and where the isotropic territory reveals unsuspected rigidity with themes of hierarchy and difference. The same functional mix of small productive complexes and housing, which is typical of the incremental growth of the widely dispersed micro-industries in Veneto, enters into crisis when plans for creating distances and differences are attempted: for instance, between quiet and non polluted places for living and the areas of production.

A paradox of void spaces also emerges in this territory and particularly of the still vast agricultural lands, which, except for a few instances, remain almost entirely marginal from an economic viewpoint. Differently from other areas of settlement dispersion like in the Netherlands'

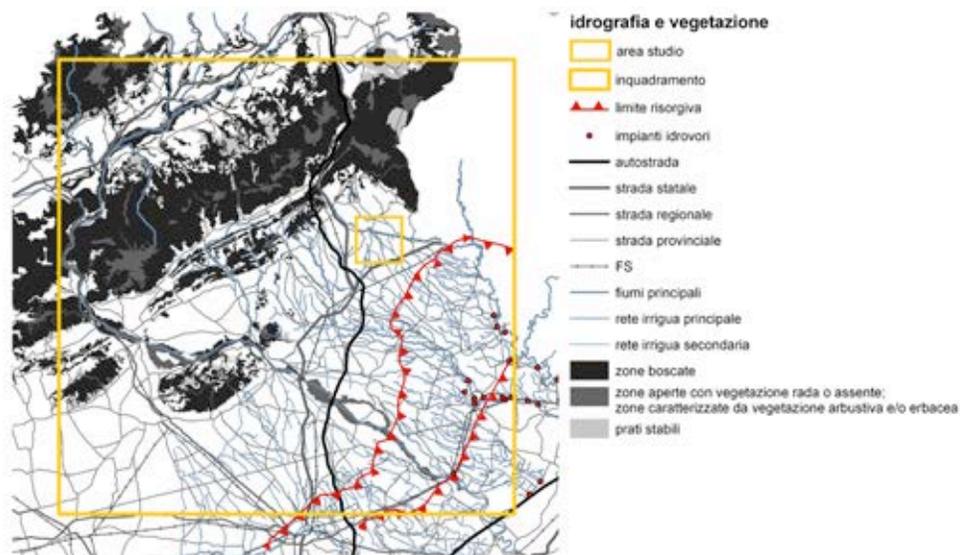
Flanders, where the built areas reach percentages close to 60% (De Geyter, 2002), the Veneto plains cover important agricultural extensions that still represent the largest part of the territory. Despite this, and with the exception of some strongly specialised agricultural areas like those for chicory crops or vineyards, the functional and symbolic role of the agricultural landscape remains limited. The marginal, even if extended, void spaces require a new conceptualization that could perhaps invest more sense and meaning to the possible forms of public space in these territories of dispersion.

The paradox of public space is related to the different practices of the territory and the changing geographies of centrality that relegate the traditional forms of public spaces to tourist attraction or as peripheral and insignificant.

Our hypothesis is that today the relations between the fundamental elements of territorial support and its uses are in a state of crisis, often deprived of any effective meaning whatsoever: as if a hiatus had been introduced between the land's infrastructure and its society. Not only is there the crisis of what many perceived as a model of territorial, social and economic organization, which obliges us to rethink the existing relations between society and territory, but the reasons for this crisis are enrooted here and now: they belong to this territory and are strictly linked to its features and characters.

The idea of territory as infrastructure solidifies and becomes concrete in the fundamental elements of territorial support: the natural and artificial waters regime and road systems. Through these elements, we can read the many processes of rationalization that were realized in the course of time, the various ideologies that inspired them, the various images of modernization that were pursued, the crisis that affects them and highlights a growing distance between a territorial support system, constituted over a long period and society with its contemporary social needs. In what ways is water a shared or conflictual resource in the dispersed territory of Veneto? How can it participate in the construction of a new landscape for living?

The following pages contain the first results of a research project at the border of the metropolitan area of Venice that asks these very questions - starting with the experimental project for a flatland reservoir through the re-use of an abandoned gravel-pit in the high Treviso plains and with the theme of an environmental and landscape re-qualification.



hydrography and vegetation

2 water infrastructures: what...if?

77 millions cubic meters of water in a few hundred of gravel-pits: the hypothesis for re-use of the Merotto gravel-pit as a basin for flood prevention for the waters of the Meschio river is an experimental project that stems from a more ample deliberation regarding strategies to recuperate the hundreds of open gravel-pits along the east to west land tract within the Veneto fluvial plains.

What if...: what would happen if all of the gravel-pits in the Treviso province were to be utilised as basins for flood prevention for excess fluvial flood waters? The quantities that come into question are relevant. Almost 80 millions cubic meters of water could be collected within the new basins - representing about half of the capacity that the Vajont dam held (150 millions cubic meters). After the terrible tragedy of the Vajont dam-break in 1963², the utilization of the Piave river's water (for electric energy and agriculture) went on - as if the available quantities had not changed - and the drawing off a river that was increasingly lacking water continued, especially in the summer months. Today the water deficit of the Piave river which comes out of the balance between use and resources, vital minimum run-off included, is 50/60 millions cubic meters. The holding capacity of the existing gravel-pits could instead be sufficient in guaranteeing the necessary water for agriculture in periods of drought, significantly reducing the drawing of river waters in the more delicate periods of the fluvial ecosystem. This would also avoid the drawing of waters from the mountain basins, from the Santa Croce lake for example, during the summer months when they are frequented by many for recreation and sports activities.

Ultimately, within this scenario, the question and proposal for the re-use of the abandoned gravel-pits translate into an extraordinary opportunity to re-think the territory, its landscape, its construction modalities and the activities that today directly involve it. The quarries, the canals that connect them to waterways, the path-ways that would run their length, the tree-lined stripes, the enhanced embankments, rest-points, wooded areas, sports and recreation facilities – can all design the layout for a networked park area that could innovate public spaces, along with the existing ones, within an extended territory. There are of course certain precise conditions to consider: the problem of hydraulic security, the changes to irrigation techniques, the abundance of the gravel-pits; factors that presently constitute the possibility for a collective and effective project for territorial re-development.



Redraw of the water system and comparison between the Kriegscarte by General Anton von Zach (1801) and the Technical Regional Maps of 1998

² The Vajont dam-break in 1963 killed 2000 people and destroyed several villages. After that no other dams have been realised in Italy.

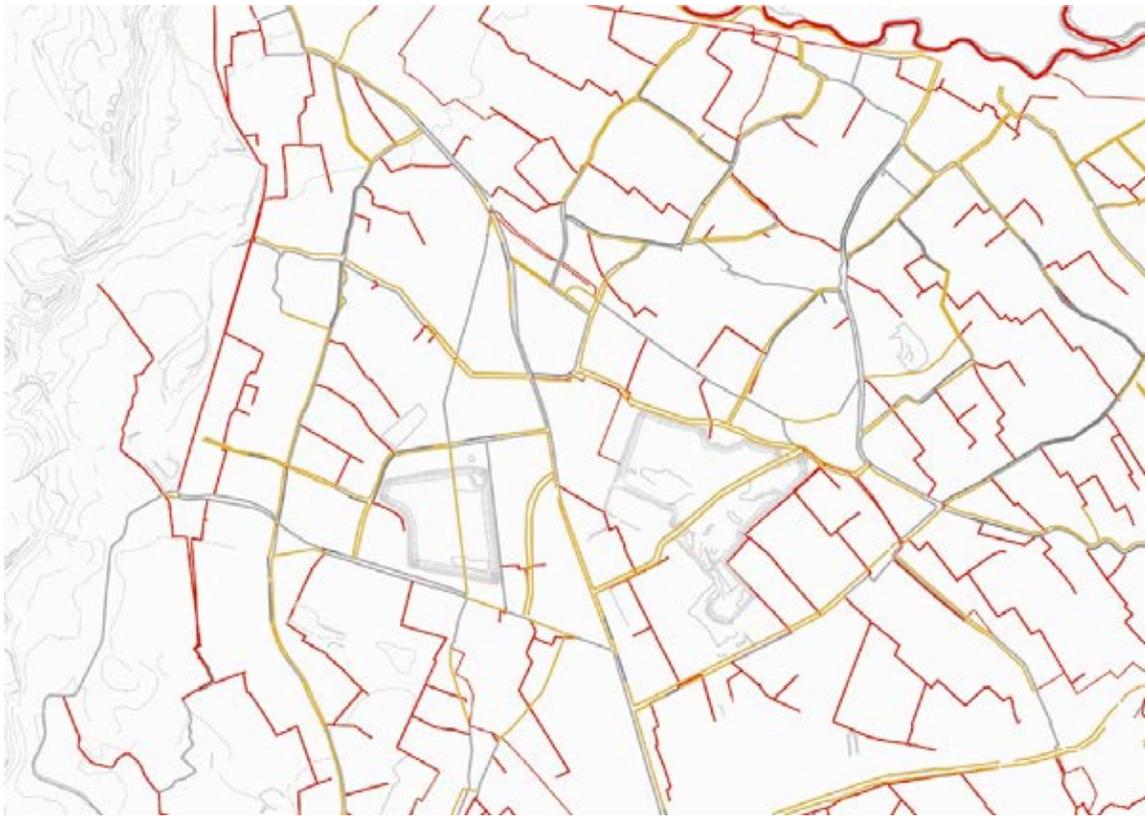
2.1 models of territory

In this research, what takes on relevance are the different relations that have been established in time between the infrastructure of water and the territories of agriculture and settlements. Throughout the 19th century, the continuous network of canals -as indicated in the Kriegskarte by Anton von Zach from 1801 - outlined and delimited the agricultural fields as well as their surrounding hedges, prevalently mulberry shrubs. Grape vines trained to elms, maples and willow trees, placed at distance intervals of 25-45 metres (Bianchi, 1989) gave a rhythmic cadence to the land plots used to cultivate cereals, corn and grain. The process for marsh draining and land reclamation that invested the irrigated areas of Veneto from the end of the XIX century to the first decades of XX's did not immediately lead to a simplification and reduction of the rural landscape that had occurred in other parts of the Padana plains. With the draining operations of the lower Piave areas, what prevailed was a sharecrop land division over assigned plots of land to hired workers. The sharecroppers generally managed the irrigation network efficiently; they were spread out proportionately and maintained an articulate and enhanced framework throughout the territory more similar to the neighbouring traditional fragmented and dry flatlands.

The large-scale hydraulic transformations that followed represented a novel relational system between agriculture and hydroelectric production. In 1930, "just after the war [...] on one side there were the industries of electricity and on the other there were the farmers of the arid lands around Treviso who were all draining the Piave river of its waters." (Bianchi, 1989, quoting C. Bortolotto, p.493). The consequences of this lead to the salinization of the river's waters and thus to the difficulty of having fresh irrigation water between the Piave and Livenza rivers "...that was once obtained with water pumps from the Piave that flowed water into the drainage canals... and penetrated into the crop fields by infiltration.", (Bianchi, 1989). In the high and dry plains, the new irrigation system was overlaying the existing continuous water network. When necessary, along cemented canals, water was flowing to the crop fields, as part of a colossal project for the modernization of the Veneto territory, which associated the emerging industrial centre of Porto Marghera, in front of Venice, with a new industrial conception of agriculture.

Today, now that the rural landscape has been stripped of its many meanings and characteristics, new and more selective irrigation methods are being tested that invest also the traditional dry agriculture areas, like with vineyards for instance. Irrigation techniques using automatic underground water-drippers, following those of water-flow irrigation canals and field-sprinklers, lead to significant water conservation, allowing for the release and clearing not only of great quantities of water, but also of those spaces that permit its natural flow. In this way it is possible to go back to replenishing the grounds' water table, which today has serious quantitative and qualitative problems and that the new irrigation techniques are not completely solving.

The technological transition is today investing many areas of the Veneto territory and bringing about important consequences. Among these, the water used for agriculture alone can run through underground pipes and not in the aboveground-cemented canals, built in the 1930's. A part of the saved water can go back to feeding into the aboveground natural network of surface canals, along which new plant life and shrubbery could be planted as the necessary natural corridors for the waterways. The new lamination basin canal for the floodwaters of the Meschio river, which would feed into the Merotto gravel-pit, could be designed according to and in consideration of such features.



Superposition of the redraw of the water system of the Kriegscarte by General Anton von Zach (1801) and the Technical Regional Maps of 1998: in grey what has remained; in red what has been added (in particular during the thirties of the XX century); in yellow what has disappeared.

2.2 the network structure and the tree-like structure

In the underground stratification of gravel stone, with a flat-bed that reaches 40 metres below ground level (CBSP, 2003) the canal water dispersion before the operations of the 1930's must certainly have been significant. However, the changes to the canal systems and to cemented canals, oftentimes situated along previous natural waterways, all represent a radical transformation, not only of the landscape but also of the entire ecological function of the territory. The exchange with the water table and its supply was drastically reduced. Today, despite the severe contamination of the water-table - indicated by recently conducted environmental impact studies and caused by the discharge of the area's dispersed industries (CBSP, 2003: in the municipality of Colle Umberto near the gravel-pit, from factory plants for wood and metal-mechanical industries to livestock breeding) - the quality of the Meschio river's water remains fairly good and it could even be used to feed into "natural" or "re-naturalized" canals. Hence, over time the layout has passed from a networked structure, characterised by a continuous web, to a branched-out tree-like structure that disconnects the web in many points even when using its existing tracts. The introduction of this discontinuity affects the water system as well as the entire agricultural terrain, which has lost part of its permeability and accessibility -indicated in the surveys taken by Von Zach- and becomes fragmented, interrupted and inaccessible, while also becoming progressively detached from the spaces for living and working. The introduction of underground water-drippers irrigation techniques can represent a prelude for re-thinking the hard artificialization of the canals and their tree model of reference.

3 The Merotto gravel-pit recovery project: a new canal and a new reservoir as public space in a dispersed territory

The Merotto gravel-pit recuperation project is then interesting in a number of ways. Firstly, it is a pilot project that explores the actual re-use of gravel quarries as floodwater reservoirs. Secondly, in an experimental approach, it tackles the question of a natural waterproofing of reservoir banks and the possible purification of the water table. Third and finally, the project connotes landscape transformation: the gravel-pit is to be fed from the south by an existent canal and from the north by a new one to the Meschio River. Its introduction constitutes the starting point for project design ideas and reflections on the environmental re-qualification for the area.

A new canal as public space: the various design hypotheses introduced here resulted from a wide angled debate that confronted the issues concerning floodwater management and territorial redevelopment together. Progress was made from a complete separation of the two aspects (the hydraulic workings ensured by a flood overflow pipe-line and a surface trench that more resembles the water network surveyed by Von Zach) towards an increasingly integrated and complex channelling device that includes variable cross-sections. Between these two extremes emanated the idea of a canal with a constant cross-section and the possibility of distributing the water capacity to several canals, which can reconstruct the traditional system of roadways accompanied by parallel ditches. These two ideas solve a number of problems yet, when examined in detail, many aspects do not fit into the actual situation of settlements dispersal; such solutions can however be effectively employed in other places. The last idea, for a canal with variable and articulated cross-sections, utilizes flood control to introduce a new type of landscape within the widespread territory and with it a new connection between differing environments. The variable sections allow the canal to adapt to different situations, taking advantage of its capacity for expansion and only having to reduce itself to a pipe-line in the stretches deemed necessary. The new feature introduced into the countryside landscape clarifies the connection between the pit and Meschio river via the creation of linear parklands with hedges and clearings.



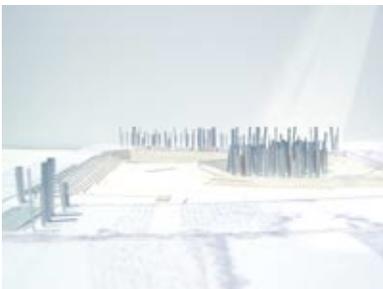
Proposal for the new channel with variable section between the river Meschio and the Merotto gravel-pit



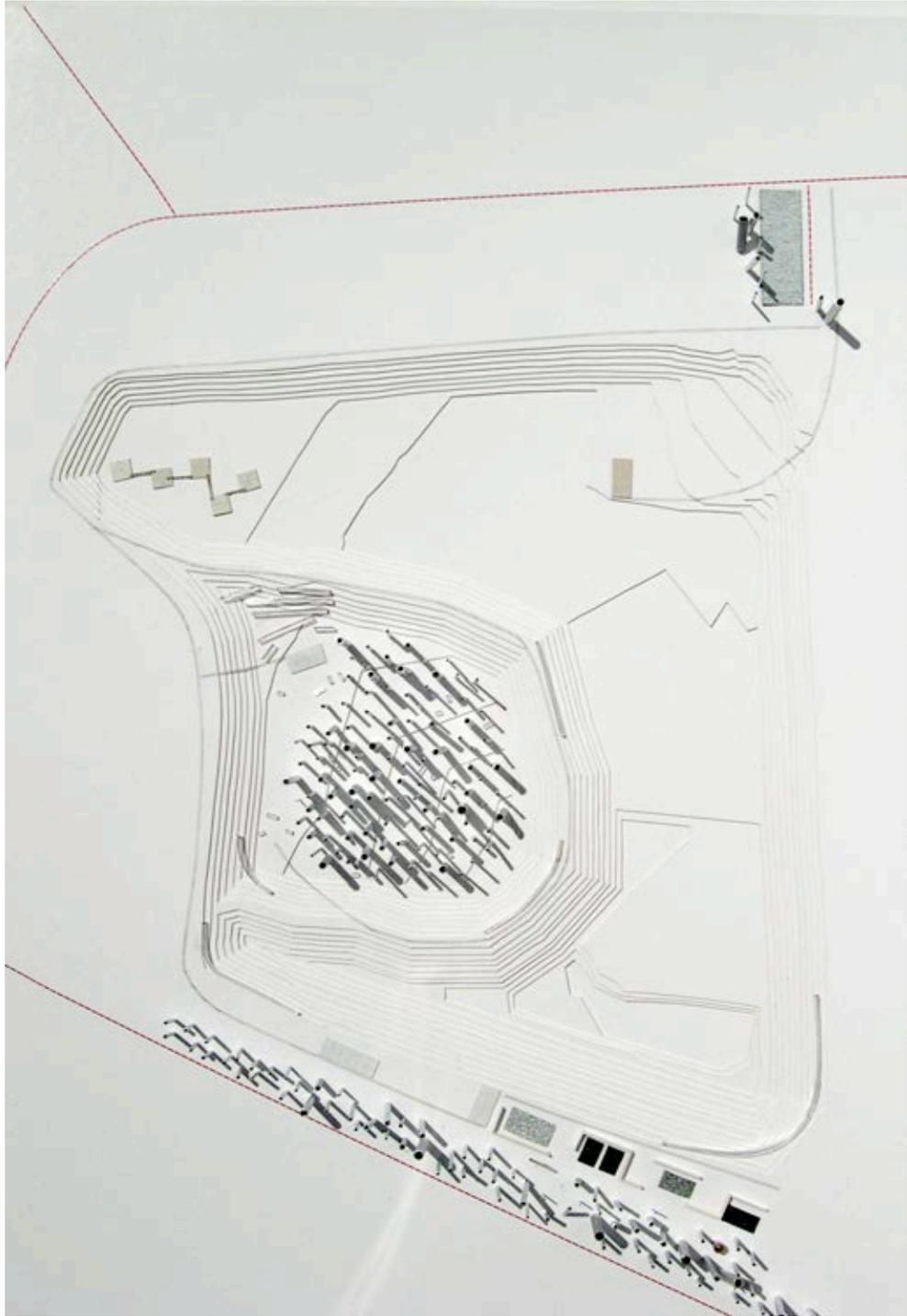
Proposal for the new channel with variable section between the river Meschio and the Merotto gravel-pit

A new reservoir as public space: the plan to use the gravel-pit as flood-plain reservoir induced three important objectives. Firstly, to help ensure the availability of water for agriculture during the summer and periods of drought as shown in the previous scenario; secondly, to mitigate against the Meschio flooding; thirdly, to test the possibility of enriching the phreatic stratum (direct improvement of the reservoir bed). Its introduction here, into an ex-gravel-pit that is already in a very advanced state of re-naturalisation, constitutes “an extremely interesting biotype from a naturalistic point of view” (CBSP, 2003). The water table is located between nine and ten metres below surface-level, flowing from northwest to southeast, and different types of habitat have developed within the gravel-pit (wet woodlands including White Willow - *Salix alba* - and Black Poplar - *Populus nigra*, reeds and wetland habitation), as a rare element of bio-diversity in the higher dry planes, together with mesophytic grasses over large edge areas. Among other considerations, geological surveys around the gravel-pit show that the trees manage to grow in an area of “notable adaptation to the under-soil” where building rubble, concrete chunks and even plastic material can be found to a depth of approximately 1.8 metres.

The consequence of abandon are that the gravel-pit is today an extremely attractive setting which the project should to maintain, while working for its transformation. For example: the central woods and the grassy escarpment need not be completely modified while, conversely, the pit can be transformed into a veritable ecological testing ground as well as a place for recreation to be inserted within a more ample context. The idea advanced here is for a reservoir basin that draws off effusions from the San Flor irrigation canal, south of the gravel-pit, and from the northern canal/s during the Meschio flood periods, while the woodlands at its heart are to be maintained. Pathways, jetties, and waterside rest-stops can all enhance the area and make the vicinity comfortable, in passing down through the different elevations towards the low woods where part of the grassy escarpment creates a “natural” arena.



merotto gravel-pit requalification project, view of the model

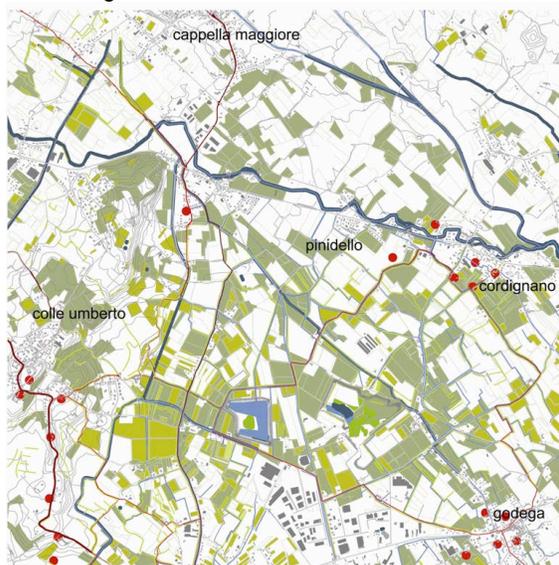


merotto gravel-pit requalification project, view of the model

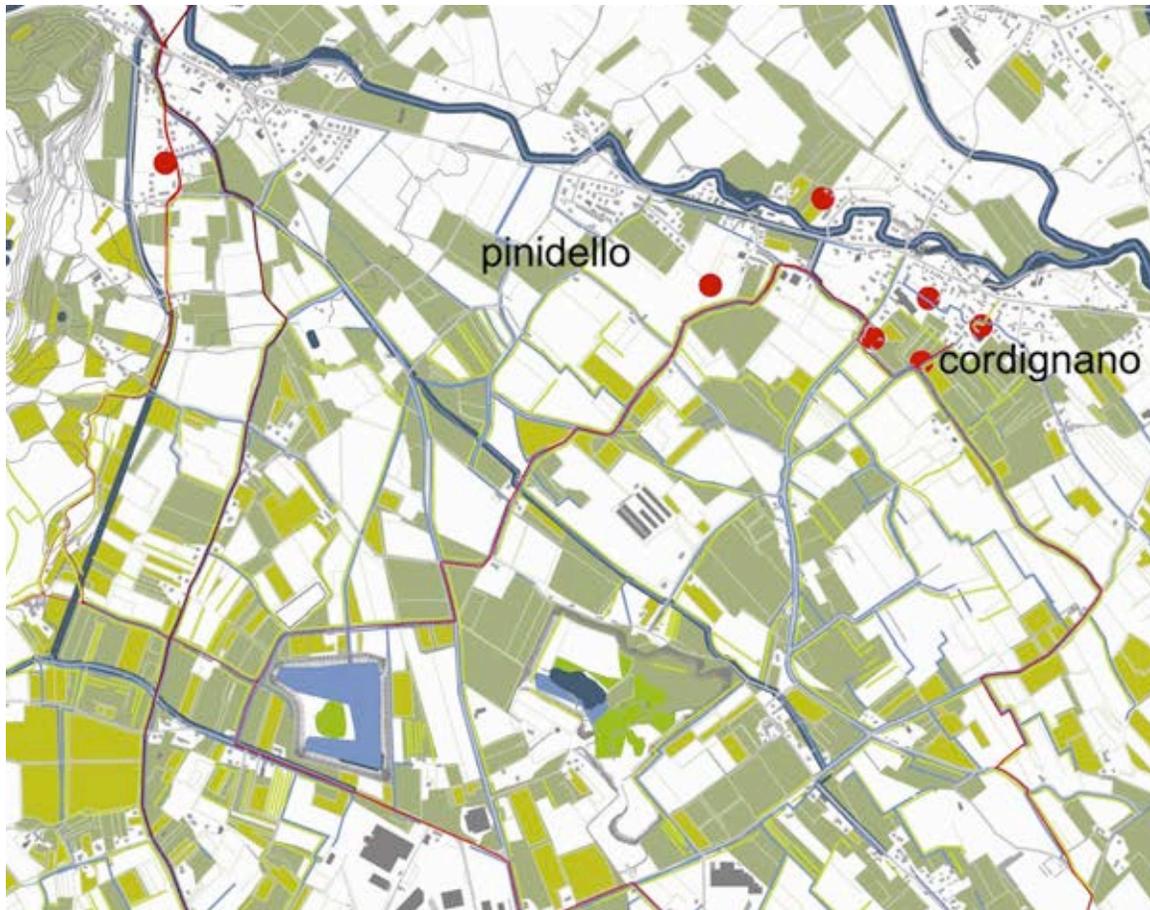
4 a territory of parklands?

A first look at this territory reveals characters that are similar to other parts of the Veneto region: a chaotic and spread-out way of constructing residential areas and small-scale industries, narrow roads that do not provide space for pedestrians or bicycles, a countryside that is evermore eroded and abandoned. A more attentive observation instead sheds light on the permanence of certain elements that could permit different types of territorial usage; uses that could support today's many different activities connected to an extended use of the territory, to new forms of collective representation and free time. The recreational landscape can enlarge itself to parts of the territory that do not have any particularly valued characteristics, but which can become part of a more ample network of significant and identifiable places. It is upon this network that many new initiatives have been launched (Prosecco wine-country tours, Pre-alpine bike paths, and food & wine itineraries...). It is interesting to note which landscape elements can help in supporting these new territorial crossings: although somewhat fragmented, there is still a presence of gravel roads that cut through fields, flanked by irrigation ditches and hedges, or vineyards and tree plantations, then there are small castles, windmills and country homes, which also represent attractions that can be visited and explored; more than this, there are everyday destinations and practices that intersect the entire territory.

The designed framework of the project refers directly and continuously to an existing network, which has today become hardly legible. It aims to complete those territorial traces in order to make them accessible once again. In addition to the roads and waterways, the hedges represent the other fundamental element of this landscape, and in recent years, much research has been dedicated to demonstrating their importance in creating protection against the north-eastern winds that connect with the cold breezes of the Alps and ecological micro-connections. For this reason, and for those already mentioned, the hypothesis is to re-introduce hedge-growth and shrubbery as one of the fundamental elements in the re-construction of this landscape of waterways profiting of the modernization process occurring to the irrigation techniques, as explained in the previous paragraphs. These interventions reinforce the isotropic characters of the territory, its resistance and biodiversity; stressing, at the same time, its adherence to the contemporary ways of practicing and living it.



the requalification project around the Merotto gravel-pit: reinforcing the isotropic character of the territory



the requalification project around the Merotto gravel-pit: reinforcing the isotropic character of the territory. Detail

5 territories of a new modernity

Since some years the re-elaboration of the category of Modernity is challenging theories and design experience. I am not talking of the epilogue of the post modern reflection and of its consequences on the urban debate of the past thirty years, but of the emergence of some definitive critiques on the western idea of Modernity, while going back, or put forward a new possibility of being Modern.

A first element supporting this hypothesis comes out of the territory itself: some of the transformations we read through deep insights and descriptions innovate the vocabulary of space and coexistence; they show original path to modernization that are not the banal reproduction of traditional ones (Viganò, 2001, 2004). Often these territories elaborate, as it has been the case in many territories of dispersion in Europe, specific conditions of development, in contradiction with the project of Modern Urbanism, mixing what had to be separated; dispersing where things had to be concentrated; using heterogeneity as an absorbing tool, instead of homogeneity; being incremental instead of planned. Especially in the beginning, at least in the Italian case, this new territory has been the condition and the support for a soft and diffused economic growth; social and economic mobility have been high, much higher than in traditional urban conditions. An entire territory has changed superposing a new layer to the old structure that was not contradictory to it,

but more intense: where dispersion was a phenomenon of *longue durée* the dispersion simply became more evident and society changed radically. Our regard must be able to recognize and distinguish.

A second element of my hypothesis of a new Modernity is related to the important infrastructural changes we are now facing: the rethinking of the water system in the case presented above is only one of the possible events. In the modern past, with very few exceptions, the realization of hard infrastructures has always been divided into separated fields: civil engineering, hydraulic engineering for example, following a full set of distinct paradigms and often invoking the supposed neutrality of technique. A new alliance is today urgent among different knowledge and technical fields: the change in paradigms is crumbling the modern plaster and designing new possibilities of sharing images and visions of the future. The micro history of the re-design of the Merotto gravel-pit is one of the possible results.

The third and final element, related to the previous one - the important infrastructural transition we are passing through - concerns the need of a new and collective project where a change in paradigms and concepts can be used to reach a shared vision. In the case of the dispersed territories of the Veneto region, the paradox of isotropy can be reversed into a new project starting from the water support: investing in the minute and spread out infrastructures, starting from the complex water system and reconnecting it to the rest of the territory, to the contemporary practices.

New forms of modernity, inspired by a shift in paradigms, by new conceptualisations and by a different form of rationality (Dryzek, 1987), can be the result and consequence of the deep modernization processes occurring in our epoch.

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ABSTRACT NO. 212

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**"PLANNING ASPECTS IN THE HISTORIC CITY OF
ALLAHABAD FOR IT'S REGENERATION"**

INTRODUCTION :

According to the historian Badauni, when Akbar visited Prayag in 1575, he founded a new city and named it 'ILAHABAS'. It is said that this word is a said that this word is a corrupt form of 'Ilavasa' ('Ila' being the name of the mother of 'Pururavas Aila' and 'Avasa' meaning abode in sanskrit) which in course of time became 'Ilahabad' and the Allahabad. Pururavasa Aila was the progenitor of the 'Chandravanshi race' and his capital was Pratishthana (identified with modern Jhusi opposite Allahabad) in the early Vedic times. According to another version the city derives its name from 'Alha', the Banaphar hero.

Like Varanasi, Allahabad its old name being 'Prayag' - is one of the oldest cities. It is said to be place where 'Brahma', the creator God of the Hindi Trinity, performed Parikshitayajna at the begining of the creation. The place is also called Tirth - raja - the king of all centres of pilgrimage. It is hear that the Sangam - the

confluence of Ganga, Yamuna and invisible Saraswati attracts lakhs and lakh of pilgrims every twelfth year, and the annual maghmela as well as a great attraction of the sacred relics of old Prayag, practically nothing exists now. Its temples were all razed to the ground by the Mohammedan invaders. The only old temple still in site with its relics is the palampur temple inside the fort at the time of its creation. Hsuantsang, the Chinese pilgrim, in the seventh century A.D. describes it as a very large structure with a great tree in front of it. It was situated on a high mound and in its courtyard stood the famous Akshayavata Tree, with its expounding branches. It is said to be an immortal tree, still standing in a deep niche above an underground shaft.

Among the modern temples may be mentioned the Hanuman Temple at the Sangam Site in a lying posture, the Mankameshwar Temple near Saraswati Ghat, the Nagvasuki temple on the bank of Ganga, The Alopi Devi Temple and the Veni-Madho Temple. The Kalyanidevi Temple is one of the Siddhapithas of Lalita Devi, like the Alopi Devi one. The present temple is about one hundred years old, but the idol is said to be of great antiquity.

The other sites of attraction are the two Museums- The Allahabad and University one. The former is now a central Museum having not only archaeological and art collection, but also Nehru's manuscripts and presentation gifts. The university archaeological Museum has mostly the collections from the university conducted excavations at Kausambi. The Anand Bhawan and the Swaraj Bhawan both donated by Moti Lal Nehru and later on by J.L. Nehru and Indira Gandhi to the Nation, are fitting materials to the Nehrus and the role of this mansion in the freedom struggle. The Chandra Sekher Azad Park- formerly Alfred park - is named after the revolutionary who laid down his life here in police encounter in the early thirties. The Ashok Pillar in the fort, and the Khusrubagh have an archaeological and architectural importance. The former is a polished sand stone 10.6 meters high and contains

certain edicts of Ashoka. The latter is the tomb of Khushro, son of Salim (later on Emperor Jehangir) and the Sahi Begam. There are many other places of general interest.

Indian historic cities/ towns/settlements are complex and highly developed entities - culturally, technically and formally. Comprehending its varied qualities and attributes can not be discerned by visual and other sample forms of examination. Getting to know a historic city is a never ending process. As such we see the historic cities as they are and not through our own coloured perceptions. In this way, I adopt a Holistic and integrated approach in which the Historic city is seen as a single and complete product of multi-disciplinary processes. The layerings of built form of successive generation that goes to make up the city is to be taken into account because that is the true city. Therefore, intervention and management is not an easy task. The knowledge systems that the historic city embodies have to be deciphered. Only then can it be managed & regenerated.

However, the historic city/settlement in planning circles are perceived as walled city, inner city, 'Urban and rural villages', historic core, futuristic vision, development area around which is engulfed gardens and other sub urban elements of the existing historic city. The master plan represents the old city as blob. This is a simplistic method of handling a complex multifaceted cultural product. Here the city administration social scientist, workers, entrepreneurial workers, researchers and academicians are managing without making the effort to know. The validity of the historic environments to be understood for their own sake - to enumerate and describe its various aspects and make meaning out of them. In historic city management, preservation architects, become the persons professionally & technically trained to intervene in historic city, and thus have a definite role to play. Self defining the historic city in terms of its various parts/components and utilise the knowledge gained here forth for its management and consequent regeneration.

GETTING TO KNOW :

Our approach of getting to know a historic city is based on "contextual studies" aimed at deciphering various systems embodied in the historic settlements/ city namely :

- Historical Information system (HIS).
- Geographical Information system (GIS).
- Anthropological Information system (AIS).

The techniques used are detailed inventories of buildings, community diagnosis based on the conceptual framework of Gandhian approach & organisation, aimed at architectural knowledge systems which lead us to regenerate physically leading to a better quality of life.

1. VARIOUS LEVELS OF INVESTIGATIONS :

1.1 Historical Sources in Allahabad City :

History is an art of narration of the past in an organised way, citing few references to make it a more scientific study. History is also to rethink the past. The ancient history of Allahabad (mainly based on literary sources) tells us that this name is bred out of its original name 'Prayag'. Thus the ancient history of Allahabad is the history of Prayag, which has traversed a long but interesting journey. Even foreign writers have marked this change. Abul Fazal in Ain-I-Akbari writes that Allahabad was called 'Prayag' Tabakat-I-Akbari also supports this version.

The history of Allahabad has a great antiquity as well as a remarkable continuity, and it is a well known fact that continuity breeds culture. Thus Allahabad preserves an undying heritage of Indian culture of which intellect is the body and religion and spiritualism is the soul. For a long period Prayag was neither a city, nor a

capital, nor a centre of good's exchange, it had neither place or fort, it existed in all historical literary sources with the same importance.

Similarly Sringverpur has been described as a unit governed by Nishad Raj. From Valmiki Ramayan we know about the hospitality of Nishad Raj for 'Ram', and natural beauty of this place. Sringverpur has much space to be discussed, whether it was a part of Vatsa or Kosal or was an independent kingdom. But it is clear that it was between Kosal and Vatsa. The administrative system seems to be well organised as spies of Sringverpur are clearly referred (in "Valmiki Ramayan' Ayodhya Kand, Sarg, 57, Slok-2).

According to the description of Valmiki the particular Prayag seems to start from Bhardawaj Ashram. 'While going for Vanvas- Kaal (ouokl dky) Ram tells Laxman about this distinguished place pointing out its main characteristics.

**"Prayag mamitah Pashya Saumitre Dhoommuttamam
Agnebhagvatah Ketum Muney Sannihito Muniha!!"**

Aranya Kand, Sarg 54 , Slok : 5

**^^iz;kxefer% i';lkSfe=s /kweeqÙkee~
vXusHkxor% dsrqa eqU;s lafufgrks eqfu%AA****

(vj.; dk.M] lxZ 54] 'yksd 5)

In Mahabharat (Van Parva) it is written that Prayag is the place where "Pitamah" performed sacrifice of high merit. It is further written that Brahma too performed sacrifices for higher goal. Along with Prayag, Mahabharat mentions the adjacent places to Prayag like. Prathishthanpur (Jhunsi) Vasuki and Dasaswamedha (Daraganja) Prayag is specially pointed out on the bank of Ganga Yamuna. (Van Parva, Ch. 84, 85, 87, Adi Ch. 55; Udyog Ch. 144; Anushasan Ch. 15).

Valmiki Ramayan describes Prayag as a sacred place as well as a place of natural beauty **"Punyash Ramaniyash & Punya Pradesh desh ati Charu"** **^^iq.;'p je.kh;'p* & ^iq.; izns'k ns'k vfr pk:**** Prayag in ancient literary sources is known as "Trithsthali others two being 'Kashi' and 'Gaya'.

Prayag, as it is very well known, is from 'YAJ' dhatu in sanskrit Skand and Matsya Puran emphasise on the first part of the word *"Pra"* which is taken for *generating excellent*. Number of Puranas may be used as literary source for the history of Prayag. Kurma Puran says that Prayag was protected by 'Devas' and 'Brahma' as this was, the place to perform meritorious sacrifice. Near by Prayag; there were other centres of worship-Nagvasuki, and Akshaya Vat. Thus it seems that ancient Allahabad was not a compact city, rather it seems to be full of hilly as well as plain tracks. Besides Kurma: Padma, Agni, Matsya, Vaman, Varah puranas throw light on the history of Allahabad.

Here it is very important to say, that Prayag, Prayag Mandal and Triveni, all the three meant different points in the ancient geography of Allahabad. Matsya Puran has given the definition (106, 30) of Prayag (iz;kx) and Prayag Mandal (iz;kx e.My) Mahabharat (Van Parv) mentions the expansion of Prayag from Pratishtan to Vasuki, including Kambal Nag, Ashvatar Nag and Bahumulaka. Apart from this the three Agni Vedi & Three 'Kup' in Prayag are also mentioned in Mahabharat.

Kalidas in Raghuvnasa Mahakavya describe the natural beauty of Prayag, on the bank of Ganga-Yamuna (Sarg 13) in the same manner, in which later on Saint Tulasi in Kavitavali (Uttad Kand, Chand 144) has described.

**"Sohe Sitasit Ko Milabo, Tulsi Hulsai Hiya Heri Halore,
Mano Hare Trin Charu Charei, Bagre Surdhenu Ke Dhaul Kalore".**

**^^lksgs flrkflr dks feycks] rqlyh gqylS fg; gsfj gyksjs
ekuks gjs r`u pk: pjS] cxjs lqj/ksuq ds /kkSy dyksjsAA****

More over, Gradually Prayag became most important "Tirth" 'Prayag Sarv Tirthebhya, Prayage Parmam Mahat' ^iz;kx loZ rhFksZH;] iz;kxs ijea egr*A The later literary works Ganga Kavyavali, Tirth Chintamani, Tirthsara and other describe Prayag as 'Tirth'. In Rigveda (8/19/37) 'Tirth' is a 'Holy Place'. In "The History of Dharmshastra" of Dr. Pandurang Kane Tirth becomes holy and important because of three reasons.

- a. because of extraordinary 'natural sarrounding'.
- b. Because of extraordinary water resources tyh; fo'ks"krk
- c. Because of (Tapas) Penance of any dignitary.

Prayag had all ~he three qualities.

In "Tirth Kalpa Taru" of Laxmidhara 'prayag along with Kashi has been given much importance "Triveni" (Ganga-Yamuna Saraswati) at Prayag became symbol of the fusion of different schools of philosophy, Vaishnav, Shaiv, Shakti, even of Buddhism. There is no such other place which had witnessed such religious harmony. HARSH set an unforgettable example of this. The tradition of continuing till today in the form of "Magh Mela" (Kumbha) where rich and poor take holy dip alike, and do 'Kalpvasa' for a month. Thus we find that importance of the history of Allahabad continuous either from the point of view 'of habitation; cultural expansion or as a centre of religion, knowledge as well as a centre of freedom movement. It is rere to find such place where antiqity and Continuity grows simulaneously without a break.

MORPHOLOGY :

Commercial and Industrial Use :

According to land use survey, 194.15 acres of land is occupied by the commercial uses. The city has about 4000 shops, 13 Cinema halls (talkies) and 122 hotels and restaurants. It has been observed by Trade and Commerce Survey that 67.10% of shops are located in the Central Business Districts like Chowk, Colonelganj, Daraganj, etc.

Industrial Use :

Allahabad city derives its importance more from the fact of its being a great religious, educational and administrative centre than on account of being a manufacturing centre. By virtue of its being a confluence place of rivers it became an important centre of boat building industry in the past. The advent of railway in the 19th century gave a serious blow to the river traffic and consequently the boat building industry declined in importance. During the Mughal period, the town earned fame as a centre of carpet weaving industry, with the decline of Mughal empire, the town lost this art and slowly Mirzapur and Varanasi development carpet weaving to a defined art and big industry.

The major industries scattered in the city are Geep Flashlight and Torches Factory on Nawab Yusuf Road and Stone and timber industrial strip at Baluaghat road (Tilak Road). Flour mills are dispersely distributed all over the city. The inner zone contains small scale industries like brass wares and steel trunks industry.

Table :**Area Covered by Various Industrial Uses (Category wise)**

Sl.	Industrial category	No. of reporting units	Built up area (acres)	Open space (acres)	Total Area		Coverage %
					Acreage	%	
1.	Food products	23	9.06	18.06	27.12	8.05	33.40
2.	Wood & Wood products	3	0.56	1.02	1.58	0.47	35.44
3.	Textile products	2	13.57	33.65	47.22	14.01	28.74
4.	Paper & paper products	1	1.00	3.00	4.00	1.19	25.00
5.	Printing & publishing	55	29.12	21.55	50.67	15.03	57.46
6.	Leather & Leather products	-	-	-	-	-	-
7.	Rubber, petroleum, coke & chemical products	2	3.54	38.82	42.36	12.57	8.16
8.	Metal & metal products	10	11.20	7.02	18.22	5.41	61.47
9.	Stone, clay & glass products	6	37.86	19.88	57.74	17.13	65.47
10.	Machine & electrical machine products	6	3.74	22.00	25.74	7.64	65.57
11.	Transport equipments	18	13.77	16.54	30.31	8.99	14.52
12.	Miscellaneous	11	21.63	10.44	32.07	9.51	45.43
	Total	137	145.05	191.98	337.03	100.00	67.44
	Percentage		43.04	56.96	100.00		

Source : A.D.A.& Vikas Bhavan, Allahabad, Office of Monitoring Division & Planning, Lucknow, U.P.

Structural Condition of the Buildings :

Table shows an analysis of the structural condition of the buildings occupied by various households in the city.

Sl. No.	Condition of Buildings	Households	
		No.	%age
1.	Kuccha	1955	23.92
2.	Pucca	3979	48.67
3.	Mixed	2231	27.29
4.	Other	10	00.12
	Total	8175	100.00

Source : Socio Economic Survey (percentage sample).

It can be seen from table that more than 50% of the households are buildings built of materials other than pucca houses, a cause of concern from the point of view of public safety and health. These houses are made up of mud, reeds, thatch, bamboo, straw, soil and other temporary materials. More that 80% of households in Salori, Sadiabad, Rasoolabad, Mehdauri, Govindpur, Phaphamau areas are of unsound structural condition.

Over Crowding :

Another important aspect of the socio-economic survey was the degree of congestion inside the houses used as dwellings by the people in terms of the living area occupied by the households, number of habitable rooms per household and the position of occupancy inside the habitable rooms.

Table shows the distribution of households according to the number of occupied rooms. It can be seen that majority of the households i.e. about 75% have only one or two room dwellings. One-room dwellings which are socially not desirable provide accommodation for a greater section of the households.

Table : Distribution of Households Classified by the Number of Rooms.

Sl. No.	No. of Rooms	Households	
		No.	%age
1.	1 room	3600	44.04
2.	2 room	2549	31.18
3.	3 room	1037	12.68
4.	4 room	504	06.16
5.	5 room	193	02.36
6.	Above 5 room	292	03.58
	Total	8175	100.00

Source : Socio Economic Survey (percentage sample).

Direction of Urban Growth :

Studies of the existing land use pattern and the physical features within and around the city have revealed a number of limitations and possibilities for future urban growth of Allahabad city. If the physical constraints have checked the contiguous development of the city on one hand, they have on the other hand led the possibilities of urban growth in the outer suburbs across the rivers Ganga and Yamuna. The study has also indicated that the contiguous urban growth may not be possible for many reasons along the following directions of the town - (i) Towards north-west, the development is not possible due to uncertain course of the river Ganga. (ii) Towards west the contiguous development is not possible due to existence of cantonments near Bamrauli and Civil Lines, (iii) Towards south-west, the development is not possible beyond Sasur Khaderi due indefinite course of the river, existence of ravines existence of ravines and undulating land and periodical floods. (iv) Towards Phaphamau side also the development is not possible due to existence of vast floodable land along the course of the Ganga. But beyond the floodable area, the Phaphamau bears great potentialities of urban growth.

2. TYPOLOGIES :

After studying various sets I have categorised them into typologies based on their morphological character, functions, Heritage components and other characteristics. Our typologies are based on anthropological and special patterns rather than just physical forms Eg : Educationally towns designed city as Allahabad, sacred towns such as Varanasi, vernacular settlement such as imperial capitals, modern cities such as Chandigarh, Islamic settlements such as Mughal Agra, Shahjahanabad, Lutyen's New Delhi, Modern cities such as Burhanpur, cities with associations like Thygaraja's Thiruvayaru, Sher Shah Suri's Grandfather's hometown-Narnaul. The issue of mortality in public life has become a subject of constant debate in our media and social life.

2.1 TOWARDS AWARENESS OF CULTURAL HERITAGE IN

ALLAHBAD CITY :

Allahabad is one of the oldest cities of India. Literary and epigraphically sources show that the city was originally named Prayag. "As the sun amongst the planets, the moon is amongst stars, likewise Prayag is the greatest amongst all places of pilgrimage." That is why it also known as Tirtha-Raj, i.e. the king of all pilgrimages.

The district of Allahabad lies between the parallels of $24^{\circ} 47'$ and $25^{\circ} 47'$ north latitude and $81^{\circ} 9'$ $81^{\circ} 21'$ east longitude. The rivers Ganga and Yamuna which join here, divide the district in the three parts : the Doab (the tract between the two rivers), the trans Ganga tract and the trans-Yamuna region. In its physical features Allahabad presents a completely which is found only in a few districts of Uttar Pradesh. The district includes, on the one hand the tracts consisting of the ordinary alluvium of the Ganga plain and on the rocky region in the south and west of the trans-Yamuna tract, represented by the sub-division of the Vindhya series, a region of high potentiality of prehistoric and proto-historic studies. The situation and the physical features of Allahabad thus enabled it to become one of the most important regions, which contributed to the evolution of the history and culture of this country right from the Stone Age.

Reconstructing the history of cultural heritage of Allahabad within the present administrative boundary would be injustice with those who were not aware that their successors will divide the land or the administrative purpose which they were freely exploiting for various suits of activities and perhaps laid down the foundation of history and culture of the region in general and Allahabad in particularly being nearest and one of the oldest city of India. We believe, therefore that the roots

of cultural heritage of Allahabad should be looked beyond the present administrative boundaries of Allahabad and the present paper will deal the area covering the region bounded by Ganga in the South and the Gomati in the north.

Prehistoric map of the proposed region shows that the first settlers of the region were those people who were not familiar with the metal and were exploiting stones, animal bones, ivory, etc. for their technomic and socio-technic artifacts as is revealed from the archaeological evidences recovered in the course of explorations and excavations carried out in the proposed region.

Mostly sites have been found close to oxbow lakes, nalas and small tributaries. Out of them only three sites have been put to archaeological excavations namely Sarai nahar Rai, Mahadaha and Damdama (Wari Kalan) in the Pratapgarh district. The archaeological evidences exposed at these three excavated sites include stone and bone artifacts, ornaments made of animal bones and ivory, burials with single, double or multiple skeletons, pit hearths plastered with mud or without plaster, burnt plastered floors, burnt clay lumps, wild terrestrial and aquatic animal bones, bones of birds, wild seeds and grains, querns and mullers, hammer stones, anvils, etc.

Typo-technological studies of lithic tools which are micro liths suggest that they range from the terminal phase of Sixth Stage to the Seventh Stage (Sinha, 1999) and the faunal studies done by Chattopadhyaya (1988), P.K. Thomas, et al. (1995) suggest that all animal bones are of wild animals except the one from layer (2) at Damdama, Geologically all sites are in the post-pleistocene formations or of early Holocene period. Thus, archaeologically speaking these sites belong to the Mesolithic culture and their subsistence economy was basically hunting and gathering. However, gathering would have been preferred more than the hunting as

reflected in the recovery of a good number of aquatic animal bones and seeds and grains of wild plants as well as querns and mullers. Similarly number of sites have been discovered and some of them have been excavated in the northern Vindhyas like Chopani-mando, Koldiwa, Mahagara that ranges from Mesolithic to Neolithic periods. Structural remains from these sites clearly reveal that they were the first in this region who started exploiting banks of water resources such as lakes, nalas, and rivers and latter lead to the expansion of sites in similar habitat and, finally rise of the cities like Prayag (Allahabad), Jhusi, Bhita, Lakshagarh and Kausambi.

The antiquity of making pastes of edible grasses, grains, etc. goes back to that period when archaeologist started getting evidences of querns and mullers and to cook them on heated clay lumps would have been brought in this region by these first settlers and still practiced in the region with a little modification and development. To regularize high temperature and to prevent cracks in chullaah, people even today (in villages or who still do not use liquid gas) use clay wash. This important fact has already been realized by the Mesolithic people in the plains of Ganga as is evident from the chullahs recovered at excavated sites of Mahadaha, Sari Nahar Rai and Damdama.

Archaeological explorations throw interesting light on the ancient courses of the rivers Ganga and Yamuna, their confluence, and the settlement pattern and population growth on their banks. The ancient Prayag was not a compact city. It was scattered on the banks on the two rivers with a prominent sandy patch between the town and Jhusi and a vast un-habitat alluvium to the west of the urban settlement, which clung to the bank of the two rivers.

The strategic importance of Prayag was realised by the Mughal emperor Akbar. While reconstituting his provincial territories in 1580, he placed the provinces

of Jaunpur and Kara-Manikpur with territories of Bandogarh (ruled by the Baghelas) under one provincial unit. This new unit was given the name of the Subah-I Ilahabas (the province of Allahabad). At the confluence of the rivers Ganga and Yamuna, the Emperor laid the foundation of a new city which he called Ilahabas and which later came to be known as Ilahabad of Allahabad.

The British took over the city of Allahabad in the year 1801 and made this into an important military centre because of its strategic location. The river Yamuna was made navigable for larger vessels and thus, Allahabad also became a great emporium of trade.

Allahabad became the capital of the province in 1858 when the administration of India was taken over directly by the British crown. The capital was later moved to Lucknow because of the very active role Allahabad played in the freedom struggle. In the year 1863, the Municipal Board was created with the object of improving the sanitation of the city and to promote the welfare of the citizens.

The city of Allahabad has been associated with the shaping and preserving of the cultural and religious traditions of the country. In spite of numerous political vicissitudes during its long history of more than two thousand years, its glory as one of the foremost cultural, educational and religious centers has remained undiminished.

TRANSFORMATION OF LEARNING CULTURAL EDUCATION AND NATION BUILDING OF ALLAHABAD CITY :

Increase in the general awareness and the spirit of Nationalism and an urge to understand the cultural achievements the utility of museums came to be understood. The role of museums in understanding the many facets of cultural development came to be recognized.

The museums, now, are supposed to fulfill dual purpose. Firstly they have to act as a temple of learning and knowledge where people may come, see and study the collections. Secondly, they must reach to the masses to disseminate knowledge among them and create an awareness towards our cultural heritage. It cannot now remain a mute spectator. As a temple of learning and knowledge it must devise way and means to induce people to visit the museum again and again. To attain this objective the display should not only be frequently changed but the objects on display may also be suitable be rotated to create new interest among the visitors. Besides, thematic displays, exhibitions should be frequently organised at suitable intervals. The main purpose of cultural exhibitions and shows are to create an urge among the raw people to know and understand their traditions, lapses and achievements. I am sure it will be helpful in creating curiosity atleast among some people and it is the first step for an urge to know.

Learning Exhibitions have greater relevance on sites of historical importance. The knowledge about the importance of the place and the antiquities in the local people generates among them a sense of pride. This awareness of the people is bound to help in the stoppage of pilferage of the antiquities. A lack of knowledge and a sense of apathy among the people of the locality helps the anti-social elements in the execution of their nefarious activities.

The knowledge and learning educations can play an important role in Nation building too. There never was a greater need for it than today. How the various cultural traditions have mingled together to make the Indian Culture can best be illustrated by the museums. Knowledge museum are trying to do their best and they are fully alive to their duties. It is one of the important reasons why the museums generally are not attracting good and talented young scholars. In order to achieve good results it is essential to have better paid well trained staff.

RESIDENTIAL PATTERN OF ALLAHABAD CITY :

This pattern can be divided broadly into two categories :

1. The unplanned development of the long past.
2. The planned residential areas.

1. The Unplanned Development of the Long Past :

The Section around the Central Business District has been a favourite residential locality. The general tendency of people to live near their places of work and within their walking distance has caused congestion in the city proper. Majority of the houses lying south of the G.T. road are in poor condition having average accommodation density of 12 persons/house. Here about 40% of the households occupy single room-house. These high density residential areas with almost negligible open space and inadequate community facilities, are the greatest problems for the city today. The entire area is criss-crossed by numerous lanes, somewhere even less than five feet wide, having little access to sunshine and fresh air.

No proper zoning of the city has been followed. Slums have sprung up at places within this congested residential area. A large number of houses in these slums are 'kachha' and in poor shapes. Their condition further deteriorates due to coexistence of cattle with human beings (plate D4).

These conditions also exist in other old settlements such as Katra, Colonelganj, Muthiganj, Daraganj, Kydganj and Baihrana. The spontaneous growth of Katra and Coloenelganj areas, due to their location in the proximity of the University and the District Courts and other public offices has made these areas in no way better than the city proper. These areas are also congested and cris-crossed by

narrow lanes which are at some places only 3 feet wide. However, the main roads are lined up with pucca houses, their ground floor being used for shops and stores and upper floor for residential and hotel purposes.

Daraganj represents an old settlement of the medieval period with a few high rise buildings and enclosed big courtyards, now mostly neglected. The recently constructed buildings are ordinarily pucca constructions while the remaining area is quite unimpressive. In Daraganj, as much as 70% of the land is under residential use, 8% under religion and public buildings and the remaining under other uses Kydganj situated along the banks of the Yamuna river has more open spaces than in any other older parts of the city. The existence of quarters of basket makers, rope makers and other low-class people in dilapidated condition in the area represents the worst slums of the city. The congested areas of Baihrana and Alopibagh, however, are fast changing their appearance due to a number of modern buildings coming up along the roads.

The housing condition in Muthiganj is far from satisfactory. The existence of a large number of 'mandies' and enclosures being used as residence-cum-godowns is a unique feature of this area. The grain merchants and labourers occupying small rooms in these 'mandies' and enclosures make the area highly congested from residential point of view.

2. The Planned Residential Areas :

The Civil Lines area is a contemporary development originally planned for the Britishers and is now being used as a low density residential district with a sub-Central Business area in the northern part of the city. Its western part is occupied by a new cantonment and the office-buildings, while the eastern part is being used for

residential purposes. This area constitutes three main urban land uses - administrative zone in the west, business area in the centre and residential area in the remaining part. Several old bungalows on Mahatma Gandhi Marg and Sardar Patel Marg are being used for commercial purposes. Some residential bungalows are being used as Government and public offices, while a few others provide accommodations for educational institutions.

Servant quarters in some of the bungalows of this area have degenerated into slums as they have been rented to low income people for residential purposes and where 3 to 4 persons live together in one room with no adequate arrangements for kitchen and other necessary amenities. The reason for such a state of affairs may be attributed to the fact that political leaders of the city have exerted their pressure for allowing the persons to occupy the 'outhouses' permanently as a vote catching device and thus a slum has been created in the premises of each big bungalow.

Lukerganj area is located on a well drained site on high grounds in the west of the city. In general, the locality consists of small, one storey dwellings, mostly occupied by government employees.

The late growth of George Town locality in the east Civil Lines has been due to the fact that the area is low lying and of loose earth with ill-drainage features as previously the people avoided this area but now the rich people have purchased the land and constructed new but modern houses. To avoid deep foundations on the loose earth, only a low density development with small bungalows has been possible in George Town.

Tagore Town, New Katra, Mumfordganj area newly planned residential districts and are in the process of development. A few housing schemes have also been planned and executed by the Allahabad Improvement Trust and Allahabad Development Authority.

SELF - IDEA : PLANNED HOUSING SCHEME :

It is regrettable that in Allahabad city no planned areas, except Civil Lines and Labour housing schemes, have their own shopping centres, People have to run to their nearest markets for small articles of daily use. Vegetable sellers and odd 'Thelawalas' have begun to sit along the roads and crossings and cause congestion. Such developments are bound to grow and if unchecked will choke the city and ultimately will defeat the purpose of planning.

FUTURE POLICY - PLANNING OF THE CITY :

The projected increase in population and improvement in economic structure of the city, coupled with changes in employment pattern will create increased demand for areas for wholesale, trade, warehousing, retail shopping, private offices, trucks terminus in the city. These have been proposed to be developed in the plan.

The total open space in the city is only 485 acres (2.5% of the total developed land). The interim development plan provides 7397 acres under open spaces for regional parks and play grounds and semi-public facilities and river front development areas.

The plan envisages the construction of a new bridge upstream of the existing Yamuna bridge connecting the National Highway No. 27 to the proposed by-pass of G.T. Road.

Nine overhead bridges have been proposed ie. 5 in main land, 2 in Naini and 2 in Jhusi. Besides underpasses have also been proposed.

Eight new bus routes have been proposed at various places covering an area of 110 acres and 11 sites for new truck terminus covering an area of 165 acres have also been proposed in the plan. Two new railway stations with necessary yards have been proposed at Naini.

The existing sewerage system in the city is quite inadequate. The sewerage system of Civil Lines, Rajapur, Katra, Mumfordganj and Ganga loop including cantonment will have to be separated because of the topographical features and sewage pumped to Naini, Phaphamau and Jhusi side where extensive sewerage farms having 4056 acres have been proposed in the plan for its treatment and utilisation.

The plan also provides 12884 acres of land for residential development, 6820 acres for Allahabad city proper, 4104 acres to Naini, 1174 acres for Jhusi and 786 acres for Phaphamau.

POLICY & PLANNING :

In accordance with the major policy decision of retaining the cultural and religious heritage of Allahabad, heavy industries have not been proposed on the main-land. However, to boost up the economy of the main-land and also to meet, the local demands for small scale industries a small area measuring about 150 acres has been proposed for setting up light industries along G.T. road for the local urban demands. Facilities for transport of finished goods and raw material will be provided by the proposed 300 feet wide national highway by pass road, the G.T. road and the railway line to Kanpur. A truck terminus and ware-housing sites nearby have been proposed.

Number of locations for flatted factories have been proposed in the Master Plan for Allahabad in major commercial areas, some of which are incidentally the high density residential areas. This will help to provide work areas within walkable distance of the major concentration of populations. These locations are recommended for Chowk area (proposed as central Business District), Civil Lines (proposed as city centre), the sub-city centre at Naini and various district centres which are generally the centrall locations of each planning district.

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NEW DELHI: BATTLES OVER SITE AND STYLE, 1911-1913

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NEW DELHI: BATTLES OVER SITE AND STYLE, 1911-1913

On December 12, 1911, King-Emperor George V announced to a stunned crowd at his durbar that, henceforth, the capital of British India would be at Delhi. The transfer of capitals, a closely-guarded secret until the moment the King began reading his proclamation, was undertaken primarily to undo Lord Curzon's disastrous partition of Bengal and extricate the imperial government from Calcutta, the center of growing Bengali nationalism. However, the capital change was also intended to be symbolically important, representing a new era in the British administration of India. By raising a city at Delhi, the seat of so many previous empires, the British hoped to integrate the Raj into India's imperial tradition, thereby strengthening their hold on the country. A month before the durbar, the Secretary of State for India, the Marquess of Crewe, wrote to the Viceroy's Executive Council in Calcutta that:

To the races of India, for whom the legends and records of the past are charged with so intense a meaning, this resumption by the Paramount Power of the seat of the venerable Empire should at once enforce the continuity and promise the permanency of British Sovereign rule over the length and breadth of the country. Historical reasons will thus prove to be political reasons of deep importance and of real value in favor of the proposed change.¹

Crewe was part of a new Liberal government in Great Britain that, while refusing to compromise on India's ultimate political status, was open to a degree of reform and Indianization of its administration. The new Delhi became a cornerstone of its imperial policy to achieve, in the words of one Indian legislator, an era of "healthy co-operation between the rulers and the ruled."²

Debate over the new Delhi's ultimate form and style began immediately after George V's durbar concluded. All those privileged to this debate agreed that the new Delhi must be truly grand. The city "had to be built for an eternal name," in the words of former Indian civil engineer Sir Bradford Leslie, "as Babylon and Nineveh, Thebes and Memphis, and Athens and Rome."³ Furthermore, it had to represent and embody the set of ideals that underpinned the Raj, "show[ing] to the world, in this new century, that Imperial Rule can lead in art and cultured taste, as well as in science and justice and truth."⁴ Most fundamental, however, was a question laden with historical and political implications: should the capital be an Indian or English city? The abandonment of Calcutta—founded and built by the British—signaled the

In this article, I have kept the names and spellings of Indian cities as they were under the British Raj. Thus, Mumbai remains Bombay, Kolkata is Calcutta, Chennai is Madras, and Shimla is spelled Simla. With the exception of the title, I have referred to the relocated Indian capital as "the new Delhi." The name New Delhi was not adopted until December 1926.

¹ Letter from Robert Crewe (hereafter referred to as RC) to Viceroy's Executive Council (hereafter referred to as VEC), November 1, 1911, in "Transfer of the seat of the Government of India from Calcutta to Delhi and the creation of a new Lt. Governorship at Patna," Home Department: Public Branch, Government of India (National Archives of India, New Delhi), 1923, pp. 58-59.

² Manakji Dadabhoy, *Proceedings of the Council of the Governor General of India* (hereafter referred to as *PCGGI*), Vol. 50, March 25, 1912, p. 672.

³ "The Future Delhi," *The Times* (London), October 22, 1912, p. 5.

⁴ Letter from Reginald Barratt to Charles Hardinge (hereafter referred to as CH), January 10, 1913, Papers of Charles Hardinge (hereafter referred to as PCH) (Nehru Memorial Museum and Library), Vol. 111, pp. 151-52.

government's desire to reduce the Raj's foreign qualities; however, the transfer's significance would have been greatly diminished with the erection of another European town on the banks of the Yamuna.

Discussions over the city's specific site and architecture exposed deeper questions about the purpose and future direction of British imperialism in India. Britons both on the subcontinent and in the Home Isles strongly supported building the capital north of Shahjahanabad—the walled Delhi of the Mughals—in a location thick with memories of the Indian Mutiny and previous royal durbars. In contrast, town planning authorities pushed for a southern location that would surround the new city with reminders of Delhi's pre-Raj past. The style of architecture for government buildings sparked even greater debate. Influential persons and publications lobbied for a European style that would express British authority and the ideal of Western imperialism, while art experts led a campaign in favor of designs in which Indian artisans could contribute their talents.

North vs. South: A Location for the City

Shahjahanabad was the northernmost of the several Delhis that have risen and fallen over the centuries. Situated on a low bluff overlooking a bend in the Yamuna River, the city had long ago burst through its Mughal-era walls and sprawled out westward, following the British-built railway lines. South of the city walls lay a broad plain in between the swampy reaches of the Yamuna and the gently rising Delhi Ridge, littered with an infinite number of ruins, tombs, decaying temples, and shrines. Aside from a handful of small villages and the bustling Muslim pilgrimage center of Nizamuddin, the region was sparsely inhabited and even more sparsely vegetated. To the north of Shahjahanabad the plain narrowed until the Ridge dropped off into the river; beyond were the marshy lowlands of the Barari plain that marked the very edges of the Delhi region.

Somewhere within this area would be built the new capital city of India. Discussion about its specific location began immediately after King George finished reading the proclamation that announced the administrative changes. On December 13, *The Times* of London's Delhi correspondent reported that "the new Government House will probably be built at the northern end of the Ridge, with terraced gardens leading down to a park below."⁵ The probability of a northern site's selection seemed to grow on December 15, when in a hastily planned ceremony the King and Queen laid the capital's foundation stones at the durbar camp, located upriver from Shahjahanabad. The Government of India, however, remained uncommitted to a precise location. In order to avoid land speculation, it began notifying landholders within a 177 square mile area that their property might be put toward imperial use.⁶

As the new year began, the northern site gained a significant support base amongst Britons. From their perspective, the area had several clear advantages. Delhi's European Civil Lines were located north of Shahjahanabad, which would allow the new capital to grow out of the familiar surroundings of an existing British settlement. Kashmiri Gate—the European commercial center—as well as Delhi's primary church and the city's main railway station were conveniently located within the northern reaches of the walled city. Three imperial durbars over the past half-century had also given the northern site important historical associations as well as improved

⁵ "First Impressions: A Mixed Reception," *The Times* (London), December 13, 1911, p. 8.

⁶ Telegram from Major Henry Beadon to Sir Robert Carlyle, January 5, 1912, in complete proceedings of Delhi Branch, Government of India (National Archives of India, New Delhi), 1911-13, p. 1.

infrastructure. The site's chief historical association, however, was related to the Indian Mutiny of 1857. For Britons, the Northern Ridge was a potent symbol of their determination to hold India to the Empire. As the Mutiny spread from the neighboring town of Meerut in May 1857, Indian soldiers streamed into Shahjahanabad and forced British troops to retreat to the safety of the Ridge. There, they remained under siege for the entire summer until reinforcements of loyal Punjabis arrived and helped the British retake the city in a bloody six-day battle. The fall of Shahjahanabad proved to be a fatal blow to the Mutiny and within ten months the last of the rebellious sepoys had been defeated.

The Mutiny had a clear and lasting effect on all Britons associated with India. The battles of that summer remained sacred events in the annals of British Indian history and the Delhi Ridge became hallowed ground. As late as 1931, British MP Robert Bernays could write of the strong historical connection he felt while visiting the site of the siege:

I have never visited a battlefield that was so vivid to me. I could almost see the black hordes flowing up from Delhi with the light of fanaticism in their eyes and the hard-faced red-coated Englishmen fighting to the end expecting no quarter and determined to give none either. I suppose it is that the Mutiny, even though nearly eighty years separates us from it, is so near to us here.⁷

Mutiny connections naturally evolved into the strongest argument for building the capital in the north. Lord Kitchener, the former Commander-in-Chief of India, declared that if he became Viceroy “the Capital of India would be on the ridge at Delhi.”⁸ Such a city would stand for the triumph and perseverance of the British, but would have dubious symbolism for many Indians who—in that era—viewed the Mutiny as a shameful and regrettable act of disloyalty. The Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan had voiced hope that the new capital, instead of celebrating the events of 1857, would serve the purpose of “wiping away” such uncomfortable memories for Indians.⁹ While the northern site was the clear favorite amongst Britons, it had mostly objectionable qualities from the Indian standpoint. Furthermore, the land north of Shahjahanabad had always been Delhi's hinterlands and therefore possessed scarcely any pre-Raj era monuments.

In contrast, the plain to the south of the walled city was filled with reminders of the dynasties that had once commanded over India. Nestled by the Yamuna was the tiny hamlet of Indrapat, reputedly located on the site of the Pandavas' great capital city of Indraprastha—the original Delhi. Described in the Mahabharata as “packed with treasure as if it were the seat of the God of Riches,” the modern village was now surrounded by the sandstone citadel of the Purana Qila, completed by the Afghan invader Sher Shah during a brief interruption in the early Mughal dynasty.¹⁰ Within view of the Purana Qila was the tomb of Sher Shah's adversary—the Mughal emperor Humayun. The tomb was built with such delicacy that decades later it served as inspiration for Shah Jahan's Taj Mahal. Across the barren stretches to the south were

⁷ Robert Bernays, *Naked Fakir* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1931), p. 160.

⁸ Letter from Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson to VEC, June 22, 1911, in “Transfer of the seat of the Government of India from Calcutta to Delhi and the creation of a new Lt. Governorship at Patna,” Home Department: Public Branch, Government of India (National Archives of India, New Delhi), 1923, p. 6.

⁹ Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, *PCGGI*, Vol. 50, March 25, 1912, p. 677.

¹⁰ William Dalrymple, *City of Djinns* (London: Flamingo, 1994), p. 324.

littered the ruins of once-great capitals—Siri, Tughlaqabad, and Jahanpanah—brought down by the despotic and cruel tendencies of their rulers. Further south was the towering Qutb Minar, begun in the early 1200s by the first Muslim sultan of Delhi. Closer to Shahjahanabad was Firozabad, built in the 1300s as the fifth incarnation of Delhi, which featured at its center an Ashokan pillar dating from the third century BC. Between these ruins lay innumerable tombs, shrines, and temples. The Viceroy, Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, was the greatest advocate of a new Delhi that could establish the Raj within India's imperial tradition; were the Government of India to fulfill this vision, the southern site was the only possible location. Yet, the site also faced fierce criticism because of its historic associations: politicians such as Curzon cautioned against building in a neighborhood that had become "the grave of Empires."¹¹

The location of the new Delhi was not a decision that Hardinge would arrive at alone; in January 1912, the Government of India began looking for candidates in Great Britain that could fill three posts in a newly created Delhi Town Planning Committee. During the next month, cables between London and Calcutta busily transmitted a host of suggestions: Henry Vaughan (H.V.) Lanchester, Patrick Geddes, Raymond Unwin, and Stanley Adshead.¹² The India Office immediately recommended and selected John A. Brodie, who had served as the City Engineer of Liverpool. To head the committee an ex-Viceroy, Lord Landsdowne, suggested Captain George Swinton. Swinton had served as an aide-de-camp to Lansdowne in India and had since gained eleven years of planning experience on the London County Council. In line to become the Council chairman in 1912, Swinton instead accepted the Government of India's offer and set sail for Bombay in April. Finally, the Viceroy and Secretary of State mulled over candidates who had expertise in both city planning and architectural matters. By February's end, they had narrowed down their list to three names: Lanchester, Adshead, and a successful architect well known for his country houses and recent town planning success at Hampstead Garden Suburb, Edwin Lutyens. Crewe ultimately threw his support behind Lutyens, and after consultations with Calcutta the architect was appointed to the Commission. Crewe made it clear, however, that as a Committee member Lutyens' responsibilities were relegated to town planning; he was to have no authority over the architecture of the government buildings.¹³

The Committee's first task was to select a location for the capital. On April 15, 1912, Brodie, Swinton, and Lutyens arrived in Delhi as the mercury soared to 94 degrees Fahrenheit. On elephant-back and in motorcar, the three spent the next few weeks extensively surveying the grounds around Delhi, oftentimes beginning their

¹¹ George Nathaniel Curzon, *British Government in India*, Vol. 1 (London: Cassell and Company, 1925), p. 233.

¹² Lanchester was the principal architect of the City Hall and Law Courts in Cardiff, which were part of a grand civic center designed for the Welsh capital. He also prepared a city plan for Madras and pioneered the "Indo-Deco" style of architecture, blending Indian and Art Deco forms, in the 1930s. Geddes was a progressive thinker in town planning who also had strong India connections. He strove to harmonize the modern principles of city planning with Indian traditions, maintaining the general layout of towns he redesigned and even suggesting that the main avenues for the new Delhi should follow *nullahs* (ravine-like water courses). In 1929, Unwin became the chief advisor to the Greater London Regional Planning Committee, which called for open spaces in the city and a "green girdle" around it. Unwin, like Geddes, was greatly inspired by Ruskin's work and, along with Barry Parker, designed Letchworth Garden City, the first of its kind. Adshead was the head of the Civic Design program at the University of Liverpool.

¹³ Robert Grant Irving, *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Baker, and Imperial Delhi* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 41; Letter from Frederic Hamilton to Lord Landsdowne, February 3, 1912, PCH, Vol. 110, p. 88h.

days at 5:45 in the morning and holding discussions at the elegant Maiden's Hotel until the late evening hours.¹⁴ Their work was hampered by the scorching heat of the pre-monsoonal Delhi summer, but by June the Town Planning Committee was able to publish its first report. The planners first delivered their verdict on the northern site, which "for every reason," the acknowledged, "deserved and received the most thorough consideration at the hands of the Committee."¹⁵ While noting that the area was upwind and upstream from the existing city and that "remains of the Delhis of the past do not cumber the ground," Brodie, Swinton, and Lutyens found great disadvantages here. As early as January 1912, the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab, Sir Louis Dane, had alerted the Government of India to significant drainage problems at the durbar site. ". . . [W]ater was found during the Durbar within 4 ½ feet of the surface," Dane wrote. "The soil here is for the most part sour and waterlogged [and] after a slight shower water lies about here for days which shows the condition of the tract."¹⁶ The Committee concurred with Dane and found the region unsanitary: "The indictment against this area is overwhelming, and the Committee feel[s] that it is out of the question for them to advise the Government of India to select this area for the site of the Imperial Capital." Instead, the town planners found the southern site's physical, sanitary, and aesthetic qualities far superior and recommended its selection with "no hesitation."¹⁷

The report's findings came as a blow to supporters of the northern site. In late July, the Viceroy traveled down to Delhi from the summer capital of Simla to carry out final inspections of the location recommended by the Committee. While disagreeing with their suggestion to put the Viceroy's residence on the distant Southern Ridge, Hardinge developed an affinity for a nearby rocky outcropping known as Raisina Hill. From the brow of the hill was a magnificent panorama of Shahjahanabad to the north, the Purana Qila to the east, and the late-Mughal style Safdar Jang's Tomb to the south. Hardinge immediately turned to Malcolm Hailey—the newly appointed Commissioner of Delhi—and exclaimed, "This is the site for Government House."¹⁸ The new incarnation of Delhi now seemed almost certain to rise from the southern plains. However, this certainty was to be shattered by year's end. On December 12, Sir Bradford Leslie—a distinguished engineer who began his affiliation with the Government of India in 1857—delivered a paper to the Royal Society of Arts in London whereby he proposed the construction of a weir across the Yamuna south of Shahjahanabad. The weir would create a massive lake which, he claimed, would not only generate a plentiful supply of electricity but also render the northern site sanitary. The paper was greeted with tremendous public enthusiasm and reawakened pro-northern site sentiment. Within days English papers were carrying editorials and letters urging the Government of India to reconsider the location of the capital city.

Hardinge, who had proven to be very responsive to public pressure, felt himself left with no other choices but to bow to London opinion. By mid-January Swinton,

¹⁴ *The Letters of Edwin Lutyens to his Wife Lady Emily*, ed. Clayre Percy and Jane Ridley (London: Collins, 1985), pp. 231 & 234-35.

¹⁵ "Report of the Delhi Town Planning Committee on the Choice of a Site for the New Imperial Capital at Delhi," in L/P&J/3/119 (India Office Records, British Library, London), 1912, p. 4.

¹⁶ Note by Sir Louis Dane, January 18, 1912, in complete proceedings of Delhi Branch, Government of India (National Archives of India, New Delhi), 1911-13, p. 1.

¹⁷ "Report of the Delhi Town Planning Committee on the Choice of a Site for the New Imperial Capital at Delhi," June 13, 1912, in L/P&J/3/119 (India Office Records, British Library, London), 1912, pp. 6 & 8.

¹⁸ Charles Hardinge, *My Indian Years, 1910-1916: The Reminiscences of Lord Hardinge of Penshurst* (London: John Murray, 1948), p. 72.

Brodie, and Lutyens were back on Indian soil and charged with the task of reevaluating the northern plain. They remained unconvinced of its merits. This time, the Committee adopted a different tactic to convince the government and public of the site's unsuitability: the town planners stressed their inability to raise a truly fitting imperial capital on the narrow finger of land between river and ridge. Choosing the northern site, the Committee stated in a report released on March 11, 1913, would lead to the "narrowing of ideals." Such a policy "could hardly produce a city which would give a capital, evolved under the guidance of British rule, as a pattern and inspiration to the East." Directly appealing to concerned Britons, the Committee noted that by "adopting the south site, the heritages of the memories of 1857 and the Durbars are not lost to us. The new city on that site however goes back further and gathers the strands of many centuries and empires into the new Imperial whole." Swinton, Brodie, and Lutyens then delved into the northern area's unsanitary qualities, citing its proximity to the malarial swamps of the Barari plain, noting the prevalence of heavy mists in the winter season, and highlighting the dangerous concentration of two malaria-carrying mosquito species within the site itself.¹⁹

Fully confident of the conclusiveness of their findings, the town planners published their "Final Report of the Delhi Town Planning Committee" only nine days later. In their report was envisioned a city fully embracing the ancient capitals scattered around the southern plain. "Right and left the roadways go and weld into one [the] empire of to-day with the empires of the past and unite [the] Government with the business and lives of its people," the Committee wrote. To be built on a grand imperial scale, the city would "convey the idea of a peaceful domination and dignified rule over the traditions and life of India by the British Raj."²⁰ The Government and India Office's approval of the Committee's final report pleased Swinton, who saw the southern site as the only location to build a fitting testimonial to the greatness of the British Empire. "The British Raj has come up at last to range itself alongside of the monuments of past rulers," he stated, "and it must quietly dominate them all, Tughlukabad and Siri as well as Indrapat and Shahjehanabad."²¹ Adopting the southern site was an important step in ensuring that the new capital would incorporate Indian features and would not simply be another Europeanized cantonment or civil lines. Equally important, the Committee's decision was a triumph of science over sentiment, a quality that would later help the new Delhi also become a symbol of a modern India. As Lutyens bluntly put it, "Any other decision would have been fatal."²²

Architecture of the New City

While the debate over the capital's site created significant rifts amongst Britons, the architectural style to be used in the new Delhi would prove to be an even more contentious issue. Under the Raj, architecture had always conveyed a political message. Indicating the gradual emergence of an empire out of early British

¹⁹ "Special Report of the Delhi Town Planning Committee on the Possibility of Building the Imperial Capital on the North Side," March 11, 1913, in L/P&J/3/120 (India Office Records, British Library, London), 1913, pp. 5, 7, & 2.

²⁰ "Final Report of the Delhi Town Planning Committee on the Town Planning of the New Imperial Capital," March 20, 1913, in L/P&J/3/120 (India Office Records, British Library, London), 1913, pp. 5 & 2.

²¹ *Sic.* Note by George Swinton, date unknown, PCH, Vol. 111, p. 138d.

²² *The Letters of Edwin Lutyens*, p. 283.

commercial settlements, Lord Valentia had commented in the early nineteenth century that India ought “to be ruled from a palace, not from a counting-house.”²³ The style of such palaces, however, had never been a settled matter. In the early 1800s, Britons stamped their authority across the subcontinent with one of the most recognizable symbols of Western culture: the classical building. Such structures flatly rejected the validity of Indian architectural traditions and instead propagated Thomas Macaulay’s vision of an Anglicized India. Hopes for an Anglicized future came crashing down in 1857 and subsequently the Raj responded with different building styles. During the 1860s the consulting architect for the Government of Madras, Robert Chisholm, pioneered the so-called “Indo-Saracenic” form in India. Indo-Saracenic borrowed heavily from Islamic designs ranging from the Moorish to the Mughal, leading to the construction of Red Fort-reminiscent structures in areas that Akbar only dreamed of ruling (such as Madras). As a style of architecture it had two conflicting political purposes: one being to show a form of cultural understanding and the other being to display an Orientalist cultural mastery. Such mastery was questionable as Gothic and high Victorian features began to be grafted onto Moorish arches and Mughal domes in the late nineteenth century. Finally, architects such as Sir Swinton Jacob had taken the conflicting political purposes of the Indo-Saracenic to even higher levels by reviving long-dormant schools of architecture and fully embracing vernacular styles.

The beginning of the twentieth century ushered in new debates over architecture in India. Half-Gothic, half-Indo-Saracenic fantasies that dominated the Bombay skyline had been soundly rejected and new archaeological and anthropological work was fomenting keen interest in pure indigenous styles. Proponents of a further revival of Indian arts naturally rushed to endorse vernacular architecture for the new Delhi. Ten days after the Coronation Durbar, *The Times* published a letter from Ernest B. Havell, who had recently retired from his position as the principal of Calcutta’s Government School of Art, under the headline, “Imperial Delhi and Indian Art: An Unrivalled Opportunity.” Havell welcomed the decision to move the capital to “the heart of Hindustan, where the artistic traditions of Indian building are still, for all practical architectural purposes, as much alive as they were when Akbar, by calling into the service of the State the skill of Hindu temple builders, gave Saracenic architecture in India a wonderful new impulse.” The former principal then urged the government to follow in Akbar’s footsteps and recruit India’s talented artisans so that the Raj would have a truly Indian capital. “The Government of India has now a wonderful opportunity for showing its practical sympathy with Indian art, and for setting a good example to the Indian Princes and aristocracy in regard to architecture.” Such a move would grant Great Britain’s troubled architectural legacy in India “a clean slate.”²⁴

Others—art experts, writers, politicians, and nobility alike—rallied to Havell’s side. Percy Brown, the new principal of the Government School, encouraged Hardinge to take advantage of “the considerable amount of talent already in the country” and employ Indian artisans for decorating the Delhi buildings.²⁵ On February 6, 1913, Crewe received a petition on Indian craftsmen with 175 prominent signatories. Imploring the Secretary of State not to rely on “the modern architect in an office with assistants, detached from materials,” the petition argued in favor of the

²³ Thomas Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain’s Raj* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 13.

²⁴ Ernest B. Havell, “Imperial Delhi and Indian Art: An Unrivalled Opportunity,” *The Times* of London, December 22, 1911, p. 5.

²⁵ Letter from Percy Brown to CH (through Private Secretary to the Viceroy), October 9, 1912, PCH, Vol. 111, p. 104.

artisan tradition “that has produced all the great buildings of the world.” Siding with India’s artisans would be “for the general good, artistically and morally, not only of the United Kingdom and India, but of the world at large”—living craftsmanship would be saved from extinction. Signatories included Havell, art expert Ananda Coomaraswamy, Thomas Hardy, MP Joseph King, Sir Bradford Leslie, the Duke of Newcastle, and George Bernard Shaw.²⁶ Joseph King kept up pressure on the India Office by arguing in favor of Indian craftsmen in the House of Commons. Indian architecture also gained important allies in H.V. Lanchester, who vouched for an early Muslim design, and the Theosophist-turned-Indian nationalist Annie Besant.²⁷

Arguments in favor of an Indian style also had a much clearer political dimension, which became more apparent as authorities in London and Calcutta moved toward appointing architects for the building project. F.O. Oertel, a retired superintending engineer with the Public Works Department, delivered an impassioned lecture to the East India Association on the selected architectural style’s implications for British imperialism. Britons were no longer “in India as colonists intent on making a home there as nearly like the one we have left behind.” European styles were therefore not possible. As architects themselves of the modern Indian nation, Britons had to find a “really national Indian style.” In Oertel’s view, this required an extensive study of Akbar’s work at Fatehpur Sikri—which melded together Muslim and Hindu traditions—and Swinton Jacob’s experimentations with Rajput design in Jaipur.²⁸ The consulting architect to the Government of India, John Begg, also issued an indictment against the erection of European-style buildings. Such constructions would send the wrong message that the Raj was still the “mere Western occupation of the country;” an Indian style would represent the evolution and maturity of British rule on the subcontinent. Why, he questioned, “should the style of our Capital be such as to express most strongly those alien characteristics in the administration which every year tend more and more to disappear?”²⁹

Yet the most powerful words were given by Havell. He sternly warned that the adoption of a Renaissance style—seriously considered by the India Office and Government of India—would inflict “moral, intellectual, and material injury” upon the country.³⁰ Instead, India “need[ed] a Renaissance of her own art.”³¹ In his landmark 1913 tome, *Indian Architecture*, Havell devoted the final chapter for an emotional plea on the architecture of the new Delhi. He condemned Macaulayism’s prevalence in British Indian architectural thought and appealed for the recognition of art’s important role in holding India to the Empire. Britons were urged to study the relation between art and history on the subcontinent:

The history of Indian architecture, if it teaches us anything, should bring to our minds one obvious lesson, writ large on all the monuments of Muhammadan rule, that the cordial relationship which existed between Hindus and Muhammadans at the height of the Musulman [Muslim] supremacy was

²⁶ “Appendix: A petition presented to His Majesty’s Principal Secretary of State for India, February 6th, 1913.” In Ernest B. Havell, *Indian Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1913), pp. 251-54.

²⁷ “Delhi - 1st Report of Mr. HV Lanchester. Treatment of the area selected for the Imperial City,” Home Department: Delhi Branch, Government of India (National Archives of India, New Delhi), p. 3.

²⁸ Metcalf, p. 216.

²⁹ John Begg, “Note on the Development of Indian Architecture,” in Gordon Sanderson, *Types of Modern Buildings* (Allahabad: Government Press, United Provinces, 1913), p. 5.

³⁰ “The Future Delhi,” p. 5.

³¹ Metcalf, p. 213.

largely due to the fact that the Muhammadan rulers found in the practice of the arts . . . the best means of reconciling racial and religious differences.

This lesson had been lost on the Government of India. Instead of fusing together Eastern and Western ideals, British officials were waging “a philistine war of extermination against all the intellectual traditions of Hinduism” which would soon threaten to bring India “into the vortex of anarchy.” The Raj’s “worst enemy” was its “ignorance of Indian history, of Indian ideals and their relationship to the practical affairs of Indian life as expressed in Indian art and craft.” Art was bound together with nationalism on the subcontinent, and the connection would only grow as India underwent political maturation. Were the government to tinker with European styles at Delhi, the new capital would be doomed to become “another splendid make-believe,” achieving nothing for the welfare of the British Raj or its subjects.³²

Havell spoke strongly and forcefully for he knew that convincing his readers would be an arduous task. Despite compelling arguments in its favor, the cause for Indian architecture had rallied only a limited band of art experts and other intellectuals. Other Britons with India connections—influential Indian Civil Service (ICS) officers, government advisors, businessmen, merchants, and educators—were much less sympathetic to indigenous styles. Similar to the northern site, the adoption of a European style for the Delhi buildings enjoyed wide support. Proponents of Western architecture agreed with Havell on the need to build a city reflective of a new India, but they flatly ruled out its construction along vernacular lines. While they acknowledged the gradual Indianization of the Raj and recognized the move to Delhi as a part of that process, such individuals maintained that the capital had to remain fundamentally British. “[T]he new city must be the Delhi of the English,” George Birdwood had proclaimed to Lord Hardinge.³³ As such, the real debate on architecture was between Classical and Palladian, Renaissance and Rococo. While Western architecture appealed to the dwindling band of Britons still eager for the Christianization and Anglicization of the subcontinent, its most attractive features were its imperial connotations.

One of the fiercest proponents for adopting a European style was *The Builder*, Great Britain’s most influential architectural periodical.³⁴ As was common in the era, *The Builder* was obsessed with comparing the British with the empires of the past. On September 27, 1912, it opened an editorial on Delhi by noting imperial techniques from the Classical era:

Once having conquered the world, Alexander the Great controlled it not by the marshalling of troops, but by the founding and establishing of cities of Greek design. Rome spread out her *castrae* not as permanent military outposts, but as the precursors of her eternal *coloniae*. It is to the civilizing influence of their cities that we must attribute the enduring greatness of Greece and Rome.

Architecture, the editors claimed, was fundamental in holding together empires. After decades of fumbling with various forms in its overseas holdings, Great Britain’s most urgent task was to pioneer an imperial style, as Rome and Greece had done, that

³² Havell, *Indian Architecture*, pp. 247, 242-43, 244, & 249.

³³ Letter from Sir George Birdwood to CH, PCH, Vol. 112, August 18, 1913, p. 118.

³⁴ Interestingly, H.V. Lanchester—who had supported an early Muslim style for the new Delhi—was the editor of *The Builder*.

would bind together territories under the Crown. In a manner very similar to Havell, *The Builder* warned of the political consequences of failure to implement such a style:

When Great Britain is incapable of setting an example of architectural achievement to her dependencies other nations more virile will slowly but surely take advantage of her relapse—step into the breach, undermine her prestige, and bring about an imperial disaffection more effectual in its consequences than the ravages of internal feuds.

The only possible imperial style was of course a Western one, fully embracing the Mother Country's "national character" that was evident from Cape Town to Calcutta and Melbourne to Montreal. Building Western cities was especially important in India. "The Oriental is to-day interested and concerned in emulating the civilization of the Western world," editors noted. "If we are to retain suzerainty in India this attitude is one to be encouraged."³⁵

In later editorials, *The Builder* elucidated what this Western imperial style should be. Noting that Classical architecture dominated the existing capitals of the Empire, editors suggested a form of Italian Renaissance, "the true heir and successor of Roman architecture modified to suit the wants of modern life."³⁶ Such a style could be adapted to meet the climatic needs, just as Roman architects added or subtracted arcades and colonnades to reflect environments as disparate as Syria and Britain.³⁷ At Delhi, Italian Renaissance would bridge the country's inherent racial and religious divisiveness: the style would stand for the Empire and not for any specific community. In its October 11 edition, the publication issued a stinging rebuttal to Havell's arguments for an Indian design:

Mr. Havell's contribution to the controversy is one of the familiar appeals to build in the indigenous style of the country, which, we feel, is hardly sound, nor does the claim rest on a sufficient logical basis. India is not, and never has been, 'a country.' It is a convenient geographical expression for the land lying to the south of the Himalayas; a land which is an epitome of a continent, containing people of every conceivable religious creed and race; a land which has not, even in the great days following the Moghul conquest, been completely under one sovereignty till the days of our own Empire. When Mahometan hates Hindu and Hindu Mahometan, and where both consider the Buddhist and Christian alike as followers of illusions, it would, for political reasons alone, be a mistake to adopt a style which must be identified with one and not all of the races which alike are ruled by the British Raj.³⁸

India, according to the editors, did not only lack any national style; it was politically and culturally formless without Great Britain. An imperial design was therefore imperative in order to forge *some* sort of unity.

The Builder's arguments resonated with large segments of British society, and in the ensuing months more individuals attacked the notion of an Indian-style capital for the Crown's greatest imperial possession. J.P. Haythornewaite, the former principal

³⁵ "Imperialism and Architecture," *The Builder*, September 27, 1912, p. 345-46.

³⁶ "Architectural Revivalism and the New Delhi," *The Builder*, October 25, 1912, p. 464; "The Architecture of New Delhi," *The Builder*, October 11, 1912, p. 403.

³⁷ "The New Delhi," *The Builder*, October 18, 1912, p. 429.

³⁸ *Sic.* "The Architecture of the New Delhi," p. 403.

of St. John's College at Agra, claimed that the new Delhi "must be no mere reproduction" of the monuments that pre-Raj rulers had raised in the area; instead, its architecture had to draw inspiration from the principle of "Christian Imperialism."³⁹ In the House of Commons, MP Arthur Soames challenged Joseph King and called for an Italian Renaissance-style city. Adshead—passed over by the India Office for designing Delhi but later employed for planning the Northern Rhodesian capital of Lusaka—vouched for Hellenistic Greek while the artist Reginald Barratt looked toward Charles McKim's work in America for inspiration.⁴⁰ A number of publications also pilloried Havell and Percy's proposals to employ Indian artisans. The *Architects' and Builders' Journal*, for example, claimed that "Indian craftsmen are quite as incapable as we British" in developing a fitting form of architecture for Delhi. Meanwhile, the *British Architect* found it unthinkable to "allow the new capital of our great Indian Empire to be handed over to the modern master builders or architects of India, or the combined efforts of a race of native craftsmen, however genuine and vital their traditions may be."⁴¹

The debate over architecture soon attracted none other than Lord Curzon, who after returning from India had remained very active in politics through the House of Lords. Having developed a strong affinity for Calcutta while there as Viceroy, Curzon deplored the transfer to Delhi and fiercely attacked the new capital in Parliament just one month after the King's return to London. He was shrewd enough, however, to realize the transfer's inevitability and positioned himself to play an influential role in the city's design. Writing to Hardinge on October 2, 1912, Curzon claimed that Indian architecture for the principal government buildings was "quite impossible." Only two styles were worth considering: Renaissance, "slightly orientalized as in Spain," or plain Palladian. "However (*sic*)," he scoffed, "it does not concern me."⁴² Five days later, he elaborated on his architectural preferences in a lengthy letter to *The Times*. Curzon explained the merits of Indian styles but judged them impractical for the seat of a British administration. "No doubt the first inclination of any sympathetic student of the problem would be—as it was mine—to erect Indian buildings in India," he explained. Nevertheless, Indian buildings were unsuited to the modern functions of a Viceroy, his Legislative Council, and the various bureaus and departments. Western government needed Western buildings; it would be "disastrous" to build a "sham Mogul city and Government House."⁴³ As *The Builder* had argued, an Indianizing Raj had to recognize its fundamental Britishness. Styles foreign to the subcontinent were the only politically valid alternatives.

Lord Hardinge's Dilemma and Edwin Lutyens' Opportunity

While assured that the new Delhi's physical location would evoke memories of the Mughal, Muslim sultanate, and Hindu kingdom past, the Viceroy vacillated on what historical associations the capital's architecture should evoke. Advocates of Indian architecture had built a strong case: reviving traditional art forms would enjoy broad support on the subcontinent and provide marvelous opportunities for utilizing the

³⁹ J.P. Haythornwaite, "Correspondence: The Architecture of New Delhi," *The Builder*, October 25, 1912, pp. 473-474.

⁴⁰ Irving, p. 103.

⁴¹ Pushpa Sundar, *Patrons and Philistines* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 189-190.

⁴² Letter from George Nathaniel Curzon to CH, October 2, 1912, PCH, Vol. 111, p. 94.

⁴³ George Nathaniel Curzon, "The New Delhi: Lord Curzon's Suggestions," *The Times* (London), October 7, 1912, p. 6.

country's artisan talent. Furthermore, vernacular forms would send a strong political message that the Raj was fully committed toward integrating itself within Indian traditions. As the Indo-Saracenic had tried—but failed—to do, an Indian style would both display the government's cultural "understanding" of the country and provide recognizable symbols of its ultimate authority. Proponents of Western forms, however, argued that any attempt at Indian architecture would only appeal to one of the subcontinent's myriad communities at the expense of others. Diverse India lacked a truly national style, and only an "imperial" variant of the Classical could—like the Raj itself—represent the collection of races and religions that held allegiance to the Crown. While British authorities were at pains to shed the image of a foreign conqueror, the Government of India was fundamentally Western and therefore could not inhabit an Eastern city.

Hardinge was not entirely convinced by the arguments put forth by supporters of European architecture. "It would be a very grave political blunder, and in my opinion an absurdity," he observed, "to place a purely Western town amidst the Eastern surrounding and in the plain of Delhi."⁴⁴ He categorically dismissed a Renaissance design but considered the pure Classical form, which "wants a touch of Orientalism to make it effective in such a neighborhood."⁴⁵ In July he pressed for Pathan architecture. Despite shifting his opinion between various suggested styles, Hardinge grew strongly in favor of "assimilat[ing] Western architecture with an Oriental motif." While realizing that such a combination could be derided as "a bastard form" no worse than the Indo-Saracenic, he deprecated the utilization of a pure Western or pure Indian design. A combination of the two would express the Raj's Indian *and* British qualities, establishing an imperial link to the Home Isles while not being entirely alien to its surroundings. The Viceroy was supported by the King himself, who wished for some Indian motifs to be integrated into the Delhi buildings.⁴⁶

What was striking about the debates over the new Delhi's location and architecture was the complete lack of consultations with Indians themselves, who, as taxpayers, would provide the estimated £4 million for its construction. In March 1913, a member of the Indian Legislative Council—a semi-parliamentary body that could do little more than advise the Viceroy—enquired about opportunities to join in these discussions. The Public Works Department Member, Sir Robert Carlyle, simply responded that the Council would have no say whatsoever.⁴⁷ Carlyle's answer elicited no protest within the chamber; the Council was still too immature of an institution to even imagine challenging the ultimate authority of the Viceroy and his Executive Council.

As with selecting a site for the new city, the task of deciding on an architectural style would not be entirely Hardinge's. Building the capital required a skilled group of architects who could commit themselves to years of work in India. Mere days after the Coronation Durbar, the Viceroy had consulted with his closest advisors and rejected the possibility of employing the Public Works Department. The Department was, in Jenkins' words, "very unfit to deal with the great administrative schemes." An imperial project, he declared, was "not merely a matter of bricks and mortar."⁴⁸ After weighing the possibility of an architectural competition that would have put the

⁴⁴ Letter from CH to Edwin Lutyens (hereafter referred to as "EL"), August 19, 1912, PCH, Vol. 111, p. 26.

⁴⁵ Letter from CH to Sir Valentine Chirol, February 28, 1912, PCH, Vol. 110, p. 105.

⁴⁶ Letter from CH to Sir Richmond Ritchie, July 11, 1912, *Ibid.*, p. 189.

⁴⁷ Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis and Sir Robert Carlyle, *PCGGI*, Vol. 51, March 5, 1913, pp. 291-92.

⁴⁸ Letter from JJ to CH, December 18, 1911, *Ibid.*, p. 10.

full burden of selection on the government and the India Office, Crewe and Hardinge rejected this scheme, too, and searched for alternatives. But the only remaining alternative was the appointment of professionals. Lutyens, nearing the end of his duties as a Town Planning Committee member, monitored the developments in anticipation. Despite terms of employment that made no mention of architectural consulting, Lutyens had hungered to build the structures of what was to be the greatest imperial undertaking in centuries. During his first few months in India he had drafted suggested plans for the Viceroy's residence, which had profoundly impressed Hardinge and his wife. The architect's name began to be floated around the corridors of Whitehall and Indian administrative offices. By late 1912, months of making important contacts seemed to be paying off and Lutyens began composing a series of letters to a longtime friend in South Africa, Herbert Baker. "I should like to do the Government House," he proposed, "you the Secretariats."⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Irving, p. 97.

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Singapore's urban transformation, housing and public space

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Summary: This paper documents and describes how the public space in Central Area of Singapore has evolved due to housing development over the last forty years, in hope of identifying the precedents, underlying forces and prevailing trends in the process of urban transformation. It illustrates three stages of public space design resulted from the early phase of housing development after independence from 1966 to 1981 – making pedestrian network, developing mega urban hub, and creating precinct community – exemplified by several housing projects that had brought about new forms of public spaces for the community. By highlighting the later trend of privatization and gentrification, this paper also intimates the tension between such provision of public functions and the urge to personalize space in the more developed city-state.

Keywords: public space, housing development, urban renewal, pedestrian connectivity, mega complex, sense of community, gentrification

Introduction

Like many cities in rapidly developing Asia, Singapore has seen its urban landscape transformed almost beyond recognition during the last forty years with the large scale replacement of its traditional fine grain urban fabric by larger footprint high-rise commercial and residential buildings. This paper attempts to examine the impact of housing policies in the past four decades on the development of public space network in the Central Area of Singapore. Since the establishment of Housing Development Board (HDB) in 1960, Urban Renewal Department (URD) under HDB in 1967, and with UN assistance in planning for long-term redevelopment of the city,¹ large-scale resettlement and renewal projects had been carried out in the city centre. Slums were gradually cleared for higher-value commercial buildings, while new high-rise, high-density public housing was developed both in the outskirts and within the city centre to resettle the residents. New forms of public space in these housing areas thus arose, co-existing with new commercial functions as well as remaining old trades and activities.

¹ Erik Lorange, a UN consultant in town planning, conducted a six-month preliminary survey in 1962. His recommendations included large-scale public programmes, long-term redevelopment with adjustable short-term precinctal activities and private participation within redevelopment framework. This was followed up by the subsequent UN team in 1963, formed by Dr. O. H. Koenigsberger (architect/planner), Prof Charles Abrams (land/legal adviser) & Prof S. Kobe (traffic economist). See Dale, 1999: 121-122; HDB Annual report 1963: 10.

Making Pedestrian Network, 1966-1973

Since the establishment of URD and the launch of Urban Renewal Programme in 1966, the Central Area had undergone series of changes particularly in terms of residential distribution. The initial intentions of URD were to decentralize the overcrowded population in Central Area to the newly constructed housing estates around the city fringe, clear much of the pre-war shophouses and low-value shelters which were then seen as obstacles to the country's modernization, and provide better quality housing and improved basic social services to those residents to be resettled within the Central Area (Wong & Yap, 2004: 16-17).² This new housing development was part of the overall plan for urban renewal, in which the Central Area was divided into 19 precincts – 8 in the south and 11 in the north of Singapore River, all serially numbered in the order of priority for redevelopment (fig.1).

As it was impossible to commence renewal in all precincts simultaneously, the plan proposed a “two-pronged attack” on the Central Area starting with Precinct North 1 (N1) and South 1 (S1) located at each end and moving gradually towards the most central, complicated and costly areas (HDB Annual Report 1967: 73). Both pilot schemes were chosen on sites previously occupied by dilapidated slums and state-owned properties that were easily available (such as Outram Prison in S1), which were mostly demolished to make way for modern residential and commercial amenities. Catered mostly for the resettled residents, these pioneer schemes also served as important precedents of high-density redevelopment which could still provide a conducive place to live in.

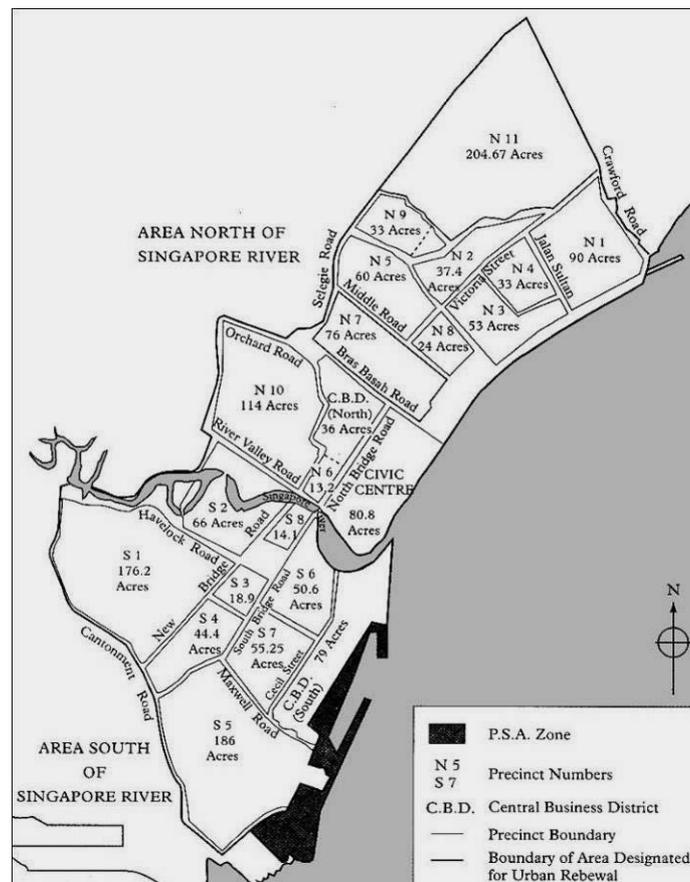


Fig.1 Map of Central Area Precincts [Source: Dale, 1999: 123]

² These actions were in line with the Government's belief in improving the housing environment of the people, especially the lower-income groups, as a prerequisite to economic success. See Yuen, et al., 1999: 2-3.

Precinct S1 particularly provides an example of redevelopment with public space network planned entirely by URD and developed through both public action and private participation. The original dilapidated shophouses in the area was replaced by new residential complexes together with public amenities (HDB Annual Report 1964: 42) (fig.2). Following the completion of York Hill Estate in 1964 (by Building Department of HDB), Precinct S1 was subsequently filled with new housing projects by URD (fig.3). Being entirely planned by URD, urban design thus played an important role. Public spaces that were strategically developed within the precinct could then be examined at two levels, i.e. building complex level and urban level.



Fig.2 Aerial view of Outram Road – before and after redevelopment [Source: HDB, 1970: 67]

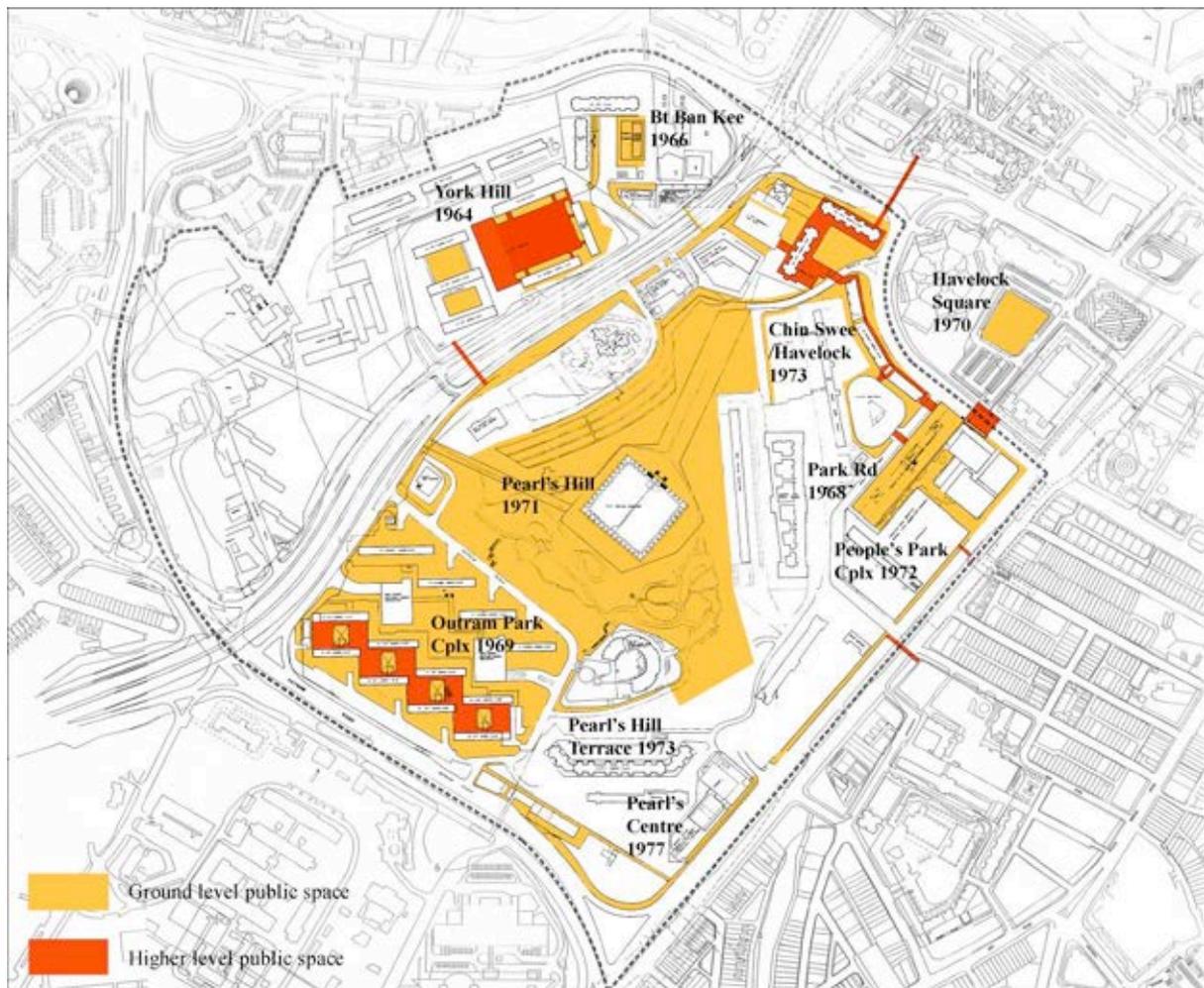


Fig.3 Site plan of Precinct South 1 [Source: HDB Archives; Information Resource Centre, NUS]

At the building complex level, the scale and complexity of the development had increased remarkably from building of one-room flats and a handful of shops at Bukit Ban Kee, to the construction of a multi-use building at Park Road, and later to the grouping of housing blocks, shops and open spaces in Outram Road project. This was mainly encouraged by URD's recourse from traditional zoning concept to "strata zoning" which promoted multiple programmes within a building complex (HDB Annual Report 1967: 16). First experimented in Park Road Redevelopment Project (fig.4), the design of outdoor, semi-outdoor and enclosed public spaces were even more extensive in Outram Park Complex.



Fig.4 Introduction of landscaped courtyard and play deck as public spaces in Park Road (People's Park) Redevelopment Project [Source: HDB Annual Report 1968: 79-80]

Departing from the conventional approach of stringing the shopfronts along the main roads (Choe, 1975: 111), Outram Park Complex was designed with a group of eight blocks in the first phase (and another group of four in the second phase), all oriented in the same north-south direction. Several strategies were used to create public spaces that separate pedestrian from vehicular traffics (fig.5):

1. Vehicular roads were diverted around the site instead of bisecting it, while cars were directed into multi-storey parking stations.
2. The eight slab-blocks were grouped around four large internal courtyards, which were landscaped to provide a pleasant shopping environment to the surrounding shops at the first two levels (fig.6).
3. The podium shops were connected by pedestrian corridors which continue to link all the housing blocks and multi-storey carparks in the complex, with escalators connecting different levels.

Such housing was also characterized by higher-level public space, as reflected by the public void deck at third floor, buffering the residential flats from the commercial areas below (fig.6). The podium roofs were also used as recreational areas equipped with children playgrounds and community centres (HDB Annual Report 1967: 78; HDB, 1970: 66-69). This project had certainly illustrated the success in providing a safe and uninterrupted pedestrian movement and public space network within a multi-use housing complex.



Fig.5 Site plan of Outram Park Complex [Source: HDB Archives]



Fig.6 Internal landscape courtyard and void deck at third floor introduced as new public spaces for shoppers and residents [Source: HDB, 1970: 65, 68]

At the urban level, plans were made to link individual housing projects together with pedestrian ways (fig.3).³ Several urban squares were created, including a large public square in front of Ministry of Labour at Havelock Road (HDB Annual Report 1970: 105), and an enclosed T-shaped landscaped plaza at People's Park linking People's Park Food Centre to People's Park Complex, OG Building and the then Majestic Theatre (HDB Annual Report 1972: 84) (fig.7). A central feature of this precinct was Pearl's Hill, which was landscaped and made accessible as part of the larger network of green spaces in the vicinity, linking the surrounding housing estates (HDB Annual Report 1971: 99; HDB, 1970: 66-67) (fig.7). In addition, more linkages were also created in the form of ground-level crossings, high-level shopping bridges (OG Building) and new private commercial development at strategic locations (e.g. People's Park Complex, People's Park Centre, and Pearl's Centre) in order to facilitate pedestrian flows all around the precinct (HDB Annual Report 1970: 105; 1973-74: 103) (fig.7). The design of People's Park Complex particularly demonstrated the pedestrian movement within the complex and connectivity with its surrounding (fig.8).⁴ Since its completion, it had served as an important precedent for subsequent mixed-use mega-structure development in Central Area.



Fig.7 Public square at People's Park, Pearl's Hill Park, and Chin Swee Road / Havelock Road pedestrian connector forming a pedestrian network in Precinct S1 [Source: HDB Annual Report 1973-74; 1971; 1974-75]

³ By 1969, URD had worked out a structure plan for Precinct S1 to serve as a guide line for proposed developments to link at strategic points, which would eventually create more desirable shopping and urban space, complementing "the network of landscaped paths, rock gardens and the natural features of Pearl's Hill, thereby providing a continuous system of pedestrian ways to connect the major activity areas of the precinct". See HDB Annual Report 1969: 89-90.

⁴ One of the earliest private mixed development project, People's Park Complex was designed by Design Partnership (now DP Architects) in 1967 and completed in 1972. For detailed description of the project, see See Gan, 1981: 54-55; Heng & Mangin, 2001/2002: 28-34; Li & Chong, 2004: 43; Wong, 2005: 158-161.

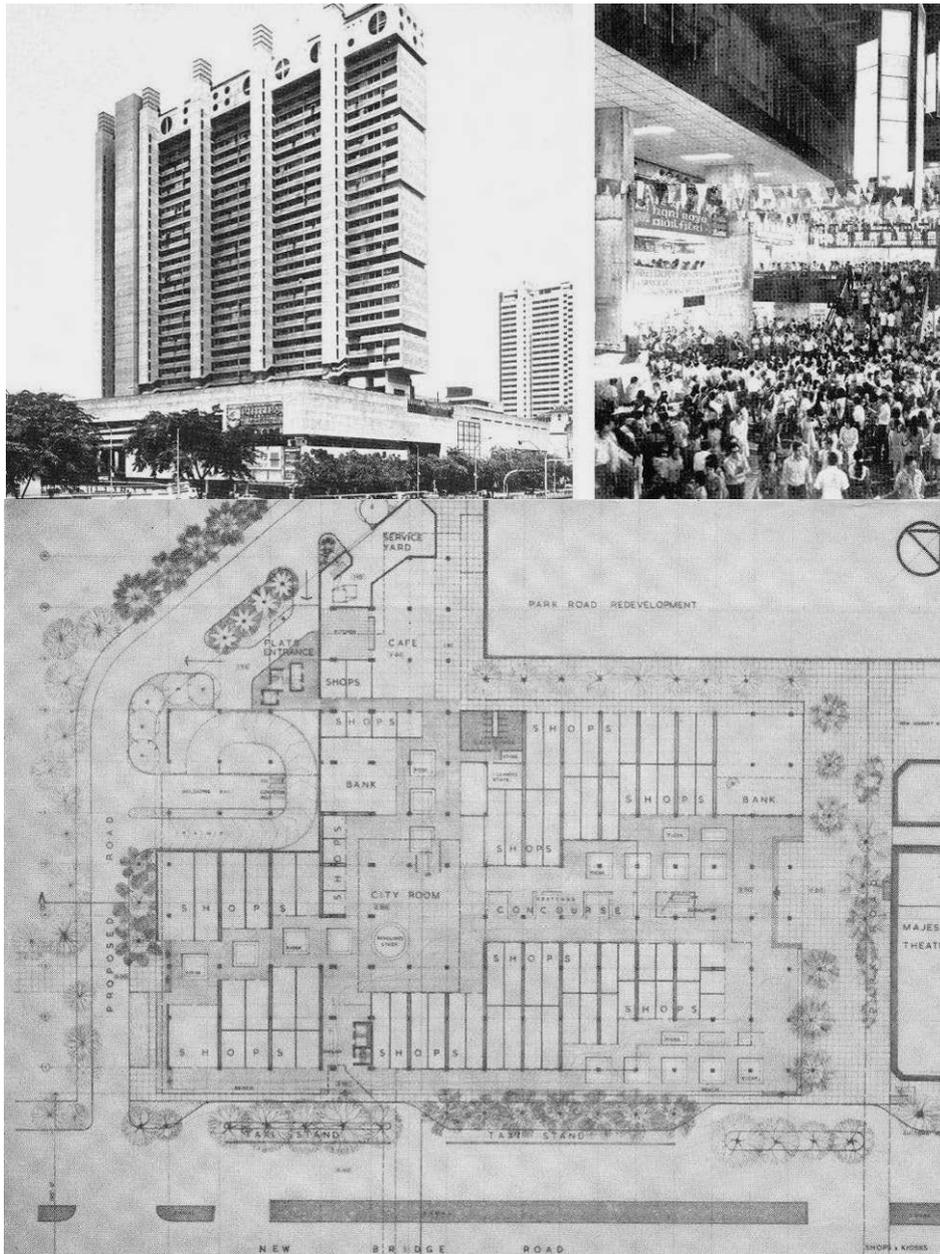


Fig.8 People's Park Complex [Source: Gan, 1981:54-55] and its ground floor plan [Source: *Far East Architect & Builder*, Feb 1968: 50], showing large internal atriums “city rooms” (sheltered communal spaces) linked by controlled, comfortable internal “city corridors” (high-level linkages, walkways, escalators)

Housing in Central Area during the early period of Urban Renewal Programme was marked by the administration under URD as part of HDB, before URD became an independent Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA) in 1974. As such, this period reflects the close relationship between housing development and urban planning in the process of urban renewal. The pioneer redevelopment schemes at Precinct S1 and N1 had thus been experimented with the incorporation of public space network into the development of housing projects, although in practice such pedestrian network was not as clearly perceived by the residents as expected. While some of these projects, such as Outram Park Complex, had since been demolished, they had certainly exemplified the success of integrating public space in new urban housing estate and providing pedestrian connectivity between the estates.

Developing Mega Urban Hub, 1974-1977

As population decentralization was an integral part of the public housing programme since 1959, the Central Area had experienced a considerable decline in population.⁵ By 1970, rapid decline in Central Area population and widening gap between the residents and their employment base had begun to concern the government. To arrest the situation, the rate of construction of HDB flats in Central Area was stepped up, while improved two- to five-room flats were also introduced to induce more middle-income residents to live in the city (Dale, 1999: 130-131; HDB Annual Report 1972: 82).

However, the responsibility for overall land-use and renewal planning had become diluted while URD was restructured into URA, whose emphasis was then placed on its Sale of Sites Programme and various implementation projects (Dale, 1999: 133-134). It was under such circumstance that Building and Development Division of HDB took over all responsibilities for developing public housing and complementary facilities in the Central Area since 1974 (Teh, 1975: 8). As such developments were generally not in tandem with overall planning of area; the resulting projects often faced problems arising from restricted land parcels and complex site requirements. These difficulties, coupled with the high land value of the available sites, thus resulted in a different approach in planning and design of housing and its accompanying public space, as exemplified by Tanjong Pagar Plaza and Rochor Complex, both designed since 1974 and completed in 1977 (HDB Annual Report, 1974/75: 43-45).

To counter high land cost, Tanjong Pagar Plaza was designed (by Mohd Asaduz Zaman) to be in the form of large-scale, self-sufficient, high-rise, high-density residential-cum-shopping complexes (Wong, 2005: 126-129). Five residential blocks and two point block towers were placed above the shopping podium, which currently houses shopping complex, public amenities such as post-office, banks, and a kindergarten. A two-storey market and a hawker centre are also housed in a separate podium block though linked by overhead walkways. Nevertheless, the main feature of the plaza was its internal landscaped courtyard which ran the entire length of shopping mall. Formerly embellished with an ornamented pool and rock gardens, it now has an open plaza with a pavilion in the centre as well as more intimate gardens at both ends (fig.9 & 10). Public space, as such, was incorporated within the design of a single mega-building, providing light and ventilation to the podium area.

Similar strategies were applied in Rochor Complex (designed by Foo Ah Fong), which also consisted of a lower podium block encasing an internal landscaped courtyard, with four residential slab blocks placed on top. As it occupied a strategic location in the Central Area – at one of the gateways to the city from Bukit Timah Road – the complex was then conceived as an important residential and commercial hub in this area. To facilitate pedestrian flow and connect to its surrounding sites, a large semi-basement carpark was built so that the raised ground floor could be freed for commercial and public spaces, with pedestrian corridors all around and within the complex (fig.11). The central triangular courtyard surrounded by internally-looking retail shops as a result of the irregular site, was accessible from different sides through several entrances, one of which were punctuated with three-storey high skylight. The roof top of the podium block was also designed as a public play deck for the residents (fig.12).

⁵ By 1970, the Central Area population had been reduced from 360,000 in 1957 to 241,300. During the same period, the national population had increased from 1,455,900 to 2,075,000. See Dale, 1999: 127.

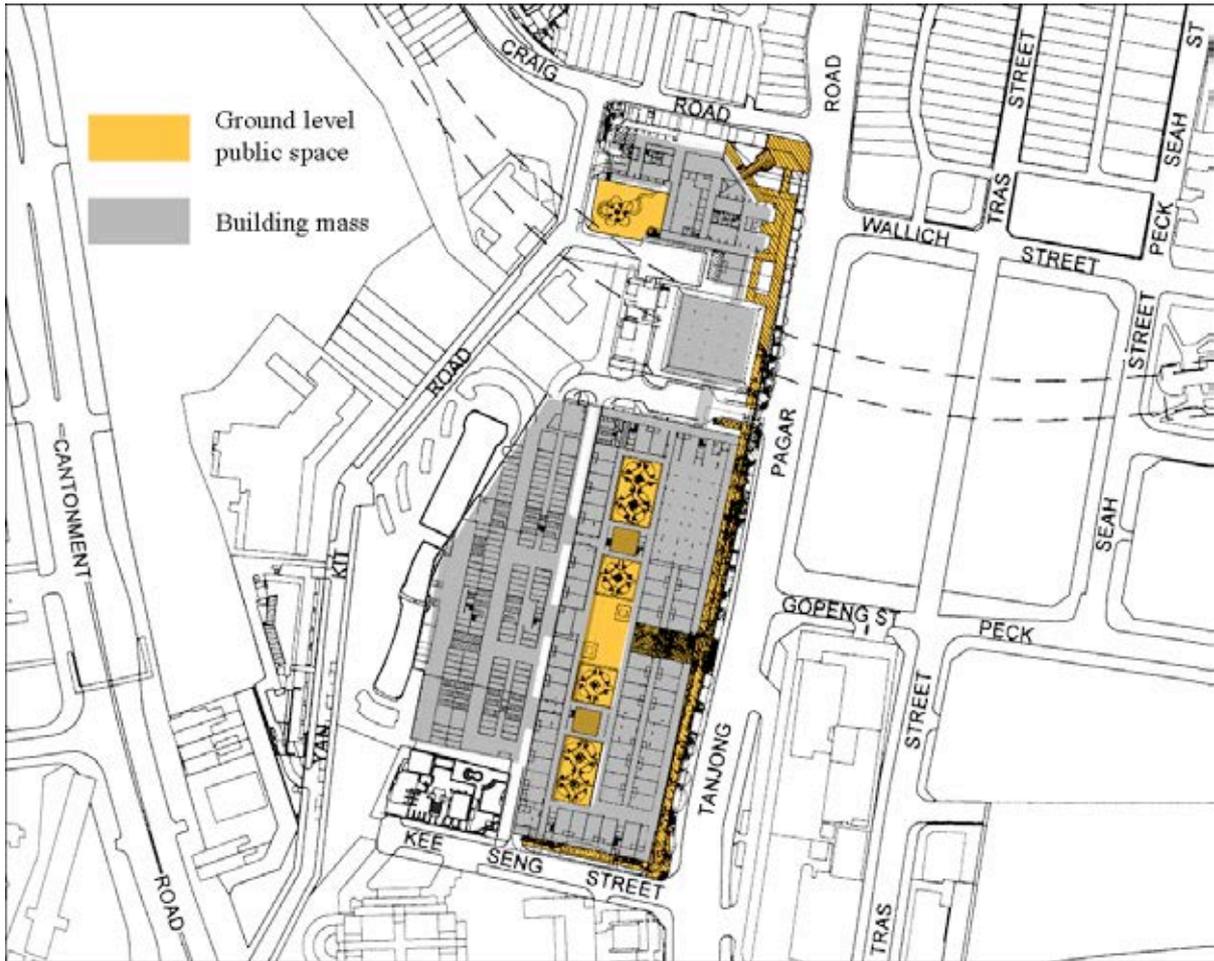


Fig.9 First storey plan of Tanjong Pagar Plaza [Source: Wong, 2005: p.128]



Fig.10 Intimate courtyard, central public square and informal ground-level void deck colonized by senior citizens



Fig.11 First storey plan of Rochor Complex [Source: HDB Archives; Information Resource Centre, NUS]



Fig.12 Central courtyard, double-storey entrance and rooftop play deck in Rochor Complex

These mega complexes, following the successful precedent of People’s Park Complex, were conceived beyond a residential estate but ideologically as a focal point of urban activities in the locality. Such approach could also be seen in later development such as Bras Basah Complex and Kreta Ayer Complex. However, the resulting public space had become less related to its surrounding urban spaces and more internal looking – with landscaped courtyards, massive corridors and vertical circulation network serving its own residents, shoppers, and passers-by, all within a single complex.

Creating Precinct Community, 1978-1981

By 1977, the backlog of housing demand was finally cleared (HDB Annual Report 1978/79: 5). HDB had since realized that it was time to pay more attention to quality and individuality in the design of building and estate, rather than quantity and speed. To achieve better and more varied designs and environmental planning as well as to promote community relations, the concept of “precinct planning” was then introduced around 1978 (HDB Annual Report 1978/79: 7-9; Hee, 2002: 53).

A “precinct” was defined as a group of 4 to 8 building blocks (about 500 to 1000 households or 2500 to 3000 people) that is “composed as an integral unit, with a central space, provided with a few basic facilities, serving as the focal point” (HDB, 1985: 141; Wong & Yeh, 1985: 89-90). It is believed to be an appropriate scale that encourages meaningful social interaction and for the residents to perceive a coherent physical and social identity, hence greater sense of belonging and community (HDB, 1985: 142). Before its extensive application in new towns,⁶ such approach could already be observed in the Central Area.

One of these developments was Hong Lim complex (designed by Ling King Fah) completed in 1979. Rather than replacing the original few streets of shophouse with one mega-structure, the entire site was divided into smaller parcels with Upper Nankin Street retained as an internal pedestrianized mall within the complex (fig.13). Each of the five housing blocks within each parcel sits on a 4-storey podium that accommodates the market, food centre, restaurant, bank, etc. Within the podiums are comfortably-scaled colonnade and landscaped street spaces, echoing the old “five-foot way” and public streets in the past (HDB, 1985: 83) (fig.14). Clearly, the project had illustrated HDB’s later effort in creating a better spatial and street environment (HDB Annual report 1980/81: 5).



Fig.13 Site plan of 1954 [Source: National Archives] and site plan of Hong Lim Complex [Source: HDB Archives; Information Resource Centre, NUS]

⁶ The first new town precinct, in Tampines, was completed at the end of 1984. See HDB, 1985: 142.



Fig.14 Emphasis on street spaces in Hong Lim Complex, reminiscence of lively street activities in the old shophouse community

Greater sense of community could be felt in Kreta Ayer Redevelopment Project, which consisted of two phases: Kreta Ayer Centre and Kreta Ayer Complex (now Chinatown Complex), completed in 1981. The latter (designed by Mohd Asaduz Zaman) was another successful “mega complex” project replacing the dilapidated shophouses, juxtaposing all elements of daily activities into a three-storey podium and two L-shape high-rise blocks. Its integrative planning, porosity of the floor plans and well-ventilated sections had energized the street activities, while its open and semi-open pedestrian mall and landscaped plaza remains an active public space for the old folks today (*SIAJ*, 1980a: 52; HDB, 1985: 84; Wong, 2005: 166-169) (fig.16).

Tapping on the facilities provided by complex, Kreta Ayer Centre (designed by Ling King Fah) focused on sustaining the existing social fabric in the area. The different approach in planning and design could be attributed to the topology of the site – a small hill (Dickenson Hill) in the centre, formerly surrounded by shophouses and SIT flats – which was responded with low-rise shops that embrace the hill, and high-rise housing slab blocks on top (fig.17). Several high-level bridges and ramps were introduced to link the shops and the residents to the central hill-top, leaving the ground for vehicles (fig.17). Large space in the central hill-top was then turned into an integrated communal area, housing the Kreta Ayer Community Centre and the Kreta Ayer People Theatre (fig.18). Community building was thus apparent as communal facilities became a focal point free from physical barriers and visually accessible from the surrounding blocks (Ooi & Tan, 1992: 70-71).

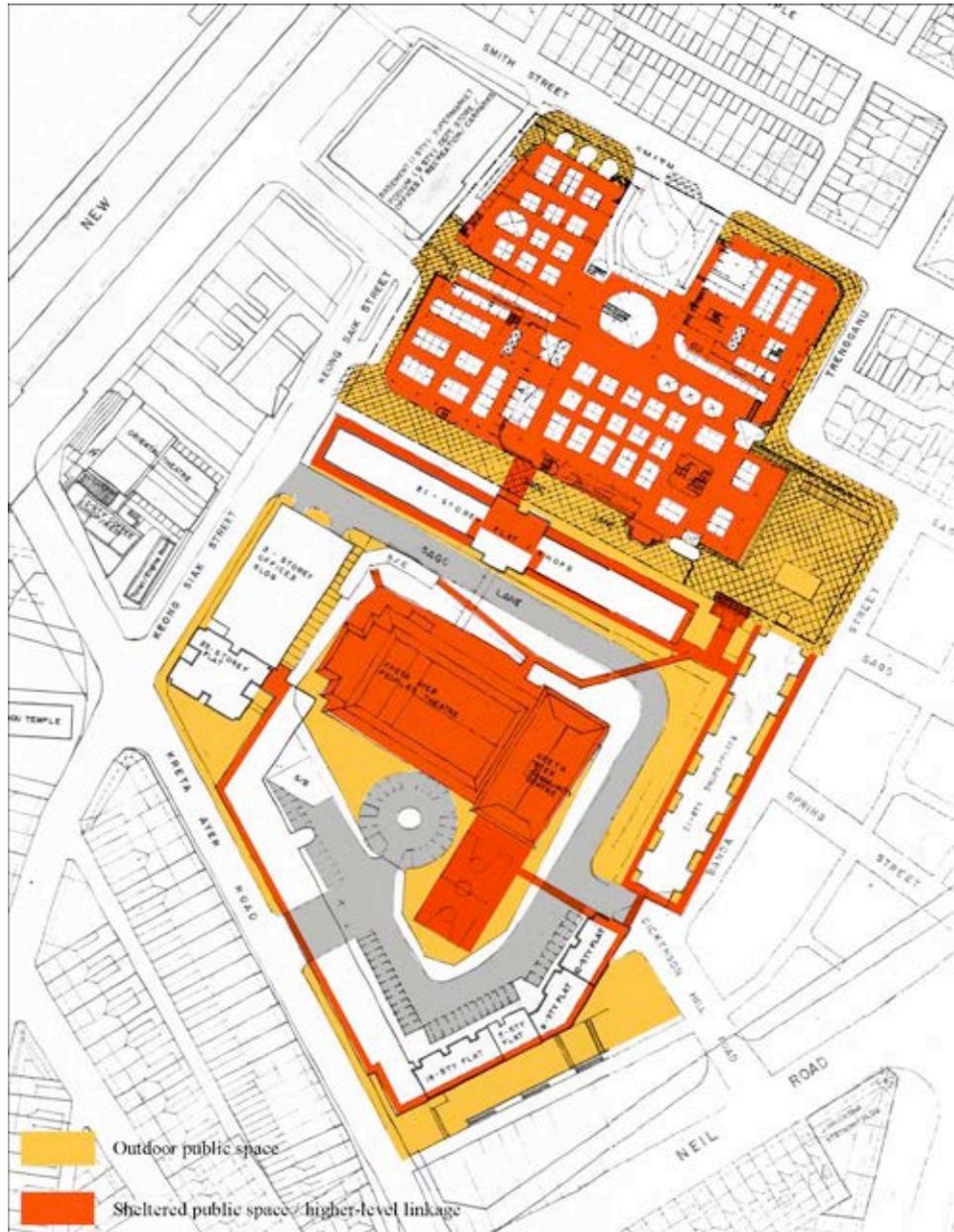


Fig.15 Site plans of Kreta Ayer Complex and Kreta Ayer Centre – two different approaches to sustain existing social fabric [Source: HDB Archives; Information Resource Centre, NUS]



Fig.16 Lively public spaces – pedestrian malls and landscaped plaza at Kreta Ayer Complex (now Chinatown Complex)



Fig.17 High-level linkages that bridge the surrounding housing blocks to the central communal area



Fig.18 Kreta Ayer Community Centre and Kreta Ayer People Theatre as focal points enclosed by surrounding blocks

Similar symbiotic relationship can also be found in Cheng Yan Court and Albert Centre. Nevertheless, more efforts were put in introducing more character and individuality into public housing design, as exemplified by Cheng Yan Court (designed by Goh Hup Chor) (*SIAJ*, 1980b: 29) (fig.19). Different from earlier projects, the blocks in Cheng Yan Court were carefully arranged to provide a sense of intimacy in the several small pockets of space resulted. These internal courts were either landscaped or equipped with small children playground to encourage more casual interactions among the residents (fig.20). In responding to its surrounding context, two landscaped foyers were also incorporated in the design, facing Waterloo Street and Queen Street respectively. These double-storey, sheltered, larger public squares had since provided the focal areas for the residents to socialize in, as well as the resting places for passers-by who would like to see and be seen (fig.21).

With a well-demarcated precinct, better relationship between the building and the street, more focused open space as well as more accessible smaller pockets of interaction space could then be created. It was believed that with such planning approach a sense of community would then emerge.

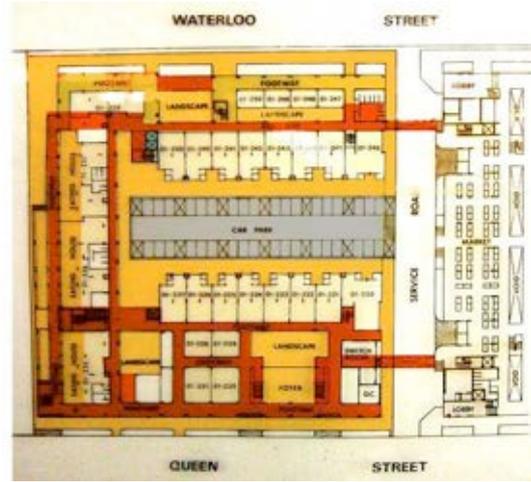


Fig.19 Unique massing of Cheng Yan Court to give the community a particular identity



Fig.20 Intimate foyer and small pockets of play area amidst network of corridor for casual meeting among residents



Fig.21 Foyer at Cheng Yan Court (right) facing the pedestrian mall and popular temple (left) along Waterloo Street

Privatization and Gentrification

In 1981, after playing a vital role in urban revitalization, public housing in Central Area was discontinued due to the escalated land values such that state-subsidized residential development was no longer economical (Dale, 1999: 134). The time had come for private sectors to continue urban revitalization through more commercially viable projects as well as accompanying public spaces. This move towards private housing was further encouraged by the new Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA) which, after its restructure in 1989, aimed to provide greater variety of housing, especially quality housing in the Central Area, in order to meet higher expectations of the people.⁷ Since then, more privately-owned spaces had been developed in Central Area.

However, as private housing projects cater mainly to the high-income market, the high degree of privacy, security and exclusiveness demanded by the residents had made the provision of public space seemingly in conflict. Often, private housing had simply resorted to gated estate with restricted access (fig.22).⁸ Even if the development was not fully gated, several layers of public space were usually resulted, with the use of “inner” spaces somewhat skewed with “more higher income people, fewer lower income people, and presumably fewer undesirables” (Field, 1992: 107). Such a tendency could be expected in new housing project, e.g. SOHO@Central (fig.23).⁹ In contrast to the former Ellenborough Market which it had replaced, the retail and food outlets in SOHO would most likely be marketed to certain “more desirable” consumers – the new middle class. A process of gentrification of public space in Central Area is thus inevitable.

Gentrification, in this context, is aptly defined as the “processes of neighbourhood change and colonization represented by an increasing concentration of the new middle classes” (Atkinson & Bridge, 2004: 1). Such tendency of gentrification is even extended to new public housing project in Central Area, such as the Duxton Plain Public Housing (URA, 2002) (fig.24). While both its site planning and architecture have displayed significant breakthroughs, the programme is again mainly catering for the aspiring middle-income group. The extent to which the public can gain access to its public spaces (especially the sky parks on 27th storey and roof level) hence remains debatable in this experimental project.

Insofar as gentrification has enhanced the quality of public spaces, a new form of spatial segregation has also developed in the process where such public spaces are only enjoyed by the more privileged and cosmopolitan “gentrifiers” (Wong & Guillot, 2005: 224-225). Yet managing such rising aspirations for privatization of properties (hence, privatization of spaces) is seen by the State as a necessary negotiating term for support of its economic-priority

⁷ The former URA was merged with Planning Department as well as Research and Statistics Unit of Ministry of National Development in 1989, in order to centralize all planning functions. See Wong & Yap, 2004: 26.

⁸ It is important to note that public housing in Singapore’s context, after four decades of uninterrupted effort, provides accommodation to some 86% of the population (Yuen, et al., 1999: 1), and is at least 80% occupier-owned. This is certainly different from the notion of public housing in other countries which caters to the lower social-economic strata. This also implies that private housing hence caters to essentially the top 14% or so of the higher income group with the concomitant demand for security and exclusiveness. However, this does not necessarily translate into gated communities as experience in Europe shows.

⁹ Official homepage of Far East Organization (2006) <<http://www.fareast.com.sg/landmark/1q2004/ph02.htm>> (Retrieved Sep 1, 2006)

approach, which relies on material incentives to function well (Wong & Guillot, 2005: 238). The provision of “real”, non-gentrified public spaces for social cause is thus always in tension with the need for personalization and privatization.

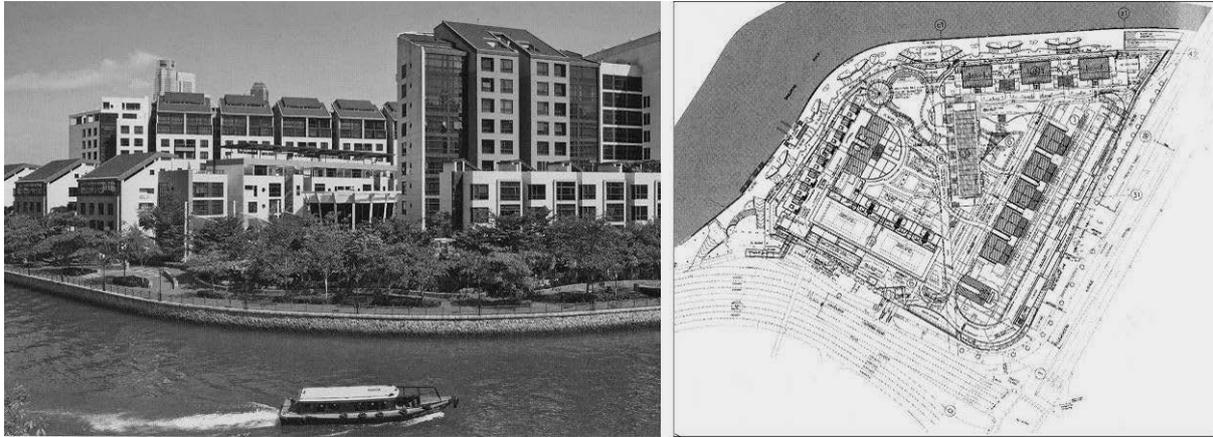


Fig.22 River Place along Havelock Road – gated private housing estate [Source: Wong, 2005: 143-144]



Fig.23 SOHO@Central - new private housing development replacing former Ellenborough Market



Fig.24 Duxton Plain – new public housing in Central Area [Source: URA, 2002: 23, 27]

Conclusion

From the concern over connectivity during large-scale infrastructural provision in the early period, to the development of mega urban centre for localized revitalization, and later to the promotion of community development through precinct planning as the emphasis shifted to social responsibility, this paper has thus reviewed the impact of urban housing development on the planning and design of public space in Singapore's Central Area (fig.25). More significantly, it has also illustrated a close relationship between the ideological shift in the provision of public space and the changing socio-economic status of the nation. The tendency, however, points towards a more localized planning of public space, whose network is further compromised by the present trend of privatization and gentrification, insofar as public space associated or generated by housing is concerned.¹⁰

Therefore, it is important to review such gentrification in the larger urban and social contexts. In such contexts, public space should then be defined by "virtue of its distinctive qualities rather than institution that provide it" (Field, 1992: 107). Provision of public functions should therefore be a joint effort of both the public sectors and private entrepreneurs, in order to address and negotiate between communal needs as well as issues on privacy and security, and planned within a more holistic urban framework.

¹⁰ On the urban scale, however, URA has also planned a comprehensive network of public space and pedestrian connection to link the public spaces engendered by different agendas, one of which is the focus of this article.

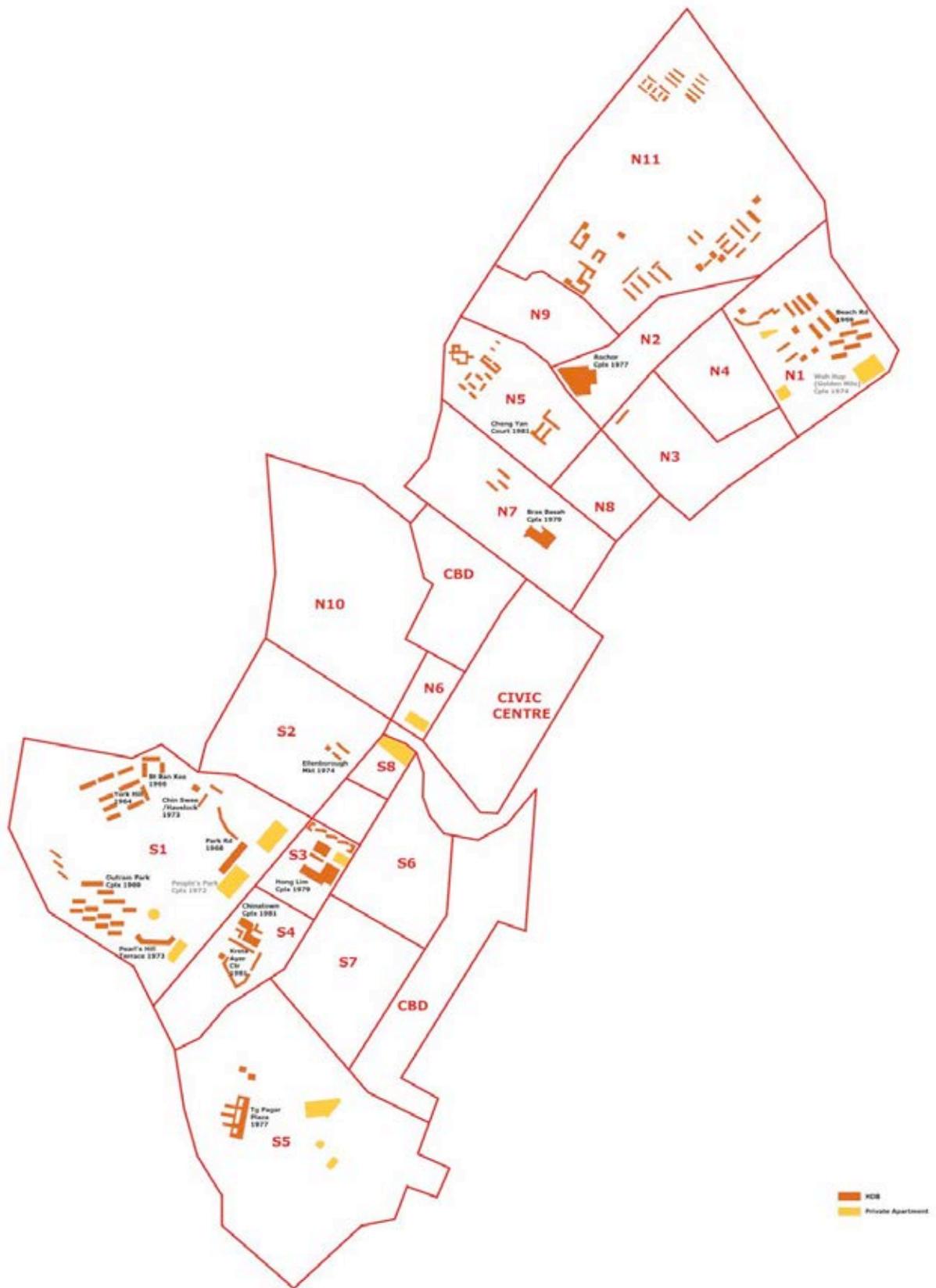


Fig.26 Locations of important housing developments in Central Area by 1981

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**"REVAMPING HERITAGE MANAGEMENT: RESPONDING TO
ENDEMIC CRISIS OF HISTORIC URBAN CORE OF KOLKATA"**

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1. INTRODUCTION

An urban core is the heart or nucleus of a city. Generally it is a place with excessive concentration of commercial activities and may also be the seat of the government. In most of the cases, an urban core experiences tremendous economic pressure due to high return value per unit space.

An historic urban core is one which is not only the centre of activities, but also has significant concentration of heritage structures. Such an urban place or historic urban core generally has a definite identity of its own - a distinct townscape character that is worthy of preservation. Thus, in addition to its economic importance, the place gains a symbolic value attributing common identities for the citizens.

This often results in a paradoxical situation. High return of economic values creates a pressure for change, demolition and renewal. The stress is further aggravated if part of the historical fabric is marked by obsolescence. On the other hand, historical, townscape or symbolic values of the place create an urge for its preservation. In absence of a pragmatic approach, development programmes can end in two extreme situations. The place can become [1] a museum city - frozen in time, or [2] a total renewal obliterating any sign of past heritage.

Kolkata, the capital of West Bengal and is the nerve centre of eastern part of India. Once the capital of British India, it was the hub of Raj's Business and industry. Kolkata has always been known as the seat for the government, the main trading centre of eastern India and the cultural capital of India. It is still an important centre but due to tremendous economic pressure and other externalities, the very historicity of some areas of the city is now at stake.

And within this city of Kolkata, B.B.D. Bag has always been the hub of administrative and business activity. There exist numerous historical buildings, which directly or indirectly play an important role in very day life of the citizens and were the creations of the British, which still holds their head high amidst of all anomalies. There also exists the C.B.D. which is of unique character. All these further helps to enhance the image of this Historic District of Kolkata.

The major problems in Historic urban Core of Kolkata remains:

- Many of the historic fabric are not applicable for modern use resulting in inadequate use of floor spaces.
- In absence of holistic conservation guidelines new constructions result in deterioration of built forms insensitive to historical character causing loss of identity.
- Ever increasing intensity of use and tremendous economic pressure leads to traffic and congestion problem and inadequate, obsolete infrastructure.

2. CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORIC URBAN CORE OF KOLKATA

The chronological development of the area may be divided into a number of phases. The discussion below enumerates the prime characteristics of each phase from the planning point of view and change of scale and spread of use.

2.1 PRE BRITISH DAYS UP TO 1693 [FIG 1]

The prime characteristics of this phase include:

- The area was basically marshy land, occupied by weavers and textile merchants.
- The centre of activity was the tank with a temple and Zamindar's katchari on its bank.
- Trading, religious and administrative functions generally used to signify the area.

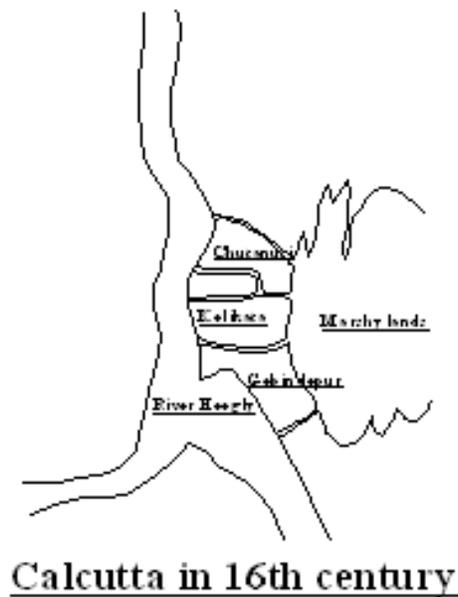


Fig 1 – Calcutta in pre British days

Fig 2 - Tank square during Company Factory days

2.2 COMPANY'S FACTORY: 1717-1740 [FIG 2]

The prime characteristics of this phase include:

- In this period, this area served as a port and trading centre for East India Company
- It consisted of the 'Fortified area' to the west of the tank, European Quarter to the other side of the tank and wholesale commercial centre to the north at Burrabazaar.
- The major functions this area performed was mainly administrative and commercial with separate commercial centre.

2.3 THE COMPANY RAJ: 1758-1800 [FIG 3]

The prime characteristics of this phase include:

- During this phase, Calcutta became the capital of British India with the subsequent shifting of the fort to Fort William on the south with a buffer of open space flanking it and separate residential areas grew up for Europeans near the tank and for natives away from the tank.

- Dalhousie became the core, mainly consisting of administrative offices, few residential units and recreational facilities.
- Functionally, the area was dominated mainly by administrative and trading activities with separate commercial centre on north and defense centre on south of it.

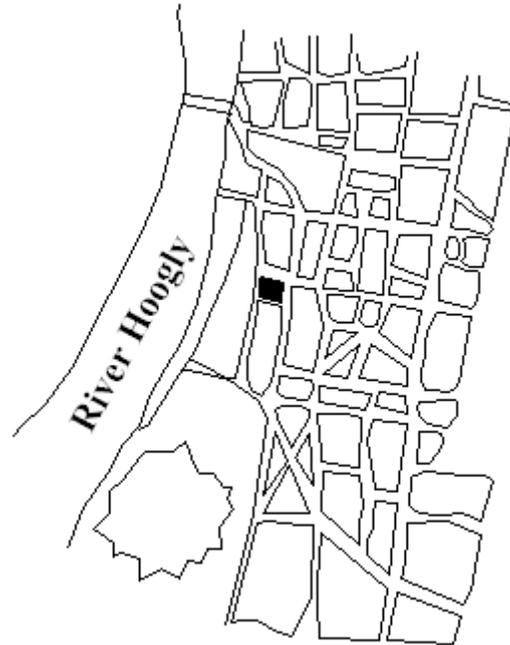
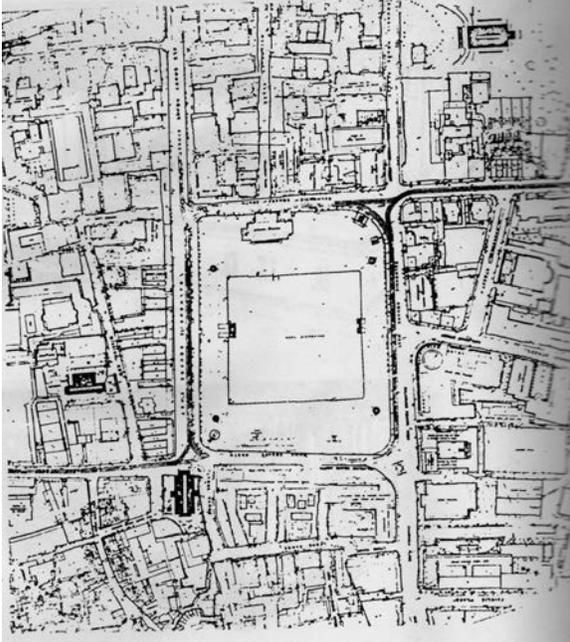


Fig 3 - Tank square during Company Raj days Fig 4 - The area during Capital of British India

2.4 CAPITAL OF BRITISH INDIA TILL INDEPENDENCE: 1803-1947 [FIG 4]

The prime characteristics of this phase include:

- Calcutta remained the capital for British India till 1912 and later became capital for West Bengal; trading centre for eastern India with its declining port lead to dilapidation of ware houses.
- Dalhousie square grows as the hub for administration and business activities proliferated encircling it and expanding in all directions, mainly in the north and south.
- Functionally, this area, during this phase, bloomed as the hard-core administrative and trading centre with the core fringes becoming multifunctional in character from beginning of 20th century and development of a strong force towards north and south.

2.5 POST INDEPENDENCE TO PRESENT DATE: 1948-2003 [FIG 5]

The prime characteristics of this phase include:

- Decentralization of administrative function to some areas on the east of the city took place in the later half of this phase; improper maintenance of buildings and precincts lead to dilapidation of the core with the subsequent declaration of this area as "World Endangered Site". Tremendous economic pressure and pressure for new development in dilapidated sites was the result of neglect of this area over the years.

- Dalhousie square remains as the hub for state administration and business activities [Fig 6] proliferate encircling it and expanding in all directions, with addition of recreational activities along river bank in the form of "Millennium Park".
- As regards to its function, the area remains dominated mainly by hard-core administrative and trading activities along with some elements of recreation, with core fringes becoming multifunctional in character.

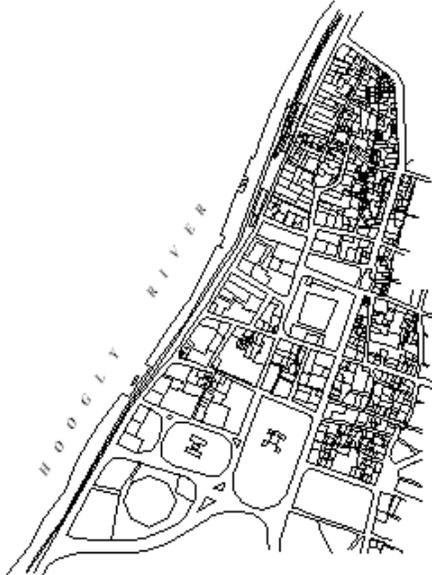


Fig 6 - The present B.B.D. Bag area

Fig 5 – Present day B.B.D. Bag

The characteristic feature of the B.B.D. Bag area under consideration includes:

- It is situated under Kolkata Municipal Corporation and covers an area of about 345 acres.
- This area houses a large number of government offices and residential buildings along with private sector offices, large market areas, ware houses, go-downs and the land use is mostly public/semi public and mixed with traces of commercial land use.
- In view of the post independence nationalization of banks and insurance companies as also several industrial undertakings, numerous properties in the area have come under administrative control of government agencies and statutory bodies or Public Sector Corporation.
- The floor area ratio for the central government properties ranges between 0.83 to 1.60 where as for state government properties; it ranges between 0.20 to 1.77.
- The printing presses, CPT jetty workshop and the Mullick Ghat pumping station constitute the service category.
- Due to proximity of jetties, a sizeable number of go-downs and warehouses are present in this area.
- The urban fabric of the area is under severe stress because of which it has very recently been included within the list of "World Endangered Site" by World Monument's Fund.

3. ENLISTED HERITAGE BUILDINGS IN THE AREA

The analysis of the existing condition with respect to the sixty-six enlisted buildings and precincts [Fig 7] gives us a detailed idea of the percentages of buildings to be conserved. A detailed study of each enlisted building with respect to the parameters like signs of deterioration [Fig 8], Historic value [Fig 9], Architectural value [Fig 10], State of preservation [Fig 11], establishes the fact that the historicity of the area is at stake. This also leads us to definite conclusion about the extent of preservation works required for each building.

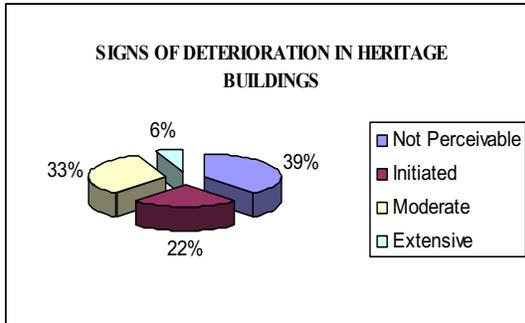


Fig 8 – Signs of deterioration

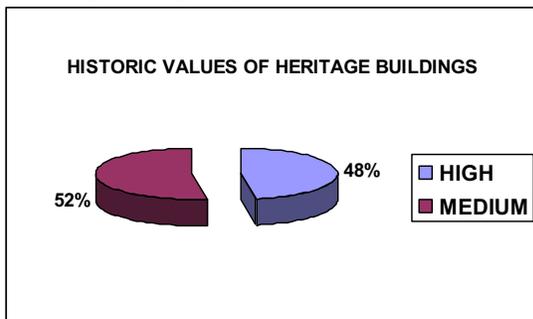


Fig 9 – Historic values in heritage buildings

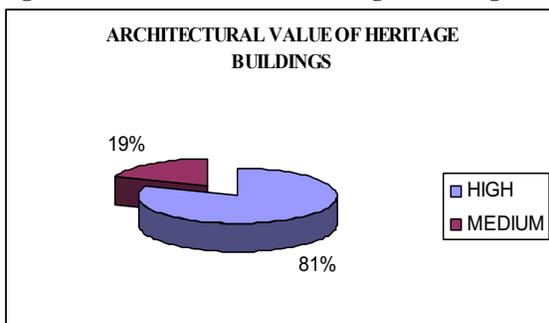


Fig 10 – Architectural value

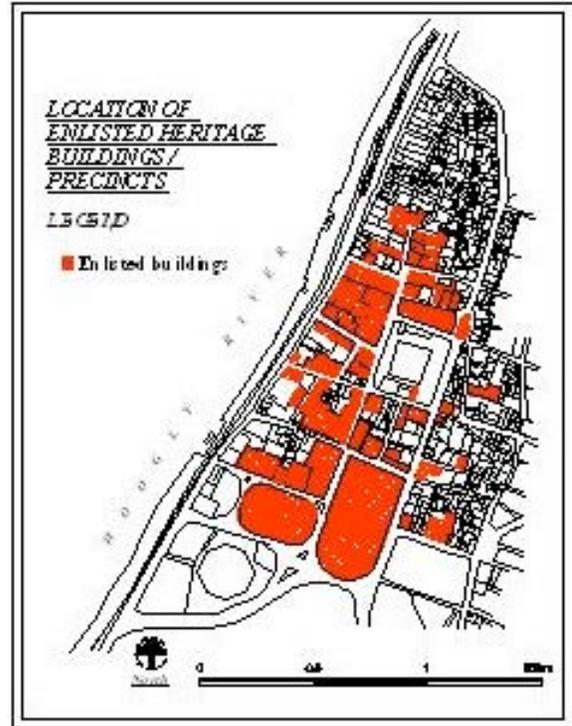


Fig 6 – Location of enlisted heritage buildings

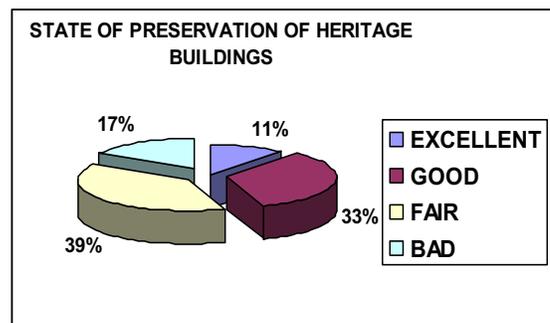


Fig 11 – State of Preservation

Various adhoc and piece meal approaches to conservation of these enlisted buildings, for example, restoration of Town hall, Currency Building have often led to anomaly, debate and confusion. The famous Town Hall of Kolkata, designed as a grand hall for public entertainment by Colonel Jason Garstin and completed in 1813 A.D was erected from the proceeds of lottery in Doric style of architecture. The use of the hall in the post independence era changed from

entertainment to record room of High Court along with Government of West Bengal's Public Service Commission office and Municipal Service Commission office. 1980 Calcutta Municipal Corporation decided to demolish it and construct an office building because of its dilapidation. But a concentrated effort of the citizen of Kolkata saved the hall from destruction. In 1990, the tercentary celebration called for restoration of heritage structures and Town Hall emerged as the first choice. Eminent citizen's of Kolkata formed a Homage Trust to raise funds for the betterment of heritage buildings. Bikash Bhattacharya, the eminent painter, had twelve of his paintings auctioned to fund the restoration work and the hall was finally restored.

The example above along with one of another recent and similar example as regards to restoration of Currency Building in Kolkata, is sufficient to establish the pathetic state of affair as regards to enlisted buildings. Infact absence of grading and a proper management to deal with such situation has resulted in adhoc decision to demolish heritage buildings and precincts.

4. THE NEW GENERATION BUILDINGS – SHIFT OF PLANNING PRINCIPLES



Fig 12 - B.B.D. Bag – 1910



Fig 13 -B.B.D. Bag - 2004

The Historic urban core of B.B.D. bag has, over the passage of time undergone tremendous changes in terms of the planning principles it adheres to and the urban mass it contains [Fig 12 & 13]. The change had been gradual but steady and what the B.B.D. Bag is at present, the severe commotion, adhocism in decision making process written on the very walls of it, are resultant of the change.

The administrative and office core in this area is marked by buildings of monumental scale pertaining to a specific architectural styles built during the British era. The new additions to the area are on the other hand marked by buildings of human scale which are insensitive to the thriving architectural style dominant in the area. Infact creation of new structures insensitive to the existing built form is taking place which are undermining the scale of the built form in this area. Also changing skyline, floor level and the facade expression of the new buildings is creating visual discontinuity and degrading the historicity of the area. The best examples of which can be quoted to be those of the Reserve Bank Building, the State Bank Head office, the Telephone Bhawan etc.

The new generation buildings are infact creating a shift from the old principle that remained the pivot for the British's planning of the area. Taking an example of the Telephone Bhawan, built

within the precinct of the B.B.D. Bag tank square, destroyed the axis and reciprocity of view that the British established in locating the Governor house and the Secretariat.

Along with the construction of the Telephone Bhawan, the Reserve Bank of India building also came up with the passage of time and more followed which not only degraded the historicity of the core but also changed the architectural style, silhouette character, the skyline etc. The basic planning principle that the British adopted in gradual evolution of this B.B.D. Bag, to keep the square free of any built form intrusion for visual continuity, was destroyed more with the construction of a bus stand, public utility facilities in it. The government has further ideas to create a multi level car parking over inside the tank square to respond to the parking demand of the area and to proceed for construction of commercial complexes in adjacent open plots against the original idea of keeping them open so that they can act as lungs for the city.

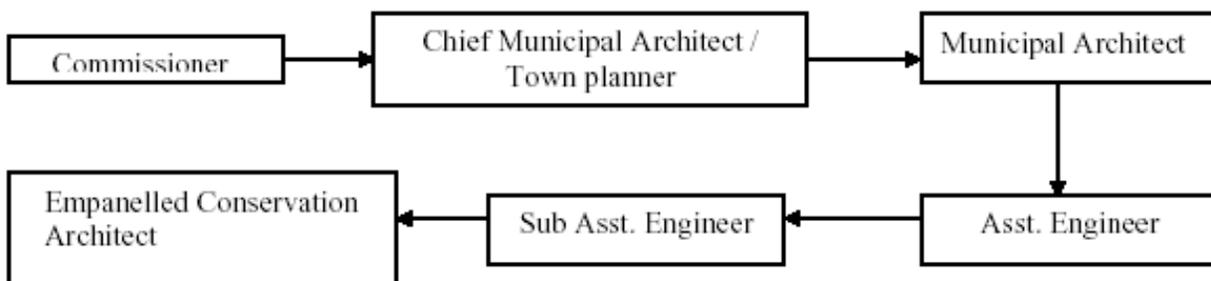
Also a gradual deterioration of the urban fabric has set in over the years. This area is under severe stress in terms of loss of historicity, rupture of historic fabric and tremendous economic pressure and externalities trying to make an indentation into the very historicity of the area. Infact many of the numerous buildings of historical importance are under bad state of preservation and utilization. The condition of the area has deteriorated so much that recently it has been declared by World Monuments Fund as “World Endangered Site”.

All these shift in principles and ideas, not only with respect to the area but the historic structures as well is because of absence of norms for grading as regards to the site and building as well as absence of a proper management cell on the part of government, the like of which is found in various cities like Mumbai etc.

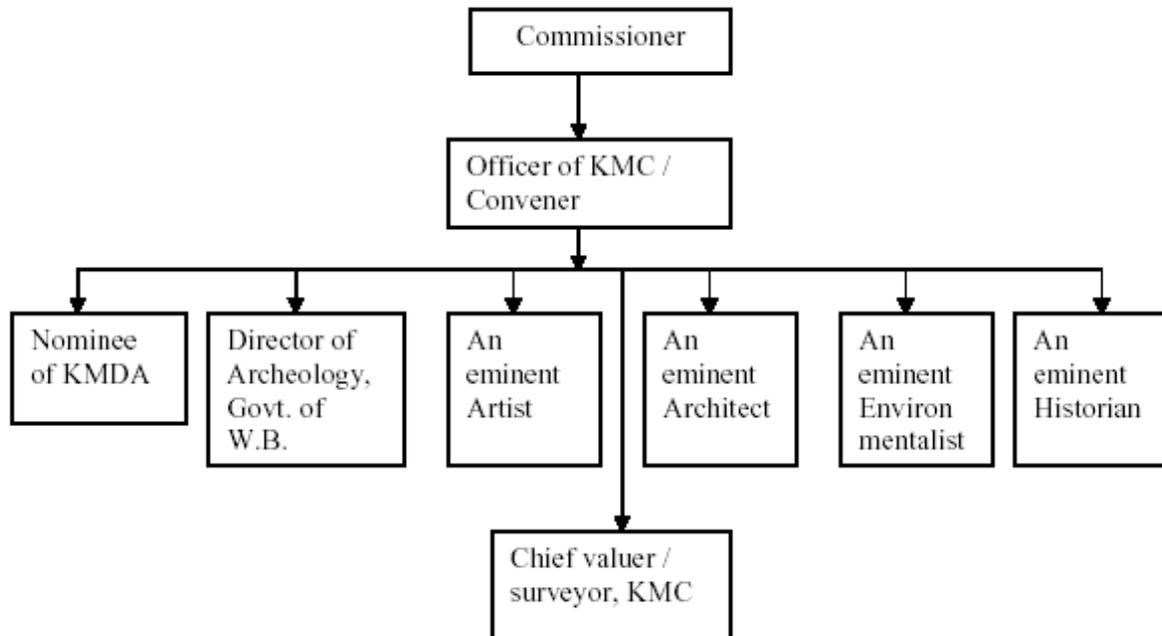
5. EXISTING MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

The organizational structure that exists under Kolkata Municipal Corporation broadly consists of two segments. One, the Administrative segment [Fig 14] is headed by the Commissioner is mainly an approval authority for different types of conservation measures as regards to the area under K.M.C. The other is the Heritage Conservation Committee [Fig 15], which is mainly the implementing and supervising authority. The structure of the two Committees is given below as:

ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE [FIG 14]



HERITAGE CONSERVATION COMMITTEE [FIG 15]



5.1 POWER & FUNCTION OF KMC

The power and functions of the KMC with respect to conservation of heritage buildings are:

- Power to purchase, require or take on lease heritage buildings.
- Transfer of Development Right for the purpose of acquisition by agreement.
- Right of access to heritage buildings.
- Right to allow sublease of heritage buildings.
- Power to exempt rates, taxes on heritage buildings.
- Taking over management and control of heritage buildings.
- Receive voluntary contribution towards cost of maintaining heritage buildings.

5.2 POWER & FUNCTION OF HERITAGE CONSERVATION COMMITTEE

The powers and functions of the Heritage Conservation Committee is illustrated and can be summarized as:

- Conserve and maintain Heritage Buildings.
- Provide erection and re-erection in heritage building.
- Making changes in internal and external wall, structural members, roof, floor etc.

5.3 DEFICIENCIES IN PRESENT STRUCTURE

Though the present structure is functioning, still there exist numerous aspects which need attention for the proper functioning of the Heritage Management. These aspects can be briefly tabulated as:

- Absence of Conservation Architect Heritage Committee.
- Absence of role for NGOs in the conservation process.
- All committees and laws pertain to conservation of enlisted buildings only.

6.1 PROPOSED NORMS FOR GRADING

For the sake of conserving the enlisted buildings, precincts and sites within the area and to have an uniform approach to conserving them, it is of utmost necessity that the buildings be graded and norms proposed with respect to each category of graded building. The enlisted buildings and precincts may be graded as per the following norms. All changes, procedure and surrounding development should be in accordance to the norms for grading. The proposed grades for the enlisted buildings are shown in Fig 16. The norms are:

6.1.1 GRADE-1

Definition: Comprises of buildings of national or historic importance excellent in architectural style, design, technology and material usage having association with historic event, personality or movement and are prime landmarks of the city.

Objective: Highly deserves careful preservation.

Scope of change: No intervention permitted on exterior or interior unless for strengthening and prolonging the life of the building / precincts or a part of the features there of for which minimal changes would be allowed in accordance to the original.

Procedure: Development permission for changes can be given by Municipal Commissioner in consultation with Heritage Conservation Committee to be appointed by the State Government.

Surrounding development: No development surrounding such buildings should degrade the grandeur or view of it.

6.1.2 GRADE-2

Definition: Comprises of buildings of regional importance possessing special architectural or aesthetic merit or cultural or historic significance of lower scale than Grade - 1. They are local landmarks which contribute to the image and identity of the city.

Objective: Deserves intelligent conservation.

Scope of change: Restricted intervention allowed in the form of internal changes, adaptive reuse or extension / addition in the same plot subject to scrutiny and should be in harmony.

Procedure: Development permission for changes can be given by Municipal Commissioner on recommendation of Heritage Conservation Committee.

Surrounding development: No development surrounding such buildings should degrade the grandeur or view of it.

6.1.3 GRADE-3

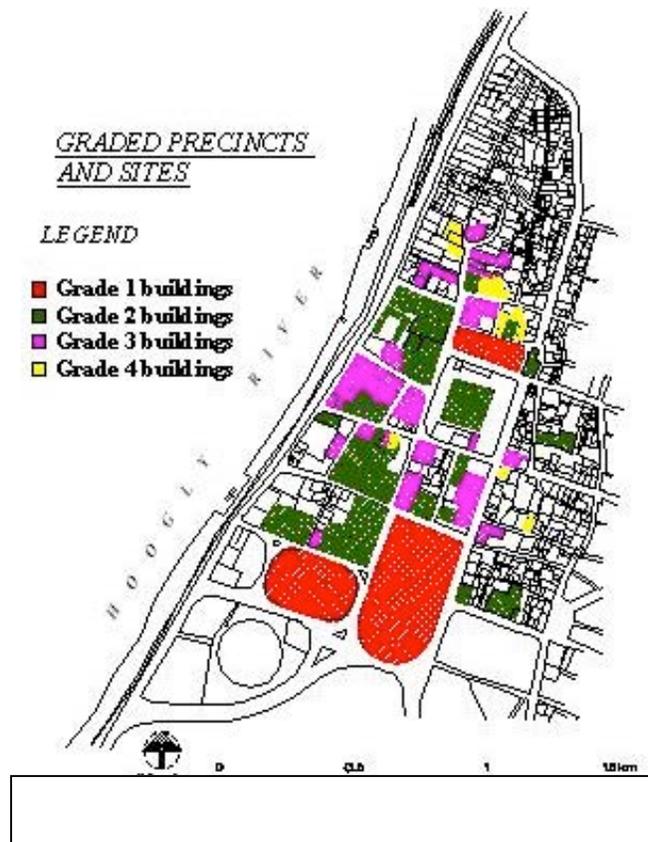
Definition: Comprises of buildings of local importance possessing special architectural or aesthetic merit or cultural or historic significance of lower scale than Grade - 2 but are local landmarks by virtue of existence.

Objectives: Deserves intelligent conservation, protection of special features, functions and characters.

Scope of change: Intervention allowed with respect to external and internal changes, adaptive reuse, extension / addition in the same plot, rebuilding in case of severe dilapidation / ruin, subject to scrutiny and should be in harmony.

Procedure: Development permission for changes can be given by Municipal Commissioner on recommendation of Heritage Conservation Committee.

Surrounding development: No restrictions



6.4 GRADE-4

Definition: Comprises of buildings / precincts of importance for townscape which evoke architectural, aesthetic or sociological interest.

Objective: Deserves intelligent conservation, protection of special features.

Scope of change: Extensive intervention allowed with respect to external internal changes, adaptive reuse, extension and addition in the same plot and rebuilding in case of existing building under ruins provided they are in harmony and subject to approval.

Procedure: Development permission for changes can be given by Municipal Commissioner on recommendation of Heritage Conservation Committee.

Surrounding development: No restrictions

6.2 PROPOSED CHANGE IN REGULATORY BODY AND NORMS CONCERNING HERITAGE SITES

The analysis of the existing situation as regards to Heritage management leads us to the proposal that the Administrative mechanism and the system of functional hierarchy in it should continue but the Heritage management may change with the introduction of Conservation Architect and NGOs into the system. It is now of utmost necessity to arrest further deterioration in terms of space planning and new constructions because in a place like B.B.D. Bag which commands the highest land value in the entire city, new constructions are inevitable. But these new constructions in vacant sites or sites containing dilapidated structures or structures under ruins should come as the last option in the form of sensitive infill but efforts should be made to retain the original structures as much as possible. Similarly, as regards to space planning, efforts should be made to give due respect to the intention of the old planning concepts specially with respect to restoration of the open spaces and green lungs of the city. The norms for the same with respect to concerned Municipal Corporation may be modified keeping in mind the following aspects so as to have a control on future development.

6.2.1 STRUCTURAL RENOVATION AND PROPERTY REINVESTMENT

The District is in one of the oldest sections of the City and contains structures that have been built over the last hundred years. Some of the commercial and public institutional structures in the area are in disrepair. Other sites are underutilized. Renovation of historic structures will be encouraged, where feasible. By renovating existing structures, the historical character of the District may be maintained. Through renovation, the appearance of the area will be improved and more positive development can be attracted to the District.

The following activity may be pursued and will involve individual property owners, business tenants, financial institutions, stakeholders and design professionals. The primary tools available include business and financial institution cooperation, property owner and tenant commitment, voluntary participation, private sector funding and intergovernmental grants.

- Strengthening the structures under ruins and making them feasible for adaptive reuse.
- Emergency rehabilitation programs should be made available for spillover pollution of streets.
- Limited funding for no-cost voluntary demolition may be made available.
- Open spaces to be made free of intrusion.

6.2.2 PUBLIC DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Efforts may be made to encourage the public sector to complete appropriate capital projects in the District. *The planning process, public financing and other tools* will be used to encourage both the public and private sectors to improve the area. The following activities which will be pursued:

- Promote the District's unique character by using Theme Palette outdoor furnishings for street light replacement, new public and open space furnishings, and encourage and assist property owners with utilizing the Palette for all outdoor furniture.
- Promote the development of and improvements in open space, public places and streetscape throughout the District.
- Continuing to monitor Land Use and Building Safety regulations in order to encourage the redevelopment and improvement of the District in accordance with the proposed plan.

6.2.3 INCENTIVES FOR DEVELOPMENT

The following incentives could be thought of for the future development and conservation of the core:

- *Waiver of development review fees:* The amount of the waiver is negotiable and depends on the desirability and quality of the proposed development.
- *A temporary lessening of property taxes:* This may be in the form of a Government Property Lease Excise Tax which involves the Town holding ownership of the property and leasing it back to the private developer.
- *Low interest rates for restoration:* Loans with an interest rebate are an incentive to the owners which can be based upon regulations for HUDCO Bank lending. Interest rebate should be designed so as to incite on a priority basis occupants owners to restore their buildings and also to give incentives to renting owners whose buildings are vacant, to preserve their patrimony. The subsidy will be sourced through the creation of a "Restoration Fund".
- *Exemption of land tax for restored old buildings:* Exemption of land tax will be given on restored buildings for a period of fifteen years from the time of completion of restoration work. Land tax should continue to apply for other buildings during this period.

7. CONCLUSION

After the declaration of a part of this area as a World Endangered Site by World Monuments Fund, it is of utmost necessity to save the core. The entire discussion above indeed suggests that the scenario unlike many Historic Urban Cores is very different in case of B.B.D. Bag Kolkata. The condition at present, as the analysis of the existing situation reveals is precarious and is deteriorating fast. Keeping in mind the gravity of the existing situation and rapid changes in terms of landuse and space planning that is taking place, the proposed changes in administrative system with the inclusion of the proposed norms for future development along with norms for grading might go a long way in saving the sanctity and thriving historicity of the core. Also, such norms if implemented, will restrict the changing landuse scenario and provide a check on the shift of planning principles that the British introduced for the area not only in terms of space planning but also in context with silhouette, floor line continuity etc that helps to stitch together the essence of the core.

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EQUITABLE POLICIES, INEQUITABLE OUTCOMES AND INEQUITABLE POLICIES AND INEQUITABLE OUTCOMES: A CASE OF LAND, HOUSING AND TRANSPORT IN DELHI

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ABSTRACT

Policies could be equitable or inequitable in terms of their formulation. But nature of policies as written statements really does not determine their outcomes, which largely depend on the ways policies are implemented. This paper examines Delhi's land, housing and transport policies and assesses their outcomes in terms of implications for the poor. It is shown that equitable as well as inequitable policies, as written statements, both have resulted in inequitable outcomes on implementation. The poor have been disadvantaged only to favor the middle and rich classes. It is found that four factors are responsible for causing these disadvantages to the poor?

First, attempts for equitable distribution of land and housing are thwarted by slowness of policy implementation. Slackness in implementation of public policies punish the poor rather than the rich as is shown through slow land acquisition and housing construction by the Delhi Development Authority. Second, equitable public policies are incapacitated during implementation by introduction of additional rules and schemes, for example, reduction of plot size entitlements under the sites and services scheme. Third, inequitable results are achieved by interpretation of policies by the planners differently from what is intended in the master plans and other documents, for example, integration of housing for the poor at community, zone or city level. These attempts are made at informal level and explanations are provided only when questions are raised in the courts. Fourth, there are certain policies, which by their very nature are inequitable in terms of formulation and implementation, therefore cause inequitable outcomes. Policies being followed by the Delhi Metro could be placed in this category. It is established that incrementally over a period of time, these processes have caused massive reductions in the entitlements of the urban poor.

1. INTRODUCTION

Governments in the developing world, as Mike Davis in his *Planet of Slums*, argues, have abdicated their duty to provide adequate decent housing to the urban poor. This is the main cause for the formation of slums. Neo-liberal policies have further accentuated slum formation as such policies have led to 'massive downsizing of entitlements' of the urban poor (Davis, 2006). In the case of India and more particularly Delhi, *Slumming India* clearly shows that low-income communities are being robbed of their land and housing entitlements as stipulated in the statutory public policy documents. 'The Great Terrain Robbery is the longest playing film in the history of contemporary urban development (Verma, 2002: 59). Land and housing, which was meant for the poor, have been allotted to the high and middle-income groups. Latest empirical research clearly shows that the 'reasons for the existence of such informal settlements vary between cities, but reflect a lack of formal provision of housing (whether by the state or the private sector), unaffordable rents, inadequate formal access to land and the need of low income dwellers to live near sources of income and employment' (Nunan and Devas, 2006: 169). Consequently, 'exclusion from land, shelter and basic services remains the dominant experience of poor people (Nunan and Devas, 2006: 185).

In the account that follows, Delhi's land, housing and transport policies and outcomes are examined to find out whether these have contributed to equity in favor of low-income communities. The main contention is that not only through non-implementation of policies (as in the case of Delhi Master Plan and Land Policy of Delhi, 1961 and the National Urban Transport Policy, 2006), but also by design and implementation (as in the case of DDA's planning practices and transport policies of the DMRC), public policies and their outcomes have

contributed to creating and sustaining inequities for the poor. Transport policies of the DMRC are those governments policies, which are by their very nature, are designed to disadvantage one class over the other. Such policies are inequitable even before these get implemented. But there are policies like those of the Delhi Development Authority, which are apparently equitable in terms of their formulation, but the policies that get implemented have produced inequitable results.

In this paper, urban planning is regarded a moral enterprise. Therefore, apart from accountability and probity in public policy making and implementation, equity or fairness towards every citizen has been considered to be its central concern. To achieve equity, governments frame policies and implement these in the form of projects. Policies for providing basic necessities such as water, power, sanitation, housing and transport could be placed in this group. In this paper the main argument is that urban planning and development policies are implemented and sometimes even designed in such a way that inequitable outcomes are produced. It is shown that more than the free market, implementation of government policies perpetuates inequities. To examine this, some of the major policies such as those of the DMRC's Delhi Metro Policy, Land Policy of Delhi, 1961, formulation and implementation of Delhi Master Plan policies are evaluated.

2. EQUITY PLANNING POLICIES AND INEQUITABLE OUTCOMES

Equity Planning Model was popularized world over by the work and leadership of Norman Krumholz who worked as the Director of the Cleveland City Planning Commission for ten year from 1969. According to Krumholz the chief feature of equity planning is 'providing more choices to those who have few, if any choices' (Krumholz et al, 1975; Krumholz, 1982; Krumholz and Forester, 1990). Apart from other minor successes, Krumholz successfully negotiated and implemented a transport project leading to enhance mobility of the poor depending heavily on public transit. However, he was unsure of the sustainability of such projects. In line with his apprehensions, current planning efforts in Cleveland have been criticized for failing to pursue a social equity agenda (Keating and Krumholz, 1991; Hirt, 2005).

Equity planning model has not been able to become popular for a long period of time in any planning context throughout the world. But apart from Cleveland, there are some examples of successful equity planning practice such as protection of the rights of indigenous people in New Zealand through local plans (Berke et al, 2002), radical planning in Indonesia even in authoritarian political context (Beard, 2003, Beard, 2002), and efforts of the indigenous people in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand to restore control over their traditional lands (Lane and Hibbard, 2005). Similarly, 'development of the Roxbury Master Plan [for Boston] highlighted the creativity that community participation can generate in designing strategies aimed at improving living conditions in poor and working class neighborhoods' (Jennings, 2004: 29). An Annotated Bibliography of the Theory and Practice of Equity Planning is provided by Metzger (1996).

2.1 Land and Housing Policies

Before a discussion on land and housing policies, a clarification about the context is necessary. Under the Delhi Development Act, 1957, the Master Plan for Delhi was enforced in 1962. Another version of the Plan was prepared in 1990 with the plan period from 1981-2001. A draft of the 2001-2021 Plan is ready, and comments and suggestions on this draft have been invited and are being examined. All three versions of Master Plan for Delhi have made significant number of policy proposals with far reaching social consequences. Primarily the Plans have dealt with the issue of equity by way of land and housing distribution to the poor.

Equity becomes even more important if we consider the fact that a large proportion of population lives in slums and squatters. For example, at present Municipal Corporation of Delhi alone have 1,851,231 people (18.7 percent of its total population) living in slums out of which 16.5 percent are children in the age group of 0-6 year (Government of India, 2005: 22 and 25). Squatters numbering nearly 3, 00,000 could be added to this already staggering figure of slum population. Thus Delhi has more than 2.5 million people living in slums and squatters.

The planners expected that people would migrate to the city. The Master Plan for Delhi, 1962, for instance, 'recommended that reasonable areas should be earmarked in several zones for the low income groups who migrate to Delhi on account of the relentless "push" from the rural areas' (Government of India, 1962: 27). Delivering a talk at the IIC Delhi on 18 January 2003, Gita Dewan Verma made a crucial point. She noted:

The revised Master Plan for 2001 approved in 1990 and currently in force and being revised for 2021 requires 25 percent residential development in the form of plots for the poor. The Plan estimated that during 1981-2001, 13 lakh families would be added to the city (including 3.25 lakh i.e. 25 percent poor families) and 3 lakh houses would need replacement (including 1 lakh squatter housing already existing in 1981). Though hardly any housing for the poor was developed, the Plan did anticipate that 4.25 lakh poor families would need housing by 2001. Contrary to the popular perception, therefore, Delhi's low-income families are by no means un-anticipated (Verma, 2003: 3).

Therefore, policies were framed to deal with land and housing issues of the immigrants. These policies were expressly written, among other documents, in the Master Plans. Equity that is distribution of land and housing to low income groups as per provisions of the statutory Master Plan has always been the cornerstone of Delhi Development Authority's land policy, 1961 as well as the Master Plan for Delhi, 1962 and 1990. For example, land has been acquired under the union Land Acquisition Act, 1894 for public purposes. As the Delhi Development Authority underscores this point in the Master Plan for Delhi, 1962 under the sub-title '*Major Policy Decisions*':

All this land will remain under the public ownership and developed plots or undeveloped land will be leased out to individuals and cooperative societies on an equitable basis, so that the benefits of planned growth accrue to the common man and the government can also have a share of the future rise in the price of such land. The ownership of land by government makes planning and the implementation of plans easier and is imperative if slum clearance, redevelopment and subsidized housing and provision of community facilities according to accepted standards have to be undertaken, as indeed, they must be in Delhi, in a determined way (Government of India, 1962: 7).

This statutory policy with clear emphasis on equity was further developed in the second version of the Master Plan for Delhi, which was enforced in August 1990. It was argued that 'Housing policy could act as a major tool for influencing the efficiency and equity of urban areas' (Government of India, 1990: 5). Although there has been a shift in emphasis towards private participation for providing housing to the poor in the draft of the Master Plan for Delhi, 2021, the Delhi Development Authority insists that it will provide 'housing ... for all, especially for the vulnerable groups and the poor, by creation of adequate housing stock on either rental or ownership basis' (Delhi Development Authority, 2005: 274). This leaves no one in doubt that the Master Plans and land policy of the DDA have been designed for equitable distribution of land and housing with particular focus on low-income groups.

Clearly greater emphasis was placed on the provision of housing for slum and squatter families in the Master plan for Delhi, 1990 whereby 28 percent (slum housing 3 percent and sites and services 25 percent housing) was proposed for low-income groups. Sites and services provided that individuals would get plots, through resettlement and rehabilitation programmes, notwithstanding the smaller size plots.

The Land Disposal Policy of the DDA further provided that distribution of plots among the LIG, MIG and HIG would be in the proportion of 50:30:20 respectively. It was provided that plots will be distributed in accordance with this policy. But outcomes rarely meet the policy intentions. Why then development authority and other government agencies have failed to provide equitable land and housing to the urban poor in Delhi? There are various reasons for this grave failure, which I now take up.

2.2 Non-Implementation and Inequitable Outcomes

In the 1960s as now, government was the only land acquiring and development agency in Delhi. The DDA had purposed to acquire 12,150 hectare of land for residential purposes till 1981 (Government of India, 1962: 43). But it could not acquire and develop land as per the Master Plan for Delhi, 1962. However, the DDA could only acquire and develop 7,316 hectare of land for residential purposes by 1984 (Misra et al, 2003: 4), which is only 60 percent of the total requirement. Since the DDA was the only land development agency slow pace of land acquisition led to highly constrained supply of serviced land. Due to factors such as limited supply of serviced land, absolutely no care taking of notified land and slow development of acquired land into housing, it became almost impossible to avoid encroachments. Slackness in the implementation of fairly good policies thus set the stage for the development of slums and squatters as more people had to live in already congested and inadequately serviced existing areas apart from others being pushed into squatting on the public land.

As noted earlier the Land Disposal Policy of the DDA further provided that distribution of plots among the LIG, MIG and HIG would be in the proportion of 50:30:20 respectively. As shown in Table 1, plots were roughly distributed in accordance with this policy. But according to the DDA's own records, nearly 50 percent of the total land area was allotted to the HIG category, which seems highly inequitable even if large plot sizes meant for the higher income groups are taken into account. Further MIG and HIG put together have succeeded in siphoning of nearly 70 percent of the total land area while their population could hardly exceed 50 percent of the total population of the city (see Table 1 below). It must also be stressed that in 1994 while squatter families accounted for a fifth of the city population, it occupied only a fiftieth (968 hectare) of the city's total land (Verma, 2003: 4).

Table 1 Distribution of Plots to Various Income Groups, 1982

Category	Number of Plots	Percent of Plots	Area (in hectare)	Percent of Area
LIG	14,669	44.44	108.1	20.90
MIG	5,820	17.63	109.1	21.09
HIG	9,570	28.99	243.9	47.15
Alternative Allotment	2,950	08.94	56.2	10.86
Total	33,009	100.00	517.3	100.00

Source: Office of the Commissioner (Lands) of DDA (1982) as quoted by Misra et al (2003: 4).

3. INEQUITABLE POLICIES AND INEQUITABLE OUTCOMES

The draft 2005 Master Plan for Delhi however dispenses with the provision of individual plots for low income housing and now provides 25 percent housing for the poor through rehabilitation, relocation, reconstruction and upgradation, which will further curtail land rights of the poor. According to new policy of the DDA, which is also reflected in the draft Master Plan for Delhi, 2005, low-income housing will be provided through construction of flats for the low-income groups through private sector participation. The minimum dwelling unit size for slums and EWS housing will be upto 25 sq mts with density of 600 dwelling units per hectare. This means development agencies are at liberty to construct any size of dwelling unit within 25 sq mts.

This is already happening. Housing on individual plots has been reduced from 17 percent to 8 percent because serviced land in comparison to overall land requirements is very little. Even if land spared from plotted development is used for low-income housing, it will be very small amount of land, which could then be used for the construction of flats for the poor. Another point is that the DDA views that huge 15 percent of housing could be provided through unauthorized regularized colonies where already sub-standard housing exists with or without adequate basic services. This is also accepting fait accompli and is unfavorable to the poor and also non-implementable because the High Court of Delhi has questioned policy of unauthorized constructions repeatedly in 2005 and 2006. The courts have issued even demolitions ordered. It seems that government's insistence on regularization of unauthorized constructions is an attempt to create 'planned slums'.

To further perpetuate inequity, in the Master Plan for Delhi, 1990, 64 percent housing in the form of built and partially built housing, housing on individual plots and employer housing was proposed for medium and high income groups. This has been now revised to 54 percent (see Table 2). Put together, these policies of the DDA are everything but equitable or fair.

Table 2 Proposed Distribution of Housing, MPD, 1990 and Draft MPD, 2005

S. No.	Housing Type	Percent of Housing: MPD, 1990	Housing Type	Percent of Housing: Draft MPD, 2005
1.	Slum Housing	3	In-situ rehabilitation, relocation/reconstruction, and upgradation	25
2.	Housing on individual plots	17	Houses on independent plots and redevelopments	8
3.	Built and partially built housing	43	Group housing	42
4.	Employer housing	4	Employer Housing	4
5.	Regularized infill	8	Unauthorized regularized colonies infill	15
6.	Sites and services	25	Other housing areas, upgradation of old areas, traditional areas, villages	6
Total		100	Total	100

Source: Government of India (1990: 6) and Delhi Development Authority (2005: 275).

Note: Housing type categories used in two MPDs are not exactly similar.

To make things worse, it may be noted that a backlog of 4, 00,000 dwelling units in 2001, out of which 1,00,000 net shortage and 3,00,000 to be constructed in order to replace the existing inhabitable *kutcha* and dilapidated housing structures (Census of India, 2001) has not been cleared. This will affect the poor most because of their low affordability levels in the housing market, leaving them with little or no chance of acquiring a decent habitable house.

By now it is apparent that development authority's efforts have focused on providing housing to people of medium and high-income groups and housing needs of the poor have been met by rapid growth of slums and squatters (Nath, 1993). Thus, far from achieving the objective of equity, this implementation gap has caused development of unauthorized colonies on land, which was either notified but not acquired or was under litigation. For example, there were only 110 unauthorized colonies, which existed prior to 1961 that is prior to the enforcement of the Master Plan for Delhi. All of these colonies were regularized. But by 1979, 360 new unauthorized colonies sprang up in the areas acquired for planned development (Misra, Ribeiro and Gupta, 2003: 3). This much is even admitted by the development authority.

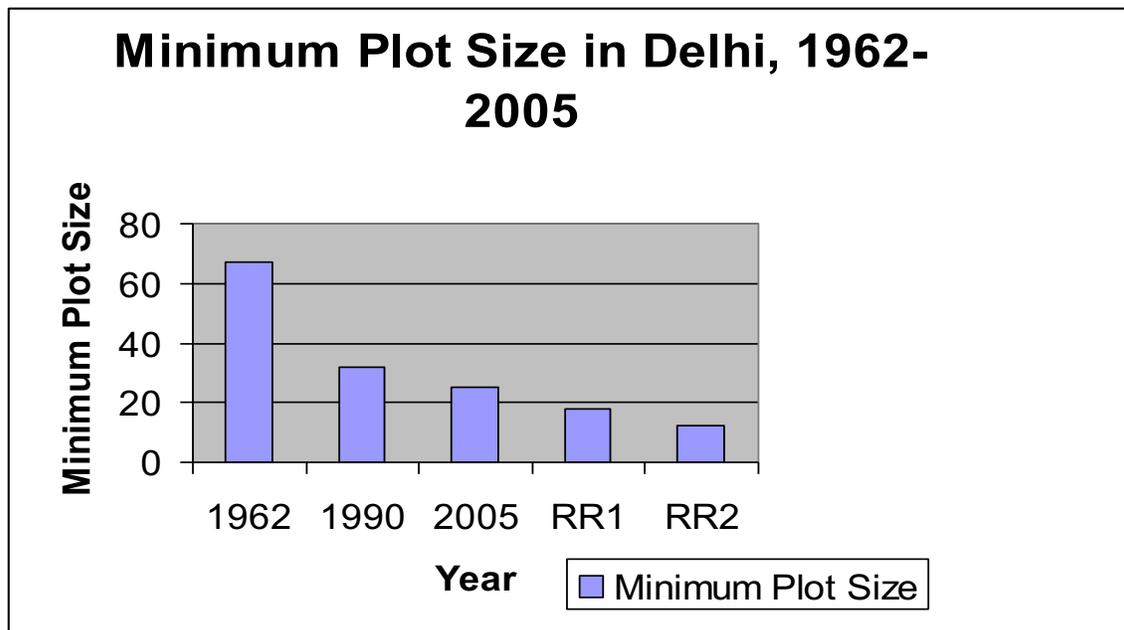
There are a variety of reasons for the ... growth of unauthorized colonies of Delhi. Apart from the propensity for illegal colonization and related malpractices, to an extent, this can also be attributed to implementation of the Master Plan and prevention of unplanned development including the policy of large scale acquisition and development (Delhi Development Authority, 2005: 278).

However, most worrying phenomenon is that this has been the trend throughout the country. Sivam and Karuppanan (2002) point out that formal housing agencies, both public and private, have largely failed to provide housing to the poor as these agencies are slow in meeting their housing demands, and are also slow in reaching out to the poor due to high prices. As a consequence, poor have to provide housing for themselves in slums and squatters.

3.1 Cutting to the Minimum Plot Size

There is a range of plot sizes and built up areas of flats for different income groups in Delhi. The Delhi Development Authority has formulated these standards since the enforcement of the 1962 Plan. Plot sizes meant for low income groups are kept smaller compared with higher income groups because, it is argued by planners, the poor have low affordability, which itself is dependent upon their paltry annual income.

The minimum plot size for low-income groups and slum re-housing was kept at 80 sq yards or 67 sq mts in the 1962 Master Plan for Delhi (Government of India, 1962: 55). While detailing out sub-division of a residential zone into use premises, minimum plot size was kept at 32 sq mts in the Master Plan for Delhi, 1990 (Government of India, 1990: 53). Now the minimum plot size for slum and EWS housing has been replaced with dwelling unit of upto 25 sq mts in the draft Master Plan for Delhi, 2005 (Delhi Development authority, 2005: 276). This means land entitlements of the urban poor will cease to exist and the dwelling unit size can vary from a minimum of any size to a maximum of 25 sq mts.



Source: MPD (1962: 55); MPD (1990: 53) and Draft MPD (2005: 276 and 279).

Note: MPD (2005:286) does not make mention of a minimum plot size but makes references to minimum dwelling unit size (flat) of upto 25 sq m with density of 600 DU per hectare.

R1 and R2 signify plots allotted under the sites and services scheme for resettlement of the poor.

While deciding upon the smallest size of a plot for low-income housing, it is presumed, planners might have examined whether houses constructed on these plots will be habitable for humans. How could a policy, which reduced the low income, plot size from 67 sq mts to 12.5 sq mts (dwelling unit size) that is a reduction of over 81 percent could provide enough space for living? What has changed between 1962 and 2006 in terms of planning and housing considerations and principles that this drastic change has been necessitated and proposed? I am sure definition of 'habitable dwelling unit for a family of five members' have not changed since 1962 even if we account for contribution of modern technology, which is the last thing to be used, in building low income housing. On the contrary the conditions in slums have become desperate for the poor as Mike Davis argues that slum expansion has reached a limit in the absence of free squatable land and the declining ability of slum dwellers to occupy survival niches. This has given rise to sectarian violence, child abandonment and other rational responses to desperate circumstances. However, he cautions that slums will emerge as incubators for burgeoning resistance movements (Davis, 2006).

3.2 Integration of the Poor at Neighborhood Level

The Master Plan for Delhi, 1990, which is still in force, provided that low income population, primarily squatters, will be provided housing at community level, community being composed of population of about 1,00,000 people. The policy thrust was that the poor should be integrated with the rest of the community at a local level. It was provided that a community 'may contain a complete cross section of the income groups, also including hostel accommodation for the single. This would have minimum of 25 percent as sites and services development and about 45 percent housing upto 2 room dwellings to provide shelter for low income families in the community' (Government of India, 1990: 6). This point was even more forcefully stressed in the Master Plan for Delhi, 1962. 'Squatters in *basties* are to be relocated in the various parts of the urban area so that they are integrated into the neighborhood community. It is of utmost importance that physical plans should avoid stratification on income or occupation basis (Government of India, 1962: ii). It was further stressed that low-income groups should be 'integrated with a larger neighborhood where there is a mixture of different social and income groups, as well as housing types' (Government of India, 1962: 27). Two points are important and both have significant implications for equity in framing public policy.

First point is that as per their dubious record, the DDA has been unable to implement its policy properly as its top officials under oath admitted in a sworn affidavit to the High Court of Delhi in respect of the Arjun Camp case in January 2004. The affidavit noted the number of flats constructed for various categories in the F-12 Sub-Zone (Table 3).

Table 3 Construction of Flats in the F-12 Sub-Zone, Delhi

S No.	Income Group	Number of Flats	Percent of Flats
1.	High Income Group	9,845	93.58
2.	Medium Income Group	232	02.20
3.	Low Income Group	324	03.08
4.	Janta/EWS	120	01.14
Total		10,521	100.00

Source: Compiled from Arjun Camp Judgment by the High Court of Delhi on 14 July 2006.

Honorable judges of the High Court in their final judgment of 14 July 2006 noted that 'of the total flats constructed in Vasant Kunj, over 90 percent constituted the HIG category of flats. The LIG and EWS flats constitute only around 4 percent of the total number of flats constructed by the respondent DDA in Vasant Kunj. Clearly this is grossly inadequate and is nowhere near the Master Plan targets' [of 45 percent] (High Court of Delhi, 2006). The Court also pointed out that petitioners responding to the above affidavit have shown 'in each of the sub-zones, there is a disproportionately higher percentage of housing units constructed for the higher categories (HIG) and a disproportionately lower (and sometimes none) percentage of

housing units the LIG category' (High Court of Delhi, 2006). In the entire F-Zone, DDA only provided 18 percent of LIG and EWS flats/plots as against the Master Plan target of 45 percent. This is grossly inadequate and highly unfair to the poor.

The second point is even more important than the point of 'implementation backlog'. Assume that the DDA were able to provide housing to the low-income groups at the community level as proposed in 1962 and 1990 Master Plan. Assume also that there were largely no squatters and low-income groups had settled in these flats/plots allotted by the DDA. Would this leave everyone satisfied, at least one commentator thinks so.

For the poor it offers better access to livelihood opportunities as well as to quality infrastructure—roads, water, schools, hospitals, etc. For the non-poor it offers better access to the services offered by the poor (Verma, 2002: 85).

However, would this lead to social integration of low-income groups with the rest of the communities, which is the also stated intention of the Master Plans. I am not very sure. I regard that social integration requires much more than spatial proximity of the different kind of people. Inclusiveness does not depend on different people living together. Take the example of the present squatter families living in the middle of the high and medium income communities. These higher income communities do benefit economically from the cheaper services being provided by housemaids, car washers, security men, and even grocers, barbers, etc. In return the poor also make limited economic gains, but insufficient to access decent education and medical services leave aside basic sanitation and potable water. I presume this may not be a simple win-win situation.

Under the conditions of unbridgeable economic inequality and long standing religious and caste prejudices ingrained in the psyche of the people, lives of the poor run parallel to those of their richer neighbors without any point of meeting in the foreseeable future. I believe that by implementing the current Master Plan policies on low-income housing, certainly the poor could make economic gains and may even begin to live decent lives. However, social integration may not be achieved solely through physical planning policies because that requires one to confront social inequalities of religion, culture and caste, which are not prone to physical determinism. Solely relying on physical interventions, I suspect, we may end up adding to the existing large army of, what some call 'the service population'. We could however make a reasonably good beginning by focusing on equity in primary and secondary education, and tolerance of the differences of castes and religions along with equitable distribution of housing and land through statutory public policies. As Emily Talen has also pointed out that place vitality, economic health, social equity, and sustainability could make significant contribution to integration of different communities (Talen, 2006).

3.3 Condoning Violations of the Rule of Law and the Self

Delhi High Court ordered the Municipal Corporation of Delhi in December 2005 that it should take legal action against all unauthorized structures. Reacting to another set of petitions, in February 2006, the Supreme Court of India ordered MCD to close all illegal commercial complexes, showrooms and shops being run from residential areas. Realizing that demolition of unauthorized constructions and misuse of premises was eminent, violators began to organize in early 2006. Succumbing to the pressure from violators, the Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India set up the Tejendra Khanna Committee of Experts through a notification of 14th February 2006 to examine the entire issue of unauthorized constructions and misuse of premises in Delhi. While the Khanna Committee submitted its report on 13th May 2006, *Lok Sabha* passed the Delhi Laws (Special Provisions) Bill, 2006 on 11th May 2006 and *Rajya Sabha* on 15th May 2006.

As soon as both the Houses of Parliament passed this Bill, the Delhi Laws (Special Provisions) Act, 2006 received the assent of the President of India on 19th May 2006 (Government of India, 2006). Section 3 sub-section 2 provided that 'notwithstanding any judgment, decree or order of any court, status quo as on the 1st day of January 2006 shall be maintained in respect of the categories of unauthorized development mentioned in sub-section 1. Hearing the PIL against this statute, the Supreme Court slammed Government of India and commented that 'legislature can not direct any authority not to comply with the orders of this Court'. It is in this context that a discussion on the Khanna Committee of Experts becomes significant.

This Committee squarely blames the existing planning system prevalent in Delhi since the last 47 years. It argues that the Delhi Development Authority has been almost entirely unable to implement the Master Plan for Delhi, 1962 and its various *avatars*. Along with the DDA, the Delhi Municipal Corporation has overlooked their enforcement responsibilities. Therefore, people, who were in need of various kinds of spaces to live and conduct economic and other activities, have been compelled to violate the law. It is thus lawful, the Committee argues, to condone such violations. I would like to argue that in case willful uninvited violators who could afford to purchase commercial properties in the market, these arguments are not valid because these are not based on sound reasoning.

3.3.1 Flawed Basis for Condoning Violations

Most of the Khanna Committee recommendations are based on the explicit objective of providing scour to the violators of the rule of law. The Committee provides two main excuses to condone violators, consider them:

If any set of regulations result in a majority of people being categorized as violators/offenders, the regulations themselves need to be carefully reviewed, rather than being regarded as inviolable and cast in stone (Ministry of Urban Development, 2006a: 5).

The Committee continues to insist that

If planning exercises leave large gaps relative to the actual needs of the people by way of residential, commercial and institutional areas, etc., and then no effective institutional mechanisms are provided to bridge such gaps, the people can not be held entirely responsible for adopting rough and ready solutions (Ministry of Urban Development, 2006a: 6).

Rule of law is established to govern the civil society based on certain shared values including those of probity, accountability, liberty, transparency, equity, etc. In my opinion it is not exactly lawful to establish committees and pass laws in order to protect violators of another law, be it urban and regional planning or any other aspect of the civil society. As far as inviolability of the law is concerned, John Rawls in his *A Theory of Justice* carefully establishes that laws and institutions could be changed only if these changes benefit the poor. I am not sure these changes benefit the poor of Delhi in any significant manner. People who own shops, plots and flats in Delhi, or in other words landlords and flat lords, builders, municipal officials, and politicians could not possibly be regarded the poor. However, the Committee thinks it is being pragmatic and equitable.

The Committee is unanimous in its view that while, violations which have already taken place, ought to be dealt with in a pragmatic and equitable manner, going forward, enforcement measures should be both stern and effective (Ministry of Urban Development, 2006a: 57).

The Committee may be pragmatic but it certainly is not being equitable because there is no redistribution of resources in favor of poor. On the contrary, poor are being haunted. I am in no way suggesting that poor have a right to violate the law as has also been clearly shown by

the removal of nearly 50,000 squatters along river Yamuna on the orders of honorable Supreme Court of India in 2006 itself.

Khanna Committee's arguments of condoning the violators of rule of law are based on three insufficient and illegal conditions. First, that there has been an implementation backlog in respect of low income housing, commercial development and development of institutional areas. As noted in chapter seven at 7.11 on page 32 and chapter eight at 8.14 that the DDA has only developed 0.98 percent of the total urban area as commercial area against the required 3 to 4 percent. Second, at the same page the Committee also points out that since the last many years peoples' disposable incomes have risen. Third, over 50 percent of Delhi's population is now living in unauthorized colonies or slum clusters' ((Ministry of Urban Development, 2006a: 32) because the DDA could not construct enough number of flats in time. Do all these and other reasons put together make it lawful to condone the violators when the highest court in the country has held otherwise? By saying that a large number of people will be affected if legal action is taken against violators of the planning law, the master plan and other rules and regulations, we are making no distinction between violators of the rule of law and those who sincerely follow it. This is harmful for democratic governance in the long run.

3.3.2 Different Awards for Different Violators

Violators are graded and awarded as per their grades. To mark up the violators, some help is taken from the earlier work done by the Dharamarajan Committee which classified 2025 colonies of the Delhi Municipal Corporation by adopting the criteria of social infrastructure, physical infrastructure, size of plots, general socio-economic condition of the area, etc.

In the name of flexibility partial non-residential activity is permitted in Tier-III colonies. These could be viewed as 'third class colonies' because anything is permitted without consideration to minimum plot size and road width. To stop commercial activity spreading from one part to the other parts of such colonies, the Committee has more faith in customer led market rather than the planning regulations. It argues that 'market forces and consumer choice will, in general, not favor commercial activity being taken up on smaller streets ...' (Ministry of Urban Development, 2006a: 44).

Tier-I colonies are presumed to be the 'first class residential areas' where the principle of segregation of land uses is acceptable to the Committee. But here also professionals such as doctors, architects, chartered accountants, lawyers, computer specialists, etc. are allowed to work using half of the covered area. For other changes individuals must apply to the proposed Delhi Urban Regulatory Authority for permission.

Limited flexibility is permitted in Tier-II colonies. However, whatever non-conforming use has been in existence before 1st January 2000 is allowed to continue except when it is found by the proposed Delhi Urban Regulatory Authority 'to be significantly detrimental to public convenience and welfare' (Ministry of Urban Development, 2006a: 45).

This classification is discriminatory as it is detached from the principles of planning. Each and every one of us has a right to healthy living, which could be attained by various ways but a habitable house is an important part of such a strategy. This Report is also not based on the principle of equity or fairness of public policy. As if people living in Tier-III were somewhat lesser than people living in Tier-I colonies.

This report openly intends to benefit the rich and mighty. Examine the following examples. First, 'the Committee is of the view that commercial and institutional utilization of buildings abutting on national highways, arterial and sub-arterial roads and along Metro corridors may be

considered in suitable stretches, keeping in view their relative unsuitability for residential use, in the light of heavy traffic flows and resultant air and noise pollution' (Ministry of Urban Development, 2006a: 47). Second, 'certain stretches which have been practically fully commercialized along the inner Ring Road such as South Extension-I and II, where no-residential use has been in existence for many years, may be formally designated as a commercial stretch/strip' (Ministry of Urban Development, 2006a: 48). Third, the Committee proposes that areas built pre MPD 1962 should be allowed to exist as these are except where 'serious public inconvenience' is noticed by the proposed Delhi Urban Regulatory Authority.

The Khanna Committee report has faltered on all the principles of equity planning and good governance. It proposes to regularize all violations with or without penalties. A large majority of the violators are not poor; on the contrary they are rich who connived with builders and politicians to usurp illegal benefits. As the Khanna Committee recommendations are being implemented through Ministry of Urban Development's notification by making amendments to the Master Plan for Delhi, 2001, it spells disaster in the form of more unplanned development for the citizens of Delhi in the years to come. This clearly means that we have once again given a goby to equity. This story does not end here, rather another chapter starts.

3.4 Transportation Policies Off the Track

Comfortable and affordable movement of people forms a major part of the transport policy makers of any city and Delhi is no different. Since the last 50 years, Delhi has made various efforts to ensure that Delhites are able to travel comfortably at affordable prices. Till recently Delhi was serviced only by Delhi Transport Corporation. But private bus operators in the early 1990s were also allowed to ferry passengers on the roads of Delhi. While private operators did add to inadequate number of buses and generated additional capacity, untrained drivers and lack of a regulator unleashed terror on the roads of Delhi, which continued for over a decade. Number of fatal accidents rose exponentially. Not only this, the cost of travel also increased as politician-business conglomerates in the guise of private operators continually demanded and secured rise in bus fares year after year.

Then the joint venture between the Government of the National Capital Territory of Delhi and Government of India was established to implement much delayed Delhi's rail based Mass Rapid Transit System. Delhi Metro project is being implemented by the new organizational entity called Delhi Metro Rail Corporation headed by a no nonsense Managing Director E. Sreedharan. The first phase comprising of about 56 km metro track has been completed in time and functioning well except a small link of 2.27 km, which is also likely to be completed in time. Another 2.8 km between Barakhamba Road to Indraprastha will be completed by the end of 2006. The cost, a whopping Rs.11, 000 crores for the first phase has been incurred and rising (also see Kumar, 2006: 46).

There is no doubt that a world-class transport facility has been created. Trains are almost pollution free and always run on time. Over five lakh people commute daily in a comfortable environment. Delhi Metro still is not a big money spinner but its earnings are slowly rising after the opening up of the entire first phase.

However, when such huge investments are being made from the public exchequer, the first and most crucial question to ask is that who will benefit from this world-class transport facility. David Harvey has long answered this question. He states: 'The cost, speed and capacity of the transport system relate directly to accumulation because of the impacts these have on the turnover time of capital. Investment and innovation in transport are therefore potentially productive for capital in general' (Harvey, 1981: 113). He points out: 'Since distance is measured in terms of time and cost of movement, there is also intense pressure to reduce the

frictions of distance by innovations in transportation and communications. The reduction in the cost and time of movement of commodities, people (labor power), money and information through what Marx called "the annihilation of space through time" is a basic law of capital accumulation' (Harvey, 2006: 100). 'In sum, the final form of the Delhi Metro can be largely seen as a by-product of the special interest groups that sought to maximize their own personal gain. Ironically, the metro form that materialized to satisfy each of the special interest groups might be specifically one that fails to suit the transport needs of the city' (Siemiatycki, 2006: 289).

Unaware of the issue of equity, the CEO of DMRC views that the Metro is meant for economic growth only. 'Mobility is an important requirement for the economic growth of any city. Economic activities flourish in areas where accessibility is good and mobility fast. Thus urban transport infrastructure is the most important factor for the development of urban economy' (Sreedharan, 2006: 16). However, the National Urban Transport Policy, 2006 notes that one of its objectives is to encourage 'access to livelihoods, education, and other social needs, especially for the marginal segments of the urban population ...' (Ministry of Urban Development, 2006b: 3).

Urban poor and their mobility is an important planning issue simply because of their staggering number and extreme poverty. According to an economic survey of the Government of the National Capital Territory of Delhi, only 8.3 percent population of Delhi i.e. 1.14 million people lives below poverty line. Understandably, this is an extremely income poor group of people. The same government survey also notes that there are 4.7 million people living in slums and squatter settlements (Government of the National Capital Territory of Delhi, 2002). Another study of Delhi Government further reveals that 3 million people lived in slums in 2003 (Government of the National Capital Territory of Delhi, 2004). Whatever may be the accurate figure of the poor, this data imply that a majority of the people living in slums and squatter settlements are not income poor. This conclusion of the government may be correct in terms of poverty defined as minimum calorie intake, but larger groups living in slums and squatter settlements certainly could be considered poor in respect of non-availability or lack of basic services such as water, sanitation services, education, and solid and liquid wastes' management because paucity of these services form the very basis for defining a certain area as slum or squatter settlement. Based on the above, I will assume that Delhi has at least 4 million or 30 percent poor people who have little or no access to basic services.

But before, we move further on the question of transport equity, it is appropriate to sharpen and revise our original question. It is more useful to ask whether lower income people in Delhi will benefit from Delhi Metro. These could include people ranging from those living in squatter settlements, on the streets and pavements, in slums, in government shelters, construction workers and other similar groups. These are the people who have mostly remained on the margins of decision-making regimes of big projects.

Refining this question further, we may ask whether Delhi's 4 million poor people have access to basic transport services that is affordable mode of transport to commute from place of residence to place of work. In other words, are the poor of Delhi also being deprived of transport facilities? I will work out whether the poor of Delhi are deprived of transport facilities by using the case of Delhi Metro. In addition, I will also ask whether Delhi Metro has improved the condition of the poor of Delhi when compared with the situation that existed before the introduction of Delhi Metro. Is Delhi Metro, as a system of commuting, really meant for the poor in terms of affordability?

To answer the above questions, I have to decide what are the key issues for investigation? For example, which areas does Delhi Metro connect? How far are the slums and squatter

settlements located from the Metro? This is important to know because long distances from Metro will further add to travel costs. How affordable are the costs of commuting? What kind of trips is made by the poor i.e. short, medium or long in terms of distance from the place of residence or origin? Although longer trips are cheaper, I will explore what kind of trips are cheaper in the case of Delhi Metro and compare with other public modes of public transport available in the city?

Southern parts of Delhi are regarded income rich and mostly all modern facilities including television transmission through cable or the Internet have been first provided in this area. However, Delhi Metro has first come to eastern and northern parts of Delhi, which are considered the poorest and then to the middle class dominated Punjabi community in western Delhi. Perceptions apart, I will assess how far the nearest Metro station are located from the slum or squatter settlement.

3.4.1 Cost of Travel

Longest one way trip from any where to any where, if direct bus connection is available, costs Rs.10. Longest trip from Dwarka to Barakhamba by Delhi Metro costs Rs.22. Therefore, Delhi Metro in respect of the longest trip without change is more than twice costlier than a similar trip by bus. Fare for the shortest trip by Delhi Metro costs Rs.4 whereas it costs half of that by a public bus. As far as convenience is concerned, it is comfortable when one is inside the Metro station or Metro rail but to reach there from one's residence it is expensive and troublesome because auto *rickshaws* or manually run *rickshaws* charges are high. These *rickshaws* can also not be found easily requiring some distance to be traveled by walking. Therefore, if *rickshaw* charges are also included, it could be safely concluded that Delhi Metro is expensive for all kinds of commuters, when compared with the public bus service. But it will adversely affect the poor because travel by Delhi Metro means a larger percent of their wage will have to be expended on travel.

However, if similar comparison is made between fares of chartered bus and Delhi Metro, travel costs are comparable or reduced by a small percentage. But generally chartered buses are meant for lower middle class and middle class office goers and do not cater for smaller or intermediate trips. Urban poor rarely use chartered bus services. Comparing Metro costs with travel by one's own car, travel costs for the longest trip both ways will be reduced three times if one travels by Metro and at least by 50 percent for the shortest trip. Costs will be halved for the medium distance trip length in Metro. As is obvious poor do not travel by car. Consequently, we could argue that Delhi Metro is cheaper for the middle classes and costlier for the poor when compared with their earlier modes of transport.

From affordability point of view we could conclude that Delhi Metro is not meant for the general public and surely not for the poor and the poorest but for the middle and high income groups who go to offices and earn monthly incomes between Rs.10, 000 to Rs.20, 000. It surely benefits the middle and high-income groups, who act as the catalyst for generating wealth by providing value added tertiary services for the capital accumulation.

Nearly 220 construction workers, manual laborers, industrial workers, housemaids, plumbers, cobblers, industrial workers, security guards etc. were interviewed. The survey revealed that a large majority of them make smaller trips ranging between 1 km to 5 km except industrial workers and security guards. Industrial workers and security guards sometimes might have to travel even up to ten kilometers or more but generally they use bicycle or the public bus. This implies that the present Delhi Metro fare structure is not favorable to poor workers whose average monthly incomes range from Rs.2, 000 to Rs.5, 000. It could be also argued that Delhi

Metro as a mode of travel is not very useful for the poor of Delhi because it does not cater to their commuting demands that is shorter trips efficiently.

What about the time factor? As noted above the poor generally make shorter trips and journey time for them is not a major consideration. But Delhi Metro has greatly contributed in reducing the travel time. For the longest and medium trip length, the time is reduced to almost half of the earlier time taken for the same trip length. The middle and higher income groups who primarily use the system again reap benefits.

More than half the commuters used their own cars or two wheelers before switching to Delhi Metro and the other half used public buses. This shift has led to considerable reduction in the number of cars on the roads of western Delhi. Subsequently, government has withdrawn buses from some of the major routes. This has further affected the poor adversely as number of commuters in the remaining buses might have even gone up.

3.4.2 Who Travels in the Delhi Metro

Another field survey was conducted on all the Delhi Metro stations to find out who travels by it. Questionnaire based interviews were conducted. First of its kind, a field survey at 18 station on 23 km Shahdara to Rithala Line, 10 stations along 11 km on Central Secretariat to Vishwavidyalaya Line and 22 stations on 23.2 km Barakhamba to Dwarka Line was conducted on 4 February 2006. The survey revealed some of the remarkable findings. Primarily Delhi Metro caters to the commuting needs of the rich and the middle classes. Twenty seven percent of those surveyed earned more than Rs.10, 000 per month and 33 percent earned between Rs.8, 000 to Rs.10, 000 per month. Another 24 percent earned monthly income between Rs.5, 000 to Rs.8, 000. There were only 15 percent people of low-income category with monthly incomes ranging between Rs.5, 000 to Rs.2, 000. Nearly 60 percent commuters saved 50 percent on their travel time.

People seem to be enjoying Delhi Metro in more than one ways. Apart from savings on journey time, 90 percent respondents felt that it was a world-class facility. Second, 49 percent respondents felt that they were now paying 50 percent less on traveling the same distance. Car users saved as much as 75 percent. All this is happening because Metro fare structure allows cheaper journey per kilometer if trip length is longer. Our survey revealed that nearly 70 percent respondents made trips longer than 6 km.

3.4.3 Spatial Exclusion

Since Delhi Metro is largely constructed on the ground on the median of the existing arterial roads, the system generally connects middle and high-income areas. But there are few squatter settlements, which lie underneath and very close to the Metro. For example, a huge squatter settlement near Shadipur is located just along the Metro. On the other hand most of the slums and squatter settlements are located away from primary accessibility points along sewer lines, drains, etc., largely on low lying areas. But on the other hand slums located in Old Delhi are quite close to the Metro. Therefore, location is not an obvious disadvantage for the poor in relation to the Metro but fare structure certainly is which cuts into their meager incomes if the Metro is used for commuting.

3.4.4 Commercial Development and High End Housing

Delhi Metro has developed commercial and high-end housing around some stations and vows to do the same in others stations. On each station it proposes to develop 3 hectare of

commercial or high-end residential space. If this proposal is implemented, Delhi will have additional commercial and high-end residential space equivalent to 750 hectare.

Going by the existing trend of development, Delhi Metro will develop 750 hectares of malls and high-end residential areas in addition to what is being proposed by the Master Plan for Delhi. Few malls have been completed so far. Large builders have developed all of these malls, and shops and showrooms are taken up by large businesses. A proposal to allocate some of these spaces to squatters, who were displaced by the Metro project, was turned down. Therefore, apart from 'mobility exclusion', Delhi Metro through these developments has also excluded the poor from doing business. Even land use change permissions and building permissions are not secured by the DMRC from the DDA and MCD. Skirmishes are going on between the MCD and DMRC whereby DMC has said that these developments have violated the planning norms and policies. However, DDA has not said much.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Equity has been sidestepped again and again as I have shown through the examples of inequitable distribution of land and housing, non-implementation of plan policies, access to the Delhi Metro, commercial development by Delhi Metro and now by making substantial modifications to the Master Plan, 2001 by adopting major recommendations of the Khanna Committee. It seems that 'we do not put enough premium on equity' (Verma, 2002: 153). In all the three cases public policy has been equitable but during implementation the nature of policy transforms itself to be employed to serve the interests of higher income groups at the cost of or direct disadvantage to low income communities living in slums and squatters. As Mike Davis stresses, this is the 'treason' of the state against the poor (Davis, 2006: 50-69).

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ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS AND SENSE OF COMMUNITY IN A PLANNED TOWN – A CASE STUDY ON BHUBANESWAR (ORISSA)

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The environmental factors and associated psychosocial factors that cause neighbours to bond with one another influencing to a great extent to design and planning of a town are currently little understood. The environmental factors and community psychology began a serious investigation in late 70s and 80s as researchers and theoreticians went to work on the concept of sense of community. Community researchers have devoted relatively little attention to environmental design factors and their associated outcome.

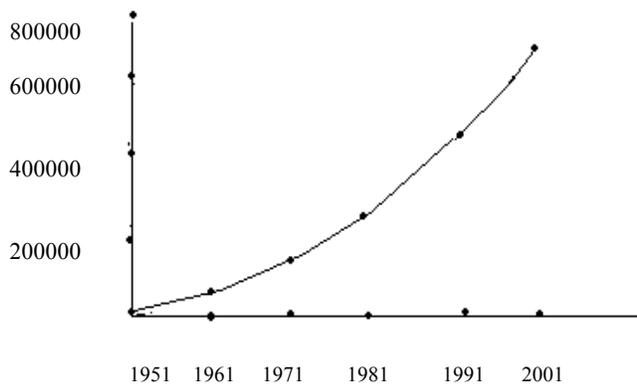
Bhubaneswar, the capital of state of Orissa usually known as city of thousand temples is situated 20-15 east longitude in the Khurda district. The average latitudes is 150 above mean sea level. Bhubaneswar has recorded history of more than 2500 years mentioned in many epics and puranas. The old Bhubaneswar has many temples including famous Lingaraj Temple constructed during 12th century A.D. It is located on the low laterite plateau and continuous erosion has shaped the topography into valley ridges. The river Kuakhai, Bhargavi and Daya flow on the north-eastern and south eastern fringe of the town with innumerable hill-locks and forest on the northern, western and southern parts. It is nearer to other two important tourist place i.e. sea-resort religious town Puri and Konark famous for its black Pagoda. Bhubaneswar is nearer (20 Kms. Away) from the commercial town and previous capital of Orissa, Cuttack. The wild life sanctuary 'Nandan Kanan' is situated at a distance of 16 Kms.

Originally the township of Bhubaneswar continued to have a strong agrarian based as it was a temple city the merchant and temple servants were the two main components of its society. So, the town planning of Bhubaneswar was designed accordingly. Since Bhubaneswar was selected to be the capital of Orissa. The socio-religious and socio-political importance of this place, for all communities began to increase due to urbanization of this city people of all communities began to pour into the city for better social facilities, economic opportunities and other infrastructural facilities. The rapid population growth intensifies the reverse impact on environment. As a result there is a decrease in the open spaces, formation of Heat Island and environmental pollution as well as traffic congestion which influence the planning and design of the city.

The environment, in a broader-sense means all that exists around us. It is of two categories - natural resources - soil, air, water and wild life and the latter is man-made environment that is the way the man has built his cities, suburbs and farmlands. Thus both planning and environment have intimate connection with each other. Considering the existing situation prevalent to a particular location and site conditions the action plans and designs are to be framed. Again the rapid growth of population as shown in the following figure hampers the action plan of the planners.

Figure - 1

Population Growth of Bhubaneswar



(Tabulated from BDA report)

The excess growth of population causes depletion of forests. Excess urban growth, construction in the natural valleys converting to waste water channel and private occupation of natural springs the result on changing the micro climate, creation of heat Islands, problem of recharging of ground water, problems of Bio-diversity and ecology, hinderance in developing as a recreational areas.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS

The environmental problem in Bhubaneswar can be categorized into air pollution, water pollution, noise pollution, soil quality, solid waste and thermal variation. The sources of air pollutants in the city can be domestic ,industrial, vehicular, D.G. sets, Brick kilns and stone crushers. The major sources of water pollution are industrial and domestic discharges. The major water requirement of the city i.e. mainly met from river Kuakhai and Daya, spring tanks and from ground water sources. River Kuakhai and Daya receive industrial and domestic discharges produced in the city. Major sources of noise pollution are vehicles, crackers and public address system etc. Bhubaneswar and its environs lie on a laterised upland fringed by the alluvial plains to the east and small sand stone ridge to the northwest. Bhubaneswar has moderate to good potential in providing stable foundation condition, good natural drainage and equally good scope for harvesting ground water from drinking and domestic use. The mining of laterite stone as construction materials for building in and around Bhubaneswar city exhibits, a series of open cuts and wounds on the surface making barren and unsuitable for any kind of urban or other uses. Bhubaneswar city generates 300-350 tons of solid waste per day with a per capita generation of about 500 grams a day. The major sources of solid waste generated in the city are households, street sweepings, commercial areas including market, offices, industries, hospitals, hotels and restaurants. Thus the solid wastes are broadly categorized into Municipal solid waste , Hospital wastes and hazardous waste. The thermal variation in the city has deteriorated due to deforestation, increase in air pollution

and creation of heat Islands due to excessive urban growth. These are in nutshell the major threats to environment in the city of Bhubaneswar.

STEPS TO MEET THE CRISIS

To meet these aforesaid threats the Bhubaneswar Development Authority (BDA), Orissa Pollution Control Board (OPCB), the Non-Government Organization (NGOs) have undertaken many initiatives. BDA has collaborated with Canadian Development agency for treatment of waste water and reuse of treated water for fisheries and recreational purposes. Through this initiatives, a few water bodies namely Laxmi Sagar, Vani Vihar and Nicco Park have been developed successfully requiring different planning to be implemented. The existing sewage system of the city is released to septic tank, soak wells and few sewage lines. IIT, Roorkee has been assigned with the task of preparing sewage disposal system for the city. The proposal outlines decentralize sewage disposal system with five to six sewage treatment plants and disposal of treated water to Gangua Nala. The system has been developed considering existing topography of the city.

The road side drains in central and major parts of the city are covered drains whereas the major drainages channels follows the natural topographical valleys for disposal. The system developed by the consultant. Water and power conservation services outlines the development of major drains with both sides plantation. The emphasis given by BDA for treatment of waste water for reuse and streamlining of rain water disposal and drainage system.

The BDA takes initiatives in planting 60,000 to 70,000 sapling per year. Also BDA distributes 20,000 to 30,000 sapling to people, institutions, Municipal Authorities for plantation. The plantations are carried out with the aim for better environment and to restrict encroachment.

BDA has developed 51 parks open space till date. Some of them are at BBSR. The open spaces within the residential areas unlikely to be encroachment are developed with plantations whereas road side open spaces likely to be

encroached are barricaded with M.S. flats and squares and developed as gardens to restrict unauthorized encroachment by Shops etc.

- The other initiatives are through building regulations for plantation of 20% of site in a group housing schemes.
- The provision of rain water harvesting and sewage treatment plant in multi-story housing schemes.
- Spatial decentralization with enhancement of green covers to reduce congestion in the city. The Kalinga Nagar, Chandrasekharapur etc. are outcome of this.
- Rain water harvesting through ground water recharging pit in parks and open spaces.
- Preservation of flood plain area through not allowing any construction activity in the flood plain area.
- The wet land in the southern side of the city has already developed for Government research purpose produced considerable better result. The wet land in northern side is yet to be developed.

The rapid growth of population across Bhubaneswar necessitates the preservation of all open areas for future recreational purposes. Otherwise the environmental assets will be facing depletion and extinction. The flora and fauna of this region will extinct.

FUTURE PLAN

Keeping all these factors in view BDA has framed its future plans and policies. However the success in respect of population reduction and sustainable development depends much on peoples awareness and cooperation. In this line Government organizations like BDA, Orissa Pollution Control Board (OPCB) and Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) and Voluntary Bodies have a great role to play to coordinate and cooperate the efforts of the Government and

development management towards protection and conservation of natural sources and implementation of mitigation measures. The NGOs are acting as pressure groups for environmental management and raising the level up awareness among the people. As incentive to make awareness among the people the formulation of echo-clubs, Paryabaran Vahini, Environmental Information System (ENVIS) in all India level are encouraged. Similarly Indira Priyadarshini Vriksha Mitra Award, Maha Vriksha Puraskar, Rajib Gandhi Wild Life Conservation Award are instituted. In State level OPCB is organizing various seminars and Symposium to create awareness among the people of Bhubaneswar. Training programme for police personnels, demonstration of rain water harvesting structure in educational institutes were organized by OPCB. Board celebrates the World Environment Day (WED) on 5th June 2005 in association with the Dept. of Environment, Govt. of Orissa. Honourable Chief Minister graced the occasion at Rabindra Mandap, BBSR. The Board celebrates the Ozone Day on 16th Sept. It celebrates its foundation day on 16th Sept. every year. 2nd December. is celebrated as National Pollution Prevention Day (MPPD). Pollution Control Excellence Award is instituted to encourage the industries and mines to adopt adequate pollution control measure.

The OPCB publishes many booklet and new letters to create awareness among the people. The Board published a booklet entitled 'Analytical facilities of SPCB (State Pollution Control Board), Orissa highlighting the facilities available in the head office of the Board that is in BBSR. It also publishes its quarterly new letters 'Paribesh Samachar' which are released on the occasion of the observation of the aforesaid days. It also circulates pamphlets quoting the dialogue of John Mc Connell, The Founder of International Earth Day which runs as

“ Let every individual and institution now think and act as responsible trustee of earth, sicking choices in ecology, economics and ethics that will provide a sustainable future, eliminate

pollution, poverty and violence, awaken the wonder of life and foster peaceful progress in the Human adventure.”

After all the arrangements made by both the govt. and private organization the question come into mind whether the people of Bhubaneswar are sufficiently aware of this. And if so, how far they are complying with the provision of the Govt. in this regard. The answer, as perceived through personal interview, is positive in earlier question and half-positive in case of letter one. It differs from degree to degree depending on various factors which can be marked out from the following table.

Figure-2

The environment quality of the scheme area as perceived by residents BBSR.

<u>Sl.No.</u>	<u>Item</u>	<u>Dumduma Area</u>	<u>Baragad Area</u>
1.	Cleanliness	2.60	3.62
2.	Traffic Density	3.52	3.57
3.	Crowdedness	3.22	3.47
4.	Air quality	4.68	4.20
5.	Problem of Mosquito	1.70	1.00
6.	Housing conditions	1.74	3.42
7.	Sanitation	----	2.42
8.	Drinking water	1.82	2.50
9.	General Health	1.86	2.50
10.	Drainage of rain water	3.30	0.65
11.	Social amenities	1.86	1.52

12.	Cooperativeness	3.58	3.35
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	Average	2.72	2.69
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The scores adopt for the above figure are as follows :

1. Very poor
2. Poor
3. Fair
4. Good
5. Very Good

For each item (1 - 12) respondents are asked to rate the environment on the basis of above scale. Then the average value is calculated.

SENSE OF COMMUNITY

All these matters are either directly or indirectly intimately connected with community. All the efforts will prove futile unless the community responds to them. The community as mentioned in an article by Susan E. Lewis, Jeanne M. Plas; in American Journal of Community Psychology, Vol.24, 1996 has three components (a) Social Community including emotional and instrumental support and social network. (b) Cognitive component including cognitive mapping of physical environment and symbolic communication, (c) Affective component or the emotional attachment individuals have to personal living around them. This article explores the sense of community as it relates to citizen participation for the development of territorial community in particular which involves responses to

environmental problems. It includes membership or personal relatedness, influence or sense of mattering, fulfillment of needs and trade and shared emotional connection. All these factors put together gives several new colonies and complexes to spring of having various degree of cognition of and care for environment.

In many cases environmental problems may be natural or due to defects of planning or both. The territorial community became the victim of all of them. The compact area has more binding sense of community in comparison to disposed area. Old Bhubaneswar is constituted of heritors. They are living in a compact area since long past liable to a very strong social and familiar connection. They have imbibed a natural sense of community. Generally they attend every silly functions of each other. But, in spite of this close connection it is amazing that they are absolutely ignorant of their environmental problems. They have no association in this regards. They never sit together for the purpose of environmental uplift. No project of either State Govt. or private organizations have touched them. Under such circumstances no Govt. Organizations have planned any project to bring them to home and set them up in their frame work of environment and community sense.

It so happens because the conflict over facility sitting has become increasingly common across facility type and neighborhoods through out BBSR. This article posits the conflict about facility sitting steams from the distinct roles played by the State (with a central role played by the planners), the shadow state (consisting of voluntary and Non-profit organizations), and interest groups (Primary community residents). This article also explores the mismatch of perception towards controversial facility for to of these three actors, the state (representing the planners) and interest groups (the community residents).

To investigate the mismatch of perceptions, the article analyzes the personal survey of residents attitude which includes environmental issues. Implication of this analysis of perception of the planners and the responses of the community are discussed.

The personal survey of the dispose or scatter area like Old Bhubaneswar, Niladri Vihar, Sailashree Vihar etc. and the planned scheme area like A.G. colony, Postal colony, Railway colony and Bank colony gives a very contrast picture of these two areas. Though the state is providing similar facilities, has similar plans and provisions for both the areas they differ each other in very rudimentary things. A lot of differences are found in the attitudes and perceptions of the residents in these areas. The houses in scheme areas are regular, clean and fenced. They maintain their own park and play ground from their own pocket which expresses their sense of community. They have also community hall for regular meeting to discuss and share their problems. On the other hand in Niladri Vihar and Sailashree Vihar the houses are irregularly built. Though there are associations of residents in these areas, they barely sit in the meeting. They have no connection nor information about each other. They meet each other only in specific formal occasions like marriage, birthday etc. Under such circumstances no strong community sense can be expected from them. Absence of community sense in these area makes the situation precarious. They are careless of what is happening in their neighborhood on the clue of time and space. As a result nuisance activities in these areas are more rampant. So they do not have sincere response to either the environmental programme or awareness creating programme of the State. Thus the study envisages the sense of community in these two areas in differently level. Here the presence of environmentally sound the neighborhoods and good neighboring has been linked with the sense of community.

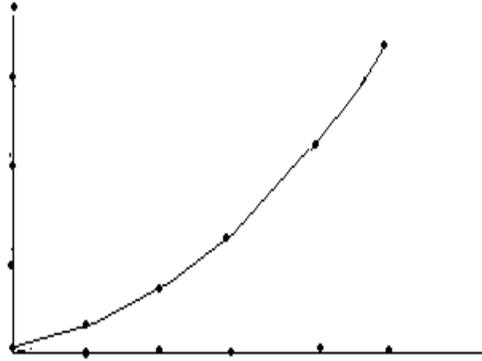
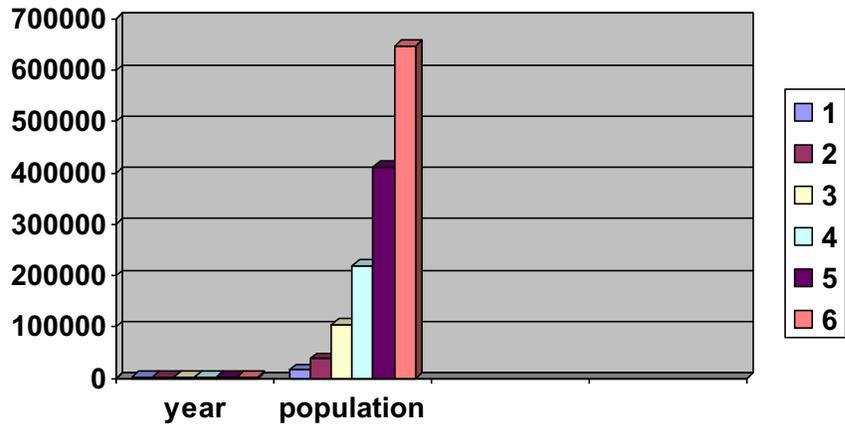
CONCLUSION

It is not too late, however, to change the course of events, to build societies that are environmentally sustainable. Humanities departures from environmental sustainability has been a complex historical process. And by raising awareness, the State level conferences and symposiums have played a lay role in spurring organizations of non-profit groups, legislatures and business men within and across the city, creating stronger lobbies for action both

domestically and nationally. Cooperation of communities have a great role to play towards protection and conservation of natural sources and environment for a sustainable life. If the scheme colonies can adhere to environmental sustainability for better life, it will not be far away to be achieved by the scattered colonies.

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NEW DELHI: VISION OF SPLENDOUR

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Prelude

It is 95 years since His Majesty, King George V, Emperor of India, accompanied by Queen Mary, Queen Empress, came to India for the Coronation Durbar.(1) Arriving in Bombay (Mumbai) Harbour, on 2 December 1911, they boarded the Royal Train a few days later, and arrived in Delhi on 7 December. Lord and Lady Hardinge, Viceroy and Vicerene of India of India received them at the Selimgarh Bastion, where a special station had been constructed. Over the following days a round of formal visits climaxed on 12 December, with the Durbar Ceremony, held on the arena north of the historic city where, in 1877, the first Viceroy, Lord Lytton of Knebworth had proclaimed Queen Victoria the Empress of India. (2) Attended by over 100,000 spectators, this pageant and military parade was designed to symbolise the hegemony of the British over the government of India, the jewel in the Crown of the British Empire. In turn the Maharajahs, nominally governors of the states which made up the sprawling and diverse subcontinent, paid homage to the Royal couple, crowned and arrayed in ermine trimmed robes, seated beneath the central canopy, surmounted by a gilded oriental dome. Their Majesties also appeared high on a balcony at Shah Jehan's Red Fort. The King was criticised for riding through the gateway on horseback rather than the customary elephant. It is still possible to gain some impression of the choreographed parade from a pioneer full-length documentary colour film made by Charles Urban, which was released early the following year to international acclaim. (3) Such was the public interest that the London Coliseum staged a commemorative masque, *The Crown of India*, with music by Sir Edward Elgar, (4) culminating in a rousing 'March of the Moghul Emperors'.

The political significance of the Durbar lay in a proclamation by the King-Emperor, that a new Indian capital would be built at Delhi, to supersede Calcutta (Kolkatta), a controversial issue, mooted in private discussion over the previous five years. (5) Lord Hardinge, appointed Viceroy in 1910 considered that the decision, coupled with the re-unification of Bengal, would represent an appropriate Royal boon, to be announced at the Durbar. The Royal proclamation was accompanied by distribution of a printed text, and drew immediate criticism from the European community and merchants of Calcutta. On 15 December 1911, His Majesty formally laid a foundation stone near the Durbar ground, on the wrong site as matters turned out. Implementation of the new capital had officially commenced, and it was to be inaugurated, in a less confident political context, in February 1931. (6)

Fast forward to 1947: the postwar British Government under Clement Attlee announced that British rule would end by June 1948. (7) On 15 August 1947, the last Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten became Governor General of India as an independent Dominion within the British Commonwealth, and following the declaration of the Republic of India, the Mountbattens left the Viceroy's House on 21 June 1948. The building became the Rashtrapati Bhavan, and has been the Residence of the President of India ever since.

In this overview of the origins and development of New Delhi, I shall focus on the contributions of Sir Edwin Lutyens, Sir Herbert Baker, and a team of resident architects to the creation of one of the most significant cities of the twentieth century.

Lutyens and the Grand Manner

Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944) has long been recognised for many acclaimed country houses built 1890-1914, and enhanced by gardens designed by Gertrude Jekyll (1843-1932). (8) Yet, from the beginning, Lutyens aspired to the Grand Manner, elements of which are present even in the Arts and Crafts ‘dream houses’ of the 1890s. In 1897, shortly before his marriage to Lady Emily Lytton (whose father had been the first Viceroy), Lutyens had amused the terminally ill Barbara Webb, wife of a Surrey squire, with drawings of a fantasy palace. Lutyens’s sketchbook (9) illustrates an architectural extravaganza set in formally landscaped grounds, with water features. The domed centrepiece could well stand as a preliminary sketch for the Viceroy’s House. Gardens such as Orchards (1899), Marshcourt (1901-4), Ammerdown (1902), and Hestercombe (1904-6) enabled Lutyens to explore and develop themes of grandeur albeit sometimes muted by Gertrude Jekyll’s planting scheme. (10)

From the turn of the century, Lutyens became frustrated at his lack of success in urban schemes, compared to elder contemporaries such as Sir Aston Webb (1849-1930), who in 1903-10 designed the Queen Victoria Memorial, in front of Buckingham Palace, the aggrandisement of The Mall, Admiralty Arch, and finally, in 1910-12 the refacing of Buckingham Palace itself. (11) Lutyens’s judgement of Webb was harsh, perhaps unduly so, but he considered him an obstacle to his progress. (12)

In February 1903, in an exchange of correspondence with Herbert Baker (1862-1946), a colleague and friend from Lutyens’s brief period of articles with Sir Ernest George, Lutyens declared

... In architectural Palladio is the game!! It is so big – few appreciate it now, and it requires training to value and realise it. The way Wren handled it was marvellous. [Norman] Shaw has- the gift, but under the hands of Wren it glows and the stiff materials become as plastic clay ... It is a game that never deceives, dodges never disguise ... so it is a big game, a high game ... (13)

Key examples of his work at this period were Heathcote, Ilkley (1906-9) and Hestercombe Gardens, Taunton (1904-6). Baker was then in South Africa, the architectural protégé of Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902). (14) He was building up an important architectural practice across the newly created Union of South Africa, following the ending of the Boer War. Lutyens was unaware until his visit in 1910 of how much Baker had accomplished. While the ‘high game’ letter referred to single buildings Lutyens could scarcely have been unaware of Wren’s plan for the rebuilding of the City of London after the Great Fire of 1666. (15) A later letter brought a perceptive comparison of contemporary urban design in London and Paris:

Our new streets, oh the vapour of it all! Look at Paris, how well this layout here, the courage, sense and big obvious simplicity of it all ... Our L.C.C. [London County Council] is appalling compared with French authority) (16)

The influence of Haussmann's Paris was all pervasive at the turn of the century. Lutyens had designed the Royal Pavilion, the British entry in the Paris International Exhibition of 1900, (17) and witnessed the transformation of the French capital. The following year he designed Rossall Beach, (18) intended as an exclusive suburb on the Fylde coast of the Lancashire holiday resort of Blackpool. Lutyens's plan showed a formal square and church – little was built but Rossall marked his beginning in urban design. In 1905 Raymond Unwin (who had recently designed the layout of the first Garden City at Letchworth) prepared the first plan for Hampstead Garden Suburb, briefed by Henrietta Barnett who was campaigning to acquire the land from Eton College.(19) Unwin's layout was loose limbed, with informal housing and a villagey centrepiece, with churches and community buildings. Implementation did not commence until May 1907, which gave time for the modification. Alfred Lyttelton, a client of Lutyens, was appointed Chairman of the fledgling Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust in 1906, and engineered the appointment of Lutyens as an additional consultant, particularly for the final design for the Central Squares, twin churches – St. Jude on the Hill and the Free Church, together framing The Institute. North Square and South Square were flanked by terraces of housing, initially including some flats, and had a more enclosed character. It was a landmark of urban design, although Lutyens's relations with Henrietta Barnett became strained.

In 1908, there was an important open architectural competition for the new headquarters of the L.C.C., to be built on the south bank of the Thames, adjoining Westminster Bridge, (20) diagonally opposite the Houses of Parliament. It involved intricate internal planning as well as the design of an architectural icon. Lutyens was influenced by the work of Wren and his contemporaries at Greenwich College, a few miles downstream. The twin domed buildings of the college were fused into a grand building that would have graced its surroundings. Although Lutyens was shortlisted for the final stage of the competition, the winner was Ralph Knott (1879-1929), an outsider. Lutyens was acutely depressed at his failure, but this fired his determination to win through at Hampstead Garden Suburb and beyond.

The International Context

The period before the First World War witnessed a growing interest in civic design, influenced not only by continental advances in France and Germany, but also the American City Beautiful Movement, which had originated in the 'White City' of the World's Columbian Exhibition, held at Chicago in 1893, (21) planned and largely designed by Daniel Burnham (1846-1912). Related as it was to Beaux Arts Classicism, the City Beautiful concept spread rapidly beyond the United States, with Burnham as its most eminent practitioner. In October 1910, the Royal Institute of British Architects sought to consolidate the central role of the architect in civic design. (22) It held an international conference and exhibition held at London's Royal Academy attended by delegates from across the world. Raymond Unwin organised the exhibition, and had attended a precursor in Berlin. The star of both was Burnham, who exhibited key material from his Chicago Plan of 1909, and from his 1902 regeneration of Pierre L'Enfant's 1789 layout for Washington DC. Burnham proposed to strip away the ad hoc interlopers that had corrupted the purity of L'Enfant's concept. Lutyens, who was on the conference committee reported to his wife that Unwin had entered the gallery with 'his eyes aflame'! (23) He was not the only one to experience such a Damascene moment. A year later, the Washington Plan provided a model for Lutyens's layout for New Delhi. The grand axial Mall from the Capitol to the Potomac was mirrored by the axis from the Viceroy's house originally intended to terminate at the River Jumna (Yamuna). Furthermore, the cross axis at the Washington Memorial, with a line towards the

White House, also had its equivalent at Delhi. In Washington, the *rond point* for the Lincoln Memorial was matched at Delhi by Princes Park.

At Washington, the customary American grid layout was overlaid by diagonal avenues, beyond the formal axial centrepiece. This also occurred at New Delhi, in the residential zones north and south of Kingsway (Rajpath): however, the road network of these bungalow zones also resembles Unwin's reworked 1907-8 Artisans' quarter at Garden Suburb, with which Lutyens would have been thoroughly familiar. (24)

Winter 1910 - Spring 1911, appears to have been a crucial period in crystallising Lutyens's aspirations to formal civic design, on a grand scale. In November, he embarked on the Union Castle liner *Saxon* for Cape Town, in connection with the Johannesburg Art Gallery, a commission negotiated for him by Baker. (25) On disembarkation, Baker took him to see the Rhodes Memorial on the slopes of Table Mountain. (26) Lutyens was impressed by the *gravitas* of Baker's austere classical tribute to his patron. In Johannesburg, Lutyens stayed with Lionel Phillips at *Villa Arcadia*, perhaps Baker's most impressive house. The *coup de grace* was the visit to Pretoria, where Lutyens saw the Union Buildings under construction. The city in the Boer heartland had become the administrative capital of the Union, and government buildings on a grand scale were required. (27)

North of the city there was an impressive backdrop of the Magliesburg Hills, and part-way up Meintjes Kop Baker had set, on what he termed an 'acropolis' twin buildings, one for the English administrators, the second for Afrikaanders, linked by a semi-circular colonnade, flanked with domed towers. Below, terraced gardens led down to the plain. (28) The resemblance to their model at Greenwich was evident. (29) However, Baker had added his own idiosyncrasies, notably the projecting porticos, which exploited the irregular spacing of columns, with the wider central void creating a tooth-gap effect. The model for the Delhi Secretariats was already in place. We can imagine how Lutyens must have envied Baker's achievement, particularly after his own failure in the LCC County Hall Competition.

Back in Johannesburg there was the Art Gallery to design, for a rather awkward site in Joubert Park, north of the railway, in the centre of the fast developing city of gold. Lutyens immediately embarked on enlarging the scope, recasting Joubert Park as a fabulous garden (little of which was actually implemented) with, to the south, a formal forecourt bridging the railway, which was never realised either. (30) He also attempted to include a new site for the Johannesburg Anglican Cathedral, which he felt that he and Baker could jointly design (the opinions of the appointed architect, Fellowes Prynne, are not recorded!). The City Beautiful on the Rand was more aspiration than achievement, although the Art Gallery was a notable landmark in Lutyens's development towards classical civic design. He also designed the Rand Regiments Memorial, originally to have been sited near the Gallery complex, but because of its sensitive connotation, relocated at Hermann Eckstein Park, (31) on the outskirts, near Parktown, an exclusive residential suburb, where Baker had designed many houses.

In April 1911, Lutyens was called to Rome to metamorphose a temporary exhibition building of two years earlier into British School at Rome. (32) Here the Wren connection was absolute – the British Government had originally decreed that the building should reproduce the upper storey of the west front of St. Paul's Cathedral. Lutyens complied with this, however, reworking details to suit himself. He visited the eternal city several times, in connection with the project, and in January 1912 had recently returned from Rome, when he was summoned

to the India office by Sir Richmond Ritchie, Permanent, Secretary at the Indian Office. (33) The Secretary of State for India, the Marquess of Crewe, wished to know whether Lutyens would serve on a committee of three experts to advise the Government of India on the siting and layout of the new capital. As one of Henrietta Barnett's 'happy family' of advisers, which morphed into the Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust, Crewe would have known well Lutyens's work on finalisation of the Central Squares. (34) The President of the Royal Institute of British Architects, Sir Reginald Blomfield (1856-1942), on consultation had also nominated Lutyens. (35)

The Delhi Planning Commission

In accepting, Lutyens attempted to make the appointment conditional upon retention to design the Government buildings – then a commitment too far. He embarked on his first of many passages to India on 1 April 1912 on the P&O liner *Mantua*, with his colleagues Captain G. S. C. Swinton, Chairman-elect of the L.C.C. and John Brodie, City Engineer of Liverpool. As often, Lutyens worked on shipboard, wrote long, and often amusing letter-journals to Lady Emily, and doodled creatively on the company-headed writing paper. (36) On landing at Bombay (Mumbai) on 12 April, he acquired a bearer, Persotum, who as Lutyens's devoted servant for 18 years brought order to his master's unconventional Delhi household. (37) On 15 April, the three Commissioners arrived in Delhi, and began work at once. Their work was summarised in official printed *Reports*. (38) They were not constrained by the location of the foundation stones:

The stones laid by Their Imperial Majesties were to be treated by them [the Commissioners] as commemorating a momentous change and were not to tie them of necessity to any particular locality. The important point is that the new site must be ... in close physical and general association with the present city of Delhi and the Delhis of the past. (39)

Factors to be considered were:

- a) *health and sanitation;*
- b) *water supply and irrigation supply;*
- c) *the provision of ample room for expansion;*
- d) *an extent of land suitable for the location of buildings of various characters and sizes and for the provision of spacious parks and recreation grounds: - to be assumed as 10 sq. miles for the new city and 15 sq. miles for the capital Cantonment;*
- e) *cost of the land and cost of executing necessary works on different sites;*
- f) *facilities for external and internal communication; and, civil and military requirements.* (40)

Delhi had a population of 252,837 in the 1911 Census, half living inside the old walled city, and half in straggling civil suburbs. The River Jumna (Yamuna) provided the eastern limit of development; the flood plain on the east bank was peremptorily dismissed: *The Committee are of the opinion that nothing can be made of this area as a site for a new city.* (41) Likewise, although the Durbar ground was to the north, along the west bank, it was liable to flood, and in extreme monsoon conditions, it was estimated that it would be five feet below water level. In addition, in order to make a good link with Old Delhi, some existing suburban

and industrial development would need to be purchased and cleared. Furthermore, the site was hemmed in both by the river and the Ridge to the west. (42)

Journeys across the plain to the south of Delhi were made by car and elephant (the latter proved more reliable. Work commenced at 5-6 a.m., followed by office discussions from 10-12, lunch, a *siesta* to avoid the midday heat, with further site visits from 4-8 p.m. (43) The Ridge east of the old city ran away southwest, and the course of the river ran southeast leaving 3-4 miles of relatively flat, largely undeveloped land between. (44) It was in this area that historic monuments of previous Delhis were found: Humayun's Fort, Humayun's Tomb, Indarpat, quite close to the Jumna, further south was the Qutb Minar. Between these was a large area with potential for development. The site was among the healthiest on the fringe of Delhi, high enough above the river to avoid the mosquito-ridden flood plain. The Committee were convinced that the historic monuments could be fitted into an overall plan. Land acquisition would be moderate cost. Water supply and irrigation would, however, be more expensive than a gravitation supply.

Among the limited sites available the Committee have no hesitation in advising the Government of India to select this site and consider the physical, sanitary, aesthetic and general consideration in its favour overwhelming. (45)

The site visits were completed by 20 May, and the Commission prepared their Report at Simla, the Summer Capital, where they met Lord Hardinge – at a Viceregal dinner, Lutyens characteristically won sympathy from Lady Hardinge, which eased matters such that her husband '*was quite keen and agreed with my view as to the architecture and country ...so I scored all round and feel very happy*'. (46) The *First Report* was completed and signed off on 13 June 1912. It was stated that a number of preliminary outline schemes had been made, but no detail was shown. A map indicated the area to be purchased, for the southern site only. They sailed for England, but would return in order to complete their plan and submit final recommendations.

In fact, the Commission had examined a site to the south of Raisina Hill (where Government House (Viceroy's House) and the Secretariats were ultimately sited), and Lutyens had prepared initial sketches showing the key buildings on a level site, with a thumbnail elevation of Government House. (47) He was in correspondence with Herbert Baker over the possibility of their collaboration, and concerned at the possible intervention of another consultant, Henry Vaughan Lanchester (1863-1953), (48) whom he regarded as a loose canon. However, he believed that he now had Hardinge on his side, writing to Lady Emily that the Viceroy '*has practically given me Govt. House and the Big Place*'. (49) By July he was back in England.

All did not proceed smoothly. In August, Hardinge re-opened the basic question of siting. The Commission had reconvened in England, and were exchanging detailed correspondence with Government officials. They were concerned to receive Hardinge's request to site Government House on The Ridge – '*I can picture myself the approach to Government House from the plain below with terraces and gardens and fountains along the hillside that should be reproducing a miniature of Versailles and its gardens*'. (50) Bearing in mind that Hardinge strongly preferred the use reproduction Indian architectural styles, the result would have been a confusing mish-mash. Hardinge's letter arrived just as Lutyens was awaiting an audience at Balmoral with the King. (51) Characteristically, the architect appeared to be able to swing matters in his favour at the meeting, although this was not always to be the case. It

became clear that the next Delhi visit by the Commission would have their work cut out to progress.

Baker on Board

In view of the subsequent rift between Lutyens and Baker, it is difficult to maintain an objective view of the relative strengths and weaknesses of their contribution to New Delhi. In his memoirs, published shortly after Lutyens's death on New Year's Day 1944, (52) Baker refers to himself as Hardinge's preferred architect, on the strength of the Union Buildings at Pretoria, and adds '*but under great pressure from home he rightly appointed Lutyens*'. (53) Baker also credits the Viceroy with deciding that Lutyens must have a collaborator, which brought his own appointment. Lutyens's biographer, Hussey quotes Lutyens's letters virtually inviting Baker's collaboration, from the earliest period of his own appointment to the Delhi Plan Commission. (54) Through Summer/Autumn 1912, Baker advanced his cause, culminating in a letter on architectural style, published in *The Times* (London) on 3 October 1912. (55) It was at this period that an open design competition was being mooted, and although Lutyens may have suspected that Baker was pressing for the principal post (which may square with Baker's views), Lutyens decided to press for Baker's inclusion in the second visit to India by the Commission. Although Baker professed difficulties in collaboration with Lutyens, he agreed to it in principle, and suggested 'spheres of influence' with Lutyens responsible for the Great Place and Government House, himself for the flanks of the Avenue. (56) Hardinge again changed his mind in favour of Raisina Hill as the site for Government House, and Lutyens received his letter at the end of November, (57) shortly before sailing to India with Brodie, arriving in Delhi on 20 December. Lutyens took up with Hardinge the need to confirm Baker's appointment, which had been provisionally arranged through the India office. As on the previous visit, Lutyens also visited historic sites in north-western India: his reports on their architectural quality was usually critical, but he was often moved by their settings. (58)

Hardinge had been seriously injured on December 23, when a bomb was hurled at the Viceroy's elephant in procession through Old Delhi in a ceremony to mark the anniversary of the Durbar. (59) It is scarcely surprising that matters relating to work of the Plan Commission lacked direction early in the New Year. Hardinge again changed course and requested that the Ridge site be examined in connection with a plan by the engineer, Sir Bradford Leslie, that the northern site should benefit from damming the Jumna, to form a lake, which would provide an appropriate setting for the new capital. (60) It is scarcely surprising that the Commission delivered two Reports, reflecting their second season of work. One advance was Hardinge's ratification on 7 January 1913, of the appointment of Lutyens, in cooperation with Baker, and the distinguished authority on Indian architecture, Sir Swinton Jacob for

Evolving and carrying out a design for Government House and other buildings of importance, while assisting Government in selection of designs for other buildings and acting generally as principal architectural adviser to Government. (61)

Lutyens accepted his perceived role of first among equals. And Baker was on his passage to India; Lutyens welcomed him to the subcontinent on 7 February, (62) and Baker duly appeared alongside Brodie in a group photograph of the Commission. (63) Time was now running short.

The *Second Report* was signed off on 11 March 1913. (64) It dealt with Sir Bradford Leslie's proposal in detail, reiterating and emphasising critical points which had already been raised in the *First Report*, with a critique prepared by three expert engineers. The Commission had concluded that

The result of placing a city on the northern site appears to the Committee to be the creation of a bad example in place of a good one ... [they] were brought to India to advise on town planning. They would be false to their trust if they gave other advice than this. (65)

The *Final Report* was signed off on 20 March (66) updating events over the previous year. The Raisina plan was worked up in detail, on the basis of broad principles, which might have sprung directly from several of Daniel Burnham's City Beautiful plans:

A well-planned city should stand complete at its birth and yet have the power of receiving additions without losing its character. There must be beauty combined with comfort. There must be convenience – of arrangement as well as of communication. The main traffic routes must be parkways capable of extension both in width and length. Communications both internal and external should be above reproach. Where possible there should be a preservation of natural beauties – hill, wood and water – and monuments of antiquity and of the architectural splendours of modern times. Spaces needed for recreation of all classes. The result must be self-contained yet possessing a latent elasticity for extension. The perfected whole must should be obtainable with due regard to economy. (67)

These had perforce to be adapted to the local context:

In the case of Delhi the Committee conceive the chief of these to be a realisation of the dominant idea of the New Delhi and the adaptation of the scheme of the new city physical conditions. Delhi is to be an Imperial capital and is to absorb the traditions of all the ancient capitals. It is to be the seat of the Government of India. It has to convey the idea of a peaceful domination and dignified rule over the traditions and life of India by the British Raj. (68)

The new city could be said to begin from the walls of the historic city of Shahjehanabad, extending in a southerly and south-westerly direction. The eastern boundary would be the Jumna, on whose old high bank were situated remains of the cities of Serozshah, Kotla and Indrapat, and the buildings of Humayun's tomb. The western limit was the ridge, which contained the plain running across to the river. Overall, the site had a width of about 4.5 miles, narrowing as it approached Delhi to 2.5 miles. The older Delhis lay dotted around the eastern and southern perimeter of the site. The land was mostly in agricultural use, and had been largely cleared of trees. The yield from agriculture gave a favourable portent for the success of avenue planting, parks and gardens. The ridge itself would be afforested, which required irrigation, which would also provide for a future water supply for the city. The military cantonment would be situated to the southwest, beyond the Ridge. (69)

Government house was to be sited on Raisina Hill:

So placed to command views of the new city on every side and is viewed by all the inhabitants thereof. There is a wide outlook over its demesne-ridge, river and plains, the Delhi of today and the Delhis of the past. (70)

The hill itself was not large enough to accommodate all the buildings, and it would be necessary to build a platform to provide enough room, but the overall concept was clear: *This will be flanked by the large blocks of Secretariat buildings and terminated at its western end by the mass of Government House and the Council Chamber, with its wide flight of steps, portico and dome. (71)* Thus, the layout concept and the architectural form of the major buildings, particularly of the Viceroy's House, had already attained the form in which they would be elaborated in detail by Lutyens and Baker. It appears to have been Baker, with the encouragement of Hardinge, who pressed the concept of the principal government buildings raised on an 'acropolis'. (72) An alternative, with the Secretariats at lower level below Raisina was rejected. Working up the final scheme pushed the Viceroy's House back, and produced the cut-off of visibility of its full façade by the ramp between the Secretariats, provoking the 'great quarrel' between Lutyens and Baker. From the main square, designated as a forum, the broad avenue would become the Kingsway, now Rajpath. To the west of Government House would be the Viceregal Estate, beyond which, on the Ridge, it was proposed to excavate a spacious amphitheatre at a quarry, from which it was proposed that much of the stone for roads and buildings would be cut. A cross axis, at the foot of the hill, would run to the railway station and business area to the north, and would terminate in the cathedral at the south. (73) Around the main cross axis would be the buildings of the Oriental Institutes, the Museum, the Library and the Imperial Record Office.

The Report said little about the geometric basis of the plan, although it described a range of avenues, from a modest 60 feet to 300 hundred feet, with the grand axis of 440 feet, with a planted parkway of several avenues of trees. Running water with fountains would grace the principal avenues. (74) A brief description was given of the secondary system of the angled avenues, which '*enclose the Imperial centre and are the outer main sinews of the frame*'. (75) A commemorative column, eventually the site of the canopy and statue of King George V, was to be the focal point of the roads and avenues on the parkway, at Princes Place. It was proposed to plant the main avenues well in advance of development, and in addition, parks had been provided for in the Viceregal Estate, the main parkway itself, a park around the Lodhi tombs and Safdarjung's Tomb, a park to the south of the club containing golf and race course and a park between the new and old cities, about 1000 yards in width, with the afforested ridge forming a backdrop on the east. (76) Perhaps in recognition of the publicity generated by Sir Bradford Leslie's emphasis on beautification through impounding the Jumna, it was stated that ultimately, a lake might be created on the flood plain, at the eastern termination of the grand axis. (77) Schematic road sections had been produced, showing the avenue planting in relationship to the carriageways and footways, and it was recommended that impervious waterproof surfaces should be used for all the main avenues and roads. A standard of local open spaces of one acre, to every ten acres gross of land developed, truly made a Garden City of spacious proportions.

The *Final Report* contained the layout of avenues and roads (78) – the first public appearance of the overall concept. Detail would change – a new terminus station was not part of Connaught Place, the ampitheatre carved into the Ridge did not materialise. Nor was the Jumna brought into a broad new course as the eastern termination of the grand axis. What is remarkable is that this layout, produced after intensive, sometimes sporadic work on two

continents, with frequent changes of mind, represented such a robust basis upon which the laying out of the new Imperial Capital duly proceeded.

A question of style

Following the decision to develop Delhi as the Imperial capital, the issue of an appropriate architectural style flared up. In Spring 1912, Hardinge announced his preference for an oriental style suited to climate and context, drawing also from western traditions, a composite of Hindu and Muslim, British and Indian. (79) Indian architecture was generally regarded as exotic, well beyond the sphere of the major western styles, as in Banister Fletcher's popular *History of architecture on the comparative method* as a 'non-historical style', (80) in which 'decorative schemes outweighed all other considerations'. (81) This superficially demeaned an architecture of great antiquity and tradition. The occasional use of a generalised oriental style in England, as at the Brighton Pavilion, remodelled inside and out in 1815-20 by John Nash for the Prince Regent came to be regarded as a quaint aberration. The mid 19th century had witnessed 'the battle of the styles' in Britain, between Classical and Gothic. In Bombay and Calcutta a comparable eclecticism was apparent, with an attempted 'Indo-Saracenic' revival adding to the aesthetic anarchy. (82)

Lutyens regarded Indian architecture with the scepticism outlined above. Despite his lack of a formal architectural education, he had immersed himself in developing a complete understanding of the classical tradition in Britain, particularly Inigo Jones and Wren, and the interpretation of their work through pattern books. He had more recently begun to appreciate the achievements of the Italian Renaissance architects. His interest in architecture outside the western humanist tradition was small, and his tours around the historic Indian sites was dutiful rather than enthusiastic. 'They want Hindoo - Hindon't' say I', he wrote to Lady Emily. Although most architectural commentators in Britain favoured a Renaissance approach, (83) without any attempts at incorporating Indian detail, a significant minority, including some of Lutyens's Arts and Crafts acquaintances, favoured a more integrated vernacular approach, both to design and construction. (84)

Lutyens proceeded cautiously, given Hardinge's preference, and the known enthusiasm of the King for Mughal architecture, to whom he showed his sketches in September 1912. He hoped that these

Will show how natural and Indian a western motif can look, treated for the Indian sun with Indian methods applied without throwing away the English Tradition and clinging too much to the curiosities of a less intellectual style. (85)

The King was impressed, Lord Crewe approved, and the drawings were sent to Hardinge.

As noted above, Baker joined the debate in October 1912. His contribution was helpful in that he rejected literal reproduction of the 'Indo-Saracenic' style, and dismissed Gothic in a very few words. Based on his experience in South Africa, pondered whether the '*English Classic style*', which he believed that '*the genius of Wren*' had '*stamped sanity and sobriety on our architecture,*' could be adapted to the context of a tropical climate, perhaps through the generous use of colonnades, a feature integral to southern classical architecture, and readily applicable to India. The dome, albeit with different profiles and structures, was common to both traditions. (86) He felt that a synthesis was possible, which would

By following the precedents of the best tradition of English architecture and keeping an open mind for the needs of India and its Government, satisfy both the demands of the new Delhi and go far to develop a new style of architecture, which should have spontaneous growth throughout India. (87)

Presciently, Baker also urged the preservation of the historic sites across the southern plain, which at Hardinge's command Lutyens incorporated into the layout by avenues leading to Purana Kila and the Jumma Masjid, the Friday Mosque in Shahjehanabad, the old walled Mughal city, possible as a result of the overlay of the triangular/hexagonal grid on the axial centre of the Rajpath. (88)

The debate over style hung over the second season of the Planning Commission's work in Winter 1912-13. Lutyens remained convinced his ability to achieve a harmonious fusion of western classicism with Indian detail, but felt that

This cannot be done by the almost sterile stability of the English Classical style; nor can it be done by capturing Indian details and inserting their features like hanging pictures on a wall! (89)

His frustration bordered on obstinacy as he strove to 'express modern India in stone, to represent her amazing sense of the supernatural, with its complement of profound fatalism and enduring patience'. (90) His tours of Indian historic sites had not brought a greater appreciation of the architectural qualities of the buildings: he still considered that excess decoration had produced a debased style. Yet, perhaps even subconsciously, he had begun to absorb key details, and to develop a rationale for their integration into his classical design ethos. This is evident in the sketches for Government/Viceroy's House, which he discussed with Hardinge, during the latter's convalescence after the attempt to kill him in December 1912. He had done enough to secure official confirmation of his appointment as architect of Government House together with that of Baker for the Secretariats, in early January 1913. (91) The final contract from the Governor of India was not offered until November 1913, however. (92)

The move towards construction was preceded by an examination of the cost, which was to be borne entirely by the Government of India, funded by taxes. Lord Curzon had alleged that the overall costs would rise to £10 million: Hardinge countered that it would be held to £4 million, with £500,000 allocated to Government House. (93) Lutyens had not spared grandeur in his sketch designs: furthermore the moving back of the building to accommodate Baker's Secretariats on the eastern edge of Raisina had brought in a double basement to elevate Government House to the same datum. While the footprints of Baker's buildings were largely approved, Lutyens was required to reduce Government House, over which he anxiously worked during the Autumn/Winter 1913-14. (94) Meanwhile heights and levels had to be regarded as fixed, to ensure a precise relationship with Baker's buildings. Lutyens opened a Delhi office in London, in Apple Tree Yard, (95) behind the house in St. James's Square he had remodelled for the Farrer brothers, the Royal solicitors. This office would prepare drawings to be sent to Delhi at the commencement of each construction season.

The Great Quarrel

In November 1913, Baker brought to Lutyens's office, perspectives, worked up from his sketches by William Walcot, the foremost architectural artist of his generation, illustrating the

front elevation of the Viceroy's House, framed by the Secretariats, showing far more of the façade of the latter than would be the case in practice. (96) Lutyens, perhaps distracted by the ongoing cost of reduction exercises, assumed that the drawing was an accurate representation. It became vital evidence in the subsequent 'great quarrel'.

Lutyens and Baker sailed for Delhi on 13 November arriving on the 29th. Lutyens had striven to reduce the cubic content of Viceroy's House but pointed out that the ceremonial, legislative and private accommodation, requested by the Viceroy alone exceeded the suggested cubic content of the building, with the estimated cost for the structure alone of £536,038. (97) Nevertheless, he virtually redesigned the building in a month – but despaired of meeting the target – he even suggested facing the upper parts of the walls with plaster instead of the intended marble. Between 16-21 March 1914, the revised plans were approved, (98) and the engineers adjusted the cost estimates. Baker had also had to make reductions, but proportionately less than Lutyens. They were both required to sign a declaration that no further alterations would be made to prevent the use of the foundations for the Secretariats, which were already in place. The relationship between the three major buildings was now regarded as fixed.

The original, over-ambitious, objective had been to complete New Delhi by 1918. (99) Clearly, the outbreak of the First World War in August 1914 ruled this out. Four months before the war, Hardinge had sought the Secretary of State's approval for a total expenditure of £6,113,600 over a six year period. The completion date was pushed forward to 1924-5, and even this became untenable once the construction had been slowed down in 1916. By that time, only £1.25 million of the total had been spent and the number of workers on site dropped from 24,000, in Winter 1913-14, to about 8,000. (100) For both Lutyens and Baker, the slowdown was a blessing in disguise, giving time to work out details more thoroughly. During the war, political controversy over the project re-ignited, when Lord Curzon called the new capital 'a costly but futile bauble, unpardonable in peacetime which had become a wartime incubus'. His solution was 'peaceful extinction'. (101)

Notwithstanding the war, the annual voyages out to India continued for two seasons. It was in the 1915-16 season that the Great Quarrel broke out. Work to the ramp, leading up to Raisina, together with its flanking walls, and the lower levels of the Secretariats was beginning to show the final layout and relationship between the buildings, although only the vaulted sub-structure of the lower basement of the Viceroy's House was under construction at this time. The 22½ degree angle of the ramp, the maximum agreed to in the documents which Baker and Lutyens had signed three years previously, now emerged as likely to block the vision of all but the top of the dome of the Viceroy's House, set back as it was behind the Great Place. (102) Lutyens raised the matter before the Delhi Committee that he had not been consulted about the final construction, and the collaboration with Baker was thoroughly unsatisfactory. (103) The perspective drawings by Walcot, exhibited in London at the Royal Academy, had shown the front of the Viceroy's House unobscured. Baker's rejoinder was that Lutyens had signed his agreement to the angle, and that he had nothing to do with the surroundings of the Secretariat buildings. He flatly opposed any change of the arrangement which would cut the raised court in two by a continuous deep cutting or involve endless and useless steps. (104)

Neither architect had, it seemed, made any effort further to understand the other's design objectives, once the document had been signed, which, on the face of it, endorsed Baker's position. Lutyens bitterly felt that he had been double-crossed by Baker, and tried to

convince the Committee and the Public Works Department that there was still time to rectify the matter. (105) Baker maintained that ‘in a two mile vista a prospect which for part of the distance hides and then reveals itself again is rather an attraction than otherwise’. (106) Lutyens would not let matters rest approached Lord Hardinge whose Vicereality had been extended to March 1916. Hardinge had, apparently, originally opposed the setting back of Viceroy’s House from the crest of Raisina Hill, but once that was done, he did not feel that it mattered whether it was seen from anywhere as it could not be seen from everywhere. (107) He also shared Baker’s objection to the cost of modification and the inconvenience of communication between the twin blocks across the forecourt, which should remain level.

Both architects left for England shortly afterwards: they quarrelled fitfully throughout the voyage, and subsequently refused to speak to each other, even when travelling to and fro on the same ship. (108) Lutyens proposed to bring the matter before the King. His audience took place on 4 November 1916. (109) It had been a difficult year for the country and the Monarchy, dominated by the slaughter of the Battle of the Somme. Lutyens took their Majesties through the plans. They regretted that marble facing of the Viceroy’s House had been eliminated to save cost. The King objected to the obscuring of the dignity and approach to the Viceroy’s House, which he felt should be the predominant building of the new capital. However, sympathetic his Majesty may have been, the fact remained that as a constitutional monarch, his decision-making powers were limited, and the construction proceeded according to Baker’s unrevised plans. Lutyens ruefully referred to this defeat as his ‘Bakerloo’! (110)

Hardinge’s successor, Viscount Chelmsford, made it clear that although it was necessary to restrain cost, the change of capital was now an accomplished fact, buttressed by Royal support from the King who exhorted that New Delhi and its public buildings should be ‘a landmark for all time’. (111) Lutyens had hopes of influencing the new Viceroy in his favour, and arrived in Delhi at the beginning of January 1917. The Viceroy’s House was now reaching upper basement level, which formed the base of its façade. Chelmsford side-stepped Lutyens’s urging action to rectify the ramp, by pointing out that the nature of the architect’s conversation with the King was a private interview, and if he wished to pursue it, he must proceed through the Secretary of State in London, rather than with the Viceroy. (112) The matter had been well aired in England throughout Summer 1916, with a widely circulated cartoon of ‘Tweedledum and Tweedledee’, showing Lutyens versus Baker, both armed with drawing boards and drawing instruments, with Baker poised to stab Lutyens in the face with a pair of compasses. (113) Lutyens vainly tried to raise the matter at each change of appointment in the India office, and with Chelmsford’s successor as Viceroy, and finally, a further interview at Balmoral. His persistence was in danger of undermining his position, particularly as Baker was lobbying to retain his status quo. At the inauguration in 1931, it still rankled, particularly, as Lady Emily, viewing for the first time, condemned the ramp as a ‘crying iniquity’ which had spoiled her husband’s masterpiece. (114)

The Viceroy’s House (Rashtrapati Bhavan)

After the war, construction resumed, and despite a political hiatus in the early 1920s, the major buildings proceeded towards completion. One new feature was the removal of a Council Chamber from the Viceroy’s House, and its reworking as a much more ambitious Assembly building, designed by Baker. (115) This became the Indian Parliament following Independence. The Secretariats were completed in 1927, enabling a gradual move to take place prior to inauguration. The dome on the Viceroy’s House was topped out at the

beginning of 1929 and it was formally completed at the year end. The Mughal Garden was laid out in 1928-9. Lord and Lady Irwin, Viceroy and Vicerene, officially took residence on 23 December 1929. Lutyens continued to attend to numerous small snags and at the year's end, Irwin informed the architect that he had been awarded the honour of Knight Commander of the Indian Empire in the New Year Honours List for 1930. (116)

Despite the quarrel, the compromise, the cost-paring and the political squabbles, I consider the Viceroy's Residence, now Rashtrapati Bhavan is an architectural masterpiece, fulfilling the aspirations of its designer, Sir Edwin Lutyens. (117) It also achieved the desired fusion of western classical architecture with Indian details and overtones more fully than any other building in New Delhi. Focal point in so many vistas of the plan, notwithstanding the temporary invisibility from the foot of the ramp, it anchors the axis confidently providing an architectural climax, yet is serene in its setting, framed by the twin Secretariat buildings. The balance of the predominant horizontal emphasis, provided by the portico and colonnades, and emphasised by the deep shadow line of the Indian chujja cornice, is matched by the appropriate vertical accent of the dome. The roofline is enlivened by Lutyens's playful use of chattri pavilions,(118) with rooftop fountains as a cooling agent. From this podium the central dome rises above the ceremonial Durbar Hall within, a dome quite unlike any other. The lower structure is articulated by the shadow line of a recessed short colonnade, with polygonal turrets culminating in chattri roofs, from which the main drum rises almost organically. Around the top of the drum Lutyens uses a detail from the historic Buddhist stupa fence protecting a sacred enclosure at Sanchi. Above, the profile of the dome is pure abstract geometry, terminating in the slight step of the central oculus. Lutyens's western precedent, the ancient Pantheon in Rome (AD 118-28), has been subtly transformed into an oriental form, without sacrificing its geometrical clarity.

Coming back down to the porticoes and colonnades, we can see that Lutyens evolved a special Classical-Indo Order for the purpose. The elongated proportion of the Roman Corinthian Order is transformed with capitals with drums of stylised Indian plant forms, and abaci with temple bells at each corner. The inspiration for this distinctive feature of the Delhi Order was taken from a decorative sculpture at the Qutab Minar. Looking upwards into the shadowy depth of the portico, where the entrances to the Durbar Hall, and its ante-rooms, have a purer Classical detailing, the flat underside of the chujja is ornamented with distinctive simplified oriental patterns which ingeniously turn the corners as this feature runs around the perimeter of the building. Elsewhere, there is a distinct Indian feeling, particularly in the robust, stocky proportions of the columns supporting the arcade of the lower basement,(119) with distinctive cantilevered lintels, again terminating in temple bells. Around the edge of the terracing, the retaining structures, with their sloping-back walls, and further chattris have an indisputably Indian character.

Symbolic sculpture, including almost Art Deco Imperial lions on pedestals embellish the forecourt, while carved elephants, to a design by Charles Sargent Jagger, guard the ramps down into the Viceregal parkland. This is a conscious reworking of the Elephant Gate in Delhi's historic Red Fort. Further guardian elephants are found along the wrought-iron screen which forms the boundary of the forecourt. Lutyens's ironwork was always of a high order, and in the screen and gates, he used attenuated Classical profiles to suggest an intricate Indian pattern. On the axis of the courtyard, proudly set in front of the portico, is the column, presented by the Maharaja of Jaipur. Standing on a classical plinth, the column rejects the expected fluting of the formal Roman Doric Order, in favour of an all-over pattern of oak leaves which also suggests Indian ornament. The superstructure again suggests oriental

ornament, particularly the lotus bud, out of which burst the multi-pointed star of India. An even more literal Indian feature is found in the Cobra fountains of the south court.

The Mughal Gardens are one of the glories of the Rashtrapati Bhavan, (120) a complex geometrical scheme, worked up from such precedents as the garden in the nearby Humayun's Tomb, the finest 16th century Mughal monument in Delhi. Close to the terrace is the Lily Pad Fountain, a series of stone shallow plates, forming a multi-tiered fountain, which celebrates the Indian love of integrating water and fountains into gardens. In photographs for the *Architectural Review*, (121) celebrating the inauguration of New Delhi, this fountain takes on an almost abstract form when, seen above from the parapet of the building. The axis is thrust confidently out from the garden façade, leading from the Mughal Garden down into a pergola walk. Here again, Lutyens's ingenuity has created a distinctly Indian character from the way in which he uses long counterbalances to stabilise the double lintels. Actually drawn from Classical precedents, these distended forms suggest elephant trunks. Finally, the circular sunken garden brings the subtle interrelationship of architecture and planting found in the finest country house gardens designed by Lutyens and planted by Gertrude Jekyll. A fine example had been created at Heywood House, County Leix, Ireland (1906), and the form was revived spectacularly for the Irish National War Memorial at Islandbridge, Dublin (1931-39). (122) The gardens also made ample provision for tennis courts, and in the ornamental screens, Lutyens brought out his love of circular forms in the openings in the screen, separated and supported by stone piers which suggest the setback forms of the Cenotaph, his most famous war memorial in Whitehall, London.

It was originally intended that Viceroy's House would be clad in white marble, a request by Lord Hardinge, to which Lutyens readily assented. Marble was eliminated during the cost-paring. Frankly, (123) I feel that it improved the building so to do. White marble would have given a more superficial wedding cake appearance, to its detriment. Substitution of two local sandstones, the Dholpur white and buff, and the Bharapur red gave the building a more organic appearance and linked it to the Mughal masterpiece of Humayun's Tomb, dating from the mid-16th century. Lutyens also subtly used the juxtaposition of the colours, with the red providing a firm base, but not throughout the plinth, with a band of red just below the roof parapet, and red for the lower dome, again with an emphasising red band above the stupa frieze at the top of the drum.

The interiors are more overtly Classical. Lutyens worked hard to combine the ceremonial rooms, with a residency wing, guest wing and numerous administrative offices. Some of the planning was disrupted when the building was reduced. However, the ceremonial Durbar Hall attains pride of place, as on the exterior. The interior evokes the Roman model of the Pantheon more strongly. The oculus was drawn directly from that model, as was the articulation of the lower part of the room by semi-circular recesses. However, Lutyens playfully substituted columns with Delhi capitals for the florid Corinthian of the Roman precedent. In order to bring air into the centre of the building, Lutyens used a number of courtyards. The most striking is the court with the Great Staircase. This leads from the upper basement, where guests of the Viceroy would arrive in their chauffeur-driven cars, to ascend the staircase and enter the ceremonial suite, perhaps going to the state dining room, or the ballroom. The first impression is that the staircase has a deep coved ceiling, with a blue centre. In fact, it is open to the sky and the blue changes to deep indigo with, possibly, a scatter of stars at night.

Lutyens used his ingenuity in designing light fittings in the vaulted corridors which again suggest Indian filigree lanterns. Among the Classical precedents are the use of the interior of Wren's City Church of St. Stephen Walbrook, for the Viceroy's study, introducing a circular form above a square room by carrying arcading diagonally across the corners. Lutyens had absolute control over every feature, even the nursery suite, where around the lightwell he introduced an Indian-style timber screen, into which were set birdcages. There is no record that any of the Viceroys, who tended to be middle-aged or older, ever had young families with them, but Lutyens had to provide for every eventuality.

Building New Delhi

While the delay over finalisation of the design, particularly of The Viceroy's House, led to frustration on Lutyens's part, the actual building process was conspicuously successful, particularly after 1923, when a Government Committee of Inquiry appointed by Lord Reading provided an independent audit of the increased estimates sanctioned by the Indian legislature. (124) This helped to quell the criticism of the project as a monumental folly. The Indian Public Works Department was responsible for construction, with Hugh (later Sir Hugh) Keeling as Chief Engineer from 1911-25, succeeded by Sir Alexander Rouse. The Executive Engineer was Teja Singh Malik (later knighted) who became Chief Engineer of the Public Works Department himself. (125)

The Public Works Department organised provision of materials, transport and equipment. Indian contractors provided an immense pool of labour, unskilled and also craftsmen who fulfilled the most exacting demands. As construction began in 1913, up to 29,000 workers were employed on site, cut back to 8,000 in 1916, rising again to 15,000 in 1925. Contemporary photographs show women and boys at work, as the precise superstructure rose on a vaulted sub-basement, which exploited the traditional skills of brick vaulting. Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims worked side by side, and several became wealthy contractors through their logistical skills: for most of the project provided much needed employment, with an opportunity to develop skills, or apply them in a different context. There were over 2500 stonemasons at work during the busiest years, supervised by a handful of British overseers, including the Scot, W. B. Cairns, who had worked for Baker at Pretoria. (126)

T. S. Malik's team was largely responsible for organising the construction of The Viceroy's House and the two Secretariats. (127) He maintained his personal record of progress, and took pride of place in photographs with a panoramic camera of the type that captured the assembled staff and pupils of public schools in the 1920s. Significantly, he also appeared in a prominent position with the British chief officers, including R. T. Russell and A. M. Rouse, on 6 April 1929, when the Viceroy and Vicerene, Lord and Lady Irwin, were hoisted by crane to the summit of the dome over the Durbar Hall for the topping out ceremony of The Viceroy's House, (128) Malik, with Sir Alexander Rouse and Arthur Shoosmith (Lutyens's site architect), Malik, and some of his principal craftsmen were alongside them.

As the principal buildings neared completion in the late 1920s, the requirements for skilled trades changed. Electrical and drainage engineers had to provide state of the art infrastructure, and British foremen trained thousands of Indian workmen in skills, which were new to them. Lutyens frequently became impatient during the fitting out of The Viceroy's House. (129) The architects' contracts had provided for their roles as advisers, with Sir Swinton Jacob, to a Government established school of arts and crafts on the site. (130) This was not done, and the need for skills, which included western ironmongery, locks, and the

adaptation of furniture making and carpet weaving to the architects' designs was acute. Lutyens was eager to revive the standards of Kashmiri weavers, using natural dyes, from 16th century antique examples. (131) The carpets for The Viceroy's House took 500 weavers two years to complete.

The planting kept pace with construction. The detailing and laying out of the Mughal Garden at The Viceroy's House took pride of place in 1928, (132) as Lady Irwin monitored its progress. Advance planting of the avenues ensured that the bungalow zone attained its Garden City characteristics before the majority of the plots were developed. The forestry experts and landscape architects had thoroughly prepared the ground, which as agricultural land had yielded good crops. The trees transformed what had been largely open, and windswept plain into the green setting for the formal centrepiece.

The Secretariats and Assembly (Parliament of India)

Baker's achievement is of a high, but rather different order. Notwithstanding the quarrel over the ramp, the twin Secretariat buildings admirably frame the view through to the Viceroy's House beyond. In addition, their lively silhouette creates a lively counterpoint, as Robert Byron, a connoisseur of architecture and travel of the interwar period, memorably wrote in *Country Life*:

... The seventh Delhi, four-square upon an eminence – dome, tower, dome, tower, dome, red pink, cream, and white, washed gold and flashing in the morning sun. The traveller looses a breath, and with it his apprehension and preconceptions. Here is something not merely worthy, but whose like has never been. With a shiver of impatience, he shakes off contemporary standards, and makes ready to evoke those of Greece, the Renaissance, and the Moguls. (133)

However, as Gavin Stamp observed, Baker's way of design differed significantly from that of Lutyens. His ideas were more literally eclectic, with the result that

There is no real synthesis between east and west; rather, there is addition. The Secretariats are Edwardian Baroque buildings with Indian details; their domes are Wren Orientalised. (134)

Personally, I feel that the twin domes, stemming originally from the Greenwich College model, which excited both Baker and Lutyens, are French or Italian, rather than Wren in accent, as they appear to relate to the dome of St. Louis les Invalides, in Paris, with its coupled columns around the drum, masterpiece of J. H. Mansard (and also to St. Peter's in Rome). Moreover, Baker's chattris appear as picturesque add-ons, rather than integral features. Nonetheless, there is skilful design work in these buildings. Baker retained the Pretoria model, from the Union Buildings, even repeating the tooth-gap effect of the spacing of the columns in the projecting porticos – it becomes a little laboured with repetition, however. While the top of Raisina Hill was shaved off to create a level building surface, its rugged rock outcrop is nowhere to be seen, concealed as it is behind the red sandstone bastions facing the Great Place. The entrances are, as Baker insisted, at the level of the courtyard, allowing ready cross-access beyond the top of the notorious ramp.

To frame the portals, Baker adapted, and westernised, the banded treatment around the entrance to Humayun's Tomb, visually effective, but rather spoiled by his love of applying

mottos to buildings. An Arts and Crafts foible, Lutyens was also susceptible, but his inscriptions are less wordy and less patronising. In the context of the Republic of India, the adage over the portal of the north Secretariat is distinctly Patrician in spirit.

Liberty will not descend to a people. A people must raise themselves to liberty: it is a blessing that must be earned before it can be enjoyed. (135)

The vaulted corridors within are most immediately suggestive of the great town halls of the period, and none the worse for that. Perhaps the most effective detailing is that of the superb circular stairs and on the balustrading of the open courtyards of the North Block, where the refined use of Indian motifs is accomplished with finesse. Altogether these are fine buildings by any standard. (136)

Below the 'Acropolis' the Great Place suffers from a lack of enclosure, provided mainly by low stupa fences. The reflecting pools and fountains play their part in a civic ensemble which again has a French feeling, for example the Place de la Concorde in Paris, at the foot of the long axial Champs Elysees. Visible on the northern side is a later addition to the Government complex, the circular building which now houses the Indian Parliament. Moves towards a token recognition of self-government caused the removal of the Council Chamber from the Viceroy's House, and its replacement by what was originally described as a Council Chamber, later Assembly. (137) This occupied one of the irregularly shaped sites in the northern residential quarter beyond the axial groups. Baker originally suggested a 'Y' footprint block expressing the twin chambers and Government Library. Lutyens rejected this and requested that the complex be surrounded by a continuous colonnade. At the time, he had sketched a similar block footprint for the never-built cathedral to the south of the place. (138) Perhaps he did not wish to see his rival use the same concept. The great colonnade does, however, give the building a Roman *gravitas*, but the Chattri porches appear as appendages. The three main chambers were linked to a central domed atrium. The dome was of low profile and not readily visible, especially from close quarters. It was even more obscured when an additional storey was added to the building well set back behind the parapet of the colonnade, as the growing role of an Indian legislature demanded increased bureaucracy. For the Debating Chambers, Baker chose a semi-circular layout, as opposed to the adversarial Government Party and Opposition pattern found in the English Parliament. The details of the twin chambers again verges on the heavy pre-war Edwardian Baroque, with some Indian detailing in screens within the panelled lower storey and traceried semi-circular clerestory windows lighting the upper parts. Both inside, and outside, Baker used his own variant of the Delhi Order, but less effectively, as the capitals otherwise conform more strictly to the Roman Corinthian model. Remarkably, the building has adapted to the much greater numbers required by the two chambers of the Indian Parliament, and in the 1990s, a decision was made to relocate the Library in a separate building. Opened in 2002, designed by Raj Reval Associates, this is one of the most successful modern buildings in New Delhi as, without attempting to reproduce the detailing of Baker's building, it nevertheless, by use of sympathetic materials and its sensitive overall scale effectively complements the original building. (139)

Along the Rajpath (originally Kingsway)

From either direction, the Rajpath sweeps all before it, either culminating in the 'acropolis' on Raisina, or, the India Arch; derived from The Mall in Washington, but with a central vehicular boulevard, flanked by avenue planting, with long reflecting canals at either side.

The *Final Report* of the Delhi Planning Commission, had set a grand scale parkway, 440 feet wide, originally without a central hard-surfaced carriageway. Critics have stated that the scale suggests a perpetual Durbar ground, (140) and only the annual Republic Day processions held on 26 January fill the grand axis with colour and pageantry. At the mid-point is the cross axis, originally intended to be filled with four cultural buildings. Lutyens's National Archives Building, the only one even to be commenced, was partly completed in the 1930s. (141) Less effective than the Viceroy's house, the superstructure of the building seems almost detached from its solid red sandstone base. The central colonnade of the Delhi Order is flanked by end pavilions, with a triumphal arch motif of which Lutyens was fond at this period, notably for the three-dimensional versions poised above the otherwise rather mundane Grosvenor House in Park Lane, London.

Princes Place was also sporadically developed. It is visually separated from the Rajpath by another addition to the formal centre, the India Arch, originally known as the All India War Memorial. Lutyens was appointed, along with Baker, and Reginald Blomfield, one of the principal architects to what was established during the First World War as the Imperial War Graves Commission. (142) In addition to many memorials in North Eastern France, he also designed the Cenotaph in Whitehall, dedicated in its final form on Armistice Day 1920, and a series of memorial of different scales throughout Britain, commemorating the fallen in villages, towns and cities. The Triumphal Arch was a favourite form, with Roman origins, and a spectacular revival in the Arc de Triomphe in Paris, at the Place d'Etoile along the Champs Elysees in Paris. The India Arch, built between 1921-31 (143) honoured 60,000 Indian soldiers who died overseas and recorded on its walls the names of 13,516 British and Indian officers and men of no known grave who fell fighting on the North-West Frontier and in the Third Afghan War.

Unlike some of his more three-dimensional arches, designed to be seen from both the main and cross axis, such as the contemporary Leicester War Memorial Arch, the India Arch concentrates on the main axis, and in this sense follows closely the Roman and French precedent. However, Lutyens exaggerated the cornice as a chujja, used an Indian motif for the frieze and added an abstract, block-like superstructure, hinting at the elemental classicism of his late architecture. A low profile dome on top was designed to emit smoke on commemorative occasions. The sides of the arch incorporate pine cones as a symbol of mourning. Lutyens had seen these on a Roman funerary symbol, but here their pointed tops become an abstracted form of the Indian dome profile, albeit in miniature. Lutyens originally intended to have twin chattris at the foot of the arch, following an instruction by the Viceroy to include Indian details, but these were rejected. (144) In his initial sketches, made in 1917, he had proposed connecting colonnades, based on those by Bernini around St. Peter's Square in Rome, to enclose at least a part of the circumference of Princes Place. (145) The India Arch was flanked by twin fountains, with cantilevered bowls. They marked the head of the canals, either side of the main processional way. The design was comparable with the contemporary fountains, which Lutyens had designed for the pools in Trafalgar Square London (and also the fountains at the Irish National War Memorial) but the Delhi fountains added some nominal Indian detailing. (146)

The centrepiece of Princes Place was originally intended to be another lofty column. King George V died in January 1936, and the Government of India considered it appropriate to provide a prominent monument to the Monarch who had, a quarter century previously, proclaimed the intent to develop the new capital city. The basic concept was that of a statue, on a raised plinth, with a tall canopy above, suggesting an ecclesiastical baldachino. (147)

The statue, by Charles Sargent Jagger, showed the Monarch in formal robes, with crowned head, standing on an offset plinth, which resembled a Cenotaph, partly concealed by the flowing robes. After Independence, the statue was removed to Coronation Park near the Durbar ground, and the canopy remains tantalisingly empty. Its design again suffuses Western form with Indian detail. Lutyens may possibly have taken the 17/18th century Hindu stone pavilion from Mahaballipuram as his model. The four corner columns rise from Western-style plinths, terminating in Delhi capitals. The semi-circular arches, upon which the canopy and its superstructure are raised appear more orthodox Palladian. However, the projecting chujja cornice adds Oriental detail to the silhouette, while the upper part, terminating in a low dome, is yet another variation of the chattri pavilions. The monument, with its flanking fountains, is set within a circular pool, in a larger rectangle, the corners of which are formed by the projections of the axes of the radiating diagonals, which meet at Princes Place.

Around Princes Place, three sites were significantly developed. The Palace of the Nizam of Hyderabad was the most important, with an angled plan to fit the irregular geometry of the site. (148) Lutyens had worked hard on this, as the many preliminary sketches indicate. The building was much more Palladian in style, with stone used for the most prominent Classical detail of the entrance and porte cochere, facing the entrance gateway on the frontage of the site. Lutyens used his favourite Tuscan Doric Order on the ground floor, and simplified Corinthian above. Much of the façades are white-rendered, against which the abundant stone dressings stand out to striking effect. The central entrance hall is, in fact, a miniature of the Durbar Hall, complete with low dome. The twin wings open out either side, and are planned around small cloistered courtyards. The first floor balconies and loggias, the latter with multi-paned Mediterranean-style windows, create the impression of updated, even streamlined Classicism, characteristic of the 1930s. The garden is a smaller scale version of the Mughal Garden at the Viceroy's House, complete with a smaller version of the Lily Pad Fountain. Now used for Indian Government entertaining, Hyderabad House has been restored to spectacular effect.

The Gaekwar of Baroda, built his town palace on an adjoining site. (149) Lutyens began the design in 1921, and again showed considerable ingenuity in adapting his architecture, almost organically, to the irregularities of the site. Baroda House was not completed until 1933. It is a harsher, more orthodox design, built in terracotta, deriving its details from Palladian sources. Again, a low dome features at the heart of this building, but the height of the façades tends to conceal most of this from view. Indian detailing is nominal, although the pierced screen in the perimeter parapet walls above the curved entrance are attractively detailed, and also repeated on smaller scale in balustrades around the central staircase within. Again, there was a major circular space, in this case the saloon, with courtyards articulating the plan of the wings at either side. Baroda House is now the headquarters of the Northern Railway of India, and a utilitarian office block was added in the 1960s.

The architect for Jaipur House was C. J. Blomfield (who had also designed Imperial Hotel). (150) In contrast to the Lutyens buildings, this has a sophisticated, slightly Art Deco character, and it also effectively uses the traditional mix of red and cream sandstone, which underscores the rather jazzy striped effect of the ground floor. Blomfield also brought in sculpture effectively, particularly the elephant frieze below the chujja cornice, which gives brilliant shadow lines in bright sunlight. The angled layout, as in the other palaces, reflects the geology of the male and female quarters either side of the principal reception rooms. The dome over the centre is plain, but surrounded by the stone blocked bases of variant of the

rooftop fountains of the Viceroy's House. The interior has been extensively altered to create the National Gallery of Modern Art, and a large extension, at the rear, was added in 2003-4.

Churches

Among the other prominent buildings of New Delhi, are three remarkable Christian churches, designed by two of the associated architects working in the Lutyens-Baker team. Lutyens had incorporated a prominent site for a cathedral into his plans, at York Place, along Queen's Way, south of the King's Way axis, on a six-road junction. In 1917 he sketched a remarkable 'Y' plan building, with broad, short aisles framing a central triangular sanctuary, surrounded by a dome. The general style was Palladian, although the colonnades flanking the arched central entrances on each façade also evoke the early Italian Renaissance style of Brunelleschi's 15th century Pazzi Chapel in Florence. This ambitious project was never realised: (151) on finding, to his horror, that the Viceroy's Chaplain had advised the style of an English mediaeval cathedral, threatened to move the site to the outer limits of New Delhi, fit only for 'a third rate building'. He must have been well aware that within the walled Old Delhi, a remarkable four winged Greek Cross plan classical church, St. James, had been built between 1826-36, designed by Major Robert Smith. (152)

H. A. N. Medd was Baker's chief permanent representative architect in Delhi. In the 1920s he won limited competitions for both the major Church of the Redemption (1925-35) and the Roman Catholic Cathedral of the Sacred Heart (1927-34). (153) The designs of both relate more to Lutyens (for whom Medd worked prior to travelling to India) than to Baker. The block-like outline of the Roman Catholic Cathedral, particularly around the east end, has something of the austere rigour of Lutyens's design for the Memorial Arch to the Missing, at Thiepval, on the Somme (1927-32). Originally to be built with a single tower at the west end, this had to be modified to accommodate a large mosaic-backed figure of St. Francis, and the twin towers are a weak compromise. The low dome over the crossing was influenced by Lutyens's Free Church at Hampstead Suburb. The interior provides further examples of a spatial framework of proportional geometry, with ancillary spaces, such as the Baptistry, part of the overall system.

The Cathedral of the Redemption was, perhaps fortunately, less ambitious than Lutyens's unbuilt design, but Medd's building was very fine. The relationship with the Free Church of Hampstead Garden Suburb is, striking, both in plan and silhouette. The partly completed Church of St. Martin, Knebworth (1915-16) and an unbuilt but published, design for a War Memorial Church. Of 1919, were also influential. Lutyens's church had been compromised by Henrietta Barnett's insistence on a steeply pitched roof, to match the more traditional outline of the spire-capped St. Jude's Church alongside. Medd appears to have achieved what Lutyens had initially sought: it is not surprising that as sole assessor for the competition he chose Medd's entry. As built, the Cathedral was modified by the heightened base for the dome, which was also made more overtly Venetian, as on Medd's model, Palladio's Church of Il Redentore in Venice (1577-92). Lord Irwin, as Viceroy, personally assisted fundraising for the building. The interior has a noble, well detailed Palladian character, with a vaulted ceiling creating a grandeur beyond the building's comparatively modest size.

The most remarkable church was St. Martin's, the Garrison Church (1928-30) designed by Arthur Gordon Shoosmith, Lutyens's resident representative in Delhi from 1920-31. (154) During this period he was closely connected with the building of the Viceroy's House. St. Martin's was built into the military cantonments west of Delhi. Its design, which was

required to be defensible, was an uncompromising statement of the immutable nature of brickwork. The western tower and the traditional long nave and aisles recall the silhouette of countless English country churches, but the use of sloping back walls and offsets in the brickwork creates an elemental geometrical construct, independent of time and place, through admirably adapted to the Delhi climate. The spirit of Lutyens's Thiepval arch, and his contemporary design for the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Liverpool is present. Lutyens corresponded with Shoosmith about brick buildings and urged him to 'go for the Roman wall'. On seeing the completed building he is said to have commented

Now I know why you needed 3 ½ million bricks!

Shoosmith's other building, the Lady Hardinge Serai (1931) in Old Delhi was more overtly oriental – a subtle version of 'stripped down Mughal', a courtyard building, with an entrance tower capped by a Chattri dome. The building survives in a decayed state.

Robert Tor Russell

Of the many architects at work in and on New Delhi during the interwar period, Robert Tor Russell requires mention. (155) Chief Architect to the Government of India, his office designed and built across the sub-continent, and extensively in New Delhi, including about 4000 bungalows for civil servants. His most important buildings include the Western and Eastern Courts on Queen's Way (now Janpath), guest house for members of the Assembly (now Indian Parliament), and the Commander-in-Chief's Residence (Flagstaff House) (1930), now the Nehru Memorial Museum. Russell's architecture was straightforward Neo-Palladian, solid and conventional compared with that of Lutyens and Baker, but of a consistent standard. Flagstaff House terminated a vista from the dome on The Viceroy's House, symbolising the functional relationship between the two buildings – the Commander-in-Chief was second only to the Viceroy in precedence. Appropriately, the building became the official residence of Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of the Republic of India, from 1948. A colonnaded loggia dominates the centre of the building, loosely linking the residential and guest wings. The façades are finished in stucco, with stone dressings.

Russell also designed Connaught Circus and Place (1928-31) the commercial hub of New Delhi, and also a link to the walled old city. Such a feature had figured on Lanchester's plan in 1912, and this is perhaps the only element of his layout that influenced the definitive plan. An impressive double circular colonnade, the outer facing a circular central garden – the model is surely John Wood's Circus in 18th century Bath. Impressive in scale, enlivened by pavilions which the radial streets cut through, the group has suffered from long neglect and insensitive alteration, but is a vital architectural and commercial component of New Delhi.

The Bungalow Zone

Inevitably, the axial centre of the Rajpath and the principal buildings receive the greatest attention in any account of the planning of New Delhi. That they are worthy of this prominence is beyond question. Nevertheless, this has created the impression that the Bungalow Zone, extending north and south across the angled road network is of subsidiary interest. This is not the case: a residential Garden City was integral to the overall concept, and design and construction proceeded in parallel with the principal buildings during the 1920s. The low residential density and generous tree planting was a characteristic of imperial development, for example, a few years later at Canberra, the new Australian Federal

Capital. With one house to each acre, the English Garden Cities and Suburbs with an average of eight and a maximum of twelve houses to the acre seem urban by comparison. The maturing of planting, always on a generous scale has compounded the impression of a mellow Arcadia, where buildings are incidental.

Located on the fringe of the Viceroy's parkland, the Staff Quarters of the Viceroy's House, were grouped by Lutyens in geometrically discrete groups along the bowed curve of Willingdon Crescent. (156) He had learned the knack of grouping individually insignificant units with coherent street pictures, with setbacks of the building lines from Raymond Unwin's closes at Hampstead Garden Suburb, but their architectural expression was his alone. Colonnades, obelisks and square domes played their part in a remarkably inventive architecture of stuccoed brick. Many of the quarters were for menial servants in the Viceroy's household, of which there were several hundred, and the care over the design is the more striking.

Bungalows for the most important household officials, such as the Viceroy's Private Secretary and Comptroller were also located in the Viceregal precinct. Apart from the overhanging chujja cornices, the details were generally Palladian, with the Tuscan Doric Order prominently displayed on the deep shaded loggias and window surrounds. It was an architecture of courtyards, with tall rooms and clerestory windows for cross ventilation. Yet Delhi nights could be frosty in winter, so fireplaces were provided in the principal rooms, with tall chimneys, terminating in elegantly moulded caps, rising high above the flat roofs. On a miniature scale, Lutyens used these details for the Gate Lodges at Victoria Park, Leicester (1930). There was a strict hierarchy of accommodation according to rank or precedence. The bungalow of the Viceroy's Private Secretary had seven bedrooms, and was built in 1920-21. Lutyens took it over for his annual visits until 1929. Bungalows for lesser ranks had from three to six bedrooms.

The Lutyens bungalows created a model emulated even by Baker, in a series built along King George's Avenue. The colonnades and courtyards were often scaled down, or omitted altogether in the more standard designs by the Government architects, W.H. Nicholls and R. T. Russell. Lesser grade civil servants were expected to remain in Delhi during the summer, and there were complaints that they were hot as ovens. Servants quarters were provided in separate buildings, away from the main dwelling. The bungalows spread across the angled roads, sometimes, as in the larger residences, responding to the plot configurations by adopting scaled down 'butterfly' plans, as in the house of an Assembly Member, facing the gyratory junction on Asoka Road. Over the years many of the bungalows have been altered and extended, often without permission, and the area has been under pressure for redevelopment. Apart from the intrinsic value of the residential zones as a part of New Delhi, the maturing of the trees has, in effect, created an internal green reserve within a vibrant, swiftly growing metropolis. Its ecological value may well be comparable with or exceed that of its architectural and historic interest.

Inauguration and Aftermath

By the time of the inauguration of New Delhi in February 1931, the political climate had become strained, due to mounting agitation for Indian independence. The attempt to destroy the Viceroy's train in 1929, seemed a portent of increasing civil unrest. The inauguration lacked the confidence of the Durbar of 1911. (157) There was no Royal figurehead – King George V had been seriously ill in 1929, and the Prince of Wales (later, briefly, King Edward

VIII) had seemed bored and uninterested during his visit to Delhi in 1922. Nevertheless, the inauguration celebrated the architecture in fitting style. Both the *Architectural Review* (158) and *Country Life* (159) carried superbly illustrated accounts of the achievements of Lutyens and Baker. Edward Hudson, proprietor of *Country Life* and a close personal friend of Lutyens for many years, accompanied the architect to the ceremonies, and proclaimed 'poor old Christopher Wren could never have done this'. (160) A surprising consequence was the healing of the rift in Lutyens's marriage. Lady Emily had felt excluded, and was out of sympathy for the project, while her enthusiasm for Theosophy was at its height, but viewed New Delhi with the eyesight of discovery, proud to accompany her husband.

The postwar trauma of Independence, and the partition of India and Pakistan changed Delhi profoundly, and began the massive increase in population, doubling the size within a few years: a trend that shows little sign of abating. New Delhi appeared to be an architectural and urbanist anachronism, dismissed, for example by Jawaharlal Nehru as 'the visible symbol of British power with all its ostentation and wasteful extravagance'. (161) This was reflected in a postwar architectural climate which rejected classicism as authoritarian and alien to democracy, (162) which reached its height in the pronouncements of Furneaux Jordan at the Architectural Association in the late 1950s. Inevitably, comparisons between New Delhi and the architecture of fascism, notably that of Albert Speer, both realised and projected for Hitler's Berlin, became widespread. (163) Perhaps the nadir of architectural criticism was the self-satisfied polemic of Alison and Peter Smithson, writing in a 1969 issue of the RIBA Journal, supposedly celebrating the centenary of Lutyens's birth. (164)

Even in the 1950s, critics could be less obsessed with political (165) overtones, and more broadminded, for example Henry Russell Hitchcock, writing in 1958.

Not since L'Enfant laid out Washington had a fiat city of such amplitude and grandeur been conceived, much less even partly executed ... The result is grand and broad, adapted to the climate, and even reminiscent of the Indian architectural past in some of its forms and features. Towards the designing of such a major monument generations of Frenchmen and others who studied at Beaux-Arts had been prepared; there is a certain irony that this opportunity came to an Englishman, trained in the most individualistic and private way.

Sir Nikolaus Pevsner, who on his arrival in England as a refugee from Nazi Germany, had been a severe critic of Lutyens's games with classical elements, celebrated his 'Building with Wit'. (166) And, as a welcome corrective to the arid ranting of the Smithsons, Robert Venturi published his perceptive paper, 'Learning from Lutyens' (167) as the floodgates of post-Modernism were about to open. In the United States in the early 1960s, Philip Johnson, apostle of Modernism from the early 1930s, discovered Lutyens, and Alan Greenberg became a perceptive chronicler of his achievement. (168) In Britain, Lutyens was rediscovered in a major exhibition, held at the Hayward Gallery in London in Winter 1981-82, in which New Delhi was accorded the place of honour it merited, accompanied by a perceptive essay by Gavin Stamp, in the Exhibition Catalogue. (169) The organising committee for the exhibition was headed by Mary Lutyens, last survivor of the architect's five children, and The Lutyens Trust was formed in 1985, with the objective of protecting the spirit and substance of the architect's work. In October 1999, a conference on 'Lutyens abroad' was held at the British School in Rome, and a collection of papers was published in 2002. (170) The Lutyens Trust has visited Delhi twice, under Roderick Gradidge in 1998 and Paul Waite in 2003. (171) Professor Mansinh Rana, Chief Government Architect for many years, and INTACH (the

Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural History) were involved with the visits. The Trust is organising an exhibition to be held in Delhi in 2007, the landmark 60th anniversary year of Indian Independence.

Lutyens's Delhi, to use the generic name given by INTACH has now served the government of the Republic of India for more than three times longer that it was symbolic of the power of the British Raj. (172) The Rashtrapati Bhavan presides at the head of the Rajpath, as a unique architectural symbol in a World Heritage City, flanked by the twin Secretariats designed by Baker, with the former Assembly now the Indian Parliament. Given the scepticism of Lutyens and his colleagues about the rich heritage of Indian architecture, and attitudes which would now be characterised as bigotry, it is remarkable how the buildings now appear to reflect a masterly fusion of the cultural values of the twin contrasting traditions. This was most perceptively summed up by the travel writer, William Dalrymple: (173)

Considering that Lutyens managed to fuse Eastern and Western aesthetics more successfully than any other artist since the anonymous sculptors of Gandhara ... his distaste of Indian art and architecture is particularly surprising ... Here was a man capable of building some of the most beautiful structures created in the modern world, but whose prejudices blinded him to the beauty of the Taj Mahal; a man who could fuse the best of East and West while denying that the Eastern elements in his own buildings were beautiful.

... Only the vanity of an Empire ... totally self-confident in his own judgement ... could have produced Lutyens's Delhi. ... but Imperial Delhi is now more admired and loved than ever before ... [but it] remains as much a monument to the British Empire's failings as to its genius.

The New Mughals?

In 1931, as New Delhi was inaugurated, Marjorie Shoosmith, wife of Lutyens's resident site Architect painted a fanciful vision in Mughal style and costume. Centre stage, cross-legged on a low throne was Lord Irwin, with Lutyens presenting him with a model of the Viceroy's House, behind him Baker, and the Chief Engineer, Sir Alexander Rouse. Others from the building team, including T. S. Malik were grouped either side of a foreground pool and fountain. In the background was the Mughal Garden, and beyond, deer frisked in the Viceregal parkland. Top left, in a sandstone Chattri pavilion, Lady Irwin stared demurely from purdah. The British had deposed Zafar, the last of the Mughal rulers in 1857, in the aftermath of the Indian Mutiny. (174) The Mughal City of Shahjahanabad, and the historic Red Fort had suffered considerable destruction. New Delhi must have seemed to many an alien symbol of authority. If Mrs. Shoosmith's painting had been widely seen at the time, it may have seemed and impertinent comparison for New Delhi's creators to be represented as the New Mughals.

Yet from a long perspective, the enduring character of the best of New Delhi has come to possess the greatness of the historic artefacts of its predecessors, not least the legacy of Shahjahanabad. Lutyens strove to draft an inscription for the Jaipur column, gift to the capital from one of the most powerful Maharajahs. Lord Irwin had produced the concise version that was carved on the base of the column. Both versions, reproduced below, provide a fitting epitaph for British rule, and an enduring encapsulation of the aspirations for the future of an independent nation. (175)

Endow your thought with faith
Your deed with courage
Your life with sacrifice
So all men may know
The Greatness of India.

In thought Faith
In Word Wisdom
In Deed Courage
In Life Service
So may India be great.

About the Author

Dr Mervyn Miller is an architect, town planner, historian, and international authority on the Garden City Movement. For many years a principal local authority conservation officer, he has played key roles in the conservation of Letchworth Garden City and Hampstead Garden Suburb, about both of which he has written definitive texts. In 1981, he received a PhD from Birmingham University for his study of the influence of Raymond Unwin on the evolution of British town planning. He has been a member of the Heritage Advisory Group of the Letchworth Garden City Heritage Foundation for many years, and served as the Director appointed by the Royal Town Planning Institute to the Board of the Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust from 1979-2000, following which he was appointed first Honorary Life President of the Trust. He has been Architectural Adviser to The Lutyens Trust since 1985, and was a member of their visit to Delhi in October 2003. Dr Miller prepared a series of lectures on 'Lutyens in perspective' for London University Extramural Studies in 1983, and has since lectured on aspects of Lutyens's work throughout the United Kingdom and abroad. He has presented many papers at IPHS conferences, and its co-organization, the Society for American City and Regional Planning History (SACRPH).

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There are many important archives, and a comprehensive list is containing in Irving, R. G. (1981). For my own research, I have used the Crewe Papers at Cambridge University Library and the Lutyens Family Papers in the British Architectural Library (RIBA) now held by the Victoria and Albert Museum. These include the famous and prolific letters between Lutyens and his wife, and also his correspondence with Herbert Baker. A fine collection of the former was published in Percy, C. and Ridley, J. (eds.) (1985), and quotations from some of the most important of the latter were published in Hussey, C., (1950). Very important, and hitherto little used material in the Indian Archives, was researched by Patel, D. (2004)

2. Official Publications

First Report of the Delhi Town Planning Committee [sic] on the choice of a site for the new Imperial Capital, {ed. 6885}, London, H.M.S.O., 1913; *Second Report of the Delhi Town Planning Committee regarding the North Site* [ed. 6888], London, H.M.S.O., 1913; *Final Report of the Delhi Town Planning Committee regarding the Selected Site* [ed. 6889]. I am grateful to the Victoria and Albert Museum for access to the copies held on behalf of The Lutyens Trust.

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Notes and References

1. The Durbar of course provided a stage for a carefully organised political gesture, concerned with underscoring the permanency and might of the British Raj, and a fitting occasion for the public proclamation of the new capital. The background procedures culminating in the event are dealt with in Irving, R. G. (1981) and Volwahren, A. (2002) Chapter 1. The (as yet) unpublished Patel, D. (2004), Chapters 1 and 2 presents a valuable Indian perspective on the transfer of the Capital.
2. Irving, K. G. (1928) p.4. One of the most perceptive accounts of the historic layering and significance of Delhi is provided in Dalrymple, W. (1993). Dalrymple's later study, published 2006, gives detailed account of the significance of the Indian mutiny, and the deposition of the last Mughal Emperor.
3. A full scenario of this remarkable film can be found on www.charlesurban.com Urban filmed with four or five cameras, and the full film, premiered at the Scala Theatre, London on 2 February 1912, was two and a half hours long, and was accompanied by a 48 piece orchestra and chorus. Alas, only 1 reel of the Royal Review survives today.
4. Oswald Stoll, impresario of the Coliseum, then the most prestigious variety theatre in the capital commissioned Elgar to write the score for the masque, which was the highlight of a mixed bill. The production opened on 11 March 1912 with the composer conducting. The music included a picturesque 'Dance of the Nautch Girls', a lively 'Warriors Dance' and ended with a rousing 'March of the Mogul Emperors', see Moore, J. N., *Edward Elgar: a creative life*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1984, pp.627-30. Perhaps encouraged by the publicity for the forthcoming inauguration of New Delhi, Elgar recorded the concert suite, *The Crown of India*, op. 66, for His Master's Voice in September and November 1930, see Moore, J. N., *Elgar on Record*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1974, pp.113-115, 121.
5. The political background is sketched in Chapter 2 of Baker, R. G. (1981). For a thorough account, based on Indian sources and from an Indian perspective, see Patel (2004).
6. The resurgence of Gandhi's campaign of Civil Disobedience in 1929, witnessed an attempt to bomb the Viceroy's (Lord Irwin's) train as he arrived in Delhi on 23 December 1929, to take up residence in the Viceroy's House. This was viewed as a portent. While Gandhi disavowed violence, extremists were not so restrained. The uncertain mood of the official inauguration in 1931 is caught in Patel, D. (2004) Chapter 7, 'Inaugurating an incomplete city'. Volwahren, A. (2002), p. 281 comments '... But receptions, garden parties, festive dinners and speeches could not deceive many of the guests that the age of imperialism and racial prejudice would soon be approaching absurd'. In August 1931 Gandhi as President of the Indian national Congress would be in London at the Round Table Conference, intended to chart a road map towards independence, which was unsuccessful.
7. Volwahren, A. (2002), pp. 292-7.
8. The standard work is Brown, J. (1982).
9. The sketchbook is held in the RIBA Drawings Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. See Hussey, C., 'An early Lutyens castle in the air', *Country Life* 125, 1959, pp.148-9.
10. The relationship of Lutyens's formal gardens to urban design was recognised by Werner Hegemann, who illustrated several key examples in *An American Vitruvius. An architect's handbook of civic art* (New York, Architectural Book Publishing Co., 1922) p.215.
11. For Webb see Gray, A.S., *Edwardian Architecture. A biographical dictionary*, London, Duckworth, 1985, pp.374-9. Webb's interest in urban planning was reflected in his editorship of the London Society's essays, *London of the Future*, London, Dulton, 1921.
12. Lutyens's caustic opinion of Webb and his contemporaries is discussed with quotations on p.119 of Hussey, C. (1950).

13. Oft quoted, this extract is to be found on pp.121-2 of Hussey, C. (1950).
14. Baker's own memoir, *Architecture and Personalities* (London Country Life, 1944) is invaluable, if as partisan in its way as Hussey, C. (1950) on Lutyens. See also Gradidge, R. (1980), (2002), and the brief biography in Gray, A. S., *op. cit.*
15. The Wren Plan appears to have lain in obscurity until the revival of interest in Civic Design in England in the early 20th century. It was referred to at the RIBA Conference in 1910, and illustrated in the Members' Handbook: Unwin had included it in *Town Planning in Practice* (Ill. 56). Unwin's layout for the centre of Letchworth Garden City had been influenced by it. Irving, R. G. (1981) pp.80-3 and Volwahren (2002) pp.38-9 discuss the Wren Plan in the context of models for New Delhi.
16. Hussey, C. (1950) p.123.
17. The Paris Exhibition building was a reproduction Jacobean Manor House, Weaver, L. (1913) p.308. Lutyens made several visits to the French capital, which introduced him to Haussmann's boulevards, and also earlier planned layouts such as the Louvre and Place des Vosges.
18. Although a tentative commission in which only one house, for its promoter, M. T. G. Lumb, together with four cottages and two lodges were designed by Lutyens, Rossall Beach was his first excursion with layout planning, and provided a stimulus for Hampstead Garden Suburb, and even New Delhi. See Butler, A.S.G. (1950) p.18 and Plate X, also pp.126-7 of the Lutyens Exhibition Catalogue, ref. under Stamp, G. (1981b).
19. For a detailed account of Hampstead Garden Suburb see Miller, M. (2006). Lutyens's contribution is discussed in detail in Chapter 8, 'Lutyens and the Central Squares'. See also Butler, A.S.G., II (1950) Chapter III, plates XI-XIX and photographs 79-98; Cherry, B. and Pevsner, N., *The Buildings of England. London 4, North*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1998, pp.145-7.
20. See Hussey, C. (1950) pp.137-42; Percy, C. and Ridley, J. (Eds.) (1985 pp.1937-8, 145-7; Survey of London: Hobhouse, H. (General ed.) monograph 17 *County Hall* (London, The Athlone Press. For the Royal Commission on the Historic Monuments of England, 1991).
21. See Harris, N., de Wit, W., Gilbert, J., and Rydell, R., *Grand Illusions. Chicago's World's Fair, 1893*; (Chicago, Chicago Historical Society, 1993).
22. For full documentation of the 1910 Conference see Royal Institute of British Architects (1910a) (1910b) (1911). The Journals of the day e.g. *The Builder*, *RIBA Journal*, *Town Planning Review et al* provided useful summaries. For Burnham's roll see Miller, M. (1993).
23. Lutyens Family Papers LUE 11/6/16 (RIBA Archives at Victoria and Albert Museum), Edwin Lutyens to Lady Emily Lutyens 7/10/1910. This letter was not included in the published collection in Percy, C., and Ridley, N. (eds.) (1985). The influence of the Washington plan on the New Delhi layout has long been recognised: see Irving, R. G. (1981) pp.82-3 and Volwahren (2002) pp.41-7. The timing of Lutyens's acquaintance with the plan appears to be conclusive evidence, later, he would claim Washington was 'fine – though not so fine as Delhi', Hussey, C. (1950) p.458.
24. See Fold Map VI and Ill.235 in Unwin, R., *Town Planning in Practice* (London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1909).
25. Hussey, C. (1950) pp.200-11, 215-16. A fuller account was contained in Miller, M., 'City Beautiful on the Rand', unpublished paper for the Seventh National Conference on American Planning History, Seattle, October 1997. An edited version of this was published as Miller, M. (2002).
26. Hussey, C. (1950) p.205. Baker recounted his South African work in Baker, H. (1944) Chapter 3, with an account of the Rhodes Memorial on pp.39-42. His Johannesburg work included Villa Arcadia was described in Chapter 4. For a modern assessment of his South African work see Keath, M., *Herbert Baker. Architecture and idealism 1892-1913. The South African years* (Gibraltar, Ashanti, n.d. c.1990).
27. Baker, H. (1944) Chapter 5. The designs were included in the exhibition at the Royal Academy in connection with the RIBA Town Planning Conference of October 1910. See also Keath, *op.cit.* pp.165-180.
28. Hussey, C. (1950) p.181; Keath, *op. cit.* pp.178, 180; Richardson, M. (1973), p.43 (240) records that 16 drawings were sent by Baker to Lutyens for comment – she noted that 'Baker adopted most of Lutyens's criticisms for these designs'.
29. A further design of this type by Baker was the South African Institute for Medical Research, in Johannesburg, completed in 1913, while the architect was in Delhi. See Keath, *op. cit.*, pp.196-200.
30. Hussey, C. (1950) p.207; Miller, M. (2000).
31. Hussey, C. (1950) pp.207-8, 211; Miller, M. (2000).
32. Hussey, C. (1950) pp.194-200, 225-8. For a more detailed account see Petter, H. (1992), especially pp.10-20.
33. Hussey, C. (1950) pp.245-6.
34. Miller, M. (2006) Chapter Eight.

35. Hussey, C. (1950) p.245. According to Blomfield's biographer (Fellows, R. A., *Sir Reginald Blomfield. An Edwardian architect*, Architects in Perspective, London, Zwemmer, 1985, pp.101-3 the architect felt that his impartial role as RIBA President had cost him the opportunity to be considered for Delhi himself.
36. As with his letter –journal *en voyage* to South Africa, Lutyens's letters on the P&O ships to India were full of humorous vignettes of shipboard life, see LUE/12/7/2, 28/3/1912 to Lady Emily from S.S. *Mantua*, from his first 'passage to India'. His delightful cartoons based on the crests of steamship lines were illustrated in Hussey, C. (1950) pp.435-6.
37. Hussey, C. (1950) p.248. Lutyens may have initially considered Persotum 'an old scallywag dressed in an uncouth *dhoti*, but the two developed a warm relationship over the 18 years that the architect visited Delhi, and continued to correspond afterwards until the old man's death.
38. *First Report of the Delhi Town Planning Committee* [sic] on the choice of a site for the new Imperial Capital, {Cd. 6885}, London, H.M.S.O., 1913; *Second Report of the Delhi Town Planning Committee regarding the North Site* [Cd. 6888], London, H.M.S.O., 1913; *Final Report of the Delhi Town Planning Committee regarding the Selected Site* [Cd. 6889]
39. *First Report*, s.2, p.1.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*, s.6, p.4.
42. *Ibid.*, s.7, pp. 4-6.
43. Hussey, C. (1950) p.249.
44. *Ibid.*, s.9, pp. 6-8.
45. *Ibid.*, s.9, p.8.
46. Hussey, C. (1950 p.258; see also Percy, C. and Ridley, J. (eds.) (1950) pp.248-254, letters covering the period in Simla when the *First Report* was being drafted.
47. Hussey, C. (1950) p.259; also reproduced in Irving, R. G. (1981) p.55 and Volwahren, A. (2002) p.63, this was of seminal significance in defining the 'spheres of influence' of Lutyens and Baker.
48. Irving, R. G. (1981) pp.56-61 was the first to consider Lanchester's plans in detail. See also Hussey, C. (1950) pp.260, 264-5. For a summary of Lanchester's career see Gray, A. S., *Edwardian Architecture. A biographical dictionary* (London, Duckworth), 1985) pp.232-3. Lanchester also prepared plans for Madras and other Indian cities, and had a partnership with James Steward and A. E. Rickards, had won the important competition for the Cardiff City Hall and Law Courts in 1898, a landmark of formal civic design.
- 49.
50. Hussey, C. (1950), p.265.
51. *Ibid.*, pp.266-9.
52. Baker, H. (1944).
53. *Ibid.*, p.63.
54. Hussey, C. (1950) pp.243-4, 246-7, 258.
55. He also reproduced it as 'Appendix B. New Delhi. The problem of style', pp.218-24 in Baker, H. (1944).
56. Hussey, C. (1950) pp.271-2.
57. *Ibid.*, p.271.
58. Lutyens's critical opinions of Indian architecture were contained in letters to his wife, Lady Emily, see his letter of 4/6/1912, reproduced in Percy, C., and Ridley, J., (eds.) (1985) pp.250-2. He was equally scathing on his tours up country during 1912-14, Hussey, C. (1950) pp.276-9.
59. Hussey, C. (1950), pp.274-5 contains Lutyens comments on the incident.
60. *Ibid.*, pp.283-6. Leslie's plan had gained considerable support in England through his lecture 'Delhi, the metropolis of India' given at the Royal Society of Arts, see Irving, R. G. (1981) pp.49-50.
61. Hussey, C. (1950) p.282.
62. *Ibid.*, p.285.
63. *Ibid.*, p.241.
64. For publication details vide supra note 38.
65. *Second Report*, p.8, p.9.
66. For publication details vide supra note 38.
67. *Final Report*, s.3, p.2.
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*, s.4, pp. 3-5.
70. *Ibid.*, s.5(a), p.5.
71. *Ibid.*

72. Baker had of course seen the Acropolis at Athens on his 'grand tour', undertaken at the behest of Cecil Rhodes, see Baker, H. (1944) pp.35-6. He used the term 'acropolis' in connection with the site for the Union Building in Pretoria (*Ibid.*, p.58) and New Delhi (*Ibid.*, p.66).
Ibid., s.5(a-l), pp. 5-7.
74. *Ibid.*, s.5(g), p.6
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*, s.5(c), p.6; (i), p.7
77. *Ibid.*, s.5(l), p.7.
78. The maps showed the layout of Avenues and Roads, one printed with suggested lines of sewers and water mains. Schematic sections through the avenues showed the avenue planting in generous grass verges. The major central parkway, which became Kingsway/Rajpath, was shown without a central carriageway, which heightened its resemblance to The Mall in Washington.
79. Hussey, C. (1950) p.252. General stylistic matters are discussed on pp.268-75, followed by an account of Lutyens's visits to and comments on historic sites in north-western India (pp.276-82), and 'The grand merger' (pp.297-306). See also Irving, R. G. (1981) pp.101-6; also Volwahren, A. (2002) pp.100-2.
80. Banister Fletcher's history of architecture (the original edition of which, written by his father, appeared in 1896) was the most widely used textbook of its kind for over 50 years, and was renowned for its drawings. The main analytical thrust was the supremacy of western classical architecture, as the mainstay of the 'tree of architecture'.
81. Fletcher, Sir B. (1954), p.888.
82. Irving, R. G. (1981) pp. 42-3; Metcalf, T. R., *An imperial vision. Indian architecture and Britain's Raj* (London, Faber & Faber, 1989) pp.90-5.
83. Irving, R. G. (1981) pp.103-5.
84. *Ibid.*, pp.104-5, 106-8. The stylistic issue became enmeshed with advocates of a craft school in connection with the construction of New Delhi.
85. Hussey, C. (1950) p.268.
86. Baker, H. (1944), Appendix B 'New Delhi. The problem of style', pp.218-222. This reproduces in full Baker's letter to *The Times* (London) of 3/10/1912.
87. *Ibid.*, p.222.
88. Volwahren, A. (2002) pp.60-73, in section 3.5 'Triangle and Hexagram: masonic symbols, Hindu cosmology or Mughal geometry?' ingeniously overlaid the layout over the hexagonal inlay work at Humayun's Tomb, but this was a speculative exercise.
89. Lutyens to Sir Valentine Chiro, a member of the Viceroy's Council, 2/1/1913, quoted in Hussey, C. (1950) pp.280-1. Together with Lutyens's famous 'High Game' letter to Baker (see note 13 above) this is the most complete statement of Lutyens's objectives and aspirations, to be realised at Delhi.
90. *Ibid.*
91. *Ibid.*, pp.281-2.
92. *Ibid.*, pp.307-10.
93. *Ibid.*, pp.294, 311-2.
94. *Ibid.*, pp.318-20.
95. *Ibid.*, pp.294-5.
96. *Ibid.*, p.307; Irving, R. G. (1981) pp.143-6.
97. Hussey, C. (1950) p.318.
98. *Ibid.*, pp.318-21.
99. Irving, R. G. (1981) p.116.
100. *Ibid.*, p.118.
101. *Ibid.*, p.119.
102. Hussey, C. (1950) pp.351-8; Irving, R. G. (1981) Chapter 7.
103. Hussey, C. (1950) p.351.
104. *Ibid.*, p.351. Baker, H. (1944) pp.65-69 states his side, reiterating the 'acropolis concept' in which the Secretariats fulfilled the role of the Propylea in relation to the Parthenon.
105. Hussey, C. (1950) pp.353-5.
106. *Ibid.*, p.356. By the mid C20 Baker's opinion was shared by a noted analyst of urban design, see Cullen, G., *Townscape* (London, The Architectural Press, 1961) pp.12-3, 20.
107. Hussey, C. (1950) p.355.
108. *Ibid.*, pp.357-8, 410-12.
109. *Ibid.*, pp.363-4.
110. *Ibid.*, p.412.
111. Irving, R. G. (1981) p.120.

112. Hussey, C. (1950) p. 366.
113. Irving, R. G. (1981), Ill.56, p.155.
114. *Ibid.*, p.162; Hussey, C. (1950) p.522.
115. Hussey, C., pp.406-7.
116. *Ibid.*, p.521.
117. The full architectural appraisal is in Butler, A. S. G. (1950) Chapter 6. See also Hussey, C. (1950) Chapter 17; Irving, R. G. (1985) Chapter 8; Volwahren, A. (2002) ss.3.2.1, 3.2.2. Contemporary accounts are to be found in Byron, R. (1931a) (1931b).
118. Considering his dismissal of chattris as ‘useless things’, Lutyens made remarkably creative use of them, Percy, C. and Ridley, J. (1985) p.288.
119. This undercroft has been compared to the Rock-cut Temple at Elphanta, C8.
120. Detailed descriptions in references given in 117 above, particularly Irving, R. G. (1981) pp.215-230 and Volwahren, A. (2002) pp.124-9, also the two Byron references for contemporary accounts. In England, the gardens of Ampoort House, Hampshire, 1923, with their geometrical rills and terraces were influenced by the Mughal Garden at the Viceroy’s House. See Brown, J. (1981), pp.141-3.
121. Byron (1931a).
122. Brown, J. (1981) pp.86-9 (Heywood); Butler, A. S. G. (1950) Vol.2, p.14, plates 49-55 (Heywood), pp.23-4, plates 103-12. (Irish National War Memorial).
123. This omission brought regret from King George V, Hussey, C. (1950) p.364.
124. Hussey, C. (1950) pp.405-9.
125. *Ibid.*, p.427.
126. *Ibid.*, pp.428-9; also Irving, R. G. (1981) pp.129-39.
127. Volwahren, A. (2002) pp.276-7, figs 233, 235-9.
128. *Ibid.*, p.129.
129. His letter of 24/1/1929 was particularly peevish, Percy, C. and Ridley, J. (1985), pp.413, 416.
130. Clause 6 read, ‘The Government shall establish on the work a studio of Indian arts and crafts for which the architects and Sir Swinton Jacob shall be advisers’, Hussey, C. (1950) p.308.
131. *Ibid.*, pp.496-7.
132. *Ibid.*, pp.503-4.
133. Byron, R. (1931a) p.2.
134. Stamp, G. (198a) p.38.
135. Dalrymple (1993) p.83 wrongly attributes this patronising phrase to Lutyens.
136. For detailed descriptions see Baker, H. (1944), pp.66-9; Byron, R. (1931c); Irving, R. G. (1981) pp.279-90; Volwahren, A. (2002).
137. The political circumstances of the creation of the new Council House/Assembly are summarised in Hussey, C. (1950) pp.406-7. For detailed descriptions see Baker, H. (1944), pp.75-6; Byron, R. (1931c); Irving, R. G. (1981) pp.295-31; Volwahren, A. (2002) pp.220-9.
138. Described with Lutyens’s sketches in Irving, R. G. (1981) pp.271-3; Volwahren, A. (2002) pp.262-3.
139. *Parliament Library New Delhi*, Delhi Central Public Works Department, 2002.
140. Volwahren, A. (2002) p.296.
141. Irving, R. G. (1981), pp. 254-5; Volwahren, A. (2002) pp.234-7.
142. Hussey, C. (1950) pp.372-6, 386-95.
143. *Ibid.*, pp.406-7; Irving, R. G. (1981) pp.258-261; Volwahren, A. (2002) pp.156-65.
144. *Ibid.*, p.58, fig. 50.
145. *Ibid.*, p.156, fig.135.
146. *Ibid.*, pp.166-7.
147. Irving, R. G. (1981), pp.259, 262-3; Volwahren, A. (2002) pp.168-171.
148. Irving, R. G. (1981), pp.265-8; Volwahren, S. (2002) pp.251-7.
149. Irving, R. G. (1981), pp.268-70; Volwahren, A. (2002) pp.259-61.
150. Despite its prominent site, Jaipur House has been undeservedly ignored by the usual commentators. The late Roderick Gradidge provided brief but perceptive notes for a Lutyens Trust tour in 1998, p.103 (not generally published).
151. See references cited in Note 138.
152. Davies, P., *Penguin Guide to the monuments of India, Vol. II*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1989.p.126.
153. The cathedrals are described in Irving, R. G. (1981) pp.318, 322-3, 326-30; Volwahren, A. (2002) pp.270-3.
154. Irving, R. G. (1981), pp.332, 334-7; Volwahren, A. (2002), pp.264-7. Stamp, G. (1979) gives a perceptive evaluation of this fine building.
155. Russell’s work is described in Irving, R. G. (1981) pp.311, 314, 318, 324-5; Volwahren, A. (2002) pp.238-45.

156. Irving, R. G. (1981) pp.227, 230-5, 239-242; Volwahren, A. (2002) pp. 238-45.
157. See above Note 6.
158. Byron, R. (1931a).
159. Byron, R. (1931b) (1931c).
160. Hussey, C. (1950) p.522-3.
161. Cited in Dalrymple, W. (1993) p.85.
162. Evenson, N. (1989) pp.146-53.
163. Dalrymple, W. (1993) p.82; Volwahren, A. (2002) pp.55-7.
164. Smithson, A. (1969), Smithson, P. (1969).
165. Hitchcock, H. R. (1958) p.407.
166. Pevsner, N. (1951).
167. Venturi, R. and Scott Brown, D. (1969).
168. Greenberg, A. (1969).
169. The exhibition was held from 18 November 1981-31 January 1982. The *Catalogue* – see Stamp, G. (1981b) is still a valuable monograph, as well as a record of a landmark in the appreciation of Lutyens's work.
170. Hopkins, A. and Stamp, G. (eds.) (2002).
171. For the 2003 visit see *New Delhi Newsletter*, The Lutyens Trust, n.d. [2004].
172. INTACH has drawn attention to the need for conservation, in the face of threats of redevelopment, through its *Charter on Lutyens's Delhi* (2002), and has also published *A capital story. The building of New Delhi* (2003) through its Heritage Education and Communication Service.
173. Dalrymple, W. (1993) pp.84-5.
174. Dalrymple, W. , *The last Mughal. The fall of a dynasty, Delhi1857*, London, Bloomsbury 2006.
175. Hussey, C. (1950) pp.505-6.

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