HISTORY URBANISM RESILIENCE

VOLUME 05

Historical Perspectives

International Planning History Society Proceedings
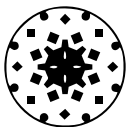
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International Planning History Society Proceedings

17th IPHS Conference, Delft 2016 | **HISTORY ▪ URBANISM ▪ RESILIENCE**
VOLUME 05 Historical Perspectives

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

Convenor
Carola Hein, Chair, History of Architecture and Urban Planning, TU Delft

This series consists of seven volumes and one Book of Abstracts. The seven volumes follow the
organisation of the conference in seven themes, each theme consisting of two tracks and each
track consisting of eight panels of four or five presentations. Each presentation comprises an
abstract and a peer-reviewed full paper, traceable online with a DOI number.

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PREFACE

Conferences are unique moments of academic exchange; international gatherings allow people from around the world to interact with a scholarly audience and to learn about diverse theories, academic approaches, and findings. Proceedings capture these emerging ideas, investigations, and new case studies. Both the conference of the International Planning History Society (IPHS) and its proceedings place presentations from different continents and on varied topics side by side, providing insight into state-of-the art research in the field of planning history and offering a glimpse of new approaches, themes, papers and books to come.

As a collection of hundreds of contributions, proceedings are a unique form of publication, different from both peer-reviewed journals or monographs. They are also an important stepping stone for the authors; along with the conversations held at a conference, they are opportunities for refining arguments, rounding out research, or building research groups and the presentations they are often stepping stones towards peer-reviewed articles or monographs. Having a written track record of the presentations and emerging research provides allows conference participants to identify and connect with scholars with similar interests, to build new networks.

Many conferences in the history of architecture, urbanism, and urban planning don't leave an immediate trace other than the list of speakers and the titles of their talks; the International Planning History Society (IPHS) has long been different. The first meeting in 1977 has only left us a 4-page list of attendees, but many of the other conferences have resulted in extensive proceedings. Some of them, such as the conferences in Thessaloniki and Sydney have resulted in printed proceedings, while others are collected online (Barcelona, Chicago, Istanbul, Sao Paolo, or St. Augustine). These proceedings form an exceptional track record of planning history and of the emergence of topics and themes in the field, and they guarantee that the scholarship will be available for the long term.

The conference call for the 17th IPHS conference in Delft on the topic of History – Urbanism – Resilience received broad interest; 571 scholars submitted abstracts. Of those proposals, we accepted 439, many after revisions. 210 authors went through double-blind peer review of the full paper, of which 135 were ultimately accepted. The proceedings now contain either long abstracts or fully peer-reviewed contributions. We are currently establishing an IPHS proceedings series, digitizing earlier paper versions, and bringing electronic ones into one location. We hope that the IPHS Delft proceedings and the whole series will be both an instrument of scholarly output and a source for research and that they will contribute to further establish research on planning history throughout the world.

Carola Hein, Convener
Professor and Head, Chair History of Architecture and Urban Planning, TU Delft

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ATLAS OF THE DUTCH URBAN LANDSCAPE

Reinout Rutte

TU Delft

INTRODUCTION

Why do today's Dutch towns look the way they do? The appearance, shape and size of modern Dutch towns can be traced back to their formation history and to the changes and developments that have affected them since. We investigate the long-term history of town planning and building in the Netherlands from the pre-urban past up to the present: from the 11th to the 21st century. The urban history of the Netherlands has been studied extensively and a wide range of subjects and periods have been the focus of attention, as have many individual towns. However, a comparative review and long-term analysis of the spatial development of towns in the Netherlands was still lacking. After mapping and combining a vast range of diverse data (e.g. geographic, archaeological, morphological, urban, demographic and economic) it is now possible to present an overview of a millennium of urbanization in the Netherlands.

The present atlas differs from other works on the subject in that it integrates four aspects which emerged over the years during our studies of earlier publications on Dutch towns and during our visits to the towns themselves: (1) An emphasis on what was actually built and did materialize, rather than on plans or the history of the ideas behind them; (2) A consistent recording of the results of our studies of the built environment and its landscape substructure, in the form of a series of uniform maps (the core of this atlas); (3) Extending our scope to towns throughout the country, rather than limiting ourselves mainly or exclusively to those in the west; and finally (4) A comparative overview of Dutch urban history from its earliest beginning to the present day; in other words, the *longue durée*. We did not attempt an exhaustive treatment of the subject, but merely to present some outlines.

But how to limit such a vast subject? By making strict, practical, and occasionally debatable choices. Our field of study encompasses the territory of the modern Dutch state, but for certain periods, for example the 16th and 17th centuries, we also looked beyond its modern borders. It proved to be impossible to outline the development of all Dutch towns, not the least because no clear-cut definition of the concept of 'town' or 'city' exists for the long period covered by this book. We were therefore forced to be pragmatic and select the thirty-five Dutch urban municipalities with the largest populations in 2010 (the year work on this atlas began) as our core sample, with 80,000 residents as a lower limit (Fig. 1). As we also wished to understand the present appearance of Dutch towns, selecting urban municipalities that are today among the largest was a logical choice. The choice for municipalities as our point of reference was imposed by the need for fixed spatial units to be able to map our data.

The 35 largest urban municipalities in the Netherlands in 2010, based on the number of residents

FIGURE 1

Outline map

Google-Earth photo

Chronological development map

Characteristic images

Timeline

- Pre-urban phase
- Town formation and first prosperity
- Golden Age boom
- Stagnation
- Revival and expansion
- Post-WWII expansion
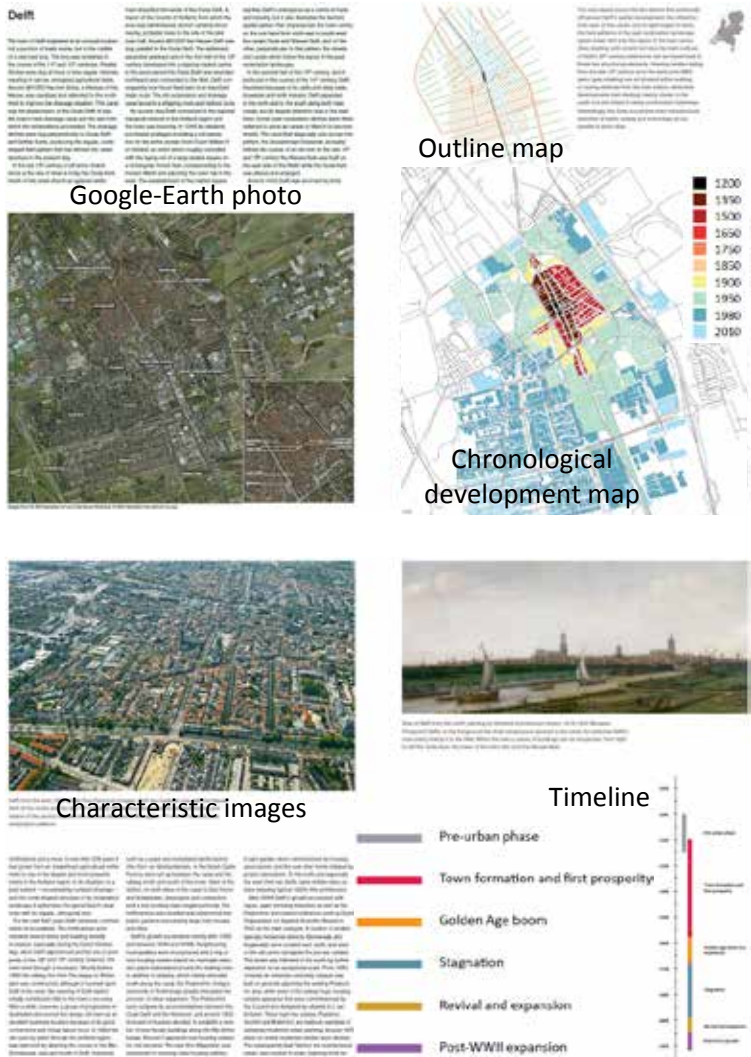
FIGURE 2

With respect to methodology and format we concentrated on the spatial aspects of urban development, on changes in shape and form. Geographical setting, landscape context, infrastructure, urban morphology and land use were therefore central in our approach. These elements we mapped, analysed and compared in an attempt at explanation. To identify a suitable angle of approach we first looked at each of the thirty-five towns individually (Part I of the atlas). The towns are presented in alphabetical order, by means of (see Fig. 2):

1   a chronological development map showing each town's built-up area for a fixed range of reference years from AD1200 to 2010;
2   an outline map showing in schematic fashion a number of factors that were crucial in the town's spatial transformation;
3   a *Google Earth* photo of the town in its landscape setting, with the names of e.g. housing estates, roads and watercourses that are mentioned in the text;
4   a timeline showing the most important periods in the town's genesis and development through time;
5   two characteristic images, for example a 17th-century town view and a recent aerial photograph;
6   and finally a text outlining and explaining the town's spatial development.

COMPARISON AND CLASSIFICATION

A comparison of the development history of the thirty-five largest urban municipalities in the Netherlands on the basis of the situation in 2010 and their spatial development between the 11th and 21st century allows us to identify five distinct categories:

1 the oldest towns,
2 second-generation towns,
3 the Big Three,
4 industrial towns, and
5 residential towns (Fig. 3).

Of the complete sample, twenty towns (the first three categories) originated in the Middle Ages as ports and/or trade settlements combining administrative and market functions. Of the remaining fifteen towns, most developed into substantial industrial or residential towns in the decades around 1900, while a few went through the same process in the last fifty years (Fig. 4).

FIGURE 3

Landscape context of the 35 selected towns
Five categories, based on formation history and spatial development

- ⊙ Oldest towns (11th-12th century)
- ⊙ Second-generation towns (13th-14th century)
- ⊙ The Big Three (14th century)
- ⊙ Industrial towns (19th-20th century)
- ⊙ Residential towns (19th-20th century)
- Dunes/beach ridges
- Marine clays
- River clays
- Peat
- Sand
- Loess
- River terraces
- Polders

Leeuwarden
Groningen

Emmen

Alkmaar

Zwolle

Zaanstad
Haarlem
Amsterdam
Almere
Haarlemmermeer
Hengelo
Enschede
Deventer
Leiden
Hilversum
Apeldoorn
Amersfoort
The Hague
Zoetermeer
Utrecht
Ede
Delft
Arnhem
Rotterdam

Dordrecht
Nijmegen

's-Hertogenbosch

Breda
Tilburg
Helmond
Eindhoven
Venlo

Sittard-Geleen
Heerlen
Maastricht

0   50
km

FIGURE 4

The comparison also provides us with a first inkling of the extent to which a town's specific formation and development history has influenced its present appearance (i.e. path dependency). It seems that the impact of this trajectory has been significant for most of the twenty towns with roots in the Middle Ages. In many of the oldest towns, a situation on one single river bank has been a decisive factor in spatial development to the present day. Other important factors were infrastructure and the changes affecting it. For centuries, waterways were decisive, but the construction of a railway network in the second half of the 19th century introduced major spatial changes and shifts in many of the medieval towns. The railways were crucial in the emergence of the new industrial towns and the earliest residential towns. The construction in the second half of the 20th century of the motorway network and the widespread adoption of cars inaugurated yet another era of profound change, and this time both older and younger towns were equally affected. The process moreover enabled the formation of the most recent residential towns, while the new, uniform housing extensions everywhere made all towns look increasingly alike.

A MILLENNIUM OF URBANIZATION

A look at the outlines of medieval and later urbanization reveals that the period from the 11th to the 14th century was an era of town formation. Economies blossomed and populations boomed. Over one hundred and thirty towns of various sorts and sizes emerged throughout the country (Fig. 5). In most cases their formation was closely linked to landscape transformations such as reclamations and interventions related to water management. A town's success greatly depended on its accessibility by water, on its position in the trade network and, associated with that, on its function as a regional or international market. Between the 15th and the 17th century some of these towns were still growing but no new ones emerged. The economic centre of gravity was the Holland region (today the Province of Noord-Holland and the Province of South-Holland). During the Dutch Golden Age, in the 17th century, a few towns in highly advantageous positions expanded (Fig. 6 and Fig. 7). These towns displayed a powerful economic and demographic growth, and together they formed a close-knit economic system with Amsterdam as the centre of international trade.

After the 17th century a period of stagnation set in, which lasted until the second half of the 19th century. In most of the towns outside Holland the onset of the stagnation was earlier, already in the 15th century. No significant spatial changes occurred in these towns until the end of the 19th century, a period of four hundred years. What might happen instead was either a condensation or a thinning out of the built-up area within the town, or the construction of new urban defences. In the second half of the 19th century a pronounced economic and demographic recovery set in, resulting once again in a close-knit urban system; this time, however, the system was not limited to Holland but covered the entire country. The recovery was closely linked to the new railway infrastructure, industrialization, and production for a growing world market (Fig. 8). In the decades around 1900, industrialization stimulated the formation of new industrial towns alongside the older, medieval ones. Suburbanization and commuting began in the same period, both giving rise to the development of new residential towns. The period after WWII saw the emergence of the welfare state and the construction of a motorway network, and it was the heyday of State-supervised spatial planning. New urban centres were built, existing towns expanded on an impressive scale, and built-up areas exploded in size as a result (Fig. 9).

A1. Urbanization and landscape context
Seven groups of towns originating in the 11ᵗʰ to 15ᵗʰ century

- ✚ Oldest urban settlements
- ▲ Flemish-Zeeland ports (12ᵗʰ-13ᵗʰ century)
- ★ Products of land lord urban politics and planning (ca. AD1200-1270)
- ■ Other 13ᵗʰ-century towns
- ◆ Western ports (ca. AD1270-1400)
- ● Late-medieval new towns (ca. AD1270-1400)
- ▼ Other 14ᵗʰ-century towns

- Dunes/beach ridges
- Marine clays
- River clays
- Peat
- Sand
- Loess
- River terraces

FIGURE 5

F2. Urban expansion and defences, 14ᵗʰ to 17ᵗʰ century

- Urban settlement
- 14ᵗʰ century
- 15ᵗʰ century
- 16ᵗʰ century
- 17ᵗʰ century

- > 200ha
- 130 - 200ha
- 90 - 130ha
- 60 - 90ha
- 40 - 60ha
- 20 - 40ha
- < 20ha

FIGURE 6

Maastricht

Groningen

Middelburg

Zwolle

Breda

's-Hertogenbosch

Dordrecht

Haarlem

Leiden

Rotterdam

Harlingen

Enkhuizen

Vlissingen

0   1500
m

Alkmaar

Amsterdam

The Hague

FIGURE 7

**B2. The largest towns in 2010 and infrastructure
Urbanization and railroad system, 1850 to 1950**

- New industrial towns
- New residential towns
- Twenty towns originating in the 11th to 14th century
- Railroad system 1860 (350km)
- Railroad system 1890 (2650km)
- Railroad system 1930 (3650km)

Leeuwarden
Groningen
Alkmaar
Zwolle
Zaanstad
Amsterdam
Haarlem
Hilversum
Apeldoorn
Deventer
Hengelo
Enschede
Leiden
Amersfoort
The Hague
Utrecht
Delft
Arnhem
Rotterdam
Nijmegen
Dordrecht
's-Hertogenbosch
Breda
Tilburg
Helmond
Eindhoven
Venlo
Sittard-Geleen
Heerlen
Maastricht

0   50
km

FIGURE 8

V.05 P.022   Reinout Rutte

ATLAS OF THE DUTCH URBAN LANDSCAPE

B3. The largest towns in 2010 and infrastructure
Urbanization and motorways, 1950 to 2010

Built-up area 1900

Built-up area 1950

Built-up area 2010

Motorways 1960 (350km)

Motorways 1990 (2200km)

Motorways 2010 (2450km)

Groningen

Leeuwarden

Emmen

Alkmaar

Zaanstad

Amsterdam

Haarlem

Haarlemmermeer

Almere

Zwolle

Hilversum

Deventer

Hengelo

Leiden

Amersfoort

Apeldoorn

Enschede

Zoetermeer

The Hague

Utrecht

Ede

Delft

Arnhem

Rotterdam

Dordrecht

Nijmegen

's-Hertogenbosch

Breda

Tilburg

Helmond

Eindhoven

Venlo

Sittard-Geleen

Maastricht

Heerlen

0   50
km

FIGURE 9

We may conclude that the economy and demography were not the only determining factors in Dutch town development throughout the ages but that also main infrastructures were of the utmost importance: rivers, railway lines and car roads. Until well into the 19th century transport by water was paramount, while between 1870 and 1950 this position was taken over by the railway network. In the second half of the 20th century the significance of the motorway network in turn overtook the railways.

In general the observed developments within our sample of the thirty-five largest towns in 2010 correspond to the overall urbanization process. Most of the Dutch towns emerged between the late 11th and the late 14th century. No new towns appeared after that period until the second half of the 19th century. This means that two periods were crucial in the formation of the modern urban distribution pattern in the Dutch landscape: 1100 to 1400, and 1870 to 1930.

From a long-term perspective, a number of peaks in town formation and expansion can be distinguished. After the piecemeal appearance of some towns in the 11th, 12th and 13th century dozens appeared at once between ca. 1270 and 1350. In the second half of the 14th century many towns expanded, and also the decades around 1600 saw many new urban extensions materialize, although fewer than in the late Middle Ages. The next major construction wave manifested itself centuries later, between 1870 and 1930, when not only many existing towns added significantly to their built-up area but new industrial and residential towns emerged as well, for the first time since 1400. The most recent peak occurred after 1950 in the form of large-scale urban extensions and the establishment of new residential towns.

A MILLENNIUM OF URBAN PRACTICE

Having sketched the main outlines of the urbanization process and the peak periods in town formation and expansion, we should now mention that urban practice, too, saw a number of crucial development phases in the late Middle Ages and in the 17th-century. The long period of stagnation formed a caesura, and in the second half of the 19th century urban practice had to be rebuilt from the bottom up before changing again around ca. 1900 and finally assuming some extraordinary forms after WWII.

A planned, systematic and comprehensive urban practice developed from the 11th century onwards. Aristocrats, clergy or entrepreneurs charged surveyors with the layout of new towns or urban extensions according to widely accepted organizing principles, such as standardized dimensions for building plots and fixed widths for streets and canals, taking into account the pre-urban situation and local economic, social and legal circumstances. Construction was in the hands of private individuals. Extant features in the landscape were incorporated, to the extent that the intended purpose of the plots allowed it and existing field and road patterns would be serviceable within an urban infrastructure, but straight roads were preferred over crooked ones, and a regular parcellation over an irregular one.

This practice hardly changed in the 15th and 16th century; in fact, the development of urban practice from the 11th-14th century to the 16th-17th century was marked by a high degree of continuity. The distinction commonly made between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance does not apply to urban practice. In the final decades of the 16th century, however, a number of innovations appeared. Social and functional segregation were now deliberately carried through in urban extensions; one new urban district might for example become a port, a second an industrial and working-class area, and a third a luxury residential zone. Street plans became more linear in tandem with innovations in fortification. New organizing principles increasingly dominated the plans, more so than they had done in earlier centuries.

After a period of over a century and a half without any major spatial shifts in the Dutch towns, urban practice revived between 1850 and 1900. Some major changes took place, in particular as a result of the fact that urban extensions no longer went hand in hand with fortification works. This was a highly dynamic period in which numerous factors and actors interacted. As was also the case between the 11th and the 17th century, the specific form in which urban extensions and new industrial and residential towns manifested themselves was often to a large degree determined by pre-urban conditions. The result was the product not only of location, cultural landscape type and infrastructure, but also of a town's earlier development history, its economic profile, the timing of the arrival of new railway connections and train stations, and last but not least the substantial involvement of private individuals. Private individuals in many cases initiated an urban extension.

Just as in the late Middle Ages, the active involvement of municipal authorities often lagged behind, and when it finally arrived was in response to a situation that had become intolerable: appalling housing conditions, or a hazardous urban environment. In 1901 the national government ended this period of unbridled local initiative by introducing the Housing Act, which allowed it to assert close control over urban expansion, construction and the involvement of private enterprise. State loans enabled housing associations to build large batches of houses, and well-regulated extension plans, building inspectors, and planning authorities became mandatory elements across the board. These developments gained momentum after WWI. It was a true revolution; since the 11th century the building process had been dominated by private initiative.

Because of the significant involvement of the municipalities in the urban extensions that resulted from the Housing Act, new organizing principles gradually penetrated urban practice in the first decades of the 20th century, and the influence of pre-urban structures on the specific form of urban extensions decreased. Greater government involvement, regulation, and the rise of urban planning and construction as an academic discipline combined to make the mandatory extension plans drafted by the municipalities starting to look more similar. Indeed, urban extensions began to appear increasingly uniform in the course of the 1920s and 30s. The arrival of a number of specialized urbanist and architectural design firms that operated on a national scale contributed to this trend towards uniformity. After WWII the process continued, supervised by the national government. While earlier, local building traditions and the wishes of private commissioners had contributed to a broad spectrum of building styles, after the 1920s a series of styles and fashions under State and municipal control dominated the scene, such as the Amsterdam School and Modernism. After WWII, if not already before, these developments all embraced the concept of the neighbourhood unit, a situation that has continued until the most recent urban extensions.

The changes in urban form and construction of the last few decades were minimal compared to the dynamic and highly varied urban practice of the period 1850-1900, or the 14th century. It is true that direct government influence on construction grew less after the mid-1980s, but the parties involved as commissioning bodies, such as housing associations and project developers, continued to operate on the same scale and within the same conceptual framework of the neighbourhood unit, often in collaboration with the same designer firms.

In the light of the long-term perspective of this atlas, the 20th century is an anomaly, especially the period 1950-1985. Never before were local and national administrations equally intensely and comprehensively involved in the development of towns within their jurisdictions, and never before have they to such a degree ignored actual economic and demographic developments. In the course of the 20th century towns became less distinct in their urban form but more so in their urban history (older, younger), their functional profile up to WWII (industrial town, residential town, administrative centre), their geographical location (on a river, on sandy soils, in the north, in the west), and their landscape situation (terrain, peat reclamations, beautiful green surroundings). Any differences in urban form after 1950 are mainly manifest in the locations of new housing estates and business parks, which were frequently determined by the situation and shape of the pre-WWII town, the character of any cultural landscapes present, and the course of main infrastructures. To conclude: towns today may appear

similar or different as a result of similar or different developmental and transformational trajectories since their origins. This is why a long-term approach of these developments is crucial to be able to understand the spatial manifestations of today's towns.

This text is based on: R. Rutte & J.E. Abrahamse (eds.), *Atlas of the Dutch Urban Landscape. A Millennium of Spatial Development*, Bussum/Delft, 2016. The figures are from the same atlas.

Dr. Reinout Rutte is an architectural and urban historian. He is Assistant Professor at the Chair History of Architecture and Urban Planning of the Faculty of Architecture, Delft University of Technology.

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TOWN PLANNING IN THE NETHERLANDS SINCE 1800

Cor Wagenaar

TU Delft

This article summarizes part of the gist of *Town Planning in the Netherlands since 1800. Responses to Enlightenment Ideas and Geopolitical Realities,* a book that discusses Dutch urbanism in its international setting, dividing its contents in a series of clusters that are presented as being determined by geopolitics, ideology, and planning. The timeframe of over 200 years (400 years if the prologue is included) highlights continuities and discontinuities that otherwise would have been lost – a strong motive in favor or writing books instead of articles. It defines urbanism as a combination of spatial planning (distributing human activities across space in cities, regions and on the global level) and design (one of its uses being that of a billboard for local identity, the community, the nation or political ideologies).

In the two centuries of urban planning presented here, the Netherlands had to re-invent itself several times. Dutch urban history is marked by changes on the international scene, the prevailing political ideals, the development of modern planning as a distinct discipline and the continuous changes of the main countries that inspired Dutch planning – France until the 1830s, Germany from the 1830s to the 1930s, and since the 1930s increasingly the United States. The years between 1795 and 1815 marked the end of an era: though the nation still clung to the idea that it could play an important role in the world's political affairs, its days as a 'hyper power' - to quote Amy Chua - were numbered. Nothing illustrated this more vividly than the run-down state of most of its cities. Especially in the province of Holland, many had become a faded imagine of their former self: comparing maps made during the so-called Golden Age with the brand new cadaster maps that had been ordered by the national government in the early nineteenth century, nobody could escape the impression that for almost two hundred years, nothing had changed. Some cities, for instance Enkhuizen, had even lost a large part of their inhabitants and demolished part of their buildings... In 1815 the Netherlands definitely abandoned the political structure that had characterized it in its heydays: the federal republic was replaced by a unitary state headed by a king, William I, a representative of the Orange family the fate of which was closely connected to the Netherlands since it gained independence in the late sixteenth century. William I, who had spent many years in England, embarked upon an ambitious campaign that should restore the country to its former glory, an ambition sparkled by the merger with the Southern Netherlands (now Belgium). Canals were dug and new roads, subdivided according to a French inspired classification system, were built that connected the two re-united states, accepting the distinct nature of both: the former Republic was expected to revitalize an economy based on trade, banking and agriculture, whereas the Southern half continued to promote industry. Combined with many other differences - the North was Calvinist and bourgeois, the South was Catholic and here the aristocracy never lost its privileged position - the merger proved untenable and after a short civil war, Belgium became independent (and subsequently developed into the continent's first industrial state). William's revanchist policies caused economic stagnation in the Northern half, the huge investments in its infrastructure proved futile.

Probably the most interesting phase in the state's evolution began in 1848. Although the revolutionary wave that swept all over Europe that year never reached the low lands, the king gave in to the request of the liberal elite and accepted a new constitution - the beginning of parliamentary democracy in Holland. Its author, J. Thorbecke, considered the political structure as a belated victory of the ideals of the Enlightenment. Some ten years later, in 1863, he crowned the political *volte face* with an economic revolution that revolved around the introduction of new infrastructural networks that forced the local economic actors to compete with entrepreneurs in other cities, for the first time creating an economic space without political and economic barriers.

The term 'networks' indeed pinpoints to the system's essential qualities. Already in 1839, the first railway line opened; it ran from Amsterdam to Haarlem and was extended to Rotterdam in the following years. Other lines soon followed, but they were not connected, ran on tracks with different gauges through a country divided by regional time zones. The construction of the new networks was entirely the work of Thorbecke, who in the 1860s spent endless parliamentary meetings on almost every detail - bridges, trajectories, stations. Part of his ideals was to link the national networks with the global networks of steam powered ocean lines - these also facilitated trade with the Dutch colonies, notably Indonesia (then called 'the Dutch Indies'). Thorbecke considered the construction of a new port in Amsterdam and the reconstruction of the port of Rotterdam as twin projects and also - for the time being in vain - promoted the closure of the 'Zuiderzee', a branch of the Noordzee that threatened the coastal strip and promised immense profit if parts of it could be transformed into fertile land - this would have continued the tradition of the Dutch polder on the grand scale made possible by the latest technological inventions.

Thorbecke's administrative and economic policies were entirely based on a view of liberalism that prompted the state to create the framework for a society based on equality and equal opportunities for all citizens. The next phase in the evolution of liberalism urged the state to step back and leave economic life to the forces of the free market - its main role should be the construction of a framework that maximized profit of private enterprise. The emergence of very large nation states created large spatial containers that boosted economic growth. France and especially England built huge colonial empires. Russia marched to the East and eventually crossed the Bering Street to incorporate today's Alaska. The Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy that emerged as a response to Bismarck's decision to leave Austria out of the unified German state he created, took possession of most of the Balkans. Germany managed to get hold of some colonies in Africa but invested most of its energies in industrial expansion at home. The Netherlands finally recovered from centuries of economic stagnation, the impossibility to reap the harvest of the new canal networks, and the consequences of the failed revanchist policies after Belgium's independence; benefitting from Thorbecke's reforms and the economic boom of its neighbors, the economy slowly awakened.

Cities in the West benefited most and Rotterdam's port expanded at an unprecedented pace. Economic expansion was accompanied by chaotic urbanization processes and deteriorating health conditions - even though the existing urban pattern prevented the emergence of a truly metropolitan city - a phenomenon that caused alarm in the countries where it occurred. Health issues were the reason for the introduction of two laws in 1901: the health law, and the public housing law. The first secured the involvement of architects and urban planners in committees staffed with medical doctors; one of the principal tasks of these health committees was to assess the health effects of the urban expansion plans. The public housing law, apart from regulating the construction of new housing, also forced rapidly growing communities to make general expansion plans. H.P. Berlage, famous for his Amsterdam Exchange Building, designed general expansion plans for several Dutch cities, feeding on the theoretical treatises of mainly German professionals (Baumeister, Sitte, Brinckman, Stübben, to name only a few).

The First World War terminated the period of Europe's global supremacy and fundamentally changed the continent's self-image as presenting the apex of culture and civilization. It also destroyed the realities of an almost universal economic space where people and merchandise could travel without the constraints posed by political

borders. The Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy collapsed and gave way to multitude of small states which, usually governed by nationalist politicians, turned their back to each other. Poland re-emerged on Europe's political map, Germany had to give up a lot of territory and was split in two parts. In 1917, the Soviet Union replaced Tsarist Russia and embarked upon the road to socialism - a construct that was conceived as an economic, social and cultural Gesamtkunstwerk. In the 1920s, and early 1930s. it attracted many architects and urban planners of the modern movement which gained prominence during the war and was seen by its protagonists as the ultimate response to Europe's cultural decline. After the wave of socialist revolutions that followed the end of the war in 1918 had subsided, the Dutch authorities stimulated the construction of social housing in an attempt to appease the disillusioned population. In Amsterdam, the famous expressionist housing estates of the so-called Amsterdam School filled the plans of Berlage - an unlikely combination since Berlage actually favored a soberer architectural idiom. Other cities, notably Groningen, followed suit. Rotterdam, on the other hand, developed into one of the international strongholds of the modern movement, J.J.P. Oud designed many acclaimed housing estates. The International Federation of Housing and Town

Planning developed into the leading platform of modern urbanism, promoting the idea of the regional cities at a series of international conferences. In 1924 the conference in Amsterdam witnessed the merger of the Ebenezer Howard's garden city movement, which originally wanted to do away with cities, and main stream urbanism. In Rotterdam, W.G. Witteveen made a series of expansion plans (some of them based on earlier ones by Granpré Molière, Verhagen & Kok). His General Expansion Plan of 1927 summarized the views put forward at the international stage: he designed a compact city for about 2.5 million inhabitants, introduced parkways and green wedges that opened up to the surrounding countryside, located housing for the working forces next to their working places (industrial zones and the port), and designated the inner city for so-called city- functions: offices, shops, administrative buildings. The groundwork was an infrastructural network that was largely based on railways (Witteveen started his career as a railway engineer). This enabled the planners to regulate the flows of traffic, forcing it to follow fixed trajectories and timetables. All over Europe dozens of similar plans were made. In the US, the explosion of private car ownership threatened the logic of these mobility concepts   time and again this alarmed European urbanists traveling America in the 1920s and 1930s. The car, they believed, was bound to destroy inner cities, the countryside, and made rational planning that used traffic structures as the basis for urban patterns all but impossible. Witteveen also authored the regional plan for IJsselmonde, which is based on a distribution of freight traffic over trucks, railways and shipping. The most ambitious regional plans were made for the former Zuiderzee; closed by a dam in the early 1930s, Thorbecke's dreams became true in a series of large polders. The first was the Wieringermeer polder, for which Granpré Molière designed the villages. Arguably, the 1920s and 1930 saw the heyday of urbanism: in many countries it was the only form of planning that was accepted, economic planning being impossible in countries that stuck to free market principles even during the Depression of the 1930s; apart from the objections of economic theorists, it was viewed with suspicion since the Soviet Union made it the corner stone of policies that should introduce socialism. In England, J.M. Keynes laid the foundations of a theory that did promote economic planning, and the totalitarian regimes that began to dominate Europe in this period - beginning with the Soviet Union, followed in 1927 by fascist Italy and in 1933 by Nazi Germany, and emulated in many other states - all accepted economic planning as an indispensable response to the worst economic crisis ever... In a politically fragmented continent like Europe, the planning perspectives of the various nations were hard to reconcile. The Second World War that broke out in 1940 can be seen as a conflict between incompatible planning ideals. Inspired by the new science of geopolitics, the scale of planning had exploded. Experts of the German Reichstelle für Raumordnung, for instance, made spatial plans for the entire European continent.

After an intermezzo of three years, in 1948 the Cold War divided Europe in two ideologically powered blocks. The division line ran from Lübeck to Trieste in Western Europe; from this time part of Western and Central Europe got the stigma of belonging to Moscow dominated Eastern Europe. Behind the iron curtain - the name Churchill coined before the division line became reality - the political borders between the states were redrawn. On the history of Europe, this had happened many times before. Now, the areas that were handed over from one state to another were

presented to their new sovereign without their original inhabitants; these were forced to move; the abandoned areas were repopulated with people from areas these countries had to hand over on the opposite borders. Thus, entire nations appeared to move across the map, adding to the flows of millions of refugees. All over Europe, cities had been destroyed, unprecedented numbers of civilians had been killed, genocide had decimated their Jewish population, many of the men that had been forced to fight never came back, factories had either been bombed or dismantled, the infrastructure was in ruins. Only planning could pave the way out. Everywhere economic planning was seen as the most effective vehicle on the road to recovery; spatial planning was subordinated to economic planning. The building trade acted as a steering wheel for the entire economy, which implied the introduction of methods from industry: standardization of floor plans and building components, mechanization of as many working processes as possible, ways to calculate the investments in terms of labor, materials and transportation capacity, etc. In the emerging 'cultural cold wars', architecture and urbanism were seen as effective means of propaganda - and here the 'West' faced what leading circles saw as a major problem: whereas the Soviet Union had fostered socialist realism as an appealing alternative for modernism (which it banned in the 1930s since it sadly failed as a vehicle for enthusing the public), the 'West' lacked a viable alternative. Here, too, modernism had never been popular, and with the sole exception of Italy and the countries looking to it for cultural guidance (notably Poland and Hungary), modernism had disappeared even where it had not been banned by totalitarian regimes. Several high ranking institutions, among them the CIA, the United States Information Agency (ISIA), the Economic Cooperation Agency, channeled money and guidance to persons and institutions, the most prominent of which was New York's Museum of Modern Art, MoMA, to develop a style that could compete with socialist-realism. Few objective reporters would be inclined to deny that the defeat of Nazi-Germany was largely due to the war effort of the Soviet Union, which boosted its popularity in Western Europe, and in the mid- twentieth century the belief in the arts as signposting specific social ideas was still very much alive. Though it would probably be an overstatement to explain the emergence of the so-called International Style entirely in terms of political propaganda, it has become clear in recent years that the carefree, leisure oriented style in which abstract (European) modernism was enriched with the appealing qualities of consumerism would never have happened without the stimulus of the Cold War. The urban complement of the International Style was the concept of separate components in low densities – in the 1950s this was also promoted as a counter model to socialist realism.

Nowhere was the iron curtain as inescapable a reality as in Berlin – it is no coincidence that the most outspoken examples were built here: the socialist-realist Stalin Allee (today Frankfurter Allee), and the Hansa Viertel, the result of the Internationale Bau-Ausstellung 1957; the latter was celebrating as a key example of the open, democratic ideals of the 'West' and visited by thousands of people living in East-Berlin (the connection between the two parts was lost only in 1961, when the infamous wall was built). The Netherlands began to build dozens of neighborhoods in low densities, largely made up of public housing in collective typologies (row-houses, flats) and with all the facilities needed for everyday life usually concentrated in neighborhood centers. This model was propagated as a booster of a sense of community, and thus as a remedy for what was generally seen as the main cause for all the misery that had struck Europe and the world in the first half of the twentieth century. Moreover, low density housing guaranteed close contact to nature and could, therefore, be seen as much healthier than the older, densely built-up areas. Research by sociologists and medical doctors soon proved both assumptions wrong. Spatial and social structures hardly ever coincided, and the stress promoting qualities of the new housing estates were discussed during numerous conferences. Behind the scenes, other motives called for low densities. The memory of air raids was still fresh; the atom bomb drove the point home: the best protection in times of war was the spread the population over large areas. Dutch planners sometimes used the term 'megalopolis' for urban patterns that envisioned urban life without urban form, the idea being that urban life can survive the annihilation of urban form. In megalopolis, home was the primary source of urban life: flats and single family houses filled to the top with new electric household appliances and the inevitable television set. Networks of highways connected them to similar housing estates and the zones with shops and other 'city functions' (or, as in the US, to shopping malls). Characteristic of the new urban patterns was the almost complete dependency on the car – since the 1950s, car ownership rapidly spread, one of the markers of the success of the Welfare State.

The urban consequences of the Welfare State soon became the object of harsh criticism. Apart from the negative social and medical effects of the new housing estates, inner cities suffered from plans to make them accessible for the car, retail business believing that this was the only way to compete with suburban shopping centers. Traffic arteries ruthlessly cut open the historical tissue, monuments were demolished, distinguishing features were sacrificed. The possession of a private car was a sign of success. In most European families, a car bought in the 1950s and 1960s replaced the bicycle or the moped, greatly expanding their owners' radius and level of convenience. The car liberated them from the constraints of time and space, as Martin Wagner, chief of Berlin's planning department before 1933, had already remarked in the 1920s when visiting the US – at that time this positive assessment was unique among European planners... In the 1950s and 1960s, planners were more than happy to project highways through the heart of historical cities and even proposed to fill in one of Amsterdam's famous canals to accommodate what appeared to be the single most effective and appealing vehicle for personal freedom ever invented – the history of post-war town planning is to a remarkable extent determined by the car... Equally rigorous was the approach to urban renewal. Nineteenth century neighborhoods were especially vulnerable for clean slate renovation schemes. Since the older parts of many cities were run down and in bad shape, this seemed a reasonable thing to do – moreover, providing decent housing in suburbia was much easier than the tedious renovation projects in historical areas when the clean slate procedures provoked too much protest. Protest became a key word since the late 1950s. It was closely associated with a movement within the CIAM, the flagship of international modernism outside the US. The group preparing the tenth conference, appropriately called Team X, convened in the Dutch village Otterlo in 1959. This meeting marked the end of CIAM. Shortly before, the Dutch protagonists of the movement, notably Jaap Bakema and Aldo van Eyck, took over the editorial board of *Forum*, which developed into the porte voce of the movement. Though the members of Team X and the 'Forum Group' did not have a solid and consistent theory – some, the Smithsons among them, remaining car crazy, whereas others rediscovered the values of the historical cities, for instance – all of them saw architecture and urbanism as artistic disciplines and abhorred the technocratic approaches that had become synonymous with modern planning.

Moreover, they saw streets, squares and alleys as a stage that presented the community to its members – people walking were actors and spectators at the same time. Thus, the public qualities of public space, which were lost in megalopolis, began to be rediscovered. In the Netherlands, the ideas of the 'Forum Group' manifested themselves most clearly in the design of the new housing estates, which took inspiration from villages and forced the car into intricate street patterns. Cul-de- sac development with dead end streets and so-called 'woon-erven' lined with low-rise single family housing in complex patterns replaced the straightforward, car-oriented neighborhoods with industrial building typologies. Urban renewal projects abandoned the clean slate ideology, respect for the existing building stock and its inhabitants ushering in an entirely new phase. Inner cities should no longer be sacrificed to the car and to large-scale office blocks and department stores.

Groningen was one of the first to transform its main shopping street into a pedestrian zone. Structuralism became a highly fashionable approach that combined a collective, usually geometrical grid with individually designed cells. Blom's Kasbah inspired projects in Rotterdam and Helmond allegedly fostered a more natural living environment than the traditional housing estates in the outskirts. Representative buildings – Van Eyck's unrealized project for a new town hall in Deventer for instance – paid tribute to their context, notably the parceling structure and the street patterns. Allegedly, architecture and urbanism no longer served the moneyed interests, but rather the ideal of the 'homo ludens': playful man liberated by economic wealth and technology from the historical restrictions that, combined with a traditional bourgeois morale, had alienated him from from is true self...

The end of the Cold War appeared to mark the final victory of capitalism over socialism and its planned economy. Before the Berlin Wall came down, the collective social arrangement of the Welfare State had already been identified as too expensive; rather than promoting economic growth, as the economic theory of J.M. Keynes maintained, it threatened to end in stagnation. Increased competition from overseas – Japan, India, China – marked the end of many traditional industries in Europe – in the Netherlands, most textile factories and shipyards closed shop.

Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan were the international spearheads representing policies that were emulated in many western countries, the Netherlands not excepted. It resulted in a *volte face* relative to planning: instead of redistributing wealth to the weaker people and regions that lacked behind, promising parts of the economy should be sponsored. Schiphol, the international airport of Amsterdam, and the port of Rotterdam were designated as 'main ports'. Abandoned industrial areas, often near city centers, presented a new challenge to urban planners. The Kop van Zuid in Rotterdam, the Java eiland in Amsterdam, and the Ceramique area in Maastricht, for instance, were redeveloped; apart from their urban design qualities, these projects highlighted the remarkable renaissance of Dutch architecture which, with the support of the state, became an international billboard of Dutch culture. What rescued the Netherlands from permanent recession, however, was the digital revolution that began to reshape the global economy from the mid-1990s. Dominated by the service sector, the post-industrial era opened the perspective of a new, urban economy centered on cities; gentrification processes resulted in the upgrading of the housing stock even in areas that not long before had been stigmatized as the worst examples of unrestrained, nineteenth-century capitalism (notably the 'Pijp' in Amsterdam). Following the village-like expansion plans of the 1980s, the 1990s witnessed the last phase in the construction of large- scale suburban housing estates (now officially promoted as strengthening existing urban cores – a goal that was never realized). The so-called Vinex housing estates were planned in one go, but instead of up to 70% public housing, as had been normal in previous years, owner-occupied, carefully marketed housing typologies prevailed.

More recent developments – the shift to a 'globalized', neo-liberal system, decentralization and the virtual abolition of planning, the emergence of what in Germany has been coined the post- democratic era, rapidly growing inequality, the development of a green, sustainable economy, the concept of smart cities, the prospects of the 'internet of thigs' and the promises of the circular economy – again change the urban scene. The most striking aspect, however, is the slow realization of a major phenomenon: the end of rapid economic and demographic growth. Brown field development replaces green field development; reconstruction becomes much more important than new expansion plans, and the consequences of suburban growth – the destruction of the landscape, the emergence of wasteful and unhealthy urban patterns, the bleeding to death of many inner cities and the destruction caused by attempts to save them – are almost universally deplored. These trends, however, exceed the all too limited space for this short essay...

Perspectives on Urban Reconstruction

A Half Century of Urban Conservation: Case Studies from Europe

Chair: John Pendlebury and Loes Veldpaus

LIVING IN THE HISTORIC CITY: ENGLAND IN THE 1970S AND AFTER

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This paper will focus upon the reintroduction of residential populations in the last quarter of the twentieth century in historic cities in England. Through much of the twentieth century the trend in England was for the residential population of city centres to decline, including in historic centres. This was the result of slum clearance, a new developing planning system that sought to separate incompatible land-uses and, following the garden city movement, imaginaries of a new, healthy living to be achieved in the countryside or more practically the burgeoning suburbs. However, in the 1970s this trend went into reverse. This was the period of loss of faith in modernist planning and architecture and the emergence of citizens' movements to resist further demolition and displacement. National changes in housing policy followed with grassroots movements and top-down fiscal incentives combining to put an emphasis on the retention and improvement of older housing. At the same time the potential for reintroducing new housing in the urban core began to be considered.

A trail-blazing report in this respect was the study undertaken for York by Lord Esher, one of the four demonstration reports commissioned for historic cities by the government in partnership with the relevant local authority in 1966 (Esher, 1968; Pendlebury, 2006). Part of Esher's vision for making a better looked after, more pleasurable historic city was the removal of low-grade industrial uses and the reintroduction of housing as part of growing the residential population of the urban core. Over the next two decades this policy was put into effect. The York of today is generally considered much improved over the last 50 years, in the wake of Esher and as the shift in land-uses have been accompanied by, for example, investment in the core of historic buildings and pedestrianisation.

However, 1970s conservationists were acutely aware of the potential of gentrification processes to transform historic places. This paper will consider whether the reintroduction of housing into central York should be considered in this light, along with other measures to improve the city as a consumption experience as part of growing the tourist potential of the city. Is there now a self-consciousness of York as a historic city that detracts from the vitality of place, however well the buildings maybe maintained and however buoyant the economy?

Keywords
conservation, housing, gentrification, York, 1970s

CONTESTING CONSERVATION-PLANNING: INSIGHTS FROM IRELAND

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Where conservation evolves in contentious political contexts, it can be framed by competing priorities reflecting collective remembering, cultural politics and identities intertwined with the symbolic representation of the built environment. Ireland provides a unique lens to examine these themes as the only western European country to experience colonial domination, which forms a key aspect of the context for the evolution of conservation policy and practice. The aim of this paper is to chart the shifting representations of built heritage in Ireland, and their relevance in the emergence of conservation and heritage policy, set in the context of broader social, political and economic change over time. This is achieved, firstly, by a review of secondary source material to identify key events, eras and trends. Discourses of heritage are then examined in debates of the *Oireachtas* (the Irish legislature), identifying tensions around the emergence of conservation in a historic environment largely associated with colonial power and identity. These shifting discourses are then related to policy evolution, particularly the late adoption of a legislative framework for conservation (in 1999). Finally, conclusions are developed to identify wider lessons from the production of urban conservation priorities in the context of contested heritage.

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TOC

INTRODUCTION

In most European countries, the 20th Century witnessed a growing interest in urban conservation as both a social movement and public policy concern, and by the 1960s urban conservation had emerged as a key planning and urban policy goal and thereafter became a central feature of how cities positioned themselves within the globalised economy. However, urban conservation can be subject to competing priorities in contentious political contexts, where collective memory and identity can figure strongly in how historic landscapes are understood and valued, thereby impacting upon decision-making within the urban development process. With respect to built heritage in Ireland, specifically, urban centres have their historical roots in waves of colonial settlement, and the built environment in general was often shaped by the tastes of the colonial elite, ranging from prominent domestic architecture in urban settings to large estate houses outside the main urban centres (referred to as the 'big house') and their associated estate villages. Key buildings were inevitably perceived as tools of colonial oppression representing the imperial state's power and dominant colonial capital interests, and landlord estates represented domination of landownership and agricultural production. This context provides an important backdrop to the evolution of conservation policy and practice in Ireland and to how representations of heritage have been continually (re)shaped in the urban development process. The aim of this paper is therefore to chart the sifting representations of built heritage in Ireland, and their relevance in the emergence of conservation and heritage policy, set in the context of broader social, political and economic change over time. To achieve this, we focus, firstly, on secondary source material to identify key events, eras and trends. This informs an examination of discourses of heritage in debates of the *Oireachtas* (the Irish legislature), which provide a consistent record of national heritage debates in the Irish state. This identifies tensions around the emergence of built heritage policy in a historic environment largely associated with colonial power and identity, and shifts in how the historic built environment was represented in different eras. These range from outright antipathy, towards a more positive revalorisation of heritage, and a recent reawakening amongst policymakers to the potential of heritage as a driver of urban regeneration. We then relate these shifting discourses to policy evolution, particularly the late adoption of a comprehensive legislative framework for conservation (from 1999) and the important influence of international charters rather than bottom-up or national priorities in policy agenda-setting. The paper is structured chronologically, firstly outlining the pre-independence context, setting the scene for the second main section of the paper, examining built heritage protection in the period since independence. This section is sub-divided into key themes in the development of conservation over this period: the role of planning and heritage in nation-building; the emergence of a recognisable conservation movement in Ireland; the context which led to early developments in the protection of built heritage in legislation and policy; and the impact in Ireland of wider international trends in conservation. Finally, conclusions are developed to identify wider lessons from the production of urban conservation priorities in the context of contested heritage.

BUILT HERITAGE PROTECTION IN PRE-INDEPENDENCE IRELAND

Though the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (founded 1849) and the Royal Irish Academy (founded 1785) were involved in the study of archaeology through the nineteenth century, there is little evidence of any concern for the conservation of historic monuments, let alone other older buildings, through much of the 19th century. Such lack of concern is in significant part due to the lack of industrialisation and associated urbanisation, particularly when compared with Britain. Structures or artefacts were first protected in law in Ireland in 1869 under the Irish Church Act[1]. This act, which also disestablished the Church of Ireland, sought to protect ecclesiastical structures or artefacts through transfer of their care to the Commissioners of Public Works[2]. This pre-dates protective legislation in Great Britain, and was concerned exclusively with structures or artefacts of archaeological interest. It was also confined to the property of the Church of Ireland, so is extremely specific and exclusionary in its remit. However, thirteen years later, this concern for monuments was broadened through the Ancient Monuments Protection Act 1882, the first piece of legislation in the then United Kingdom aimed at the

wider protection of monuments of archaeological importance[3]. The Local Government (Ireland) Act[4] that followed in 1898 was of considerable political significance in that it effectively removed local administration from the hands of wealthy landowners[5]. This was replaced with a system of local authorities elected by the public and, for the first time, created a generation of experienced local politicians. This new Act also gave the new local authorities the power to prosecute for endangerment of 'ancient monuments'[6]. Further Acts in 1900, 1910 and 1913 increased the number of sites protected and improved the operation of the legislation[7].

While there is no evidence that SPAB (the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings) had any impact in Ireland[8], nor the National Trust (UK), a briefly lived 'Georgian Society' in 1908 was the first time in that any serious study was made of structures of less than archaeological interest in Ireland. The existence of such a project gives some indication that, at the beginning of the twentieth century, there was some level of appreciation of architectural heritage, albeit only a very specific type. This society was founded with the intention of making a record of eighteenth-century domestic architecture and decoration, but it was not concerned with the physical conservation of the buildings being recorded, and it existed only for a period of five years until its task was completed[9]. Its founders lamented the decay and destruction of Ireland's Georgian buildings, but the Society seemed resigned to the loss of this heritage. This society is not to be confused with the Irish Georgian Society, discussed later in this paper, founded fifty years later and primarily concerned with preventing the loss of structures, and their physical conservation.

CONSERVATION IN THE MODERN IRISH STATE

Upon the foundation of the Irish Free State in 1922, there was no formal protection for structures not considered to be of archaeological interest – i.e. most of the state's building stock. Furthermore, independence more effectively insulated the state from any direct influence from conservation movements in the United Kingdom. This left the built environment subject primarily to threats within its own confines but also, conversely, to new, more vigorous, indigenous and representative developments in the protection and appreciation of built heritage.

PLANNING, HERITAGE AND NATION-BUILDING

In this context, though there was little economic or industrial development following the foundation of the Irish Free State to threaten Ireland's built heritage, the new government was highly active in solving the state's slum housing problems, and huge swathes of new housing were built in the first ten years of independence[10]. Whelan[11] argues that the built environment can become the focal point of struggle in contentious political contexts. For example, Kincaid[12] notes that Irish planning discourse often dwells on the link between planning, development, and national identity. Similarly, Dublin Corporation had been nationalist-dominated for some time before independence, so Dublin city was well endowed with monuments celebrating nationalist Ireland at the time of independence. Though Whelan specifically examines the role of memorials and monuments, equally, it can be argued that the construction of new estates, such as those at Marino, Drumcondra, Donnycarney and Cabra in the 1920s, were also influenced by the establishment's desire to forge a new identity for the capital of the newly independent state[13]. Comments such as those of John McBride TD illustrate how some within the establishment sought to do this: "Dublin is really a foreign town … The front bench talked about the reincarnation of the Gaelic State; we are going to start from the beginning."[14] In the decades following the establishment of the Free State, the government cleared some of Dublin's worst slums, alleviating social problems that, if ignored, may have had the potential to destabilise the new state. However, the policies of renewal were not effective in the way that John McBride might have hoped. Many corporation-designed estates were regarded as being of low quality and lacking in any distinctively Irish character[15].

 Arthur Parkinson | Mark Scott | Declan Redmond
CONTESTING CONSERVATION-PLANNING: INSIGHTS FROM IRELAND

THE EMERGENCE OF HERITAGE CONSERVATION

Into the 1930s, national discourse relating to historic sites tended to dwell upon historical events and places, rather than focusing on buildings. For example, a 1932 Seanad debate on Muckross Estate, the chair of the Seanad mentioned the estate as an inspiration in literature, as the home of "the noblest warriors of the great clans", and as the resting place of "the greatest of the Munster Poets". However, the 15th-century Franciscan friary is only mentioned briefly (albeit in warm terms) as "one of the most beautiful mediaeval buildings in the country", and the 19th-century estate house is ignored[16]. Though archaeological monuments had been protected for some time, there was awareness – at least amongst some – that the level of public appreciation of the historic environment was low[17]. It is in this context that the first piece of post-independence legislation to specifically deal with the protection of built heritage emerged: the National Monuments Act 1930. This was, for the most part, an update of the pre-independence legislation, and therefore related almost exclusively to pre-1600 structures, i.e. those of archaeological interest. However, the 1930 Act took one step to slightly widen influence on the protection of national monuments through the establishment of a National Monuments Advisory Council. The nominated members included representatives of the Keeper of Irish Antiquities from the National Museum, and representatives from the Royal Irish Academy, the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, and the Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland[18]. Though significant, the choice of nominees (unsurprisingly) reflects a still narrow, professional interpretation of heritage value.

Another early piece of legislation, the Town and Regional Planning Act, 1934, for the first time provided "for the preservation of structures and objects of artistic, architectural, archæological, or historical interest" under local planning schemes[19]. However, this did not introduce a statutory planning and development control system, so had limited impact, confined largely to Dublin[20]. It did, however, mark a change in professional and political attitudes towards the built environment, as it contained for the first time a statutory recognition that that "structures" other than monuments might be offered statutory protection, though on a discretionary basis only[21]. Implicit in the text is a broadening of that considered to be of importance. Professional discourse had shifted to recognise that there was more to be protected, and for more diverse reasons, than to date; that there was a real threat to Ireland's landscape and towns – in the name of industrial and urban development and of progress more generally.

Following the end of the Second World War, this professional awareness was reflected in the formation in 1948 of *An Taisce* (the National Trust for Ireland), set up following a meeting of leading members of civil society concerned with the impacts of modernisation and development[22] and, arguably, representing the interests and concerns of the elite of the day. From the outset, *An Taisce* set out to protect both the natural and built environment and was later notable as the only non-statutory body prescribed under Section 21(1) of the 1963 Planning Act, to be consulted by local authorities in the making of a development plan. An Taisce's formation perhaps owes as much to the establishment's observance of the impact of urban and rural development on other countries, and their responses to it (compare, The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty, England, 1842; the National Trust for Scotland, 1931), as to a growing awareness of the potential for change to harm Ireland's own environment. This reflects an uneven growth in awareness of 'Cultural Built Heritage' in wider society[23]: the political elite used it as a nation-building tool; professionals had (perhaps unknowingly) used it as a means of reinforcing their own value-system; and a third group – the privileged upper-class – began what is today recognisable as the architectural conservation movement. *An Taisce* was not, however, the only expression in civil society of an emergent conservation movement. Specifically, the Irish Georgian Society, founded in 1957, was initially preoccupied with architectural heritage[24], and particularly that of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy, though it slowly broadened its focus over time[25].

Though concern for the protection of certain types of non-archaeological structures had begun to emerge in the 1940s and 50s, it is notable in the discourse of the time that no aspect of the built environment was commonly referred to as 'heritage'. Another notable shift is evident in public discourse in debate relating to the 1951 Arts

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Bill, the remit of which included architecture. The then *Taoiseach* (prime minister), John Costello, referred to the broader arts as part of Ireland's heritage[26], but there was no direct reference to buildings as heritage. In contrast, by 1961, public discourse had shifted to the extent that buildings were now described by some as heritage, specifically, and there was a willingness to accept the colonial architectural legacy as part of Ireland's heritage[27]. In the same period, however, others expressed considerable hostility towards any buildings associated with British rule: "Anything the British built should be knocked down ... it is time we showed them we are not afraid to take down the buildings they put up with the blood of Irishmen"[28].

It is notable above that the narratives of Maguire, Burke and Dockrell tend to focus on expert or elite values (the arts, architecture). However, fifteen years later events took place in central Dublin that marked a seminal popular awakening to built heritage and support for its protection. Dublin City Council had proposed the development of new offices on a site at Wood Quay, beside the River Liffey. This site also happened to the principal location of Viking settlement in Dublin and, as a result, a popular campaign emerged against its development. Of this campaign, one of its leaders, historian and Roman Catholic priest, Francis Xavier Martin, wrote that "It was unique because it embraced all classes, creeds, cultural interests and political groups", and, "It was the biggest march in Dublin since the workers came out in the Great Strike of 1913 ... Around 20,000 was the accepted figure."[29] Regardless of whether the numbers here are exaggerated, it was a popular campaign in favour of heritage protection for the first time involving the wider public to any significant extent, and attracting the support of public figures as significant as Mary Robinson, then a Senator, and later *Uachtarán na hÉireann* (President of Ireland). It also provoked strong rhetoric, for example that of Senator Gordon Lambert, whose narrative of the situation presented the development of Wood Quay, Ireland's leaders, and even the Irish nation with disdain:

Those who destroy the soul of a city destroy the soul of some of its citizens and the intrusion of the type of office blocks which are planned will be monuments to the cultural ignorance of this generation ... The proposed decision to go ahead with the original office block design on this site indicates the very low standard of visual taste in this country.[30]

While the narrative mirrors that presented by some in the 1920s[31], the fundamental difference is that by this time, a section of the wider public had strong opinions on the conservation of physical heritage. Though still speaking from an elite position, Lambert's comments were now reflective of a much wider section of society.

DEVELOPMENT CONTROL AND THE PROTECTION OF ARCHITECTURE AS HERITAGE

Following independence and the end of the Civil War, Ireland of the 1920s experienced agricultural prosperity[32]. However in the 1930s, world depression coupled with the 'economic war' with Britain had a negative impact on Ireland's agricultural industry. Ireland's economy was disproportionately dependent on agriculture, and industrial development lagged behind other northern European countries[33], so the effect of a downturn in agricultural exports was severe. The Second World War followed soon after, giving the Irish economy little chance to recover until afterwards. Therefore, it was not apparent that the government's protectionist economic policies were hindering recovery until 1949[34]. Political crisis ensued[35], resulting in the adoption of free-trade policies by the late 1950s[36]. Bannon[37] suggests that a peculiarly Irish approach to economic programming began to emerge, characterised by "...an abhorrence of 'planning in any rigid sense'; rather, 'flexibility is rightly recognised as being the essence of planning'". It can be argued that this approach has characterised Irish planning ever since, mirrored in what Bannon[38] identified as Ireland's "post-colonial tradition of individualism". Arising from this change in economic policy grew an increasing acceptance that physical planning was integral to successful social and economic development. This shift, in turn, led to the Local Government (Planning and Development) Act, 1963, under reformist *Taoiseach*, Seán Lemass, which for the first time established local planning authorities and a system of development control, and marked an epoch in Irish planning. From this Act emerged the key tension between the perceived public good and the individual private property right, enshrined in the constitution[39], and embedded deep in the Irish psyche as a result of the history of colonial control. Specifically, if a development was

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deemed to be against the public interest, and permission refused, the developer could be compensated for loss suffered through refusal to grant permission. This had implications for the operation of the planning system, as planning refusal cost the state considerable sums of money. In turn, this also led to conflicting narratives in planning relating to what is in the public good – such as protection of structures of artistic, architectural or historic interest. Despite this, protectionary powers were only discretionary[40].

'Preservation' of buildings of interest very much played second-fiddle to the issue of the day – that of economic development. Nevertheless, in 1969, *An Foras Forbartha* (Irish National Institute for Physical Planning and Construction Research) published *The Protection of the National Heritage*[41] most notably recommending that national heritage inventories should be made, financial assistance offered to owners of buildings of architectural significance, and a national Heritage Council be established. It would be many years before these were implemented, perhaps due to both the low level of threat, and ambivalence towards architectural heritage – which many to an extent still saw as foreign, or belonging to an elite. Legislation for a new National Heritage Council was not considered until 1981 and, even then, fell by the wayside. The words of a senator at the time, Dr. Timothy Trevor West, encapsulate the shift in contemporaneous heritage discourse, lauding buildings that many had disowned and condemned less than 20 years earlier[42]:

This Bill marks an increase in our awareness of the importance of the preservation of our heritage. By taking a rather carefree attitude since the foundation of the State and, perhaps going back even further, we have lost a great deal which is now irretrievable... One does not have to go back very far and not very far away from here, to come across one of the major pieces of desecration carried out since the war on the far side of Merrion Square by a State body, when the finest stretch of Georgian housing in the world — a Georgian street one mile long from the bottom of Merrion Square up to Leeson Street — was savaged by the ESB [Electricity Supply Board]. ... I am glad to say that I do not think, with or without this council, that a State body, or any other body, would get away with a design or a development like that nowadays.[43]

A National Heritage Council was eventually formed in September 1988[44]. Amongst other functions, this body had responsibility for the administration of conservation grants for buildings of architectural significance, funded through the National Lottery, and continued in this form until it was abolished by the 1995 Heritage Act.

THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE PROTECTION IN IRELAND

From the late 1940s onwards, the influence of cultural nationalism had begun to wane and new international relationships had begun to develop, notable milestones including Ireland joining the Council of Europe in 1949, and accession to the EEC in 1973. Kincaid[45] suggests that in the 1960s, "International style architecture reflected the state's desire to move beyond what its leaders saw as the jaded rhetoric of cultural nationalism, to create an ideologically objective, a specific, progressive urban space, one that was uniform and ahistorical in design." The architecture of the time reflects these social, political and cultural developments. In parallel with these changes were developments in conservation policy, though Ireland would be very slow to embrace them.

Over time, a number of international charters and conventions sought to establish key principles in relation to conservation of heritage. However, the first to have significant impact on legislative measures for heritage protection in Ireland was the Granada Convention of 1985[46]. Ratified by Ireland in 1997[47], this was a seminal moment in the protection of architectural heritage that would lead to fundamental changes in its protection under the development control system. The long period between signing and ratification is indicative of the extent to which Ireland's existing legislative and policy framework on heritage lagged behind that of other European countries. Stemming from the measures of the Granada Convention, the Irish government published *Strengthening the Protection of the Architectural Heritage*48, which, in turn, finally led to the establishment of

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a National Inventory of Architectural Heritage[49], a new Heritage Council[50], and the mandatory protection of architectural heritage through the Planning and Development Act 2000[51].While in the early 1990s there was a shift towards promotion of 'heritage' in tourism[52], this did not last into the 'Celtic Tiger' era, as funding was cut, for example from *Bord Fáilte*'s (the former name for the Irish tourist board) Heritage Towns programme[53]. More recently, however, and reflecting trends elsewhere[54], there has been a resurgence of interest in the potential of heritage to act as an agent in economic and social regeneration[55].

CONCLUSION

This paper has sought to identify key events, eras and trends, to examine shifts in discourse over time, to trace policy evolution, and, finally, to identify wider lessons for urban conservation in contested contexts. The meaning and value of heritage are shaped by their time, and shift slowly, as observed by elsewhere[56]. However, heritage semantics have been further muddied in Ireland's post-colonial context of contested narratives. Narratives of place, cultural memory and power relations between elites and the wider public have played and continue to play a central role in shaping how heritage is understood and is made use of. Built heritage in the early years after independence was represented as foreign, and as a reminder of the former colonial power and oppression. However, heritage has been subject to a revalorisation, characterised by the slow fading of antipathy to legacies of colonialism, and an awakening to the potential of heritage as a resource in social and economic regeneration.

The elaborate conservation system now in place in Ireland implies that the meaning and function of heritage has reached a point of equilibrium. This is, however, questionable, particularly given arguments that that heritage should be about the everyday – for and of everyone[57]. Difficulties are evident in current urban conservation and regeneration efforts in Dublin's north commercial core, which continue to be complicated and stalled by conflict rooted in divergence between policy officials' attempts at impartial assessment of heritage value associated with Ireland's 1916 Easter Rising[58], and the starkly contrasting priorities of professionals and others in wider society. Only if conservation decision-makers make more meaningful and substantive attempts to take account of lay representations of heritage – at all levels from policymaking to individual cases – and reconcile these with professional representations, can there be hope of mitigating these kinds of conservation conflicts rooted in symbolic meaning and identity.

Disclosure Statement

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HOUSING POLICIES AND URBAN CONSERVATION IN ITALY, 1960S-1970S

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The link between conservation planning and housing policies in 1960s and 1970s Italy is one of the under-observed aspects of an apparently well-known chapter of international planning history. A strong urban conservation movement emerged in Italy after World War II and was sustained by a plurality of professional and non-professional activists and stakeholders. Their cultural and political engagement was initially aimed at promoting a reform of the existing planning laws and on a better integration between planning and conservation procedures. By the early 1960s, however, some of these objectives started to appear politically out of reach, and more pragmatic approaches to urban conservation gained centre stage. One of the most interesting aspects of this new phase is the fact that tenants of urban conservation initiatives in the 1960s-70s mostly defended the idea that conservation of historic areas could be successfully achieved by adapting planning tools that had been initially conceived for the urbanization of expansion areas. Historic city centres could be saved not by approving new laws or by forging new and specific instruments, but rather by recognising the potential of instruments that had previously been tested with urban peripheries and newly built public housing schemes. This was especially the case of law 167 (1962) on housing, which for a time was widely seen as a flexible planning tool that could support both the conservation of historic built sectors and the construction of new neighbourhoods in peripheral or semi-peripheral locations, with the aim to achieve an overall reorganization of Italian metropolitan areas.

Keywords
Urban conservation, Housing, Italy, 1960s, 1970s

IBA BERLIN 1984/87: URBAN CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE HISTORIC METROPOLIS

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In the context of the European Heritage Year 1975, urban conservation was mostly related to the image of historic small towns. However, in this context, ideas to "carefully renew" and "critically recunstruct" the metropilitan urban quarters of Berlin from the 18th and 19th century also emerged. Furthermore, the IBA (International Building Exhibition) is often understood as a postmodern development of the 1980s which broke away from the modern urbanism of the 1960s. Most of the ideas finally realised in the 80s had already emerged during the 60s as early and contemporary criticism of functionalist planning. In this paper, I reconstruct the diverse roots of the IBA Berlin 1984/87. They range from conservative criticism of functionalist planning, to progressive social activism in historic urban neighbourhoods, from classical conservation ideas, to innovative planning concepts which included social and historic approaches. They include a political agenda of the local government as well as an architectural agenda of an international architectural discourse. Also, the first ideas and projects of the two IBA-directors, Hardt-Waltherr Hämer and Josef Paul Kleihues, date back to the late 60s. Thus, the IBA Berlin 1984/87 can be understood as a successful synthesis of quite diverse discourses and movements. It combined conservation with development, as well as social and aesthetic aspects.

Keywords
urban conservation, urban reconstruction, long term urbanism

THE CONSERVATION OF MODERNIST URBAN ENSEMBLES: CASE STUDIES FROM AMSTERDAM

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Urban conservation, notably in Western Europe, grew from a reaction to the large Modernist monofunctional sub-urban expansion projects and programmes aimed at rationalising messy multifunctional historic cities. Conservationists responded reactively by celebrating the diversity and multi-layered character of the historic city. In the Netherlands a pragmatic urban conservation approach was developed which found its most clear expression in the Town- and City renewal programmes of the last quarter of the Twentieth Century. Concurrent to this a new dynamic was emerging: an awakening appreciation of Modernist ensembles, built according to the principles of the Modern Movement and the CIAM. The same pragmatic approach has helped to ensure the conservation of these expansive areas, albeit through somewhat radical means. This paper explores in brief the history of the urban conservation movement in the Netherlands, following which novel approaches to the conservation of Modernist utopian townscapes will be presented through recent and current projects from Amsterdam.

INTRODUCTION

The physical extent of what is labelled as the historic urban environment is growing fast in the Netherlands where the appreciation of built environment heritage is expanding ever outward from the oldest parts of the inner cities to now include post-War[1] housing developments, constructed as part of the post-War Reconstruction programme. This provides new dilemmas for conservation and demands the development of new strategies to deal with this non-traditional heritage, a built heritage born from a period of intense housing shortage, which in turn inspired the achievement of a spatial efficiency embodied by the Modernist concept of the 'Existenzminimum'.

In practice, cultural value in itself has never sufficed as sole argument for urban-scaled conservation interventions. This pragmatism has formed the basis for the Dutch urban conservation tradition for more than 50 years. The Netherlands is in essence a middle-class society demanding that urban conservationists continually need to re-align and re-align their cause with social interests. Peter van Dun, a lifelong urban renewal conservationist, wrote in 1997 that: '[t]he history of the protection of city- and townscapes [in the Netherlands] shows that this was not so much concerned with built heritage, but rather with the recognisable living environment and a qualitatively high-end urban renewal strategy directed conservation policy.'[2]

To understand this paradigm it is useful present the evolution of this tradition in the Netherlands to explore its chief characteristics. Following this, case studies will highlight those factors that have recently emerged in the city of Amsterdam.

POST-WAR URBAN EXPANSION

The Netherlands underwent a massive reconstruction programme after the Second World War known as the post-War Reconstruction period, 'Wederopbouw', which lasted until the early 1970s. Post-War conservation efforts of historic urban centra in the Netherlands focussed on repair of individual monuments and recreation of destroyed urban character based on an aesthetic appreciation of traditional street profiles and characteristic 'faces'.[3] Such examples can been seen in the provincial cities Rhenen and at Wageningen, where reconstruction was already initiated during the war. Reconstruction offered opportunities for sweeping modernisation, as was undertaken in Rotterdam.

Starting from the late 1940s, the Reconstruction focus shifted to new-build city expansion. The focus on new suburban townships, jeopardised the historic inner-city, already in a poor state due to the financial crisis of the 1930s and the ravages of war. This brought rapid urban expansion through the construction of new suburban townships. This period brought about a large-scale application of the urban design principles advocated by the CIAM, especially those advocated at its 1933 conference titled 'The Functional City' under the lead of Dutch architect and urban planner Cornelis van Eesteren and the subsequently composed 'La Charte d'Athenes'. Van Eersteren was to become principal planner for the City of Amsterdam, designing the 'Algemene Uitbreidingsplan, AUP' or general expansion plan. Starting from 1947, the national housing production programme became the focus of the Reconstruction, which at its peak in 1972 and 1973, produced 150 000 dwellings per annum.[4]

The first real Dutch urban conservation–and not reconstruction–driven project occurred in the late 1950s. The centuries-old fishing town Veere, a century old fishing port serves as example. This town was to loose its access to the open seawaters due to a large-scale waterworks programme. Conservation and restoration of both individual buildings and the urban fabric could be justified reprogramming Veere for tourism. Out-of-season Veere became a ghost town. The Veere experience was to become greatly influential in the urban conservation tradition of the Netherlands,[5] becoming a hard-earned lesson of the urgency to ensure a functional and sustainable urban vitality over art-historical considerations.

As historic Dutch cities decayed the drive for greenfield housing production started to take the back seat in favour of urban renewal processes. Starting in 1963, the first inner-city slum clearance demolition and rebuild schemes were undertaken. Following international example, these programmes aimed at recreating inner cities as Modern CBD's, completing the total Modernist reconstruction of the Dutch city. This urban renewal strategy was continued through the later 1969 Subsidy Scheme for Redevelopment and Reconstruction Plans and the subsidy scheme of the Ministry of Transport to encourage upgrade of urban traffic and transport facilities.[6] The early 1970s saw the introduction of the term 'city renewal' into Dutch policy, and by 1973 subsidies were being made available to renovate lsited urban monuments and ensembles,[7] but this did not turn the general modernising tide.

Dutch political society was however coming of age and the imposed modernisations lead to civic protest. In Amsterdam civic opposition to slum clearance climaxed on 24 March 1975 when then mayor deployed a force of 800 police officers to clear squatters ('krakers') from the Nieuwmarkt area in the heart of the inner city. The running battle that ensued marked the end of the city renewal program. From here onward the shift would be towards a mitigated approach in which residents would have more say in redevelopment plans. Concurrently the loss of urban identity brought by modernisation led to opposition from conservationist who had been in support of civic opposition movements. Urban conservationists, echoing general consensus, maintained the position that that '[i]ncreasing condensation and mono-functionality, buildings in the businesscentre [sic] rising out of scale, traffic-congestion, they all lead to an increasing erosion of the historic urban fabric.'[8]

That year, through the intervention of civic conservation societies, the Netherlands played host to the European Architectural Heritage Year, with as theme 'A Future for our past'. This led to the formulation of the Declaration of Amsterdam. This codified the principles of integrated conservation indicating that a broad consensus on the importance of urban conservation had been achieved. Conservation now focussed on the larger scale urban form, in a process of 'dynamic conservation,'[9] in service of development. At the core of the Dutch urban conservation movement lies the idea of visual and functional diversity; that '...the historic urban environment provides an identifiable and livable [sic] environment..' and the belief that '...This identifiability, being an essential condition for a well-tempered environment, is eroding rapidly...'[10]

This shift was influential in the first formalisation of the Policy on Urban Renewal of 1977, which budgeted for urban renewal subsidies and instituted planning and programming cycles for housing maintenance and upgrades.[11] The Ministry of Housing and Spatial planning now focussed its attention on larger urban ensembles, morphology, urban identity and the preservation of functional use, utilising the protection of town and cityscapes, a pre-extant protection tool available through conservation legislation since 1961. Urban vitality through improvement of living conditions became the holy grail and Housing subsidies streams were redirected towards inner cities. Conservationist capitalised on this newfound source of funding and actively sought to partner with housing and urban programmes.[12] The concept of historic areas however remained defined in relation the 'historic' inner city where the need for regeneration was concentrated. The 1981 version of the Policy on Urban Renewal explicitly stated that: 'Houses, buildings, streets, canals and squares of cultural-historical value are continually found in the *oldest parts* of the city.'[13] [author's emphasis].

The subsequent 1985 law 'Wet op Stads- en Dorpsverniewing' (City and Town Renewal Act) provided for public investment in urban regeneration underpinned by a strong social agenda.[14] An important aspect from the perspective of urban conservation was that this subsidy was distributed according to a formula which included the so-called 'historical factor'; meaning that areas with historical value received more urban renewal monies than neighbourhoods lacking an overt historical character. This formula was further weighted by including the number of valorised monuments within a local authority, as well as the number of pre-War dwellings and rental houses predating 1931 located in an urban renewal plan area, in the equation.[15] Urban conservation had become an inseparable aspect of urban renewal.

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The 'Beleid van Stadsvernieuwing in de Toekomst' (Policy of Urban Renewal in the Future, BELSATO) of 1991 grew from its predecessors but shifted its focus to the larger metropolitan regions, and importantly aimed at more than physical intervention in the built environment. This programme was initially thought of as a process with a finite end in 2005. However BELSATO was revised in 1995 to become a never-ending contiguous process, and was further codified in the 'Nota Stedelijke Vernieuwing' (Policy on City Renewal) of 1997, which further institutionalised urban renewal processes, now focussing on larger metropolitan areas, in response to a weakening of social fabric in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century neighbourhoods. Through building renovation and demolition and new-build, this policy importantly sought to remodel the social composition of the extant urban areas by, amongst others, a differentiation of the housing stock.[16] This was also the break-through moment for urban conservationists: town- and cityscapes were now no longer relegated to being merely culturally interesting parts of larger cities. They would now be utilized as basis for planning practice.[17] In 2000 the 'Wet ter Stimulering van Integrale Stedelijke Vernieuwing' (Law for Stimulating Integral Urban Renewal) was passed which provided funding for investment in large Dutch cities to counter unemployment, poor housing quality and divestment through urban renewal.[18] These strategies aimed mostly at improvement of neglected areas, inhabited by single-person households, with high unemployment and low rentals.[19] At the core of the strategy was the ambition of *dwelling differentiation,* to attain the holy grail of sustained *urban vitality.*[20]

Throughout the period discussed, urban conservationists had to continuously rely on aligned agenda's, such as social opposition to demolition of squatted buildings, fear of rental increases and gentrification[21] as well and governmental ambitions of quality improvement and social engineering,[22] to support their activities. Alliances had to be formed because, with the exception of outstanding architectural monuments, conservation is difficult to justify as an end in itself, making it difficult to validate spending public money. The conservation movement therefore focussed on the vitality of historic urban centres, promoting an integrated approach to urban development, in which conservation could piggyback on other drivers for investment and slipstreaming along in subsidy streams.

ENTER THE 'YOUNGER' MONUMENT

Despite the fact that younger areas from the period 1850-1940 were receiving some attention from the 1970s onwards,[23] urban renewal processes were mainly aimed at pre-War housing areas. This changed with 1997 Policy on City Renewal and the shift of the focus of urban renewal to larger metropolitan areas.

Urban renewal, with its associated demolition and new-build, reached its peak during the 1980s. At the same time a new dynamic was emerging and a new national programme, the 'Monumenten Inventarisatie Project' (Monuments Inventorying Project, MIP) was initiated in 1987. This aimed to identify culturally significant monuments constructed during 1850–1940. This 8-year programme essentially brought attention to the value and plight of those buildings, ensembles and neighbourhoods most affected by urban renewal processes: those dating to the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century. In Amsterdam this included the Gordel '20–'40 with its Amsterdam School architecture as well as including early Modern Movement housing complexes. These could be legally protected through a 1988 change in conservation legislation.[24] Both the civic movement and the national MIP took cognisance of the urban scale; in fact the identification methodology of the MIP started at the urban scale.[25] A selection process (the 'Monumenten Selectie Project', MSP) followedd in 1991,[26] leading to the listing of numerous so-called 'younger' buildings as national monuments.

As a continuation of the MIP and MSP The City of Amsterdam's monuments care department compiled valuation maps for the Gordel '20–'40, published in 2000. These valuation maps indicate a grading per structure, supporting the City's 'Welstandsnota' (aesthetics policy), guiding the City's aesthetics committee. These include formally protected national monuments as Category I, and protected municipal monuments as Category II, but at

Category III level and lower these maps remain a planning tool, aimed at urban morphological control, retention of form, proportions, material, size, detailing and colouring.[27] Listing as on a valuation map does not imply legal conservation protection for larger areas, but allows for demolition and redevelopment of neighbourhoods motivates if of morphology and character are maintained.

SUSTAINABLE SIBLINGS: LANDLUST AND BOSLEEW. TWO CONTEMPORARY URBAN CINDERELLA'S

It so happened that when the European Foundation for Living (EFL) and housing corporation Eigen Haard launched a pilot project to investigates ambitious energy-upgrades in walk-up housing in Amsterdam, the inhabited municipal monument housing block at Landlust was at the top of the list of properties in need of renovation.[28] These blocks, designed by architects Gerrit Versteeg (sr. and jr.), had been listed as municipal monument. It was here that Landlust the urban principles of the CIAM and the Modern Movement were first applied in Amsterdam to the urban design of Merkelbach and Karsten. The Versteeg prototype developed for a part of Landlust was soon replicated, in slightly altered urban format, between 1938 and 1940 in another section of Bos en Lommer, an area now known as Bosleeuw Midden.

The EFL's ambition of the project was to achieve to passive house standards. Eigen Haard wished to differentiate her housing stock by increasing the size of the individual dwellings. Of principal concern was attaining the buy-in of the residents, not an easy task as Eigen Haard had then been awarded the National Tenants' Association's Black Goblet due to a perceived poor communication with inhabitants.[29]

To change public and resident perception of the block a new narrative was required. Included in this was the project's envisaged energy sustainability investment, which would be offset against the already high energy costs. The block, which had remained nameless for most of its existence, was dubbed 'The Kings' Wives of Landlust'.[30] The original utopian vision of the block was resurrected as romantic ideal and an extensive consultation process was initiated, which included a newsletter. Each edition contained a section on the history and original utopian principles of the project. In the second newsletter heritage and energy featured side-by-side. Under the title 'Comfortable living and a low energy bill' the text presents the assumption that 'energy costs are rising exponentially and form and ever-growing part of living costs.'[31] The energy argument, substantiated by calculation, could convince inhabitants that the increases in rental due to the renovation could be offset against the reductions in energy costs, while inhabitants who wished to remain would almost all be awarded with larger dwellings. This substantiated the total internal demolition of the block, and substantial insulation investment.[32]

The adjacent text block entitled: 'An organic neighbourhood for social inhabitants' praised the original intention of the architects and the urban plan, as well as the aesthetic expression of the building. The newsletter also used the return of the first inhabitants to the block to stress that 'house rules are of all ages' and part of the heritage of this exceptional block.[33]

Energy sustainability had become the driver onto which to hoist the extensive architectural restoration project. This was coupled with a strategic re-branding process in Category to create the required support for the project and a continuous education programme to instil a sense of the uniqueness of the building among its inhabitants.

While the renovation of Landlust was in full swing, the financial crisis of 2009 struck and the subsequent housing market crisis led to Amsterdam enforcing a full construction stop in 2010.[34]

FIGURE 1 Koningvrouwen van Landlust, street façade shortly after completion in 2011

FIGURE 2 Koningvrouwen van Landlust, interior of a dwelling during renovation.

FIGURE 3 The Bosleeuw-Midden building, sibling of the Landlust block, shortly after the 2016 façade renovation.

FIGURE 4 Jeruzalem. The pilot renovation project

FIGURE 5 Jeruzalem. A 2016 photograph of a glazed front door with a poster, reading 'We live beautifully, Jeruzalem stays!'

FIGURE 6 The Slotermeer Airey buildings shortly after construction, once slated for demolition are now being renovated.

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The Bosleeuw-Midden Block, having been slated for demolition, had for a number of years not received much maintenance. The 2010 demolition stop left the owner with an urgent problem: the physical intervention had become urgent and the inhabitants were not inclined to be particularly cooperative. The Aesthetics Commission of Amsterdam had identified the building as in integrated architectural ensemble and aesthetically important to the neighbourhood ('Category II). The main complaints from inhabitants had been regarding the thermal comfort, state of maintenance, and general comfort of their dwellings. The problem now was to install insulation without the associated discomfort of relocating inhabitants. Additionally, an internal insulation installation would reduce the floor area of the dwellings, necessitating reconfiguration of the floor plans.

An innovative solution was developed: external façade insulation, disguised behind a veneer of brick tiles manufactured to resemble the original tiles. New windows and doors were installed forward to mimic the original relationship in the façade. Each dwelling was provided with its own gas-fired heating system, replacing gas furnaces in the main rooms, and solar panels installed out of sight on the roofs. New kitchens and bathrooms brought additional living comfort. This approach negated the need for long negotiations over relocation with inhabitants and retained the original image of the building, thereby conforming to the requirements of the protection the building enjoyed. The ideals of dwelling differentiation and material authenticity were abandoned in the face of more pragmatic considerations.

CONSERVING POST-WAR ENSEMBLES

Post-War housing areas were at most risk of sweeping urban reconstruction plans. In 1999 it was estimated that the rate of demolition of dwellings dating to 1940–1970 would average 25 000 per year,[35] was clear where the next conservation challenge lay.[36] The construction stop of 2010 slowed the demolition and new-build process, but it only in 2010 that the City published the valuation maps for the extensions to the city relating to the Van Eesteren designed AUP in 2010, and allowing for the protection urban morphology.

For conservationists the year 2010 became significant. The pioneering Frankendaal 'Siedlung'–nicknamed 'Jeruzalem' because of the flat roofs and white façades–was the first post-War ensemble listed as a national monument. The collaborative design had been designed by: Cornelis van Eesteren and Jacoba Mulder (urban design); Ben Merkelbach and Charles Karsten (later replaced by Piet Eling) advised by Mart Stam (architecture); and Mien Ruys and Aldo van Eyck (landscape). Frankendaal had been internationally influential due to its demonstration of CIAM principles combined with new technology and typology and was now identified as a prime example of 'Existenzminimum' and Post-War industrialized construction. But the original project had implemented the Dotremont-Ten Bosch system, consisting of vertical concrete posts over which pre-fabricated concrete panels hang, covered by a lightweight concrete-channel flat roof. Now that Jeruzalem was a monument, conservation efforts had to focus on aligning the buildings with contemporary living standards and energy saving requirements.

Jeruzalem-Frankendaal–owned by different housing corporations–had only narrowly escaped demolition to make way for a new energy-neutral housing scheme through the activism of its own inhabitants. But the directive to create an energy-neutral neighbourhood remained. This catalysed a radical pilot project to test future scenarios for the ensemble as an integral part of a larger energy-neutral neighbourhood. The uninsulated dwellings, aesthetically jeopardised by unsympathetic renovations carried out in the 1990s, were severely lacking with regards current standards of energy and climate management and occupant comfort. The first and largest challenge to be overcome was presented by the thermal weakness of the facades, consisting of prefabricated concrete panels on the exterior and a thin masonry diaphragm on the inside. Altogether, these challenges led to dilemmas where and how to apply new layers of insulation while keeping the same facade appearance without reducing the sizes of the tiny interiors. The controversial decision was made to replace the original pre-cast façade panels with new, thinner, purpose-made panels of a similar appearance to providing the required space for cavity insulation.
Despite the architectural success of the project, its cost proved to be prohibitive and no follow-up was undertaken.

To conservationists it became evident that a social consensus for the preservation of post-War neighbourhoods and the resultant financial investment needed to be generally engendered. Conservationists in Amsterdam set out to educate the public in general.[37] The Van Eesteren Museum, founded in 2010, which was established as an indoor museum, an open-air urban collection of buildings in their urban context and a museum dwelling dating from the 1950s. Only its physical morphology of this 'museum' has been identified as valuable in municipal policy documents, the so-called valuation maps. These does not protect the physical buildings themselves and until recently, large parts of the museum, such as the Airey-Nevamo prefab system housing blocks located there, were to be demolished and replaced with new housing of a morphologically similar nature. The effect of the museum on the man on the street in the neighbourhood seems limited. Visitors to the museum mostly consist of architects and students. Local inhabitants are rarely seen here.[38]

This postponed the slated demolition as part of the standard practice for urban renewal in the post-War neighbourhoods, including Slotermeer in Amsterdam's Western Garden Townships.[39] This meant that the housing corporations that owned and managed this stock had to redress the years of outstanding maintenance in neighbourhoods slated for demolition and deal with irate tenants who had taken their poor living conditions as a temporary fact, soon to be alleviated. However, the crisis proved to be a godsend for urban conservationists. Simple crisis economics now called for a new perspective: the demolitions halt lead to a reappraisal of the qualities of the existing housing. When plans had to be shelved, ProWest, an association for the protection of the character of Amsterdam's Western Garden Suburbs, and Heemschut Amsterdam, a civic conservation body, seized this new opportunity. In an open letter directed at the Amsterdam Municipal Council, they argued that the construction stop could have positive consequences for cultural heritage, green infrastructure, liveability and the social structures of these neighbourhoods.[40] This should be read in the context of the urban renewal programme, which aimed at improving liveability, social structures and the open space network. Where formal protection existed, traditional conservation processes could be followed. Where this was not the case, the financial crisis of 2009 dramatically altered approaches to urban renewal, to the advantage of the conservationist cause who had already been agitating for a new perspective.

In 2011 plans were prepared for the demolition of 141 Airey-dwellings in Slotermeer. Through the financial crisis and lack of alternative accommodation of the inhabitants, the owner of the dwellings, Eigen Haard, came to the conclusion in 2015 that this was not a feasible option. In a move widely lauded by conservationists and inhabitants the decision was made to renovate the dwellings instead. Learning from Jeruzalem, the intervention will not replace the original façade panels, but rather insulate the cavities. In Slotermeer other corporations are now following suit and this approach will now also be applied in Jeruzalem itself where inhabitants of blocks that are still not protected are agitating for their dwellings to also become part of the national monuments ensemble. In this project the twin-strategies of creating vitality through dwelling differentiation have been let loose. In a 'back-to-first-principles' strategy, the original sobriety and mono-functionalism of these neighbourhoods are now expressed as having a value all of their own, and their resonance with the social ambitions of sobriety and sustainability are being utilised as carriers of conservation.

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A PRAGMATIC DYNAMIC TRADITION

In the Netherlands, urban conservationist has remained flexible in its principles and utilised opportunities wherever they arose, be that urban renewal programmes or development stops. Adaptive reuse has become the norm, with conservation values being sacrificed to find a dynamic balance between the past and the future. The conservation of Modern Movement architecture poses many problems to conservationists; these include the conservation and restoration of materials. When dealing with larger Modern Movement housing areas, the traditional conservationist arguments of vitality, identity, age and material authenticity fail to impress and the diversification housing stock ideal has, by needs, largely been late go. The Netherlands remains a middle-class society and public opinion remains one of the most important tools in urban conservation. Re-branding of the image of an area–which included re-applying its original utopian intentions as relevant and sustainable–has successfully been employed to maintain cultural historical identity, authenticity and urban qualities. The financial crisis brought a new social sobriety to the Netherlands. This could be aligned to the sobriety of the 'Existenzminum' principles of the Modern Movement and with the drive to sustainability and energy use reduction. These are new arrows in the quiver of urban conservationists. The strength of the Dutch urban conservation movement lies in its pragmatic search for aligned interests to meet its dynamic conservation aims.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes on contributor
Nicholas Clarke, a South African-born architect, obtained his professional degree from the University of Pretoria. He continued his studies at the University of Cambridge, where he earned a master's degree in Environmental Design in Architecture. He has practiced as an architect in South Africa and served as lecturer at the University of Pretoria. He is active in the field of World Heritage, having undertaken a number of Reactive Monitoring Missions on behalf of ICOMOS. He has co-authored and co-edited various books. He is currently registered as a PhD candidate at the Delft University of Technology.

Endnotes
1   The Netherlands remained neutral during the First World War. It is common practice to refer to housing constructed after the Second World War as 'post-War'.
2   'De historie van de bescherming van stads- en dorpsgezichten toont aan dat niet zozeer de zorg voor het gebouwde erfgoed, maar de aandacht voor een herkenbaar leefmilieu en een kwalitatief hoogwaardige stadsvernieuwing richtinggevend zijn geweest voor het monumentenbeleid.' Peter van Dun, "Vijftig Jaar Stedenbouwkundige Monumentenzorg," in *In Dienst Van Het Erfgoed*, ed. Peter Don (Zwolle: Waanders, 2004), 167.
3   Marieke Kuipers, "Dutch Conversations in Conservation," in *Eine Zukunft Für Unsere Vergangenheit. : Zum 40. Jubiläum Des Europäisches Denkmalschutzjahres (1975 - 2015) / a Future for Our Past. : The 40th Anniversary of European Architectural Heritage Year (1975 - 2015)*, ed. Michael Falser and Wilfrid Lipp (Berlin: Bäßler, 2015), 241.
4   Noud de Vreeze, ed. 6, 5 *Miljoen Woningen: 100 Jaar Woningwet En Wooncultuur in Nederland* (Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010, 2001), 60.
5   Van Dun "Vijftig Jaar Stedenbouwkundige Monumentenzorg," 168–69.
6   Hugo Priemus and Gerard Metselaar, *Urban Renewal Policy in a European Perspective: An International Comparative Analysis* (Delft University Press, 1992), 60.
7   Van Dun, "Vijftig Jaar Stedenbouwkundige Monumentenzorg," 174.
8   Peter van Dun and Rob Doctor "The Urban Heritage as a Cultural, Social and Economic Asset. A Concise Manual to Planning the Existing Urban Environment," (s.l.: The Ministry of Welfare, Helath and Cultural Affairs, 1993), 3–4.
9   Kuipers, "Dutch Conversations in Conservation," 242.
10   Van Dun and Doctor, "The Urban Heritage as a Cultural, Social and Economic Asset. A Concise Manual to Planning the Existing Urban Environment," 4.
11   Minsterie van Volkshuisvesting Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer, *Stadsvernieuwing Gemeten : KWR 2000 Maakt Balans Op* (Den Haag: Minsterie van Volkhuisvesting Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer, 2002), 43.
12   Van Dun, "Vijftig Jaar Stedenbouwkundige Monumentenzorg," 174–75.
13   'Woningen, gebouwen, straten, grachten en pleinen van cultuurhistorische betekenis vindt me steeds in de oudste stadsdelen.' Minsterie van Volkshuisvesting Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer, *Nota over de Stads- en Dorpsvernieuwing* (Den Haag: Ministerie van Volkhuisvesting Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer, 1981), 11.
14   Minsterie van Volkshuisvesting Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer, *Stadsvernieuwing Gemeten : KWR 2000 Maakt Balans Op*, 43.
15   Priemus and Metselaar, *Urban Renewal Policy in a European Perspective: An International Comparative Analysis,* 60.

16   Minsterie van Volkshuisvesting Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer, *Nota Stedelijke Vernieuwing,"* (Den Haag: Ministerie van Voklshuisvesting, Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer, 1997), 46–47.

17   Van Dun, "Vijftig Jaar Stedenbouwkundige Monumentenzorg," 167.

18   Ecorys Nederland, *Evaluatie Investeringsbudget Stedelijke Vernieuwing 2000 T/M 2004 (Isv1)* (Rotterdam: Ministerie van VROM, 2006), 11.

19   Minsterie van Volkshuisvesting Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer, *Stadsvernieuwing Gemeten : KWR 2000 Maakt Balans Op*, 45.

20   Just after the 1997 Policy on City Renewal the Belvedere programme was initiated in 1999. It was in force until 2009 and was sponsored by no less than four individual Dutch ministries. This programme was not specifically aimed at the urban environment; its ambition was to align cultural history with spatial planning in a general sense through positioning cultural heritage inspiration for the development of the larger Dutch landscape in general.

21   Refer to the case study on the Rotterdam neighbourhood Hoogvliet:RJ Kleinhans et al., *Terugblikken en Vooruitkijken in Hoogvliet: 15 Jaar Stedelijke Vernieuwing en de Effecten op Wonen, Leefbaarheid en Sociale Mobiliteit* (Delft: Delft, 2014).

22   This continuously revised process, a mix of demolition and new-build and upgrades, had led to a national improvement in housing quality. In 1985 it was estimated that 19% of all Dutch housing was of a poor quality; by 2000 it was 1%. Minsterie van Volkshuisvesting Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer, *Stadsvernieuwing Gemeten : KWR 2000 Maakt Balans Op*, 11.

23   Marieke Kuipers, "Een Weerbarstig Onderzoeksveld Ontgonnen," in *Jaarboek Monumentenzorg 1994. Monumenten Van Een Nieuwetijd. Architectuur En Stedebouw 1850-1940.*, ed. Y. Attema and R. K. M. Blijdenstijn (Zwolle: Waanders 1994), 9.

24   In that same year Docomomo International was founded in the Netherlands as an expert civic group to advocate for the documentation and conservation of buildings, sites and neighbourhoods of the Modern Movement.

25   Rijksdiens voor de Monumentenzorg, *Handleiding Inventarisatie Jongere Bouwkunst en Stedebouw (1850-1940)* (Zeist: Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg, 1987), 11.

26   Rijksdiens voor de Monumentenzorg, *Handleiding Selectie en Registratie Jongere Stedebouw En Bouwkunst (1850-1940)* (Zeist: Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg, 1991).

27   Gijs Bolhuis et al., *De Atlas Gordel: 20-40* (Amsterdam: Stedelijke Woningdienst Amsterdam, 2000), 59.

28   Personal communication, Cees Stam, Eigen Haard, 17 March 2016.

29   Vereniging Eigen Haard, *Reactie Eigen Haard Op Uitreiking Zwarte Bokaal*, http://www.opennieuwsbank.nl/bericht/2005/11/30/E077-eigen-haard.html.

30   An erroneous reference to the names of the wives of Prince William of Orange who himself was never a king.

31   Vereniging Eigen Haard, *De Koningsvrouwen Van Landlust. Nieuwsbrief*, Vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Vereniging Eigen Haard, 2008),

32   The recent drop in energy prices has negated many of the financial gains the interventions were supposed to bring and Eigen Haard continues to subside rentals out of its own coffers to this day. Personal communication, Cees Stam, Eigen Haard, 17 March 2016.

33   Vereniging Eigen Haard,, *De Koningsvrouwen Van Landlust. Nieuwsbrief*, vol. 8 (Amsterdam: Vereniging Eigen Haard, 2011),

34   Tom Damen "Bouwstop in de Hele Stad," *Het Parool*, 2 July 2010.

35   Estimation by Damen Consultants, cited in Hereijgers et al., *De Naoorlogse Stad: Een Hedendaagse Ontwerpopgave*, 30.

36   This manifest itself in the publication of a number of books such A. Hereijgers et al., *De Naoorlogse Stad: Een Hedendaagse Ontwerpopgave* (Rotterdam: NAi, 2001), and S Mussert and H.F.L. Ottens, *Strijd Om De Stad: Sociale En Economische Integratie in De Stedelijke Samenleving* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2002).

37   A historic example of such a programme was the post-War 'Goed wonen' (Living well) project, an education programme pioneered by architects and designers in an attempt to educate the working classes in 'modern living'. Refer to:Noud de Vreeze and Coosje Berkelbach, 6,5 *Miljoen Woningen : 100 Jaar Woningwet En Wooncultuur in Nederland* (Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010, 2001).

38   Personal communication, Van Eesteren museum co-worker, Marieke van der Mark, 18 March 2016.

39   These include the so-called Westentree-, Aireystrook-, and Roland Holstbuurt neighbourhoods. Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsdeel Nieuw-West, *Vernieuwing Slotermeer: Door in Een Ander Tempo* (Amsterdam: Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsdeel Nieuw-West, 2011).

40   Vereniging Promotie Westelijke Tuinsteden ProWest. *De Bouwstop als kans voor het Amsterdamse Erfgoed.* (Amsterdam: Vereniging Promotie Westelijke Tuinsteden ProWest, 2010.) Open letter to the City of Amsterdam Municipal Council.

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Image Sources

Figure 1: ArchiVolt architects digital archive.
Figure 2: ArchiVolt architects digital archive.
Figure 3: NJ Clarke, 2016.
Figure 4: NJ Clarke, 2016.
Figure 5: NJ Clarke, 2016.
Figure 6: City of Amsterdam Archive. Image reference: 5293FO004966

Cartographic Explorations: Mapping as Tool for Knowledge Discovery in Landscape and Urban Planning

Chair: Steffen Nijhuis, Reinout Rutte and Jaap Evert Abrahamse

INTRODUCTION: THINKING WITH MAPS IN URBAN PLANNING AND DESIGN

Steffen Nijhuis

TU Delft

Maps as a product and the process of mapping are both important means for visual thinking and visual communication in order to understand urban landscapes. This paper identifies, describes and illustrates important analytical mapping operations which are used in the field of urban planning and design. Map dissection, comparison and addition allow researchers to 'digest' information in a rational and systematic way, which is a personal process influenced by the choices and judgements made by the interpreter. At the same time, these findings are made transferable via visual representation, which showcases relationships, structures and patterns.

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Perspectives on Urban Reconstruction | *Cartographic Explorations: Mapping as Tool for Knowledge Discovery in Landscape and Urban Planning*

MAPPING DETROIT AND WUHAN: THE DELFT SCHOOL OF MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Henco Bekkering

TU Delft

Historical morphological analysis, applying the method of the Delft school, was conducted for Detroit, MI, USA and for Wuhan, Hubei Province, P.R. of China, respectively in 2009 and in 2015-16. Both research uncovered relevant facts for urban spatial planning in these cities. Though the same method is applied, the results vary greatly due to differences in urban structure, that are comparable by some, but not in most ways. Both Detroit and Wuhan are industrial cities by origin, but Detroit's years of success peaked in the first half of the twentieth century, while Wuhan developed after 1990 with a start around the 1950s. Detroit, once with 2 million inhabitants is now in decline, and Wuhan, with 10.5 million people, is growing. The biggest difference of course is in culture and politics. However, the paper compares the results of the research, not the cities.

MAPPING SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION IN THE WESTERN NETHERLANDS

Iskandar Pané | Otto Diesfeldt

TU Delft

This paper addresses an extensive mapping research to understand the spatial transformation process in the area now known as the Randstad-Netherlands. In this research the focus is on the relation between the development of the building typology, the urbanisation and transformations within the existing city centres of the major cities in the western Netherlands. By mapping three scale levels: the regional, urban and architectural scale and different time sections, the research provides an overall and detailed insight of the relationship between the history of habitation, the urbanisation process, changes in landscape, changes in infrastructure and the urban transformation within the existing cities. Within these architectural studies, not only the maps themselves, but also the method of mapping are products of scientific output, which are based on a typical mapping method whereby a geographical information system (GIS) is combined with historical reconstruction and data analysis.
The study started with the Groeikaart van de Randstad (1850-2000) [growth map of the Randstad, 1850-2000], a map of the Randstad region with the key infrastructural systems – waterways, railways and roads – and the build-up area as the substrate of five successive phases of urbanisation; 1850, 1910, 1940, 1970, 2000. These maps demonstrate the vast urban expansion that has, and still is taking place since 1850. A next step in the study is formed by the development of a map series called: Twaalf eeuwen van ruimtelijke transformatie in het Westen van Nederland [Twelve centuries of spatial transformation in the Western Netherlands]. This series of six maps is not only an extension of the explored timeframe (dated 800, 1200, 1500, 1700, 1900, 2000), but also show the relation between the transformation of the landscape and the urbanisation. Recently we finished our contribution to the study Tekenen en rekenen aan de Zaancorridor [Drawing and calculating on the Zaancorridor]. In this study, led by Henk Engel, both the methodologies of the former mappings are used for the research of twelve station locations in six municipalities in the Province of Noord-Holland. The starting point of this project was the research done earlier on 22 railway station locations as part of the implementation of the Province of Noord-Holland's programme for densification around public transport hubs. The mapping method provides insights into the morphological composition of various towns. In addition the cartographical records generated by the mapping of the town expansions since 1850 yield new facts that can be used for calculation.

Keywords
built-up area, cartography, GIS, infrastructure, landscape, mapping, maps, morphology, Randstad, reconstruction, transformation, typology, urbanization, water structure

EUROPEAN URBANIZATION – PLOTTING THE COURSE FOR LONG-TERM COMPARATIVE OVERVIEWS

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The Netherlands is the most densely urbanized country in Europe. Its crowded landscape of larger and smaller, older and younger towns was formed in the course of the last millennium. Dutch towns have been the subject of extensive research; studies have been published about many aspects of urbanity, historical periods, and individual towns but a long-term overview of urbanization and was never made.

The Atlas of the Dutch Urban Landscape, recently published, is the first national overview of urbanization and urbanism. It describes the roots and subsequent development of this urban landscape and its landscape, economic and political backgrounds. Starting from the appearance of cities today, the Atlas of the Dutch Urban Landscape describes, maps, analyses, and compares the historical development of Dutch towns. It explores their creation and transformation, and the constant renewal of urban practice and intervention. We think that this comparative and synthesizing approach can serve as a model for the analysis of urbanization processes and their decisive factors and actors in other countries.

In this session we would like to plot the course for a comparative, synthezising approach to urbanization in other European countries and on an even larger scale, that of Europe as a whole, by addressing the following questions. Can the Dutch atlas be the starting point for further scientific collaboration on urbanization and urban heritage? What do the urbanization histories of the Netherlands and the rest of Europe have in common, and how do they differ? Will it be possible to outline the foundations for a renewed digital-era European Historic Towns Atlas that will provide historical analysis as a guideline for the development of the European cities?

Keywords
Atlas of the Dutch Urban Landscape, Urbanization patterns, Urban form National overview, European Historic Towns Atlas, Long-term analysis

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THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE TIMES – EUROPEAN CITIES AND THEIR HISTORICAL GROWTH

Ton Hinse

Independent Researcher

This paper addresses radical urban transformation in eight cities across continental Europe. It uses maps to get a grip on the specific qualities of the examined cities: both social and morphological. Examples such as Santa Cruz-Seville, Altstadt-Dresden, Vredenburg-Utrecht amongst others, are subject to cartographic explorations where long stretches of time are analysed through maps, identifying the conditions underlying the transformations and characteristics of urban development.

The cases are from different times, from the middle ages to modernity. This wide range gave room to explore the diversity of the European scope. By covering very different European cultures the cartographic explorations are spread over the European landscape, from the Mediterranean to the North-sea, from late Roman decay to a northern based modernity. Mostly the cultures have an European nature, in one case the source is the Moorish culture of the Mediterranean.

First the historical growth of the eight cities was mapped out to represent the connections between the successive manifestations of urban growth and the connections with the vicinities of the cities. The cases regard urban transformations, which made is possible to clear the reciprocal coherence through time, because preceding configurations were overrun by the new structures. Consecutive maps of the historical growth gives insight into the urban pace and qualities, which resulted in the complex constellations that arose in time.

After that specific drastic social changes has been picked out to manifest that in each case social change became the driving force for radical urban alternation: caused by changes on the political, religious, governmental, military or cultural level. The impact of the canting mental structures on the urban sites gives an astonishing insight of the turbulences in the distinct European spheres, at those specific turbulent times. Each case of reformation is connected with a typical European sphere. The times of the capsize or revolt in the constituting ideas and the thorough effect it had on the urban shape displays the urban incorporation of social reformations. With a consequent way of mapping all those turbulences are manifested.

The research was continued into the architectural level. For that goal the expressiveness of the mapping is translated for the portrayal of the time-bound architecture of the explored period.

The three levels of investigation –the urban history of the cities, close searching of the chosen districts, typical architecture- caused the triptych of urban morphology, typology of spaces and architectural history. All mapped out in a coherence system of rendering.

Past and Present

Chair: Esther Gramsbergen

CYBORG URBANISM – TECHNONATURAL DESIGN, RISK AND RESILIENCE IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

Greet De Block

University of Antwerp

"It was on the level of knowledge, of a more precise and powerful analysis of milieu, with conditions de vie blending biological and social variables, that the cholera epidemic (1832) not only provided a clear impetus for change, but opened the way for new scientific discourses, new administrative practices, and new conceptions of social order, and hence ushered in a long period of experimentation with spatial/scientific/social technologies." (Rabinow, 1989).

This paper analyzes ideas on sociospatial organization inscribed within technonatural interventions in early 19th century Belgium and France. More specifically, a comparison between the social physics of the Belgian statistician, Adolphe Quetelet, and the socio-ecological approach of the Frenchman, Louis-René Villermé, will shed new light on the divergent concepts of nature-society interactions influencing 19th-century 'cyborg' design and the urbanization it had to engender.

Authors like Foucault, Picon, and Rabinow have explained that traditionally architecture and urbanism were the disciplines that offered spatial solutions for social problems, but from the 19th century onwards, with the introduction of new technologies and the emergence of epidemics and revolutions, the major problems of society were of a different type and spatial intervention was entrusted to 'sociotechnicians'. Only a scientifically based practice, infused with an insight in politics, permitted to tackle causality and perpetual progress. In the pre-bacteriological age, the sociotechnician set up a pragmatic, yet holistic compromise combining a scientific interdisciplinary approach avant-la-lettre – relating domains like medicine, engineering and municipal management – with socio-political agendas simultaneously geared towards poverty, disease and capitalist development to help the metropolis function more effectively and safely. Although the nature of the designs is as diverse as the designers themselves, the sanitation projects of the early 19th century fundamentally share the same objective: regenerating society, or better of correcting 'human ecology', by means of technical intervention, combining methods of cartography and calculation with works in the name of the public good. New methods of data collecting and cartography both inspired and underpinned the cyborgs making the urban 'organism' a healthier and more harmonious environment for the human species. Systematic designs for urban transport and sanitation infrastructure, as well as integrated sanitary reforms for entire city quarters emerged out of the explorative entanglement of disciplinary fields and ideologies.

The historical analysis is grounded in a critical engagement with present-day urban issues. It mobilizes history to provide insight and critical reflection on the current urban condition and related design theories and practices. Current resilient design addressing the 'risk society' and questions about programmatic uncertainty are mirrored with 19th century technonatural interventions that aspired to curb impending crises, while facilitating accelerating economic and urban expansion. Placing today's momentum for (re-)inventing design techniques, geared towards upholding 'natural' qualities, in a tradition of technological innovation that steers spatial transformation towards an improvement of 'human' ecology, certainly opens up the discourse for critical reflection.

MEREC-GUARDA: AN ENERGY AND RESOURCE EFFICIENCY PROCESS UNDERMINED BY THE EARLY STAGES OF A DEMOCRATIC SETTING

Cátia Ramos[1] | **Mauro Couceiro**[1] | **Nelson Brito**[2]

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This article focuses on the historical background which lead to the implementation of an EUA programme in a European country; a programme designed for developing countries. To that end, we seek to discern, how 1980's Managing Energy and Resource Efficient Cities (MEREC) methodology has perpetuated in urban planning and architecture practice as well as in the discourses of its stakeholders.

Guarda is a medieval border town (1050m) in the hinterland of Portugal, far away from the impact of metropolitan areas, such as Lisbon or Porto. Guarda kept a balanced urban growth over the years, but demography and key sectors of the economy changed profoundly after the Portuguese democratic revolution (1974).

Serving as an early experience towards city resilience and sustained development, MEREC was a programme developed by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Inspired by the work of Richard Meier (1974), MEREC answered to the growing concerns triggered by the 1970s energy crisis and its consequences. Amid a rapid urbanisation and population growth, increased energy costs and pressure on natural resources, MEREC targeted cities in developing countries which could adopt preventive approaches towards resource efficiency. However, instead of concentrating its efforts on metropolitan areas, MEREC aimed at the development of secondary cities, where most of the growth had yet to come.

From 1983 to 1985, MEREC established a comprehensive planning process, involving Guarda Municipality, central and regional agencies and the know-how of Portuguese universities and private consultants. MEREC identified the city's problems in water supply, urban waste, urban management, changes in local building materials used and scattered urbanisation. Several of these problems had been overcome with the project's completion, the development of Guarda's master plan, research technology, and awareness campaigns.

USAID-MEREC advisors considered the results achieved in Guarda as rewarding. Architect Maria Castro (1989) points out the clarity achieved in the decision-making processes for urban planning and management during the MEREC programme. However, as she notes, discourses and institutional support changed after MEREC. MEREC's methodology was somehow thrown away, suggesting a lack of planning culture among local political powers, unwilling to redirect resources. MEREC happened ten years after Portugal's dictatorship had ended, when the country was committed to the world as a democratic country, facing political and economical instability until its accession to the European Economic Union (EEC), as well as, undergoing deep socio-cultural transformations and striving for development. From 1986 onwards, MEREC programme was hampered by a democratic setting that aimed for development in more immediate ways, regardless of the resource-efficiency strategy proposed.

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INTRODUCTION: A PROJECT FOR MIDSIZED CITIES' RESILIENCE TO ENERGY AND RESOURCE SHOCKS

From 1981 to 1987 the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) developed a project called Managing Energy and Resource Efficient Cities (MEREC). MEREC was a response to growing concerns triggered by the 1970s energy crisis and its consequences. The project targeted rising urban demands on scarce energy and natural resources in developing countries.[1] MEREC's design was inspired by the research of Richard Meier, a US regional planner and system theorist. In his book "*Planning for an Urban World: The Design of Resource-Conserving Cities*", Meier devoted his study to the achievement of urban social justice through scientific and technological solutions. He focused on the study of the environment, energy and resource scarcity and how they interact in cities.[2] Contracted by USAID, Meier *et al* developed a report on "*The Urban Ecosystem and Resource Conserving Urbanism in Third World Cities*".[3] They aimed to develop policies for energy conservation, to design better infrastructures, and examined the resilience of cities to potential shocks in resource availability. They were focused on metropolitan areas, not only because they are the most dependent on energy and resources, but also because large cities' resilience to high levels of urbanization and urban resource consumption that relies on the existence and improvement of mutual relationships inside the city and with its suppliers.[4] This research produced straight forward recommendations[5] for the analysis of urban ecosystems[6] which became part of final MEREC project-design.[7]

Through efforts in addressing concerns related to resources with focus on metropolitan areas, MEREC-AID studies found, that "*smaller cities offered opportunities to build energy and resource efficiency that were in early stages of formation.*". [8] Small and midsized/secondary cities[9] presented a feasible territory for adjusting resource inefficiencies, adopting modest measures with a great economy of means, where institutional backgrounds tended to be more flexible, approachable and, capable to give the easiest and more timely responses to energy concerns. Thus, MEREC's project design undertook action-research consistent of demonstration projects in midsized cities. After a pilot run in Tacloban, Philippines, two other cities followed: Pukhet, Thailand and Guarda, Portugal. In 1983, USAID and the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)[10] signed a project grant agreement with the Portuguese Centre Region Coordinating Commission (CCRC) to implement a MEREC demonstration project in the city of Guarda.

Guarda is an old medieval border town in the hinterland of Portugal, distant from the influences of metropolitan areas like Lisbon and Porto. Since the 1960s, the city experienced a population growth of 40,4%, caused by the rural exodus and the slowdown of the Portuguese European immigration. In 1980, the city had 17.948 residents inside a municipal jurisdiction of 40.360.[11] Guarda's main economic activities were trade and services (40,3%), manufacturing (31%) and agriculture (12,4%).[12] As a mountain city (1050m), the highest in the country, Guarda is located at the northeastern extreme of the Estrela Mountains. Guarda is set up in a granite region with forests and valleys with good agricultural soils.

The MEREC demonstration project was implemented in Guarda from 1983 until 1985, with the financial support of USAID and the technical assistance of TVA. MEREC drew a comprehensive planning process which involved Guarda's local administration, central and regional agencies, Portuguese universities and private consultants. In the 1980s, Guarda was one of the first Portuguese cities to have a sector/resource strategy and action plan that encompassed concerns with regards to energy/resource-efficiency. Although, the USAID-MEREC Guarda initiative mainly supported studies and plans, its projects have been followed through. In 1986, the architect Maria Castro[13] points out the major projects and results achieved: projects on small multi-purposed hydro power stations; projects in water and sewage systems, which intended to overcome the difficulties in the city's water supply, and thus building an efficient network; the updating of technical standards in construction related to energy conservation in buildings, therefore stimulating the use of local building materials (granite and wood); and the preliminary studies of the municipal master plan (PDM), which, as soon as it was legally approved, would become a tool for urban management and local autonomy in urban plannin.[14]
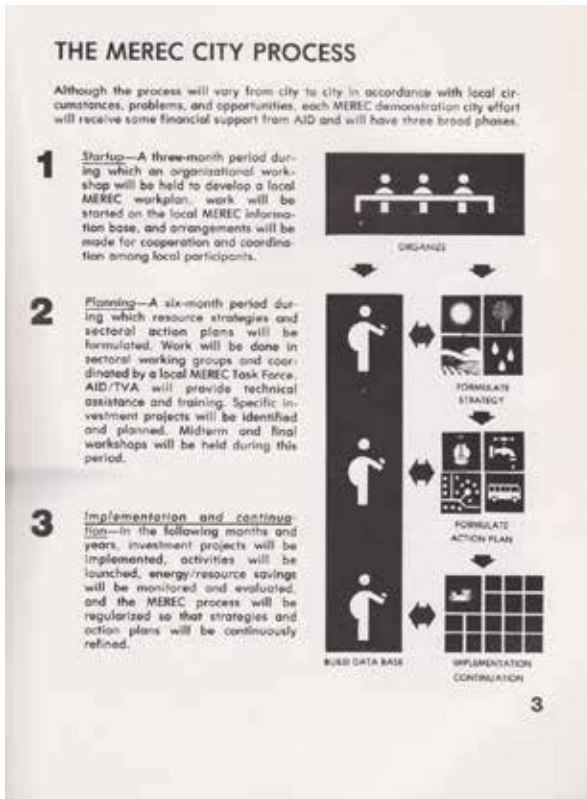
FIGURE 1 The MEREC city process, draws upon a comprehensive planning scheme.
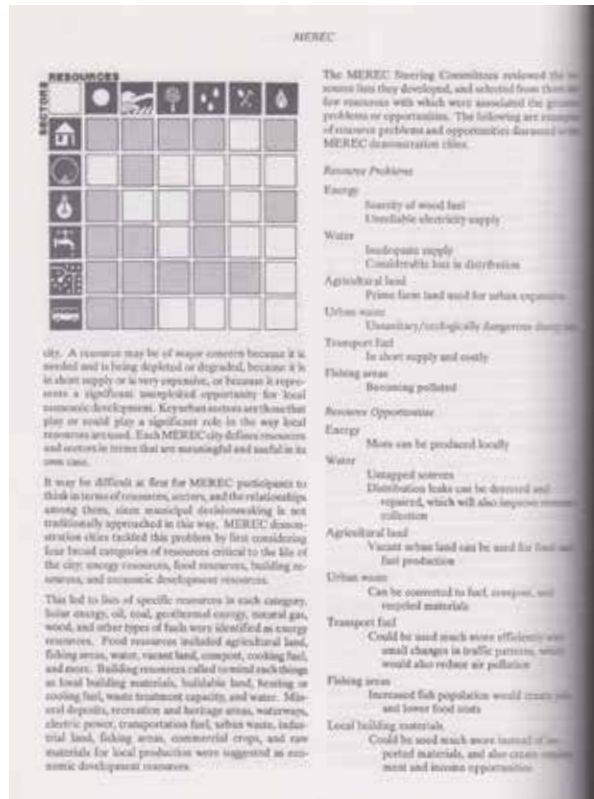
FIGURE 2 Graphic representation of MEREC sector/resource strategy matrix.

METHODOLOGY

Development initiatives such as MEREC, carried out by international organizations such as USAID and TVA, are embedded in a modernist social engineering ideology.[15] We can say that both agencies were drawn within a democratic society, and their goals associated with the values of a stable and liberal democracy. Nonetheless, their impact stretched over to other countries, by investing in economic and social plans encouraging democracy.[16] It's not by chance that in the 1980's, MEREC took place in the Phillipines, a former USA colony, in Thailand, at the time under military rule after a short period of democratic rule, and Portugal just recently under its newfound democracy.

As James Scott argues, we can look at MEREC demonstration project as representation of order and efficiency, which by working on a smaller scale - midsized cities - miniaturises a given order, in this case, an order for resource-efficiency. Yet, the MEREC demonstration project, although it had a pilot run in Tacloban, followed by Pukhet and Guarda, it didn't endure in order to become a "rational form of policy and planning".[17] In our view, this has to do with three aspects. First, MEREC's design did not incorporate the development of large, capital and pure technical exercises. On the contrary, they were dependent upon the enrolment of all stakeholders. Also integration and coordination weren't always attainable, as we will see in Guarda's case. Second, MEREC was an initiative with constraints in time and funding, an initiative that ended after a three year span set by USAID. Furthermore, the compliance with planning principles depended only on the compliance of the states in which USAID worked. Ultimately, the MEREC demonstration project ended after the oil crisis had been forgotten. By 1987, the opportunity for MEREC to achieve another scale was weakened by restrictions in the USAID budget as well as its internal office restructuring.[18]

Cátia Ramos | Mauro Couceiro | Nelson Brito
MEREC-GUARDA: AN ENERGY AND RESOURCE EFFICIENCY PROCESS UNDERMINED BY THE EARLY STAGES OF A DEMOCRATIC SETTING

In this article, we focus on the historical background leading to the implementation of MEREC in Guarda, a programme designed for developing countries. Above we have outlined the consequences which lead to the development of MEREC programme in USAID and its theoretical basis as well as what exactly MEREC consisted of. The following chapter explores the social and political context leading to the implementation of the programme in Guarda, Portugal. We will see, that MEREC was implemented at a time, when Portugal was in the process of shaping itself as a modern democratic country; so were the society, institutions and urban fabrics of its cities. We believe, that the MEREC project in Guarda, represents a local process, or, as Tim Mitchell stresses, a local performance, that reveals the *"efforts, encounters, and struggles in which the nation and its modern identity are staged and performed.".*[19] Portugal, following the end of its dictatorship was looking for new ways to develop its democratic present, within a framework of steep social, political, institutional and economic changes.

The impact of the MEREC demonstration project is evaluated by examining the discourse of its stakeholders, and how its methodology perpetuated in urban management, planning, construction and architecture. We will argue, that, despite the fact of MEREC-Guarda being considered a success in resource-efficiency by all national and international parties, its results and teachings did not persevere. The discrepancies between the aims of a local, regional and central governance under development and wider social changes resulted in difficulties in the perpetuation of MEREC's core concepts. The procedures in urban management, which were implemented during the three years MEREC process, suffered from changes and were hampered by a central administration delaying the legal approval of the municipal master plan (PDM). In the construction sector, MEREC initiatives aiming at the use of local building materials and energy efficiency techniques in building had to cope with the changes of a more liberal society, in which, due to a lack of housing stock, an urgency to build arose, and the reduction of the use of local building materials took place.

FIGURE 3 MEREC-Guarda Logo. All the entities are represented: Guarda Municipality, CCR, USAID, TVA.

FIGURE 4 Guarda in the Centre Region of Portugal, 1986.

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MEREC-GUARDA: AN EXPERIENCE DURING THE MAKING OF THE PORTUGUESE DEMOCRACY

After the Portuguese democratic revolution in 1974 and with the end of the colonial empire, Portugal was finding a way to reposition itself in Europe, and in the world. The 1973 oil crisis surmounted the Portuguese political and social revolution, and, in doing so, weakened its capacity to respond to the international crisis. Portugal wanted to overcome its economic delay in order to achieve European living standards and started building a liberal market without leaving international financial and technical agreements with institutions, such as the EEC, OECD, EFTA and USAID aside.[20] Ultimately, its goal was to become a member state of the European Economic Community (EEC); as it did in 1986. In 1975, in the middle of the cold war, as Portugal signed agreements with countries of the eastern block, the presence and influence of US- Military,[21] diplomats and institutions (like USAID), was perceived as a way to mitigate the red threat.[22]

In 1983, after concluding almost a decade of democratic existence, Portugal was still facing political and economic instability receiving support of the IMF for the second time, when USAID-MEREC arrived. As the Portuguese Central Regional Coordination Commission (CCRC)[23] signed the agreement with USAID, Portugal could not be considered a developing country anymore. In 1985, Santos argues, that Portugal was somewhere in between the social indicators which set first and third world countries apart. In comparison to the levels of social capitalist production, it appeared different, with high levels of social reproduction through consumption practices.[24] However, Portugal was still a developing country in terms of energy conservation, based on low levels of energy per capita[25] left behind by the previous regime. In addition, the dictatorship had maintained an accentuated asymmetrical relation between an urban/industrial infrastructural coastline development since the 1930s, from Porto to Lisbon/Setúbal. Thus, all the regions that didn't provide raw material for industry were somehow boxed up by themselves.

MEREC project took place during a time of national and regional self-assertion. Portugal needed to overcome the enclosure, as its hinterland had been left highly dependent on central governance.[26] Additionally, newly democratically elected municipal governments were only a decade old. In 1977, the Portuguese law was handing over authority for economic and social development, planning and infrastructure requirements to local governments.[27] In strengthening financial capacities, municipal power was reinforced and gave rise to the fulfilment of the population's interests and lead to a large infrastructural development, which enabled local economies.[28]

MEREC-GUARDA ON DECENTRALISATION, URBAN MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING

It was due to the interest of Manuel Porto, head of CCRC, that MEREC happened in Guarda. After a visit to the TVA, he envisioned MEREC as an approach, as a tool for regional development.[32] He also believed, that empowering municipalities, in giving them new capacities and abilities to work together, would be a better way for achieving greater responsibilities in regional social and economic growth for them. [33] Consequently, it would decentralise power as well as technical capacities. As for the municipal president Abílio Curto, he welcomed MEREC to the city at a time when all municipalities were engaged in strengthening their roles.[34] Therefore, according to him, MEREC was a pioneer project that brought all levels of governance to the table. In 1983, MEREC built an integrated steering committee with municipal, regional and central government agencies, along with Portuguese universities and private consultants. These stakeholders were engaged in a planning process, that by acting on energy conservation, could, as MEREC consultants point out, attract *"funds for improving the quality of urban life"* and contribute to *"advancing decentralization of capacity and authority of lower levels of government."*.[35]

In fact, what contributed to such an encouraging conclusion of MEREC's consultants was a three year process (1983-1985), which, set a framework for energy and resource efficiency in that time span and at all levels in examining local and regional opportunities. This was achieved by empowering the municipality with technical resources. João Rebelo, engineer and MEREC regional-coordinator, emphasises, that the majority of the Portuguese municipalities were fragile structures with a striking absence of technicians in several domains.[36] In *"Managing and Planning Resources at a Local Level"*[37] Rebelo talks about MEREC's methodology, Guarda's project and its expansion to seven other cities in the Centre Region of Portugal after USAID left Portugal.[38] Rebelo outlines the upsides of MEREC as follows: resources survey, clarification and definition of responsibilities, coordination of several administration levels, pedagogical and formative action, urban management improvement, search for requisite funding.[39] However, Rebelo is aware of the difficulties that the Portuguese regional development strategy faced. First, Portugal lay behind Europe in economic, political and social structural changes, taking place since World War II. According to him, those changes just started to occur after Portugal signed the agreement with the EEC.[40] Secondly, Portugal needed a *"coherent strategic training project for all actors in planning, regional and local development"*.[41] MEREC exposed the difficulties in urban management: in information flow, in the dialogue between local department offices as well as the local and central administration. Thirdly, MEREC outlined the importance of discussion, in order to assess problems and opportunities, clarifying concepts, setting strategies, and also the importance for decentralised technical capacities. And finally, for a local administration to achieve the capacity to manage and implement plans, it was crucial that the technical means existed.[42] But, with small technical structures, the local administration depended upon the funds from the central and regional administration to establish offices for technical support, GATs. [43] When technical grants ended, technicians left, taking with them the possibility of resource-knowledge transfer to occur.

Trough MEREC, Guarda gained capacities in strategic development, urban design and management, and the municipal master plan (PDM) became a tool for accomplishing projects pointing towards resource conservation. Eric Chetwind, regional planner and USAID advisor, says, that Guarda was the best example of the value of land use planning and resource conservation."*Because land use is cross cutting, affects most of the other sectors. [...] including energy and resource conservation."*.[44] Throughout MEREC studies in the PDM it was possible to set *"a major step in gaining control over the use of the urban land resource and managing it for its highest and best use"*.[45] In 1989 Maria Castro, architect, planner, and MEREC local team-leader, pointed out the achievements of MEREC in land use planning and urban management until 1986. In 1983, due to Guarda's population growth the city presented a scattered urbanisation, that threatened agricultural lands through the expansion of urban neighbourhoods. Then, during the MEREC project, within the sector of land use, it was possible to achieve a *"transparent and peaceful urban management"*.[46] MEREC established a working process, that allowed for the interconnection of the municipal departments and central administration through dialogue. According to Castro, that dialogue engaged all participants in practicing joint decisions, that overturned the absence of planning tools and rules for land development. This formed a common understanding around the master plan, looking at it like a process of continuous and joint interactions between all actors and ac

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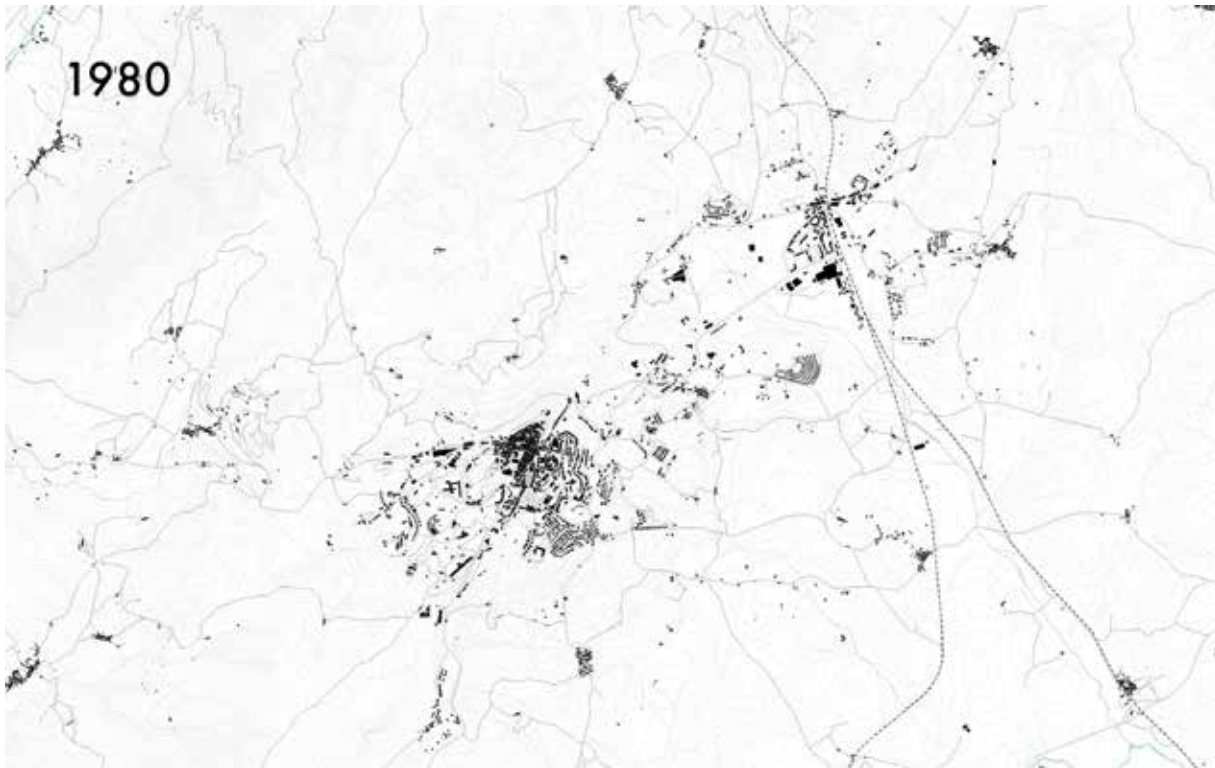
FIGURE 5 1980s Guarda city map

FIGURE 6 Guarda's North cityscape in the 1980s. Photography by Leah Bendavid-Val.

FIGURE 7 MEREC campaign on Master Plan. "Master Plan: Economic Council Development, Preservation of heritage values, Improvement of the quality of life. - DON'T BUY LAND WITHOUT MAKING SURE OF ITS CONSTRUCTION AVAILABILITY. (!) (...) CHECK WITH THE CITY HALL (!)"

FIGURE 8 Local Newspaper with an educational campaign on the safeguard of traditional architecture ."TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE IS AN IRREPLACEABLE CULTURAL HERITAGE(!) LET US NOT ALLOW IT'S DISAPPEARANCE(!)"

When Guarda's urban perimeter was defined, MEREC sponsored a campaign for housing developers and other small private investors, so that they could be informed on the construction-feasibility of the land. After this, the pressure to build outside the new urban perimeter decreased. Nonetheless, inside MEREC's local office an effort was made to tackle urban design. They aimed to improve the urban design quality of adjacent real estate development projects by avoiding *cul-de-sac* solutions and the absence of green areas or other facilities.[48]

Castro aimed for the completion of the PDM in 1987, which did not occur. The PDM's legal approval by the central administration had been delayed. Therefore, the political instability between 1974-1987 contributed to a translation in planning, which ended in *"eight different prime ministers, with eleven different ministers responsible for planning."*.[55] The Portuguese legislation for PDMs was enacted in 1982,[56] and the architect and urbanist Nuno Portas integrated the working groups who were responsible for it. Though he saw in the PDM a tool for orchestrated local and regional development, he criticized the uncertain position in which PDM was found in 1988, when he encountered a central administration that was incapable to comply with it.[57] Ultimately, the Portuguese need for absorbing community funds and public expenditure on infrastructure lead towards to the obligation to conclude planning processes for municipalities at the end of 1990.[58] In this framework, as Castro argues, the negotiation with the central administration was hindered by its disregard for the work done by the municipalities, favouring only its legal compliance.[59] Consequently, Guarda's master plan found its legal approval only in 1994, nine years after its first studies were made with MEREC's support.

MEREC-GUARDA AND THE DEMISE OF TRADITIONAL ARCHITECTURE AND MATERIALS

In Guarda, MEREC's civil construction sector invested in technology research. They updated building codes and construction standards, thus, promoting energy efficient solutions adapted to Guarda's climate. Four brochures had been published, which explored new construction techniques that proposed the thermal insulation of walls and roofs, increasing thermal comfort between wide temperature ranges, and so consequently leading to energy savings on heating. These brochures were accompanied by a local survey on existing granite quarries. MEREC's project design aimed at the use of local building materials - granite and wood - with the intent to stimulate geological and forested resources, thereby enhancing the local economy. Efforts in this sector resulted in the construction of new primary schools and a community centre, making use of new efficient design solutions and local building materials. Architect and CCRC MEREC team member João Mendes Ribeiro, expresses the positive results of those experiences: *"It was possible to use local building materials with the same cost per square meter [than other materials], in some cases it was possible to reduce costs. Therefore, the quality of construction clearly increased.".*[60] Furthermore, several educational campaigns made their way through meetings with building contractors and local newspapers, in order to encourage energy efficiency. Also, MEREC was providential to a jeopardized historical centre. Research studies and campaigns on the construction sector were paramount to the ongoing rehabilitation of Guarda's historical centre, as for the awareness on the importance of traditional architecture in cultural heritage.

Yet, it's in the assertive discourse of architect Maria Castro that we find an unpleasant portrait of Guarda"...*we started to witness situations of urban dispersion and of defective growth, with buildings of disproportionate and megalomaniac gigantism, with a civil construction of bad quality, irreversible misappropriations in buildings of historic value or regretful destructions of the natural landscape. This, facing the blindness or even the applauding of the residents and the local responsible people, obsessed with a mirage of progress which they presupposed, and in some cases presuppose, to be living.".*[61]Architect Sérgio Gamelas, MEREC civil construction coordinator, reports, that the use of old building techniques, which applied wood or granite, in comparison to new market solutions, which required less maintenance were becoming costly,[62] and, people considered the price a decisive factor.

The use of local building materials and energy efficiency concerns did not match this society in its transformation. It was in the mid-1970s, after the return of immigrants, that the housing shortage was overcome by the idea of a nation of house-owners.[63] Castela shows, how private construction material companies, through advertisements in national newspapers, adopted a concept of urgency in nation-building, pointing to the separate family house.[64] With the Portuguese accession to the EEC, the financing of the Portuguese economy, businesses in housing and construction gained ground. In addition, Villanova *et al* conclude, that immigrants were culturally changed by their access to other consumption models, and they participated in an aesthetic, spatial, and material transformation of landscapes.[65] This favoured a society which quickly reached new patterns of consumption and life aspirations, and where a cultural need to break with the rural image set by the former dictatorship became important. It took some time, namely through the implementation of Community Directives into national law, until conceptions for building materials and energy efficiency became part of the Portuguese building culture

CONCLUSION

In an interview, MEREC advisor and regional planner, Bendavid Val was asked about how he would evaluate the MEREC project and how he would assess the results. He responded, that he can see the environmental and resource benefits immediately, and that *"… the real lasting impact is the institutional impact, and the impact on the way institutions operate (…)".*[66] Clearly, Guarda benefited from the three year long MEREC experience, and saw environmental and resource benefits in water consumption, sewage systems, planning and construction. However, the institutional impact can only be measured by the expansion of the experience by the CCRC to seven other Portuguese cities, after USAID and MEREC advisors left Portugal.

Could MEREC methodology endure in time? Although, the path for city's energy-resource-efficiency proposed by MEREC, brought upon a highly collaborative process between technicians and institutions through action-research projects, the political interest regarding resources was hushed up in the years that followed. MEREC's effectiveness relied upon the response and cooperation of all stakeholders in order for its principles to achieve a deeper socio-political impact. The MEREC planning strategy was undermined by a modern democratic state in its early stages of construction. The political instability of the Portuguese state and its reorganization reflected upon its institutions (central and local) and in the unassertive way in which modern planning tools were used.

An impact of MEREC in time could only be achieved through the engagement of a real political interest in energy and resource efficiency. The end of the oil crisis marked the end of the MEREC programme within USAID. And, with the Portuguese accession to the EEC, Portugal entered a path of accelerated development, establishing a consumer society with consumer habits, not particularly engaged in adopting nor assuring energy efficient measures in housing or other urban sectors. In Guarda's case, this had consequences for the urban landscape, infrastructural development and the quality of housing stock. The compliance with MEREC methodology, was compromised by its institutions, through a highly centralized institutional context, and a tough political will in a local environment which lacked training and technical support. As we have seen, MEREC's project was surpassed by a democratic setting that sought a major overhaul as a means to promote a rapid modernisation. There was a mismatch between what MEREC proposed, and Guarda's misguided political conception of progress between institutions and society expectations.

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Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest is reported by the authors.

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Figure 1: Bureau for Science and Technology AID, 'MEREC: Field Manual' (USAID. Bureau for Science and Technology Office of Multisectoral Development, 1982), 3.

Figure 2: Avrom Bendavid-Val, 'More with less: managing energy and resource efficient cities' (USAID. Bureau for Science and Technology Office of Multisectoral Development, 1987), 34.

Figure 3: Avrom Bendavid-Val, 'More with less: managing energy and resource efficient cities' (USAID. Bureau for Science and Technology Office of Multisectoral Development, 1987), 49.

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Figure 5: © Cátia Ramos.

Figure 6: Avrom Bendavid-Val, 'More with less: managing energy and resource efficient cities' (USAID. Bureau for Science and Technology Office of Multisectoral Development, 1987), 42.

Figure 7: Eduardo Lourenço Municipal Library: Newspaper Archive [RP-227].

Figure 8: Eduardo Lourenço Municipal Library: Newspaper Archive [JP-14].

Figure 9: Eduardo Lourenço Municipal Library: Newspaper Archive [RP-227].

Endnotes

1   Avrom Bendavid-Val, 'More With Less : Managing Energy and Resource Efficient Cities' (USAID. Bur. for Science and Technology. Ofc. of Multi-sectoral Development, 1987)

2   "Only in the highly organized, carefully designed, and globally interconnected metropolises does any hope exist for coping successfully with prospective resource scarcities. Cities must diversify activities, acquire new competencies, preserve knowledge, and accumulate structure in dimensions and directions that are only becoming evident. In the long run they should be able to provide the stable natural environment within which the further evolution of living species, including man, will be accelerated." Richard L. Meier, *Planning for an Urban World: The Design of Resource-Conserving Cities* (M.I.T Univ Press, 1974), 1–7, 19.

3   The authors examined the cities of Seoul, Hong Kong, Manila, Mexico City and Osaka. Richard L. Meier et al., 'Urban Ecosystem and Resource - Conserving Urbanism in Third World Cities' (Energy and Environment Division of Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory and Institute for Urban and Regional Development at UC Berkeley. Contract No. WW/0003-2-79., March 1981), 5–6.

4   Ibid., 5.

5   The recommendations pointed towards the importance of information and knowledge resource transfer regarding energy; the promotion of biomass projects; the integration of agricultural production in the vicinity of urban lands; the promotion of soft modes of transportation; the creation of institutional and financial engagements for projects aiming to save fuel, food and water; enabling technologies that perform in resource-efficiency; and finally, the use of advanced research to overcome inefficient use of resources revealed by a ecosystem analysis. Meier et al., 'Urban Ecosystem and Resource - Conserving Urbanism in Third World Cities', 6–7.

6   "The urban ecosystem we propose to explore and develop views cities as the loci of living populations interacting with the built and artificial environment. [..]. Transactions in the city require energy and other resources with different amounts of order (knowledge and organization) to maintain life, resources, and particularly energy, are supplied in the form of food and fuel, and indirectly in the form of material inputs. There is implicity, therefore, an energy accounting system, just as there is an accounting system for money." Meier et al., 'Urban Ecosystem and Resource - Conserving Urbanism in Third World Cities', 8.

7   Eric Chetwynd and William Miner, *Pioneering Urban Development Policies and Programs in USAID (1970-1982)*, Unpublished Work, n.d., 189.

8   Bendavid-Val, 'More with less : managing energy and resource efficient cities', 1.

9   MEREC was implemented in cities with diverse population sizes from 40.000 to 100.000. Ibid., 1–2.

10 TVA was an achievement of Roosevelt's New Deal Planning. Peter Hall argues that until 1936 TVA was perceived in its early years as one of the great examples on regional planning and grass root democracy, changing thereafter. Since the 1940's, TVA is an energy agency of USA. *cf.* Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 183–188.

11 INE, *Recenseamentos da População e da Habitação* (Lisboa: INE - Statistics Portugal, 1981).

12 Ibid.

13 Architect and Planner Maria Castro was a technician of Guarda Municipality until 1988 and the MEREC-team Municipal Planning Coordinator until the end of the MEREC demonstration project in 1985.

14 Maria José Abrunhosa de Castro, 'Projecto Merec: Guarda Cidade Piloto', *Oppidana: Boletim Municipal*, November 1986, Ano 1 n.º 0.

15 James Scott argues, they stand for a high-modernist vision, that exclusively relies in a vision of rational, techno-scientific progress, which emerged after the I world war. James C. Scott, *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, Yale Agrarian Studies (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 5, 90.

16 Timothy Mitchell argues about the role of USAID in transforming egyptian agriculture, property and economy by USAID since the 1970s and the use of the 'democracy' flag. Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts : Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 209–41.

17 Ibid., 257.

18 Eric Chetwynd, Interview with regional planner and USAID MEREC advisor Eric Chetwynd on MEREC, 17 October 2012.

19 Timothy Mitchell, 'Heritage and Violence', in *Rule of Experts : Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernit* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 183.

20 José Ferreira, 'Portugal Em Transe', in *História de Portugal*, ed. José Mattoso, vol. 8 (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1994), 140–148.

21 We cannot forget the role of Great Britain and the United States in the military base of the Azores at the end of the II World War, and the Portuguese integration in NATO. Ibid., 185.

22 Camilo Cortesão, Interview with architect and MEREC consultant Camilo Cortesão on MEREC. 15 February 2016.

23 Regional Coordination Commissions were created in 1979, as an extension of the Ministry of Interior, providing support and coordinating municipality's activities. CCRC department provided support on local resources, statistics, economics, and technical training for the municipality and offices for techinal support (GAT offices).

24 Boaventura de Sousa Santos, *Estado E Sociedade Na Semi-Periferia Do Sistema Mundial: O Caso Português* (Lisboa: Análise Social, 1985), 869–870.

25 Sofia Henriques, 'Energy Transitions, Economic Growth and Structural Change Portugal in a Long-Run Comparative Perspective' (Dissertation (Monograph) Economic History, Lund University, 2011), 202.

26   César Oliveira and Nuno Monteiro, História dos Municípios e do Poder Local [dos finais da Idade Média à União Europeia], Grandes Temas da Nossa História (Lisboa, 1996), 313.

27   Public water supply, sewage system, municipal roads, primary schools, markets. Diário da República, *Lei* n.º79/77 [Duties and powers of local authorities and respective organs] Atribuições das autarquias e competências dos respectivos orgãos, 1977.

28   Ferreira, 'Portugal Em Transe', 1994.

29   Abílio Curto, Interview with Guarda's municipality president Abílio Curto on MEREC, 14 March 2016.

30   Between 1960's and 1970's Guarda had one of its highest population rates (36.1%), due to the decline of rural population, and the slowdown of the Portuguese European immigration. That rate continued to increase in the following decades (3.1% in 1981 and 5,0% in 1991). From 1970 to 1981, we have to attribute this positive rate to the returnees from former Portuguese colonies.

31   Maria José Abrunhosa de Castro, 'Guarda: MEREC e PDM, 3 anos depois.', *Sociedade e Território*, no. 9 (July 1989): 45.

32   Chetwynd and Miner, *Pioneering Urban Development Policies and Programs in USAID (1970-1982)*, 207.

33   Manuel Porto Manuel Porto, "A adesão à CEE: implicações para a política de desenvolvimento regional em Portugal." Separata do Boletim da Faculdade de Direito: Adesão à Comunidade Europeia; Portugal, Desenvolvimento Regional. (1983):18-19.

34   Abílio Curto was the President of Guarda Municipality for almost 20 Years (1976-1995). Curto, Interview on MEREC.

35   Bendavid-Val, 'More with less : managing energy and resource efficient cities', 57.

36   João Rebelo, Interview with engineer and MEREC regional coordinator João Rebelo on MEREC, 10 August 2012.

37   João Rebelo, 'Gestão e Planeamento de Recursos a Nível Local: o caso do projecto MEREC.', *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, no. 25/26 (1988): 223–40.

38   USAID assistance ended after Portugal's accession to the EEC, in 1986. Even though, MEREC's working methodology towards resource efficiency was then expanded to other seven cities in the centre region of Portugal: Aveiro, Castelo Branco, Covilhã, Figueira da Foz, Leiria, Mangualde, Viseu. However, Architect Camilo Cortesão, MEREC consultant, and Architect João Mendes Ribeiro from MEREC's regional team, unanimously say, that the results were not so compelling as in Guarda's project.
     Cortesão, Interview with architect and MEREC consultant Camilo Cortesão on MEREC; Ribeiro. Interview with architect and MEREC's regional team member João Mendes Ribeiro on MEREC, 02 October 2012.

39   Rebelo, 'Gestão e Planeamento de Recursos a Nível Local: o caso do projecto MEREC.', 225.

40   In the 28th of March of 1977 Portugal made its request for EEC membership.

41   Rebelo, 'Gestão e Planeamento de Recursos a Nível Local: o caso do projecto MEREC.', 226.

42   Ibid., 227–229.

43   GAT, *Gabinte de Apoio Local* is the Portuguese acronym for "Office For Technical Support". GATs were created and funded by the central administration, and were responsability of the CCR and municipalities. These offices provided technical support to the municipalities, augmenting their technical domains in architecture, engineering, economy, etc.

44   When asked about how land use was included in to Guarda's resource strategy. Eric Chetwynd, Interview with USAID MEREC advisor Eric Chetwynd on MEREC, 17 October 2012.

45   Bendavid-Val, 'More with less : managing energy and resource efficient cities', 57.

46   Castro, 'Guarda: MEREC e PDM, 3 anos depois.', 45.

47   Ibid., 45–46.

48   Ibid., 46–47.

49   Ibid., 45.

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52   Curto, Interview on MEREC.

53   INE-Statistics Portugal.

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UNLOCKING THE PAST TO RE-ENACT ROTTERDAM'S FUTURE: A PROFESSIONAL'S VIEW ON PLANNING HISTORY

Martin Aarts

City of Rotterdam

To implement policy, spatial planners depend on common narratives. This is also the case in Rotterdam. But what sets a port city like Rotterdam apart is that its recent history is influenced by dramatic and traumatic events. The present is therefore locked in by its past and certainly holds back a successful future. Nevertheless, a new perspective for the port is sorely needed, given the vulnerable position of a future without fossil fuels. That's why the OECD argued in 2013 that huge economic benefits could be achieved if the ports and cities worked together more effectively. However, to accept this challenging advice, the question must be answered: "How can Rotterdam strip its historical grown lock-in of a big port with a small city and look for a more synergetic future?" The international Isocarp Congress 2015 provided an opportunity to unlock the past and re-enact Rotterdam's future by bringing together experts from municipalities, port authorities and universities. The intention was to research the impact of international orientated ports embedded in the local social-economic network or "How to develop unprecedented port city synergy?" It became clear that the histories of other port cities could serve as imaginaries for the future of Rotterdam. They show that a successful port can in fact boost an urban economy.

INTRODUCTION

Historically, port and city had strong symbiotic relationships. These began to erode from the second half of the 20th century on (Bird, 1963). This development was particularly prevalent in Rotterdam. The construction of a major transit port made it possible for Rotterdam to transform from a merchant city into a transit city after 1850 (Van de Laar, 2000). During the planning stage of a railway link from Amsterdam to Paris, the discussion focused solely on the position of the railway bridge, which should by no means affect the German hinterland or port of Rotterdam. The result was a railway viaduct right through the heart of the city, with disastrous consequences (Aarts, Maandag, 2000).

Looking back, the construction of the railway viaduct was the starting signal of a future in which the city increasingly lost its significance, giving rise to the narrative of a port that brought economic prosperity under its own steam. It is only over the past 25 years that serious investments have been made in the city once more, and this has recently lead to widespread recognition. This is of great significance for Rotterdam because the way people perceive the city centre affects the way people perceive the entire city and region (Marlet, 2009).

Due to its history, Rotterdam continues to be known as "the big port with the small city" to this very day (Daamen, 2015). This lock-in relationship may become detrimental for the future of this great port, since nowadays cooperation between port and city region is a prerequisite for economic growth (OECD, 2013).

However, to counter the advance of the large transit port independently from the 'small' city, it is essential to demonstrate the economic potential of the synergy of the port with the 'large' urban region. This is an agglomeration of about three-and-a-half million inhabitants and more than ten thousand companies, all more or less dependent on the logistic capacity of the port, such as the maritime and food cluster. It is necessary to look at alternative histories of other ports to find out what such a synergistic advantage could look like.

To investigate this, the city, together with the port authority of Rotterdam, organised an international workshop, during which experts from the government, port facilities and world of science shared their experiences and research. The aim, however, was not only to come up with a sustainable future for the port city, but also to define an alternative for the disruptive consequences of what is known as 'the next economy' (Rifkin, 2013). This interactive research method is aimed at facilitating a move into action. 'Re-enact the future' is an active work method that aims to break through the lock-in and facilitate taking action (Termeer & Kessener, 2007). This paper intends to demonstrate the vitality of history by reactivating it for a discussion about the future of the port city of Rotterdam.

UNLOCKING THE PAST

FIRST THE PORT, THEN THE CITY

In the fourteenth century, Rotterdam was a small town on the river Rotte and was home to river fishing, shipbuilding and some trade. Over time the city developed into a true trading port. The construction of a major transit port made it possible for Rotterdam to transform from a merchant city into a transit city after 1850 (Van de Laar, 2000). By the 1860s, Amsterdam started to regain its historical position. At the same time, Rotterdam's elites had consolidated their city's role as a transit port (Schijf, 2011). The opening of a new waterway (de Nieuwe Waterweg) in 1872 signalled the start of Rotterdam's huge growth (Daamen, e.a 2013). Rotterdam wanted to preserve its newly acquired position as a successful port city compared to competitor Amsterdam at any cost. Every effort was made to ensure that a new rail link from Amsterdam to Paris was routed through Rotterdam (Van de Laar, 2000). Even the German hinterland interfered with this issue because they were afraid that the newly

constructed railway bridge would affect the logistics of the port. The final solution was found by constructing a rail route that ran right through the centre of the city. The consequences of this railway viaduct were dramatic. It resulted in the loss of the most representative public spaces and changed what was perceived as a 'delightful' city into an 'ugly' city (Aarts, Maandag, 2000). That's why new plans for urban expansion on the west side of the city were supplemented with ideas for a new centre (Moscoviter, 1993).

When Rotterdam finally became the largest port in Europe around the year 1900, this plan became a reality in the periphery of the historical city. The Coolsingel was filled in to make way for this new representative city centre that belonged to this great port. The Coolsingel was meant to become a metropolitan boulevard, like the new boulevards in Paris and Brussels (Aarts, Maandag, 2000). The attempt to complete this new centre was crushed when World War II broke out and the historical city centre was wiped out during the bombing in May 1940.

The trauma of the bombing in particular contributed to the fact that Rotterdam continued to work on its future as a transit city after the end of the war. The motto was 'first the port, then the city', and the city was designed specifically as a worker's city. This time, however, there was a future without a past.

A plan, the so-called 'Basisplan', was drawn up to this end in 1945, a blueprint for the reconstruction of the city: intended to have no or very few inhabitants. It expressed the wish to be modern - in the American definition - as downtown. The most obvious explanation given was that a port city by nature was focusing on the future (Blijstra, 1965).

It was also regarded as logical that the reconstruction of the port took priority over the rebuilding of the city. The consequence was, however, that the port became the biggest in the world in 1962 on the one hand and, on the other, that the inner city still was neglected. The biggest problem, which obstructed further successful development, was the ideology that those with higher incomes were not allowed to live in the inner city. Even after 50 years of reconstruction, this translated into no density, no public good space and no inhabitants and, consequently, a poor cultural life.

Nevertheless in the nineties plans were developed for an extension of the port with the "Tweede Maasvlakte", to keep a leading position in container transhipment in Europe. This investment, mainly financed by the city itself, was motivated by the idea that: "if the port is successful, Rotterdam is successful as well. At the same time there was a lack of other forms of employment in this post-industrial era. The result was the exodus of middle-ranking professionals to other cities (Schrijer, van der Zwan, 2004). There was a turning point however. The historic decision to become a radical modern city began to waver during those years. It became cautiously possible to build houses for higher income groups in the inner city. Later on, it actually became a municipal policy. Plans were made and carried out to develop the neglected old harbours in the city for this typical inner-city audience.

When the railway viaduct was replaced by a tunnel in 1995, it was time to create plans based on the pre-war structure of the city. Rotterdam's cherished identity may have been 'modern', but the fact that their city had an interesting history was a breath of fresh air for most residents. Meanwhile, all plans for the inner city, including an expansion across the river, were explicitly based on housing. More residents living in the inner city was undoubtedly part of the success that gave the city its current fame (Tillie, 2012).

UNLOCKING THE PAST TO RE-ENACT ROTTERDAM'S FUTURE: A PROFESSIONAL'S VIEW ON PLANNING HISTORY
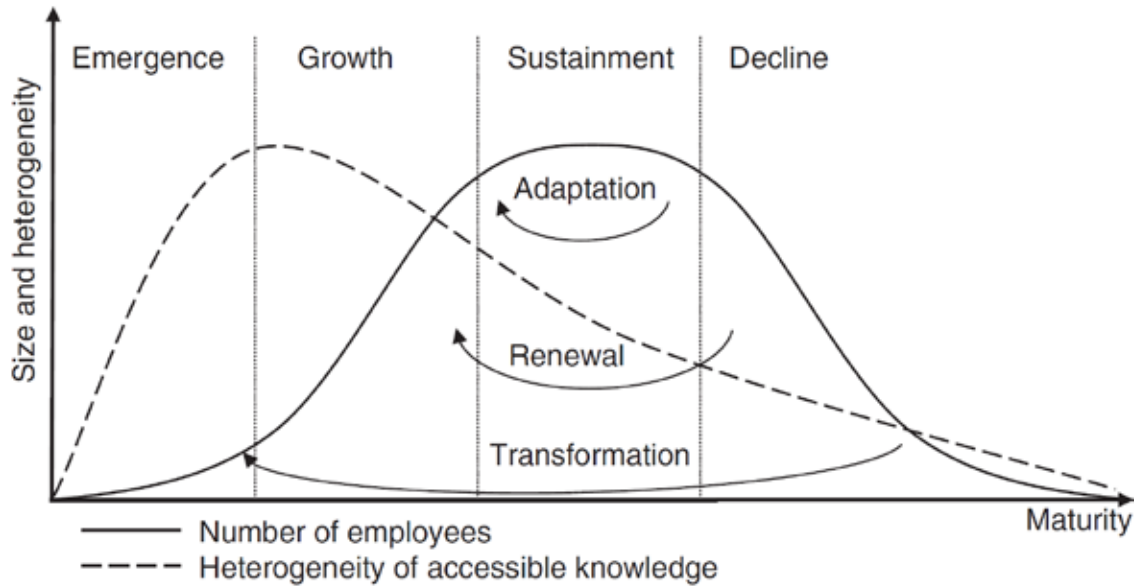
FIGURE 1 Crossovers and life cycle of clusters (Van Oort, 2015)

THE LARGEST PORT IN EUROPE

Meanwhile, the port continued to grow. Major investments in Rotterdam went to the port because the city perceived it as being important for employment. Throughout the world, ports have turned into secluded worlds, separated from the urban context, spatially and mentally severed from the city, with their own employment, operators and administration structures (Schubert, 2011).

As the largest port in the world, future plans became increasingly large scale, with Plan 2000+ being a prime example. The plan involved a huge expansion of the port and wanted to turn the centre into a business centre (Aarts, 1987). Until the late 1970s, the city was developed continuously as a worker city for the port, even when employment in the port declined due to increasing automation and mechanisation. The plan for Kop van Zuid – former port area and now extension of the inner city on the south bank - was the first plan to recognise this decrease in employment in the port because it was based on the argument that there was room for alternative employment here (Bout, Pasveer, 1994). The investment in a second Maasvlakte was never really an issue either, even though the money could have been invested in the city (Schrijer, van der Zwan, 2004).

The city's pride in its port did take a hit when in 2004 Rotterdam lost its status as the largest port in the world and became 'merely' the largest port in Europe. A fact is that has little to do with Rotterdam, but more with the rise of Southeast Asian ports. The recent Port Vision (2011) is still dedicated to a prosperous growth in volume, a focus that currently stands in the way of a sustainable future for Rotterdam as port city (Huijs, Troost, 2014).

MUNICIPAL AGENDA PORT

One element of this agenda is that the port of Rotterdam and municipality of Rotterdam are strengthening their links with universities and other schools in the area, actively creating a 'knowledge port'. The municipality, the port authority, branch organisation Deltalinqs and Rotterdam's Erasmus University signed an agreement in 2010 called 'Smart Port', designed to cluster the supply of and demand for specialised port know-how. Research, consultancy and training services for the port are now coordinated within one framework (Daamen e.a., 2013).

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Currently, there is a growing demand for the renewal and broadening of the port economy, which is less focused on volumes and more on innovation (Smart Port). That's why strategies are being set up to achieve this as for example (2013; Kuipers & Manshanden, 2014; 2015). This is especially important for Rotterdam because the port is largely based on traditional industries. An important principle is that the knowledge and expertise available in the region should be used to help the traditional port economy move forward (Huijs & Troost, 2014).

However, this means that the exclusive focus on the port remains. The point of the OECD's advice is not just about reinforcing the urban economy with business services and science, but also about embedding into the regional economy, particularly that of the maritime cluster. It is no longer about the being the biggest in terms of volumes, but much more about future employment as a whole.

RE-ENACTING ROTTERDAM'S FUTURE

During a global conference in Rotterdam in 2013, the OECD already suggested that greater synergy between port and city would create a great opportunity for economic growth. This is why Rotterdam wants to learn from other port cities to find out how they can create such synergy. The international Isocarp Congress 2015 was an opportunity to organise a two-day workshop to explore experiences and research involving very different port cities in the world. By bringing together experts from municipalities, port authorities and universities, we could see and discuss alternative routes that different port cities had taken. The idea was that the histories of other important port cities could make it possible to unlock the normal scope and re-enact Rotterdam's future.

THE LEADING MARITIME CAPITALS OF THE WORLD

Erik Jakobsen, Oslo, introduced the audience to the world of ranking and explained how illogical it really is. It is no longer about ranking by size, but about solid specialisations. For instance, Oslo has a successful maritime industry, but no significant port. Even though Rotterdam's port (city) ranks third place (after Singapore and Hong Kong) where ports and logistics are concerned, the city of Rotterdam itself ranks eighth on the list of leading capitals for locating maritime business, behind European cities such as Hamburg, Oslo and London (fig. 2). That is why today's real question for Rotterdam is how to imagine the future of a port city as one entity, as a specific leading capital.

London and Ghent subsequently demonstrated that a successful port can in fact boost an urban (port) economy.

LONDON IS TRADE + AGGLOMERATION

Wouter Jacobs used London as an example, showing that its port boosted the city economy and allowed it to grow into the financial capital of the world. His keynote elaborated on the question: "Why did great cities emerge from ports?" The answer was that self-reinforcing mechanisms of agglomeration, resulting from trade, allowing the initial port cities to dominate despite their initial advantage (e.g. deep-water port) ceased to be important (Fujita & Mori, 1996; Krugman, 1995).

He showed that the port of London gained dominance as an entrepôt of goods. So did its merchant community bringing in wealth and commercialised information to the city. Important was, for example, the Foundation of Lloyd's of London Insurance Market, the Foundation of the Royal Exchange and setting Global Standards in International Maritime Law.

Its port declined, but London pioneered waterfront redevelopment in the early 1980s at Canary Wharf. In 1981, London pioneered the introduction of the Oil Futures Contract, allowing 'hedging and options' on the delivery of oil. In 1984, London pioneered the Freight Forward Agreement (FFA), allowing 'hedging and options' on the supply of ocean transport services.
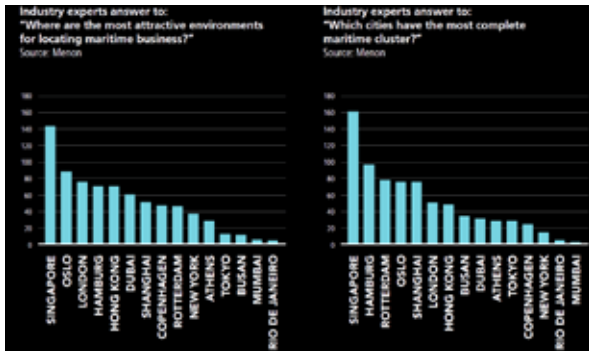
FIGURE 2 Rankings results E.Jakobsen
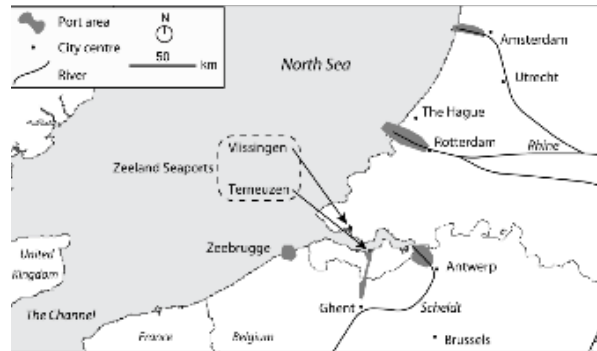
FIGURE 3 The Euro Delta and ARA ports

Smart ports need smart cities and that means that the city should be an incubator of entrepreneurship, as cities are concentrations of human capital, knowledge and innovation. Then crossovers arise between industries, important Agglomeration, Amenities and Accessibility (cf. Koster, 2013) In his presentation, Jacobs underlined that it is all about human capital (Van Oort, 2015).

According to Jacobs, a co-evolutionary approach assumes that change may occur in all interacting populations of organisations, permitting change to be driven by both direct interactions and feedback from the rest of system (Volberda & Lewin, 2003, p. 2114). 'Port and cities' are co-evolving systems and trade is the connector throughout world history.

Cities will always need ports because cities will always depend on trade. For Rotterdam, this means that after a period as a transition port, it should once again focus on the trade of raw materials, new industry and services. This is definitely possible because, in addition to the EUR, Rotterdam also has the much more technically oriented education and research facility TUD in its region. What would the maritime industry be without Delft's university (Jacobs, 2016)?

THE ECONOMIC PORT CITY INTERFACE

Ghent started looking for a connection to the sea as early as the 13th century. Finally, in the 16th century, Ghent was given direct access to the Westerschelde, but it could not be effectively put into use until the 18th century. At the same time, thanks to the arrival of the cotton machine, Ghent became the first continental industrial city for textile. After World War I, the port infrastructure was modernised and it grew to become the fourth largest port in Europe. Due to World War II, everything came to a standstill and in the sixties, the government made a number of investments that led to the introduction of a number of new industries (Van den Berghe, 2016).

In his presentation, Karel Van den Berghe showed how the port in Ghent can facilitate the urban economy, allowing major companies like Volvo and Arcelor Mittall and bio-based economy to thrive.

The port of Ghent generated direct value added and the direct employment (27,200 FTE in 2012) (Mathys, 2014). The share of value added per different sector shows that in contrary to the other ARA ports - Amsterdam-Rotterdam-Antwerp region - (Fig. 2), most is generated by the industrial sector (De Vlaamse Havencommissie, 2014). Moreover, maritime transport activities are minimally developed. Relatively, the industrial sector of the port of Zeeland is more important than Ghent. However, this is contributed by only one chemical plant: DOW (Ministerie van infrastructuur en Milieu, 2014; Zeeland Seaports, 2014). Ghent has a more diverse industrial profile, of which the largest subsectors are the metalworking and car manufacturing subsectors.

The subsector analysis of the port of Ghent shows that the car manufacturing, metalworking and chemicals subsector are important, with a total share of value added of 69%. However, when examined more in detail, especially the metalworking and car manufacturing firms are the most important, this based on the variables 'value added', 'employment' and 'investment' (Mathys, 2014). Ghent generates a relative high direct value added, although there are only minor maritime transport activities. The share of value added per sector shows that more than half of the total value added is generated by the industrial sector.

According to Van de Berghe, the port of Ghent has a different profile than the ports in the ARA region. Most of its activities are still industrial and no major maritime activities are present.

LESSONS LEARNED

What we learned was that other port cities are not just bigger or smaller but different (Jacobsen, Jacobs and Van de Berghe). Some have developed a very successful city-orientated economy out of their sometimes glorious port city past (Jacobs). So it shows us that Rotterdam is not one of many ports but a specific transition port, very much focused on the port activities itself. Even though Rotterdam could follow a different course, as London and Ghent have done.

Nevertheless the impact of the economic interface between harbour and city is crucial in the past and in the future (Jacobsen, Jacobs and Van de Berghe). Here it becomes clear that hosting innovation hubs as an interface between port and city can be successful (Aarts, Daamen, de Vries, Huijs, 2013).

In principle, cities with a port are well positioned to grow into trade centres. But they do have to be open to new tools and allow new actors to appear and new coalitions to be formed. Successful cities needed and still need a harbour for trade. In London, they are actually building another transition port to complement the urban economy. History has shown that taking full advantage of the transition and trade capacities of a port city should result in economic prosperity (Jacobs, 2016).

The port of Ghent shows that a port can be a stimulus for divers branches of industry in the regions. The example of Ghent makes us aware that also Rotterdam is a specific port (Van der Berghe, 2016). In Rotterdam's case, this means that the focus should be on trade, on reintroducing the concept of a mercantile city (Jacobs, Huijs, 2015). Ergo "to re-enact in the future" this speciality could be seen as an advantage for its development into a synergistical port city.

CONCLUSION

Historically, port and city had strong symbiotic relationships. To increase the competitiveness of port cities, the OECD (2013) called to re-establish the links, or interfaces, between ports and cities. It is most likely that a high concentration of crossovers between port and urban actors leads to a higher level of sustainability and higher local capitation of the created value added and employment rate.

Based on this knowledge, it becomes possible to gain a better perspective of past decisions and to compare other port cities to the current situation in Rotterdam. During the workshop, research and practice of various port cities demonstrated the importance of a port for the emergence and development of a city as was previously argued extensively in *Port Cities* (Hein, 2011). Wouter Jacobs's presentation demonstrated that trade is the connector throughout world history. The examples of London and Ghent made us aware of the possible alternatives and showed us how the city and the port of Rotterdam have taken radically different routes.

Rotterdam has now started working on the transition of the port economy. Nevertheless, Rotterdam is still considered to be a large port with a small city, even though it is a significant urban area with more than three million inhabitants and around ten thousand companies and two important universities. Nowadays, around 250,000 people work in the port-related marine economy, with only 85,000 actually working in the actual port (Havenmonitor, 2016). It is therefore no longer about the unilateral future of the port, but about the collective future of the port city.

The fact that history is always 'there' may be a strange thought for some, but this similarity between history, present and future can also help us see history as both present and future. It may at least help Rotterdam break through its lock-in and help it think and act in terms of alternative futures. However, in order to realise a future-proof port and solid urban economy, a change of mentality is absolutely essential. It is not just about unlocking the past, but also about acting upon it (enact). History can only be written by taking action. And this is why the workshop was held - because writing is not enough and it is time to act! The purpose of 're-enact the future' is to actively create widespread public awareness of the discussion. That will require a sustained effort by all actors. That's why an interactive congress, AIVP, will again be held at the end of this year. This paper takes this discussion further.

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Image Sources

Figure 1. Isocarp 2015 workshop Presentation W.Jacobs (Van Oort, 2015)

Figure 2. Isocarp 2015 workshop Presentation E.Jakobsen

Figure 3. Isocarp 2015 workshop Presentation, Karel Van den Berghe

HISTORY AGAINST PLANNING: THE ROLE OF MANFREDO TAFURI IN THE CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURAL THOUGHT

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2   *Architect*

What role does the historian hold in the evolution of urban planning? According to Manfredo Tafuri[1], the position of the historian cannot be innocent. Through the historians' writings, the past becomes one of the most powerful technological means, a dynamic way of producing moral and cultural models, capable of binding contemporary decisions. Historians can cure the theoretical voids of architecture and therefore historical word is easily transformed into a specific technical tool in the construction of interpretation of a specific urban form. Is it though possible for the presence of history to function reversibly and, instead of strengthening architecture with certitudes, to provoke vivid concerns? Is there a critical history against planning? Such enquiries will lead Tafuri to review the historical facts, and, as he will observe that "the discipline itself was rotten to the core", get involved again with the writing of basic chapters of architectural history, making widely understood the fact that morphological revolutions are not destabilizing, because they flow from the economically powerful. Beyond Tafuri, architects cannot any more address to historians in order to purify conscience, to clarify notions, to choose rules, to break through doubts and build truths, because history constitutes a procedure of subversion par-excellence. How do we owe to act today under the suggestions of Tafuri? Only if any field of planning is removed from the educational programs of architectural studies, we could expect a quality change of architectural thought.

INTRODUCTION

Two parallel worlds participate in architectural education: that of theory and that of technique. Without theoretical knowledge, architect wouldn't have the opportunity of constructing the difference and, on the other hand, without technical skills he couldn't appear with the objective certainty of a scientist. History and theory of architecture constitute in an international level the two cognitive objects of theoretical knowledge of architectural program of studies, that reassure the connection between architecture and common language, in contrast with architectural design and practical application courses (construction, architectural survey, arts, descriptive geometry, informatics), that concern the relation between architecture, representation and technological vocabularies.

Which is, however, the role of history in architectural education? Is historical knowledge necessary for architects? When does history become a technological weapon in architects' hands and when is it considered undesirable? Which is its connection with critique? How do you design history?

The abovementioned questions afflict architects, which eventually realize that during their work, they are requested necessarily to compete with history and decide whether they will join it or they will contradict it. Along with history as tool, architects are able to understand *how* but also *why* an architectural project is born. They may study special cases or general phenomena and result to technical or theoretical conclusions. History, in contrast with theory's introversion and abstract self-reference, provides a way of open investigation of specific relations between architecture and social conditions in time. The social meaning of history will expand during 19th century with the institutionalization and professionalization of historians. Moreover, regarding the historiography of Art, the shift in its direction -from the biographical speech of Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) to the research of national consciousness coordinates of Johann Winckelmann (1717-1768) during 18th century- will fertilize history, indicating its ability through works of art, to reveal ideological mechanisms and social intentions, to contribute in the construction of cultural identity, to build national origins and transfer in a wide range the necessary convictions on the political strategy of a nation.

After German historicism, within the west European civilization, civils will acquire historical consciousness through educational process and things that increase their historical knowledge will be evaluated positively. Since then, the "distinct" history of a nation will convert to a political right of self-determination. Every national ideology will turn to history, in order to demonstrate that it disposes longstanding autonomy. Even when this is not possible, the historical reality will be damaged and replaced by an *illusion* of reality.

WHAT KIND OF CONNECTIONS ARE THERE BETWEEN HISTORY, IDEOLOGY AND URBAN PLANNING?

Since the state constitutes a source of morality for society and of guaranty for the development of the nation, during 20th century, west European historiography of Art will mainly move towards a Marxist type of comprehension of social structures, but also towards new methods of interdisciplinary approach, such as these of the representatives of Annales School[2]: multiple time layers, abandonment of linear history and anthropological reading of the past. The Annales School will feed the postmodern historical approach of Art, with the clarification that the unit of the body (corpus) we call society is conventional, as it is full of heterogeneities and conflicting parts that claim for power. Therefore, the term *history* constitutes an unrecorded convention: histories are many and only through ideology one is able to define each different content and its interpretations.

Each history constitutes a kind of ideological myth and every myth is a history brought into alignment with the needs of an ideology. The past is constantly reconstructed, in order to support the present's choices[3]. In the present different kinds of memories are uncovered and encounter. Too many memories lead to the collapse

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of "historical truth", that is to the insufficiency of *One history*: multiple subjectivities of memory eliminate the objectivity of history, as memories and history are connected through research. Besides, as Jacques Le Goff mentions, "just as the past is not history but the object of history, so memory is not history, but both one of its objects [...]"[4]. The selected past, through historians' writings, will become one of the most powerful technological means, a dynamic way of moral and cultural archetypes' production, capable of binding new decisions, or, as Nietzsche suggests, "knowledge of the past has at all times been desired only in the service of the future and the present"[5].

Through this process of "organizing the memory" for an ideological use, history becomes a technical parameter and the city is the field of its application. Therefore, in the construction of the collective memory, the boundaries between myth and history are often being refuted and the consciousness of the myth as a true story turns the mythical time into an experienced one. In this game, the spatial signs of time play a major role: monuments, buildings, ruins, become documents through which historians assemble the pieces of the past, establishes their constructions and tame the social present. Under this assumption, the city is not a place of spaces but of histories and the urban planning is the result of a systematic management of the ideologies.

The past's project occasionally undertakes to stimulate nostalgias and to feed the romantic spirit and sometimes to raise doubts and objections. When a work of art is transformed into history, it is displaced from the active commentary to the field of imaginary memory, to refer to Hobbes, who supports that "imagination and memory are the same thing that for various reasons has different names"[6]. However, in order for the historical knowledge to function as a creative impulse for an "alive future", the reverse should happen, as Nietzsche highlights: "...only if history can endure to be transformed into a work of art will it perhaps be able to preserve instincts or even evoke them"[7].

In which way could history convert into a "work of art"? Which is the missing link between art and history? The answer will come from the historian of architecture Manfredo Tafuri, who will fight the useful, active, practical and applicable history with a new kind of history focused on the act of critical view. The art of history implies *criticism*, which means, as Tafuri himself explains in the introduction of *Teorie e storia dell'architettura*,

[...] to catch the historical scent of phenomena, put them through the sieve of strict evaluation, show their mystifications, values, contradictions and internal dialectics and explode their entire charge of meanings[8].

According to Manfredo Tafuri, the position of the historian, as this of the artist, cannot be innocent. On the contrary, to the extent that he determines behaviours and directs actions, he is critical and dangerous.

In fighting a cultural revolution there exists an intimate complicity between criticism and activity[9].

The pure historian, that chooses to keep a distance from the practical application of theory, constitutes a threatening form of clarity that is fed from the anxious research of reasons and intentions. As every critical commentary, criticizing art or architecture owes to investigate and expose the procedure of production of a form and not to describe the form itself. Critique constitutes a radiography of a work, that will bring to the front the parameters behind its realization. Critique deals with the causes of phenomena in order to reveal what the creator avoids to declare. But the issue needs further attention, because, as Tafuri marks:

There is no such thing as criticism, there is only history. What usually is passed off as criticism, the things you find in architecture magazines, is produced by architects, who frankly are bad historians. What should interest the historians are the cycles of architectural activity and the problem of how a work of architecture fits in own its time. To do otherwise is to impose one's own way of seeing on architectural history[10].

WHAT ROLE DOES THE HISTORIAN HOLD IN THE EVOLUTION OF URBAN PLANNING?

The maturation of Tafuri's thought on the role of historian will emerge with his complete detachment from every planning [regardless of scale and form in art and architecture], but also with the ascertainment that society's crisis, and consequently the crisis of intellectuals of post-war period, will not be healed through nostalgic reference to the past.

Moreover, Tafuri's historical view does not isolate history of art from that of architecture or of city's planning, since the significance of prolonging culture as a tool of controlling social behaviour, is revealed through cultural histories and as a result the intensions of dominant ideologies arise. Thus, whether this concerns Tafuri's book *La città americana dalla guerra civile al "New Deal"*[11], or *Raffaello architetto*[12], or *Storia dell'architettura italiana, 1944-1985*[13], the interpretative approaches that constitute Tafuri's writings always aim to the enhancement of bonds between the artwork and the power that generates it in every period. Consequently, his analysis on architecture of renaissance in *Venezia e il Rinascimento*[14] or in *L'architettura dell'umanesimo*[15] does not differ from this we find in *Architettura contemporanea*[16] or in *La sfera e il labirinto*[17]. For Tafuri it is also evident that the ideological power of a cultural object is not influenced by its scale, approving the modernist slogan of Walter Gropius and Ernesto Nathan Rogers "From teaspoons to cities", which was assimilated by the post-war rationalist thought of architects such as Aldo Rossi, Vittorio Gregotti, Giancarlo de Carlo etc.

In history he will find answers, but will not search for solutions for the present, because, as himself explains, "in history there are no solutions"[18]. Certainly the same applies to architecture: the regression in time relieves temporarily its position, but will never be capable of confronting its real crisis. As Tafuri mentions:

I think that the problem of working within a historical context arises together with the insecurity of architecture about its own foundations. When this insecurity, the fear of one's own gestures, reaches a maximum, there is the need to reconnect with the past[19].

When an architect manages to transfuse meaning to a planning strategy and strengthen his choices using the historical knowledge –either by doubting or by honouring the past–, critique maximizes the value of its product and the relation between creator and history is of instrumental type. In this case, critique cures the semantic voids of architecture and consequently historical speech participates, as a specialized technical tool, in the construction of interpretation of a specific urban form. Then, the historian of architecture owes to intervene by undertaking a complex responsibility: to work as a collector of crucial historical information in order to publicly judge the architectural practice by connecting the results with the ideological researches of the creator and, if necessary, to even question the conceptual framework in which he acts.

IS IT THOUGH POSSIBLE FOR THE PRESENCE OF HISTORY TO FUNCTION REVERSIBLY AND, INSTEAD OF STRENGTHENING ARCHITECTURE WITH CERTITUDES, TO PROVOKE VIVID CONCERNS? IS THERE A CRITICAL HISTORY AGAINST PLANNING?

Art and science do not constitute autonomous fields of human activity, but composed mechanisms, through whom the human exploitation takes place. On this idea, Manfredo Tafuri will carve his own path in the field of history and will use the interpretation of architecture only as an elegant excuse to perpetually reveal the constructed social conditions based on the political economic pursuits of the powerful class. On his hands, history of architecture will become an analytical tool of programming and producing architecture techniques, from the birth of the upper middle class onwards, with ultimate purpose to appoint the permanent bonds between the

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capitalistic development and the degradation of the working class. The basic result of his work will be for the humanitarian power of representation and the utopia of design to encounter strong obstacles by the poetics of history.

Among the greatest Tafuri's weapons, the powerful cultural-cognitive background and the high level of handling the language is included. Having these, he will penetrate in the academic environment, he will acquire the right of teaching and will defend with ideal scientific adequacy his statements, as a tireless worker of spirit. Along with his educational and writing work, he will fight against the unwritten laws of historians' silence, he will demolish the established historical truths, he will dispel common myths about artificial values of the morphological vocabularies and he will bring to light the ambitions of the bourgeoisie. The paragraph with which he opens his theoretical problematic in the beginning of his book *Progetto e utopia* is characteristic:

To ward off anguish by understanding and absorbing its causes would seem to be one of the principal ethical exigencies of bourgeois art. It matters little if the conflicts, contradictions, and lacerations that generate this anguish are temporarily reconciled by means of a complex mechanism, or if, through contemplative sublimation, catharsis is achieved.[20]

With penetrative insight, he will reveal the true role of the intellectual elite in defending the capitalistic domination. The mission of the artistic avant-gardes, through the light of Tafuri, is concentrated in the avoidance of conflict. The artistic avant-gardes, having the doubt and the protest as basic characteristics of their products, raised their contradictions on the level of form, keeping secret the structures that are protected and established by this idealization. Thus, with the intermediation of art, the space of metropolis will be transformed in the most counter-revolutionary field of society.

Such enquiries will lead Tafuri to review the historical facts, and, as he will observe that "the discipline itself was rotten to the core"[21], get involved again with the writing of basic chapters of architectural history. His considerations on architecture have functioned as authentic scientific sections, that undermined with key questions its genealogical constants. The subversive interpretations of architectural phenomena, as they appeared through the thirst of his writings for honesty, have mined the languorous academic narrations but also the professional ambitions of architects. After Tafuri, what became widely understood is the fact that morphological revolutions are not destabilizing, because they flow from the economically powerful.

Tafuri's dangerous mission on the limits of history will be fulfilled with extraordinary success. His complex personality in combination with the endless richness of ideas transformed the object of history into an alive researching machine within architecture and more. The schematic characterisation that was credited to his personality –from dogmatic Marxist to pessimist nihilist – is the result of an abstract and careless categorisation, that is not compatible neither with his work nor with his progressive thought. The philosophy of history, that will generously offer to contemporary architecture, will disassemble the bridge between invented theories and historical ignorance. Beyond Tafuri, architects cannot any more address to historians in order to purify conscience, to clarify notions, to choose rules, to break through doubts and build truths, because history constitutes a procedure of subversion par-excellence.

HOW DO WE OWE TO ACT TODAY UNDER THE SUGGESTIONS OF TAFURI?

Many have attempted to distinguish the scientific from the ideological dimension of Tafuri's work. Himself chose to maintain a very high level of writing and speech, without never overriding his own personal ideological aspect of approach. Therefore, having the linguistic sufficiency in his arsenal, he will manage to get acknowledged as a scientific expert in the field of history, reinforcing at the same time his critique against the omnipotence of bourgeoisie with strong arguments. As he always moved with exceptional facility between the cognitive fields

of art, architecture and philosophy, he will detach from the morphological description of artworks in order to systemically expose the inner intentions of the socially powerful.

As in every field -political, religious, cultural-, criticism aims in an action, thus every action of planning is a result of operative criticism, which strengthens one type of ideology against an another. This signifies that we need to revise the primary position that architectural and urban planning holds in cognitive specialisation of architectural studies in an international level today.

As in the case of teaching poetry, where it would be appropriate to teach history and technics of poetic writing but it would be unacceptable to correct a poem, likewise for making architecture, the act of operative criticism from professors of architectural design in form of revision of student projects in architectural and urban planning, is equally unacceptable. Students should be taught history of arts, philosophy and technology of structures and transform this triptych in pure knowledge on architecture, which after the end of their studies, will make them capable of deciding if they desire to proceed to planning and in what way. So, only if any field of planning is removed from the educational programs of architectural studies, we could expect a quality change of architectural thought.

FIGURE 1 Panayotis Pangalos, The Architecture of Manfredo Tafuri

FIGURE 2 Charles Robert Cockerell, The Professor's Dream

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Image Sources

Figure 1: Panayotis Pangalos, Architecture of Manfredo Tafuri, personal archive

Figure 2: Charles Robert Cockerell, The Professor's Dream, pencil, pen & grey ink and watercolour, 112,2 x 171,1 cm., Royal Academy of Arts, London [1848]

Endnotes

1   Manfredo Tafuri was born in Rome in 1935. He was student of Ludovico Quaroni. He held the chair of History of Architecture in the famous School of Architecture in Venice (IUAV) since 1968, where he completely dedicated his work to this field and became a significant representative. His historical interests ranged from architecture of Rennaisance to contemporary architecture. He collaborated with a series of leading italian and foreign architectural magazines and he published some of the most famous books in the history of architecture as *Teorie e storia dell'architettura (1968), Progetto e Utopia (1973), La sfera e il labirinto (1980)*. The influences of his thought emerged from his association with significant architects and intellectuals such as Aldo Rossi and Massimo Cacciari, but also Peter Eisenmann, Kurt Forster and Anthony Vidler. He died in Venice in 1994.

2   Bibliography regarding issues of historiography is wide. We mention the following: Michael Bentley, *Modern Historiography: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1999)· Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994 [1983])· Georg Iggers, *New Directions in European Historiography* (Connecticut: Wesleyan University press, 1984). Specifically for the historiography of architecture, see also: Panayotis Tournikiotis, *The Historiography of modern Architecture* (The MIT Press, 1999)· D. Arnold, E.A. Ergut, B. T. Ozkaya (ed.), *Rethinking Architectural Historiography* (London: Routledge, 2006).

3   In this point, we also deliver the opinion of V. Petridou on the instability of history: "History narrates, describes, opens new dialogues and appears to have unanswered questions that eventually become new food for thought. It (a/n *history*) is not objective as it always depends on the historian's choices and is strongly characterised by the element of ephemeral. Therefore, it is written and rewritten, multiplying constantly in this way the opportunities for research, reconsiderations and new relations. Each history is based on its own analysis and composition of data, aiming in the discovery and interpretation of the powers and conditions in which each choice appears", in: Βασιλική Πετρίδου, «Άγχος και νοσταλγία: συμπτώματα της σύγχρονης ελληνικής αρχιτεκτονικής», Άρχιτέκτονες, ΣΑΔΑΣ-ΠΕΑ, 56, (2006), 65. On this issue, see also: Αντώνης Λιάκος, *Πώς το παρελθόν γίνεται ιστορία;* (Αθήνα: Πόλις, 2007).

4   Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory,* transl. Steven Rendall, Elizabeth Claman, (New York: Columbia University press, 1992 [1988]), 129.

5   Friedrich Nietzsche, *Untimely meditations,* Cambridge texts in the history of philosophy, transl. R. J. Hollingdale, (New York: Cambridge University press, 1997), 77.

6   «For as at a great distance of place that which we look at appears dim, and without distinction of the smaller parts, and as voices grow weak and inarticulate: so also after great distance of time our imagination of the past is weak; and we lose, for example, of cities we have seen, many particular streets; and of actions, many particular circumstances. This decaying sense, when we would express the thing itself (I mean fancy itself), we call imagination, as I said before. But when we would express the decay, and signify that the sense is fading, old, and past, it is called memory. So that imagination and memory are but one thing, which for diverse considerations hath diverse names.», in: Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan,* (London, 1651), 11-12.

7   Nietzsche, *Untimely meditations,* 95-96.

8   Manfredo Tafuri, *Teorie e storia dell'architettura* (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1968), 1.

9   Ibid.

10 Manfredo Tafuri, «Non c'è critica, solo storia», interview to Richard Ingersoll, Casabella, v. 619-620, *Il progetto storico di Manfredo Tafuri* (January-February 1995), 97.

11   Manfredo Tafuri, G. Ciucci, F. Dal Co, M. Manieri Elia, *La città americana dalla guerra civile al "New Deal"* (Bari: Laterza, 1973)

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17   Manfredo Tafuri, *La sfera e il labirinto. Avanguardie e architettura da Piranesi agli anni '70* (Torino: Einaudi, 1980)

18   Manfredo Tafuri, *Teorie e storia dell'architettura*, 270.

19   Manfredo Tafuri, «Storia, Conservazione, Restauro», *Casabella*, 580, (1991), 61.

20   Manfredo Tafuri, *Progetto e Utopia* (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1973), 1.

21   Manfredo Tafuri, interview to Françoise Very, *Architecture Mouvement Continuite*, v. 39 (June 1976), 64. Also published in italian and english, under the title «I mercati della cultura» in Casabella, *Il progetto storico di Manfredo Tafuri*, 37.

Reviews of Planning History Studies and Discussions in East Asia

Chair: Naoto Nakajima

HISTORIC RETROSPECT AND ITS FUTURE PROSPECTS OF PLANNING HISTORY RESEARCH IN CHINA

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China's Academic Committee of Planning History and Theory recently held its third annual conference since its founding in 2012. In looking back over the three years, or much longer if we consider the very first introduction of modern planning history as an education program under the name of "Construction History of Chinese cities (Dong, 1982)" in the early 1980s, Chinese planning history research has by no means gone through a long history in planning or architecture schools. Meanwhile, historical research of ancient cities' planning has gone through a longer history, which was given birth by the modern academic development in the 1900s, rooted in the archeology or geography schools, boomed by the national historical cities' nomination in the 1980s (Ye, 1987). Based on archival research, interviews, literature review, and official statistical data, the author attempts to provide a holistic picture on the evloution of planning history research in China, from its beginning, downturn, heydays, and contemporary challenges.

Keywords
Planning History Studies, China, Review

A REVIEW ON PLANNING HISTORY STUDIES AND DISCUSSIONS IN JAPAN

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There is a diversity in world history of planning in regard to the fields within which planning history emerged in each country. It is important to studying the historiography of planning history and looking at local case studies. In particular, Japanese planning history, which has 40 years of history and has taken the lead in planning history in East Asia, can provide a perspective for the world history of planning. The objective of this paper is to clarify the historical development of planning history studies in Japan by focusing on the diversity of its purposes and methodologies, which can be viewed as differences of approaches, singling out a few important books, and biennial review articles in the journal of the City Planning Institute of Japan.

Planning history studies began in Japan in the 1960s in response to the establishment of city planning education programmes at a few universities. Since the late 1970s when the Planning History Group of Japan was created, planning history studies have grown both in quality and quantity. Some important classic documents were published at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s as significant works of the first generation of planning historians. Although planning history studies was established as a field of planning, and the second generation produced some interesting work, it gradually lost its attraction from the beginning of the 1990s.

The basic approaches of planning history studies in Japan were established by three pioneers in the first generation. The first approach is the "whole history approach" for planning systems by Yorifusa Ishida, who was the author of "Nihon Kindai Toshikeikaku no Hyakunen (100 Years of Modern City Planning in Japan)". This approach is based on a multi-layered model in which planning history is illustrated in chronological charts. The second approach is the "theoretical analysis approach" for concepts and functions of city planning by Shunichi Watanabe, who was the author of "Toshikeikaku no Tanjo (The Birth of City Planning in Japan)". This approach is based on a generic model in which planning history is expected to clarify the essence of city planning. The third approach is the "planning heritage approach" for actual cities and urban spaces by Akira Koshizawa, who was the author of "Tokyo no Toshikeikaku" (Planning History of Tokyo)." This approach is based on a spatial stock model in which planning history is a story of planning projects with planners' visions and social-political support. Almost all monographs in planning history studies in Japan have been influenced by these three approaches.

A few young researchers published books on planning history one after the other in the late 2000s. The Planning Heritage Study Group was established in 2010. Third generation planning history studies are particularly important today with the quickly approaching 100th anniversary of the first modern legislation of the City Planning Act of 1919 in Japan. Furthermore, planning history studies are expected to become more familiar to local societies and general citizens through a new approach called the "cultural communication approach".

HISTORIC TREND OF URBANISM RESEARCH IN KOREA

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From the ancient to the present day, urbanism in Korea has emerged and changed through a long historic process, causing official and unofficial rules for it to change by the context of times. Urbanism has evolved by accumulating unique and various layers with the change of society, especially since the country underwent dynamic changes after Korean war in 1950. This paper presents a research trend of Korean urbanism since the 1950s, focusing on Seoul and Busan, two main cities representing Korea.

Macroscopic and microscopic approaches have been adopted. As an object, the former takes the general historic trend of urbanism research in Korea, presenting the period, object, issues, details and methods of research. It brings out the understanding of a big picture of urbanism research trend. It also reveals issues and their developmental process in relation to politics, economy, society, culture and so on surrounding Korean cities. The latter takes as an object more concrete research trend, focusing on a specific era and cities, Seoul and Busan, two main megalo cities representing Korea, which has formed with different trajectories. It analyzed what route and aspect urbanism research took within the historic context which has evolved surrounding them.

This paper provides suggestions to urbanism research throughout the world by studying urbanism history research in Korea from 1950 to 2010.

Keywords
research trend of urban planning history, KOREA, SEOUL, BUSAN, microscopic, macroscopic, context of times, Urban Planning Act

CULTURAL HISTORICAL URBAN COMPLEXITY, INHERITANCE AND RESILIENCE INNOVATIVE SUSTAINABLE DESIGN METHODS IN RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE NEW URBANIZATION PROCESS IN CITY-EDGE AREAS

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Nowadays, the boom of the development of the new Chinese urbanization process in city-edge areas are actually bringing up new complicated challenges as limitation of resources, disappearing cultural identities and conflicts among different groups of stakeholders. And among the several notions and expressions used in urban morphological description and analysis in China, complexity is a very common one, never getting enough definition and limitation. Thus it is actually blurring the borders of different urban fields of cognition and interaction. The expression here is emphasized in cultural and sustainable aspects which is in fact the fabric of events, actions, interactions, retroactions, determinations, and chance that constitute our phenomenal world. And the proposed design methods in this paper are meaning to optimize the complicated urban spatial structures in cultural and industrial aspects based on a comprehensive understanding of urban complexity and construct highly-integrated ecological systems involving various industries. The systems are integrated with deep urban history study and innovative technology to approach cultural and ecological aspects of urban sustainability. And urban resilience and inheritance are ensured and redeveloped in different dimensions with respect of what the general bond between all dynamic urban factors brings us to pose the problem of the relationship of the whole and the parts and the links that they establish on different scales, reflecting urban complexity theory.There are three dimensions in promoting sustainable resilience today: ecological, economic and social dimensions. Restoring historical cultural identities of city is a creative dynamic and multidimensional process; and the mechanism of analysis of the Chinese urban complexity offered us the principles that guided our urban practices. The project presented in the paper were all from tourism and leisure urban programs, each of them is an example of the principles we try to integrate into our design methods based on our understanding of urban complexity in various dimensions. The outcomes of our urban practices are tested and evaluated multidimensionally through criteria established by urban complexity theory, which turned out to be positive in city-edge areas in China.

Keywords
urban complexity, new urbanization process, integrated urban strategy

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CULTURAL HISTORICAL URBAN COMPLEXITY, INHERITANCE AND RESILIENCE INNOVATIVE SUSTAINABLE DESIGN METHODS
IN RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE NEW URBANIZATION PROCESS IN CITY-EDGE AREAS

TOC

Convergences and Disparities of the Open City in a Historic Perspective

Chair: Cor Wagennaar and Pieter Uytenhove

CONVERGENCES AND DISPARITIES OF THE OPEN SOCIETY AND THE OPEN CITY IN A HISTORIC PERSPECTIVE

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The 17th International Planning History Conference Delft, 17-21 July 2016 PANEL PROPOSAL Convergences and disparities of the open society and the open city in a historic perspective On one side, the 'open society' is one of the foundations of democracy laid out on a theoretical basis since the 18th century, although it has taken different forms and modes. On the other, the notion of the 'open city' has a complex history and has been used in many ways. The link with the idea of the open society is rather loose as the open city has its own long, political and military history. This panel wants to look at the convergences and disparities between both notions in a historical perspective on urban design and policy, urbanism and infrastructure since the Enlightenment. More in detail, proposals for contributions should choose among the following questions of the open city:
1. The development of an urban space, accessible for everybody and without hinders and obstacles: the open city as part and driving force of a generalized free movement;
2. The restructuring of the city from a closed organism into a machine of specialised and exchangeable places, buildings and activities;
3. The open society, based on a 'social contract', a 'public domain' and on human and equal rights: its effects and consequences on the city in terms of public amenities and infastructure;
4. The evolution towards philosophical ideas on 'open future', 'open work' and 'open end' and their implications on urbanism, spatial planning and urban expérience. Panel organizers are Pieter Uyttenhove (Ghent University) and Cor Wagenaar (T.U. Delft / R.U. Groningen).

Keywords
open society, open city, Enlightenment, modernity

THE CHANGING FACE OF TRANSPORT IN KISUMU, KENYA: IMPLICATIONS ON THE RESILIENCE OF PEDAL CYCLING

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The past ten years has witnessed a steady increase of motorcycling as a passenger travel mode in Kisumu, Kenya. Motorcycling supplements the traditional bicycle taxis in enabling their users to withstand the inadequacy, inefficiency and general dysfunction of the city's public transport system. However, its role in constraining the ability of the bicyclists – often the poor – to endure these transport challenges remains scantily understood. Specifically, the impact of increasing motorcycling on the supply of bicycle taxi services, transport affordability, and road safety for bicyclists remains unclear yet these form important indicators for assessing the resilience of bicyclists to the transport challenges of the city. In this study, we model the influence of these indicators on mode choices of different socio-economic groups over the past ten years to reveal the extent to which they hinder the ability of cyclists to cope with the transport challenges of Kisumu. Using retrospective categorical data obtained from interviews with 253 passenger cyclists and 256 passenger motorcyclists, we develop a structural equation model to predict the changing influence of these indicators on hindering cycling in favour of motorcycling. Findings from qualitative interviews held with mode users and transport planning experts in government and private practice augment the discussion of the results of this analysis. The results reveal that the growth in the supply of motorcycle service has been matched by a decreasing supply of bicycle taxi service. Consequently, travellers who have traditionally used the bicycle are forced to either pay higher fares charged by motorcycles, or walk longer distances in order to access opportunities. Meanwhile, those willing to use private bicycles to address this emerging transport disadvantage are further frustrated by lack of street-spaces and traffic conditions that support cycling. These unsupportive conditions make bicycling unsafe for both private riders and passengers. We conclude that while the rapid growth of passenger motorcycling is assumed to be a pragmatic solution to the transport needs of the poor of Kisumu, it has on the contrary aggravated their disadvantage by restricting their traditional use of bicycles to address this disadvantage.

CREATING OPEN SOCIETY AROUND THE WALLS: THE CASE OF ROME

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Strong fortifications, with multiple gates, a moat and often additional structures in the 'open fire field', were once enclosing almost all European settlements, towns and cities. But, starting from the seventeenth century on, European war conventions supported the 'open city' agreement meaning that in case of conflict a town would not be destroyed if it would be not fortified. When the nationalization took flight in the eighteenth century's Europe and the war technology developed, the practice of city defense gradually transformed into the system of large defense lines along rivers, coasts and mountain which made city fortifications unnecessary. In the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, after a relatively short period of obsolesce and abandonment, most cities took on an active demolition of the city fortifications, followed by radical spatial transformations of the post-fortification zone. The dismantlement of the city fortifications meant a radical break with the old hierarchical city organization of 'inside the walls' versus 'outside the walls' and is seen as the crucial moment of the death of the 'fortified city' and the birth of the 'modern city' characterized by its 'open society' and 'urban sprawl'. This article argues against this established dualism of 'fortified city' and 'modern city' and - taking the example of the city of Rome from the construction of the Aurelian Walls in 400 AD throughout the imperial rule, the ruling of Popes and the establishment of the Italian Government - it reveals surprising co-existences of preserved city walls,'open society' and 'urban sprawl' which surpass the categorizations of a city being whether 'fortified' or 'modern' by combining both.

CANBERRA'S PLANNING CULTURE IN THE TWENTY FIRST CENTURY

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This paper looks at the classic shift in planning culture from technocratic modernism to market-based neoliberalism evidenced in many western democracies. The case study of the Australian capital Canberra provides particularly clear evidence of the underlying processes because in its formative years – and until the late 1980s – Canberra received political support at the Federal level that enabled professional planners to implement their vision of an ideal New Town and National Capital with exceptional perfectionism. Ironically, the neoliberal turn was conducted with a similar degree of perfectionism, throwing the changes into sharp relief and highlighting the mechanisms with great clarity.

The neoliberal turn has now reached its apotheosis with substantial revisions to the National Capital Plan announced by the Australian Government in 2015. These signal the end of Federal involvement in metropolitan planning leaving overall city-making to local government and local development interests in the Australian Capital Territory.

Based on material recently released by National Archives, the paper traces the mechanisms behind these developments. It examines how a new set of ideal concepts has emerged from the dialectic between neoliberal urbanism and the capital city planning ethos of the past and is transforming the city.

Keywords
Planning Culture, neoliberalism, civil society

INTRODUCTION - SHIFTS IN PLANNING CULTURE

Drawing on discussions by Sanyal and Sandercock, we define planning culture as 'the collective ethos and dominant attitudes of planners regarding the appropriate role of the state, market forces and civil society'[1] in the making of the city, acknowledging that this involves 'an ensemble of people, ideas, social values, institutions, politics and power' which can be analysed through an historical approach, studying 'paths to the present, the shapings of the here and now, and the different forms that planning has taken in other historical eras.'[2]

Against this background, we look at a classic shift in planning culture evidenced in many western democracies – the shift from technocratic modernism during the era of the Keynesian Welfare State to a phase characterised by a continuing retreat of government from 'top-down' planning towards new forms of governance – a move associated with a set of hybrid approaches between stark market-based neoliberalism on the one hand and the search for suitable forms of collaborative planning in civil society on the other.

THE CASE STUDY

The case study of the Australian capital Canberra provides particularly clear evidence of the underlying processes because in its formative years – and until the late 1980s – Canberra received political support at the Federal level that enabled professional planners to implement their vision of an ideal New Town and National Capital with exceptional perfectionism. The planning history of this phase has been explored at length in the book *Canberra – Myths and Models*[3] and in subsequent publications drawing upon common research by the authors.[4]

The phase of creating an ideal city in the form of a 'government company town' came to an end in 1989, when Canberra was granted self-government, a long-resisted move which made it necessary to divide responsibilities between the Federal government and the newly-created local administration of the Australian Capital Territory (ACT). An awkward division of planning powers at this time has led to a quarter century of dysfunctional planning and urban development, fully documented in a series of parliamentary and administrative enquiries but yet to be addressed.[5]

The neoliberal turn has been the one constant in this period of turbulence as the 'government company town' ironically embraced the ideology of small government and the superiority of market forces, the very opposite of its formative processes and functional realities. The neoliberal turn was conducted with a degree of perfectionism similar to that which had characterised the period of tight government control. Principles of downsizing and insufficiently controlled outsourcing were applied with a rigour comparable to that of the technocratic phase. This resulted in problems and sometimes catastrophic, even fatal consequences.

Among these were the disastrous bush fire of 2003 and the tragically failed project of staging the demolition of the Canberra hospital as a public spectacle. In 1997, an inexperienced demolition contractor, who had been able to undercut the bids of more experienced contractors, caused an explosion that showered the spectators with high velocity debris killing one person instantly. The structural significance of this incidence in our context is that it reveals a range of constituent elements of flawed neoliberal policies.[6] Thus a coroner's inquiry identified "systemic failures" associated with the downsizing and inherent de-professionalisation in the public sector, and a subsequent analysis by the Australian Audit Office revealed that this was a widespread feature of the neoliberal governance arrangements.[7] It found that in Canberra and elsewhere, strategies of small government and outsourcing had led to a loss of corporate memory and professionalism to a point at which 'reduced in-house staff numbers' made it impossible 'to manage the contract' and thus 'created an increased risk to the Commonwealth' – and indeed, one might add, to the life of the victims of the catastrophes.

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The 2003 bush fire disaster had its origins in the reduction of long-established fuel-management practices in the forested hinterland of the city, the result of poorly-divided responsibilities between the Federal and local governments.[8]

Adding to the state of knowledge on which our research to-date has been based, new information that has become available since 2015 has thrown evidence of the neoliberal turn into sharper relief. Cabinet Papers from the 1980s and early 1990s released over the past two years by the National Archives reveal ways in which the withdrawal of Federal responsibility for Canberra planning was advocated 'behind the scenes' by neoliberal wings of the administration at the time of self-government.

PLANNING CULTURES OF THE MODERNIST PHASE

One of the unique characteristics of Canberra planning in the 1960s and 1970s had been the strategy of thinking of the capital city as a whole, in contrast to most other capitals. This had meant applying principles designed for the capital to the entire city – as opposed to splitting attention between a carefully designed capital district and an 'ordinary' urban area left to grow as typical Australian suburbia.

Transforming the sleepy Federal village of the mid-1950s into an administrative capital of 250,000 within 20 years was a heroic achievement. It was accomplished through a planning culture made up firstly by engineers who had worked on the mega project of the Snowy Mountains scheme with its water dams, turbines and canals; and secondly by architect planners imbued with the principles of English New Town planning whose varied experiences in Australia included the design and construction of public housing estates, and an attempt to impose a greenbelt/satellite city structure on metropolitan Sydney, an idealistic vision thwarted by special interest groups in both the public and private sectors.

This post-World War II generation, which also drew upon shared wartime experiences in military planning and organisation, seized the nation-building opportunity created by the Menzies Government to build the Federal Capital on the basis of lavish single-line budget appropriations, public ownership of land, a limited private sector and, initially, few residents. We might characterize this planning culture as an amalgam of engineering-type problem solving and a strong sense of social responsibility, which followed the model of the 'benevolent omniscient planner' unimpeded by activities of the private sector or notions of public participation.

The result was a remarkable 'network city' of New Towns separated by a continuous greenbelt, adapted from Ebenezer Howard's model of a central city and satellites, dispersed not in a radial-concentric pattern but in a linear pattern generated by the traffic studies of American consultants. A balanced disposition of employment centres was the key to this concept, which was possible because the government was in control of the land and the location of its own offices.[9]

PLANNING CULTURES IN NEOLIBERAL TIMES

The concept began to unravel in the 1970s, when in the first indication of the neoliberal turn, the conservative Fraser Government ended the 'company town' practice of building and owning its own office complexes, creating instead a market for private commercial development underpinned by long-term leases from government departments. The privatisation of office accommodation led in due course to the creation of powerful development interests, which successfully lobbied to concentrate office development in the central city at the expense of the New Towns. By the 1980s, the planning culture of the city had shifted to a corporatist model in tune with the aspirations of the private sector, and the phenomenon of planners approving development contrary to their plans emerged.[10]

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FIGURE 1 Completion of the New and Permanent Parliament House as an isolated, self-sufficient complex on Capital Hill, Canberra in 1988 signalled to Federal politicians that the Federal Capital was itself complete.

This shift in planning culture was part of a broader shift to 'economic rationalism' in the Australian public service initiated in the coordinating departments of Prime Minister & Cabinet, Treasury and Finance and rapidly extended to the line departments: 'the approach was championed by an elite of public servants and intellectuals who subscribed to the view that rational economic planning should guide long-term policy settings. The urging was for the practical use of markets to resolve allocation and distribution problems.'[11] The public sector was considered 'riddled with inefficiencies' and the private sector 'self-evidently superior' to the extent that the public sector should 'model itself wherever possible on the private. And where public sector activities can be done in the private sector, then the public sector should surrender such activities.'[12] Rationalisation, in short, 'was a euphemism for shutting down as much of the public sector as possible.'[13]

In this intellectual climate, Federal government surrender of responsibility for the planning and construction of Canberra was a logical move. In the administrative sphere this underpinned the decision to force self-government on the reluctant population of the city, who were only too aware of the privileges they would lose in the process. In the political sphere, completion of the New and Permanent Parliament House in 1988, replacing the functions of the Provisional Parliament House of the 1920s at a cost of $1.2 billion, created the impression that the city was complete and no more Federal funds needed to be spent on it (Figure 1).

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At the same time, there was some concern that Canberra should continue to be planned in accordance with its national significance. The result was that a much reduced planning body – the National Capital Planning Authority (NCPA) – established in 1989, was charged with the responsibility of preparing a National Capital Plan as an over-arching instrument to which local government planning would have to subscribe. The recently released Cabinet papers from this era highlight the problems faced by the NCPA from the start. The NCPA attempted to maintain Federal government control of office location to ensure a balanced distribution of employment in the dispersed Town Centres created by its predecessor, together with the retail viability of these centres and congestion-free crosstown traffic flows. When the draft National Capital Plan was submitted to Cabinet, however, this essential feature of the metropolitan plan was removed. The Australian Property Group of the Department of Administrative Services objected strongly on the grounds that little office space would be built by the private sector outside Central Canberra.[14] With this decision, 20 years of technocratic planning were overturned by 'market forces'. The NCPA could have continued to ensure a balanced distribution of employment centres through strongly-enforced land use controls but as the Cabinet papers further reveal, its very existence was at risk with the Department of Finance calling for its abolition on completion of the National Capital Plan.[15] The NCPA survived but as a relatively powerless body, which dropped 'Planning' from its title in the 1990s and progressively lost the capacity to monitor and update the National Capital Plan.

PRIVATISING THE GOVERNMENT OFFICE MARKET

In 1996 the Australian Property Group (APG) and the Department of Administrative Services (DAS) were themselves rationalised. DAS was abolished and the APG sold to the private sector. All Federal departments were granted the liberty to decide their own location, as well as whether to continue owning their accommodation or pursue short-term financial gains by selling their office buildings and leasing commercial space from the private sector. In relation to the latter, the APG had provided advice and property expertise, coordinating dealings service-wide.[16] Instead, departments had to go to the market on an individual basis, often with little or no expertise: 'unfamiliar with the intricacies of how the property market worked, most departments fell victim to the property sharks. In the worst cases, agencies bid against each other for the same office in the same location. Rents went up, commercial real estate made an easy fortune, and the funds available for programs, as a percentage of total portfolio expenditure, were cut.'[17] By 2000, the cost of private office space leased to the Federal government approached a half a billion dollars annually, and the government had lost control of employment distribution in Canberra. This sums up the political economy behind the new town office location policy.

PRIVATISATING THE AIRPORT

Into this situation, the conservative Howard Government projected privatisation of Canberra Airport under enabling legislation that rendered airports nationwide free from existing planning controls. As a consequence, Canberra Airport became a 'free enterprise zone' not subject to the National Capital Plan.[18] Its owners proceeded to develop the gateway sector of the airport site as a business park and retail hub contrary to all previous planning undertaken in the National Capital. The viability of the venture was guaranteed when Federal departments took up long-term leases in the business park, which out-competed the distant employment centres of the New Towns and effectively prevented Gungahlin – the last of these to be developed – from attracting any commercial development at all. In due course, this 'New Town' to the north of the city centre became little more than a collection of dormitory suburbs with a population headed towards 60,000.

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SALE OF GREENFIELD LANDS AS A SOURCE OF MUNICIPAL REVENUE

The development of Gungahlin and other sites on the periphery of the city was undertaken in the 1990s by the newly-created government of the Australian Capital Territory, which was forced to finance part of its municipal revenue through the sale of its principal asset, greenfield lands. The low-density, car-based city which the local government had inherited from the national government thus continued to expand with long-term costs overlooked in favour of short-term gains. To maximise these gains, the process of suburban development was privatised and in the push for low infrastructure costs and maximum yield, 60 years of exemplary neighbourhood planning in the National Capital was overturned, creating suburbs comparable to the worst in Australia in terms of environmental impact and environmental amenity.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, it seemed as though the neoliberal turn at national and local level had reduced Canberra planning to a travesty of its former self.

NEW VISIONS OF STRATEGIC PLANNING AND THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

A turnaround, however, occurred – and from a most surprising source. In 2001, the OECD – that paragon of market economy orthodoxy – was invited to report on Canberra as part of its 'urban renaissance' studies of sustainable urban development in selected cities worldwide. The major findings of the OECD investigation included the lack of a strategic plan for Canberra, and the lack of effective community engagement in the planning of the city.[19]

The Territory government moved decisively to address both issues. In the vacuum created by withdrawal of the National Capital Authority (NCA) from meaningful engagement with the National Capital Plan, the Territory presumed to prepare its own metropolitan strategy. This was undertaken on the basis of comprehensive community consultation. A social plan, an economic plan, and a spatial plan were developed with an emphasis on sustainability principles including the introduction of a light-rail system, urban consolidation and a more compact urban form.[20]

At the same time, the NCA initiated a 'new urbanist' study of the symbolic centre of the National Capital, proposing large-scale commercial and residential development in the manner of the 1990s 'Extending the Legacy' project in Washington, D.C. Drawing upon a selective re-examination of the original Canberra plan by Walter Burley Griffin, the NCA's 'Griffin Legacy' proposals dovetailed with the Territory's proposals for a compact urban form.[21]

BETWEEN VISIONS AND REALITIES

Urban development realities in the following years, however, did not live up to expectations. The reliance of the Territory government on revenue from land sales continued to drive greenfield development on the periphery, where it was easier to gain quick returns on the disposal of its own land than through a complex process of value capture from urban consolidation of inner city built up areas. Turning as well to inner ring greenfield sites, the Territory began a process of urbanising the greenbelt it had inherited from the New Town metropolitan structure of the 1960s and 1970s. This led to plans for dormitory suburbs in bush fire prone, flood prone and ecologically-sensitive sites.

The combination of an inner ring of dormitory suburbs, the dormitory suburb 'New Town' of Gungahlin to the north and the over-development of office space in the central city created the very radial-concentric metropolitan structure the planners of the 1960s had rejected in favour of the linear distribution of New Towns. The result has been the concentration of traffic flows in the symbolic centre of the city, the very sites identified in the NCA's 'Griffin Legacy' study for urban intensification.

As the inner contradictions and inconsistencies in metropolitan planning have become manifest, the early 21st century achievements in collaborative planning through community engagement have become fraught. While neoliberalism has been the constant keynote Canberra's planning culture since self-government, there is also a strong presence of a lively civil society providing qualified input and informed discussions on issues of urbanism, sustainability and resilience. Canberra is a city with a highly educated community engaged in research, public policy and media commentary. This has played a significant role in campaigns to create a more responsive planning system. Considerable resources have been devoted to building up community engagement frameworks and public consultation protocols at both NCA and Territory levels. There are, however, no standing committees at neighbourhood or district levels to provide regular input. The fact that collaborative planning in practice has not progressed beyond the two lowest tiers on Arnstein's 'ladder of participation' is confirmed by a recent analysis of three case studies in the ACT. The study concludes: 'the strong shaping role of the private sector, and the political imperatives of government, preclude citizen involvement in Canberra's planning, except at the margins . . . . To improve citizen input into planning would require a more coordinated and transparent process with which citizens might engage, both at the strategic/operational interface and in relation to specific development approvals. In turn, these improvements would require changes to institutional structures, processes and values in order to generate trust through enhanced planning capacity.'[22] This has been a constant finding of parliamentary inquiries since 2004. In large measure, however, the existence of these inquiries has been a result of active citizenship with community groups using the media and political processes to at least ventilate issues of moment, if not resolve them.

The most significant of these inquiries was undertaken in 2008 by the Joint Standing Committee on the National Capital of the Federal Parliament (JSC) into the role of the NCA. Among its recommendations, the JSC called for reconciliation of the National Capital Plan with the Territory's statutory plan based on 'clear geographic boundaries between the two plans' and the 'objective that, where possible, land administration be aligned with planning jurisdictions.'[23] In December 2008, the NCA received a Ministerial directive to carry out the recommendation.[24] It took until June 2015, almost 7 years later, for the NCA to release the first round of draft variations to the National Capital Plan in accordance with this Ministerial directive. In itself, the delay is indicative of the planning and organisational weakness within the NCA, revealed by its chairman in an appearance before the JSC in November 2010, when 'no progress' on the task was acknowledged.[25] In 2012 the NCA received extra funding to carry out the necessary review of the National Capital Plan but it took until 2014 and a high-profile campaign by a conservative Senator from the ACT pushing the interests of the Territory to begin to advance the review.[26] The process was subsequently fast-tracked. Release of the Draft Amendment signalling the most significant change to National Capital planning in a generation, elicited informed submissions from the public, professional organisations and government agencies. Although consultation reports were prepared the D A was signed into law without significant changes in May 2016.[27]

WITHDRAWAL OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

In summary, the changes signal the end of Federal involvement in the metropolitan planning of Canberra leaving overall city-making to local government and local development interests in the Australian Capital Territory. The NCA has proposed to surrender oversight powers for the forested hinterland of the ACT, the river corridors and the 'Lanyon Bowl', a significant cultural landscape in the New Town of Tuggeranong, saved from urban development by a citizen campaign of the 1980s[28] (Figures 2 & 3).

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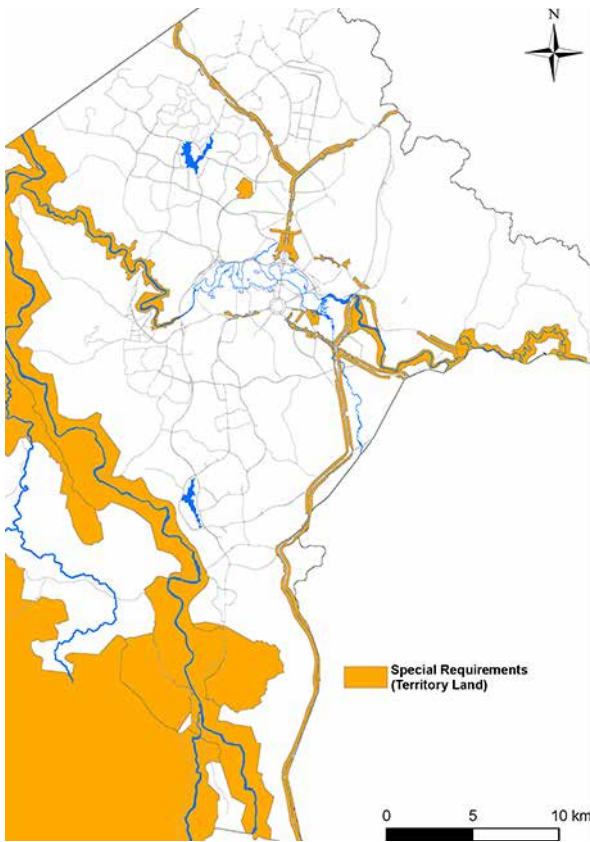
FIGURE 2 Removal of the 'Special Requirements' of the National Capital Plan covering the forested hinterland, river corridors and 'Lanyon Bowl' cultural landscape of the ACT, as shown in the contrast between existing controls
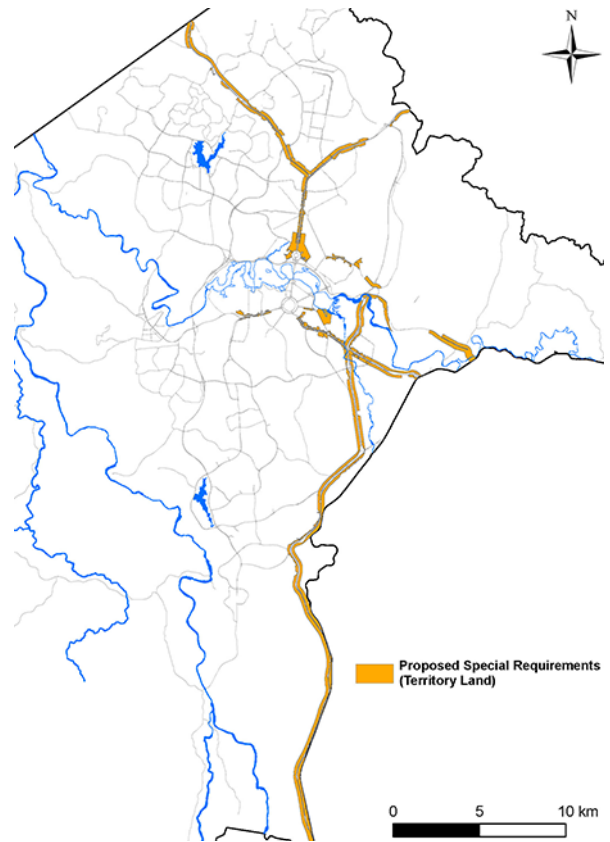
FIGURE 3 Proposed controls released for public comment in 2015 as draft amendments to the National Capital Plan.

The NCA has acquiesced to pressure from the ACT to urbanise the greenbelt between North Canberra and Gungahlin, to extend urban development in the New Town of Belconnen to the far north-west border of the ACT to connect with rural lands in the adjoining state of New South Wales held by property speculators who have campaigned for just this result; and to re-activate plans to urbanise both banks of the major river of the region – the Murrumbidgee – which had been rejected in the 1970s on environmental grounds.

All these concessions to the ACT represent a significant expansion of greenfield development sites, demonstrating the fundamental conflict between the role of the ACT government as land developer and conservation of the environment of the National Capital in the national interest. In this way, the neoliberal turn which began to subsume national capital planning to market forces in the 1970s has reached its apotheosis.
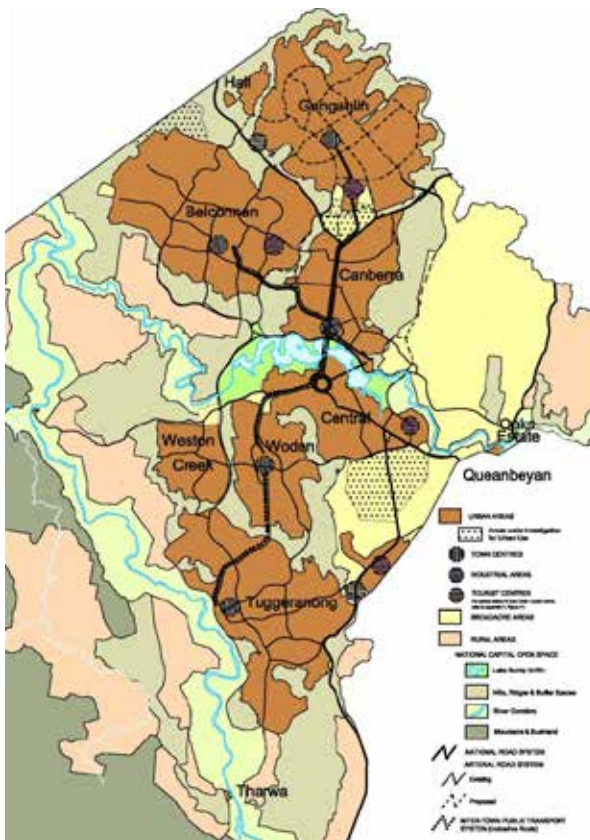
FIGURE 4 Metropolitan Canberra, General Policy Plan, 2002 (left)
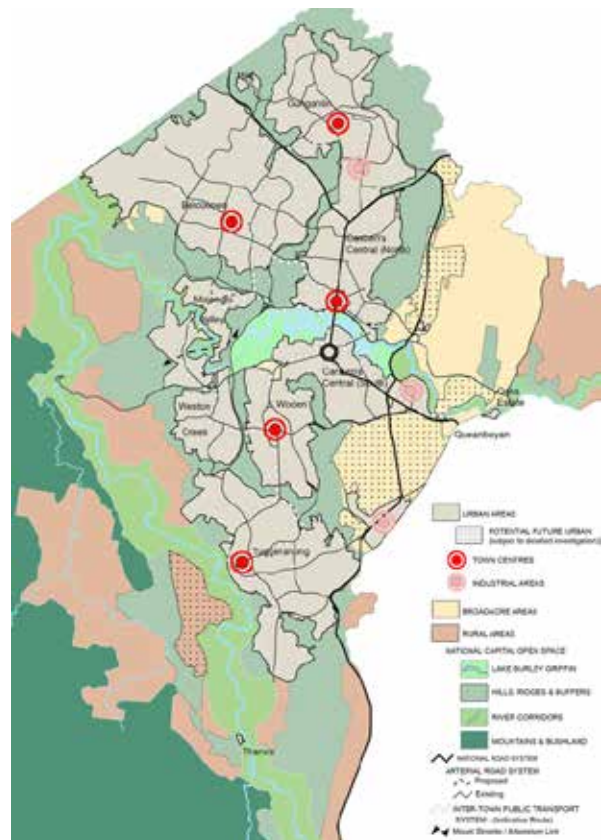
FIGURE 5 General Policy Plan as proposed under Draft Amendment 86 to the National Capital Plan in 2015 showing progressive urbanisation of the greenbelt separating the New Towns (the National Capital Open Space System) and extension of Belconnen to the north-west border of the ACT to connect with speculative landholdings in NSW.

At the same time, positive aspects of the collaborative planning undertaken by the ACT government in formulation of the Canberra Spatial Plan in 2004 have begun to be realised. In recognition of community ideas for a creative, compact city freed from car-dependency, which date back to a path-breaking study of 1991, 'Towards a More Sustainable Canberra',[29] the Territory government has advanced plans for the first stage of a light-rail system to connect Gungahlin with the central city. At the same time, mixed-use developments on the edge of the central city, both upmarket ventures by the private sector and a student housing precinct fostered by the Australian National University, have begun to bring life to the notoriously dead heart of the National Capital. Flexible planning controls for a former trade uses zone on the city fringe have succeeded in generating the seductive appeal of 'unregulated space' with popup stores and restaurants emulating, if only superficially, signature elements of the creative city. An urban renewal project on the foreshore of Lake Burley Griffin at Kingston, underway since the 1990s, has activated the waterfront of the city for the first time and stimulated support for a more ambitious 'City to the Lake' project that the ACT government has developed from a controversial component of the NCA's 'Griffin Legacy' proposals.

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CONCLUSION

Since self-government in the late 1980s, planning culture in Canberra has been caught in a dialectic between a dominant neoliberal paradigm, which drove the 'company town' to self-government in the first place, and various forms of collaborative planning, relatively weak in the face of market forces but nevertheless responsive to the knowledge and passions of the Canberra community, which at times draw upon the capital city planning ethos of the past. The withdrawal of the Federal government from metropolitan planning for a 'disembedded capital'[30] of its own creation is a tragic abdication of responsibility – particularly considering the challenges presented by a city with a population approaching 500,000 located in an environmentally-sensitive inland region of Australia. The extent to which the ACT government, captive to land development interests, will step into the role of the Federal government and plan Canberra in the national interest will depend on the strength of its civil society in coming decades, and a planning culture which balances the driving force of neoliberalism with an embrace of collaborative principles and practices in a meaningful way.

Endnotes

1 Sanyal, "Preface," xxi.
2 Sandercock, "Picking the Paradoxes," 310.
3 Fischer, *Myths and Models.*
4 see for example, Fischer & Weirick, "Sustainability as a Key Theme."
5 Fischer & Weirick, "Canberra 2013," 6.
6 for details cf. Fischer, "Building Culture"
7 Sherman, *Report of an Assessment;* Yates, "Technical Expertise as a Contributing Factor in Three Disasters."
8 Weirick, "Anatomy of a Disaster," 5-6.
9 National Capital Development Commission, *Tomorrow's Canberra.*
10 Gilchrist, "Commercial Centres in Canberra," 36-47.
11 Weller & O'Neill, "An Argument with Neoliberalism," 112.
12 Whitwell, "The Triumph of Economic Rationalism," 124.
13 Pusey, "What's Wrong with Economic Rationalism?" 64.
14 Peake, "Cabinet Papers: National Capital Plan Born in Disagreement over Office Space."
15 Peake, "Cabinet Papers: National Capital Authority Dodged a Bullet."
16 Australia. Auditor-General. *Commonwealth Management of Leased Office Property.*
17 Hewison, "We Must End the Ruinous Cycle."
18 Freestone & Wiesel, "Privatisation, Property and Planning," 35-54.
19 OECD, *Urban Renaissance: Canberra,* 167-170.
20 Australian Capital Territory. Chief Minister's Office, *The Canberra Plan;* Fenton-Menzies, "A Planned City Takes a Fresh Look for the 21st Century," 13-15.
21 NCA, *The Griffin Legacy;* United States. National Capital Planning Commission. *Extending the Legacy.*
22 Stewart & Lithgow, "Problems and Prospects in Community Engagement," 31; Arnstein, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," 216-224.
23 Australia. Parliament. Joint Standing Committee on the National Capital and External Territories. *The Way Forward,* xxi.
24 Australia. Minister for Home Affairs. "Australian Government Response," 11.
25 Australia. Parliament. Joint Standing Committee on the National Capital and External Territories. "Review of the National Capital Authority: Biannual Hearings," 16.
26 Seselja, "ACT Planning Laws Out of Date"; Peake, "National Capital Authority Too Powerful Says Liberal Senator."
27 NCA, *National Capital Plan: Exposure Draft;* NCA, *National Capital Plan: Exposure Draft – Consultation Report;* NCA, *National Capital Plan: Draft Amendment 86:* Sinclair & Straw, "When is a Plan not a Plan," 196-201; Peake, "Go Ahead for Sweeping Changes."
28 Taylor, *Canberra: City in the Landscape,* 128-129.
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30 Joffe, "Disembedded Capitals," 549-551.

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BANGKOK STREET VENDING AS AN URBAN RESILIENT ELEMENT

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In urban planning and design study, the urban informality had been rarely examined its strengths and potential in the making a livable city, as well as the resilient city. In the fact of that, informality, flexibility, and adaptability to any circumstance are key concepts of urban resilience in preparing to, responding to and recovering from both natural and manmade urban disasters. According to precedent researches, street vending is one of the most primitive urban informal activities which still play a significant role in the urban socio-economics of many countries, especially in the under-developed and developing worlds. A prime example is the city of Bangkok. Street vending provides easy accessibility for all of its population to get cheap food, commodities and employment. Street vending has, however, been claimed as an unwanted urban element by policy makers, city planners and urban designers due to its negative effects, such as dirt, traffic jams and social crimes, as well as its image of poverty. Meanwhile, street vending in Bangkok had been evolved significantly in last two decades. They responded and adapted effectively to the new challenges such as global and local economic changes, as well as aggressive urban disasters due to political changes and climate change.

This paper aims to investigate the emerging roles of street vendors in Bangkok and how they have encounter to the changes of urban context focusing on effects of urban crises. The hypothesis is the strength of street vending provides the easy access to necessaries not only in urban daily life but also during urban crises. The study concentrates on the history and evolution of street vending in Bangkok, since 1980s-2010s, focusing on three major scenarios of urban crises; economic, political and urban flood crises. Sizes, forms distributions of street vending, and its roles will be analyzed. Descriptive and statistical data were collected through precedent research, articles in periodicals and newspapers, and interviews with government officers.

The cross-analysis will be used to clarify the roles of street vending in three different dilemmas. The results show that Bangkok demonstrated the natural resilience through informal street vending. Street vending has evolved from its conventional roles and identities in order to survive from diverse forms of pressure. Street vending support and maintain livable urban conditions through the strength of movability and flexibility and self-adaptability to any circumstance especially during urban crisis. As a result, street vending could be considered as an urban resilient element in fulfilling individual needs and demands in case of the fix-formal urban facilities were inoperative. Accordingly, it may be concluded that street vending is a significantly resilient urban element for Bangkok. Finally, it provides a recommendation on how the lesson from street vending could contribute towards urban planning and design in the future.

Reconstruction and Redevelopment Planning in History

Chair: Rosemary Wakeman

PLANNING ALEPPO UNDER THE FRENCH MANDATE

Rosemary Wakeman

Fordham University

The State of Aleppo was declared by the French in 1920 as part of a scheme to make Syria easier to control by dividing it into smaller states and stoking the rivalry between Aleppo (the largest city) and Damascus (the new capital). The paradox of the city's reshaping by French planners was the multiple temporal prisms through which it was undertaken. On the one hand French planners reveled in a rediscovery of Aleppo's past and its picturesque beauty and historic richness. On the other hand was the French temporal narrative of discontinuity and modernity. This paper will explore this paradox and the plans for Aleppo by René Danger and the Danger Brothers planning and engineering firm, one of the most important companies working in Syria under the French mandate. A vast survey of Aleppo was undertaken by Danger in order to create a coherent colonial environment from the city's "material and moral misery." The survey would create a legible landscape and normative frame for colonial administrators.The purpose of urban embellishment and improvement was the "education, the morale and intellectual elevation" of Aleppo's population.

RECONSTRUCTION AND RENATURALISATION: LOUIS VAN DER SWAELMEN'S BLUEPRINT FOR URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING

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In 1916 Belgian landscape architect/urban planner Louis Van der Swaelmen (1883-1929) published 'Préliminaires d'Art Civique, mis en relation avec le "cas clinique" de la Belgique' ('Preliminary Notes on a Civic Art, in Relation to the "Clinical Case" Belgium'), both a guide for the reconstruction of Belgium after World War I and a blueprint for urban planning in general. The book was the result of the work of a Belgian-Dutch research group guided by Van der Swaelmen and Hendrik Berlage during the war. This paper argues that, although Préliminaires incorporated English and Dutch concepts on garden cities, town planning and survey in the context of post-war reconstruction, it was equally stooled on ideas on the renaturalisation of the city Van der Swaelmen and his contemporaries developed in Belgium during the pre-war era.

What makes Van der Swaelmen's work relevant for today's resilience debate is the fact that he combined proto-ecological thinking with a scientific conception of the emerging discipline of urban planning. He proposed a twofold solution to recover the damaged territory: on the one hand restoring the 'harmonious link between man and nature', and on the other hand creating an urban planning system that would regulate the territory in an 'objective and scientific' way. Préliminaires was based on the belief in an analogy between biology and urbanism: the city as a living organism governed by 'socio-biological', 'natural' laws, and survey as the method to study the city in vitro according to scientific methods. Furthermore, Van der Swaelmen proposed to adapt urban development to the geographical, hydrological and topographical features of the region and to incorporate landscape preservation in an overall planning system.

The aim of the paper is twofold: first, to unravel Van der Swaelmen's planning theory on the urban, rural and national scale and the different social and spatial conceptions of re-naturalisation that were at stake; second, to give insight in his international and Belgian references of proto-ecological thinking. The paper will especially focus on the group of (landscape) architects, preservationists and scientists Van der Swaelmen was part of in the pre-war era when he was working as a landscape architect: the association Le Nouveau Jardin Pittoresque, that imported the concept of the 'wild garden' in Belgium, the association Les Amis de la Forêt de Soignes, that combined the 'cult of nature' with a scientific interest in the context of the Soignes forest, and botanist Jean Massart, whose geobotanical and ecological research would be instrumental for the re-naturalisation of the territory in Préliminaires d'Art Civique. The paper concludes with some observations on notions of resilience and ecology in relation to urban planning in the past and today.

Keywords
post-war reconstruction, society/nature relationships, proto-ecology

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GORDON STEPHENSON AND POST-WAR CENTRAL AREA REDEVELOPMENT PLANNING

David Gordon

Queen's University

Gordon Stephenson (1908-97) was responsible for the international diffusion of Modern planning ideas from his UK birthplace to North America and Australasia. He was educated at the University of Liverpool, MIT and within Le Corbusier's studio. Stephenson prepared the UK Government's guidelines for post-war central area redevelopment, prior to planning Stevenage new town and designing its central business district in collaboration with Clarence Stein.

Stephenson was based in Perth WA in 1954-55 and from 1960 forward, preparing central area redevelopment plans for Perth (1955 & 1975), Midland, Canberra (1962) and Christchurch NZ (1962). From 1955 to 1960, Stephenson led the graduate program in urban planning at the University of Toronto. During the summers, he conducted central area urban renewal studies for Halifax (1957), Kingston (1958-60), and London (1960).

The paper will draw upon archival research and interviews with Stephenson's local collaborators in Christchurch NZ, Perth WA, Kingston ON, London ON, Halifax NS and London UK. It will compare the central area redevelopment planning approaches in these studies and place them in context with other central area renewal studies of the early post war period, demonstrating that Stephenson was a global conduit for Modern planning ideas.

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Keywords

Gordon Stephenson, central city reconstruction, urban renewal, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, UK

THE CONTINUITY AND TRANSMUTATION: THE URBAN PLANNING OF LANZHOU BEFORE AND AFTER THE HISTORICAL TURNING POINT IN 1949

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The paper based on excavating the neglected data in the history of urban planning in Lanzhou City, will re-recognize the Chinese inland political city's urban planning behavior interrupt, form evolution and thinking continuity before and after regime change from the perspective of historical continuity. Although the modernization of the city was limited, due to its geography characteristics, Lanzhou was been positioned as "Land Capital" and constructed as an important inland city by the National Government. The planning of these unopened inland cities embodies the planners' consciousness and independence, which shall be one of the important research samples of the urban planning history in the modern time of China.

"Historical turning point" refers to the regime changes, wars and social reforms .In this paper, it targets at the regime changes from Republic of China to People's Republic of China in 1949, as the divide between the early modern and the modern times in China. However, the authors proposed that based on the historical opinion of continuity to doubt whether urban planning behaviors are "totally new" after regime change and administrative act breaking in 1949. The paper adopts the historical literature and investigation research methods to re-excavate the historical facts of urban planning in Lanzhou City in beginning of 20th century from journals, newspapers and files published in the Republic of China Era. Lanzhou did not implement effective urban construction until 1937 when the Japanese aggressive war against china broke out, the labor and production resources in Eastern China were transferred to Western China, and the National Government defined Lanzhou as the "Land Capital" after the Capital of Nanjing and deputy capital of Chongqing based on the war trend and geography characteristics, which allowed Lanzhou to get the development opportunity. From 1938 to 1945, the National Government input numerous financial resources and manpower for urban construction. During the period, Lanzhou not only built many roads, but also took initial shape of the urban planning thinking suitable for human settlement based on the Garden City Theory; the regime was changed after the Chinese Civil War, and the local planners' thought of human settlement city was denied during the first five-year plan of New China, influenced by the Soviet Union's urban planning thinking, Lanzhou was set as an important city for the petrochemical industry in inland Chine; since 1978, Lanzhou has been suffering from air pollution. In recent years, Lanzhou cleans up the industry and vigorously improves the living environment to make it livable.

Through researching the historical literature, the continuous vein gradually appears: in the sadness of barren natural conditions in Western China, the pursuit of living environment remains with a indomitable vitality. Especially when the planners and architects reflect the long-standing and well-established pursuit of living environment in their own eras to the city by virtue of their persistence and through wars, peace and renaissance. As the culture container, the cultural properties in the urban planning of a city makes it remain the continuity after regime changes and upheaval of political behaviors.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF ALEPPO, 2016

Robert Templer

Central European University

Urban planners and architects have been sidelined from the reconstruction of cities recovering from conflict in the past two decades. Most cities damaged by war have seen reconstructions that were either driven by private developers -- Beirut -- or by the imperatives of security and the forces of corruption -- Kabul and Baghdad. Local planners and communities tend to have little say in the manner of reconstruction, often leading to new urban tensions and worsening inequality. Even in Sarajevo, the recipient of massive reconstruction aid from the European Union, neither professionals nor communities had much say in rebuilding. Aleppo has the possibility of avoiding these mistakes, particularly if the work of the German technical assistance organisation GIZ can be built on after the war. A GIZ program of work on the Old City laid out many worthwhile ideas for urban recovery but it remains to be seen if they will endure through a conflict that has driven many from the city and destroyed nearly half of its area.

Historical Approaches to European Spatial Planning

Chair: Marcin Dabrowski

THE RISE OF A EUROPEAN PLANNING COMMUNITY (1958-1968)

Wil Zonneveld

TU Delft

Planners from North West European countries have tried to enshrine spatial planning in the 1958 treaty of the European Economic Community. They failed. Over the course of about a decade, these planners have done their best to establish a kind of planning subject by proxy. This was the Conference of Regions in North West Europe, or CRONWE. CRONWE started quite modestly around the mid 1950s with colloquia. The organization acquired momentum in the 1960s (and 1970s) with regular conferences attended by sometimes hundreds of people form various governmental levels and European institutions. Although CRONWE could be called a forerunner of transnational planning, the conference was definitely not a planning subject holding discretionary powers on matters of planning policy. It was what nowadays would be called an NGO. All it could do was raise awareness on matters of crossborder and European policy issues, or issues considered by planning professionals as matters of European importance. The paper will discuss and evaluate the various activities which were organized under the umbrella of CRONWE. The pinnacle was reached in 1968 with the publication of a genuine structural outline. With the knowledge of hindsight, we now know that this outline was at the same time a swan song.

Keywords
european economic community, european spatial planning, planning community, planning subject, CRONWE

A HISTORICAL INSTITUTIONALIST ACCOUNT OF EUROPEAN SPATIAL PLANNING

Andreas Faludi

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Sorensen invokes historical institutionalism as a theoretical framework. This paper does so revisiting the making of the European Spatial Development Perspective of 1990s vintage and the subsequent Territorial Agenda of the European Union. The context is EU Cohesion policy. First the paper presents the theoretical framework. Then it explains why European spatial planning has been a limited success by identifying fault lines in the institutional architecture of European integration generally: whether integration merely means states relinquishing specific powers, called competences in EU jargon, or whether the EU transcends states and state institutions and whether representatives of state governments with their political and electoral concerns or the European Commission with its detached expertise should take the lead. There is also the fault line between planning and the spending department, or sectors. The view that the EU has no business in planning because planning is a state power has prevailed. To its chagrin, the Commission has also been side-lined by national planners. To overcome this problem, the European Union was to be given a competence, if not for spatial planning, then for territorial cohesion. To mark their joint position on the matter in relation to evolving EU policy, member states adopted the Territorial Agenda of the European Union. Neither their initiative nor the pursuit of territorial cohesion by the EU as such went far. Estimating that member states would not accept whatever it might propose in the matter, the Commission never took, as it could have done under there relevant rules the initiative. With its cross-border, transnational and interregional strands, 'European territorial cooperation' serves as a substitute for EU territorial cohesion policy proper. The paper explains the course of events over the more than twenty-five years covered by these developments by reference to the institutional architecture of the EU. The primacy which that architecture gives to member states means that state institutions and their politics prevail over expertise, including that of planners. It also implies European space being conceptualised as a seamless cover of sovereign jurisdiction. The story of European spatial planning casts a critical light on the EU institutional architecture being challenged by a fluid, dynamic spatial reality.

*We should not assume that a democratic Europe would merely be
a replication on the continental level of institutional patterns
that are characteristic of nation states.*[1]

INTRODUCTION

A Dutch national planning director of the early-1990s thought it unthinkable for 'Brussels', shorthand for the European Union (EU) to have a say in the expansion of the Port of Rotterdam. Never mind that its expansion might affect developments in other parts of Europe. EU initiatives, also and in particular as regards spatial planning evoke such assertions of national sovereignty, particularly at borders where the nation state as an institution manifests itself. Borders '...express sovereignty as a power to attach populations to territories..., to "administrate" the territory through the control of population, and, conversely, to govern the population through the division and the survey of the territory.'[2] The reason is that a nation is an '...ideal community ... whose durability rests on the State's ability to demarcate ... its physical and symbolic boundaries.'[3] European planning is suspect for challenging such core believes about nation and state as institutions. If the EU were a federation, sovereign in its own right, objections might be mooted, but it is not.

Does federation and its alternative, an intergovernmental construct, exhaust the institutional options? Scholars invoke the notion of the EU as 'sui generis' and former European Commission President Jacques Delors that of it as an 'unknown political object'.[4] But unfamiliar institutional alternatives may simple evoke reassertions of the role of the state, also and in particular where it comes to spatial planning standing for the methods used by the public sector to influence the distribution of people and activities in spaces of various scales.[5] National spatial planning more in particular is about influencing the distribution of people and activities within the national space.[6] European spatial planning would then be about the distribution of people and activities in the European space, but in an EU operating along intergovernmental lines this would be possible only if member states were to entrust the EU with the task. Only then the European Commission could take relevant initiatives, always subject to member state approval. If the EU were a federation proper, there would be a prima facie case. The practicality and desirability of planning at that scale would remain to be proven, but that would be all. What spatial planning would mean if the EU were Delors' unknown political object remains an open question. Such is the importance of institutional constructs.

Fulfilling a long-standing ambition.[7] Dutch spatial planners in cahoots with French colleagues took initiatives to bring planning to the then European Community. This was in the late-1980s. This paper revisits their campaign resulting, if nothing else, in much mutual learning.[8] In time, there might be a revival but for now prospects are poor. Be that as it may, to make planners savvier about institutional matters, this paper revisits previous works on European spatial planning.[9] It looks at the making of a European Spatial Development Perspective, henceforth ESDP. Then comes a discussion of the Territorial Agenda of the European Union. The context is the flagship Cohesion policy of the EU. First the paper presents the theoretical framework.

HISTORICAL INSTITUTIONALISM

Sorensen[10] invokes historical institutionalism to address the lack of theory-driven history. Institutions are sets of regularised practices with a rule-like quality structuring the behaviour of political and economic actors.[11] Their maintenance, and challenging them even more so requires the application of power. Historical institutionalism elucidates how institutions shape long-term political, economic, and social behaviour, thus generating self-reinforcing dynamics.

Sorensen wants to find out why some institutions are successful and others not. 'Critical junctures' are when institutions change, but there is also slow, ongoing incremental change. Applying this to urban planning, Sorensen focuses on (a) urban land parcels with the property on them; (b) relevant public and private infrastructure; (c) governance systems. In European planning, for land parcels read (a) the territories of member state with their endowments; (b) embedded as they are in transnational infrastructure in a wide sense of the word; (c) the EU system of governance.

Focusing on the dynamics of planning and development, Sorensen recalls Mahoney and Thelen[12] saying that, where it can be observed, continuity comes from the ongoing mobilisation of, and by, those benefiting from the status quo. For instance, in European spatial planning member states maintain, as the Dutch planning director quoted above suggested, control over their national territories. Such is the institutional architecture of the EU with its three fault lines, the first and arguably deepest one being between the member states and the EU itself. The second is between national and European Commission experts. The third fault line running through governments much as the Commission and its services is that between planning and the spending departments, or sectors single-mindedly pursuing their policies. The discussion starts with explaining the cleavage between states as institutions and the EU.

States have territory, people, and a government[13]. Shaw[14] notes likewise that they have a permanent population living in a defined territory with a government enjoying a monopoly on managing international relations. Without controlling their territory, states are not sovereign. This is why the suggestion that the EU might engage in spatial planning prompts them to defend their territoriality, the latter a general term in human geography[15]. It stands precisely for the exercise of control over resources and people by controlling area.[16] State boundaries in particular '…indicate territorial control and, hence, power over prescribed space'.[17] The ideal being a homogenous territory and people, the French Republic proceeded to replacing historic provinces with départements of more or less equal size[18] and considered the people as equal[19]. With compulsory education stamping out local patois[20], the Third Republic homogenised the people further. Travelogues like Le tour de la France par deux enfants (Two Children's Tour of France)[21] encouraging readers to take virtual possession of their territory were enforced national identity. Europe bears the marks of efforts to impose national languages and construct narratives of nationhood and territory.

It was only logical for states to map their territories and compile demographic and other statistics, ensuring what Michael Foucault describes as governability[22]. This led to 'methodological territorialism'[23] erecting barriers in the way of transnational and European research and planning. Compiling European data bases, the European Spatial Planning Observation Network, better known by its acronym ESPON, makes an effort to overcome methodological territorialism.

With states being all-important, European space comes to be seen as the quilt of national territories as which it is often represented. But Balibar has been shown to question the reliance on states. Badie[24] has already talked about 'La fin des territoires' (The End of Territories) due to globalisation, the end of the Cold War and the crisis of the welfare state. But in France even more so than elsewhere, services delivered equitably throughout the territory have become part of national identity[25]. At the same time, as with communes of which Estèbe[26] says that they can no longer govern themselves as rural communities once could, so with states: there is a mismatch between their citizens, residents and other stakeholders. The calling of the EU being to create a Europe makes this more evident, but there would be a mismatch even without the EU. Nonetheless, states claim control over their territories. Caught in what Agnew[27] has famously called the territorial trap, member states therefore keep the EU therefore at bay.

The reason is that even clear-sighted elected officials are hamstrung by their accountability to their voters, said Monnet[28]. EU members are by definition democracies where the '...absolutization and sacralization of borders is perhaps even greater ... precisely because [democracy –AF] expresses the fact that the state is ideally the people's property... [But –AF] the constitutive relationship between territory, population and sovereignty is no longer taken for granted...'[29]. Indeed, an '...architectural vision of a territory conceived of as a total body, always pursuing harmony, coherence and equilibrium ceased to inspire all those who, as analysts (penseurs) or practitioners, wish to control, organise, remodel this territory.'[30]

The second fault line in the EU institutional architecture is between national planners and the detached expertise of the European Commission and its services. Commissioners themselves are considered to be experts. Their names being put forward by member state governments, they now come from the ranks of national politicians. Still, at hearings before the European Parliament they are grilled about their expertise. And, as far as the Commission services modelled on the French higher civil service are concerned, expertise is what counts.

The Commission being considered an expert body comes from the Schuman Declaration of 9 May 1950, regarded as the foundational moment of the EU. At that time, Schuman announced the French initiative to bring coal and steel production in Western Europe under joint control. Cohen[31] points out that in so doing he was been guided by Jean Monnet in charge of French planification involving, as it did, experts and stakeholders in managing industry. The High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community, predecessor of the European Commission, was thus also thought of as an expert body, but the governments of the prospective members, France, Germany, Italy and the Benelux countries insisted on a Council of Ministers ratifying its proposals. This second fault line in the EU institutional architecture between expertise and political representation persists. So in planning, national planners are constrained to represent national positions while Commission experts may articulate independent points of view.

As an aside, Monnet's ideas smack of course of technocracy. But remember that the Fourth Republic was at the mercy of political parties squabbling. Worse still, the divisive parliamentary politics of the Third Republic was held responsible for the defeat at the hands of the Germans. Enjoying impeccable democratic credentials, Rosanvallon[32] points out that, where political decision makers need to worry about elections, expert authorities can safeguard what he calls 'generality'. Faludi[33] holds that this includes, not only long term, but also broad spatial concerns that may transcend administrative boundaries. This can bring planners at loggerheads with democratic representatives constrained to do the bidding of territorial constituencies. This may justify independent expertise being brought to bear, also in European planning. Bringing expertise to bear has been the inspiration of Jean Monnet, being described by Duchêne [34] as the 'statesman of interdependence'.

The third fault line is not unique to the EU. As large bureaucracies, government institutions, too, suffer from what is called a silo mentality. It is the planners' calling to break through this, making sure that spatial development takes account of the impact of the actions of spending departments on other existing and future activities in space and to pursues synergies between them. At times, French aménagement du territoire has been in a position to do so, but planners are generally in a weak position to do so.

So far for thee fault lines in the institutional architecture of European integration between states seeking to maintain their integrity as institutions and the EU looking after common concerns; between government planners or Commission experts taking the lead; and between planners and spending departments. It is with this in mind that the paper looks at the history of European spatial planning.

THE MAKING OF THE ESDP

In this drawn-out process, the three fault lines are only too evident. The occasion for starting deliberations was the 1987 Single European Act, the first major overhaul of the foundational Treaty of Rome of 1956. It foresaw the completion of the Single Market and in a much enhanced European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). National planners from France and the Netherlands eyed the renewed dynamism of European integration, not only for opportunities and threats to their countries but also for bringing their expertise to bear –at the Commission services had no comparable expertise available– in formulating overall strategy. Thus there was the prospect of a critical juncture in the development of European planning which some of the planning elite had been looking for since the end of World War II being reached.

Liaising with the Commission services, the small group concerned engineered an informal meeting of planning ministers of the, at that time twelve members of the European Community. It was the origin of the ESDP. Looking at its history one has to bear in mind, not just what states in general are; one has to look also at the specific institutional position of planning in the member states concerned. Dutch and French planning are miles apart, but what the initiators from these countries of Nantes not only knew and appreciated each other, they had reasons each to watch the effects of European integration on their country: Dutch planners looked at the effects of the Single Market on the spatial position of the Netherlands as a trading nation; French planners were apprehensive about the fall of the Iron Curtain shifting the centre of gravity to the east. It was no accident that the French chose Nantes as the venue for a meeting of ministers in 1989. Fearing that the west of France with Nantes being marginalised, they wanted to draw attention to the 'Atlantic Arc'[35]. In terms of regional-economic strength not particularly, as EU jargon would have it, 'defavourised', the west of France it should thus receive assistance. The French also perceived a threat from the polycentric urban network running north-south along the Rhine Axis and barely straddling their eastern border outperforming their territory centring as it did on Paris[36]. With the Netherlands firmly within this purported core of Europe, the Dutch did not share this concern.

Pursuing his 'European model of society'[37] implying spatially balanced development[38], Delors attended Nantes. His officials present included the French former deputy director of his cabinet. He had been responsible for formulating Delors' new regional policy and would shape it until after the ESDP was completed ten years hence. He embodied the idea of a rightful place for the Commission as the initiator of policy, an attitude which put him frequently at loggerheads with national planners whose brief was to pursue the interests of member states.

The fault line became immediately evident at Nantes when Delors complained in an impromptu speech that the Council of Ministers –not the same ministers as the planning ministers assembled at Nantes– had unilaterally set the parameters in Cohesion policy. Now, the meeting at Nantes in 1989 had no direct bearing on Community decision making. In fact, it did not even exist in the cosmos of EU institutions. Rather, the ERDF was dealt with by the General Affairs Council of foreign ministers and/or the summit meetings, now the European Councils of Heads of States and Governments. Neither was specifically concerned with regional issues let alone spatial planning. The concern was a 'fair return' for member states from the EU budget fed by their own contributions, what Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher would once bring to the point by saying: I want my money back. So ministers had insisted on national shares of the ERDF to be negotiated by them, with no planning input whatsoever.

Had the ministers at Nantes had some clout with their governments, they could have convinced their colleagues on the Council of the merits of a joint spatial vision, but here the third fault between planning and spending departments becomes relevant. With no Council formation to argue its case, planning at the EU is non-existent. Its position in member state governments varies. Other than their French colleagues who were involved, Dutch planners were not dealing with ERDF allocations, but at least national spatial planning was serious business[39]. This as against Germany where the federal level was constrained to setting a broad planning framework,

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with the Länder, each with its own planning law and institutions being responsible for planning. To prevent Brussels from interfering with this setup, Germans argued, and continue to argue, that member states and not the Commission should be responsible for any common spatial perspective. Soon other member states, including the Netherlands were swayed to the German position. Spatial development, as it was beginning to be called, should be the joint concern of member states and not of the Commission.

How spatial planning became spatial development is interesting in itself for illustrating how, in an intergovernmental and thus consensual setting, individual member states can shape common policy. Identified by Commission officials as the common denominator of terms used in the various Community languages, spatial planning was an unexceptional term to German and Dutch ears. But to the UK Conservative government planning smacked of socialism. On its insistence spatial development became the term used.

The further process of making the intergovernmental ESDP was punctuated by informal ministerial meetings prepared by an equally informal Committee on Spatial Development, both chaired by the country holding the rotating Presidency of the Council of Ministers. Procedures were agreed at a meeting at Corfu, hence 'Corfu Method'. Institutionalisation does not always come under the law.

In an attempt to generate good will, the Commission services played along, supporting the Committee on Spatial Development as if it were on Commission business. In the end they were disenchanted by the persistent denial of their due role as initiators of Community policy. All support was ended, causing a hiatus of several years in the work. In terms of Sorensen's critical junctures, the first in the path of truly European planning had evaporated. Invoking legalistic arguments, those advantaged by the current position, planners from member states who could have been inconvenienced by a European policy led by the Commission had prevailed. The Commission services concerned got support neither from member states nor from the higher echelons of the Commission for their ambition to take a leading role. Given political will, the lack of a mention of spatial planning in the treaties could have been overcome, as the lack of an explicit mention in the treaty had when environmental and regional policy were introduced in the 1970s. But priorities were different, and the Director-general for regional policy spoke of those advocating truly European planning as the 'dreamers' of his service.

The ESDP[40] which the member states negotiated over many years has its merits. At the same time, and whilst drawing inspiration from its propagating polycentric development[41], once completed member states, even those who had been closely involved, paid little attention to the document as such. For a while, Commission documents and regulations did refer to the ESDP, but its real achievement is having initiated support for transnational cooperation under the INTERREG programme, including the setting up of ESPON, the latter the most enduring institutional provision for attending to spatial or territorial matters.

No real decision points having been reached, and none appearing on the horizon, all this may still be to good effect in the long run. If so, this would be an example of incremental institutional change. But at the time the territoriality of member states –their control over their territory– was unassailable. It was narrowly interpreted in terms of what in EU jargon is called a competence to regulate land use and development. This had never in fact been what Commission experts steamed in French aménagement du territoire had –but not the Germans– had in mind. Aménagement is not about land use. It coordinates state investments. The case for coordinating them seems unexceptional, but if at all, member states wanted to do this themselves.

Not all member states did, at least not as regards space and the spatial impacts of investments. Where they did not, there failure to do so was due, once again, to their institutional setups. More powerful ministries than planning were more concerned with funding issues and with the conditions attached[42]. In principle, state authorities should of course take careful looks at their territories, and do so in their wider European and global context. But, to repeat, administrations suffer from silo mentality. Where they are concerned about, or stand

to benefit from Community policies, ministries, the likes of agriculture, industry and transport and also the those responsible for regional policy prefer planners not to be looking over their shoulders. The same silo mentality creating the third, all-pervasive institutional fault line as identified prevents the Commission itself from formulating its own spatial strategy. Member states would not savour this for giving the Commission an edge over them, but they could hardly object, but to repeat, the Commission, too, suffers from silo mentality[43].

Germany made a foray in the opposite direction. It proposed that its brainchild, the intergovernmental ESDP, being a mandatory guideline for Community policies. In the German institutional setup it is common for ideas and practices of the Länder to filter up to the federal level. Germans call this the Gegenstromprinzip, or counter-current principle. But the Commission cherishes its right of initiative. Allowing itself to be guided by, as was the Germans proposal, a strategy formulated by a Council working group representing member states would take away this privilege enshrined in Europe's institutional setup. So another critical juncture which could have been reached during negotiations in the mid-1990s leading to the Treaty of Amsterdam, which was when the Germans made this proposal never came even close.

TERRITORIAL AGENDA PROCESS

During the ESDP process planners from the member states applied an institutional logic under which integration is based on specific competences of the EU. Since there was no such competence, they did the ESDP themselves. But as soon as the ESDP was literally speaking on the books, published as it had been in 1999 by the Commission in all Community languages, applying the same logic, the Commission withdrew its operational support. Since then the mantra of the Commission services is the same as that of the member states: The EU has no competence for spatial planning. In lieu, when the opportunity presented itself, the Commission proposed a competence for 'territorial cohesion'.

This was in the early-2000s when the, ultimately ill-fated Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe was considered. In France and maybe also in circles of the Community services the notion of territorial cohesion had been floating around for some time. One of its French promoters, the President of the Limousin Region, Robert Savy, had persuaded a lobby group, the Assembly of European Regions, to embrace it. The story, and that of the role of French Commissioner for regional policy, Michel Barnier, has been told before[44]. Briefly, a perceived threat from EU liberalisation policies for state service provisions had been of concern to French regions . Territorial cohesion popped up for the first time in the Treaty of Amsterdam where it dealt with so-called services of general economic interest[45]. Making it part of the rationale of Cohesion policy had also been discussed when Barnier had still been French state secretary for European Affairs. As Commissioner, he allowed himself to be advised in this sense by DATAR, and DATAR by Savy. An adviser of Savy had published a long report on the matter[46]. Representing the Commission on the Presidency of the Convention on the Future of Europe proposing the Constitution, Barnier's presence there might have helped. Anyhow, there is no suggestion of territorial cohesion having been a controversial issue.[47] Anyhow, French and Dutch referenda derailed the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe and, for reasons having nothing to do with planning, yet another critical juncture in the history of European spatial planning, albeit this time under the territorial cohesion flag, did not materialise. In 2009 territorial cohesion would finally be on the books. By that time though, attention had shifted to other matters.

Before mid-2005 when there was still a prospect of territorial cohesion becoming an EU competence, on Dutch initiative the practice of informal meetings was resumed. The format –the Corfu Method previously institutionalised, albeit informally– was readily available and the key countries involved in the ESDP process wished to see their role in EU territorial cohesion policy once it would come about clarified. The planners were not all alarmed by the prospect. Evidence expected from ESPON research should allow them to demonstrate that policies like agriculture, environment, transport and also mainstream regional development policy had real,

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and sometimes detrimental spatial or territorial –terminology began to shift– impacts . Using this evidence, with territorial cohesion being in the treaty, they might bridge the third fault and see to it that spending departments would coordinate their investments. Had the Constitutional Treaty come into operation as expected, in 2006, a critical juncture might have been reached, leading to constructive cooperation with the Commission.

Emulating new terminology, the meetings were restyled as meetings, this time without Commission support, of ministers responsible for territorial cohesion. Liaising with the French, the Dutch, old hands as they were in such matters, called the first one in late-2004. Under the Corfu Method, directors-general of the member states resumed their practice also of deciding beforehand on what to put before their ministers, and there were ad-hoc working groups. Hall[48] has been quoted saying that, in the absence of legal obligations, practices with a rule-like quality can structure behaviour, so this is what happened. In May 2005, days before the French and the Dutch referenda would sink the prospects of territorial cohesion becoming an EU competence any time soon, a ministerial meeting at Luxembourg formally agreed to work on the 'Territorial Agenda of the European Union'.

Two years later, whilst subsequent negotiations seeking to rescue key elements of the Constitutional Treaty approached their conclusion, ministers adopted the Territorial Agenda[49] and also the Leipzig Declaration on Sustainable Urban Development, the latter not to be discussed here. The Commissioner responsible –the Commission continued to follow the proceedings– announced the coming of what would become the Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion.

The Green Paper[50] came out before the Lisbon Treaty replacing the Constitution was ratified. A green paper is a discussion document which can lead to legislative proposals. Maybe it did not want to rock the boat before the Lisbon Treaty was home and dry, but at least some of the close to 400 reactions asked the Commission to do precisely this: make legislative proposals. However, invoking the subsidiarity principle, the UK and Germany in particular objected, and the Commission abstained from making a move.

The Treaty of Lisbon, operational since late-2009, duly identifies territorial cohesion as an objective of the Union and a competence shared between it and the member states. In the early-2000s, this would have meant a critical juncture in the development of European spatial planning, albeit under the territorial cohesion flag. By the end of the decade, neither the French Commissioner nor the French key Commission expert lastly occupying the position of Deputy Director General were still in office. But in view of territorial cohesion in the EU treaty, is it possible for it not to become serious business? Two points concerning the formal institutional structure of the EU are relevant here: What a shared competence means in general and what EU territorial cohesion policy would mean in terms of the sovereignty and the territoriality of member states more in particularly. Recall that sovereignty and territoriality are key concerns for any state.

A shared competence means that, if it so chooses, the Commission may make legislative proposals, but it will always consider likely reactions from the Council of Ministers which must ratify them. Reactions to the Green Paper from key member states made it plain that this would be difficult. The Commission chose not to spend political capital on the matter.

There is more than expedience involved. EU discourse has shifted. Convergence through investments, often in infrastructure in least developed regions in Central and Eastern and also Southern Europe, has made room for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth as an objective. So the new master strategy Europe 2020[51] makes only oblique references to territory. An update to the Territorial Agenda, the Territorial Agenda 2020[52] making the case for more importance attached to territorial cohesion had no effect on this state of play. Apart from continuing to pursue European Territorial Cooperation as an objective, Cohesion policy 2014-2020 merely makes Integrated Territorial Investments, Community-Led Local Development and Sustainable Urban Development available as new instruments. Spending at least 5% of funding on the latter is mandatory, but the others are facultative.

Not all member states avail themselves of these instruments. Being able to integrate EU funding does not always weigh up against the hassle of having to negotiate integrated packages.

Meanwhile, under the guise of National Territorial Cohesion Contact Points and a new Urban Development Group, intergovernmental cooperation practices established when preparing the ESDP have become routine, and the Commission has had a permanent Territorial Cohesion and Urban Matters working group for quite some time. Financed and administered jointly, ESPON is also a going concern. If only no longer under the flag of spatial planning, it keeps on churning out relevant European-wide research. Albeit irregularly, informal ministerial meetings continue, always depending on the interest taken by the rotating Presidency of the Council of Ministers. The last has been in Luxembourg in December 2015. If the intention expressed there to revise the Territorial Agenda in time for influencing the Financial Framework 2021-2027 comes to fruition, more meetings will follow. And there is the intellectual capital built up through international contacts. European Territorial Cooperation has involved tens of thousands of experts: the Europeanisation rather than the EUropeanisation of planning[53]. National and international contact points service, and give direction to these activities.

CONCLUSION

European spatial planning never reaching critical junctures teaches us, firstly, that institutions do matter. Secondly it shows historical institutionalism helping to understand why. Thirdly, it underscores the need for those involved to understand what relevant institution are like and what the perspectives of and the power constellations between main actors are, including what shared competences in the EU treaties really mean.

One can also learn that not all is doom and gloom, neither in European spatial planning nor in European integration generally. There is, albeit low-level informal, ongoing institutionalisation. If only state authorities saw European planning, rather than being about fixing on one desirable future to be written into the law, being about creating spatial visions exploring alternative futures, they might not feel compelled not object to this at EU level.

But this evokes the more general issue of how to view the EU as an institution. Here the uncertainty invoked at the beginning remains: Is it something like a federation with a mandate to deal with common issues, or a collection of states whose sovereignty remains supreme, terms in which the euro-crisis and the refugee crisis, too, are being discussed? To illustrate, there is talk of strengthening bank supervision, the oversight of budgetary policies, the control of external borders and the like, but also about reducing EU powers and maybe rescind the common currency.

Maybe the EU as an institution has to be fundamentally reconsidered, but not quite in the way of those wishing to return to national rule. The introduction has hinted the alternative notions of what the EU is, or might be. It transcends the talk exclusively in terms of sovereignty. There has not yet been much discussion of what this would mean for European spatial planning, but maybe reality gives some hints. In fact much planning overlaps sovereign realms, leading to a jumble of informal understandings, agreements and also visions. The resulting complexity and uncertainty are in the nature of 'post-modern' statehood which some say the EU is heading for. But adequate conceptualisations of its institutional shape are still lacking, this being also true for planning.

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Endnotes

1   Wheale, "Government by committee: Three principles of evaluation", 164
2   Balibar, "Europe as borderland", 192.
3   Blanc, Histoire environnementale comparée de la nation, 280.
4   Ross, *Jacques Delors and European Integration*; Schmitter, "Examining the present Euro-polity with the help of past theories".
5   Commission of the European Communities. *The EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies*; Nadin, "The emergence of the spatial planning approach in England", 43.
6   Needham, "The National Spatial Strategy for the Netherlands", 297.
7   Zonneveld, "Grenzeloze ambities"; Zonneveld, "The long and winding road to EU territorial governance".
8   Dühr, Stead, Zonneveld, "The Europeanization of spatial planning through territorial cooperation"; Faludi, "The learning machine".
9   Dühr, Colomb, Nadin. European Spatial Planning and Territorial Cooperation; Faludi, Waterhout, *The Making of the European Spatial Development Perspective*; Faludi, "Territorial cohesion: Old (French) wine in new bottles?"; Faludi, "From European spatial development to territorial cohesion policy"; Faludi, "A turning point in the development of European spatial planning?"; Faludi, *Cohesion, Coherence, Cooperation*.
10   Sorensen, "Taking path-dependency seriously".
11   Hall, "Historical institutionalism in rationalist and sociological perspective", 204.
12   Mahoney, Thelen. *Explaining Institutional Change*.
13   Fowler, Bunck, "What constitutes the sovereign state?".
14   Shaw, *International Law*, 178.
15   Delaney, "Territory and Territoriality" 196.
16   Sack, *Human Territoriality*.
17   Storey, *Territories*, 20.
18   Loriaux, *European Union and the Deconstruction of the Rhineland Frontier*.
19   Rosanvallon, *Le peuple introuvable*.
20   Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*.
21   Bruni, *La tour de la France par deux enfants*.
22   Elden, "Rethinking governmentality".
23   Delanty, Rumford. *Rethinking Europe*.
24   Badie, *La fin des territoires*.
25   Chevallier, *Le Service Public*; Peyrony, "La 'modernisation de l''action publique territoriale' ent perspective européenne et transfrontalière".
26   Estèbe, *Gouverner la ville mobile*.
27   Agnew, "The territorial trap".
28   Monnet, *Mémoires*; see Faludi, "European integration and the Territorial-Administrative Complex".
29   Balibar, "Europe as borderland", 193.
30   Veltz, *Des lieux et des liens*, 8.
31   Cohen, *De Vichy à la Communauté Européenne*.
32   Rosanvallon, *Democratic Legitimacy*.
33   Faludi, "European integration and the Territorial-Administrative Complex".
34   Duchêne, *Jean Monnet*.
35   Poussard, *L'Arc Atlantique*.
36   Brunet, *Les Villes européennes*; ,ee Faludi, "The "Blue Banana" revisited".
37   Ross, *Jacques Delors and European Integration*.
38   Faludi, *Territorial Cohesion Policy and the European Model of Society*.
39   Faludi, Van der Valk. *Rule and Order: Dutch Planning Doctrine in the Twentieth Century*.
40   Commission of the European Communities, *European Spatial Development Perspective*.
41   Waterhout, "Polycentric development: What is behind it?"; ESPON, *Application and Effects of the ESDP in the Member States*.
42   Drevet, *Histoire de la politique régionale de l''Union européenne*; Bachtler, Mendez, Wishlade, *EU Cohesion Policy and European Integration*.
43   Hooghe, *The European Commission and the Integration of Europe*.

44 Faludi, "Territorial cohesion: Old (French) wine in new bottles?"; Faludi, "From European spatial development to territorial cohesion policy";
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45 Milstein, "The legal aspects of SGI".
46 Husson, *L'Europe sans territoire: Essay sur le concept de cohésion territorial.*
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48 Hall, "Historical institutionalism in rationalist and sociological perspective".
49 *Territorial Agenda of the European Union.*
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'LITTLE EUROPES': THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF TRANSNATIONAL SPACES AS ARENAS FOR EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Stefanie Dühr

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Rescaling of European space has been subject to much debate over the past years. Transboundary spaces have received considerable political attention as well as EU funding to promote territorial cooperation. Large contiguous spaces are being promoted as arenas to more suitably address policy questions that stretch across administrative boundaries, while at the same time, some hope they will further European integration more generally by offering alternative spaces for policy and action than those of established states. The recent turn in EU multi-level governance arrangements towards the preparation of macro regional strategies for large spaces, and the alignment of "INTERREG B" territorial cooperation programmes (EU Cohesion Policy 2014 2020) to these cooperation initiatives, has given a new boost to the transnational scale as an arena for the coordination of policies and actors across different levels, sectors, and administrative boundaries. To a greater or lesser extent, EU macro regional strategies prepared to date, continue earlier initiatives on transnational cooperation consisting of subregional (intergovernmental) initiatives as well as earlier EU supported experiments under the Community Initiative, INTERREG IIC / IIIB on transnational cooperation in spatial planning (1997-2006) and its EU funding successors since 2007. However, the active role of the European Commission in EU macro regional strategies has greatly boosted their political profile and prompted wide ranging discussions about the agenda for cooperation and transnational governance arrangements. While not all such transnational cooperation initiatives come in response to concerns over spatial development, and especially subregional initiatives often pursue more general political ambitions related to preparations for EU or NATO accession or economic cooperation and competitiveness, many of the cooperation agendas for transnational spaces are framed around an ecosystems based narrative, thus openly or inherently suggesting that (spatial planning) cooperation is needed to address shared concerns arising from environmental pollution, water management concerns or suchlike. Yet such arguments centred around a spatial narrative imply challenges as they would demand a more focused and narrow cooperation agenda than many initiatives currently pursued. In addition, these arguments would require considerable flexibility and fluidity of task specific governance arrangements to address the various extensions and reaches of different issues. A review of transnational cooperation initiatives and EU macro regional strategies shows that prioritisation and scalar flexibility remain problematic in cooperation mostly driven by territorial actors. In this paper, we will investigate the emergence and evolution of transnational cooperation within spatial planning in the EU, using conceptual frameworks from historical institutionalism to analyse the path dependency of cooperation agendas, transnational institutions and networks, and from multilevel governance, to understand which actors drive cooperation at this scale and for which reasons, and how such cooperation arrangements evolve and become more institutionalised. This review raises questions not only about the underlying arguments for transnational cooperation agendas which are currently popular, but also warrants further attention in relation to the future and envisaged further institutionalisation of transnational spaces as arenas for collaborative action in light of current discussions about democracy and legitimacy in the EU, and the EU integration project as a whole in relation to national borders.

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TOC

INSTITUTIONALISING EU STRATEGIC SPATIAL PLANNING INTO DOMESTIC PLANNING SYSTEMS: ITALY AND ENGLAND FROM PATH DEPENDENCIES TO SHARED PERSPECTIVES

Valeria Lingua

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This paper proposes to approach the emergence and evolution of the Europeanization of national planning using conceptual frameworks from historical institutionalism, in order to make light on the mechanisms and trajectories of domestic change concerned with EU strategic planning. It seeks in particular to examine Europeanization in terms of the extent to which the EU spatial planning has become a driving force for institutional changes in very different national planning systems. Going back to the changes occurred to the features of the Italian and England planning systems in the last two decades, the author provides an insight into the attempts to insert and transpose EU strategic planning concepts and instruments into domestic systems, dealing with path dependency and European influence. By reading these dealings in the light of a historical institutionalist approach, the paper aims to enhance understanding of both path dependencies and the actual issues to tackle. Key findings concern the modes and degree of institutionalisation of EU strategic spatial planning. Given the differences in the political, administrative and planning systems, causes and conditions of Europeanization in different planning systems are identified and discussed.

V.05 P.175 **Valeria Lingua**
INSTITUTIONALISING EU STRATEGIC SPATIAL PLANNING INTO DOMESTIC PLANNING SYSTEMS:
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THE DEVELOPMENT OF STRATEGIC SPATIAL PLANNING IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE: BETWEEN PATH DEPENDENCY, EUROPEAN INFLUENCE, AND DOMESTIC POLITICS

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Focusing on regions in three of the Central and Eastern European Countries (CEECs), Poland, Czech Republic, and Hungary, the paper investigates the evolution of spatial planning approaches and the introduction of strategic planning practices at the regional and local levels. This paper focuses on the period between the beginning of the post-communist transition in the early 1990s, through the period of preparation to the accession to the EU from mid-1990s to 2004, and the first decade after that event. The paper draws on the concepts borrowed from the historical institutionalism and Europeanisation research to explain this process and shed light on the role of the EU accession in it.

The accession required the candidate countries to adjust their regional development policies and planning systems to the EU cohesion policy and its peculiar framework, based on multi-level governance and territorially targeted financial support for regional development. This involved reforms of territorial administration, the development of regional policies, and the building of the capacity for administering EU funding (structural funds - SF), and also required introducing elements of strategic spatial planning to adapt to the policy's programming principle, which requires that the funding is used to support projects that are part of multi-annual strategies and place-tailored operational programmes. This paper investigates the extent to which this requirement stimulated learning and diffusion of strategic planning practices among the regional and local authorities in these countries where the term 'planning' itself remained somewhat 'tainted' and associated with the rigidities of the planned economy of the communist era.

This study draws on qualitative data from interviews with regional and local actors in Polish, Czech and Hungarian regions, as well as an analysis of secondary sources. Additionally, spatial planning acts and their development in the EU context are examined. While the EU and its cohesion policy overall promoted strategic spatial planning and the development of place-based strategies in the three regions studied, both at the regional and to a lesser extent at the local level, the degree of institutionalisation of these practices remains differentiated. Strategic planning often remains limited to window-dressing, hiding a lack of actual strategic thinking and lack of consideration for territorial characteristics and place-specific investment needs. This article identifies several factors hampering the institutionalisation of strategic spatial planning in CEECs that stem both from the legacies of the past as well as from instrumental approachs to EU cohesion policy: overemphasis on the 'absorption' of EU funds as opposed to actual strategic use of this source of funding, weak participatory traditions, persistence of patronage networks affecting decision-making, and the reluctance of the central governments to let regional authorities set their own development priorities.

Keywords
strategic planning, place-based approaches, EU Cohesion policy, Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF STRATEGIC SPATIAL PLANNING IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE:
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TOC

Historical Perspectives

The Persistence of the Vernacular

Large-scale Green and Blue spaces: History and Resilience

Chair: Fabiano Lemes de Oliveira

BUILDING A BEACH FOR THE MODERN CITY: URBAN PLANNING AND THE MAKING OF NEW YORK AND LOS ANGELES' BEACHES (1930S-1970S)

Elsa Devienne

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Historians have produced a vast body of literature on urban parks. They have underlined the complex relationships that exist between the city's people, the parks and the authorities in charge of policing them, and analyzed the process through these hybrid landscapes – both natural and artificial – were designed and constructed, and, eventually, came to represent "nature" in the eyes of visitors. However, historians have been silent on the history of urban beaches. For example, we do not have any urban histories that examine how beaches in cities like Los Angeles or New York were transformed and developed in the 20th century, and how they are today mostly artificial environments. Moreover, we know very little about the work that urban planners put into adapting these public spaces to the modern city with its automobiles, huge crowds and overtaxed sewage systems. This paper therefore proposes to uncover this history by looking at the beaches of Los Angeles and New York from the perspective of urban planners, coastal engineers and the business elite, from the 1930s until the 1970s. It will focus in particular on the different models that planners used to reinvent the modern beach for a new era. Indeed, from the Olmstedian vision of the public park, to the inauguration in 1929 of Jones Beach in Long Island – nicknamed the "automobile beach" –, to Disneyland (1955), the models that inspired the redevelopment of 20th-century beaches were varied and offered competing visions of public space.

The main questions this paper seeks to answer are the following: what kind of public space emerged at the junction of the ocean and the city? How did urban beaches differ from other leisure spaces such as parks? How did urban planners reinvent the postwar beach in the era of suburban malls and "white flight"?

Keywords
Beach, Los Angeles, park, environment, Disneyland

THE GREEN WEDGE IDEA: FROM THE CITY SCALE TO THE POLYCENTRIC REGION

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This paper examines the development of the green wedge idea in planning history from its emergence as a solution to the need to rebalance urban growth and inner-city green spaces in the early twentieth century up until it conquered the regional scale in the polycentric proposals of the postwar period. Grand narratives of western planning history have consolidated the main branches of urban thought since the constitution of modern town planning as a discipline in the second half of the nineteenth century. The role of nature in this process has manifested as an essential planning tool with different functions relative to context and period. However, in attempts to distil key planning ideas of international relevance and their origins and development, historical scholarship has tended to concentrate on particular models of green space planning, while neglecting others. Exemplary of this can be seen in the disproportionate attention dedicated to the green belt idea, compared with alternatives (or complementary ones) such as the green wedge. Green wedges have a deeper history in the twentieth century than many expect. The idea was at the forefront of the minds of planners debating urban growth and the provision of open spaces for modern cities, and has perdured in contemporary planning. This paper constructs a transnational history of the green wedge idea by focusing on its development in western planning from the scale of the city to the polycentric region. Firstly, it delineates the process of the green wedge idea, which emerged in radical opposition to that of the green belt, becomes associated with it in city planning during the first half of the twentieth century. Secondly, the paper examines how the idea became a model for regional planning that accommodated the creation of new centralities at district level and satellite towns. Finally, the paper shows how the green wedge model was transformed to encompass the region in the polycentric corridor-wedge plans of the 1960s and 1970s. References to a number of plans from distinct countries and the discourse of key planners substantiate the analysis and the paper's argument. This paper theorises that the green wedge idea morphed into different urban models aiming to answer fundamental planning questions posed throughout the period from the city to the regional scales. The idea today forges the basis of numerous contemporary city-region visions such as those for Copenhagen, Stockholm and Melbourne. This paper evidences the adaptability and resilience of a planning idea that today can strongly contribute to the positive planning of our towns, cities and regions towards more sustainable and resilient futures.

Keywords
green belt, green wedge, green space, planning history

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE REVITALIZATION STRATEGIES FOR CIRCULAR CITY PARKS IN EUROPE

Beata Labuhn

Architect

Until the 19th century European cities have been physically and politically defined by their fortifications. From then on, changes in war fare technology and in defence politics have gradually made city fortifications in Europe abundant. Most of the European cities were free to maintain, dismantle or transform their 'stony and earthen corsets' and could finally expand beyond their former territory. This article focusses on cases where the fortification zones have been totally or partially transformed into a city park, which now clearly marks the border between the 'old city centre' and its extensions. During the 20th century those areas have changed due to deterioration of the original greenery or due to real estate claims. During the 21st century those zones are revalued as important urban spaces and different strategies are being applied for their rehabilitation. This article is a comparative investigation into the revitalization strategies of the green belts marking former city fortifications in cities in Poland (Krakow & Wroclaw) and in The Netherlands (Leiden & Haarlem).

Keywords
Post-fortification parks, Circular-parks, Large-scale heritage, Large-scale green structures, Urban parks, Transformation

FROM WOODLAND TO BOTANICAL GARDEN: THE KRAMBECK FOREST, BRAZIL

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This paper analyses the history of Krambeck Forest in the city of Juiz de Fora, in southeastern Brazil, from its early records as an Atlantic Forest until it became a Botanical Garden in 2009. The presence of high-quality continuous green spaces in cities is gradually declining in Brazil, mostly due to anthropogenic disturbances such as urban development. Urban sprawl and lack of adequate policies are the main causes of encroachment into green spaces. This paper argues for the transformative power that historical research and its effective dissemination can have on the recuperation, enhancement and safeguarding of green spaces. In addition, public demand for green spaces and their effective planning are also discussed as effective strategies to increase green space resilience. This paper draws mainly from primary sources such as original documents, books, articles and newspapers articles about Juiz de Fora's urban history. Firstly, it shows that in the nineteenth century the existing Atlantic forest underwent an intense process of deforestation due to coffee cultivation and cattle breeding. Secondly, it discusses how during the first half of the twentieth century the site saw an increase in area and a gradual process of reforestation. Finally, this paper examines the consolidation of Krambeck Forest as a botanical garden, bringing together ecological protection and recreation. This opens up a new chapter in this space's relationship with the city's residents, pointing towards a more socio-ecological resilient future. Throughout the paper the processes of change in the site's functions, configuration and imageability to residents will be discussed.

Keywords
Urban green areas, Urban planning, Environmental resilience

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TOC

Organic Renewal in Village Construction in China

Chair: Li Lu

CHINA'S RURAL PLANNING IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF CO-CONSTRUCTIONING

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This article takes an overall retrospection of top-down approach of the current rural planning in China and explores the co-construction approach of rural planning with the case study of Bimen Village and Shangxiaping Village in Zhejiang Province.

In 2005, the policy of "the Construction of New Socialist Countryside" was put forward. In 2013, the Ministry of Agriculture launched a campaign to create "beautiful countryside". Nowadays, with this policy, rural planning and construction is in full swing in China's rural areas. However, most of the current rural design patterns are top-down approach and led by the government, which causes several problems. First, the rural planning easily becomes the political achievements in the officers' career and they only focus on rigid indicators. Second, funded by the government, the planning attaches more significance to short-term benefit rather than long-term benefits. Third, many young people come to large cities for jobs from rural part, resulting the loss of population in the rural community. Hence, many villagers do not concern for the rural planning. All the above factors results in the loss of traditional features in the rural settlements, including the traditional spatial fabric, the local traditional cultural, traditional neighborhood relationship, etc.

In this paper, a new rural planning pattern of co-construction is raised. The subject of rural planning is transformed from government to diverse bodies and the role of the government is changed from dominant to assisting. More force should be involved, including villagers, cooperative, corporation, NGO, etc. The paper analyses 3 stages for the pattern changed from government-led to co-constructioning. In the first stage, rural planners pay more attention to villagers and plan for people instead of plan for government, taking the planning of Bimen Village in Zhejiang Province as an example. In the second stage, some corporations or NGO come to the village and do the rural planning for commercial purpose or charitable purpose, taking the example of Shangxiaping Village in Zhejiang Province. In the third stage, the villages self-organize a cooperative and take the initiative in the rural construction with the assistance from the government, NGO, rural planners, academic organization, etc.

The paper got findings as below. As rural planning and construction is quite complex in China, it should not only be led by the government. The co-construction pattern of "government guiding, market assisting and villagers self-organizing" is one kind of possible solution for the rural planning to promote rural renewable.

Keywords
rural planning, co-construction, resilience planning, China

SEARCH FOR ELASTICITY AND FLEXIBILITY OF THE INFILTRATION INTERFACE BETWEEN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS

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Coordinating and promoting urban and rural development has been a new round of institutional change in Zhejiang province since 2004. And this plan was fully implemented in 2005, which showed that the dual isolation between the urban and rural areas had gradually developed into integration. Little by little, an infiltration interface that is dynamic, flexible and interactive formed, and this firstly and mainly happens on the edge of the cities. As a result, the dynamic morphological evolution and cultural commuting between the two sides of the interface will inevitably affect those villages, which live right on the interface. In order to study the specific influence on those villages under the background of coordinating development of the urban and rural areas, take Bimen village, which locates on the interface between Anji County, Huzhou and Yuhang District, Hangzhou as a case.

Anji county is in the cross area of Yangtze River delta economic circle and Hangzhou city economic circle. And Bimen village is on the southeast border of Lingfeng Street, Anji County, where the urban expansion and the interface actually set. In the construction of "China beautiful village" boutique model village in Anji County, Bimen village has been faced with the growing status of infiltration on the interface from the dot - the interface, the linear - a chain reaction, planar - the park to the three-dimensional, four-dimensional space form. Under this opportunity, Bimen village presently needs to maintain internal innovations to adapt to the evolution of the interface such as improving the morphological structure, upgrading the bamboo industry, releasing construction lands, establishing the public service system and greening the environment. Among all kinds of interfaces, man creates the one with the maximum elasticity. For instance, the Rural Residential Environment Research Center in Zhejiang University has founded a company named 'Xiaomei Agriculture'. 'Xiao' means small, 'Mei' means beautiful, which indicates the concept of the company. The company is problem oriented and develops a Third Party Platform upon this dynamic basis where the rural economy and society is weak and the supply and demand of urban foods contradicts, which leads to the "Xiaomei model" of urban and rural cooperative community groups. Finally this model brings new vitality for industrial development in Bimen village.

Through the investigation on Bimen village, conclude with the opportunities and challenges produced by the evolution of the infiltration interface on aspects of the layout, economic development, public service, people's living and ecological environment. Above all, present strategies for how to organically adapt to the increasing flexibility of the infiltration interface between urban and rural areas in the forward planning for the Bimen village.

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FLEXIBLE PLANNING AND THINKING BASED ON CITY GROWTH BOUNDARY

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Zhu Wang | Jikun Chen

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Chinese City Economic and social development has entered a period of rapid urbanization and extremely critical change, it will bring us strong consumer demand and investment demand, and will also make our city development stronger and bring more opportunities. But on the other hand, it also brings the resource bottleneck, and make urban development facing a great challenge. This forces us to rethink on the old pattern of urban development and looking for a new direction for the development of urban transformation.

City growth boundary is a formed-independent and continuous boundaries that around the city to limit its growth. The land within the urban growth boundary is a reserved space for the current city and the future growth demand, it can stop the non-planning sprawl in the city and meet the need of the development. From this point, city growth boundary is not in a planning period boundary, but a constant border to control the spread of the city. But when we look at the urban growth boundary from the perspective of urban construction, it should be the dividing line between the construction land and the non-construction land, a stage of the city's elastic growth boundary.

The elastic urban growth boundary should treat the urban growth boundary from the process of urban growth and development, and make sure that the city growth boundary also reflects the dynamic characteristics. With the method of planning by stages, the development of city space layout in different stages should emphasize the growth boundary according to the city, make sure that that the city construction land has been in the city in the boundary of growth and urban space has also been in a reasonable process. Therefore, the elastic boundary must make a choice on the basis of studying the development mode of the city.

China city development is facing multiple pressures of regional competition, resource and environmental constraints, the construction of Harmonious Society. Therefore, we should set different levels of public center supporting residential areas and industrial areas in the city growth boundary, and use of transport corridors and strip service facilities to strengthen the links between the various plots, so that we can realize the organic combination of city growth boundary and natural ecological boundary and construct the growth of Urban Flexible Space.

Keywords
Flexibility, city growth boundary, Land use planning

RENEWAL OF VILLAGE CONSTRUCTION BASED ON POPULATION MIGRATION

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Over the past 20 years, rural migrants have become an important factor in promoting labor-intensive industries in China. Nowadays, however, there is a slowdown in economic growth and overcapacity in low-end manufacturing. Due to less demand for low-quality labor and migrants themselves quality restrictions, work opportunities for migrants in city reduces, while living costs rises. And family needs, nostalgia and other factors attract them to return home. On the other hand, better economic condition, education system and public service facilities still attract them to stay in the city. As a result, rural migrants are faced with the dilemma of whether to return home or to stay in the city. Therefore, for rural migrants, improving single agricultural structure and rural economic base can solve the worries of workers who continue staying in the city and ensure the living standards of villagers who return home. It can also attract some people to go back to the countryside to ease the surplus of low quality labor in cities.

Meanwhile, with the changes of tourists' consumption demand and the building of a new countryside, rural leisure tourism experienced a rapid development. Owning a high level of economy and outstanding landscape resources, rural areas in Zhejiang province can develop rural leisure tourism and improve industrial structure. Rural tourism can also be closely integrated with villagers' life and organized in diverse ways, meeting different options of migrant workers.

Villagers in both two cases work outside, but holding opposite attitudes towards returning home. Yanjingwu and Huxikou, as one case, are two natural villages belonging to Bimen, Anji, Zhejiang Province. Relying on bamboo industry in Anji, villagers' income is satisfying and the workplace is close to home. So villagers are unwilling to work in the countryside. So through the renewal of whole Bimen village, we recommend two villages to explore their environment and location advantages and develop leisure tourism which is supported by multi-participation and where company is the main operator. It can ensure migrant workers working in cities and improve local economic structure at the same time; Xueshui village, as another case, is located in Xinhe, Tonglu, Zhejiang Province. Because of the rich tourism resources nearby, villagers share a strong willingness of returning home. Therefore, we recommend that relying on Xueshuiling resort, the village develops rural tourism which is led by government and operated by villagers themselves. And we provide the corresponding renewal plan, which meets both the production and living needs of the villagers.

Rural leisure tourism provides a viable direction for village construction. But it's important to realize that it should be combined with the actual situation in rural areas, in terms of geographic location, industry status, willingness of villagers, etc. Such rural leisure tourism can promote local economy and provide rural migrants with life guarantee and work opportunities, meeting flexible and various needs.

Keywords
Renewal of Village Construction, Population Migration, Leisure Tourism

ORGANIC RENEWAL UNDER INDUSTRY LINKAGE DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF VILLAGE SHANGPING, XIAPING IN SUICHANG

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After carrying out the reform and open up policy, China keeps developing quickly. Nowadays, the rural reconstruction is a hot topic in the academic world. At this very moment, the government put forward "the beautiful countryside" planning and some urban planners proposed "one village one product" slogan. All the strategies are renovating and promoting village in form, which have little effects to a village's inner quality.

What indeed are the villagers' demands? House appearance's promotion is important, but the increase of individual income is about all the villagers' interest. How to increase the income and at the same time improve its external image to realize rural resilient development, is an important topic at this stage.

What indeed are the rural characters? Cultivated lands, crops (primary industry) and traditional building methods are the elements which differentiate villages from cities and distinguish various villages in different regions. How to reserve the characters, give full play to the unique points and promote the rural living standards are the critical points to improve a village's inner quality.

Village Shangping, Xiaping in Suichang, Zhejiang Province is a typical village at the general background in which is mainly the primary industry. Villagers there committed us to propose a resilient planning for them. Our strategy is to increase villagers' income by bringing in "Xiaomei Cooperation" founded by our research group. We encourage citizens to come to experience the process of production. With these methods, Primary Industry will drive the development of Second Industry, which in turn will accelerate the process of Primary Industry and in the very end will realize the virtuous cycle of industry linkage.

Villagers will have more passion to participate in the future renovation when they find it a good way to increase their income, which will lead to the country's permanent living.

Keywords
Organic Renewal, Industry Linkage Development, resilient planning, permanent living

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URBAN AND RURAL COOPERATIVES BASED ON INTERNET COMMUNITIES

Zhenlan Qian | Zhu Wang | Ling Wang | Jiayan Fu

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China is the largest developing country in the world. In 2015, there were still over 600 million farmers living in rural areas of China whose income is only 1/3 of that of the citizen people. Meanwhile, nearly 300 million farmers stay in towns and cities as workers. Because of the deceleration of development of China, the growth rate of population urbanization will obviously be reduced. Therefore, this country will still own a large population of farmers for a long time in the future, and most of them will still live in or go back their home countryside.

As a result, agriculture is and will still be the main industry for these farmers. As farmers who own little areas of land on average which is much less than western modern counties, always lack the abilities of production price negotiation and marketing, they would have to suffer from the high squeeze of the middle channels which is the most significant factor of the low income of them.

Therefore, increasing farmers' income becomes one of the most important duties of the current Chinese government. However, as the natural weaknesses of traditional commercial mode and the limitations of administrative ways, the large number of farmers in China are still in traps of low income.

Luckily, nowadays more and more Chinese middle-rank people are popped out. They are inclined to choose food of high quality which always contains fat profit. That means farmers have the opportunities to raise their money in appropriate ways. As the internet combines people more closely, and the nonstandard nature of agriculture product which is very different from the industrial product, the new agriculture market mode based on internet communities seems to become the reliable ways for increasing the income of farmers.

This new market mode includes a third party of operating subject, trade regulations and system, community construction and maintenance, supervision, detection and training.

Base on the root of the village issues, the urban and rural cooperatives aim at improving the farmers' income. It can be regarded as a potential method to realize agriculture modernization. In the long term, it will attract the farmer go back home and make a contribution to the recover the economy in villages of China.

(Round table TOPIC: Organic Renewal of village construction In China
Participants: WANG Zhu, QIAN Zhenlan, XU Danhua, YE Leiting, WANG Zhuoyao, WANG Dan, WANG Ke, Chen jikun)

V.05 P.203   **Zhenlan Qian | Zhu Wang | Ling Wang | Jiayan Fu**
URBAN AND RURAL COOPERATIVES BASED ON INTERNET COMMUNITIES

TOC

INDUSTRY TRANSFORMATION ORIENTED DYNAMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY IN RURAL AREA IN CHINA

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The cities in China develop at a rapid speed and create a variety of job opportunities attracting the rural population to migrate to cities. As a result, it shapes the complex urban-rural dual structure different from other countries. Nowadays, because of the limitation of the incremental development of the urban area and the policy of village beautiful movement the government put forward in 2013, the village construction has been the hotspot in China. However, the current rural designs always only concentrate on the spatial part rather than think from the social and economic perspective to promote development, thus contributing little to solve the current problems of economic weakness and population decline in the rural area.

In the progress of urbanism, the villages close to the developed area mostly developed the extensive secondary industry and achieved boom for a time since China's reform and opening-up. However, the villages faced the challenges of pollution, changing market demand and other factors, showing a potential development crisis. How this kind of villages can survive and recover under the complex environment is a big issue now. Bimen village is a typical one among them, which developed bamboo processing industry based on the local abundant bamboo resources and improved the average living standard over the village. Recently, the high local labor costs, single structure and decreasing market demand for its products such as disposable chopsticks bring a blow to the bamboo industry and thus many family workshops have been bankrupt.

While the villages confronted the difficulties, the cities also have changed a lot and may bring opportunities for the rural area. With all the kinds of resources accumulating, middle class grows astonishingly. Their attitude toward life transforms from job-centered life to quality-oriented life, and they began to pursue the slow life in the rural area. It stimulates the development of leisure and tourism industry in the rural area. Fortunately, Bimen village enjoys a convenient transportation connecting with big cities such as Shanghai and Hangzhou and preserves beautiful pastoral landscape, which has the potential to develop tourism industry. Meanwhile, the interesting bamboo processing will be a characteristic of this area and can be combined with the tourism together to achieve industry transformation. During the dynamic development of industry, the planning direction changes at the same time.

In conclusion, we put forward a strategy to respond to the dynamic and changing market and citizens' need in a flexible way from the perspective of economy, society and space. The resilient strategy is based on the industry development to recover the economic level. Thus, it will attract the locals to remain to work and live in the rural area and other people to visit there. As a result, it will improve the stability of social structure and the quality of human settlement environment, leading to a sustainable development in the rural area.

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INDUSTRY TRANSFORMATION ORIENTED DYNAMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY IN RURAL AREA IN CHINA

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STUDY ON THE ADAPTIVE MECHANISMS OF TRADITIONAL VILLAGES IN ZHEJIANG, CHINA

Wang Ling Yuting Zeng | Hui Wang

Zhejiang University

In the early 20th century, the industrial revolution brought a rapid development around the world, making the cities expand abnormal. Many cities are vulnerable when facing intense natural disasters. Concerns for the adaptive design have attracted the attention of city planners and architects. "Adaptability mechanism" first appeared in ecological fields, Ian Lennox McHarg applied it to the design field in his book "Design with Nature". He demonstrated the adaptation process between the human and natural environment with plenty of examples, and put forward that adaption should be a standard of the design principle. There are many architects also pursue the adaptation between architecture and environment, Frank Lloyd Wright, for example, advocated the "organic architecture" theory, insisted that architecture and environment should be in a harmony relationship. In China, with the investigation of vernacular dwellings further expanded, academic research has made abundant achievements. In the book "Zhejiang Dwellings", the author made a detailed introduction of the layout forms and residential buildings of a large amount villages in Zhejiang province, proved that the relationship between dwellings and nature is interrelated. Since the 90's, the sustainable development concept has been widely accepted, architecture needs to adapt to the environment begin to become more and more popular.

China has thousands of years of culture and history, cities often came from villages, actually there are still many villages preserved completely by reason of geographic barriers in Zhejiang Province. Zhejiang Province is located on the southeast coast of China. Climate is mild here and about in the Neolithic Age, mankind have begun to live here. There are many mountains, lakes and many changes in the terrain, so the formation of villages, and the characteristics and types of dwellings are varied, how they adapt to the nature and how they recover from natural disasters are the questions we want to solve.

In this paper, we selected a few typical villages in Zhejiang province, these villages changed constantly to adapt the new environment in the past hundreds of years. We will from the choice of location, relationship with the topography, transportation systems and other aspects to analyze the adaptive mechanism of these villages. Tujiabu village, for example, is located in the Sheng County, Shaoxing. The village has a long history, it faces mountain in the north, and the other three sides is water. Houses conform to the terrain, village developed just on one side of the river to achieve sustainable development.

By exploring the adaptive mechanism of villages and buildings in the joint action of local nature, society, culture and religion environment, we try to put forward a reference of evolution and mode on the modern city planning. With this view, it may generate some new insights to maintain harmonious sustainable development.

Continuity and Change

Chair: Gerdy Verschuure-Stuip

THE FOUNDING AND DEVELOPMENT OF LOUVAIN-LA-NEUVE, THE ONLY NEW TOWN IN BELGIUM

Pierre Laconte

Foundation for the Urban Environment

The new university town of Louvain-la-Neuve originated from the 1968 decision of the French-speaking university to leave the old town of Louvain (Leuven in Dutch) and to acquire farmland south of Brussels in order to create a new town. Its urban model was directly inspired by the town of Louvain with its mix of land uses, in contrast to the functionalist approach in which different land uses are kept separate. Uncertainty about future growth led to a linear form of development along a pedestrian spine and a string of small squares, to priority being given to access by public transport - thanks to the national railways' investment in a new sub-surface station - and to the collection of storm water into a reservoir, treated as a lake. The pedestrian spine has been the backbone for the development of compact neighbourhoods on each sides and of a shopping mall directly linked to the railway station.This contribution endeavours to show how these initial aims have been pursued over almost half a century and what are the present perspectives.

How to Cite
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INTRODUCTION: LOCATION AND LAND ACQUISITION

Central Belgium is a highly urbanised area, Brussels being the centre of a metropolitan region which includes Antwerp, Ghent and a number of medium-sized cities, among others Louvain/Leuven (Figure 1). Most of these cities are within commuting distance of Brussels[1].

The historic city of Louvain was the original seat of the Catholic University of Louvain (UCL), one of Europe's oldest (1425). Teaching was in French and Dutch, often by the same professors, until 1968, when the French-speaking university had to leave because it was located in the Dutch-speaking part of the country, in order to find a new location in the French-speaking part (Walloon region or bilingual Brussels). On the proposal of its general administrator Professor M. Woitrin, the university's board accepted an invitation from the small Walloon municipality of Ottignies (4,000 inhabitants) and its influent mayor Count du Monceau de Bergendal to settle at the edge of its territory, and did not choose one of the Brussels municipalities, where it owned land. That land was later to be used for the university hospital and the Faculty of medecine.

The UCL thus bought a tract of farming land some 30 km south-east of Brussels. Rather than building an isolated campus, as did many universities at that time, it decided to embrace the integrated physical model of Louvain/Leuven and other traditional university towns, making use of the university's annual grants as equity. Only the central part of the UCL site was set aside for dense urban development. The forest land to the north was to be preserved (Figure 2).

Development of an entirely university-owned site by its owner was opposed by the Belgian government, which preferred an isolated campus such as that of Liège university[2], itself inspired by the post-war British and French new universities. It passed a special law (24 July 1969) forbidding universities to sell land acquired with subsidies to non-university users. UCL circumvented this law by granting long term leases ("emphyteose") instead of selling freeholds.

Continuity of UCL ownership proved beneficial to implementing its planning policies as it ensured the landowner's ability to preserve its initial planning objectives in the long term[3].

The leases were initially granted to individuals and small developers and contractors. In later phases larger tracts were leased, e.g. for the shopping mall and for mixed used developments.

FROM THE VICTOR GRUEN ASSOCIATES MASTERPLAN (1968) TO THAT OF THE "GROUPE URBANISME ARCHITECTURE" (1970)

Having opted for building a new town, the university board, on the proposal of its general administrator Prof. Woitrin, decided in the spring of 1968 to hire the established international planning firm Victor Gruen Associates (Los Angeles), a pioneer of American shopping malls, to draw up its masterplan. The Gruen plan, which was led by functional considerations, included a large central air-conditioned mall surmounted by high-rise buildings. All infrastructure had to be built before any part of the town could be brought into use, entailing a large up-front investment cost.

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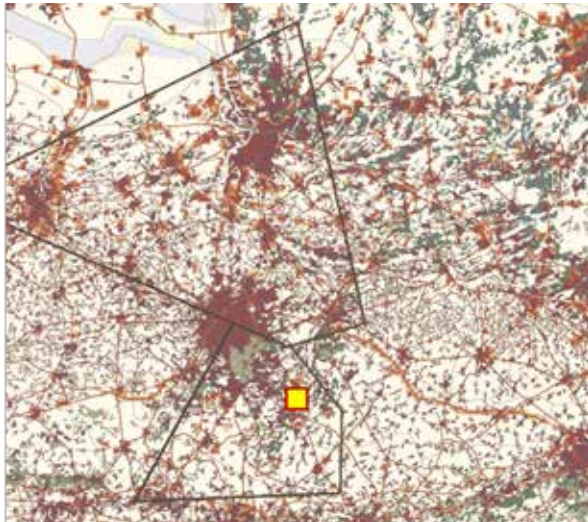
FIGURE 1 Satellite map showing the urbanised area of central Belgium, around Brussels. Antwerp lies 50 km to the north, Ghent 60 km to the west and Louvain/Leuven 25 km to the east of central Brussels, in the Flemish region and form a kind of diamond. The loose conurbation south of Brussels forms a kind of triangle. The Louvain new town has been located (see yellow dot) in that part of the Walloon region, at some 30 km south of central Brussels.
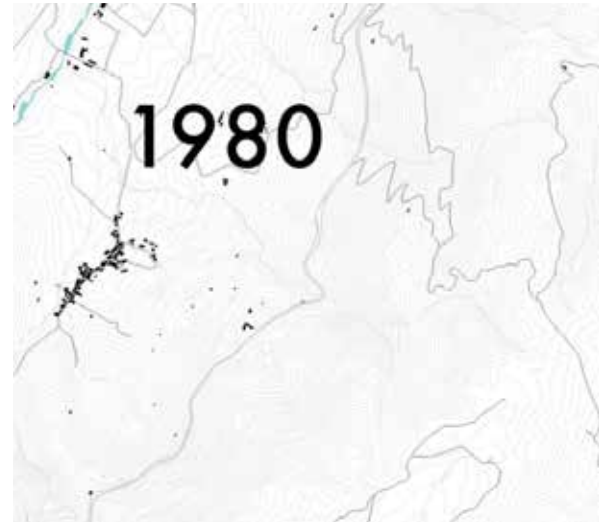

FIGURE 2 The 920 ha of land acquired by the university in 1969. The map of university-owned land shows the anchoring of the new town on the only existing infrastructure, i.e. the N4 road linking Brussels to Namur and Luxemburg. The E411 motorway did not exist at that time and is shown by dotted lines. Dense mixed-use urban development was restricted to the central part of the site (4). The northern area in green was reserved as forest (3). The areas east and south of the dense urban development, and east of the N4 road, became a low density research and development park (2). The area north of the forest was developed as a golf course (1). The land beyond the motorway (5) remains undeveloped.

The Gruen masterplan was presented to the university board and the academic community in September 1968 and rejected by a large majority.

The university board then decided instead to entrust the planning and architectural coordination of the new town to an interdisciplinary design team recruited by the board itself. This team, called "Groupe Urbanisme-Architecture", was jointly headed by a well-known specialist on historic towns (R. Lemaire), an architect-planner (J-P. Blondel) and an urban economist (P. Laconte). The seniority of R. Lemaire was recognised by the team. The new plan was adopted by the university board on 15 October 1970[4] and has been the guideline for urban and university development ever since.

The "Groupe urbanisme architecture" took its inspiration from university towns throughout Europe, and from the garden cities developed in Britain in the early 20th century (Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City). It relied on the millennial experience of successful multifunctional cities and neighbourhoods, rather than that of a few decades of functionalism with its spatial separation of functions, generating the need for motorised transport to link them.

In contrast with the Gruen masterplan the "Groupe Urbanisme Architecture" emphasized the human scale of buildings and public spaces, and respected the natural curves of the site and its central dry valley. A central linear pedestrian spine – a concept pioneered in England by the University of Lancaster[5], visited by the author in 1968 – allows step-by-step development. Vehicle access to buildings and parking are located on each side of the spine, with occasional underpasses (Figure 3). Each phase of development included a mix of urban functions, allowing it to be brought into use immediately, unhindered by work on extensions. The total length of the spine is around 1,5 km, as illustrated by J. Remy[6] .
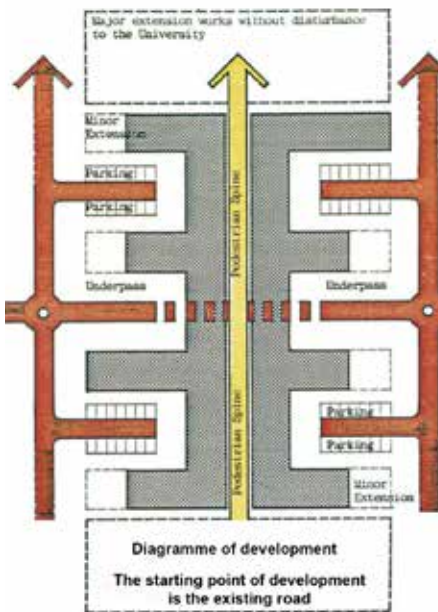
FIGURE 3 Linear development along a pedestrian spine. This design allows the most flexible form of urban development ("stop and go"). In Louvain-la-Neuve the initial development started from an existing road and extended along the spine from east to west, an adaptation of the arrangement successfully devised by G. Epstein in 1964 for the University of Lancaster7.
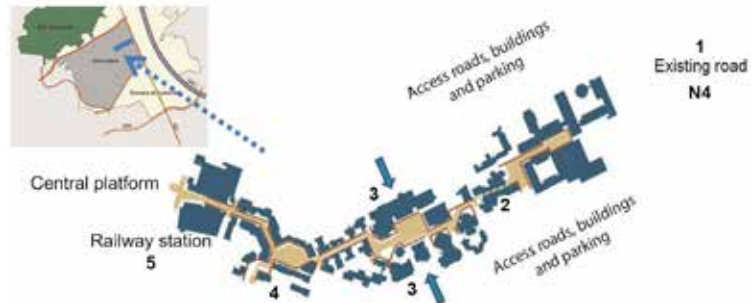
FIGURE 4 The first phase pedestrian spine. The eastern starting point is the existing N4 road (1), followed by a string of public spaces and passages through buildings, indicated by dashes (2). The diagram shows the location of access roads and car parks. The arrows indicate the vehicle underpass and parking below the "Place des Sciences" (3). The public spaces have various shapes and the alignment of their street access is either perpendicular or tangential to that of the spine (4). The sub-surface railway station (5) marks the beginning of the undergound platform (see figure 6).

This pedestrianised linear spine allowed savings to be made in land take and in the cost of initial road infrastructure investment. It mainly generated space for people to meet. Its length is limited to the space compatible with pedestrian accessibility (a radius of ca 600 m.)

The concept of a central pedestrian spine (Figure 3) was translated into the actual urban design as a string of public spaces, starting from the existing road to the east of the site (Figure 4). It came into being in 1972 in the eastern part of the site, and was soon extended to the railway station (opened in 1975) and from there to the future centre of the city and to the western part of the site[8].

This string of spaces has been compared by P. Lombaerde to the string of piazzas in old Florence[9][10].
Car access to buildings, and parking, is located on each side the spine. Outdoor parking spaces were treated from the start as public gardens, planted with a range of tree species in order to attract a variety of birds, as a tribute to biodiversity (landscape architect: J-N. Capart). They have in practice become an ornithological reserve.

The centre of the first phase was the science library, an iconic concrete building seen as the cathedral of a university town, with its public square ("Place des Sciences") built above a vehicle underpass. For some 45 years it has been a place for social contact, with university buildings, shops and restaurants conceived by the architect A. Jacqmain of the architectural team Ateliers d'Architectes de Genval[11] (Figure 5).

In 2015 the same team was entrusted with a facelift of the string of public spaces west of the "Place des Sciences", to be implemented by 2018. The science library will move to the central university site, and the present building is to be converted into a new museum of the university by 2017.

FIGURE 5 The science library piazza ("Place des Sciences"). This concrete and wood piazza is the main gathering place in the first phase. It includes access to an underpass and to underground parking (photo by P. Laconte 2015).

A new station was built by the State railway company SNCB/NMBS in 1975. The station provides a direct rail link to central Brussels in 35 minutes, and is to be expanded as part of Brussels' new fast commuter rail network[12]. It is entirely below ground. Open air tracks are to be covered at a later stage. The full development of the spine included a central platform covering the lower part of the site. Besides the railway tracks it hosts access by car, underground public parking, delivery services and storage.

PLANNING ORGANISATION

Within the "Groupe Urbanisme-Architecture" R. Lemaire coordinated the work of the architects appointed to design the individual buildings and was the general manager of the team. J-P. Blondel undertook the daily management of the staff. P. Laconte managed the relations with the political and administrative authorities responsible for the project's rail (new station) and road infrastructure (subsidised local roads) and water management, using the public susbsidies available for industrial parks. The expertise of the university faculties was made available to handle the legal issues and offer engineering knowhow related to the reservoir treated as a lake and the waste recycling issues.

The university administration's department for development and management ("Service de promotion et de gestion urbaine") was in charge of implementing planning decisions, including inter alia the implementation of the platform, helped by favorable long term loans and bonds. Its coordination was undertaken by J-M. Lechat from 1974 till 1997. Relations with property developers have been managed since 1972 by the Institute for site development (INESU), headed by P. Barras since 2007. Both played a key role in attracting investors at the conditions set by the university board.

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The small Ottignies municipality that hosted the UCL in 1968 has now become the City of Ottignies-Louvain-la-Neuve. The Louvain-la-Neuve part of it has 45,000 daytime occupants and 12,000 permanent residents. The city's total permanent resident population is 31,000. Citizen participation in the new town has been organised since 1971 by the council of residents, which became the association of Louvain-la-Neuve inhabitants in 1979. It actively advises on all projects on the university site.

Among others, it has been a critical participant in the process of adapting to larger scale projects, advising on the integration of the proposed new shopping mall and commercial street "L'Esplanade" into the urban fabric and on the large new housing project ("Courbevoie") linked to the future enlargement of the railway station and the construction of a new multilevel parking structure (3,000 places), in addition to the sub-terranian parking space taken over by the "L'esplanade" developer.

The association of inhabitants acts as a voice of the citizens but the final decisions are taken by the university and the city. Within the Association a key role was played by J.L. Roland, who has been since 2000 the very popular mayor of the City (see bibliography).

PROPERTY DEVELOPMENT ALONG THE PEDESTRIAN SPINE AND THE CENTRAL PLATFORM

On each side of the long pedestrian spine and the central platform, mixed use neighbourhoods have been built by a large range of individual investors, following the 1970 masterplan. Among other things, the plan required the predominance of small plots (100 to 200 m², including terrace housing and small gardens) and low rise apartment buildings. These have proved very popular[13] and have quickly attracted a diverse population.

As a result, from an early stage the resident population has included people attracted by the environmental quality and the cultural activities generated by the university, rather than simply university employees or resident students. Today[14] most of the town's 12,000 permanent residents are not connected with the university.

The new sub-surface railway station made it possible to develop a network of pedestrian streets while allowing car access and parking underneath. Figure 6 shows how the platform bridges the lowest part of the dry valley (ca 10 ha, i.e. ca 1% of the site). The space under the platform remains the property of the university, while the infrastructure and buildings are leased for up to 99 years.

Streets are narrow and mostly canopied to save space as well as to protect pedestrians from rain and sun. Plots are kept small whenever possible, to allow architectural diversity and to facilitate access to the university's building market by small contractors. Whenever feasible, courtyards are open passages for easier access to buildings and open space. High-density low-rise buildings with interlocking courts and piazzas replicate the gathering places and colleges of traditional university towns[15]. The platform hosts numerous public spaces, large and small, planted with trees. Shops, cafés and restaurants adjoin these, while vehicle access, deliveries and parking are exclusively located underground.

The contribution of developers to the cost of the platform and its extensions has led to increasing the size of the plots. Some on-going mixed use developments initiated by large developers – containing flats, shops and a hotel - at the edge of the platform ("Agora") and next to the railway station ("Courbevoie") are presently (2016) being offered for sale[16][17]. But the human-scale character of the town centre, in line with the 1970 masterplan, as defended by the present inhabitants, is in potential conflict with the financial interests of the university landowner and private developers eager to capitalise on the Louvain quality of life[18].

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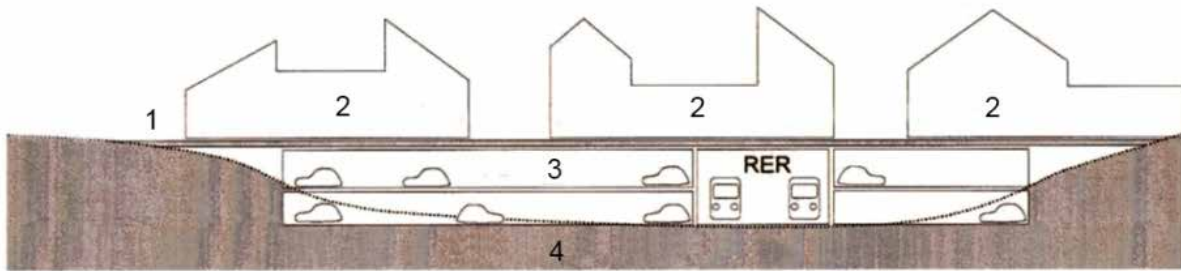
FIGURE 6 Diagram of the platform. It is covered by offices and apartments, with shops on the ground floor (1) and a high density–low rise commercial street network that can be considered as "architectura minor" (standard architecture), in contrast with a few iconic buildings such as the railway station (see Figure 7), which are "architectura major". The underground space was financed by the rail operator (3) by renting it as storage space, and by leases on the commercial space above it (2). No speculative high rise development was included in the masterplan. The ground below the platform remains the property of the university, as does the rest of the site (4).

FIGURE 7 The arcaded entrance to the sub-surface railway station (architect: Y. Lepere) seen from the street level. The station is the point on the pedestrian spine where the natural ground seemlessly meets the artificial ground (i.e. the platform), as shown schematically in Figure 6.

The Louvain platform proved a successful magnet for private investment. From the start it benefited from the new sub-surface railway access and was supported by a growing group of users - the staff and students of the university and the inhabitants.

By contrast, Cumbernauld (Scotland) new town's multilevel centre was built before the indispensable feeder population had materialised, entailing a large up-front investment cost.

A similar multilevel centre approach had also been tried on some post-war university campuses (such as the University of Essex, in England) and in other new towns all over Europe. It has been considered by many to be disappointing. Fifty years after its inauguration, the Essex campus inspired this comment: "An expansion of universities has not led to much enlightened architectural patronage. Rather the opposite, in fact. The (Essex) university visual trope remains those dogged dreaming spires"[19].

As for Cumbernauld, it has been described as follows[20]: "The intended core of Cumbernauld remains the town centre buildings, all of which are essentially contained within one structure, segmented into "phases", the first of which was completed in 1967… Designed to be a commerce centre, an entertainment and business venue and a luxury accommodation site, it was widely accepted… Unfortunately, the town never developed to its planned size, and the town centre has never had the life envisaged. Wealthy occupiers for the centre's penthouses never materialised and some now lie empty and derelict".

Louvain-la-Neuve's 1970 masterplan allowed changes of land use within the area accessible on foot. A major change occurred in 2005 when a 35,000 m² shopping and leisure mall ("L'Esplanade"), directly linked to the railway station and the platform, came into use. This private mall now has a patronage of 8 million visitors (2015) per year and is preparing nearly to double its size by using the airspace above the rail tracks. It has taken over the sub-terranean parking space.

The neighbourhoods developed in line with the university and the town's growth, attracting cultural and entertainment facilities and a private museum devoted to Hergé, the creator of the character Tintin. This is also located along the spine, next to the railway station (architect: Atelier de Portzamparc).
The university's science faculties have attracted science parks in various peripheral locations totalling 230 ha.

The railway station has been chosen by the Belgian State railways as the terminus of the south-east line of the new Brussels commuter rail system, including a new parking complex. This evolution will be challenging, as it will generate a daily influx of rail commuters coming by car from surrounding municipalities and not related to the population of the new university town. A residential complex ("Courbevoie") is, however, to be built above the new parking provided for the railway users[21]. This is currently a source of tension between the university, the inhabitants and the city.

WATER MANAGEMENT

A key feature of the planning of Louvain-la-Neuve is the conservation of the Ottignies plateau's water resources. A dual water collection system has been installed in many buildings. Only waste water goes to the treatment plant. Storm water is collected into an artificial lake that serves both as a reservoir and an amenity. The water level varies according to the amount of rain.

Pre-monitoring of water entering the lake and adding oxygen allows the water quality for fish to be maintained[22]. This water saving policy has become more pertinent than ever at a time of increased resource awareness.

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The collection of storm water into reservoirs treated as lakes with variable water levels has been adopted in a number of cities in neighbouring countries, e.g. at Billancourt, near Paris. Its large linear park (Trapeze) is inundated in the rainy season and becomes a lake[23].

In monsoon areas this land-water interface has been successfully applied as a natural way to absorb heavy rain and avoid floods, e.g. in Binshan-Ang Park in Singapore[24]. The celebrated Dujiangyan ecological anti-flood scheme in Sichuan (256 BC) drew upon the same water management philosophy[25].

In addition the lake has acted as a magnet to residential development close to both the central platform and the surrounding parkland [26] [27].

EVALUATION: ACHIEVEMENTS AND CHALLENGES

The *achievement***s** emerging from its 45 years of implementation may be summarised as follows.

— From its first phase (1972) the masterplan achieved a mix of land uses. Each phase could stand alone but was linked to the following ones, all of which were located along a pedestrian spine a that started in the east on the existing main road and extended for nearly two km through the whole site, saving road infrastructure costs and generating a maximum number of informal meeting places. This feature proved the main attraction for both residential and commercial development. The preference for small plots generated in-built architectural diversity.
— The central part of the spine was developed above a new sub-surface railway station built in 1975 and directly connected to Brussels. This feature allowed two-way commuting. The underground space also hosted access roads, parking and room for storage, while the surface was reserved for pedestrian spaces, shops and cultural investments, attracting more residents. A 35,000 m2 regional shopping mall, also linked to the railway station and mixed with residential development, opened in 2005, next to the station, while it could have been located in the neighboring country side. This new development also inluded a new residential and commercial street (rue Charlemagne) and the management of the entire underground parking space. It currently (2015) has 8 million visitors per year, and will be expanded. This new development has been a key asset for further development of the new town.
— The station itself will become the terminus of one of the new Brussels commuter lines, generating another boost to the town. Close to the station the Hergé museum is attracting younger visitors.
— All storm water was channelled towards the lowest part of the site, a reservoir treated as a lake, which meant a strong saving as compazred with the all in one sewage. The lake became another attraction to residential development unrelated to the university.
— From the start the new inhabitants and temporary residents, mainly students, organised themselves into a strong association of inhabitants, a contervailing power to the university land-owner and private investors, as well as to the municipality of Ottignies, which meanwhile has become the city of Ottignies-Louvain-la-Neuve. The inhabitants were fully involved in the negotiations about the 2005 shopping mall. This involvement embodied the will of all stakeholders to make success of what had been an imposed move.

What in the late sixties looked like a utopian project has turned into the fastest growing service centre in Belgium, enhancing the whole area. Among others, the many start-ups generated by university research now extend to the periphery of the university site and well beyond.

The originality of Louvain new university town was recognised by the award of the Abercrombie Prize for town-planning and terrtorial develoment by the International Union of Architects (UIA) in 1978.

Challenges are looming, however, and will have to be met during the coming years:

— The demand for residential development and the status symbol of the place have led to larger projects and higher prices which may threaten the social balance of the new town. The city and the university are joining forces to set up community land trusts which are in charge of acquiring and managing grouped flats and houses, thus without intermediary

— The planned transformation of the railway station into a large commuter terminal includes 3,000 parking spaces, creating a conflict between the needs of commuters and the aspirations of the association of inhabitants. This conflict may be partly alleviated by the construction of the new complex of flats ("Courbevoie") above the parking structure. Moreover the connection between the railway station, operated by the State railways, and the bus system, operated by the Walloon region, could be improved.

— There is room for some higher density residential redevelopment of early streets (rue des Wallons, built in 1972) but the pedestrian environment (radius of 600 m.) imposed by the 1970 masterplan should not be jeopardised. In this context mention should be made of an attempt by the university board in 2009 to develop the land beyond the motorway - see Figure 2 (5). This would have been a clear violation of the new town's masterplan and was promply thwarted by the city council and its mayor.

CONCLUSION: WAS THE CREATION OF A NEW TOWN IN THE HIGHLY URBANISED CENTRAL BELGIUM NECESSARY? WAS IT A SUCCESS?

Looking back, the "raison d'être" for creating a new town from scratch can only be justified by reference to the Belgian conflict over the use of languages that led to the need to relocate the UCL from Louvain/Leuven to another site. The majority of the university's board wanted to relocate in the French-speaking Walloon region, not in bilingual Brussels, although it owned land in the Brussels municipality of Woluwe St- Lambert, whose mayor was eager to host the whole university. In addition it did not want to locate in an existing smaller Walloon city. It thus accepted the pressing invitation of the small Ottignies municipality (4,000 inhabitants) and its influent mayor to locate at the edge of its territory.

Once these self-imposed constraints had been confirmed, the decision by the board to create either a new campus or a new town became rational. It opted for the new town, as proposed by its general general administrator and appointed Victor Gruen Associates to make its masterplan. This masterplan was rejected by the university community.

The board then appointed the "Groupe urbanisme Architecture" to make a new masterplan and kept it as guideline from 1970 until now. This second masterplan consisted in an incremental pattern of development along a linear pedestrian axis, a high density-low rise urban design, many public spaces and a water resources saving management scheme. This urban design saved considerable initial infrastructure costs and proved attractive to both the university and outside stakeholders.

The agreement of the State railways to build a new station in 1975 was a welcome windfall that helped to attract a diverse population.
The 2005 private shopping mall, its new commercial street, adjacent to the station, and its taking over of the underground parking were a second welcome windfall.
From the start, the emergence of a pioneering residential community was a countervailing power to that of the university as landowner of the new town. The personality of J.L.Roland, mayor of the City since 2000, was a third welcome windfall.

The "Groupe Urbanisme architecture" human-scale design contributed from an early stage to a generally-recognised high quality of life and explained the growth of population not related to the university. The town's overall success, helped by both the City and the site management administration, is widely recognised and was not affected by the 2008 property crisis. This very success has drawn a higher income population and the city, together with association of inhabitants and the university is presently taking steps to increase the proportion of affordable housing.

Paradoxically, the physical separation of the old and the new university did not prevent maintaining close relations between their faculties, what in turn generated attempts at rapprochement between the City of Louvain/Leuven and the City of Ottignies-Louvain-la-Neuve. They culminated in 2016 in an official twinning of the two cities, opening the way to future common projects, beyond the language separation.

Disclosure Statement

No known conflict of interest arises. The author was director at the UCL from 1966 until 1984. The views expressed in the article are his own.

Notes on contributor

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Endnotes

1   Laconte and Hein, *Brussels.*
2   Frankignoulle, *Le Sart-Tilmant et Louvain-la-Neuve.* 93-96.
3   Laconte, *Le démembrement du droit de propriété*
4   Groupe Urbanisme-Architecture, *Plan directeur Louvain-la-Neuve.*
5   Epstein, *Les nouvelles universités et le cas de Lancaster.*
6   Remy, *Louvain-la-Neuve.* See map on 133.
7   Epstein, *Les nouvelles universités et le cas de Lancaster.*
8   Laconte, *Toward an Integrated Approach of Urban Development and Resources Conservation.* 143-158.
9   Lombaerde, *Louvain-la-Neuve.* 67-83.
10   Lombaerde, *Beeld en anti-beeld van een stad.*
11   Jacqmain, *La Place des Sciences.*
12   Geerts, *Projet de mobilité pour l'est de Bruxelles.* 65
13   Masboungi, *Faire la ville avec des lotissements.*
14   UCL, *Louvain-la-Neuve – Faits et chiffres.*
15   Laconte, *La recherche de la qualité environnementale et urbaine.*
16   Barras, *Les projets immobiliers en cours ou envisagés à Louvain-la-Neuve.*
17   Barras, *INESU update of 2012 figures.*
18   Barras, *On doit repousser les avances des promoteurs.*
19   Bailey, *The only way is Essex.*
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21   Barras, *On doit repousser les avances des promoteurs.*
22   De Backer, *Le cycle de l'eau et l'environnement urbain.*
23   Bava, *Jardins Inondables.*
24   Hauser, *It Takes A City To Raise A River Park.*

25   Wei-Ning Xiang, *Doing real and permanent good in landscape and urban planning.* 65-69.

26   Barras, *Les projets immobiliers en cours ou envisagés à Louvain-la-Neuve.*

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Image Sources

Figure 1: Satellite map (Google Earth 2007) showing the urbanised area of central Belgium, around Brussels.

Figure 2: Drawing based on the cadastral map of land acquisitions by the University. Archives P Laconte.

Figure 3: Epstein, G, Les nouvelles universités et le cas de Lancaster, in Laconte, P (ed), La recherche de la qualité environnementale et urbaine – Le cas de Louvain-la-Neuve – Belgique. Lyon : Editions du CERTU, 2009.

Figure 4: Drawing made by the author, based on the initial masterplan. Archives P Laconte.

Figure 5: Photo taken by the author, 2005. Archives P Laconte.

Figure 6: Drawing by the author, based on the initial masterplan. Archives P Laconte.

Figure 7: Photo taken by the author, 2008. Archives P. Laconte. Used for the cover of La recherche de la qualité environnementale et urbaine – Le cas de Louvain-la-Neuve – Belgique (op cit).

THE VILA MILITAR OF RIO DE JANEIRO: THE GENEALOGY OF A MODERN DESIGN

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This paper investigates the principles that guided the design of the *Vila Militar* of Rio de Janeiro, a military town built in 1908. Fruit of the Brazilian Army modernization program in the early twentieth century, this village was planned as the first autonomous unit and as a model for other military towns to be built throughout the country. This settlement also had a pedagogic function by introducing new notions of space and habitability and a symbolic role by representing the officer's sociopolitical emergence in that context. Designed in accordance with modern principles of circulation, green areas, zoning, standardization, and easy reproducibility of forms, the blueprints reflected the corporate hierarchy in space and architecture. Each rank was settled in specific areas and housed in specific architectural types but different typologies for the same ranks could also be designed. Although it was not effectively reproduced in other places as firstly intended, the *Vila Militar* still ensures its significance as a pioneering spatial organization in the 20th century and due to its role for the institution. Finally, this paper strives to contribute with Brazilian´s urban and housing planning history by developing a narrative about the urban and architectural features of a military town.

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TOC

INTRODUCTION

Since the late 19th century the military became increasingly involved in the Brazilian political scenario. According to McCann, between 1889 and 1937 the institution performed the role of the modern state that was flourishing in tandem with the responsibility of maintaining Brazilian's territory united[1]. Guided by the ideas of progress and renewal, militaries, doctors, engineers, and educators were part of a group that started to question the aristocratic Old Republic (1889-1930) and the agriculturally based economy. Together, they played a pedagogical role with their actions as vehicles of modernization[2]. For instance, engineers were considered "progress missionaries" and applied their knowledge in the city by idealizing "a new metropolis with rectilinear, uniform, and wide streets"[3]. The militaries, in turn, had an educational function due to military schools, and also because their headquarters were seen as locus of education and civility. In this sense, the construction of new and hygienic structures would encourage modern concepts of space and habitability.

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, the militaries engaged in a modernization process that included institutional reforms and the construction of new physical structures, especially new cantonments and housing. In 1908, the *Vila Militar* of Rio de Janeiro, a sort of military town, began its construction and incorporated a set of military establishments (regiments, schools, hospitals), therefore, settled different types of buildings (barracks, offices, infirmary, workshops, individual houses for officers and sergeants) in an innovative institutional organization called First Strategic Brigade[4]. For McCann it was supposed to be a military town model to be replicated throughout the country, however the lack of government funds made it impossible to be executed beyond the capital. Previously, military housing were located inside or nearby specific military structures such as Fortresses or Military Schools, differing from this new organization.

Another important step of the Army´s earliest modernization process was the construction of 53 barracks in 36 localities[5] between 1921 and 1925. The *Companhia Constructora de Santos*, chaired by Roberto Simonsen, was commissioned to build several barracks by using rational methods of production such as planning, standardization, and industrialized materials. This program apparently did not include the construction of housing units that was encouraged by later acts, like the creation of the *Caixa de Construções de Casas*[6] (translated as Housing Construction Institution, though only for the militaries) in 1932 and a decree that allowed a huge financial support for the construction of military housing throughout the country along 10 years, signed by the President Juscelino Kubitschek in 1956[7]. Simultaneously to the *Vila´s* works, the military held cultural exchanges with other countries in order to modernize their institution; first with the Germans and after 1919 with the French Army by a cooperation called French Military Mission (MMF)[8].

In this context of the military´s modernization process and, by extension, the Brazilian´s state modernization[9], some questions can be made: If the militaries played an active role in Brazilian´s society, what can we learn from their construction methods and design principles? What are the main characteristics that could define the military housing in the early twentieth century? Thus, this paper investigates the design concept of the *Vila Militar* of Rio de Janeiro. It is a narrative about the urban and architectural features of the pioneering Brazilian military town of the 20th century and it is divided in two sections: insofar the first deals with the ideas that guided the urban design, the second section focuses on the main characteristics of the houses built in 1908. It is important to note that the study of the *Vila Militar* aims to fill a historiographical gap that overlooked this building typology.

THE URBAN DESIGN OF THE VILA MILITAR IN RIO DE JANEIRO: A MODERN DESIGN PROCESS?

Contemporary to other urban realizations of the Old Republic, the *Vila Militar* of Rio de Janeiro followed the same ideas of hygiene and free circulation that was dominant in the engineers' mentality of that time. This is not surprising since the Construction Committee in charge of the planning and construction of the *Vila Militar* had military engineers in its composition, besides officers from other regiments such as artillery and infantry. Another urban plan worth stating was the Working Neighbourhood Marechal Hermes, built a couple of years later and nearby the *Vila Militar*. Both were idealized by Marechal Hermes da Fonseca, were designed by one military in common, and shared very close urban design concepts[10].

Usually adopted then, the orthogonal layout with wide streets was also implemented in the *Vila MiIitar* that was structured by a main road, currently called Duque de Caxias Avenue (Figure 1). Since the inscription "Part of the Vila's perspective"[11] appears as an identification of the plan itself, the design admits the possibility of extension of the main avenue, reinforcing its axial configuration, such as the Arturo Soria y Mata´s *Ciudad Linear*. The *Vila*´s plan was either characterized by public squares symmetrically placed, abundant trees in the central road and surrounding all the blocks. According to the Ministry of War´s documents, the landscaping had the function of making a "pleasant" environment[12].
The main avenue provided a separation of functions: residential and green areas, public squares, one administrative building plus a "casino" were placed on one side; while, on the other side, buildings for storage, training and other military activities were planned – as can be perceived from the building types in the original drawing and from the observation of current conditions[13]. Consequently, zoning was one of the principles adopted in the plan's design.

Another essential element of the urban plan, although not drawn in the blueprint, was the axis of the railroad, arranged in a parallel to the main road. Inaugurated in 1910, the *Vila*´s station was situated in a central position in the blueprint, in front of the administrative building and the "casino". As pointed out by Rodriguez, the station building was designed with architectural elements that suggested a fortified castle, probably as a reference to the area[14]. Due to the suburban location (approximately 15km from the capital´s center station), where the military town was located, the fastest means of access was by train. Nonetheless, there was still a demand for building military houses near the workplace for the sake of the organization's efficiency[15]. As the main avenue, the railroad also functioned like a watershed between uses: working, leisure and officers residential areas were settled on one side of the train line, and sergeants residential area was planned on the other side – although it should be said that the sergeant's houses were built in the 1930s[16], meaning that the original plan only foresaw officer's residences to represent their social emergence in the political scene.

The officers' residential area was planned in a rectangular pattern that could be easily reproduced and indefinitely juxtaposed if needed along the main avenue, as mentioned before. The plots of land had generous dimensions – approximately 800m² (up to more than 1,000m²) – and the detached dwellings occupied small portions of it. Between 1900 and 1920, this kind of layout was made possible by the gradual expansion of setbacks and was stimulated by the hygienic discourse of lightening and ventilation in to all the rooms[17]. Not only did that discourse influenced the construction of wealthier civil houses but it was also institutionalized in the corporation's daily life through a use and occupation guideline called *Hygienic and Conservation Procedures for the homes of officers*, published in the Army´s Bulletin in 1909, just one year after starting the *Vila's* construction works[18]. In sum, the new layout was a disruption with the colonial urban fabric and with the attached or semidetached military houses from the 19th century.
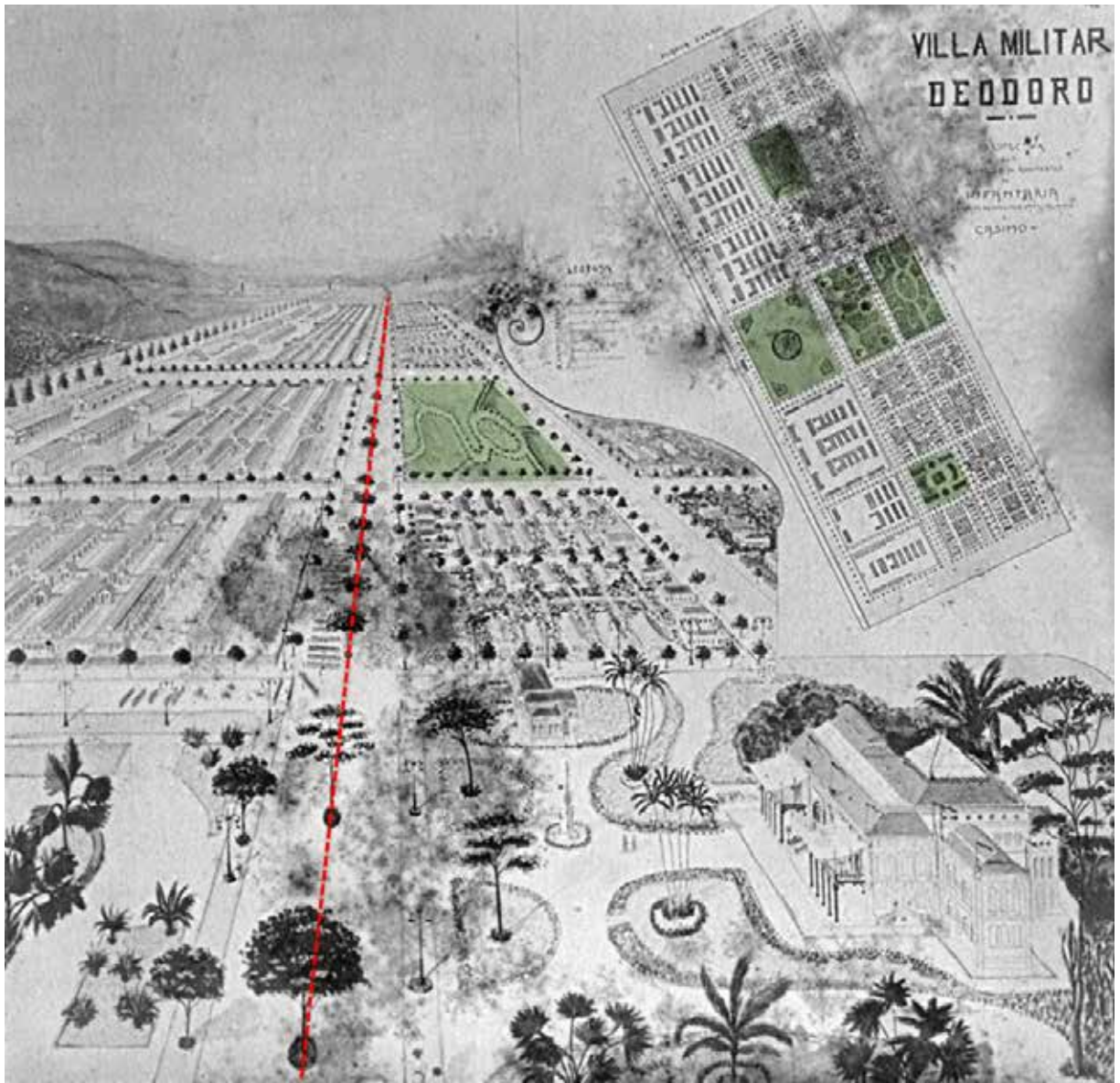
FIGURE 1 Vila Militar of Rio de Janeiro, perspective

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The Vila Militar urban design was grounded on some principles that guided, as well, the construction of Brazilian´s industrial settlements in the late 19th and early 20th century. More than semantic similarities between the military and company towns, both shared common needs for the proper functioning of the organizations. Autonomy, isolation, social division of space[19], and the idea of intermingling housing with the workplace were characteristics of the company towns and incorporated in the military town in Rio de Janeiro, in order to ensure disciplinary control (time and leisure) over the staff, considered as another key element for the efficiency sake of the establishment[20].

In sum, the *Vila´s* design was based on hygienic and circulation ideas, zoning of activities, social separation of ranks, and standardization of the residential types, as it will be discussed in the next section. Those were progressive values for that time and were adopted by many urban planners like Tony Garnier for the design of his *Cité Industrielle* (1904). Garnier´s proposal was a predominantly linear configuration in which the center of the design was selected for public buildings and common spaces as seen in the *Vila Militar* urban plan. However, we could not claim that Garnier´s proposal inspired the urban design of the Brazilian´s military town because the *Cité Industrielle´s* illustrations were actually published afterward, in 1917[21]. Moreover, the exchange between Brazilian and French Armies only strengthened after 1919 due to the aforementioned French Military Mission (MMF). Notwithstanding, the *Vila Militar* had similar ideas with the *Cité* and it might be related to the current thinking of that moment regarding company towns and industrial settlements. Thus, one can assume that the member of the Construction Committee were aware of the European discourse – although this hypothesis deserves further studies about the professional training of those members.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE MILITARY TOWN: STANDARDIZED TYPES

In the 19th century, the architecture of military houses was austere, without many decorative ornaments, and had a spatial organization based on the colonial configuration: made by a main and a secondary body. The main body was elongated and structured through a set of social and private rooms without a corridor, moving from one room to the other. The secondary body, in turn, was usually smaller, located in the rear of the building and sheltered the kitchen, pantry, bathrooms or even the maid room. In addition, the houses were built under the repetition of the same unit, according to a standardized process. However, distinctions among different ranks could occur. In 1872, for instance, a set of eleven standard attached houses for officers was designed for the *Campo Grande* Shooting School, except the unit at the end of the group that had a larger front than the others – perhaps it was the unit for a higher rank officer. An addition single-family residence was also designed for the commander and had a different spatial organization that included an antechamber, high basement and an aesthetic a bit more elaborated than the attached houses. (Figure 2).

An almost identical situation could be seen in the military houses designed in 1881 for *Realengo* Shooting School. It was a set of eleven standard attached houses as well, with a spatial organization very similar to the previous example – though having greater subdivision of rooms. A year later, in 1882, semi-detached houses designed for the Fortress of St. John also kept the colonial configurational, which was the main and secondary body. Only in 1887 the houses designed for officers in the Holy Cross Fortress had a major transformation in its spatial configuration due to the incorporation of the secondary body to one single rectangular volume. Besides, it was planned with a roof gable and oculus that was usually remarkable in chalet-like buildings.

The construction of the *Vila Militar* stimulated the creation of a new aesthetic for the officer´s houses that reflected the military´s growing influence. Although the transformation on the façades was carried on, the spatial organization remained attached to the colonial configuration, illustrating the endurance in changing daily habits, despite the desire for rapid changes in the political scenario by the militaries. Notwithstanding, it is important to verify that the austerity was still mainly adopted on the construction of the barracks, built in metal frame and representing a modernization of the building process[22]. (Figure 3)
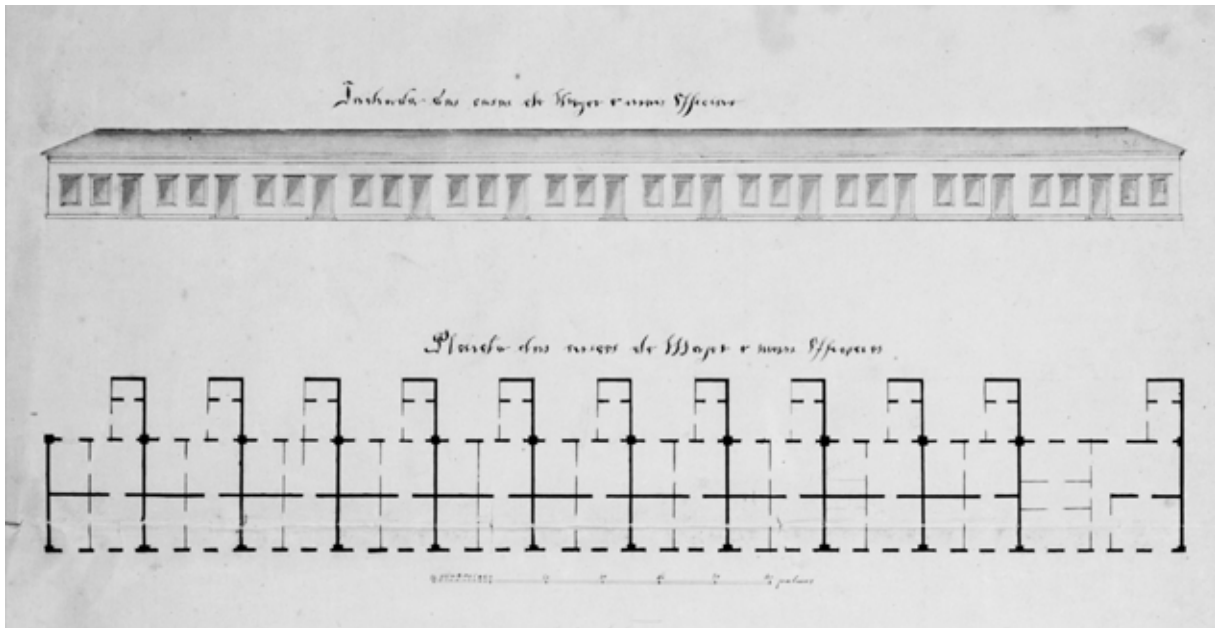
FIGURE 2 Designs for a set of houses in Campo Grande Shooting School, 1872. Units for officers and major on top, and for commander at the bottom. Subtitle: dark grey (living and dinner rooms); light grey (bedrooms); Blue (butlers' pantry, bathroom and kitchen); purple (kitchens' storeroom); yellow (maids room); light pink (antechamber).

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FIGURE 3 Vila Militar of Rio de Janeiro: Views of the 1st Infantry Regiment (left) and of the officers houses (right)
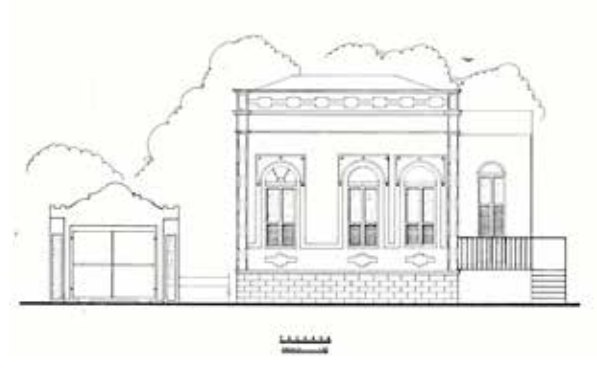
FIGURE 4 Floor Plan Type 01 (180m²) and front view of the officers´houses located on the plots in the middle of the blocks at Duque de Caxias Avenue

FIGURE 5 Floor Plan Type 02 (260m²) and front view the officers´houses located on the corners at Duque de Caxias Avenue
Subtitle: dark grey (living and dinner rooms); light grey (bedrooms); Blue (butler´s pantry, bathroom and kitchen); purple (kitchens´ storeroom)

1

2

3

4

FIGURE 6 Different façade ornaments of three neighbouring houses (type 1) with the same configuration and volume (1,2,3) and houses type 02 (4), all for higher officers.

Breaking with the tradition of attached military houses from the previous century, two types of detached houses were initially built in the *Vila Militar*, in accordande to hygienic standards: one was proposed for the plots situated in the middle of the blocks (type 01) and another type for the corners (type 02)[23]. (Figures 4, 5 and 6). More than simply providing variation, these two types could probably have represented different hierarchical ranks – although there were no records to validate such claim. Both floor plans were rooted in the colonial configuration, as their nineteenth century predecessors, but having the main and secondary bodies connected by a space that resembled a corridor like a flow distributor – might be a butler´s pantry too. This room could also shelter other activities since it had approximately 9m². Both floor plans were very similar regarding their spatial organization even though they differed in the number of rooms and built area – ranging from 180 to 260m² (type 01 and type 02, respectively). Each of these floor plans would feature a particular style: eclectic (type 01) or chalet-like buildings (type 02).

The type 01 had an eclectic façade inspired by "the French way of living" – in the beginning, this concept was a privilege of the more affluent and only then it was widespread among the middle classes. This style was mainly featured by classical elements and materials such as cast or forged iron pieces, especially in the front porch. (Figures 4, 6). The front porch stairs´ balustrade could either be built with other materials like tree trunks, a reference to the picturesque. Other variations on the façades of the military´s houses could be appreciated by the diversification of materials and different classical decorative elements in stucco.

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Likewise, the type 02 had very similar architectural elements such as iron on the front porch and classical decorative elements but was different from the type 1 because it borrowed a gable, making a reference to a chalet-like building[24]. (Figures 5 e 6). The chalet could be characterized by its triangular front façade that accompanied the roof slope, which pediment was usually marked by the presence of a central oculus. The military house, however, replaced the oculus for a coat of arms. It is interesting to notice that the type 02 was installed on the corners of blocks as an attempt to homogenize the two front facades with the same formal element of the roof.

Although the chalet can be related to a more Nordic architecture, no other constructive feature would link this military house to that cultural-geographical pattern; on the contrary, it kept rather more dialogue with the French style and techniques. Insofar the military institution was increasingly engaging with Germany exchanges, the French influence, which was predominated in Brazilian´s culture in general, had been more architecturally assimilated in the first residences at the *Vila Militar*.

In short, it can be claimed that even though those two types were planned together with similar plans, they were most likely to show variations in order to avoid the monotony of a standardized ensemble. In addition to the variation witin the two types, each one could also vary its own aesthetic, but still keeping the same floor plan, and establishing standardization within variety, a practice that endured along the 20th century in the military design process.

Today, walking along Duque de Caxias Avenue, one cannot find two identical houses because of the diversity of aesthetic elements applied on the façades surfaces, despite the similarities in the volume and the window frames and locations. Due the absence of more records, it is difficult to prove the roots of this variation: whether it was part of the design process or an outcome of subsequent remodellings. (Figure 6). Indeed, standaridzation within variation created a rich architectural landscape that was very different from the homogeneity used to characterize standardized constructions such as the company towns – something that the higher officers rejected the outmost. Those officials sought to represent their position as part of a new emerging bourgeois class that was performing an important political and social role in the country's modernization process. The more elaborated architecture was part of the construction of that new image.

In the final years of the 1930s, another design and, therefore, a fresh type emerged in the *Vila Militar* and represented the new situation, as it continued to happen over the years, according to the increasing needs of housing. The 1938 photographic records portrayed new detached-houses designed in accordance with the architectural trends of the moment, which was inspired by the Mission Style and some Art Deco elements. Moreover, it was during this decade that a residential complex for sergeants was built across the train line. This continuous process of planning and building by stages was a very particular military practice established along the 20th century.

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CONCLUSION

As an attempt to modernize the Army and its infrastructure, the *Vila Militar* of Rio de Janeiro marked a moment of rupture with the Brazilian tradition of military building in the 19th century. It was based on modern ideas of planning, circulation, hygienic trends, zoning and standardization. A standardized design process was adopted without enabling the aesthetic variation due to several decorative façade elements. The axial configuration and repetition of types suggested the possibility of extension and reproduction of the original plan. In general, the urban planning and architectural designs were seeking for efficiency of production in an avant-garde ensemble for that time.

The officers´ houses were based on hygienic discourse, favouring lighting and ventilation, which led to the introduction of setbacks. In addition, they departed from an austere expression and adopted current stylistic trends, but significant spatial changes took some decades to complete. It is worth noticing that eclecticism was adopted in the officers' homes, while the barracks continued to follow simple and austere features. Given the fact the dwellings were firstly built only for higher hierarchical ranks with an aesthetic that represented an emerging social class, the houses were most likely to represent the officers' role in the socio-political scenario of the country; meanwhile, the architecture for bureaucratic buildings and barracks' represented the institution.

Probably the militaries in charge of Construction Committee were aware of European and Brazilian current urbanistic and architectural debates and offered a spatial model to symbolize the Army´s modernization, in opposition to the colonial city. The design also indicated a new way of building in a hygienic and efficient manner that could be reproduced throughout the country by the corporation.

On the other hand, this project consolidated compositional principles that were institutionalized and guided the Army's housing developments throughout the twentieth century. In the 1950s and 1960s the military design process favoured orthogonal plans, socio-spatial division between hierarchical ranks, free spaces, and a variety of architectural types designed under standardized processes, in order to cope with the institutional needs as hierarchy and efficiency. The hierarchy was materialized in architecture too with different types amid and for each rank. Another practice that remained was building in stages: showing constructions in different times and enriching the architectural diversity. More specifically in the 1960s, the practice of standardization within variation intensified and several façades were proposed for the same floorplan, as inicially seen in the 1908 examples in the *Vila Militar*.

Last but not least, the dwellings in the *Vila Militar* can be considered as pioneerings because they sheltered the First Strategic Brigade, a new institutional organization with a new spatial model, notwithstanding it was not reproduced as initially intended. In other words, the *Vila Militar* marked a new phase of building military towns in the 20th century. This is one of many reasons that make the *Vila Militar* of Rio de Janeiro an important chapter in the history of Brazilian military towns and, consequently, Brazilian´s history of urban and housing planning.

Endnotes

1   Frank McCann, *Soldados da pátria: história do Exército brasileiro 1889-1937* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2007), 10-11.

2   Micael Herschmann and Carlos Alberto, "O imaginário moderno no Brasil", in *A invenção do Brasil moderno: medicina, educação e engenharia nos anos 20-30*, ed. Micael Herschmann and Carlos Pereira. (Rio de Janeiro: Rocco, 1994), 09-42.

3   Fernando Diniz Moreira, "Shaping Cities, Building a Nation: Alfred Agache and the Dream of Modern Urbanism in Brazil, 1920-1950". (PhD diss, University of Pennsylvania, 2004), 33.

4   *Vila Militar* can be translated as Military Village.

5   For further information, see Roberto Simonsen, *A Construção dos Quartéis para o Exército* (São Paulo, 1931).

6   It was created by the Decree No. 21541 of June 16, 1932, with the purpose of "building homes to house officers," "as close as possible to the unit's headquarters," as it was considered a fundamental demand for proper housing of military, as well as essential to the military administration, instruction and discipline of its members.

7   Just one month before the NOVACAP´s regulations, the institution ahead by the construction of the new capital, Brasilia, Juscelino Kubitschek signed the Decree No. 39860 of 25 August 1956. It authorized a special credit of one billion five hundred million cruise equally distributed along ten years with the purpose of building officers and sergeants houses throughout the national territory.

8   The French Military Mission (MMF) was an international military cooperation starting in 1919 up until the early 1940. The French Army was hired with an advisory task in order to ameliorate the Brazilian Army by promoting the reorganization of training schools, improving the institution´s management capacity, creating new regulamentations, a system of promotion, and new tactical units.

9   In the first decades of the twentieth century, the Brazilian Army started an institutional modernization process, which included the reform of military education, the implementation of compulsory military service, and the construction of structures, such as barracks and quarters.

10 Marechal Hermes da Fonseca was a top rank military in charge of the Ministry of War between 1906 and 1909, when the *Vila Militar* was being built. In 1910 he became president of the country and in 1914 he inaugurated the Working Neighbourhood Marechal Hermes.

11 The picture was titled as "Part of the Vila's perspective". It was found in a 1909 report, organized by the Construction Committee in charge of planning and building the *Vila Militar*, and gathered in June 2012 in the Army´s Historic Files, located in Rio de Janeiro. The report was composed by 44 photographs that illustrated the main construction works on the site, including the main buildings and the residential pioneers' types, besides the urban design.

12 BRAZIL. Ministry of War. Agenda No. 52 of 25 September 1907. p.1105-1106 (apud EXÉRCITO [S.D.], p.15).

13 Even though the general features of the blueprint remains, the plan went through some changes. For instance, a hospital was built on a formerly residential area, 4-story buildings were constructed instead of one-story houses, and other specific changes. But its is still possible to interpret the original design from the current situation.

14 Helio Suêvo Rodriguez, *A formação das estradas de ferro no Rio de Janeiro. O resgate da sua memória* (Rio de Janeiro: Sociedade de Pesquisa para Memória do Trem, 2004).

15 In 1919, the head of the French Military Mission in Brazil, General Maurice Gamelin, believed that the construction of military housing was an important stimulation for the military carrer. One can also claim that the military housing nearby the working environment was a tool for control and efficiency for the sake of the institution´s goals.

16 This information was reinforced by the 1938 photographic records and the comparison of its current site location.

17 According to Nestor Goulart Reis Filho, *Quadro da arquitetura no Brasil* (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 2006).

18 *Regulamento de hygiene e conservação das casas dos batalhões destinadas a residências dos officiaes*, published in the Army´s Bulletin in december, 15th, 1909.

19 The social division of space could be achieved through physical separation among diferente groups or different designs, as well as segregation between single and married militaries.

20 As shown by Telma de Barros Correia, "A iniciativa privada e a transformação do espaço urbano e do território: Brasil, década de 1950" (paper presented at the *XIII Encontro da Associação Nacional de pós-graduação e pesquisa em planejamento urbano e regional*, ANPUR,. Florianópolis, Santa Catarina, May 25-29, 2009).

21 According to Françoise Choay, *O urbanismo. Utopias e realidades. Uma antologia* (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 2003).

22 According to information contained in a file written by Antonio Leite de Magalhaes Bastos Junior, a military who was part of the Construction Committee in charge of the construction of the *Vila*. (apud EXÉRCITO [S.D.]). This same file suggests that the houses had also been built with metal frame.

23 The two pioneering types were identified by comparing diferente sources such as the 1909 iconographic material of the Construction Committee of the *Vila Militar*, updated photos (2012), and architectural blueprints gathered in some regional military department of works (1ª Regional Committee of Works and 1ª Army´s Division). These types were located along the two blocks on the left side of the 1ª Army´s Division Building and on the Duque de Caxias Avenue. Similar types on the right side of that Division were not evaluated here because we could not assume whether they were built in the 1910s, since no record was found. Regarding the floor plan, it is important to share that the blueprints gathered were not the original ones but new drawings from 1970s for the Army´s management purposes. For this reason, some blueprints illustrate spatial organization´s remodelings. The search for the original design, though, was carried out from a comparative analysis of the blueprints in order to identify those with less intervention and therefore more approximate to the proposed situation.

24 For some Brazilian authors, the chalet would be a variation of eclecticism, however, for Reis Filho (2006), it was a particular style, which was described separately from the eclectic style. According to Correia (2014), the chalet and the American bungalow should not be considered as a style, yet a typology. In addition, this author states that the chalet was part of the "picturesque aesthetic" because of the adoption of rustic and raw materials (such as wood) intertwined with elements of classical language (pediment, oculus, etc.). Based on that, this paper understands the chalet as a typology with elements that are independent from the eclectic buildings. More discussions about the differences between the chalet or bungalow and whether it was a style or not could be read in Bruno Giberti, The chalet as archetype: the bungalow, the picturesque tradition and vernacular form (TDSR, vol. III, no. I, 1991), 54-64.

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Images Sources

Figure 1: AHEx (In: Construction Commission of Military Vila, 1909). Collected in June-2012. Note: image edited by the author
Figure 2: AHEx (In: Constructora Commission of Military Vila, 1909). Collected in Jun-2012
Figure 3: Ahex (collected in Jun-2012). Note: edited by the author
Figure 4: CRO-1 (Regional Commission Works-1) (collected in Jun-2012). Note: design redrawn by the author
Figure 5: CRO-1 (Commission Regional Works-1) (collected in Jun-2012) .Note: floorplan redrawn by the author
Figure 6: Photo by the author (2012)

SOME USES OF PLANNING HISTORY IN CHINA: FOR PRESERVATION; FOR RESILIENCE

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This paper is based on a chapter by the author in the Routledge Handbook of Planning History. The paper examines what China's modernization, urbanization and globalization might mean for histories of urban and regional planning in China – especially given China's recent and rapid development and both domestic and global perception of China's overall development as (1) "ancient" (including a centuries-old tradition of planned cities); (2) "delayed" (Third World, semi-colonized, and self-consciously globalizing); and (3) "alternative" (revolutionary and Socialist). The paper is not a review of how planning history has been written and taught in and about China, much less a "history of the history", but it will refer to some key Chinese planning history texts and debates in the course of reflecting on the above question. The central theme is how the evolution of China's planning as a response to and driver of urbanization raises questions for "the uses of history" from the perspective of advanced capitalist society (Giddens).

In particular, what are the implications of China's urbanization and planning for the way planning history considers sustainability, community, participation and power? How does (and could) the historical framing of planning inform decisions about what is worth preserving in the course of development, and what rationales does it suggest for such preservation? How does a historical perspective on China's planning help to clarify the relation between preservation and sustainability?

The phenomenal speed, scale and physicality of China's "urban transition" (Friedmann 2005) challenges the appreciation of complexity in planning as it has evolved since the early 1960s' challenge to Modernism in the writing of Jane Jacobs and Rachel Carson, Melvin Webber ("community without propinquity"); in the emergence of historic preservation as a realm of planning law and policy; in Habermasian and other views of planning-as-politics; and in emerging concepts of planning for social-ecological resilience. Addressing the APA's 2011 publication "Reconsidering Jane Jacobs", as well as some current opinion that China's planning and development reveals historical "weaknesses" in North American planning as a discipline and profession (Campanella 2009, 2010), the paper finally suggests priorities for research that would help both to better relate China's planning history to that of other countries and societies, as well as to better appreciate the potential future value of pre-modern environmental planning and developmental management. While broadly reflective, the paper draws on grounded research in Sichuan, where the author is among a leading group of scholars at the new Center for Historic Towns and Villages at Southwest Jiaotong University in Chengdu. The case for planning and developmental history as useful to social-ecological resilience is based on field work including planning for post-earthquake recovery and preservation in historic mountain valley settlements and for agricultural settlements in the Dujiangyan Irrigation District (China's largest) in the Chengdu Plain.

RESEARCH ON THE RENEWAL OF SHENZHEN URBAN VILLAGE ON CULTURAL ECOLOGY

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Urban villages is refers to the rural villages, which turned into the residential areas in the process of urbanization. The original residents' identities changed from villagers to citizens, while they are still living in the same place. Urban villages is not accepted as urban social management system. It has low building density, poor environment, incomplete supporting facilities. Obviously it needs renewal. The Traditional way of urban village reconstruction emphasizes building density and economic benefit, while ignoring the village itself rich cultural connotation characteristic has a special meaning for the city cultural ecology.

The main purpose of the research is to use the theory of cultural ecology to analyze and guide the renewal the renewal of Shenzhen urban village, which will combine the society value and economic efficiency and activate urban villages to avoid such a cultural destruction.

To maintain the sustainable development of cultural ecology during city village reconstruction, we use the theory of the cultural ecology to study urban villages under different geographical culture represented by the cities: urban village itself is a complete ecosystem, which has a close relationship with natural environment, technical conditions, economy, ideology and society.

After reading articles and analyzing the former cases, we found that the cultural ecosystem of Shenzhen city village can be constructed by three important aspects: cultural structure, culture cluster and culture chain. Now, there are problems in village reconstruction, 1.cultural structure: the limitations of research range, incomplete structure and closed border region in space structure of cultural ecosystem; 2.culture cluster: problems in living space, traditional worship space, and public service facilities; 3.culture chain: problems in link function, space classification and culture continuity.

Under the guidance of cultural ecology, we take the Hubei village as an example, from three aspects: culture structure, cultural cluster and culture chain, to put forward a series of promotion strategies:

1. Cultural structure: strengthening of space structural integrity and establishment of open community boundaries, adding event space which will activate people to complete the existing cultural circle

2. Culture cluster: reconstruction of living space, traditional worship space, and public service facilities; Implanting food and drink district, boutique commercial and creative industries, to make full use of the historical atmosphere of the site to enhance the culture feelings.

3. Culture chain: Increasing space corridor link, space classification and cultural connotation continuity; repairing the origin buildings, and retain the original urban space tissue as much as possible to keep the original sense of place and the cultural atmosphere.

The research provide a perspective of cultural ecology for the renewal of Chinese urban village. It is a new guideline of diverse urban culture which also makes a contribution of sustainable development for the cultural ecology characteristics of Chinese cities.

Keywords
cultural ecology; urban village; renewal; combination.

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TOC

DISPERSION AS A LONG-TERM PERSISTENCE IN THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS OF ECUADOR

Monica Alexandra Rivera-Muñoz

KU Leuven

Dispersion is a long-term structure in southern highlands of Ecuador and not simply the result of stereotypical suburbanization as it is frequently problematized by local urban studies. The concept of long-term structure is key to understanding how since the colonial era, a very centralized and hierarchical socio-political system transformed but didn't erase long-standing logics of dispersed territorial occupation in this part of the Andes. The study develops Cuenca and its surrounding territory as a case study. As other Andean cities, Cuenca was founded during the colonial period over previous Inca and indigenous settlements. The city is surrounded by a constellation of small and medium-sized rural centralities, whose space of occupation often dates back to pre-colonial times.

Three main topics are analysed across time and in its current condition in order to unpack dispersion in the territory of Cuenca: People as a resource, Water, and Human Mobility. A careful consideration of the interactions between spatial, social and cultural factors across time, in combination with interpretation of the structuring elements of its landscape, allows to reconsider and define the qualities of this landscape of dispersion. Openness, diversity and flexibility seem to characterize a landscape, so far defined mostly as chaotic and shapeless.

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FIGURE 1 System of settlements in the Cañari territory today

INTRODUCTION

Disperse patterns of occupation are characteristic of the southern highlands of Ecuador, which in precolonial times were occupied by the Cañari culture, and in whose center today is Cuenca, the third largest city in Ecuador.

While the province of Azuay has about 700.000 inhabitants, the city of Cuenca concentrates about 331.000, in an area of approximately 4120 hectares. Surrounding the city, in an extended *in-between* territory of 22.000 hectares reside other 130.000 inhabitants. This *in-between* territory is a heterogeneous space, splattered of smallish concentrations of diverse morphological configuration and blurred borders, where urban functions tightly intertwine with rural uses of land (figure 1).

Influenced by North American studies on urban sprawl, the discourse on the need for a compact city has become recurrent in the local Spatial Planning and Territorial Development plans (known in Spanish as PDOT's), leading to diagnose the studied context with the same generic dispersion. Such a diagnosis, which considers the increasing occupation of the surrounding territories to be the result of urban explosion, glosses over other rationalities, like the logics of occupation in the Andean space, or the historical trajectory of the groups that ancestrally had inhabited those lands, as well as their political and social transformations during colonial times.

Disperse occupation is a long-term structure in the Cañari territory, a condition which has undergone transformations along time, and which has to be understood in the interplay between spatial, political and social factors in the territory.

The territory of Cuenca can be understood as a system composed by urban and rural centers of Spanish foundation; newer and small centralities that result from the intensification of specific activities; and an *in-between* territory of low-density population, high occupancy of land, and diverse economic productions.

The current study develops three main subtopics across time and in its current condition in order to unpack the interplay between current conditions and long-term structures, that continue to reproduce disperse patterns of occupation in the valley of Cuenca: Natural resources, Water, and Human mobility. Emphasis is given to the study of the contemporary conditions that contribute to the continuation and re-articulation of the pattern in the territory.

THE CITY AS A CONSTELLATION OF SETTLEMENTS

Situated at the centre of the ancient Cañari territory –now divided into two provinces: Azuay and Cañar- Cuenca is the major urban centre in southern Ecuador. Cuenca is located also in the centre of the Paute river watershed [fig.1], it's enclosed by mountains and crossed by four rivers. Like other Andean cities, Cuenca was founded during the colonial period. The Spanish city superimposed itself over Paucarbamba, an Inca settlement, which on its turn was placed on Guapondelig, as the Cañaris denominated to the territory of today's Azuay.

Cuenca articulates around its urban area a constellation of rural parishes (figure 2), whose main seats are small sized centralities which organize the space that surrounds them. This colonial schema, centralized and hierarchical, is overlaid by another one, less obvious but of longer presence in the territory; one that has its origin in the geographical and ecological diversity that the Andes is able to engender, and the logics of its space occupation.

The concept of *structure* as "a reality which survives through long periods of time and is only slowly eroded" [1] is key to understanding not only the radical initial difference between two cultures during early colony but also why in spite of the undeniable establishment of a dominant class, this one couldn't totally impose to the other its own ways of inhabiting the world, and instead a mutual transformation took place, defining new structures. This is related also to the idea that culture development and function depends on up to a certain degree of the ecological circumstances. Without being determinant, these circumstances influence some traits within a cultural system,[2] traits which might persist across time, and in spite of forced transformation.

The Andes is a zone where all transitions occur, from cold to warm, from dryness to extreme humidity, from steep slopes to expansive planes, from the thick jungle to the bare ground, in a very high degree of natural geo-systemic combinations, which results in the multiple ecosystems that can be found in relative short distances from each other. Development of the agricultural techniques encouraged migration and occupation of the different ecological floors in the Andes, from its bases up to the upper limits of vegetation almost in the 5000 meters of altitude[3].

The desire to simultaneously control different climatic zones was a shared Andean ideal, common to ethnic groups of very diverse economic and politic organization, and geographically distant from each other[4], which developed several patterns of "vertical control of maximum ecosystems" in the Andes during the XV-XVI centuries. Murra[5], found that each ethnic group, regardless of its size, tried to appropriate and control as many ecologic floors as they could in order to attain food autonomy and self-sufficiency. For doing so, they would settle "colonies" of production in the places they wanted to gain for their group. Oberem[6] argues that for the case of the Ecuadorian highlands, where the human groups were less numerous, people practiced what could be called *micro-verticality*, what means that people had crops at different ecological floors, but reachable in the same day.

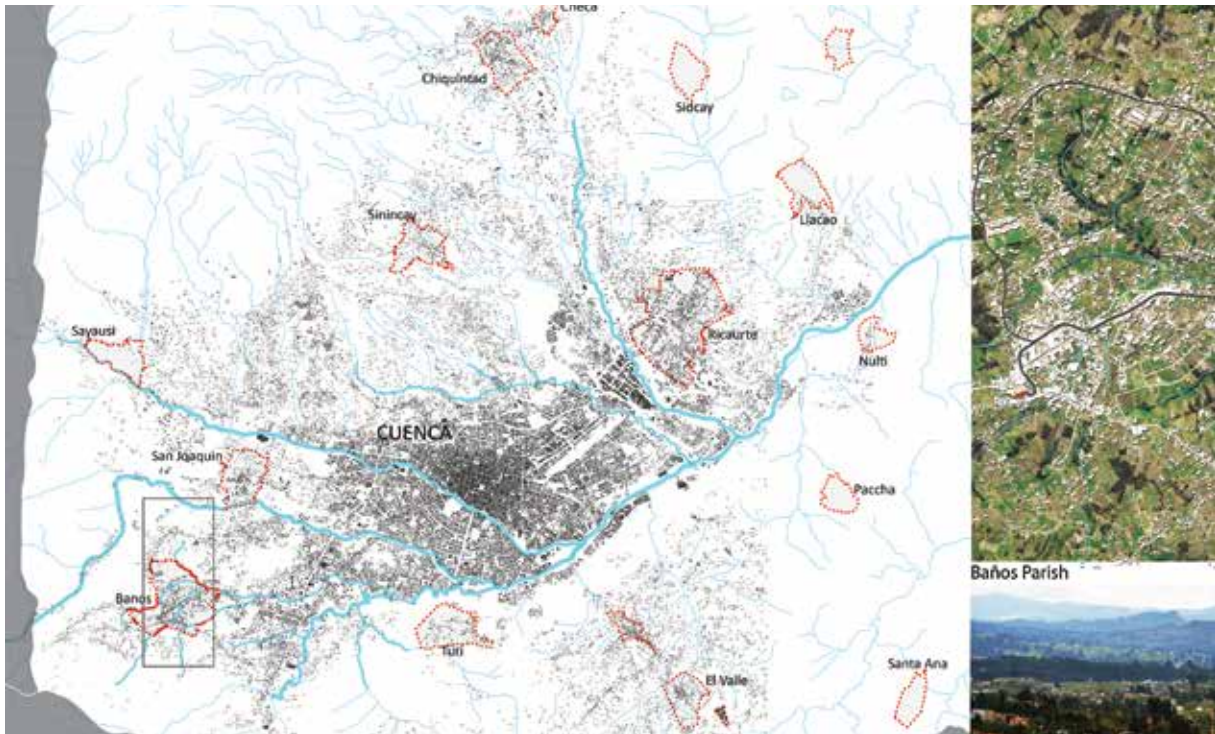FIGURE 2 **The ci**ty of Cuenca and surrounding parish seats.

FIGURE 3 Schema of vertical control and spatial organization of Cacicazgos.

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In any case, it seems that the *Ayllu,* the basic socio-politic unit in the Andes, multiplied its "colonies" and developed into the *Cacicazgo,* a regional unit of political organization, which controlled the spatial occupation and production of its diverse groups, and which had a centre of cohesion, the *Llajta* (figure 3). This nucleus, which was the seat of the ethnic authority, could also be a place of production, but most importantly it was the politic and symbolic core of the group. Then, when we talk about the Cañaris, we are talking about a cultural system formed by numerous autonomous groups (*cacicazgos*) spread across the territory, and related through heterarchical political relations.[7]

Chacon[8] gives an account of the numerous towns in the Cañari territory. They were so many, he concludes, that they were as numerous as numerous are the small valleys, and slopes in the region where they could have practiced irrigated agriculture. By the time that the Spanish came, the Cañari territory was occupied by a constellation of *Ayllus and Llajtas,* still organized as *cacicazgos.* This would explain why in Cuenca's early council minutes some *caciques* (highest indigenous authority of a *cacicazgo*) are referred as the maximum authority of several locations.[9]

The diverse parish seats surrounding Cuenca are not the result of a modern process of polycentrism. Many of them were either *llajtas* or important spaces of occupation by the time of the Spanish arrival. These seats spread across the territory, are located at different altitudes, the majority of them between the 2450 and the 2750 meters of altitude. During colonial era, they were reestablished as *pueblos de indios* and doctrines[10]. Main and secondary towns were articulated into parishes[11], in order to concentrate indigenous population and to accomplish several objectives at stake: controlling indigenous labour, liberating land for concessions to colonisers, and to facilitate evangelization of indigenous people.

According to Spanish dispositions, each *pueblo de indios* should have a seat where are the council house, the community house, and the Church of the doctrine,[12] usually spatially organized around a central plaza. Around this center, the indigenous population would settle, what in practice, didn't happen. The indigenous population continued to live dispersed across the parish, and the *pueblos de indios* remained, even after the middle of last century, like a small nucleus formed by a church, an earthen plaza and very few houses around it.

The incomplete adoption of the colonial urban framework in rural parish centres highlights the tight interdependency between space production and socio-cultural values, as well as the limits of power and counterpower to prevail over the underlying logics of space ocupation. The relative emptiness of these centres is contrasted by the copious population that attends and participates in religious festivities, still very frequent in the parishes. This last fact exposes the persistence of cultural and spatial Andean references[13] and the fundamental differences between them and the colonial structures. While for Spanish urbanism the meaningfulness of the centre is performed and "enacted" by inhabitation for the indigenous population inhabitation of the centre is alien to their model, instead, it has to be enacted periodically.

The Spanish colony meant a substantial transformation in the spatial relations of indigenous populations, fundamentally the pass from a system of heterarchical relations between groups, disperse occupation of space, and productive complementarity, to a centralized system of hierarchical relations, where the possibilities for a settlement to survive would increase or reduce in relation to its closeness to the city, the place of concentration.

It is out of the interplay between scales of spatial control (the big scale of the colonial regime, whose hierarchical schema remains intact, with the city at its center; and the small scale of the "lived space" with the continuation of communal social practices and reciprocity) that the population of these placesis building their capacity to develop the own territories, and counteract centralization.

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NATURAL RESOURCES AND PEOPLE AS RESOURCE

The territory of Cuenca is better understood if we conceptualize it as a system of primary and secondary spaces, of complementary functions and mutual interdependencies. The parish's territory is a space of openness and flexibility, capable of accommodating a wide array and scale of functions like agriculture, housing, manufacture or commerce. Due to the closeness between city and parishes, parish's population constitutes an available pool of workers that the city takes and releases at convenience, especially blue collar workers and artisans.

Control of indigenous population was essential to the success of the colonial enterprise, without them there was not enough labour force for exploiting the resources in the territory, nor for the very construction of the city. Together with the hierarchical organization of the territory, there was the desire for spatial segregation between *white* and *indigenous* people. That was the schema, however, the reality proved to be much more complex. The spatial organization of the colonial city established two parishes at the eastern and western extremes of the city, as centres of control for the indigenous population in the rural areas, and to define their closest permitted dwelling places. Nonetheless, it seems that the very authorities stimulated and even forced indigenous population to live and serve within the city, in order to learn trades and attend the needs of the *whites*. The account by Hernando de Pablos gives us and idea of the panorama of Cuenca's population activities towards 1582,[14]

The custom in this city is that all the settlers that live here plow and farm, and they live off that. Some have cattle, sheep, and horses, from where they got to dress and eat. All this is done with so much effort, because of the scarcity and expensiveness of people of service in this city (...) The natives work as servants to the settlers, and with their salaries, they pay their tributes.

The council minutes during the colony are full of petitions requesting the services of the indigenous population. Building constructors, carpenters, brick-makers, stonecutters, among others, came to fulfill these requests as part of their tributes to the crown. Many of them stayed, attracted by the possibilities of work in the city, their places of residence becoming neighbourhoods of specialized trades, still persistent in the urban fabric.[15]

It was in this context that the parishes started to weave strong ties of dependency and complementarity with Cuenca. It was in the constant interactions between its rural and urban territories that Cuenca shaped the physiognomy of an *in-between* landscape of dispersion, where urban and rural practices give place to new forms of inhabitation.

The degree of specialization that people in the parishes have acquired in construction-related trades and artisanal works is the result of a long tradition, which is reflected in the larger proportion of construction workers in the parishes in relation with those in the city.[16] Interviews performed during fieldwork in several parishes of Cuenca[17] showed that this degree of specialization, which is common especially among men, allows them to access better-paid jobs either in the city, or when they decide to emigrate abroad.

Additionally, the new trades that people learn in the city, like auto body repair and painting, mechanic and car repair, steel and aluminium carpentry, among others, find fertile land to be reproduced in the parishes. Availability of land in combination with easier loans from credit unions operating in parishes are contributing to the emergence of new small and medium scale productions which intermingle with traditional activities like agriculture and animal husbandry (figure 4). This developing condition is stimulating the economy in the parishes, at the same time that the intensification of urban functions increases their attractiveness for new residents.

FIGURE 4 Diverse economic productions in Sinincay parish

FIGURE 5 Housing landscape

WATER AND WATER SYSTEMS

For quite a while now, in Cuenca, potable water distribution systems are not exclusive to the city. Natural abundance of water and profusion of communal water systems in the rural areas have democratized the management, production, and distribution of this service, previously available only to urban population. There are about 390 communal water councils in Azuay, half of which are in the area of Cuenca[18]. They manage potable and/ or irrigation systems of diverse scale.

Around the fifties of last century, the morphology of the high profusion of disperse settlements in the region, which had been until then only influenced by the natural availability of water and later by road infrastructure, started to be stimulated also by drinkable water infrastructure implemented by communities in the parishes. Parish seats saw their population increased and their size enlarged. Over time, the water systems have expanded beyond the parish seats towards the inner lands and the roads have multiplied, which continues to define as disperse, the urban production in the parishes. The *minga*, an old form of communal work in the Andes, continues to be today one of the most effective ways for rural communities to achieve common goals, from building construction, to the opening of roads and construction of infrastructure.

Relying on the existing social networks, the church has played a central role in reviving the *minga*. For instance, in Baños, the first parish to implement a water system in Cuenca, what started as an effort to bring drinkable water to the convent, resulted in a broader project of irrigation for the parish. During the seventies the project upgraded to a still very rudimentary purification water system, which encouraged urban development in the lower lands of the parish. The system was modernized and equipped fifteen years ago, and currently, it provides service to about 6500 households. Additionally, the system continues to provide untreated water to households located above the level of water treatment, in areas thinly populated.

The initial objectives of improving inhabitation conditions for residents have already gone beyond the expected material achievements. Further, the social tactics employed became models of social empowerment replicated at different scales and with different objectives all across the parish. The success of their social tactics was anchored in a sustained and structured social effort, which was able to turn a water community organization into a basic service provider. Both, the social tactics and the outcomes (more cohesive communities and better served places) are increasing the potentiality of disperse urbanization in the parish.

HUMAN MOBILITY AND MIGRATION

Migratory movements shaped the population and the spatial relations of power in the Cañari territory during the colonial era. The failure to concentrate indigenous population, and the prevailing smallholder pattern of landownership developed along this era in the Cuenca region, determined the continuity of disperse inhabitation in this part of the Andes. Currently, transnational migration is redrawing once more Cuenca's population, by stimulating building construction, empowering existing social practices and transforming styles of life, especially in the rural areas.

The transnational migration reproduces in a new version a tactic repeatedly used in the territory. Migration as an economic tactic is inherent to the logics of Andean space occupation and political organization, as it can be inferred from the spatial conformation of the *cacicazgos*, whose multiplace occupation demanded frequent displacements of population and products between "colonies". Forced migrations were also part of Andean precolonial geography. *Mitimaq*[19] was applied by the Incas to Cañari population in order to control and neutralize them. The system reduced severely their population, which was further decimated by the subsequent Spanish application of the same scheme[20].

Looser colonial control and relative availability of land due to the notoriously smaller indigenous population increased the attractiveness of the region as migratory destination during XVIII century. Dreadful indigenous exploitation and high tributes during this period triggered intensive migratory movements of impoverished

groups in general, and of the indigenous population in particular, who come from the northern regions. The population of Cuenca increased considerably during this period, becoming by the end of XVIII century the administrative unit with most population in today's Ecuador.[21] Migratory flows and the high level of land ownership between the indigenous population in the rural areas and villages surrounding Cuenca[22] interplayed with looser social constrictions in these areas. The result was the *mestizaje*[23] of the rural space, with the emergence of a peasantry of *mestizo* and poor whites, on the one hand, and the spread of the small landownership as the prevalent form of land property in Cuenca region, on the other.

The implications of population *mestizaje* are significant. As *whites* or *mestizo,* peasant population was better able to protect and retain their land from Spanish land grabbing. They were less susceptible to be subjugated as the indigenous population was, hence that they were perceived to be an independent and privileged population already in Spanish chronicles.[24] Later on history, the highly fragmented character of landownership in Azuay and Cañar was a crucial factor in determining the scale that transnational migration acquired in southern highlands of Ecuador since the last quarter of twenty century.[25] Without access to bank credits, because of lack of formal employment, landownership provided to cash-poor peasants the means to access to fast loans to pay their journey abroad, by pawning their property titles to illegal usurious lenders. Housing and land investments are a priority for emigrants after finishing to pay debts acquired to emigrate,[26] what has transformed much of rural Cañar and Azuay provinces into "a peri-urban, even gentrified, landscape of cultivated real estate".[27]

At the parish scale, collective initiatives are also frequently fueled by transnational remittances,28 which are used to sponsor religious festivities, communal equipment construction or infrastructure improvement, with similar results, the renewal of community ties as a form of social support. The transnational remittances contribute to developing territories frequently neglected by the central government, what results in the improvement of living conditions and the consequent intensification of building construction in the parishes (figure 5). Intensification of urban functions and increasing urbanization in the parishes goes hand in hand with their increased economic and social dynamism, and decreased city dependence, what might suggest a regained autonomy of for the future of the rural parishes. The impact of transnational remittances in rural and *in-between* territories go beyond the material assets that migrants achieve for their households, they have repercussion in broader scales, defining morphological and social patterns of occupation in their landscapes. Family and communal strategies practiced at different scales, and the investments that households do, are strengthening their agency in the transformation and conformation of their territories, what in its turn, is reshaping their collective identity.

CONCLUSION

Along this paper, I have offered a reading of dispersion as a pattern of inhabitation rooted in the logics of space occupation in the Andes. Attention to the traits and interactions in the studied territory has allowed to elaborate on the specificity of this territory, defining as *in-between,* this type of disperse occupation. The openness and heterogeneity of this *in-between* territory are understood as positive traits. The diversity of activities happening in the landscape contribute to the complementarity between people's activities in the parish, what could signify more sustainable ways of inhabiting the territory. The multiple interactions between landscape and population have been highlighted in order to understand the transformation of these relations across time. While the city-parish interaction has been dealt with, our focus allow us to understand rural lands and the role that their population plays in the transformation of their space.

Because the way of defining a problem can determine its solution, this paper is understood as a tool to envision and explore future possibilities for the studied territory. By redefining dispersion as *in-betweenness,* a new perspective on the subject has been offered, and simultaneously a new discourse put forward, an alternative to the ones that repeatedly label as chaotic and irrational all that cannot be understood from conventional points of view.

Notes on contributor

Monica Rivera-Muñoz is a PhD researcher at the Department of Architecture, within the group of Urban Planning at KU Leuven University. Central to her interest is the question of how issues such as heritage and landscape can be integrated in/through urban planning. Her thesis studies Cuenca, in the southern highlands of Ecuador, as her case study, and it inquires into the nature and development of the dispersed patterns of inhabitation present in its peri-urban and rural landscape. The relevance of the study stems from the need to consider the landscape as an existing and available resource/recourse for the sustainable development of the city, as a way to counteract the pressing market-driven urbanizing processes that threaten to render these polysemous territories, monosemous.

Endnotes

1   Braudel, "History and the Social Sciences.", 151

2   Oberem, "Sobre la formación Social y Económica Aborigen. El acceso a recursos naturales de diferentes ecologías en la sierra ecuatoriana (siglo XVI)."

3   Dollfus, *El reto del espacio Andino.*

4   Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino*, 60.

5   Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino.*

6   Oberem, "Sobre la formación Social y Económica Aborigen. El acceso a recursos naturales de diferentes ecologías en la sierra ecuatoriana (siglo XVI)."

7   Although several authors describe in a very similar way the *ayllu,* the basic socio political unit of the Cañaris, there is not consensus they conforming a cultural or political unity. For more about the Cañari culture see: Hirschkind, "History of the Indian Population of Canar"; Gonzalez Suarez, *Estudio Histórico Sobre Los Cañaris Pobladores de La Antigua Provincia Del Azuay.*; Poloni-Simard, *El mosaico indígena.*

8   Chacón Zhapán, *Historia del corregimiento de Cuenca (1557 - 1777).*

9   Ibid

10 *Pueblos de indios* and doctrines were types of *reducciones* or settlements for the concentration of indigenous population.

11 The parish was during the colony era a territorial unit of conjoint religious and political administration. Nowadays the "parish" is the smaller unit of autonomous governmental administration, however because of separation between Church and State, it is not associated anymore to the "parish" as unit of religious administration.

12 Chacón Zhapán, *Historia del corregimiento de Cuenca (1557 - 1777).*

13 See Makowski, 2008

14 Hernando de Pablos (1582) in Ponce, *Relaciones histórico-geográficas de la Audiencia de Quito.*, 378. Translation by the author.

15 Carpenters who were brought from their communities asked for lands close to the *Yanuncay* river, today a urban neighborhood where persists this trade as an specialization. The same can be said about the *Tejar* neighborhood, where people was brought for the making of tiles and brick. See Poloni-Simard, *El mosaico indígena.*

16 From the population economically active in the parishes, the 14% works in construction activities, versus only 6% of population in the city. Source: INEC, "Censo Nacional de Poblacion y Vivienda 2010 [Ecuador Census]."

17 Fieldwork was developed by the author in 5 parishes of Cuenca during 4 months between 2015 and 2016.

18 El Comercio, "La Juntas de Agua Marcan La Vida de Las Comunidades En La Sierra."

19 *Mitimaq* system was a twofold system that forced resettlement of local population to other parts of the Inca State, at the same time that loyal *Quechua* speaking population (the official language of the empire) was introduced among locals. The system was introduced mostly in places where alliances were difficult to maintain, to dilute disruptive influences and reinforce Inca dominion.

20 Garzón, *Los Cañaris.*

21 Espinoza, Achig, and Martinez, "La Gobernación Colonial de Cuenca. Formación Social y Producción Mercantil Simple."

22 Chacon et al., *Ensayos sobre historia regional*; Gomez, Deler, and Portais, *El Manejo del espacio en el Ecuador. Etapas claves*; Palomeque, "La Sierra Sur 1825-1900"; Kyle, *Transnational Peasants: Migrations, Networks, and Ethnicity in Andean Ecuador.*

23 Mixing of races and cultures.

24 See i.e. de Merisalde y Santisteban, "Relacion Histórica, Politica y Moral de la Ciudad de Cuenca, 1765."

25 Emigration depened during the late nineties, when a new crisis translated into the most dramatic "migratory stampede" of Ecuador, which drove out nearly 14% of the economically active population between 1999 and 2007. See United Nations Population Fund, UNFPA-Ecuador and FLACSO, *Ecuador: la migración internacional en cifras.*

26 Gray and Bilsborrow, "Consequences of out-Migration for Land Use in Rural Ecuador"; Jokisch, "Migration and Agricultural Change"; Vasco, *The Impact of International Migration and Remittances on Agricultural Production Patterns, Labor Relationships and Entrepreneurship the Case of Rural Ecuador*; Mata-Codesal, "From' Mud Houses' to' Wasted Houses'"; Mata-Codesal, "Material and Social Remittances in Highland Ecuador"; Kyle, *Transnational Peasants: Migrations, Networks, and Ethnicity in Andean Ecuador*; Jokisch and Kyle, "The Unintended Consequences of Migration: Exploring the Importance of Transnational Migration between Ecuador and New York."

27 Jokisch, "Migration and Agricultural Change," 523.

28 Mata-Codesal, "Material and Social Remittances in Highland Ecuador."

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Image Sources

Figure 1: Elaborated by author
Figure 2: Elaborated by author
Figure 3: Elaborated by author
Figure 4: Photographs and collage by author
Figure 5: Photograph by author

Traditional Building Types in East and West as Resilient Architectural Models

Chair: Heleni Porfyriou

THE COURTYARD DWELLING IN EAST AND WEST – A RESILIENT BUILDING TRADITION

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This paper provides a comparative overview of the various transformations the courtyard building type underwent in Mediterranean urban history and in Chinese culture, thus highlighting its resilience to different needs and conditions.

The paper will briefly present the evolution of the courtyard dwelling, from the antique atrium and patio house, to the renaissance palace, up to the late 19th century courtyard perimeter block, discussing in parallel the building's relationship with the block and the street. This paper examines the courtyard building type as a typical spatial model of traditional residential building in China, demonstrating its long rooted symbolism in the Magic Square and its traditional cultural value both as city and countryside dwelling. In this excursus the close relationship between "siheyuan" building and "hutong", that is between courtyard building and street pattern, will be also mentioned, thus making evident the lack of dependence for Chinese house from the public space of the street. The traditional Chinese house structured on the principle of courtyards, one after another, was facing and defining the street through its blank walls.

Notwithstanding significant urban cultural differences between East and West, the paper shows that the long lasting tradition of the courtyard building type, in both cultures, was based on its broad appreciation as a remarkably resilient building type, both in environmental, functional and social terms.

Finally, drawing on recent research projects investigating on courtyard buildings' energy performance -- by exploring the effects of the transitional spaces (courtyards, atrium) in different climates, through modelling and simulations -- the paper provides scientific evidence of the physical and social resilience of this building type, thus further showing its usefulness for contemporary society.

Keywords

European courtyard building type, Chinese courtyard houses, Siheyuan building, Hutong, Resilient architectural model

THE EGYPTIAN 'OKELLE': ALL-INCLUSIVE BUILDINGS FOR AN EVER-CHANGING SOCIO-FUNCTIONAL FRAMEWORK

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Traditional building types, whose functional performance - and key urban role - have proven successful for centuries, should now be regarded as "intrinsically resilient." This is particularly true when they have been used continuously and adapted to cope with different socio-cultural frameworks.

To clarify, this paper takes into consideration the Egyptian okelle as an example of "intrinsically resilient" building type.

The Arab word okelle meaning "agency," also refers to a commercial building where long-distance trade was carried out. Some okelles gathered together merchants from the same country, others were used to store and trade the same kind of goods. At the beginning of the 19th century, okelles were found in every transit-point: in Alexandria, Rashid, and Dumyat on the Mediterranean, in the ports along the Red Sea, as well as in Bulaq, the river port of Cairo, where they represented the prevailing typology both in number and size.

Okelles were all-inclusive, compact buildings, each with an inner arcaded courtyard and a single entrance from the street. Their layout housed three forms of activity: wholesale trading - in the courtyards surrounded by porticoes, retail trade – in external structures set up against the walls, temporary living quarters for merchants, and permanent ones for others in the housing units with separate entrances on the upper floors.

In trying to show the resiliency of the okelle, this paper also discusses its early-19th century revival. This happened during the reconstruction of Alexandria, which was being repopulated by a series of ethno-religious enclaves. Both local authorities and European experts understood the potential of this building type in providing a basic settlement structure to an ever-changing socio-functional framework. At this stage, the Italian engineer F. Mancini reinterpreted the traditional okelle: providing it with a classical frontage, and adopting it as a building block of the new city under construction. Mancini's okelles embodied principles of symmetry, spatial fluidity and regularity of the external facades, while the real innovation lied in their being lined up to form the main square of the European Town. Subsequently, new interpretations of the okelle were tested in Cairo. The continuity of this building type as a symbol of both past and modern Egypt is proven by the fact that an okelle was built in Paris for the 1867 Universal Exhibition: "The okelle is built round a large courtyard with shops facing onto it ..., but it is also a hotel, a bazaar, a warehouse, a workshop and even a stock exchange and may be summed up as a large public building where people pursue their industrious activity." (Ch. Edmond, L'Egypte à l'exposition universelle de 1867, Paris: E. Dentu, 1867, pp.19 e 215)

In conclusion, this paper argues the Egyptian okelle fulfilled the function of an "extra-territorial microcosm" and, was put to test throughout the 19th century. It might be added that, in 19th century Egypt, the okelle also proved its "generative" urban role.

TRADITIONAL RESIDENTIAL BUILDING IN MOROCCO: PAST AND PRESENT

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The Mediterranean world developed tangible spaces able to interact with the intangible structure of its societies. Is it impossible to separate practical needs from cultural ones; building materials, technical skills and social structures cooperate in the anthropic environment creation. Enlarged families' way of life and climatic conditions certainly participate in shaping houses and urban areas. The merge of climatic, cultural and technical issues produced the usually called traditional spaces. Solid blocs are "carved" to become adapting structures: houses and public buildings received courtyards and arcades in order to manage some of climatic issues – as warm summers – and social needs – as the familiar life or semi-public activities. Private houses, public edifices and worships integrate "internal out-of-doors" spaces, often coupled by arcades. Northern Africa countries boost this link between civilization and material configuration.

Morocco magnifies this topic, its so-called traditional inner-wall towns are led by spatial rules coming from introspective way of building, but modernity - that's arrived in the late 19th century, really near the start of French and Spanish colonization - changed the global plans. Tangible issues had to follow the new social and economic guidelines, stressing the former material configuration and including a new relationship with public spaces. Climatic conditions didn't change and some of the former patio's activities left the internal location to join the new one in public space; the reference scale became the urban one with the adaptation of new architectural project.

A part of the inherited "patio oriented" activities were "extroverted"; town shape changed and a part of the protection from temperature and sunshine left the house scale to join a "street oriented" one, left the private area to join the public one. Arcades and passages act as protective spaces and they are not a 20th century invention, but their architectural scheme was mainly developed in Northern Africa towns during the colonial time and they can be partially understood as the heirs of some of the functions previously hosted by courtyards: peristyle parts of the houses opened their geometrical configuration in order to install themselves along the streets as arcade or inside the new huge buildings as passages. Bioclimatic needs and thermodynamic approach are basically the same – allow protection from direct sunshine and produce a difference in the temperature able to create a dynamic airflow – but the new society induces to a new morphological approach both in public and residential building.

Actually, arcades and passages are not fully descendant of courtyards, but their partial inheritance allow to deal with the central matter of global resilience of historic towns, a crucial issue in the nowadays Mediterranean area. Management of social and material residential model inherited from the past is one of the fundamental needs in the MENA area under economic, social and development stress. This paper presents some case studies from Morocco's towns, giving evidence of the rich and complex building tradition in environmental and social terms, analyzing the resilient qualities of recent tradition urban structure.

CHARACTERISTICS, VALUES AND PRESERVATION PLANNING OF SYHEYUAN COURTYARD DWELLINGS IN NORTH CHINA

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The courtyard in Chinese houses is much more than an open space enclosed by low buildings, it represents both a regular quadrangular pattern generating the structure of a low rising urban settlement, and a private multifunctional area where to live, work and relax, full expression of the hierarchical organization of the traditional family living of a society based on Confucianism. It is also can be considered as a bioclimatic device modulating dimension and proportions, orientation, overhangs or eaves, for adapting to the local climate in order to achieve comfort for its occupants. The research is focused on the analysis of the traditional houses in the mountains region of China, on their social and cultural values, covering architecture, functionality, building techniques and materials, environmental conditions and control of natural elements. Traditional bioclimatic devices and climate-adapted typologies are analyzed both on the level of the building itself that in relation with the site and the other buildings.

The valorization of this cultural values in the plans of regenerating traditional centers is the key to safeguard the meaning of the sites and ensure their future development. Today a major objective in the planning of historic districts try to solve the conflicts among the needs of conservation and the pressures of the tourism industry by means a sustainable approach to the management of the ancient places based on a heritage-led regeneration. The built cultural heritage can give a contribution to the satisfaction of human needs by providing the sense of belonging that represents the core of cultural identity. The paper concludes with the concept that a successful architectural conservation plan must aim to merge history with contemporary living standards of residents, enhancing the planning and construction of tourist facilities and promoting strategies for protecting the ancient towns.

V.05 P.259   **Elena Gigliarelli | Luciano Cessari**
CHARACTERISTICS, VALUES AND PRESERVATION PLANNING OF SYHEYUAN COURTYARD DWELLINGS IN NORTH CHINA

TOC

THE COURTYARD BUILDING BLOCK AS A RESILIENT RESIDENTIAL TYPOLOGY – SOCIAL HOUSING IN ROME IN THE 1920S

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The Istituto Case Popolari – ICP of Rome, founded in 1903, for bettering working class living conditions through the construction of social housing, has offered a fundamental contribution to the city's urban development, both in quantitative and qualitative terms with experiments related to housing typologies and urban space.

In particular, the experimentation promoted in the 1920s, focus on the courtyard building block typology, is central to our argument because the housing projects then realized are today perfectly integrated in the urban context and at the same time are clearly distinct from the private initiative one, for their high quality both in housing and urban terms. The residential developments in question regard high density courtyard blocks that were built at the edge of the historically consolidated city and constitute today a significant part of the semi-central districts of Rome: Prati, Trionfale, Flaminio, Testaccio, Appio.

The architects of the ICP had the opportunity to design and build entire parts of the city in a unified way, which allowed them to experiment with the potentialities of the courtyard building block in the creation of a series of spaces of different nature: public, semi-public, private. This trialing fostered during the Twenties a kind of evolution of the 19th century block, characterized by a rigid, compact form where the court had simply a hygienic role functionally detaching the housing fronts. The growing dimensions of the building plots offered to the architects the possibility to create big courtyards combining them in different groups, to articulate the volumes around the perimeter of the blocks creating complex spatial systems centered around the courtyard (with visual relationships between private and collective spaces), to subdivide the bigger perimeter blocks with semipublic streets, conceived as a filter between the public street and the private court. These housing projects, in fact, had overcome the limit of the block and designed the public space: the city was built through the architectural project.

The paper will present through a number of Roman case studies this evolution of the building block from the compact 19th century housing block design, to the 1910s perimeter block courtyard housing and the 1920s super block solutions, highlighting the adaptability of the courtyard building block typology to different needs (low density and high density building), stylistic preferences (such as Garden city developments or Modern Movement imperatives) and environmental conditions, aiming to show its resilient qualities.

V.05 P.261 **Milena Farina**
THE COURTYARD BUILDING BLOCK AS A RESILIENT RESIDENTIAL TYPOLOGY – SOCIAL HOUSING IN ROME IN THE 1920S

TOC

Inheriting the City: Conservation Approaches in the Renewal of Urban Centers in East Asia

Chair: Ruijie Du and Jia Zhang

SYMBIOTIC THINKING AND REVIVING APPROACHES IN REPRODUCING HISTORICAL LAYERS OF URBAN CENTRE: CASE STUDY OF HANGZHOU WULIN GATE DISTRICT

Jia Zhang[1] | **Shan Xu**[2]

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2 *Architect*

A main characteristic of China's urbanization is the continuous extension of urban boundary and the overall reconstruction of the central area. Especially the economy-led urban renewal always aims at producing higher density of commercial space, which causes the replacement of historic urban form by modern homogenized urban block. In the context of the increasing public awareness on conservation, this article discusses how to restore historic memory during urban center renewal while ensuring the economic goal with case study.

The case is located in the traditional commercial center "Wulin Gate" in Hangzhou. Hangzhou is a core city in southeast china. Its historical urban form follows Chinese ancient city construction system: internal functions were organized clearly through center and axis. And the city was isolated from surrounding natural environment by city walls. "Wulin Gate" is one of the ten ancient city gates. Although "Wulin Gate" is disappeared in former urban renewal, its name is still used for the central area. The task of the urban design case is to transform the original residence and market into a high-density commercial complex and bus hub. Basing on the historical information which contains buried wall and separated river system, the strategy and method for the restoration of urban historical memory on the condition of fulfilling the target will be discussed on two scales. The first is on the site scale: Open space is used to selectively interpret the historical basis, together with multiple landscape design methods to improve the public experience on urban history. The second is on the city scale: Taking the historic city walls as a clue, links between the open spaces of each city gates and an experiencing historic urban corridor are to be created.

Two conclusions can be drawn from this case study. Firstly, the symbiotic thinking on historic and modern urban layers is of great significance for the current renewal of China's urban center. Secondly, open space is the main platform for the reproducing of historic layers.

V.05 P.265 Jia Zhang | Shan Xu

SYMBIOTIC THINKING AND REVIVING APPROACHES IN REPRODUCING HISTORICAL LAYERS OF URBAN CENTRE:
CASE STUDY OF HANGZHOU WULIN GATE DISTRICT

TOC

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The Persistence of the Vernacular | *Inheriting the City: Conservation Approaches in the Renewal of Urban Centers in East Asia*

STUDY ON THE DISASTER PREVENTION PROJECT OF HIGH-DENSITY WOODEN BUILD-UP AREA IN TOKYO – CASE OF THE LIVING ENVIRONMENT IMPROVEMENT BASED ON THE RENEWAL OF THE COMMUNITY IN KYOJIMA

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"Tokyo" is considered as "the most fragile city in the world" (by Swiss re-insurance company Swiss Lee, in "high city rank of natural disaster risk (2013)", by "Tokyo and Yokohama", about 1 in 616 cities of world) to natural disasters such as earthquakes, typhoons and floods. The high-density wooden houses area, where physically presenting inferior infrastructure such as winding paths, narrow alleys (less than 4 meters wide), wooden buildings, is considered as the high-risk weakest point of Tokyo.

This paper focuses on one of the high-density wooden build-up areas, Kyojima, which experienced the peculiar living environment improvement by the renewal of the community at earliest. Tokyo government and Sumida ward government, successively published series laws and regulations for this area to enhance and foster private developers to join this project. The Machizukuri Association of Kyojima District based on the local community was organized to lead residents' participation. The disaster prevention council under the Machizukuri Association has carried out a system in which the residents may directly participate in certain specific issues of the region. As a result, Kyojima area has been mainly improved on widening the narrow alleys, providing public welfare space, and promoting non-combustion of wooden houses through several small rebuilding projects in decades.

Through analyzing the process of this disaster prevention project including physical improvement methods, social measures and community participation, this paper finally raises practicable proposals in improving high-density wooden build-up area to enhance disaster prevention.

Keywords
renewal of the community, high-density wooden build-up area in Tokyo, living environment improvement, disaster prevention

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STUDY ON THE DISASTER PREVENTION PROJECT OF HIGH-DENSITY WOODEN BUILD-UP AREA IN TOKYO –
CASE OF THE LIVING ENVIRONMENT IMPROVEMENT BASED ON THE RENEWAL OF THE COMMUNITY IN KYOJIMA

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"CONSERVING CENTRAL": AN APPROACH OF REINVIGORATING URBAN CENTER OF HONG KONG

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Since 2007, heritage conservation and revitalization has been well received in Hong Kong. However, urban renewal and new development of past decades have left urban areas with few historic structures and little potential for area conservation through urban planning. The studied case "Conserving Central" demonstrates an alternative approach that balances sustainable development and historic conservation of a highly developed urban center. This article discusses the advantages and disadvantages of this approach and its potential application to other East Asian cities. "Central" was known as "Victoria City" when the British colony was founded in 1841 on the north coast of Hong Kong Island. The area was first chosen to house the city's major military facilities and administration centre. Shortly after came traders and missionaries. The dynamic growth of Central was made possible by rounds of development, renewal and reclamation work. To sustain the growth that has been part of the formula of Hong Kong while conserving for future generation, the Government announced the "Conserving Central" initiative, which comprises eight innovative projects to preserve many of the important cultural, historical and architectural features in Central while adding new life and vibrancy to this business district. Consisting of harbour front urban design, preservation and adaptive reuse of individual historic buildings and new development of heritage sensitive block, this on going initiative is expected to reinvigorate the cultural and economic prosperity of the oldest urban settlement of Hong Kong.
As a conclusion, "Conserving Central" initiative is highly evaluated in this research. Not only does the master scheme and individual interventions suited the current urban situation and more important is the mechanism and process which ensures the rational implementation of the initiative. Chinese cities have been experiencing rapid transformations in last 20 years and many of them are facing similar situation like Hong Kong. Pursuing both for cultural identity and the benefits of different stakeholders, various heritage-related approaches have been carried out in whole China, such as historic area conservation, massive reconstruction, heritage-led development and imitation of historic buildings, etc. With complicated factors, many of those projects have resulted in negative urban and social effects such as protective destruction and gentrification. In this context, Hong Kong's approach is particularly relevant for Mainland Chinese cities. However, the necessary public participation, expert committee and departments cooperation as well as legal and policy system is in Chinese context still a critical challenge.

Keywords
Hong Kong, Conserving Central, urban centre, conservation, sustainable development, adaptive reuse

CHINESE ROAD CONSTRUCTION SOCIETY: THE LOCAL PRACTICE OF INTRODUCING THE IDEA OF URBAN PLANNING, 1921-1937

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The understanding of Chinese cities' modernization has advanced substantially in recent years, with volumes of resources available on late imperial cities (Skinner 1977; Rowe 2002) and twentieth-century cities (Buck 1978; Hershatter 1997; Esherick 1999). These studies have demonstrated that despite their political chaos and military strife, the late Qing and Republican eras were a rather innovative period, during which modern planning methods were introduced into traditional cities through various routes. In order to enrich this understanding, a case study was carried out on Hangzhou city's morphological transformation and related early modern planning efforts between 1896 and 1927 (Fu 2015). During the case study, a civil society, the Chinese Road Construction Society, was found to have notable influence on the introduction of modern planning. Thus, in this paper, the society shall be the object of analysis, in order to clarify the society's role and influence in the introduction of modern planning in China. The Chinese Road Construction Society (Zhong Hua Quan Guo Dao Lu Jian She Xie Hui) was founded in Shanghai in 1921 by several influential officials, led by Foreign Affairs Minister Wang Zhengting, to promote the construction of modern roads. Gradually if developed into a large association with branches all over the nation, and published its own monthly journal until the outbreak of World War II in 1937.

In analyzing the society's journal, including its content structure, authors' educational background, and local cases singled out for praise, a trend of specialization and gradual differentiation of urban planning as an independent subject can be observed. In the three volumes of the journal's first publication year, the articles' focus mainly on broadcasting the importance of modern road construction, reporting the latest news of road-building projects all over the nation, calling for new members, and setting up organization rules. Almost all the articles are written by influential political figures, except a few basic instructions on technology or methods relating to modern road construction. However, as the society developed and expanded, it attracted more and more experts, many of whom received their education abroad. Therefore, more and more articles were written or translated by expert members, which transformed the journal's role from a mere propaganda organ into a channel to convey the most advanced ideas and knowledge about urban modernization. This transformation of the journal's role was a result not only of the society's expansion, but also of real, practical needs. The society also explored ways to provide professional services.

In conclusion, this paper demonstrates that urban planning was introduced gradually into local cities through modern road construction, and clarifies the important role played by the Chinese Road Construction Society in promoting the local practice of urban planning in the early modern era.

Multi-cultural Populations

Chair: José Luis Sanz Guerra

RIGHT TO THE CITY: TIBETANS IN NEW DELHI

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The Tibetans have a long history in post-independence Delhi. The first group in flight from Tibet entered Indian Territory in 1959, when then Prime Minister Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru agreed to provide refuge to the Tibetans in exile. The Tibetan community that has been growing within the city of New Delhi since it was allotted a piece of land, today known by the name of Majnu-ka-tila, is on the verge of becoming a ghetto (The Tibetans formed a voluntary territorialized ghetto, but after the Indo-Sino relations strained giving them refugee status and further discriminatory planning measures, they formed a more intensive ghetto in order to form insulation against the authorities). This situation in its entirety brings us to the threshold of examining their Right to the City (Lefebvre H., 1968)

This study documents the development of and examines the current conditions of this case of the Tibetan ethnic minority in New Delhi and their urban segregation within the city fabric: specifically, the formation of micro-states, minority neighborhoods, fortified enclaves, and also illegal settlements. They live and function autonomously and are therefore seen as a disenfranchised group in the city. In the case of Tibetans in Delhi, despite having lived in Delhi for more than 50 years, they still are considered foreign and are dispossessed of rights that any other citizen enjoys. This project uncovers and presents a situation that further polarizes and fragments New Delhi by forming new and jarring archipelagoes of wealth and poverty. Work and home have become more precarious for the Tibetans and, for those at the bottom, the "horizons of possibility [have] narrowed to a series of provisional relationships through which they might approximate some sense of being part of something and anchored somewhere. The city, according to this view, is now the key spatial imprimatur for a capitalist realism that privileges creative destruction and accumulation by dispossession" (AbdouMaliq, 2010). In addition, this research analyzes this local situation via a matrix based on the work of Wirth (1998) and Wacquant (2004): "articulating the concept of ghetto makes it possible to disentangle the relationship between ghettoization, urban poverty, and segregation, and to clarify the structural and functional differences between ghettos and ethnic clusters."

This contemporary case study uncovers the Tibetans' current context, the historical trajectory that positioned them, and then examines the situation via the lens of Wirth (1998) et al in order add an Asian context to ghettoization to the history of global metropolises particularly in light of today's forced migrations across the globe.

ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING IN THE "PUEBLOS DE COLONIZACIÓN" (REPOPULATION VILLAGES) – THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW VILLAGES BY THE SPANISH DICTATORSHIP

José Luis Sáinz Guerra | **Antonio Alvaro Tordesillas** | **Rosario Caz Enjuto** | **Felix Jové Sandoval**

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This paper analyses a particular case of agricultural policy during Franco's dictatorship, the so-called "Pueblos de Colonización" (Repopulation Villages). Of the tasks to be carried out by the new State in rural Spain, two stand out: the reconstruction of the villages destroyed by the Civil War, and the resolution of the agrarian question. These two tasks possessed different natures, but with some points in common. Consequently, the steps taken to bring them about took different paths, to such an extent that it could be said there were two completely different responses. The "Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas (RD)" (General Management of Devastated Regions) was set up to manage the reconstruction; while the agrarian problem was put into the hands of the "Instituto Nacional de Colonización (INC)" (National Repopulation Institute). Both institutions carried out construction policies in urban areas, yet there were notable differences in both the initial premises and the later evolution of one and the other. Here, we study in particular the architectonic and planning dimensions of the INC's projects, the reasons why the same concept, traditional architecture, was used differently and how different results were reached. The characteristics of the Dictatorship's political system and the way the technicians were controlled meant that, in the INC, the agrarian question became the centre of attention, while architecture and planning were reduced to a second plane. On the other hand, the fact that one of the tasks of the INC was to build villages, i.e., deal with architecture and rural planning, allowed the Regime's political slogans to be sidestepped and thus free the architects from the yoke of the official architecture.

Keywords
Dictatorship of Franco, Vernacular architecture, Modern architecture, City planning of new villages

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EVOLUTIONARY EXPLANATIONS OF ARCHITECTURAL STRATEGIES IN THE HISTORY OF AMSTERDAM

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The paper explores how cities could achieve urban resilience and sustainability by adopting particular architectural strategies. It takes the development of Amsterdam as a case study. The study employs methodology of big history which unified approaches from complexity system science and evolutionary explanations. By studying the city as a complex open system, it analyses urban metabolism and circular with the terms of entropy flow from thermodynamics. The results revealed how urban morphology can be impacted by the flow of negative entropy, which is relatively scarce resource. In the system of the city, conflicts emerge often between the architectures for seizing and managing resources. Therefore, architectures in the city can be studied analogically to the way organisms compete and cooperate with each other for resources in an ecosystem. By this means, the paper proposes an analogy between cities and ecosystems and between architectures and organisms. It discusses how different strategies of cooperation and competition are chosen by architectures in the city in order to optimize functions and to obtain and manage resources. The optimization of functions is achieved by the evolution of architectural technology and style which serves both of the pragmatic and aesthetic functions. The ultimate outcome of the optimization of functions is to obtain resources and keep the sustainability of the system of the city. For which the pragmatic function increases the adaptability of the building and the aesthetic function attracts attention to the building and enhances its competitiveness for seizing resources among other buildings. An example of how competition strategy could become an internal driving force for the evolution of architectural style is the design of second old town hall and now Royal Palace of Amsterdam. By the case study of the history of Amsterdam and the dynamics of architectural trends in this city, the research aims at revealing the common features of the architectural and urban evolution in urban history. The results may contribute to a better understanding of how cities could achieve ecological and social resilience and sustainability.

COTTAGE AREAS: HOW NONGOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES CONTRIBUTED TO SQUATTER RESETTLEMENT IN COLONIAL HONG KONG

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This paper explores the role and contributions of nongovernmental agencies to squatter resettlement in colonial Hong Kong during the 1950s. The history of squatter resettlement has a direct influence on Hong Kong's extensive public housing program, which provides homes for over two million residents today. The official account of the beginning of the public housing program often dates back to 1954, when the colonial government started building multistory resettlement blocks to accommodate 58,000 fire victims at Shek Kip Mei, one of the colony's largest squatter areas. This account, however, ignores the fact that many nongovernmental agencies had been providing resettlement housing, often in the form of small, single-story cottages, for squatters and Chinese refugees years before the Shek Kip Mei fire. This paper highlights that the cottage resettlement areas developed by nongovernmental agencies, stand as the first extensive attempt to provide affordable housing to low-income families in Hong Kong.

As of 1938, large numbers of Chinese refugees entered Hong Kong to escape the depredations of the Japanese. After the Sino–Japanese War, refugees from mainland China continued to surge into Hong Kong due to the political turmoil on the mainland. The refugees who could not afford the high rent in Hong Kong began squatting on public land and on the roofs of private premises. They built simple huts using makeshift materials and sometimes miserable collections of rags and matting. The squalid squatter areas threatened the safety and hygiene of Hong Kong. The outbreak of squatter fires was frequent in the 1950s, by which time squatters constituted up to 25 percent of the entire population. Believing that the refugees would one day return to China when the political situation stabilized, the colonial government refused to use public funds to resettle the Chinese refugees, insisting that the colony's priority was to rebuild the economy after the war.

Although uncommitted to a definite resettlement program, the colonial government welcomed voluntary contribution. In 1946, the government granted land at one third its market value to private-sector actors to develop low-cost, working-class housing. Consequently, a number of churches and nongovernmental organizations leased land from the government and started to develop cottage areas around the city, thereby providing affordable homes not only for squatters but also for low-income families in Hong Kong. From the 1950s to the 1960s, the cottage areas accommodated tens of thousands of families in Hong Kong.

This paper argues that the cottage areas developed by the nongovernmental agencies provided important precedents to the colonial government. Prior to this, the government had never seriously contemplated the provision of permanent subsidized housing for squatters. Unfortunately, the contribution of the nongovernmental agencies to squatter resettlement, and, by extension, the beginning of Hong Kong's renowned public housing program, is often ignored in the official account. This paper explores this important episode in the colony's housing history and aims to shed new light on the development of resettlement housing in Hong Kong.

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INFLUENCES AND RESILIENCE IN MACANESE ARCHITECTURE

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At a time when we are increasingly faced with a worldwide globalization on political, economic and social level, it is useful to look and understand how a ancient eastern culture has absorbed Western influences without loosing its identity.

In this study we examine the evidence of the fusion of Western and Eastern influences in Macau's architecture and urban development, with special attention on the dichotomy of influence versus resilience between Portuguese and Chinese culture.

With the establishment of a Portuguese trading post in Macao in the mid-sixteenth century began a process that led to the development of an aesthetic awareness of harmony between two cultures, originating the emergence of a mongrel architectural model with unique characteristics.

We strongly believe that architecture, being a product of creativity, fantasy, invention and acculturation is born out of the relationships that the intellect establishes between the acquired knowledge, its vision for the future and its inherent notion of harmony and proportion.

The leitmotiv throughout our investigation was to indentify the role of harmony and proportion in the establishment of an urban and architectural model of mutual influences between the Chinese identity and European memories.

It is possible to draw some conclusions about not only the location of the historic sites, but also on the evolution of the city through the observation and analysis of ancient geographical maps of the territory of Macau, sometimes simple sketches, through travellers descriptions and especially through the letters of Jesuit priests, who have visited or lived in Macau since the early days of its foundation.

Supported by this research we intend to present our vision of the architectural and urban development of this territory that once was shared by Chinese and Portuguese people.

With this project, we aim to foster academic reflection on the importance of harmony and proportion, present in the memory and the cultural identity of each space, as elements able to foster and develop avenues for a development of a new and current architectural language.

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INFLUENCES AND RESILIENCE IN MACANESE ARCHITECTURE

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Urban Centres and Projects

Chair: Jenny Gregory

PLANNING FOR MUSEUM RENEWAL IN TWENTIETH CENTURY PERTH

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In the nineteenth and early twentieth century the presence of a museum was considered to be one of the great markers of a civilized city. Museums, along with libraries and art galleries, both educated and provided recreation for the people.

What role did such cultural aspirations play in urban planning in settler societies? In Western Australia, colonial administrators were well aware of the importance of museums as early as 1850, only twenty years after British settlement. But it was not until self government was imminent that it was decided to build a museum in Perth, the capital city. Construction was delayed until a specular gold rush brought increased prosperity and heightened expectations to the city. The population of Perth quadrupled and the government borrowed huge amounts of capital to fund the expansion of infrastructure. A museum, incorporating a library and art gallery, was designed by architect George Temple Poole, and constructed in 1899. He was a key figure in the later foundation of the Town Planning Association of WA in 1916.

Plans for the renewal of these cultural institutions were included in Gordon Stephenson's 1955 plan for the Perth which, following modernist principles, recommended the development of a cultural centre. But it was not until the 1970s that renewal began with a new art gallery and library and major additions to the museum. The discovery of asbestos in these additions led to their demolition and closure of the museum in the city in 2003. Subsequent lobbying for a new museum had little impact for nearly a decade until another mining boom, economic prosperity and rapid population growth heralded a new opportunity. Again the government borrowed heavily to support infrastructure development that centred on city centre building projects, including the renewal of the museum site in Perth's cultural centre.

Cultural aspirations for a museum and then its later renewal were only fulfilled in boom times. At other times they seem to have been regarded as the icing on the cake with other imperatives taking priority, But was this so? Was the construction and later renewal of Perth's museum tied solely to economic prosperity or does a close examination of plans for the city and the discussions that resulted reveal that decision-making was more incremental?

INVESTIGATION ON MODERN ARCHITECTURAL ASSETS AS THE INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION IN GYEONGGI PROVINCE

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A Modern Architectural Asset is one type of a cultural asset, but Modern Architectural Asset is different from a general traditional cultural heritage in the sense that modern structures are changing over time, and not being conserved as they originally existed. Modern Architectural Assets include registered heritages and possible cultural properties, which are not registered yet, but are still meaningful for understanding urban planning method and industrial expansion of modern period.

Research question on this research is what Modern Architectural Assets had been composed of and how collective urban form had been established in modern industrial expansion. We investigated scattered modern architectural assets in Gyeonggi Province so as to establish a database and a list for existing Modern Architectural Assets and collective types of Modern Architectural Assets, which can be used for urban regeneration in the future. This will work as the basic data for a potential list of registered heritages and a further utilization of collective forms of Modern Architectural Assets which show the original urban form of modern period and still eligible for future urban regeneration.

Through an objective quantitative analysis, we conducted a statistical investigation on the current status of Gyeonggi Province's relativity between its current urban situation and its Modern Architecural Assets in order to find out its locally identical characteristics of its urban form of modern period.

Modern Architectural Assets are facing a crucial moment to adapt themselves to urban needs and it is necessary to find a way to utilize them by considering integration between modern heritages and urban resources.

Even though Modern Architectural Assets can be registered as "Registered Cultural Properties" based on an owner's autonomous application if they have a historical value of over 50 years, many industrial properties have been demolished before being found as valuable properties through the assessment process.

In order to figure out the spatial features and urban structure of modernization, we conducted a GIS Analysis on the distribution of architectural assets of the modernization period, which includes unknown assets and unregistered cultural assets. The primary types of Modern Architectural Assets can be divided into eight categories: infrastructures, industrial facilities, offices, educational facilities, commercial facilities, religious facilities, military facilities, and uncategorized facilities. Their locations reflect the historical process and distribution of agriculture and industry in Gyeonggi Province and are proof of historical transformations of their functions and urban roles.

As a result, we investigated the types and the remaining architectures, and set up a list of the existing modern architectures in Gyeonggi Province. With this, we figured out the factors to compose the modern industrial cities and the process of industrial expansion in modern period of Korea.

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RECOGNITION OF URBAN CHARACTERISTIC FROM AN OVERALL PERSPECTIVE: CASE STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF HUI MUSLIM AREA SURROUNDING THE XIGUAN MOSQUE IN LANZHOU

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Lanzhou is selected as a study case to reveal the problem focusing only on the image characteristics, which exist in the course of urban region characteristic construction with the rapid development times in China. In this paper the evolvement of Hui Muslim area surrounding the Xiguan mosque in Lanzhou, especially recently 100 years, is observed. It is found out that the spatial patterns and social structure features. Relative factors are also groped for, which impact on the area changes. Thus, there is a prospective exploration to update for future development of the city's ethnic neighborhoods and to promote diversified development in Lanzhou.

Lanzhou is one of China's western cities and has a history of more than 1400 years from the establishment. It has always been a multi-ethnic city since ancient times, and Islamic culture is the most representative one among national culture with a large number of Hui residents. Xiguan mosque and its surrounding areas are the traditional Hui ethnic community since the Ming and Qing dynasties era. By observing its development and evolution before 1990, it is found that there residential and commercial industries have significant spatial dependency on Xiguan mosque with the spatial characteristics close to mosques. Under the influence of regional, religious culture and business culture, it formed the unified structure layout that XiGuan mosque as control elements and residence and commerce were incorporated. In recent years, with the migration of most Hui residents under the impact of the old city reconstruction, missing the inheritance of traditional space structure, it cause the emergence of lonely landscape elements of urban characteristics and make the city's Islamic culture less than impressive. Therefore, Hui Muslim area surrounding the Xiguan mosque has its own historical and cultural values and resources advantage. Only through excavating its spatial relationships in the material and spiritual, it can reflect the urban characteristics and promote the cultural diversity.

In short, the people's social and cultural activities are the main way to the formation of urban culture, which human's social nature determines. Urban characteristics, which are concentrated reflection of urban region culture, are not only the characteristic elements of reproduction, but also an important carrier of people's social activities. It has a certain range and the environment, to a certain extent, reflects the corresponding relationship to social spatial organization. Thus, for urban characteristics, it must not be confined to the surface behavior of landscape level, but should return to the essence of urban culture. It means to guide the future urban characteristic form an overall perspective, and on the basis of carding and interpretation social and cultural context of the city, and on according to the evolution law in city.

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RECOGNITION OF URBAN CHARACTERISTIC FROM AN OVERALL PERSPECTIVE:
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URBAN TIME STUDIES FRAMEWORK, HOW MUCH IS ALREADY DONE IN IRAN?

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As the notions of place and planning have been changed in this era of globalization. It seems that it is inevitable for planners to change the way they look at and conceptualize places and the way they look at planning. According to this need, recent years have witnessed a burgeoning work on 'temporal approach on urban planning'. Temporal approach in planning thinking challenges by insisting on "spatial and temporal equity, temporal efficiency and such other concepts". Clearly this approach brings about implication for a better and more temporally understanding of the existing condition, and a new approach to analyse, as it views the flows, the activities and the planning in a new light. This article particularly aims to determine an assessment framework in order to assess whether and to what extent temporal approach is embedded in existing urban comprehensive planning projects of Iran using a descriptive-analytical methodology. Basic attributes of time-oriented approach in planning have been extracted from the existing literature and combined in 'urban time studies framework'. We then traced urban time embeddedness in Iran comprehensive planning paradigm chronologically by applying this framework. Therefore, two resent Tehran comprehensive plan were chosen to be assessed against the proposed urban time studies framework. The results of the analysis indicate that all in all comprehensive planning system in Iran does not acquire or conform to an urban temporal studies framework, however there are some implicit cases of conformity consequently rendered as merely formalities, which deserve to be considered consciously and organized. However, comparing two cases as two stages in chronology of comprehensive planning revealed that in recent comprehensive plan of Tehran, temporal approaches is more considered in the form of temporal strategies.

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URBAN TIME STUDIES FRAMEWORK, HOW MUCH IS ALREADY DONE IN IRAN?

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INTRODUCTION

Since the traditional notions of urban and urban planning has changed as a result of appearance of new phenomena such as globalization and information technology, scholars and advocates increasingly promote the reform of urban planning and development management efforts.[1] In this direction, different approaches such as urban time planning have entered the domain of urban planning. Adopting plans with day to day changing needs and environment scholars considered this approach try to answer the central question of what about time in urban and design and planning? Asking such questions supposes a standpoint that shows concern for a lack of attention in urban planning domain – despite ample theorization to the concept of time in other sciences.

It is noticeable that there are much work on time in philosophy, geography and other sciences. Besides ample theorization on time in philosophy such as 'time and being' of Heidegger 1962 and process philosophy of Whitehead additionally theories of Islamic philosophers on time[2], in geography, Hagerstrand's writings (1975-1982) lead to two branches of studying time; one engaging to time as a problem and second emphasizes on relative time and conceptualization around time and space.[3] Other important writing in this domain is Lefevbere's (2004) "rhythmanalysis: space, time and everyday life". He introduces rhythm analysis as an attitude for approaching to phenomena[4]. There are also other valuable works in this domain such as much of Nigel Thrift's work from 1997 to 2001[5] .

Specifically in the urban planning context, lynch in "Image of the city" and "What time is this place?" considers temporal group as an element of place quality. He believed that there is a relation between time definition and quality of time.[6] In addition Mathew Carmona (2002) explained time as one dimension in studying quality of place. There are also some elaborated studies such Filipa Matos Wunderlich various writings which introduced rhythm as representation of time in places and framed this viewpoint by new words.[7] In addition to these, Schaick 2011 explored new possibilities for embedding knowledge about temporospatial activity and mobility behaviour of people[8] , which is other example of works mostly inspired by lynch.

Beside this theoretical literature on time, there are also practical experiences on time planning particularly in Italian urban planning. As pioneer in applying time of the city approach, they considered the concept of time in all scale of urban planning from legal framework to pilot projects. Based on both theories and practices on time in urban planning, this article try to present a primary framework for time studies in urban planning and evaluate Iran urban comprehensive planning system against it. So, this paper first discussed the concept of time, urban time in theoretical literature and also practices of applying such an approach. Based on these, general framework of urban temporal studies presented, after this evaluation of two recent comprehensive plan of Tehran have been regarded against the framework.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Review of literature in both theory and practice here is organized under three headings: first, the author try to distinguish between the different contexts in which conceptions of time have been constructed; second – and arising from these different contexts – he explores this concept in urban planning and third, practical experiences specifically Italian ones are considered to make the subject more sensible and practical.

TIME AS AN INTERDISCIPLINARY SUBJECT

Philosopher like Heidegger[9], Whitehead[10] and Mulla Sadra[11] - Islamic philosopher- despite variety of definition they give for time agree on subjective nature of time with objective aspects. In the same way, time geography cares about two ways of studying everyday life in terms of time-use. First, there is an everyday perspective, used by almost everybody, which is subjective and content oriented. Second, there is an analytical perspective on time, used in scientific work and commercial activities which is instrumental and process oriented.[12] They also distinguish two major types for time in its modern conception; substantivist and relational. These two reveal opposition between "those assume time has an existence that is independent of the processes and those which suppose its meaning to be entirely derived from the relationship between events".[13] Together, these provide us with a mix of objective and relational approaches to the conceptualization of time.

For social scientists there are three major schools of thought regarding time[14]: first of all Functionalist/normative social theory which sees time as important in studying society, the emphasis is on "the when, how long, in what order and at what speed".[15] Secondly, the critical/Marxist tradition focuses on time as a resource that has exchange value. This theoretical viewpoint accepts the quantifiable time of the functionalists. Thirdly, the social constructivist/ interpretivist viewpoint introduces relativity to the perception and conceptualization of time.[16] The first two schools of thought focused on clock time, however the third one considers time as formed by human interactions and relation with place.

Although, there are differences in time definition in different sciences it seems that there are also similarities on the subjective nature of time and various approaches toward facing with it. The most common seem to be classification of time into two categories of sabstantivist and relational one.

	SCIENTIST	**CATEGORIES**	**DESCRIPTION**
Philosophy	Heidegger	Natural	Focused on how and what, quality and Dasein
		Everyday	Focus on quantity, change oriented, clock time
	Whitehead	—	Cohesion and continuity of change, event based
	Islamic philosophers	Internal	Eternity, qualitative changes
		External	Conventional time and History
Sociology	Adam	Functionalist	Quantitative, clock time, non-oriented
		Critical/Marxist	Quantitative, control tool, clock time
		Social constructivist	Formed by relation human and environment
Geography	Lefebvre	Subjective	Independent, realist, Longless moments
		Relational	Event dependent, Representative

TABLE 1 Summary of time definition as an interdisiplinary concept

TIME, PLACE AND URBAN RHYTHM

Space has four dimensions among which time is the fourth one and the most debating. "Time engages space and space requires time".[17]lynch believes that time is one of the humans innovations which is nonlinear and related to perception of changes occur in the environment. In other words it is a subjective tool for ordering and introducing of events as they occur.[18] In a similar domain Rappaport thought of time as a dimension of environment.[19]

For Zerubavel the world in which we live is a fairly structured place, and each person perceives a certain degree of orderliness in the environment. He shows that this orderliness is represented through numerous temporal pattern, which have the characteristics of time and, in urban space, are often even perceived as time, in the space.[20] Additionally, Carmona and his colleagues define temporal dimension as one of the six dimensions of urban design. Temporal management of activities and understanding of temporal change periods in the urban environment are different aspects of this dimension.[21]

Henckel expressed that time has mutual relations with spatial structure of the city. Indeed certain spatial structures and organizations influence how time is used and can be used and can contribute systematically to losses of time. In addition to this, time organization provides or prevents access opportunities in urban structure.[22]
In this mutual relation of time and urban spatial structure there are some significant concept such as distribution effects (temporal justice) and time efficiency, which are often subject of implicit decisions in urban planning.[23] However, it seems these concepts are so effective that worth apparently being considered in urban planning process.

Carmona explains that rhythm and cycles are one of the first but not the just ways of surveying time.[24] It seems that these cycles and orderly repetitive patterns which Carmona and others refer to are urban rhythms.

Time in terms of both 'substantivisit time' and 'relational time' consists of rhythms. Rhythms in substantial time are independent rhythms based on clock time, and their representatives are: individual times, working times, opening times and also accessibility times(fig 2).[25] In the classical vision, rhythm was considered as harmonious and ordered, however it tends to consider that rhythm represents a mixture of contradictory elements in modern music, in particular, rhythm is no longer considered an orderly repetition, but a disorderly element able to establish its own order.[26] Explaining rhythm's basis in music, in geography domain specifically for Lefebvre, rhythms revealed wherever there is interaction between place, time and an expenditure of energy. Therefore, they have three major characteristics: repetition, interface of linear and cyclic process and they have birth, growth, peak and end.[27] Going straight to the rhythm definition in urban context, they have both characteristics of space and time and almost perceived as time.[28]

Based on these definitions, Wunderlich as an urban designer believes that urban rhythms influence one's feelings in space and about space. The way a place feels – social and intimate, or distant and cold – relates to the presence or absence of certain groups of rhythms, and to the way they do or do not relate to each other. For her, urban rhythms are a compound of two types of rhythms, everyday life rhythms and spatial rhythms.[29]

Classification of rhythms are mostly content oriented with overlaps, so in this article urban rhythms are classified as social-cultural, natural and spatial.

Beside these, we need to address time in a more practical planning context, in order to make it more useable for the analysis of urban plans. Therefore, the next part considered the review of practices in this domain.

Sabstantivist

Relational

FIGURE 1 Examplars of different categories of time

TIME PLANNING PRACTICES: ITALIAN EXPERIENCE

Time-oriented approaches have been considered broadly in theoretical studies recently. However, practical experiments on this issue are limited. In Italy, the use of time-oriented approaches to urban planning have progressed the most. For Zambianchi, the unique framework of interpretation and the integrated system of actions that we can call time-oriented planning[30] consists of an integrated spatial-temporal approach that shows the need for recomposing the structure of urban space and public timetables (working hours and opening hours of general interest services), and on which the quality of use of individual time and public space depends.

Italian cases provide new experiences in planning introducing the possibility of using new time-space tools in urban projects. Various cases are reviewed here, having similarities and differences. For instance in the Puglia and Abruzzo regions in Italy specific regional laws and rules support municipalities in developing urban time plans and temporal strategies.[31] Indeed, this temporal legal framework, considers values regarding quality of life in cities and the availability of regional services.

It seems that the Puglia and Abruzzo regions are aiming to change the regional welfare and services particularly, which would be realized through integrating and coordinating related actions with temporal policies, urban policies and social policies, also using innovative participatory tools[32]

Another practice of Italy in this domain was the Bergamo 'Territory Time Plan' developed by polytechnic university of Milan. In this case an 'Area Governance Plan' and a 'Territory Time Plan' were used simultaneously. The area governance plan was a new, strategic, flexible and normative tool. The territory time plan coordinated different times in the city and developing this plan resulted in the contribution of different sectors and local administrations through integration of temporal policies with strategic planning[33]The territorial government plan in Italy is consist of three major part: framework, service plan and land use plan.[34]

In Bergamo case time is considered in different scales from strategic framework of whole area and territory to local land use plan(figure 3).

Implementation of territory time plan was through pilot projects. In addition these plans can only be implemented by participation and a joint view of problems and a joint vision.[35] Finally, after summing up these similarities and ideas, the city council would approve projects and would invest in them.

The subject is to provide joint perspectives on the experience of daily life, the necessary knowledge of time and possible operational aspects of time panning. In order to achieve the goals, instruments were used such as mapping of challenges that presents various problems and needs of residences as well as a general so-called chronotopic map which would point out the space-time barriers and contradictions in the area.[36]

In the Bergamo case the participatory structure of Territory Time Plan improved the collaboration between various local administrational organizations and offices through integrating time policies with strategic planning in territory scale. They established an institutional context called Time Office to coordinate and develop planning activities and strategies related to the coordination of work time, urban time and life time integrated through development of local projects[37] as in figure 5. It seems that this innovative structure aims to find a process to respond to day to day changing needs of people who live in the context in this way harmonizing knowledge, experience of daily life and practice between different actors.

These cases are implemented exemplars of planning with temporal approach which is called the times-of-the-city approach in literature, therefore they provide valuable references for urban planner who care about time in the city as an instrument to improve life quality. In Italian cases these plans were supported by legal framework in regional scale and in smaller scales this was done through development of local projects which considered integration of time policies and planning practices. Reviewed cases, emphasis on the achievement of shared vision on knowledge, experience of daily life and practice. Additionally planning in local scale simultaneously regard to upper strategies point out significant issues in the subject of temporal planning in these cases. Figure 6, try to categorize the principle extracted from case review.

Although there are difference in scale and goals of these practices in Italy with comprehensive plans in Iran, it is important to regard the Italian practice to reveal new lines of thought on time in planning processes.
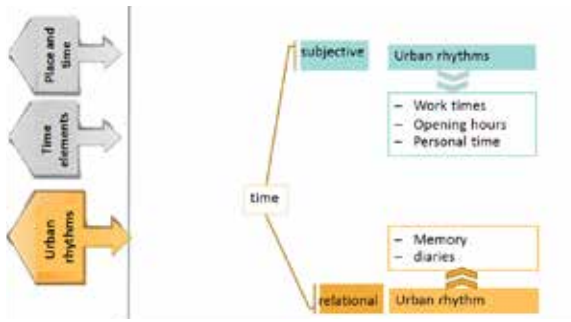
FIGURE 2 examplars of rhythms due to the two categories of time
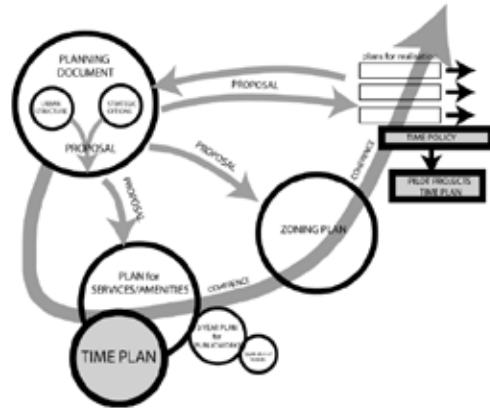
FIGURE 3 The territorial government plan of Bergamo is consist of framework, service plan and land use plan. The link with time plan and time policy and pilot projects (grey blocks) is particular for Bergamo. Source:(Schaick, 2011)
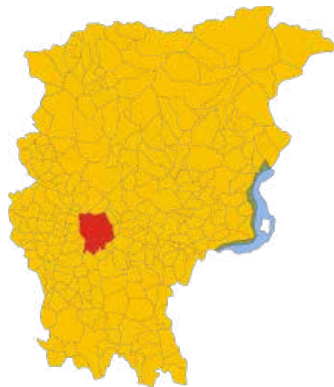
FIGURE 4 Bergamo region in Italy. Source: www.Wikipedia.com
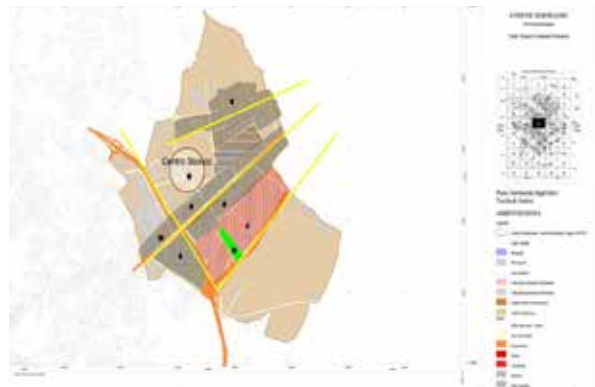
FIGURE 5 Sample Temporal local project in Redona district of Bergamo explaining due to the local needs and constraints. Source: Documento Direttore Comune di Bergamo, 2006.
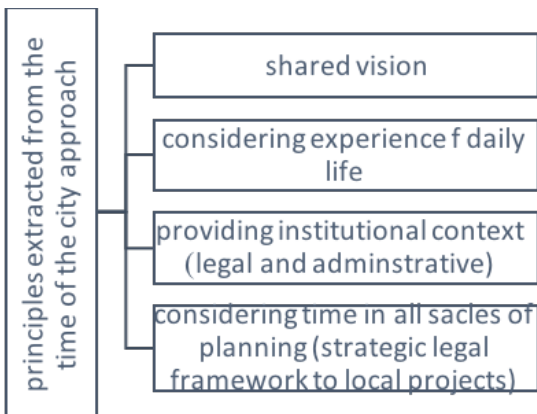
FIGURE 6 principles extracted from the time of the city approach
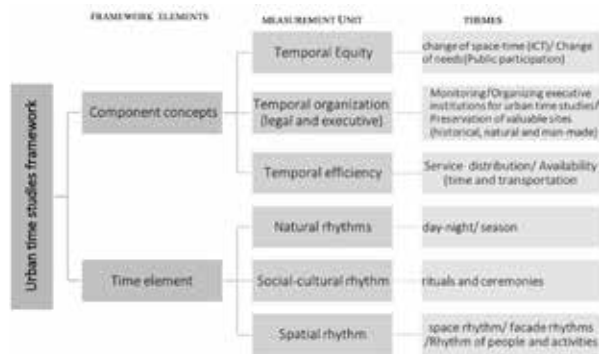
FIGURE 7 Urban time studies frame work (UTSF)

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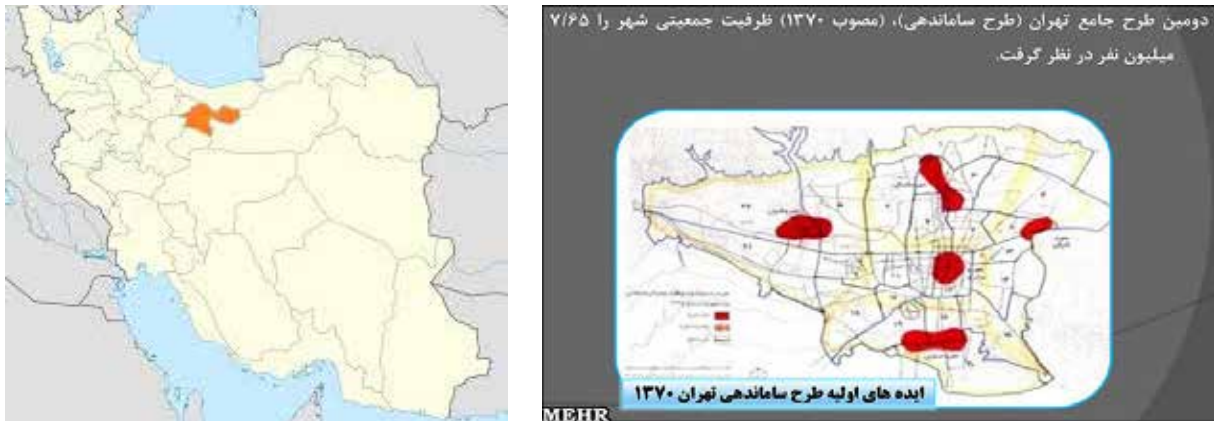
FIGURE 8 Tehran in Iran at the left and primary ideas of the second Tehran comprehensive plan1991.

FRAME WORK OF URBAN TIME STUDIES

Based on reviewed literature, in this article framework of temporal studies in urban planning and design is presented in two main category, which going to provides a vehicle for accessing, organizing, and displaying information on temporal approach in urban planning. First category, identifies temporal elements with emphasizing on cycles such as natural, spatial, cultural. These elements have significant effect on how we use urban environment and also they are important in temporal management of activities and spaces. They mostly represent daily activities and flows.Second, as revealed in the previous part for practical using of time in planning process some other concepts should be considered around providing legal and administrative context. Additionally, due to the changes in space, needs and development of technology component concepts such as temporal efficiency and temporal equity should be considered, too. These component concepts can be classified into three types.

Time efficiency: it is related to changes in technology, space and possibilities they provide for citizens and managers in temporal usage of space. Temporal organization: these concepts care about changes occurred in space during the process of developing plans and also emphasize on the need for preservation. Time scheduling in urban plans can be positioned in this class. Temporal equity: it refers to temporal availability and distribution. These two would provide requisites for urban equity.
In the next section, this framework have been used for assessment of two different planning guideline of various scales in Iran planning system.

METHOD AND DISCUSSION

As the aims of this article is to determine whether and to what extent temporal approach is embedded in existing urban planning projects of Iran an analytical methodology is needed. Since, evaluation of comprehensive planning against UTSF is considered in this article, content analysis is a method for interpreting the meaning of texts.[38] this method is considered as analytical tool for this article. The first step in using this method is defining a unit for analysis. Regarding the reviewed literature on time, the table 2 presents different themes refer to specific part in the temporal studies framework as units of analysis. For evaluation process, presence or absence of each of these themes was investigated in the two cases.

For investigation of each element of UTSF in the plans, themes such as those described in figure 3 should be searched. For, these themes are more detailed and specific version of analysis unit, make the process of analysis easier and more reliable. It should be mentioned that although this article try to encompass almost themes related to each measurement categories, it is still primary step in introducing such framework.

In order to investigate the temporal approach in comprehensive planning process of Iran, this article chose two resent comprehensive planning of Tehran.

Comprehensive Planning in Iran began in1948 with the establishment of the Planning and Budgetary Organization of Iran. [39]This pattern was broadly used in response to a necessity in Iran, as in other countries. It seemed to urban managers that modern urban planning methods should be implemented in response to the enormously increasing population of cities due to the urban drift phenomenon. [40]

It is about five decades now since comprehensive and detailed plans started to be used in the Iranian context. Of course, throughout these five decades other plans such as guide Plans, New Town Plans and ground plans have been developed and applied. But the basis of all of them has been provided by a Comprehensive Planning framework.[41] That is, what make necessity of investigation in this subject.

Here, the comparison has been done between two comprehensive plans of Tehran and the proposed UTSF, primarily to investigate the generally embededdness of time in these kind of urban plans and secondly to clarify the changes of approaches regarding time in comprehensive planning in Iran.

The second Tehran comprehensive plan of Tehran which is the case of analysis in this article was approved in 1991. In this plan, the predicted population was 7.65 million people within the area of the previous plan. Development proposals were based on the five zones assumed for Tehran which is shown in figure 8, different with previous plan in this case area around Tehran comes in the focus of plan and it propose establishment of 5 Newtown for the settlement of additional population of Tehran.[42] Due to the Occurrence of war and its consequent problems, this plan shortly was considered by Tehran municipality.[43] However, as the aim of this paper is evaluation of temporal studies in the two recent Tehran comprehensive plans, so here this plan was regarded. The general ideas of formation of this plan is shown in figure 8. additionally for making the evaluation possible the structure of this plan consisting major parts and heading subject of studies in each part presented in graph 1.

The second comprehensive plan of Tehran include five major part[44] which are presented in graph 1 descriptively.

Major parts | Subjects to be studied

A1-Total Surveying of the region
- Geographical
- social
- cultural
- historical
- issues of population,
- economy of region
- inter regional plans

A2-Surveying the influence area
- Upper plans
- geographical studies
- historical studies
- transportation,
- social studies
- cultural studies
- distribution of population
- spatial relations of habitats
- welfare status
- economy

A3-Surveying the city
- History
- growth
- geography(climate)
- social issues
- population and density
- housing and issues of land
- economy and financial issues
- participation
- land use plan
- spatial structure
- historical districts
- infrastructures
- networks and transportation

A4-Analysis and Conclusion
- Prediction of changes in economic functions, population and their needs.
- Major shortages,
- evaluation of possibilities for urban growth.
- Forecasting possibilities for participation.
- Developing of objectives and criterion.
- Developing of solutions
- final pattern.

A5-Developing programs and projects
- Solutions and suggestions for major problems in all dimensions,
- preparation of urban physical development programs
- categorizing programs due to time and scale

GRAPH 1 Structure of Tehran comprehensive plan 1991(A) Source: based on (Iran Ministery of roads and urban development, Treaty No. 12. Description of work for comprehensive plan, 1990)
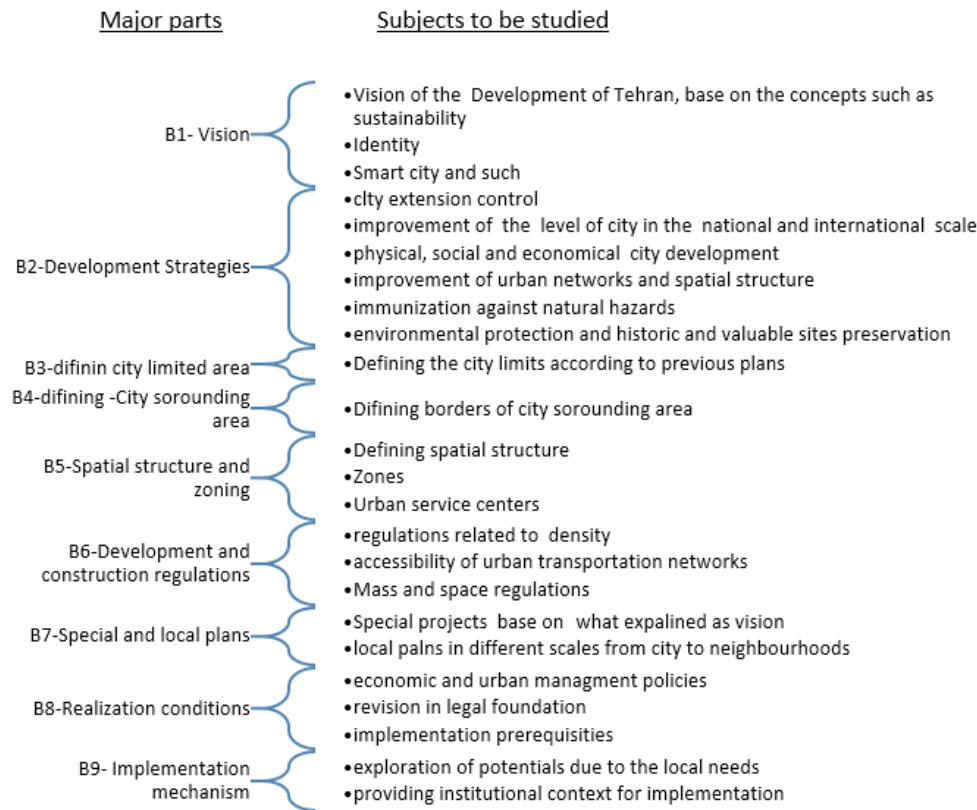
In the ages following this plan, new perspectives to the dominant paradigm of comprehensive planning in Iran appeared. At first, the critics' concerns to comprehensive planning were narrowly focused on the legal processes around plan preparation and implementation, but their scope has gradually broadened to embrace the content and fundamental theoretical bases of this pattern of planning.[45]

This critical approach and other contextual issues such as Tehran huge growth because of increasing population accumulation have resulted in developing a plan named "Tehran Strategic-Structural Plan" in 2007 to reduce the problems by presenting the development strategies.[46]

The population of Tehran in the horizon of the plan (2027) considering its natural population growth and analysis of the results of the last census (2007) is predicted to be 8.7 million people[47]while the area of Tehran in is 613.57 km its official limits.

This plan is defined under 9 major headings; development vision, development strategies, city boundaries, city region, spatial structure and zoning, construction rules and regulations, local and thematic plans, Terms of feasibility and implementation mechanisms. These parts are described in graph 2.

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Major parts

Subjects to be studied

B1- Vision
- Vision of the Development of Tehran, base on the concepts such as sustainability
- Identity
- Smart city and such

B2-Development Strategies
- cIty extension control
- improvement of the level of city in the national and international scale
- physical, social and economical city development
- improvement of urban networks and spatial structure
- immunization against natural hazards
- environmental protection and historic and valuable sites preservation

B3-difinin city limited area
- Defining the city limits according to previous plans

B4-difining -City sorounding area
- Difining borders of city sorounding area

B5-Spatial structure and zoning
- Defining spatial structure
- Zones
- Urban service centers

B6-Development and construction regulations
- regulations related to density
- accessibility of urban transportation networks
- Mass and space regulations

B7-Special and local plans
- Special projects base on what expalined as vision
- local palns in different scales from city to neighbourhoods

B8-Realization conditions
- economic and urban managment policies
- revision in legal foundation
- implementation prerequisities

B9- Implementation mechanism
- exploration of potentials due to the local needs
- providing institutional context for implementation

GRAPH 2 Structure of Tehran comprehensive plans 2007 (B) Source: вased on (Iran Ministery of roads and urban development, Treaty No. 12. Description of work for comprehensive plan, 1990)

EVALUATION OF SECOND COMPREHENSIVE PLAN OF TEHRAN AGAINST UTSF

In the first part that survey of the region is considered, temporal elements are limited to historical and cultural context. Descriptively, physical changes in time, historical points, rituals and costumes are surveyed here.[48]

The part two, in which survey of the influence area more accurately is regarded, both time elements and prerequisites could be traced. For instance, in the part that welfare services and their distributions are the subject of survey, temporal equity have been regarded implicitly. In addition, in this stage, studies about natural and historical context in relation to activity patterns can provide requisites of developing temporal management patterns. For example studies about climate and other natural rhythms can be accompanied with temporal management forecasting.

In the third part that survey is more focused on the city itself, issues such as land use shortages, population, distribution and possibilities of their future growth and changes could be regarded under concept of distributive equity as a complementary concept in temporal approach. Additionally, here studies must have been done related to evaluating opportunities for participatory planning. In the temporal approach to planning this emphasize on participation may be useful in extracting temporal patterns of activities and rhythms from locals themselves.

All these could be bases for the analysis in the next part, which would lead to strategies from temporal kind with the goal of achieving temporal equity and time efficiency.
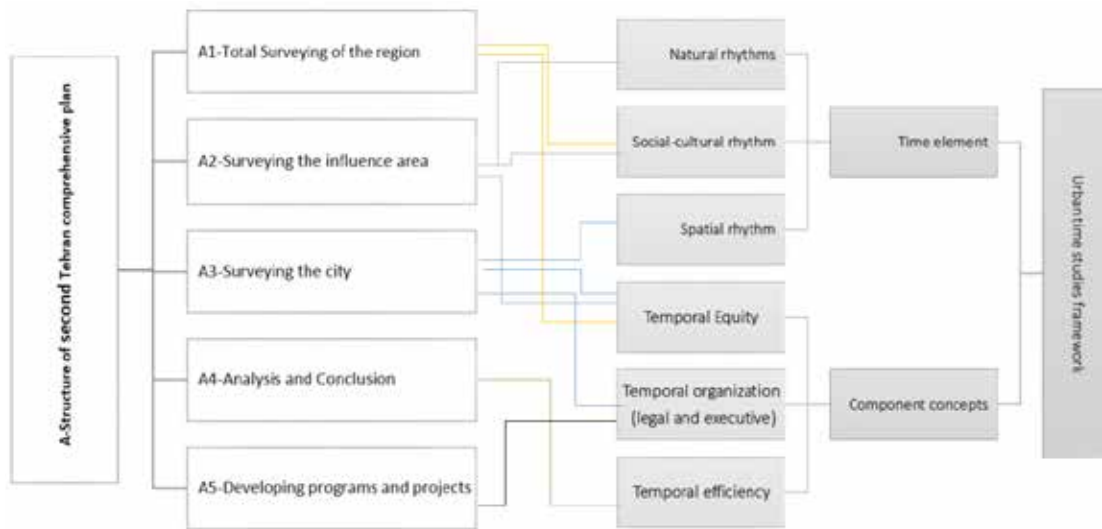
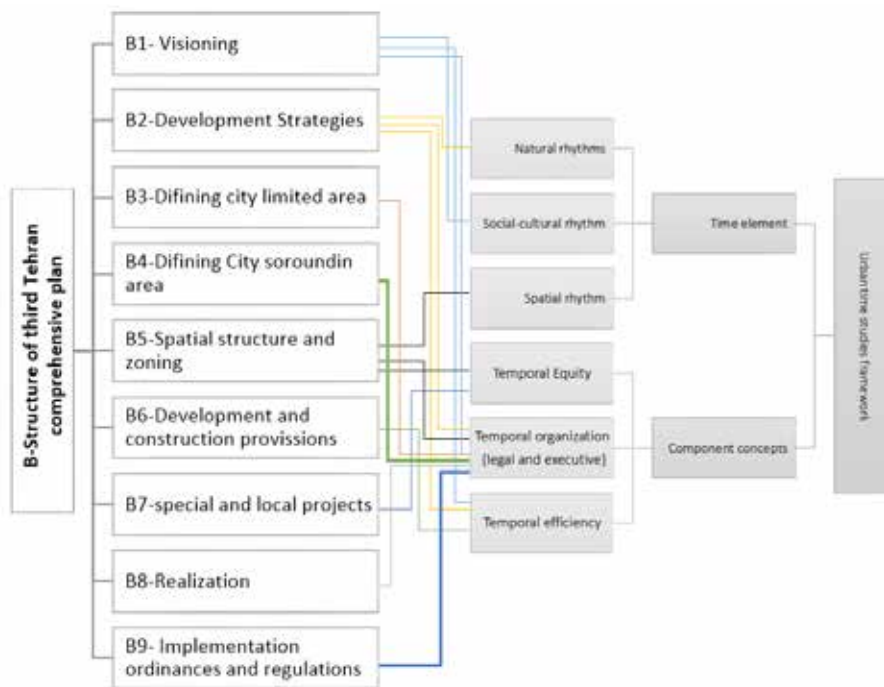FIGURE 9 Evaluation of second comprehensive plan of Tehran 1991 against UTSF

FIGURE 10 Evaluation of third comprehensive plan of Tehran 2007 against UTSF

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In the final part of description of work for developing these plans, there are sections about physical solutions and phasing their implementation according to time and scale, which best referred to the complementary concept of monitoring in UTF.

Figure 9 shows these almost implicit overlaps in the structure of comprehensive plan 1991 and UTSF, which is more perceivable due to the details provided about them in the graph 1 and figure 7.

EVALUATION OF THIRD COMPREHENSIVE PLAN OF TEHRAN 2007 AGAINST UTSF

Due to the content of this plan and the themes of UTSF, the relation between these two is evident, however mostly implicit. In the two first part -visioning and development strategies- there are conformity with study of time elements, time efficiency and temporal organization. For instance, one of the vision in this plan is; development of smart city in 2022, which has conformity with the theme refer to change of space –time and use of ICT Under the temporal efficiency concept. Additionally there are other accordance in these parts shown in figure 10. In the third and fourth part of the plan which focus on defining the city limit and borders of city surrounding area (graph2), theme of monitoring in temporal organization (figure 7) from the legal point of view is regarded. The next part, in which zoning has been proposed, existence of monitoring is perceptible, too.

According to the graph 2, in the development and construction provision part most of the provisions are related to density and availability of transportation, which can be a tool for achieving temporal efficiency.
The next part of the plan on special and local projects by development of local projects try to provide equity in the city. In the realization regulation part of the plan, revision of legal foundation have implicit conformity with providing legal and administrative context for time consideration in this plan. Additionally, the last part of the plan on implementation regulations, monitoring context for potentials has been considered. Figure 10 try to represent total conformity of the structure of plan and the UTSF.
From the comparison of two plans it can be concluded that generally between comprehensive plans and UTSF there is lack of time consideration in this scale. In such scale time consideration should specifically be about temporal legal framework and policy. However, UTSF is considered generally and implicitly not consciously in the description of work for planning of comprehensive plans. For instance, in natural, historical, demographic and welfare studies temporal concepts are considered implicitly.
In comparison of these two plan chronologically from the time point of view, according to the strategic approach of 2007 comprehensive plan, more temporal considerations are perceptible in this plan which is also evident in the comparison of figure 9 and 10.

CONCLUSION

Investigation of the concept of time revealed that it is an abstract concept has two main category of substantivist and relational. Perception of it is dependent on innovative conventions such as clock and calendar or based on its representative in the space such as day and night. In both of these modes time could be subject to urban planning. Studies done in this research verify that time could have effects on planning in two ways; 1) surveying of its elements, which are inherent orders of time in space and 2) Considering complementary concepts, which could have effect on ordering time in space.

Indeed, planning by temporal approach first care about identification of time elements specifically urban rhythms such as natural and spatial and social- cultural which are important in shaping strategies that make environment usable and time efficient for everybody every time. For improving efficiency of approach, attention should be paid to the complementary concepts.

In existing condition of urban comprehensive planning system in Iran, specifically the two resent Tehran comprehensive plans, implicit overlaps with urban time studies frame work are distinguishable. Almost these implicit points could be traced in the emphasizes on the themes of monitoring, evaluation and temporal efficiency. However, there are some differences which are result of strategic approach combined with comprehensive planning in the last Tehran comprehensive plan. Although, these cases of overlaps could form bases for developing temporal approaches in planning, they deserve to be regarded clearly in the frame work of temporal studies.

So, in order to improve temporal approaches of these plans, such concepts and criterions should be considered consciously in the description of work of them.

Notes on contributor

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