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Smart Cities – Political Cities

The Mediated City



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The Mediated City: Smart Cities – Political Cities

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INTRODUCTION

The Mediated City: Smart Cities – Political Cities

This publication is the product of conference, The Mediated City - Smart Cities - Political Cities held in London in 2014.

Organised by the international research group AMPS, its scholarly journal *Architecture_MPS* and hosted by Ravensbourne (University College) UK, it offered a platform for multiple and diverse examinations of the city. It brought together people from diverse backgrounds to fragment, multiply and reconfigure our readings of the city; to offer multiple and conflicting discipline perspectives. The intention was to share views of the city as physical entity, online community, film set, photographic backdrop, geographical map, sociological case study, political metaphor, digital or video game etc. to examine it as a mediated and shared phenomenon.

The publication, and the conference which it documents, both form part of the broader Mediated City research programme run by AMPS which is headlined by a special Mediated City book series with Intellect Books. The series editor of both the Intellect series and this conference based series is Dr Graham Cairns. The papers collated in this volume represent a sample of the research discussed and explored at the London conference into the contemporary city in the digital age. This particular publication brings together the work of authors concerned with: social and political readings of the city through the media and medias; issues of design and navigation in the city; and finally, questions of living and design in a context of ecological considerations.

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DIGITAL CITIES: TOWARDS A NEW IDENTITY OF PUBLIC SPACE

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INTRODUCTION

During the last years, the world has come through significant changes, whose consequences have affected essential aspects of our lives. These changes can be summarized in three major milestones. First, the rural to urban habitation ratio has reached an unforeseen peak. In 2009, for the first time in human history, the total amount of people living in cities exceeded that of people living in the countryside. Second, there has been a generalized shift from an economy based on industry to one that is driven by information and service provision. Last, the prevalence of wireless connections over cable-dependent ones, combined with the expansion of devices that make use of these connections, gradually lead towards the implementation of

Mark Weiser's concept of ubiquitous computing. As a result, cities are brought in the center of attention, in the context of digital connectivity and new media¹.

In the contemporary world, a wide range of our everyday activities has started taking place digitally. Communication, shopping or working, to name but a few, have started migrating online. However, this tendency has not led them to completely move from physical to digital space. On the contrary, they coexist in a complementary way. In this scheme of territory expansion, we observe a great portion of activities related to the public sphere transcending or finding more fertile grounds to digital platforms of communication. Reversely, there is a simultaneous phenomenon of public space hosting the privacy of people's activities, as they communicate through their personal devices. While our existence starts to expand beyond the limits of physical space, our experience of the urban environment has to be thought of as consisted of multiple layers, through direct contact and through the mediation of digital technologies. The redefinition of public space in terms of both physical and digital existence rises as an essential question.

In 1748 Giambattista Nolli engraved the Pianta Grande di Roma, an iconographic plan of Rome. The Nolli Map, as it is universally known, is using black color to represent the built, shady, private space of blocks and buildings, while open air and enclosed public space (such as cathedrals or the Pantheon) is noted in white. Taking into account the transformations occurring today, a contemporary approach of such cartography arises as a challenge.

THE NOTION OF PUBLIC REALM

As the thin line between public and private space tends to become blurred, the emergence of digital connectivity raises controversial issues concerning the notion of private and public realm both in

physical and informational space. Simultaneously with the primary conception of the city, the idea of public and private space was expressed. Their definition and separation was crystalized on the spatial characteristics and the physical borders of the traditional city.

In the ancient Greek polis-state the distinction of public referred to "polis", describing the relations inside a community or actions concerning the whole. The term "private (idiotis)" was used to indicate the restricted physical space of "oikos", the home that is non-political and contains household's matters, as H. Arendt explains². These two spheres, clearly defined by their spatial borders, coexisted in a dialectic relationship. The existence of one was indicating the absence of the other. According to Alexander and Chermayeff a community cannot exist without privacy³; without a core of privacy, the community becomes chaos.

This idea of definition and separation of space by physical borders is still prevalent until the end of 20th century, as analyzed by M. Foucault⁴. The social space is seen as a sequence of vast environments of enclosure, each having its own laws. The individual never ceases passing from one enclosed environment to another: the house, the school, the factory, the hospital or even the prison. The spatial limits of these environments define a condition of control on social hierarchies, interactions and informational flows. However, many approaches on public space arrive on definitions that are not only related to its spatial identity but rather to some qualitative characteristics. Mark Francis defines public space as a "participatory landscape"⁵, whereas Hegel will approach it as a "field of political action".

Public space constitutes an "impersonal field of codified and exchangeable informational flow" for Simmel; a public podium, a place of free speech where "verbal expression prevails on visual communication simulating the ancient Athenian Agora" for Arendt. In a later, more complex definition given by Sennett, public space will be conceived as a multi-layered field of ambiguity, exchange, informality and subjectivity where the individuals can play different roles, in the theater of the world⁶. Under the above scope, the term of public does not necessarily describe a spatially defined place. It also concerns a field where particular actions and exchanges can take place, a more extended condition that exists independently of location. These definitions of the public realm, based on its immaterial aspect, are the connecting node for exploring the fusion of its limits and its emerging new identity.

MUTATIONS OF THE IDENTITY OF PUBLIC SPACE

William Mitchell contends that today it is the network, rather than the enclosure, that is emerging as the desired and contested object⁷. "A decentered and territorializing apparatus of rule progressively incorporates the entire global realm, managing hybrid identities, flexible hierarchies, and plural exchanges through modulating networks of command"⁸. As the use of digital networks becomes an essential part of everyday life, a new digital layer is added on the existing urban landscape. The new state of connectivity results in a disruption of physical presence as you can simultaneously exist and participate in many different places. A fifth dimension of space is occurring, in a fluid situation where the traditional spatial limits transcend to a more complex and fragmented situation. Public and private spaces are interpenetrating altering definitively their original identities.

Public torque to private

On one hand, public space has broadened, extending its field in the digital world. New platforms of social interaction are created; places of political free speech, exchange and participation as blogs, forums, groups or websites emerge. These platforms correspond to another scale of public space, the global-urban space, being accessible by a bigger number and wider range of people. The main

attribute of this digital emerging public realm is that it cannot be constrained by the traditional spatial limits.

Contemporary man, as a networked being with extended senses and field of action, can use this new public space while physically remaining in the privacy of his home. The de-territorialization of public gives the ability to the traditional cellule of privacy to become a place to host all possible connections, public conversations and functions. The home emerges as a center for communications receiving information and entertainment, obtaining goods and services, and linking in with workplaces.

Ela Kaçel⁹ indicates the close relationship between the "electronic devices" and householders. Since early 20th century a transition has occurred in domestic space, from "home-scale" to "room-scale". Individuals' personal spaces, therefore, separated from each other. To her, now we are practicing a new phase: from "room-scale" to the "electronic device scale". In this sense, personal devices remove constraints of space and time, arrange our ties with the outside, and transform every "private" world to a "public" one. The room, becomes the personal device from where, safely and protected (?) we experience and digest the shocks of the urban environment.

At the same time, a paradox reverse is taking place. In the same way that external information and images flock in the private space, internal information flows to the public. The home, becoming a node of communication, is not only tending to include the extension of the public realm; its interiority is flipped, turning what was inside out. Images, videos or Skype calls having for background room walls, snapshots from mirrors framing bathroom tiles or even kitchen tables with homemade food, circulate on the web being the fond of this emerging home-centered social interaction. The interior facades of private space become the frame of the digital public life, the street fronts of this emerging digital urbanity.

"Click, click through cyberspace; this is the new promenade". The network is the new urban site before us. Its places are constructed virtually by software instead of physically from stones and timbers, and they are connected by logical linkages rather than by doors, passageways, and streets...".¹¹ The question deriving is whether acting from one's private space, participating to public through distance, without physical presence equals to what we used to call public attitude or participation to public life. And if yes, does this mean that the contemporary man, being networked and in constant contact with the public, has perforated his private sphere?

Private torque to public

On the other hand, the emergence of networks as the defining scheme of our era, affects public space, suggesting a world that is logically, spatially and temporally discontinuous. They offer a state of connectivity that can only be experienced at their nodes, mostly leaving the user unaware of what intercedes amongst them¹². As cities become more and more dependent on networks, they tend to adapt to their fragmented character. This may be witnessed in a diversity of ways.

Digital networks suggest a state of connectivity independent of locality. Moreover, the fast pace of contemporary life, the augmented need to stay connected ("I link therefore I am"¹³), or just the ability of doing so almost ubiquitously strengthen the current tendency, of people being online continuously. Therefore, people stay connected to their private networks even if they are located in public spaces. Each person, using her own interface, consists a distinct node in one or more networks at a time. The attention is directed towards a personal object (i.e. a screen or a smart phone) that is transformed into a gate of communication. Consequently, interaction with the direct environment shrinks. Individuality is overstressed, as people take distance from "public activity". Public space tends to transform from a common ground of social interactions to a neutral space, hosting distinct individualities that carry their privacy with them. Therefore, people choose to enclose themselves in "bubbles" of private space

and move through the city continuously remaining inside them. Taking into account the fact that automobiles are probably the ultimate piece of technology for isolating people from the stimulation of their environment¹⁴, the vision of the self-driving car (as perceived by Google and other companies), liberating passengers from driving it and thus from inspecting the surrounding, could be the direct materialization of these bubbles.

In the information age, the abundance of information has been continuously augmenting. The city itself is a structure with augmented density of people, infrastructure, built environment and, thus, information.

As Nicholas Negroponte observes¹⁵, we are transcending to the post information age, where extreme personalization rather than access to information is the object at stake. This personalization is happening to the scale of the individual.

Ideally, people will not be overwhelmed by excessive amounts of information that indeed exist, because they will not be any more undistinguishable receivers of a neutral broadcasting. Contrary, a set of smart software is able to filter information on their behalf. Today, we can already see such applications, that vary in the level of control and may range from amazon's proposals on future buys, or Facebook's proposals on social interaction (friends, groups, events) to the new personalized maps by Google. While some of them may only have an advisory character, others filter information, so that parts of it never reach the user. A future of "ambient intelligence" would suggest that we only get to access preselected information, as processed by algorithms customized to our personality. In order to understand some possible effects of this state to our relation with public space, we will try to illustrate the example of the personalized Google maps.

Google promotes its new maps, as offering "a map that's unique to you, always adapting to the task you want to perform right this minute"¹⁶. The way it works is that it only shows highlights, which it assumes to be directly connected to your search. Every click on the map results in a new customization, as it "instantly changes to highlight information that matters most"¹⁷. By using the map, your account is enriched with information of your searches and clicks, so that Google can always build "even more useful maps with recommendations for places you might enjoy"¹⁸, based on your profile. At first, this may seem to be of great advantage to the user, who will now have to choose only among places she is interested in, liberated from any useless information. However, when everybody will have efficiently built her profile, we will result with every single person looking at a different map. If we consider that a map is a tool through which we identify the city, that would mean that people would no longer have a common reference about it¹⁹. A possible implication of this could be that public space loose its identity as the product of a common imaginary, and rather be partially perceived only to an individual level. This will further weaken its perception as a place of collective activity, as people would be tempted to think of public space as an extension of their own private spaces.

CONCLUSION

It is now evident that a cartography of the public and private space in the contemporary city cannot be approached in absolute terms of black and white, as has happened in Nolli's map. A pure locational assignment of public and private seems to be inappropriate, too. Manuel Castells identifies the emergence of space of flows, which dominates the historically constructed space of places, through the medium of informational technologies. It is in this context, that we consider the flow of information, rather than the location, to be the factor of defining a space as public or private. In fact, it may not be exact anymore to refer to public or private spaces, but rather we should talk about public or private condition of presence in a space.

As the flow of information is realized through digital networks, their topological structure tends to replace conventional geographies. Discontinuities and spatial deterritorialization, implemented to the nature of networks, have started to be introduced in the urban environment. However, the existence of a digital layer over the city's landscape does not prescribe the complete inheritance of its characteristics to the urban environment. On the contrary, an amalgam of urban places and electronic spaces (Graham and Marvin) that consists the contemporary city is creating a more complex environment, having the properties of both the physical and the informational space. The interaction between these different layers results in the temporary formation of spaces with different degrees of private or public character, whose place and intimacy change together with people's flows or established connections. The cartography of the contemporary city is not static or fixed. It is transient and dynamic. The city is a continuously mutating living organism, responding to its users' actions. In real time.

NOTES

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4. Gilles Deleuze, "Post-scriptum sur les Societes de Contrôle", *October* 59 (Winter, 1992): 3-7.
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7. William J. Mitchell, "Me ++: The Cyborg Self and the Networked City", (Cambridge-Massachusetts: MIT press, 2004): 10.
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TOWNS AFFECTED BY INTERNET AND GAMING CULTURE AS NEW PARADIGMS FOR HUMAN SETTLEMENT

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GREEN ARCHITECTURE

INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to give a better understanding of urban space in the internet era of 21st century. The abstract urban space produced by the online community is in strict contrast to the traditional production of space through physical public life and interrelation in poly-centric cities. We will try to expose the qualities of this abstract space and how in new developing towns, it is being organised and produced in such a measure to erode completely the historic remains of previous urban life. *'It has both the virtue and the disadvantages of appearing obvious.'*¹

Riyadh², is presented here as a prototype of such a city, It has been chosen particularly because here, the society and its institutions as we know them, are rapidly disappearing and the phenomenon of “coming together through virtual networks” is unprecedented³. The urban space produced lacks the traditional connotations of ‘genius loci⁴ (place)’⁵ or ‘presence’ and is creating an ‘abstract space’⁶ erasing the history (time and space) which was perceived as ‘local character’ or ‘differences’⁷.

This, more or less, is happening worldwide, wherever communities are moving out of the traditional social space, into a virtual cyber space, with no discernible meaning or reality of tradition. Our main purpose therefore, is to understand these complexities of ‘space’ produced as a consequence of our changing social and political relations.

Two years ago, I arrived in Riyadh for the first time. This was the gateway to one of the richest countries in the world. The airport is domed with arabesque decorative stone and a big pool between some trees and long queues of immigrants hoping to get their share of the enormous prosperity the country is enjoying.⁸ I found the following description on the website before arrival:

*'Since that day, the small town of Riyadh has undergone many changes and grown into a cosmopolitan city. As the needs of the city increased, the Riyadh Development Authority utilized a computerized urban intelligence system for mapping, planning and anticipating its growing demography. Currently Riyadh comprises more than 1782 km² which is about the same as the land size of the state of Delaware, U.S.A., or three times the size of Singapore. Its population continues to increase at a steady rate with a current (2008) population of about 5,900,000.'*⁹

On the way from the airport you could see people from almost all over the world but rarely any Saudis. The taxi driver told me that they are too clever to come out when it's so hot. But that's not the only reason. It is that they do not need to get out. They are socialising on the Web¹⁰.

I reached my place after an hour (35km approximately) of driving¹¹ through solid traffic as I had arrived on the National day. It was a happy festival day with youngsters dancing and celebrating on the roads.

SOCIETY-INDIVIDUAL

The historic cities were about the ‘bringing together’ of individuals, the urban space of new towns is about ‘empowering’ the individual. It gets more acute in cities with a majority of bureaucrats and an urban space mainly dedicated to shopping malls. *“In the words of an inhabitant ‘nothing is allowed; nothing is forbidden.’ Everything (flats, public amenities) is separated, assigned in isolated fashion to unconnected ‘sites’ and ‘tracts’.”*¹² People therefore get comfortable in a virtual space¹³, where it is easier to socialise. The individual seems to have lost the society but has gained unsurpassed power through the virtual world to get in touch with everybody across the globe.

“We are in a universe where there is more and more information, and less and less meaning ...those who are underexposed to the media are virtually asocial or dissocialized...information devours its own contents; it devours communication and the social for two reasons:

- 1. Instead of causing communication, it exhausts itself in the act of staging the communication.*
 - 2. Behind this exacerbated staging of communication, the mass media, with its pressure of information, carries out an irresistible de-structuration of the social.*
- ...this is only the macroscopic extension of the implosion of meaning at the microscopic level of the sign.”*¹⁴

The disintegration of society¹⁵ promotes a culture of narcissism¹⁶ which is further confirmation of the segregation of traditional society and promotion of the individual. The illusion of narcissism¹⁷ is hiding the extensive conformism of the society which is basic to consumption. *‘The constant attempt to achieve something impossible is not through the enjoyment of singularity but through the refraction of collective features’.*¹⁸ Thus the lonely individual searches the ‘public space’ online.

This lack of social or public life, the segregation of the society into male and female, working and the unemployed, product and reproduction are all symptoms of a postmodern society¹⁹ without the illusory or real protective layers of history and tradition. The society in the new towns does not have all the safety and protective layers of centuries of social life²⁰ and institutions to protect and assist it in coping with the illusions of modern life.²¹

In a town like Riyadh one in two people have access to broadband internet²². They meet, have sex, fall in love and exchange opinions online. They learn online. They use internet for entertainment²³ and shopping. Most importantly, they socialize online, where men and women are freely allowed to go places. For them, the online community is more real than the fragmented physical city and they’re doing what is natural. The ‘online’ is meeting the unmet needs of Riyadh²⁴. It removes the impetus to seek face-to-face contact. Therefore, these towns continue without physical social space but with ever growing cyber space.

URBAN SPACE²⁵

*‘The city was once a powerful organic unity; for some time, however, that unity was becoming undone, was fragmenting’.*²⁶ While the making of a ‘place for events’ was the main goal of historic cities²⁷, towns like Riyadh are the definitive non-event²⁸ place. *‘The non-event is not where nothing happens. On the contrary it is the domain of perpetual change, of relentless actualization of an incessant succession in real time of general equivalence, indifference and banality...’*²⁹ Buildings and the natural topography are demolished on a daily basis³⁰.

The scarcity of public life and maybe the town plan designed by a computer has resulted in a ‘suburban sprawl’. It is the triumph of ‘imaginary space’³¹ of Castoriadis, the ‘spectacle space’³² as defined by Guy Debord, or the ‘abstract space’ as projected by Henri Lefebvre, ‘a sophisticated reflection of the dominance of illusion’³³ in post-industrial capitalism’. Maybe that is the reason why no particular area could be defined as the town centre.³⁴ A society with no social focus does not need a social centre³⁵. The only space still resisting this trend is the local mosque

but even here the numerous mosques together do not resolve in creating the main Friday mosque or community centre. Without a centre the structure of the urban context falls apart³⁶ and seems as if the city has emerged out of a computer game.³⁷

These cities are more a representation of a utopia than real ones. Many buildings are unoccupied and the only areas you encounter some activity is at the mosque for the short period of prayer time or in the plethora of shopping malls. The architecture is out of scale aiming at an *illusion of transparency and the naturalistic simplicity of realistic illusion*³⁸ with motorways cutting the urban context, separating people³⁹ rather than bringing them together.

The smart phone seems to have replaced the town centre⁴⁰ and the urban space reflects this sort of public life. The shopping mall, the local mosque, private homes and picnic areas outside towns are the only arena of a physical meeting place left.

There are four particular urban areas in Riyadh worth mentioning. These areas were the result of particular circumstances which should be discussed in order to understand how urban space is developing here.

Al Moraba is a green square in the south of Riyadh about 60 acres where the old palace⁴¹ and the new National museum are. This rare green urban space is a place where people tend to come together and is one of the rare public spaces in Riyadh except the shopping malls. It is also connected to an old market which provides further public amenity.

DQ is the diplomatic quarter where all the embassies are seated but it has now a large community of residents enjoying a different quality of life from the rest of Riyadh not only for the amount of urban amenities but frequent social events within the historic palaces restored or modern buildings and the green open air environment.

KAFD is about 400 acres, designed with 100 high-rise buildings with mixed use, high density, public transport (mono-rail), a green wadi dedicated to pedestrians and lots of entertainment and social places, to be. It somehow matches the recommendations of Unitary Urbanism⁴² or recent urban design recommendations⁴³. While an impeccable master plan including some of the best architects in the world, it seems more as a transplanted space dedicated to future immigrant bureaucrats of the finance to make further 'spectacle' of Riyadh. A lively urban space is the result of a lively social life and not vice versa. Being an ideal space (a Western utopia in East) but cut off from the rest of the city, only highlights the missing life here.⁴⁴

Riyadh is also interrupted with empty plots and an abandoned airport in the middle of the city. These plots are not an integration of nature into the city and neither a meditative space dedicated to the absence or 'nothingness'⁴⁵. It is only an urban left over waiting for the speculative market to develop it into another illusion of modernity. The total fragmentation of the urban texture reflects somehow the property ownership and market forces.



Figure. 1. A beautiful public place in Riyadh completed in 2013 with the refurbishment and conservation of the old library building (Detournement):

SPACE AND TIME

As Doreen Massey has indicated ‘space’ is the product of interrelations, multiplicity and under continuous construction.⁴⁶ In the new towns however, ‘space’ construction seems in crisis mainly due to the communities moving into a virtual space and therefore not participating or producing the social physical space anymore. The result is a space where even ‘time’ has vanished⁴⁷.

Everybody is running out of time⁴⁸ a general condition of ‘modern everyday life’⁴⁹. *‘Free time, perhaps filled entirely with ludic activity, is first of all, the freedom to waste one’s time, and possibly even to kill it, to expand it as pure loss.’*⁵⁰ The ironic fact is that people nowadays use leisure to reproduce energy for further shopping and consumption. They are realigned by shop windows beating out the rhythm of the social process of value. *‘The shop window and advertising, the foci of our urban consumer practice, is the site par excellence of the “consensus operation”...’*⁵¹ The result is a continual adaptability test for everyone, a test of managed projection and integration which is highlighted in the rite of passage at the mall or participating at other similar festivals⁵².

There are common characteristics of traditional/ historical space whether in East or West⁵³ such as ‘presence’⁵⁴ (whether negative or positive) although in East⁵⁵ ‘absence’⁵⁶ plays an important role in the urban context. In new towns however, we are faced neither with ‘presence’ nor ‘absence’ but ‘abstract’ space which could be summarised as below:

1. Anonymous to the surrounding nature or context; as if emerged out of a film or a computer game with an architecture out of scale to each other and with forms beyond judgement. Forms that get out of control and pretend or stage things that have no meaning or sense, except that of a ‘spectacle or game’. *‘Sign becomes the “thing”.’*⁵⁷
2. Their social context is almost invisible and participation in social life is reduced to prayer times at the local mosque. As if there is no need any more for physical space to socialise.
3. Lack of any apparent relationship in urban context and structure⁵⁸, between centre and periphery (lack of a town centre⁵⁹) turning roads into the main connecting network for vehicular access which ironically divides the urban context and inhabitants.
4. The city seems to expand geographically beyond a sustainable size, low density with large empty plots which exalt further fragmentation⁶⁰.

DIFFERENCES –v- HOMOGENISATION

Each city is unique due to its local and economic characteristics⁶¹. Space produced due to these differences⁶² mixed with collective memory defines ‘place’. Flexibility and changing of the ‘place’ is constant as people and their inter-relations change.⁶³ These differences might seem fragmented but if looked at in depth it is possible to find a commonality even between the local differences.⁶⁴ A constant flow seems to connect the changes even through time such as the appropriation of past and redundant space defined ‘detournement’ (conversion) by Lefebvre. So if modernity did not cause the fragmentation of differences⁶⁵ then when and how was this constant flow broken?

The break seems to have happened when people moved out of the physical space into the virtual in the type of interrelation (from physical to virtual relations) rather than geographical or temporal.

Following which the globalisation forces⁶⁶ were strengthened to erase the ‘differences’ of ‘place/space’ by homogenising it⁶⁷ and purging the ‘quality’ as we know out of ‘place’ and life. Only in this way ‘space’ could be commercialised as well as the individuals participating in it. The consumption of the individual is the most apparent force of conforming to the industrial models that one feels in modern urban life. *‘...what grounds it as a system is precisely the fact that it eliminates the specific content, the (necessarily different) specificity of each human being, and substitutes the differential form, which can be industrialised and commercialised as a distinguishing sign...’*⁶⁸ The internet is reiterating the fragmentation of society into individuals and the fascination of the individual with gadgets⁶⁹ and advertisement as part of this social erasure necessary for realignment.⁷⁰ The gadget becomes an extension of the body, a sensory membrane that connects him to others online.⁷¹ This is the era of supermen⁷² who use their power only to continue the ‘society of spectacle’⁷³ and to erase the memory of humanity’s weaknesses. A super-human behind which there is a world of vacuity and lost meanings where the only value that is left seems to be the obsession of vacuous power or playing the power game. While a game is only a satire of reality, urban development takes the game as a real value. The rules of the game cannot be changed or discussed unless you want to play a different game.⁷⁴ We therefore are faced with the illusion of change and flexibility⁷⁵ while the game is absolutely fixed and repeats itself indefinitely. It is like living the film ‘Matrix’ through urban conditions that reflect and satisfy the needs of a virtual community only.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion we would like to point out:

1. Production of abstract space has accelerated and is now considered as the main urban space produced.
2. This production of space seems to have stopped the continuous flow of space production and erased all traditional urban life.
3. Is it the end of citizenship through lack of social⁷⁶ and avoidance of politics⁷⁷ or as governments put it through prevention and security?⁷⁸

*‘To be present within a space is only to participate as part of a group conforming to the advertised values of the group and not necessarily participating in getting or soliciting of values. We are ourselves signs within a codified urban life. Everything is abstract and each is a thing of myths and signs: peace or violence.’*⁷⁹

The space produced by social and political absence or by social life being transferred online is reduced to ‘abstract space’⁸⁰. Therefore, **functionally**⁸¹ it is not working as is evident from the numerous unoccupied buildings and scarcity of amenities; **structurally** is fragmented, lacking a centre and relation to the periphery, out of scale and damaging to the environment; **formally**⁸² it is meaningless and uncontrolled creating only the illusion of simplicity and transparency.⁸³

While ‘abstract space’ in traditional cities, is added to the previous layers of space, in the new developing towns it seems to constitute the only space: **total abstraction**. By ‘total’ we mean the type of space that has overwhelmingly covered all other types of space therefore grinding to halt the continuous flow of ‘**space production**’, which is alarming and unknown.⁸⁴ This particular condition requires therefore further research⁸⁵ and clarification considering that ‘abstract space’ is not as homogenous as it seems.⁸⁶ The research should therefore include the internal contradictions within the abstract space, that might reveal a road map⁸⁷ to restart the flow of a different space considering the new ways people are coming together.⁸⁸ Obviously this ‘total abstraction’ would not possibly change unless our social interactions evolve.⁸⁹

NOTES

¹ Massey, Doreen. 2006.

² In the midst of rolling golden sands an oasis emerged with gardens of date palms. Riyadh, a name derived from the Arabic plural form of rowdah (gardens) was not always the capital, as previously the 500 year old walled city of Ad-Diriyah was the seat of the Al Saud tribe. In 1818, the old city was partially destroyed by the Turks which resulted in the government seat moving to Riyadh. The Kingdom was brought together on the 15th Shawal 1319 in the Hejira calendar, when Abdulaziz Al Saud took over the Musmak fortress.

³ Al-Dosari 2013. Recent study conducted by PeerReach.com says that Saudi Arabia tops the chart with Twitter penetration per country, that is 32% of Saudis online population is active monthly users of the microblogging site. The Kingdom is followed by Indonesia and Spain both with less than 20% penetration.

⁴ Norberg-Shultz 1991.

⁵ Dardel 1952.

⁶ Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of space* 1991. Page 23: 'The fact is that around 1910 a certain space was shattered. It was the space of common sense, of knowledge (savoir), of social practice, of political power, a space hitherto enshrined in everyday discourse, just as in abstract thought, as the environment of and channel for communications; the space too, of classical perspective and geometry, developed from Renaissance onwards on the basis of the Greek tradition and embodied forth in western art and philosophy, as in the form of the city and town. Such were the shocks and onslaught suffered by this space that today it retains but a feeble pedagogical reality, and then only with great difficulty, within a conservative educational system.'

⁷ Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of space* 1991. Page 353: search of quality in space rather than quantity.

⁸ Most of them end up disappointed. Indian drivers denied wages, beg for food. Mohammed, 2013.

⁹ Riyadh is located where several wadis or riverbeds join together on a sedimentary plateau about 600 meters above sea level. Although the climate is very dry with little rainfall, there is a good supply of underground water which makes it one of the natural fertile areas within the Kingdom. The city of Riyadh is strategically located, not only centred between continents, but also on the Arabian Peninsula itself, providing traders and nomads a central post in their travels.

¹⁰ Fakkar 2013. Users say these devices are carried easily, affordable and contain a variety of applications disconnecting them from their surroundings.

¹¹ Hariri 31.12.2013. Saudi has deadliest roads, 19 die daily.

¹² Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of space* 1991. Page 97: Our space has strange effects, for one thing, it unleashes desire. It presents desire with a 'transparency' which encourages it to surge forth in an attempt to lay claim to an apparently clear field. Of course this forcing comes to naught, for desire encounters no object, nothing desirable, and no work results from its action. Searching in vain for plenitude, desire must make do with words, with the rhetoric of desire. Disillusion leaves space empty – an emptiness that words convey. Spaces are devastated and devastating.

¹³ Individuals constitute the society but until they do not participate in it actively and through this participation create the relations, institutions and layers of social space the society would be only an accumulation of individuals. Here the society is, therefore disappearing.

¹⁴ Baudrillard, Jean. *The consumer society, myths & structures* n.d. Page 99: 1) either information produces meaning but doesn't succeed in compensating for the brutal loss of signification in every domain. 2) Or information has nothing to do with signification...a kind of code perhaps like the genetic code: it is what it is, it functions as it does; meaning is something else coming afterwards...there would simply be no significant relation between the inflation of information and the deflation of meaning. 3) Or rather the contrary: there is a rigorous and necessary correlation between the two, to the extent that information is directly destructive of meaning and signification, or neutralizes it.

¹⁵ Miliband 2013. Our divisions, the "narcissism of small differences", undermined our effectiveness. Too many ideologies did not withstand confrontation with reality...By the end tempered by experience, utopia was powered by technology, not ideology: the laptop, not the Little Red Book.

¹⁶ Baudrillard, Jean. *The consumer society, myths & structures* n.d. Page 87.

¹⁷ Pasolini 1970.

¹⁸ Baudrillard, Jean. *The consumer society, myths & structures* n.d. Page 95: The following advert line is indicative of this magical synthesis. 'To have found your personality, to be able to assert it, is to discover the pleasure of being truly yourself.' The narcissism of the individual in consumer society is not an enjoyment of singularity it is a refraction of collective features. However it is always presented as narcissistic investment of oneself through smallest marginal differences. The individual is everywhere invited primarily to enjoy himself to

indulge himself. The understanding is that by pleasing oneself that one is likely to please others...woman is sold to women...while doing what she believes is preening herself, scenting herself, clothing herself in a word creating herself she is in fact consuming herself.

¹⁹ Lefebvre, Henri. *Writings on Cities* 2000. Page 156: ...the de-structuration of the city manifests the depth of phenomena, of social and cultural disintegration. Considered as whole, this society finds itself *incomplete*

²⁰ The space resulted in Jeddah, on the West coast of Saudi Arabia, being a historical city is completely different to Riyadh.

²¹ Baudrillard, Jean. *The consumer society, myths & structures* n.d. Page 168: This rhetoric of thaumaturgy and solicitude which stamps the consumer society, affluent society with a particular emotional tone has precise social functions: 1) The emotional re-education of individuals isolated within bureaucratic society by the technical and division of labour and by the parallel technical and social division – itself equally total and bureaucratic – of consumption practices. 2) A political strategy of formal integration which covers – and covers up for – the failings of the political institutions: just as universal suffrage, referendums and parliamentary institutions are designed to establish a social consensus through formal participation, so advertising, fashion, human and public relations can be interpreted as a kind of perpetual referendum in which citizen consumers are entreated at every moment to pronounce in favour of a certain code of values and implicitly to sanction it... 3) Political control by solicitation and solicitude is accompanied by a more intimate control over motivations themselves. This is where the term solicit assumes its double meaning, and it is in this sense that all solicitude is basically terroristic.

²² According to Internet World Stats.

²³ Hitchens 22.09.2013. If the devil had his own bible, it would probably take the form of a computer game.

²⁴ Fayyaz 2013. A survey recently conducted by Arab News revealed that most people preferred to use the internet, watch TV, hang out with friends or play games on their smart devices: The average arab child reads only 6 minutes a year in comparison to Western children who average around 12000 minutes a year. An adult in the arab world reads on average a quarter of a page a year compared to an American adult who reads around 11 books or a British adult who reads about 7.

²⁵ Lefebvre, Henri. *Writings on Cities* 2000. Page 185: This theory of social space encompasses on the one hand the critical analysis of urban reality and on the other that of everyday life.

²⁶ Lefebvre, Henri. *Interview with Henri Lefebvre on Situationists* 1983.

²⁷ Bohl 2002. A public realm is an outdoor space in the heart of the community with a variety of uses.

²⁸ Baudrillard, Jean. *Forget Foucault; A history of the present* n.d. Page 114: This world order is aiming at a definitive non-event. It is in some ways the end of history, not through the fulfilment of democracy, as Fukuyama would have it, but through preventive terror, a counter-terror that precludes every possible event. A terror that power ends up exerting upon itself, under the sign of security. It is a trace of cold war and of equilibrium of terror? But this time it is deterrence without cold war, a terror without equilibrium. Or rather it is a universal cold war crammed into the smallest cracks of social and political life...

²⁹ Baudrillard, Jean. *The consumer society, myths & structures* n.d. Page 115: Information is the most effective mechanism for the derealisation of history. Just as political economy is a gigantic mechanism for the fabrication of value – the fabrication of sign of wealth, but not of wealth itself – thus the entire system of information is an immense machine made to produce events as signs, as values exchangeable on the universal market of ideologies, of spectacle, catastrophes, etc. in short, for the production of non-events...we enter into a realm where event no longer really happen, thanks to their production and diffusion in real time – but rather lose themselves in the void of information.

³⁰ Lefebvre, Henri. *Writings on Cities* 2000. Page 84: The models elaborated can only be put into practice by eradicating from social existence the very ruins of what was the city.

³¹ Castoriadis, *The Imaginary: Creation in the social historical domain* 1984.

³² Lefebvre, Henri. *Production of space* 1991. As for Debord's "spectacle," it is an ideological force -- another "concrete abstraction" -- that is taken quite seriously by Lefebvre. He writes:

People look, and take sight, take seeing, for life itself. We build on the basis of papers and plans. We buy on the basis of images. Sight and seeing, which in the Western tradition once epitomized intelligibility, have turned into a trap: the means whereby, in social space, diversity may be simulated and a travesty of enlightenment and intelligibility ensconced under the sign of transparency...A society that moulds its entire surroundings has necessarily evolved its own technique for working on the material basis of this set of tasks. That material basis is the society's actual territory. Urbanism is the mode of appropriation of the natural and human environment by capitalism, which, true to its logical development toward absolute domination, can (and now must) refashion the totality of space into its own peculiar decor. ("The Organization of Territory," *The Society of the Spectacle*.)

³³ Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of space* 1991. P. 145: It is very important from the outset to stress the destructive (because reductive) effects of the predominance of the readable and visible, of the absolute priority

accorded to the visual realm, which in turn implicit the priority of reading and writing. An emphasis on visual space has accompanied the search for an impression of weightlessness in architecture...Once the effect of weightiness or massiveness upon which architects once depended has been abandoned, it becomes possible to break up and reassemble volumes arbitrarily according to the dictates of an architectural neo-plasticism.

³⁴ Foucault, Michel. Structure, sign and play in the discourse of the human science n.d. The "centre" is that element of a structure which appears given or fixed, thereby anchoring the rest of the structure and allowing it to play. In the history of metaphysics specifically, this function is fulfilled by different terms (which Derrida says are always associated with presence): "essence, existence, substance, subject, transcendentalism, consciousness, or conscience, God, man, and so forth." This central term ironically escapes structuralism, the key feature of structuralism according to which all meaning is defined relationally, through other terms in the structure. From this perspective, the centre is the most alien or estranged element in a structure: it comes from somewhere outside and remains absolute until a new centre is substituted in a seemingly arbitrary fashion.

³⁵ Bohl 2002. The vast majority of suburban development in the 60s, 70s and 1980s continued to take the form of placeless communities. The last few generations of Americans have rarely had the experience of coming together on a tree-lined street to shop, to walk after dinner, or to talk with friends, because typical suburbia reduced the street to a single purpose, pedestrian-intimidating traffic arteria.

³⁶ Blake 1974. Page 162: And protesting its total dedication to the city as the one and only seat and source and mainspring of civilization, it rendered the city unmanageable and, in effect, scattered its inhabitants to the winds.

³⁷ Hitchens 22.09.2013. If the devil had his own bible, it would probably take the form of a computer game.

³⁸ Lefebvre, Henri. The Production of space 1991. page 31.

³⁹ Lefebvre, Henri. The Production of space 1991. Page 97.

⁴⁰ Lefebvre, Henri. The Production of space 1991. Page 145 definition of integration and participation.

⁴¹ Lefebvre, Henri. The Production of space 1991. A perfect example of conversion or detournement as defined by Lefebvre.

⁴² Lefebvre, Henri. Interview with Henri Lefebvre on Situationists 1983) First of all, UU is not a doctrine of urbanism but a critique of urbanism. By the same token, our participation in experimental art is a critique of art, and sociological research ought to be a critique of sociology. No isolated discipline whatsoever can be tolerated in itself; we are moving toward a global creation of existence.

UU is distinct from problems of housing and yet is bound to engulf them; it is all the more distinct from current commercial exchange. At present, UU envisages a terrain of experience for the social space of the cities of the future. It is not a reaction to functionalism, but rather a move past it; UU is a matter of reaching -- beyond the immediately useful -- an enthralling functional environment. Functionalism, which still has avant-garde pretensions because it continues to encounter outdated resistance, has already triumphed to a large extent. Its positive contributions -- the adaption to practical functions, technical innovation, comfort, the banishment of superimposed ornament -- are today banalities. Yet, although its field of application is (when all is said and done) a narrow one, this has not led functionalism to adopt a relative theoretical modesty. In order to justify philosophically the extension of its principles of renovation to the entire organization of social life, functionalism has fused, seemingly without a thought, with the most static conservative doctrines (and, simultaneously, has itself congealed into an inert doctrine). One must construct uninhabitable ambiances; construct the streets of real life, the scenery of daydreams.

⁴³ Bohl 2002

⁴⁴ The Wadi, which is the definition of a valley, in KAFD suddenly, finishes at the boundary of the site. It leads to nowhere but into a concrete high wall or staircase.

⁴⁵ Alemi, Shadows of light 2013. While western culture is based on the 'presence' eastern one has absence too. Absence as a metaphysical representation of presence. In the East there are spaces dedicated to nothing. This 'nothingness' is not emptiness, although it might be empty.

⁴⁶ D. Massey 2006. 1) Space as the product of interrelations, as constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny. 2) We understand space as the sphere of the possibility of the existence of multiplicity in the sense of contemporaneous plurality; as the sphere of coexisting heterogeneity. 3) We recognise space always under construction..it is never finished.

⁴⁷ (Lefebvre, Production of space 1991) Page 95: With the advent of modernity time has vanished from social space. It is recorded solely on measuring-instruments, on clocks, that are isolated and functionally specialized as this time itself. Lived time loses its form and its social interest with the exception, that is, of time spent working.

Economic space subordinates time to itself.

⁴⁸ It seems to be on the stage of the film 'Time Keeper'.

⁴⁹ Lefebvre, Henri. La vie quotidienne dans le monde moderne n.d. Quotidiennete, modernite, deux faces de la meme realite, la notre. L'une triviale, generatrice d'ennui – l'autre scintillante, agitee, penetree de technique et de

culture. La seconde couvre la première et entretient. Le sens de ce clignotement étrange et familier? C'est l'absurde et le malaise. S'agirait-il d'une structure définitive, d'une brisure irréversible? Telle est la question. Or la dissolution, en raison de cet état des choses sociales, de ce qu'on nomme officiellement 'la culture', et la faiblesse des institutions de montrer d'autres possibilités: une révolution culturelle s'annonce, non pas séparable des transformations économiques et politiques, mais distincte.

⁵⁰ Baudrillard, Jean. *The consumer society, myths & structures* n.d. Page 152: Time is an a priori, transcendent dimension which pre-exists its contents. It is there waiting for you. If it is alienated and subjugated in work then you don't have time. When you are away from work or unconstrained you have time. As an absolute inalienable dimension like air or water in leisure it once again becomes everyone's private property...Free time is in fact time earned...rest, relaxation, escape and distraction are perhaps needs: but they do not in themselves define the specific exigency of leisure, which is the consumption of time. *(this is why it is insufficient to say that leisure is alienated because it is merely the time necessary to reproduce labour power. The alienation of leisure is more profound: it does not relate to the direct subordination to working time, but is linked to the very impossibility of wasting one's time.)*

⁵¹ Baudrillard, Jean. *The consumer society, myths & structures* n.d.) Page 166: Tracking along the shop-windows, with their calculated riot of colour, which is always the same, a frustration of the hesitant waltz of shopping in which goods are exalted before being exchanged. Objects and products are offered there in a glorious mise-en-scene a sacralising ostentation. This symbolic giving, aped by the objects themselves on their stage-set, this symbolic silent exchange between the offered object and the gaze, is clearly an invitation to real, economic exchange inside the shop. But not necessarily and at any event the communication which is established at the level of the shop window is not so much between individuals and objects as a generalised communication between all individuals not via the contemplation of the same objects but via the reading and recognition in the same objects but via the reading and recognition in the same objects of the same system of signs and the same hierarchical code of values...that communication and exchange of values through which an entire society is homogenized by incessant daily acculturation to the silent and spectacular logic of fashion. That specific space which is the shop window – neither inside nor outside, neither private nor wholly public, and which is already the street while maintaining, behind the transparency of its glass, the distance, the opaque status of the commodity – is also the site of a specific social relation.

⁵² Baudrillard, *The consumer society, myths & structures* n.d.) Page 166: 'As Durkheim writes in 'The elementary forms of religious life' the collective reinforces its cohesion, in feasts and spectacles.'

⁵³ Alemi, *Shadows of light* 2013) Common characters of urban space in East and West: Stability and permanence; 'Defining of a place', as a clear representation of each space and its social function; A close and strong relationship between these functions/spaces or between the centres of urban life and its periphery; The city wall or a boundary as a representation of concentration of activity or social density versus the countryside. *'The inevitable urbanization of society would not separate growth from development; it would successfully transcend the opposition between town and country instead of degrading both by turning them into an undifferentiated mass.'* (Lefebvre, *Production of space* 1991). Speed and movement of situations or the pressing nature of possibilities; Quality of life as a result of social multitude and high density; Collective memory or feeling part of the Polis and therefore participating in the politics of the society while creating/living a social life; Local differences and variety.

⁵⁴ Lefebvre, Henri. *La critique de quotidienne e Modernite* n.d..

⁵⁵ Lefebvre, Henri., *Production of space* 1991. Page 154: 'We do not separate the ordering of space from its form, its genesis from its actuality, the abstract from concrete, or nature from society. There is no house in Japan without a garden, no matter how tiny, as a place for contemplation and for contact with nature; a handful of pebbles is nature for us – not just a detached symbol of it. We do not think right away of the distances that separate objects from one another.'

⁵⁶ Alemi, *Shadows of light* 2013) Differences of Urban space in East and West: The streets/roads (or the negative space) in the West connects the urban texture while in the East it is the positive space of buildings which creates the urban texture with the courtyards as negative space which is read as separated from each other; While western culture is based on the 'presence' eastern one has absence too. Absence as a metaphysical representation of presence. In the East there are spaces dedicated to nothing. This 'nothingness' is not emptiness, although it might be empty. *'Space is never empty: it always embodies a meaning. The perception of gaps itself brings the whole body into play. Every group of places and objects has a centre, and this is therefore true of the house, the city or the whole world. The centre may be perceived from every side, and reached from every angle of approach; thus to occupy any vantage point is to perceive and discover everything that occurs. The centre so conceived can never become neutral or empty. It cannot be the 'locus of an absence', because it is occupied by divinity, wisdom and power which by manifesting them show any impression of void to be illusory.*

The accentuation of and infusion of metaphysical value into centres does not imply a corresponding devaluation of what surrounds those centres. Nature and divinity in the first place, then social life and relationships, and finally individual and private life – all these aspects of human reality have their assigned places, all implicatively linked in a concrete fashion.’ (Henri Lefebvre, *Production of space*; page 155). The relation between spaces in fact is defined by a clear territory for public, private and semi-public spaces. These penetrate at every level of the city life from a public piazza to a room in a house. (*Henri Lefebvre, Production of space*; page 155: ‘Public, semi-public and private spaces which are repeated at global intermediate or private level. Such a discourse does not signify the city: it is the urban discourse itself...It is a living discourse – unlike your lethal use of signs. You say you can decode your system. Well we do better than that: we create ours’.)⁵⁷ Baudrillard, Jean. *Forget Foucault*; A history of the present n.d.) Page 92: Forms that are beyond judgement have a much greater power of fascination, but they are for that same reason terribly dangerous for any order whatsoever. They can no longer be controlled. At any given moment a category or a form stops representing itself, it no longer enters the stage of representation, it no longer functions according to its end.

Page 93: Literalizing the metaphor, she abolishes the symbolic order. The sign becomes the thing. The subject is caught in the trap of his own desire.

⁵⁸ Saussure is considered one of the fathers of structuralism when he explained that terms get their meaning in reciprocal determination with other terms inside language: Saussure explicitly suggested that linguistics was only a branch of a more general semiology, of a science of signs in general, being human codes only one among others.

⁵⁹ Bohl 2002. Maturing suburbans and “edge city” landscapes typically lack a centre, a place that establishes an identity for the community and offers residents and visitors an opportunity to come together and to meet and mingle face-to-face.

⁶⁰ Bohl 2002. Suburban sprawl has been characterised as development that is relatively low density, spread over large areas, and segregated into single-use zones of single-family homes, apartment complexes, office parks, shopping malls and commercial strips.

⁶¹ Lefebvre, Henri. *Production of space* 1991. A number of differentiating traits are thus permitted to emerge which are not completely bound to a specific location or situation, to a geographically determinate space. The so-called economic process tends to generate diversity -- a fact which supports the hypothesis that homogenization today is a function of political rather than economic factors as such; abstract space is a tool of power.

⁶² D. Massey 2006 Local communities had their localities, cultures had their regions and, of course, nations had their nation-states.

⁶³ D. Massey 2006 Giddens (1990)p.63: argues that ‘Distinctive cultural spaces were maintained...through connections rather than disjunctions...”locality” is simply a contingent component of that “space of flows” rather than its antithesis.’

⁶⁴ (Eyles and Butz 1997) Indeed the primary purpose of that research was to establish ideal types, to categorize and classify, to remove from context in order to reinsert into life worlds. There is some evidence that most of these types are also applicable to Shimshal; broadly similar sentiments connect residents of the two communities (Towcester and Shimshal) to their places.

⁶⁵ Fraser 2013. cultural globalisation...is constantly creating new kinds of difference and heterogeneity, and in ways that will never be uniform or consistent.

⁶⁶ Lefebvre, Henri. *Production of space* 1991) P.77: capitalism has created homogenization, hierarchy, and social fragmentation. For example, the spread of capitalization globally has engendered similarities than differences. While differences of local culture, history, and natural landscape are suppressed, spaces of modernity are divided into grids of private property, market and labour.

⁶⁷ Lefebvre, Henri. *Interview with Henri Lefebvre on Situationists* 1983) It is abstract space (the space of bureaucratic politics) that produces, imposes and reinforces social homogeneity.

⁶⁸ Baudrillard, Jean *The consumer society, myths & structures* n.d.) Page 87: Just as that consisted in a collective realignment, through the mass media, to the lowest common culture, so personalization consists in a daily realignment to the smallest marginal difference: seeking out the little qualitative differences by which style and status are indicated. Traditional sociology identifies a need of the individual to differentiate the self as one more element in the repertoire of individual needs, which it sees as alternating with the opposite need to conform. The two coexist happily at the psycho-sociological descriptive level, in the most total illogic and absence of theory – a state of affairs dubbed dialectic of equality and distinction or dialectic of conformism and originality, etc... The real differences which characterized persons made them contradictory beings. Differences of personalizing type no longer set individuals one against another; these differences are all arrayed hierarchically on an indefinite scale and coverage in models, on the basis of which they are subtly produced and reproduced. As a result to differentiate oneself is precisely to affiliate to a model, to label oneself by reference to an abstract model, to a

combinatorial pattern of fashion, and therefore to relinquish any real difference, any singularity, since these can only arise in concrete, conflicting relations with others and the world.

⁶⁹ Baudrillard, Jean *The consumer society, myths & structures* n.d.) Page 111: The machine was the emblem of industrial society. The gadget is the emblem of post-industrial society. No rigorous definition of the gadget exists. If however we agree to define the object of consumption by the relative disappearance of its objective function and a corresponding increase in its sign function, and if we accept that the object of consumption is characterised by a kind of functional uselessness (what is consumed is precisely something other than the useful) then the gadget is indeed the truth of the object in consumer society.

⁷⁰ Baudrillard, Jean *The consumer society, myths & structures* n.d.) Page 87: Advertising as a whole has no meaning. It merely conveys significations. Its significations (and the behaviours they call forth) are never personal: they are all differential; they are all marginal and combinatorial. In other words, they are of the order of the industrial production of differences – and this might, I believe, serve as the most cogent definition of the system of consumption.

⁷¹ Lefebvre, Henri. *Production of space* 1991) Page 140: Metonym as beyond body.

⁷² Lefebvre, Henri. *Vers Le Cybernanthrope* 1980) page: Dans la realite quotidienne que les homes retrouveront peut- etre ce que Nietzsche appelait 'le sens de la terre'. Le cybernanthrope deplore la faiblesse humaine et ses faiblesses. Il connait ses imperfections. L'humain, la qualite humaine, il les desavoue. Il disqualifie l'humanisme, en pensee et en action. *Les illusions de la subjectivite, il les pourchasse: la creation, le Bonheur, la passion, aussi vides que l'oubli.* Il aspire a fonctionner, c'est a dire a n'etre que fonction. Derriere les illusions de la subjectivite, qu'y a-t-il? La nevrose. Le robot, lui, ne possede pas d'inconscient; il n'a pas besoin du psychanalyste. Precision. Le cybernanthrope, ce n'est pas l'automate. C'est l'homme qui recoit une promotion: il se comprend grace a l'automate. Il vit en symbiose avec la machine. En elle il a trouve son double reel. Pour s'y retrouver, il a desavoue les double illusions de la subjectivite et de l'objectivite, de la conscience et des ouvres. La dominante subjective se definissait pour elle meme et devant elle meme par la spontaneite, ou par l'imaginaire, ou par la fantaisie et la poesie et la tentative (ou la tentation) de l'impossible. Devant le sujet, la 'chose' perdait ses apparences; ou bien ouvre de la nature dote d'une qualite ou bien ouvre de l'homme dote d'un proje et d'un pouvoir, elle revelait une activite cachee. Il se passe des choses. Il arrive des evenements. Il survient des phenomenes. Le temps apporte de l'imprevu, de la surprise: de l'information. Une repetition pure, une redondance complete, ne sauraient durer longtemps. Or ce temps n'apporte de la variete que pour un dispositif qui definit la redondance d'un cote et de l'autre la surprise relative a cette redondance. Le cybernanthrope qui a bien compris les illusions de la spontaneite possede ses valeurs. Il se definit par la stabilite. Il n'a pas du tout l'allure d'un automate, au sens premiere d'un mecanisme. Il n'est pas rigide mais au contraire souple, d'une souplesse controlee. Il va decontracte.

⁷³ Lefebvre, Henri. *Production of space* 1991) Space is illusory and the secret of the illusion lies in the transparency itself. The three aspects of abstract space, the spectacular-visual, the geometric, and the phallic, combine in such a way that "the visual realm is confused with the geometrical one, and the optical transparency (or legibility) of the visual is mistaken for logico-mathematical intelligibility.

⁷⁴ Baudrillard, Jean *Forget Foucault; A history of the present* n.d.) Page 91: A rule can be perfectly arbitrary in its enunciation, but it is much more unbreakable than the 'law' which can be transgressed. You can do anything with the law. With rule, on the other hand, either you play or you don't...the rule of the game-the seductive sequence-is played in an extremely ceremonial fashion. Situations can be replayed indefinitely, the rule does not change. But it is secret, never known, never spoken. If it were known, things would become visible and reversible again.

⁷⁵ Baudrillard, Jean. *The consumer society, myths & structures* n.d.) Page 88: This is an absurd formula: monopoly and difference are logically incompatible. If they can be combined, it is precisely because the differences are not differences and instead of marking a person out as someone singular, the mark rather his conformity with a code, his integration into a sliding scale of values. There is in personalisation something similar to that naturalisation effect we constantly meet in the environment – the effect which consists in restoring nature as sign after it has been eliminated in reality...The general process can be defined historically: it is industrial monopoly concentration which, abolishing the real differences between human beings, homogenizing persons and products, simultaneously ushers in the reign of differentiation. Things are much the same here as with religious or social movements: it is upon the ebbing of their original impulse that churches or institutions are built. Here too it is upon the loss of differences that the cult of difference is founded.

Thus a deep logical collusion links the macro-corporation and the micro-consumer, the monopoly structure of production and the individualistic structure of consumption, since the consumed difference in which the individual revels is also one of the key sectors of generalised production.

⁷⁶ Bragg and Hare 12-25 April 2013) It's because people now feel themselves publicly helpless, don't they? People feel they no longer exert either any individual or collective power over public life. The nature of public life has changed, hasn't it?

⁷⁷ Castoriadis, Figures of thinkable 2007) Polis page 107- 113.

By politics I mean a collective activity endowed with self-reflection and lucidity, aiming at the global institution of society.

Considered this way, politics is a moment and an expression of the project of autonomy; it does not passively and blindly accept what is already there, what has been instituted, but calls it into question. Human history is creation. It is, first and foremost, wholesale self-creation, the separation of humanity from sheer animality, which is at once never complete but abysmal. Self-alteration of society: If they were made of rational ideas, they would last forever. But institutions are actually made of sanctioned social meanings and corollary procedures for giving meaning.

These meanings are at heart imaginary – not rational, not functional, not reflections of reality. They are social imaginary significations. We can elucidate this creation in its general character, or in its concrete contents, after it has happened. But we can neither 'explain' nor 'predict' it, because it is not determined; it rather is determinant.

⁷⁸ Baudrillard, Jean The consumer society, myths & structures n.d.) Page 114: *'Today political power is no longer animated by some positive will, it is no longer anything but the negative power of deterrence, of public health, of prophylactic, immunizing, security forces. (Minority report by Steven Spielberg)*' In one way or another the population themselves are a terrorist threat to power. And it is power itself that, through repression, involuntarily seals this complicity. The equivalence in repression shows that we are all virtually the hostages of power...and if global demonstrations against the war have offered the illusion of a possible counter-power, they have certainly revealed the political insignificance of that international community confronted with American realpolitik.

Henceforth, we are concerned with the exercise of power in its pure state, without bothering about sovereignty or representation, the integral reality of a negative power. As long as it draws its sovereignty from representation, as long as political reason exists, power can find its equilibrium – in any case it can be challenged and contested. But the erasure of that sovereignty leaves power unchecked, without counterpart, wild (with savagery no longer natural, but technical). And by a strange twist of fate it recovers something from primitive societies, which, according to Levi Strauss lacked history because they knew nothing about power. What if our present global society, basking in the shadow of this integral power, was again becoming a society without history?

⁷⁹ Baudrillard, Jean Utopia deferred 1967-78).

⁸⁰ Lefebvre, Henri. Production of space 1991) Space is no longer something concrete and opaque, that is, something to be experienced and lived (as well as perceived and conceived); it is now something abstract and transparent, something to be looked at passively and from a distance, without being lived directly. What is seen is not space, but an image of space. Space becomes "intelligible" to the eye (but only to the eye); space appears to be a text to be read, a message that bears no traces of either state power or human bodies and their non-verbal flows. Certain basic geometrical forms -- the rectangular, the square, the circle, the triangle -- are elevated to the level of the exemplary (microcosms of the universe) and are reproduced everywhere as images of rationality, harmony and order.

⁸¹ Lefebvre, Henri. Production of space 1991) Page 147: Like any reality, social space is related methodologically and theoretically to 3 general concepts: form, structure, function. In other words any social space may be subjected to formal, structural or functional analysis. Each of these approaches provides a code and a method for deciphering what at first may seem impenetrable.

⁸² Lefebvre, Henri. Production of space 1991) Page 147: The term form may be taken in a number of senses: aesthetic, plastic, abstract (logico-mathematical) and so on. In general sense, it evokes the description of contours and the demarcation of boundaries, external limits, areas and volumes. Spatial analysis accepts this general use of the term, although doing so does not eliminate all problems. A formal description, for example, may aspire to exactitude but still turn out to be shot through with ideological elements, especially when implicit or explicit reductionist goals are involved. The presence of such goals is indeed a defining characteristic of formalism.

⁸³ Baudrillard, Jean Utopia deferred 1967-78) Page 33: Mobile, variable, retractable structures inscribe themselves in the formal demands of architects and in the social and economic demands of modernity. But this is only true in an ideal dimension. One must not lose sight of the fact that: Neither the ephemeral nor the durable are absolute and exclusive values; it is true that the social deficit that modular or prefabricated construction in disposable or durable materials represents today is colossal... meanwhile one must account for the latent psychological, familial and collective functions of integration that also return in the social budget; The ephemeral will perhaps one day be the collective solution but for the moment it is the monopoly of a privileged fraction whom its economic and cultural position permits to question the myth of durability...only the privileged classes have the

right to the actuality of the models. The others have the right once these models have already changed. If therefore in logic of forms the ephemeral represents the truth of modernity, if even it represents the future formula for a rational and harmonious society, it still takes an entirely different sense in the present cultural system. In its logical foundation culture continually plays on two distinct terms: the ephemeral and the durable of which neither can be made autonomous. In the socio-cultural class system on the contrary this relation breaks into two distinctive poles of which one the ephemeral becomes autonomous in a culturally superior model returning the other to its obsolescence. This is not all to disqualify the formal research of the architect but there is a bitter derision in fact that that search for social rationality succeeds precisely in reinforcing the irrational logic and the strategy of the cultural class system.

⁸⁴ Considering the homogenising effects of internet, gadgets and super-consumption we might be soon facing the same results also in traditional cities and its public life even if to a lesser extent.

⁸⁵ Lefebvre, Henri. Writings on Cities 2000) Page 153: This theory which one could legitimately call planning, close to the meanings of that old practice of *to inhabit* which would add to these partial facts a general theory of urban time- spaces, and would reveal a new practice emerging from this elaboration, envisaged only as the practical application of a comprehensive theory of the city and the urban which could go beyond current scissions and separations, particularly those existing between philosophy and the sciences of the city, the global and the partial.

⁸⁶ Lefebvre, Henri. Production of space 1991) Page 52: From a less pessimistic standpoint, it can be shown that abstract space harbours specific contradictions. Such spatial contradictions derive in part from the old contradictions thrown up by historical time. These have undergone modifications, however: some are aggravated, others blunted.

Amongst them, too, completely fresh contradictions have come into being which are liable eventually to precipitate the downfall of abstract space. (Abstract space is not homogenous; it simply has homogeneity as its goal, its orientation, and its 'lens'. Abstract space appears to be transparent and readable-intelligible, but this transparency is deceptive, and everything is [actually] concealed...) The reproduction of the social relations of production within this space inevitably obeys two tendencies: the dissolution of old relations on the one hand and the generation of new relations on the other. Thus, despite—or rather because of—its negativity, abstract space carries within itself the seeds of a new kind of space. I shall call that new space 'differential space', because, inasmuch as abstract space tends towards homogeneity, towards the elimination of existing differences or peculiarities, a new space cannot be born (produced) unless it accentuates differences.

⁸⁷ Lefebvre, Henri. Interview with Henri Lefebvre on Situationists 1983) Recommendations of Unitary Urbanism: Principle one: a balance with nature. Principle two: a balance with tradition Principle three: appropriate technology Principle four: conviviality. A place for the individual A place for friendship. A place for householders. A place for the neighbourhood A place for communities. A place for the city domain. Principle five: efficiency (Transport) Principle six: human scale Principle seven: opportunity matrix Principle eight: regional integration Principle nine: balanced movement Principle ten: institutional integrity.

⁸⁸ Baudrillard, Jean. Utopia deferred 1967-78) Page 61: Utopia has been deferred in idealism through a century and a half of triumphant dialectical historical practice. Today it's starting in its rigorous in-definitiveness to surpass all revolutionary definitions and to refer every model of revolution back to bureaucratic idealism. Utopia has no place in the radical deconstruction of every political space. It offers no privileges to revolutionary politics. There could be neither a model for utopia nor utopian function because utopia denies the inscription of all finality, whether unconscious or in the class struggle...utopia does not write itself into the future. It is always from right now what the order of day is missing. In the topic of the sign, utopia is the gap, the fault the void that passes between the signifier and the signified and subverts every sign. It passes between everything and its model annulling their respective places. It ceaselessly displaces politics and annuls it as such.

⁸⁹ Lefebvre, Henri. Production of space 1991) Stanley Aronowitz says: If the forms of social life are not changed, the old order will reappear. If the state and the economy attempt to dominate and to assert their primacy over social life, this domination is only the form of appearance of social relations. If the old regime remains in force at the level of the family, personal relations, especially sexuality, and the structure of authority at the workplace, if the routines of repetitive everyday existence are preserved, if life is bereft of pleasure and desire is relegated to the dream work but is denied in the everyday, nothing much has actually changed.

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A MODEL HOME: MIKE KELLEY'S *MOBILE HOMESTEAD* AND AMERICAN HOUSING POLICY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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The *Mobile Homestead* sits on the grounds of the Museum of Contemporary Art, Detroit (MOCAD), in mid-town Detroit. The project developed from an idea of the artist Mike Kelley to purchase and transform his childhood home in Westland, Michigan, a suburb of Detroit, into an artwork and community space with subterranean tunnels running under the house and through the neighborhood. As that proved logistically impossible, Kelley conceived of a mobile sculptural full-scale reproduction of the house to be based on MOCAD's property. The mobility of the house proved problematic due to its size, which exceeded maximum loads permissible on public roadways. As reconceived, the *Mobile Homestead's* façade was designed to be detachable and transportable on a flatbed truck, with the intention of having it travel annually through metropolitan Detroit. It would function as a mobile outreach and art space in different neighborhoods. Built and completed at MOCAD in May 2013, four months after the death of Mike Kelley, the house functions as a free library and participatory art space.¹

Mike Kelley's *Mobile Homestead*, then, is a sculptural representation of a familiar American architectural style situated on the grounds of a cultural institution along the main boulevard of a notorious post-industrial city (Fig. 1). But it is more than a juxtaposition of a postwar suburban style in a post-industrial urban setting. Apart from Mike Kelley's intentions, the *Mobile Homestead* serves as an unintentional model for elided U.S. urban planning dating back to the 1920s and first codified in the housing and mortgage policies of the Franklin Roosevelt administration in the 1930s. Those policies favored white families living in low-density neighborhoods of traditional-style, single-family homes built preferably on "virgin" land. The legacy of the policies continues. As seen in the Great Recession of 2008, credit is racialized, if no longer legally codified. The suburbs have continued to grow and exceed their urban core in size, notwithstanding the return of an affluent-class to some American urban areas.



Figure 1. *Mobile Homestead, Detroit.* Photo: Lee Azus

Artangel, a British arts commission group, and the Mike Kelley Foundation funded the construction of the *Mobile Homestead*. It is Mike Kelley's aestheticized facsimile of a familiar, yet specific, house-type and is endowed with cultural capital. On the grounds of MOCAD, however, it is deracinated from historical or cultural contexts. Its potential to be a lens to view the effects of racial exclusion, finance, preferred house styles, and suburban planning on post-industrial cities such as Detroit, is compromised. Still, this disconnection could perform a dialectical function. Race, class, capital, and social relations are absent specters of the object, yet the *Mobile Homestead*, if it mobilized itself, could recuperate those relations.

The naming of the project "Mobile Homestead" is significant, albeit unwittingly, as this recalls the American giveaway of 160 and 320-acre parcels of Native American land to white settlers in the nineteenth century. Like the pioneers, the *Homestead*, under the aegis of Artangel and MOCAD, has settled on parcels of land (in a city with 1000s of acres of open, abandoned and city-owned property), that it intends to make productive. Thus, the Cape Cod-Ranch style house facsimile invites investigation into the Kelley family house and subdivision in Westland and their relationship to house types and housing policy in the United States and metropolitan Detroit in the first half of the twentieth century.

THE FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION AND THE MINIMUM HOUSE

The large lots and detached single-family homes of the Northlawn subdivision in Westland (which was known as Nankin Township, before its citizens voted to adopt the name of the new Westland Shopping Center in 1966) fit the description of postwar suburban development. However, Northlawn was platted in 1925, the peak year of an American home building boom that was soon to crash. Pre-Depression-era subdivisions were small; a developer typically divided farmland into a gridiron of blocks, which were further, divided into building lots that were sold piecemeal to individuals or speculative builders. Each lot owner was responsible for the construction of his own home.² Northlawn subdivision lacks curving streets and cul-de-sacs found in late nineteenth century suburbs and 1920s Garden City developments (Fig. 2). It preceded Roosevelt administration era subdivisions in which dwellings with similar, economical floor plans were constructed by builder-developers.

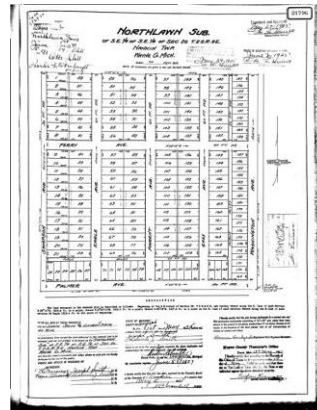


Figure 2. Northlawn Subdivision map. The Kelley House would be built on lots 120 and 121.

New housing starts and building investments in the U.S. began to decline in 1926, three years before the Great Depression. By the time Franklin Roosevelt was inaugurated in March 1933, half of all U.S. mortgages were in default and new housing starts were down ninety percent from their peak in 1925. Home loans before the Roosevelt era typically required a fifty percent down payment and monthly interest-only payments, with the full principal amount due upon maturity, which was ten years or less.³

The Roosevelt administration sought to manage loan defaults and foreclosures on existing properties by establishing the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) in 1933. The government issued bonds to lenders in exchange for distressed home loans, which they then renegotiated with borrowers at a lower interest rate, amortized over fifteen years. Although formally dissolved in 1951, HOLC issued the bulk of its one million loans by 1935.⁴

The administration then established the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) in 1934 with the aim of encouraging new home building, lending, and home ownership. It did so by insuring private lenders' loans to homebuilders. In addition, it insured up to ninety percent of a homebuyer's mortgage value.⁵ The FHA's policy helped both the banking and housing industries by underwriting credit to a large demographic of American consumers.

As an underwriter, the FHA promulgated standards for rating properties, locations, and borrowers. Using loan guarantees as financial incentives, the agency's guidelines were adopted by the housing and banking sectors and became de facto national housing standards. Multi-family housing was discouraged "through unpopular terms." Loans to repair existing housing tended to be small and short term.⁶

The rules were first published in 1934 in the FHA's *Underwriting Manual*, and were based on years of studies and reports by trades' organizations and non-profit foundations. The rules were meant to assure that homes underwritten by the FHA would retain their value over time. The recommendations concerning minimum lot size (fifty by one-hundred feet) and dwelling square footage, room sizes and layout, ventilation and natural light, plumbing and electrical standards, and landscaping, were written to favor detached, newer single-family homes.

The *Underwriting Manual* guidelines also expressed a preference for traditional house design. Flat roofs, as one example, did not conform with Part II, Section 1, Part 126 (1) (a) which asked underwriters, "Is the roof correctly pitched and are the slope and angles of the roof of such a nature as to afford proper drainage and to avoid 'snow pockets'?" "Non-conformity" was considered detrimental both to the future value of the home and its neighbors. Part II, Section 1, Part 161 stated, "It is universally recognized that a structure, though conforming in every respect except exterior

design, may clash so violently with that which is typical that the marketability of the property is largely destroyed.”⁷

Another FHA publication, *Principles of Planning Small Houses*, served as a pattern book for home design. In its forty-four pages, it provided variations on a single floor plan and elevations and site plans. The house style that illustrated the FHA’s brochure was the Cape Cod Revival (Fig. 3). By illustrating a particular house style in a Federal Housing Administration publication, the Federal government as underwriter of mortgages implicitly endorsed that style.⁸ It is among the most common styles found in

American subdivisions and is particularly well known as the house type for the first 6,000 homes built in Levittown, Long Island in 1948.

Seeking to create reproducible housing models that eliminated all costly and unnecessary construction, *Principles of Planning Small Houses* incorporated recommendations by trade and advocacy groups for the purpose of financially underwriting a mass-produced “minimum house” at an affordable price.⁹ From the foundation to the attic, to its siting on a lot, the house was reimagined as an efficient commodity. The Cape Cod Revival, as well as the Ranch style, a popular style based on the Southwest U.S. ranch house and the Midwest Prairie school design, were traditional styles that functioned as skins over the modern minimum house floor plan.



Figure 3. Cape Cod Revival style illustration in “*Principles of Planning Small Houses*.”

The basic FHA house type was between 625 and 900 square feet, wood-framed, square-shaped, and one-story tall. It excluded an attic and basement. A concrete slab served as the foundation, and a wall or floor-heater was installed in place of a furnace. The front entry opened directly into the living room. The kitchen was placed next to the living room and had a side-entry door. The four-room floor plan minimized hallways and excluded a dining room, which was combined into the kitchen or living room. There were two bedrooms and a bathroom, which was placed behind the kitchen in order to minimize plumbing costs. It was recommended for the kitchen to be placed in the northeast portion of the house, where the heat from the stove would have the least effect on the comfort of the house (Fig. 4).

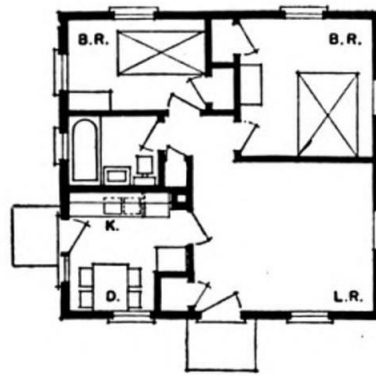


Figure 4. Basic Plan, One Story, Two Bedrooms, from “Principles of Planning Small Houses,” 1940, p.12

Variations of the basic floor plan included additional square footage for a dining alcove, or for rooms along one side of the house, resulting in a rectangular floor plan; the creation of a small basement for a heating unit; or, the construction of a one-and-a-half-story dwelling with an unfinished attic large enough for two bedrooms. Other FHA floor plans that included a garage, a third bedroom or full basement, shared similar floor plans with the basic version.¹⁰ The FHA made clear in its publication that building a 900 square-foot house in a rectangular shape, or with two corners added onto the square shape to accommodate a dining space, resulted in increased costs.

The promotion of the minimum house by the FHA through its publications, model homes (at the 1939 New York World’s Fair, for example) and most importantly, mortgage insurance underwriting, reduced the average American house size from 5.8 rooms in 1936 to 5.1 rooms in 1940.¹¹

The Kelley family house is the descendent of the FHA’s *Underwriting Manual*’s codes and the minimum house template adopted by the building trades. Constructed a generation after the first edition of *Principles of Planning Small Houses*, its Cape Cod-Ranch style and size reflected the increasing prosperity of postwar working-class America and the Detroit suburb in which it was located. But the Northlawn subdivision, platted in 1925, lacks the conformity of house styles specified in the *Underwriting Manual*. The Kelley family house met the criteria of the FHA’s construction recommendations, but the subdivision, with its variety of house styles and ages, would have fared poorly according to the *Underwriting Manual* recommendations. Considering its style, it is somewhat surprising that the house was built as a single home and not one in a series of multiples reproduced by a builder-developer throughout the neighborhood.

THE HAIG’S SUBDIVISION

An examination of the Haig’s subdivision, thirteen miles west of Westland in Ypsilanti will illustrate the type of small-scale minimum-house development that the FHA approved. The Haig’s subdivision was laid out in late 1941, before the U.S. prohibited all private construction due to wartime material restrictions. It was built on one of the last undeveloped parcels of land on the east side of Ypsilanti, which in 1940 had a population of 12,121. The subdivision contains thirty-nine homes along a cul-de-sac and a single street that begins along a principal east-west street and curves around to end at a north-south street (Figs. 5A and 5B).



Figure 5A. Cape Cod Revival style home in the Haig's Subdivision, Ypsilanti, MI. Figure 5B. Plat map
Photo: Lee Azus

The houses were constructed with full, unfinished basements. Most, but not all, had detached garages in the rear. They were clad in metal, with six-over-one double hung sash windows and decorative, non-functional shutters. Almost identical to the floor plans in *Principles of Planning Small Houses*, the houses had two small bedrooms, a linen closet, a bathroom, living room, and a kitchen-dining area. The front door opened directly into the living room, which, like the bedrooms, had windows on two walls. The bathroom was separated from the kitchen by basement or attic stairs so that it did not share plumbing, as recommended in the FHA's basic plan illustration. The attic was left unfinished in the one-and-a-half story houses to reduce the builder and buyer's costs.

Following the recommendations of the FHA *Underwriting Guidelines*, the Haig's subdivision adopted a set of legally enforceable covenant restrictions regarding minimum ground floor area for one story, (625 square feet) and one-and-a-half story (525 square feet) dwellings; setbacks between twenty-five and thirty-five feet from the "front-to" property line; and, prohibition of any "manufacture, work or trade of any kind." Significantly, a racial exclusion clause restricted ownership and habitation to "members of the Caucasian race only" excepting domestic servants.¹² The FHA *Underwriting Manual* encouraged racial exclusion as a means to maintain property value.¹³

POST-WAR HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS

At the end of World War II, the scale of a pre-war development like the Haig's Subdivision was inadequate to deal with the housing shortage and high demand due to the zero down-payment, government guaranteed home loans offered to returning veterans under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, also known as the GI Bill of Rights. An older subdivision such as Northlawn, where each parcel had to be developed individually, was not as attractive as the massive post-war developments constructed in Levittown, Long Island, or Panorama City in suburban Los Angeles. Builder-developers leveled hundreds of acres, obtained building permits, and constructed and outfitted 1000s of similar homes faster and at less cost per house than an individual who might build on a single parcel.

The Cape Cod Revival, the Ranch, and the Cape Cod-Ranch became a common skin over the minimum house floor plan. Levittown's first 6000 homes, identical "Cape Codders," were completed in 1948 along strongly curving streets and cul-de-sacs. By 1951, 11,500 Ranch style houses, fifty square feet larger than the Cape Codders, were completed. In Panorama City, the "Suburban," "Rancho," "Colonial," and "Palm Springs" models were minor variations on an 800-900 square foot, stucco-clad minimum house.

World War II white veterans and their young families were the principal demographic for the new developments. African-American families were not permitted in Levittown, New York and Levittown, Pennsylvania until the mid-1950s. The Northlawn subdivision in Westland predated the

FHA and its rules, but the restrictions as early as 1928 specified for the “property not to be sold, exchanged, or occupied by any but the Caucasian race.”¹⁴ According to the 1940 U.S. census, white, mostly native-born Americans inhabited all homes in the Northlawn subdivision and in the surrounding communities in Nankin Township. What the FHA codified in the *Underwriting Manual* in 1934 had already been common practice in American housing developments. The U.S. Supreme Court declared the racial covenants

unconstitutional in the *Shelley v. Kraemer* case in 1948, before the Kelley House was constructed. The Kelley House was a beneficiary of government policy and racial covenant restrictions, the purposes of which were to assure stable home values for all but African-Americans and other socially marginalized communities. The Kelley family house in Westland, Michigan represents American housing policy up to the present day (Fig. 6). The *Mobile Homestead* is the facsimile of that representation.



Figure 6. The Kelley Family House, Northlawn Subdivision, Westland, Michigan. Photo: Lee Azus

THE *MOBILE HOMESTEAD* IN DETROIT

The *Mobile Homestead* is, superficially, a contrast between a suburban house type and an urban landscape. But the *Homestead* fits in comfortably with its surroundings when considered as a representation of American housing policy, notwithstanding Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 (“the Fair Housing Act”), which formally prohibited discrimination in housing. The Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) issued sets of color-coded risk maps of 239 Metropolitan areas in the late 1930s that were available to appraisers, banks, and other issuers of loans.¹⁵ The designated highest risk areas were colored red and reflected policies of racial exclusion and disfavoring older or multi-family housing stock. These lending policies in Detroit encouraged “urban renewal” of “blighted” housing through wholesale demolition of red-lined neighborhoods and their replacement by public housing projects and new highways that connected the city to its suburbs.



Figure 7. The Birwood Street wall, separating an African-American neighborhood from a white subdivision. Photo: John Vachon

Public housing projects, which were built primarily in urban areas and formed a progressive part of Roosevelt's New Deal housing policy, were also subject to racial segregation, even after the *Shelley v. Kraemer* case. The opening of the all-African-American Sojourner Truth war housing project in Detroit next to the white Fenelon and East Nevada Streets neighborhood led to large protests by white neighbors in February 1942. Thomas Sugrue, among others, has written about a private developer who could only obtain FHA-approved financing by erecting a six-foot high, half-mile long, concrete wall between his parcel of undeveloped land and an adjoining African-American neighborhood east of Birwood Street on the far north side of Detroit (Fig. 7).¹⁶ That wall, and another quarter-mile long, ten-foot tall wooden fence on nearby Pembroke Street still remain, though their function now is only historic.¹⁷ Contemporary iterations of separation walls can be seen in the fences and cul-de-sacs along the east-west streets at wealthy Grosse Pointe Park's border with Detroit's east side, which separate the two communities and maintain the suburb's property value.

The *Mobile Homestead* can mediate between art and the political, between "house" as art object and "house" as subject of American government and financial policy. Its radical potential to recuperate history, however, has been neutered by situating itself under the control of cultural institutions and the art market. A *Mobile Homestead* located along the Birwood Street wall or on the Detroit side of the barriers into Grosse Pointe Park could have worked against the assimilating tendency of cultural institutions, and permitted the histories of Detroit, class, race, and Cape-Cod-Ranch style homes to be less opaque. A truly mobile *Mobile Homestead* should move through Detroit and its suburbs, parking along the seams where history can be made present.

NOTES

¹ A labyrinthine basement, accessible through a manhole near the front door, is a studio space that was intended to be used by Mike Kelley, or as an art residency for his invited guests.

² Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), 86.

³ Ben S. Bernanke, *Housing, Housing Finance, and Monetary Policy*, The Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City's Economic Symposium. Jackson Hole. August 31, 2007. Speech, online at: www.federalreserve.gov/newsevents/speech/bernanke20070831a.htm accessed 2 Jan 2014

⁴ Kristen B. Crossney and David W. Bartelt, "Residential Security, Risk, and Race: The Home Owners' Loan Corporation and Mortgage Access in Two Cities," *Urban Geography* 26,8. (November 16, 2005), 709.

⁵ Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 204.

⁶ Ibid. 204.

⁷ Federal Housing Administration (FHA) *Underwriting Manual*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1936.

⁸ The traditional Cape Cod cottage found on Cape Cod and parts of Massachusetts was a south-facing, one or one-and-a-half stories tall, side-gabled roof dwelling with wood shingle or lap siding. It featured a New England floor plan in which a central chimney stack and baffle entry separated a hall and parlor with a narrow kitchen and side rooms in the rear.

⁹ Greg Hise named the FHA's codified design the "minimum house" though the term for an inexpensive mass-produced house was used by Le Corbusier and Jeanneret in their paper, "Analysis of the Fundamental Elements of the Problem of the "Minimum House" presented at the CIAM 2 conference in Frankfurt in September 1929. Hise, Greg. *Magnetic Los Angeles: Planning the Twentieth-century Metropolis* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

¹⁰ Only the "two-story sidewall stair plan" employed a different floor plan from the others: bedrooms and bathroom were sited on the second floor above a living room, dining or utility room, and kitchen.

¹¹ Ibid. 65. Of the loans accepted for insurance by the FHA for new single-family homes from 1934 to December 1940.

69.7 percent were for four or five room houses. [*FHA Homes in Metropolitan Districts*: 216].

¹² Haig's Subdivision Restrictions Liber 354, Page 52. Recorded June 26, 1941, Register's Office, Washtenaw County, Michigan.

¹³ Federal Housing Administration (FHA) *Underwriting Manual: Underwriting and Valuation Procedure Under Title II of the National Housing Act*. (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1936), Part 2, Section 2, Part 228: "Where adjacent lots or blocks possess altogether different restrictions, especially for type and use of structures and racial occupancy, the effect of such restrictions is minimized and adequate protection cannot be considered to be present." Also, Part 2, Section 2, Part 284 (3) (g): "Recommended restriction include the following:...Prohibition of the occupancy of properties except by the race for which they are intended."

¹⁴ Northlawn Subdivision Restrictions Liber 2978, page 493, October 2, 1928; Liber 3449, page 35, September 4, 1930; Liber 4629, page 542, February 26, 1936; Liber 4725, page 193, September 24, 1936; Liber 9207, page 47, April 13, 1948. Northlawn Subdivision Plat Liber 54, page 91. Wayne County Deeds Office, Detroit, Michigan.

¹⁵ "In 1937, the president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB) celebrated the attention that the real estate industry had started giving to neighborhoods in the association's National Real Estate Journal. The 'realization of the importance of neighborhood factors as affecting the value of the individual piece of real estate' was among the 'greatest advances' in real estate and he hoped that 'it will penetrate far enough and fast enough to be the foundation for judgment in the buying and selling, the building and rebuilding that is ahead of us' (Stark 1937: 25)." Amy E. Hillier "Residential Security Maps and Neighborhood Appraisals: The Home Owners' Loan Corporation and the Case of Philadelphia," *Social Science History* 29.2 (2005): 213.

¹⁶ Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 64.

¹⁷ Carolyn Kraus, "Detroit's Wall of Spite," (January 7, 2014). Accessed January 9, 2014. <http://www.thecommononline.org/>

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SEXUALITY, PUBLIC SPACE, AND RESISTANCE

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INTRODUCTION

On May 27, 2013 at 11:30 pm. bulldozers drove into Gezi, a central park in Taksim, İstanbul, to uproot five trees in preparation for future construction. Within a couple of hours, a group of 20-30 people came to the park to stop the work, and decided to sit-in to keep guard. (Figure 1) As members of related NGO's, they had long been active to stop the Taksim renewal plans that had been announced by the Prime Minister two years ago. The small scale sit-in at the site marked the beginning of a significant social movement, hitherto known as the Gezi movement. Within a few days, as the number of occupants who pitched tents at the park increased to hundreds, the local protest turned into a nationwide movement with global repercussions.

Besides the Taksim renewal plans, the protesters raised their voices against the authoritarian policies of the Prime Minister and his Islamist government, who countered the protests with severe police intervention. Within a month, six people lost their lives; hundreds were injured by batons, tear gas and water cannons; and many were arrested all over the country. Gezi Park protests are open to interpretation and analysis at many levels ranging from economics and politics to cultural and social issues. Here I focus on the articulation of space, discourse and subjectivity by looking at specific instances of the movement where spaces and spatial practices have been explicitly sexualized and binary pairs of woman/man and private/public have been deterritorialized.¹



Figure 1. Aerial view of Gezi Park and Taksim Area, İstanbul Source: Google Earth

SPATIALIZING SEXUALITY

During the Gezi movement, specific spatial practices were developed in different cities, which re-claimed the space of the state via unprecedented tactics. The difference between spaces of the state apparatus characterized by hierarchy and fixity and nomadic spaces characterized by change and fluidity are theorized by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, who distinguish between the striated space of the state and the smooth space of the nomad.² Three instances at the Gezi movement are exemplary in manifesting the striating and smoothing operations in urban space. The first two involve the private spaces of domesticity, the last one concerns the public space of a monumental mosque.

First of all it needs to be clarified that, despite the passive resistance of the protesters, police violence had been an everyday event throughout the Gezi Resistance. The occupiers of the park were joined by people from other neighbourhoods who gathered at Taksim square every evening to support the movement. This became such a routine act that special police vehicles equipped with tear gas and water cannons were kept on guard at strategic posts, ready to take action when the crowd grew to a seemingly critical size. Upon police intervention, protesters dispersed to side streets, trying to escape the powerful spray of water, the burning effects of the gas, and liberally used police batons. Many were injured, rendered helpless and in need of immediate help.

Such help came unexpectedly from residential blocks lining up the labyrinthian side streets which served as escape routes. Neighbourhood residents generously stocked their apartment entrances with water, food, and medical emergency equipment to reduce the effects of tear gas on the eyes and the body. Soon an unwritten contract was established between the residents and the protesters, whereby the latter knew where to get emergency relief when required. This marked a remarkable instance when the domestic interior which is associated with the nurturing qualities of the maternal realm, creatively intersected with and supported the public space of political action.

Critical scholarship has long pointed to the historical association of masculinity with the public space of action, violence and warfare and femininity with the inactive sphere of domesticity.³ Indeed, continual exertion of police violence on the passive resistance of Gezi protesters has been an embarrassingly obvious manifestation of masculinity that dominates the public sphere under the guise of social order. Yet, as I argue below, the conventional role of the maternal-feminine principle was radically reversed during the movement.

On June 11, the Governor of İstanbul stated that the innocence of the early stages of the protests was replaced by life threatening acts by marginal groups and made the following call: ‘We are concerned about our children in Gezi Park, which has turned into a fire zone. I plead our precious children, and especially their families to persuade them to leave the area.’ In doing so he clearly called for the reterritorialization of the home as the safe haven of domesticity and security, as opposed to the public milieu of war and violence.

Mothers of the protesters responded to this conservative call two days later, by organizing to go to the park, not to take their children back home but to support their cause. Holding hands, they formed a circle around the park, chanting ‘everywhere is mother[hood], everywhere is resistance.’ Hence, rather than denying their maternal function as home makers, they literally formed a wall with their bodies to house their children at the very site of resistance. In doing so, they powerfully displaced the association of motherhood with conventional conceptions of domesticity and deterritorialized the notion of home.

Such practices of deterritorialization have been an unmistakable part of the Gezi movement, manifested not only in streets, parks and squares, but also in private residences. During the first weeks of the event, at exactly 9:00 pm, protesting neighbourhoods in many cities saw flickering lights behind open apartment windows and residents stepping out to their balconies, holding pots and pans in their hands. Within a few minutes, flickering lights were foregrounded by the rhythmical pounds of

kitchen equipment. Thus, pots and pans, associated with bodily functions of eating and drinking, women, and domesticity, were taken out from kitchen cupboards to the masculine space of political protest. The act was joyously carried out for exactly fifteen minutes, as quiet neighborhoods turned into spectacles of light and sound and new neighborly relations were established based on political alliance.

The intersection of the public and the private and the intrusion of the feminine into the public sphere was manifested in a somewhat different manner in the final instance, which involves a monumental mosque, on the escape route of the protesters in Taksim. On May 30, following extremely brutal police intervention, helpless protesters escaped inside the mosque. Joined shortly by volunteering health care workers, the crowd turned the prayer hall into a medical center, where the injured were laid on the carpeted floor and provided with emergency care. Two days later, the event was broadcasted as a scandal by newspapers which reported unacceptable and immoral behaviour in the mosque, including alcohol consumption, smoking and wearing shoes in the holy space. Although these claims were contradicted by the mosque official on duty during the events, the discourse of blame perpetuated in speeches by the Prime Minister and his fellow governmental officials.⁴

Interestingly, only a few days before the mosque events, the Prime Minister had related alcohol, morality and sex in the context of proper behavior in subway cars. Apparently the subway administration had installed public broadcasts in the cars, which warned against immoral behaviour regarding public display of intimacy between sexes. To counter criticisms against the propriety of such announcements, the Prime Minister explained that ‘there are moral codes of behaviour in the State Subway System. What is wrong with broadcasting warnings if these are abridged? Then a group comes in with alcohol and similar stuff. Now I ask, would a mother and father want their daughter to sit on somebody’s lap?’⁵ He went on to say that personally he would have no respect for women and men who sat side by side on public seats.

During its use for emergency health care, the traditional order of the mosque space was radically transformed. First of all, unlike conventional prayer practices, men and women co-existed in the main hall to take care of the injured regardless of their gender. Womens’ heads were not covered and obviously there was no time to take shoes off. In short, a different spatial order was established, due to the requirements of an emergency state, which in essence did not contradict the religiosity of the space. Ironically, the striated male space of the prayer hall was transformed to include both genders who performed the feminine role of nurture and care.

As these instances show, new spatial practices emerged in the Gezi movement, which challenged and deterritorialized given spatial categories. The holy space of the mosque, the secular space of the hospital, the informal space of domesticity/home and the open space of public protest articulated with each other in unprecedented ways. Such articulations proved to be powerful tactics in countering and alleviating the effects of pain caused by brutal acts of governmental intervention.

SEXUALIZING SPACE

Besides challenging given spatial vocabularies, the Gezi movement undermined popular significations of sexuality in a number of spectacular instances which incorporated performance, celebration and joy into political opposition. Some of these produced images that turned into icons of the movement, while others achieved ritualistic significance. Here I focus on three particular cases, which powerfully challenged the sexualized codes of their spatial settings. The first case involves the image of a woman, Ceyda Sungur, in Gezi Park, who was photographed on the first day of the events as the target of tear gas sprayed by a policeman standing in close proximity (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Woman in red dress, May 28, 2013, İstanbul

Source: <http://www.gazeteport.com.tr/i/n/137078196814474.jpg> Retrieved August 12, 2013

The striking image showed a young woman dressed in red, with her hair raised due to the pressure of the gas. Hitherto known as ‘the red-dressed woman,’ the image was widely publicized through the national and international media and gained iconic status. A life-size version was turned into a billboard where protesters could have their picture taken as they looked through the hole where her face is (Figure 3). The face of Ceyda Sungur was rendered imperceptible as others temporarily occupied the image of her body. But what does the body of a red-dressed woman signify?.



Figure 3. Woman in red dress as banner, June 2013, İzmir Source:

<http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/id/25447981/> Retrieved July 25, 2013

In the popular imagery, red is a loaded color that is associated with female sexuality. Linked to the realm of *femme fatales*, sensuality and mystery, it signifies the dark side of familial propriety.⁶ In the context of Gezi resistance, the image of the red-dressed woman effectively deterritorialized such associations of popular culture by celebrating this sexualized image as a signifier of freedom and liberation. A red dressed woman as the target of a police-man signifies the violence of instrumental rationality, hierarchy and order against the sensual realm of pleasure and spontaneity. The celebration of the latter by the protesters is significant in showing the sexualized substructure of the protests.

The second instance took place on June 17. Following police attacks on the protesters and the closure of Taksim subway exits for security reasons, an anonymous man in a white shirt and grey pants stood motionless at the main exit for eight hours (figure 4).



Figure 4. Standing man, June 17, 2013, İstanbul

Source: http://www.gazete24.com/resim/taksimde-duran-adam_8043.html Retrieved July 20, 2013

His staged performance was shortly joined by others, and the numbers of standing citizens increased to three hundred within a few hours. The collective performance ended when the police demanded the vacation of the area but its effect continued in the following days. Like the red-dressed woman images of ‘the standing man’ were internationally circulated in newspapers and social media and soon became one of the most powerful symbols in the visual repertoire of the protests. Later identified as performance artist Erdem Gündüz, the standing man avoided being in the limelight. Like the red-dressed woman, he claimed to be just anybody whose act can be replaced by anybody.⁷ This turned out to be the case indeed, as numerous other standing acts followed suit in other parts of the country.

Significantly, the name, standing man, was not changed despite numerous women joining standing groups. Although this may initially be perceived as yet another instance of universalizing the figure of man in the name of both sexes, the situation is more complicated in this context. If the public sphere is loaded with masculine attributes of warfare and action, standing in silence challenges conventional forms of public demonstrations that involve marching, giving speeches and chanting slogans. Seen in this light, the standing man figure is a brilliant act of subversion, whereby a male subject occupies public space creating a spectacular instance of passivity. Hence, I would argue that when women adopted the name of ‘standing men,’ their act needs to be associated with the feminized act of a male figure rather than a passive acceptance of maleness as a universal category.

My last instance of sexually charged political performativity involves a parade in Taksim, organized by the LGBT community who had been present from the beginning of the movement. On June 30, thousands, including non-LGBT subjects, participated in the parade, which turned out to be the most flamboyantly sexualized, carnival-like event. According to literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin, the carnival is a communal performance where all social hierarchies, norms of etiquette and decency are

undermined and where the body takes central stage in a mood of celebration and laughter.⁸ Bakhtin sees the carnival as the outburst of an affirmative, emancipatory and creative force, akin to the role of deterritorialization in Deleuze and Guattari's work.

On the day of the LGBT parade, Taksim square turned into a festive area decorated with rainbow flags, umbrellas and colorful banners (Figure 5). The participants, holding or chanting slogans of protest, were in a joyful mood, displaying a strong sense of community and mutual support. Some wore bright colored wigs and glittering outfits; some kissed or walked hand in hand with their loved ones; others generously displayed their tattoos and body painting or came cross-dressed. Language was also creatively and cleverly used throughout the parade as cheerfully chanted slogans adapted words and phrases that are traditionally associated with the LGBT community to the agenda of the Gezi movement. Examples include, 'If morality is oppression and violence, we are immoral,' 'the world would shake if fags were free,' 'that kind of resistance,' and 'there is no revolution without sluts.' The parade was a visual feat of embodiment and sexuality. Its carnivalesque style offered a utopian moment of abundance and freedom apparently rendering the authorities helpless with no justification for intervention.



Figure 5: LGBT parade, June 30, 2013, İstanbul

Source: <http://www.bianet.org/bianet/lgbt/148086-onur-yuruyusu-nde-direninin-o-bicimi> Retrieved August 8, 2013

THE POWER OF CONTINGENCY

'Nothing will ever be the same again' is a phrase that is often used by the supporters of the Gezi movement. Indeed, the event marked a threshold in Turkey's recent history at a number of levels. Politically, it marked a radical challenge to the hierarchically structured centralized governmental style of the ruling party. Psychologically, many claimed that the threshold of fear was crossed, as protesters continued their demonstrations despite intolerable police brutality. Socially, the so-called Y- generation, which formed the majority of the protesters, showed that they were not nearly as politically apathetic and ignorant as their highly politicized parents thought.⁹ Culturally, it was the first time in the recent history of protests when differences in gender, class and ethnicity were collectively affirmed, and strengthened the movement rather than fragmenting it.

From a gender perspective, the Gezi movement deterritorialized sexualized significations of space. Significantly, it did not pose the feminine against the masculine, but showed how articulations of different sexualities with different subjectivities can produce alternative and liberating spatial practices.

Besides attracting criticism against the authoritarian style of the government at an international scale, Gezi events resulted in the eventual admission of the representatives of the ruling party that they made strategic mistakes and crossed the limits of democratic governance.¹⁰ However, this does not mean that the Gezi Movement marked the end of the sedentary and striated spaces of state mechanisms. The popular slogan ‘nothing will ever be the same again’ needs to be understood as the celebration of their contingent nature. Gezi events surfaced the power of fluid articulations of sexuality and space which were mostly unprecedented, sometimes joyful and celebratory, but always in recognition of their own contingency. Once the recognition of contingency is celebrated as a possibility for change, joyful lines of flight are always in the horizon for productive trajectories of political action.

NOTES

1. Deterritorialization is a term coined by contemporary philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari (1987), which signifies undoing established structures and decoding systems that organize our bodies, identities, and words. G. Deleuze & F. Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, trans., B. Massumi. (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1987).
2. *Ibid.*, p. 500.
3. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* trans., D. Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991); Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization* (New York: W.W.Norton, 1994; Mark Wigley, 'Untitled: The House of Gender' in Colomina ed., *Sexuality and Space*, 1992), pp. 327-389.
4. Hürriyet. (2013, June 10) Erdoğan 'Camiye içkiyle girdiler' iddiasını tekrarladı (Erdoğan repeated the claim that they entered the mosque with alcoholic drinks) Retrieved August 17, 2013 from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/23468860.asp>
5. Sözcü. (2013, June 2). Erdoğan: Erkek kız aynı bankta oturursa [Erdoğan: If boy and girl share a bench] Retrieved August 16, 2013 from <http://sozcu.com.tr/2013/gundem/erdogan-erkek-kiz-ayni-bankta-oturursa.html>
6. Woman in Red is the title of a 1984 film directed by Gene Wilder, which is about a married man who is infatuated by a woman in red. Chris de Burgh's hit song, Lady in Red was released in 1986.
7. BBC Türkçe. (2013, June 18) Kimdi peki bu duranadam? [Who is this standing man then?] Retrieved August 15, 2013 from http://www.bbc.co.uk/turkce/haberler/2013/06/130618_duranadam_kim.shtml
8. Mikhail Bakhtin, M. (1984). *Rabelais and His World*, H. Iswolsky trans. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
9. According to KONDA, the age average of the protesters was 28. Emre Kongar and A. Küçükkaya, (2013). *Gezi direnişi* [Gezi Resistance]. (İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitapları, 2013), p. 32).
10. A report prepared by a party representative was published on August 12, 2013 in national newspapers. See: Ulusal Kanal, AKP: Stratejik hata yaptık [AKP: We made a strategic mistake] <http://www.ulusalkanal.com.tr/gundem/akp-stratejik-hata-yaptik-h13450.html>. Retrieved August 16, 2013.

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A SPECIES OF EDGES AS METROPOLIS

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The city is an edge phenomenon. Not only are cities edgey in physical and cultural terms, they tend to be born along naturally occurring edge phenomena (Fig. 1). Cities have historically sprung from natural edges that “embrace and enable” cultures. Embrace in terms of foci or naturally occurring phenomena of beauty and “enable” as some form of intersection, exchange and security. The development of city form can be conceived of as a redistribution of the earth to reflect the patterns of its milieus’ programmatic activities and expectancies.

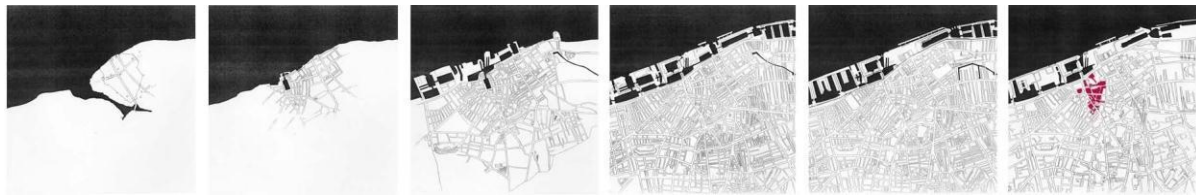


Figure 1. Growth from the ‘pool’ ; maps around; 1665; 1725; 1800; 1860; 1935; 2010

Kevin Lynch in the *Image Of A City* described the constituents of these patterns as “paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks.”¹ These city patterns are to an extent developed from and interdependent with underlying natural patterns of landscape. Consequently a more generic set of definitions based on Lynch’s such as routes, edges, fields, nodes and foci relates to both natural and our own cultural patterns of landscape (Fig. 2). Whereas “routes” can be seen as the connective and communicative rhizomes linking fields, nodes and foci, it is “edges” that distinguish. Edges do not only distinguish one thing from the other, such as route from field, they distinguish everything within our perceptual field, developing complex interrelated and interpretive landscape patterns. “Humans prefer ambiguous, complex patterns in their visual field and that this seems a fundamental perceptual preference.”² The city as a spatial and cultural maelstrom of complex and interpretive “edge conditions” constitutes a perceptually desirable landscape embracing and enabling its milieu to delve into its thickness. Edge conditions and their interpretation are an integral part of our “mediation” with our environment.



Figure 2. Differentiation for an urban classification after Lynch, K: fields, edges, routes, nodes and foci

Edge conditions arise as transitions between “this” and “that;” they are changes of materials, mediums or fields yielding the edge of a forest or the edge of a shoreline. Edges also emerge as differentiations in “this” or “that” through topographic diversity or variations of intensity. Topographic variations may generate the edge of a valley whereas intensity in terms of condensation and rarefaction generate variations in the continuity of flocks and fields such as, trees within a forest or people within an urban square. Any edge has of course a minimum of two conditions: this side and the other side and how the edge is perceived differs when located in “this” or the “other”. Contextually edges are somewhere between seams and barriers and are relative to “being;” consequently to us a change in texture of the ground is a seam whereas a cliff is a barrier. Edge conditions can often be indistinct, interpretive or ineffable (Fig. 3). The edge of a cloud is indistinct when close to or encapsulated within. The edge of a shoreline examined in detail is particularly indistinct and “we” become less distinct from our context when considering the perpetual exchange of air and energy through our bodies.



Figure 3. Variations in continuity that are indistinct and interpretive

Heidegger argued that “we” and the world do not exist apart; rather, we are intimately immersed within it and affected by it. He postulated, an “un-dissolvable unity”³ between people and world. Heidegger called this *Dasein*,⁴ or being-in-the-world. However, the perceived world is comprehended through differences “as my body is sensible sentient, seer and seen, its relations with the visible world fold and unfold in a double movement of divergence and overlap.”⁵ Perceptual comprehension is dependent on variation in the continuum to distinguish. We separate to comprehend forming a differentiation of things and establishing edges between them in order to recognise and classify. Simmel described this separation to distinguish as “an intent of perception” that subconsciously knows they are related “by disengaging two things from the undisturbed state of nature, in order to designate them “separate,” we have already related them to each other in our awareness.”⁶

Edges then are not absolute; they are rather interpretive in that we actively separate in order to identify. We examine, dissect, distinguish and classify generating edges to establish distinctive things as separate entities. These edges do not, however, exist as entities in themselves rather we perceive an entities extent and our sensory systems are tuned to actively search for and accentuate variations as extents in order to distinguish. “The perceptual representation of three dimensional shape is lightly to be primarily based on qualitative aspects of ‘three dimensional’ structure -- such as occlusion contours or edges of high curvature whose topological structures remain relatively stable over viewing directions.”⁷ (Fig. 4). We are attuned to recognise and distinguish through sight, touch, taste, smell and sound variations that we interpret as edges consequently we have developed a repository of “edge species” as pattern aids to the recognition of environmental phenomena. These edge species as patterns are reciprocally used visualisation aids to simulations to understand, anticipate and intervene. Sketching and perspective aided the visualisation and testing of possibilities in the Renaissance, photography and film aided the modern movement and today’s digital simulations are alternative realities.

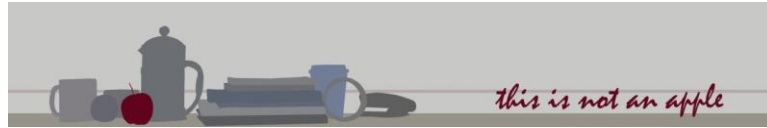


Figure 4. Edges as occlusion contours and pattern recognition

There is also an interrelationship between ourselves and other entity edge phenomena in the perceptual landscape hinted at in Bachelard's use of Jean Pellerin's words "The door scents me, it hesitates,"⁸ a phrase which actively imbues the doors physicality with determination. There is an interaction with the object and self-affecting our behaviour. Piaget termed this interrelationship with our surrounding environment *Schemata*, "whereby we assimilate (our actions upon objects) and accommodate (objects action upon us) the physicality of our surroundings"⁹ (Fig. 5). We incorporate physical objects into our behavioural patterns in a reciprocity of influence generating schemata as typological patterns of perception and reaction. "The several members of a lived body move not randomly but with what," is what Maurice Merleau-Ponty called "corporeal intentionality."¹⁰



Figure 5. Schemata, incorporating objects into our behavioural patterns

Thanks to this intentionality, "the lived body integrates itself with the immediate environment that is to say its concrete place."¹¹ We move intentionally relative to our environment, which is perceived as complexly configured patterns, to which our responses are so inherent that we no longer recognise them. These behavioural patterns enable a certain "autonomous" perception and response capability resulting in a selective disengagement from many aspects of our surrounding. "We cannot open our eyes to things without distancing ourselves from what we seek."¹² We abstract spatial depth structuring it such that it stands separate from us, developing a perceptual depth between ourselves and the environment despite being integral with it (Fig. 6). "When this depth disappears and the world is suddenly uncomfortably encroaching on us, we can see our usual relation with the world for what it is; as privilege, not right--- the depth of our world is a mark of the world's restraint rather than its indifference towards us."¹³ This is not to say there is a world of edges without volume and depth rather "each thing we see which advances some of its visibility towards us can only be a thing if other sides of its visible thickness veer back into depth."¹⁴ Depth and volume exist both as part of entities and of the mediums they are distributed within.

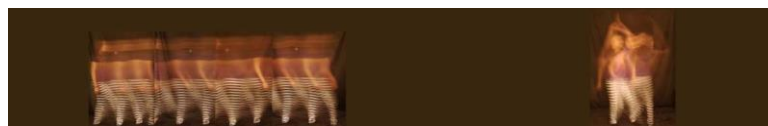


Figure 6. Inter-animatedly consuming depth generating reciprocal spatiotemporal signatures

We locate entities "in this field" between the relative horizon and ourselves as percept horizon through "density of texture, differential reflectance and motive parallax."¹⁵ Our motive intentionality consumes spatial depth as an inter-animate experience of revelation and comprehension. This is as apparent in Le Corbusier's promenades¹⁶ as it is in Cullen's notion of urban serial vision.¹⁷ However this is not so much a series of views as it is a spatiotemporal signature, i.e., "particular directed view sequences and not - particular views."¹⁸ Sequence matters; the perceptual landscape is recognised

through serial things and our consumption of space through a picturesque landscape, or an urban “derive” develops recognisable spatiotemporal patterns. Landscapes are however differentially consumed relative to direction, speed, and mode of motion and we are an integral part of this landscape. Our skin is both end and bridge to the spatiotemporal landscape patterns we consume and that we reciprocally create spatiotemporal patterns through. There is an obvious reversibility where the sensing body is both subject and object. Merleau Ponty explained this reversibility through “intertwining.”¹⁹ Deleuze through “folding.”²⁰ “The subject will come to a point of view upon this world and --- will be assembled precisely through the process of folding and intertwining.”²¹ (Fig. 7).

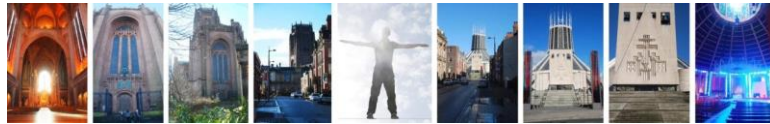


Figure 7. Intertwining or folding sequences of inner and outer spaces

Entities within this perceptual depth consist of edge conditions distributed within a visual figure ground landscape. These edges, as typological patterns, do not just relate to spatial things; they also relate to processes as the interrelationship and interaction of things within space. Processes happen in spaces and are time-dependent; time forms their edges. Heidegger refers to experienced time as “instants,” as “a succession of nows.” Bachelard has a more unique view of experienced time: “the novel and the instantaneous co-imply each other” and “each instant represents a radical new start ‘as with the birth of the universe.’”²² Time and space are inextricably linked and interdependent as are the edge conditions of processes and spatial things. This can be explained through the analogy of a step as “step” covers both meanings: the action of taking a step and the interval, which is a step. Consequently it describes the processes and the spatiality or the time and space of a step as an edge condition. A step links “instants” of process and spatiality. A step is both end and bridge, as an edge is both an end and an intersection (Fig. 8). It is perhaps not incidental that mechanical time relies on the serial steps of interlinked rotating cogs. This clockwork action becomes increasingly complex three-dimensionally, using the edges of serial cams and the stepping action of “cam followers” between cams to develop complex programmable motion. Skilled masters coordinated the urban skills of cog and watch makers in the eighteenth-century to create programmed motion through serial edges and steps, building breath taking imitations of nature such as *The Writer* by Pierre Jaquet Droz and *The Swan* by John Joseph Merlin.²³



Figure 8. A step enabling an interdependence of processes and spatial things

The edge ends and intersects; it holds in and holds out, presenting an impedance to penetration that contains and excludes in a membranous resistance. This resistance creates a hiatus, a drawing out along the edge transition. The movement patterns local to the edge transition developing reflective optimal paths related to gain and necessity, as in the *lex parsimoniae*,²⁴ catalysing parallel adjacent routes, as the space of possible movement. Edges as limits therefore tend to co-exist with routes along their extents. These routes developing as promenades of anticipation associated with some form of change relative to their edge condition adjacency. Such routes can be considered as in-between zones, and in their edge coexistence become “a priori places.” Indeed as Heidegger reminds us “end” means place. “The old meaning of the word ‘end’ means the same as place: from one end to the other, means

from one place to the other.”²⁵ End is a destination, consequently a place, and edges as both end and intersection tend to develop as places of a transitory nature, interstitial a-priori gathering zones (Fig. 9).



Figure 9. Edge as end and intersection developing a-priori gathering zones in anticipating change

The edge condition in dividing “this” from “that” distinguishes the inside from the outside, the familiar from unfamiliar. In this differentiation we are already placed as “this,” the inside and familiar rather than “that,” the outside and unfamiliar. Edges are lines of change from “this” to “that” and become symbols of generic change as a liaison with the unknown, the strange and alien which is both dangerous and desirable. Entities from other territories can and do penetrate the edge condition in both directions. Alien entities remaining within another territory, for any extended length of time, become temporal members of “this” territory but retain and radiate characteristics of the unfamiliar, strange and alien. These temporal alien entities tend to have characteristics similar to Simmel’s *Strangers*. They are within this territory, hence a part of the territory through juxtaposition and yet apart from the territory through conditioning in another territory. “They constitute a unique transitory position of mobility and objectivity, ‘the stranger is freer practically and theoretically; he surveys conditions with less prejudice.’”²⁶ Edges as bridges to alien territories are place as a threshold territory (Fig. 10).



Figure 10. Strangers conditioned in other territories gravitate to edge exchange territories

We are drawn towards the edge, towards the limits, the margin, to provoke an “on the edge” experience associated with mental change in adjacency to physical change. Moving to the edge “is both a physical and a symbolic separation from our customary social or mental condition. This is followed by an engagement with the ‘in-between’ space as the parallel a-priori place within which “we must regard the period of margin or liminality as an inter-structural situation.”²⁷ The edge as a-priori place enabling a physical and mental disengagement usually enacted through a “pilgrimage promenade” gazing into the other whilst mentally scrutinising current values and axioms. The edge with its ability to co-locate change and place acts as a catalysis for inner-mental processes that dissolve the accepted orders and creates a fluid malleable cognitive state (Fig. 11).



Figure 11. Marginalised to an inter-structural situation for a fluid malleable cognitive state

Processes tend to be encouraged along spatial edges and vice versa. Processes happen in space at particular locations forming events. Time and space are considered as inextricably linked as are the

particularities of event and place, and they are distinctively reliant on edges as both defining extents and connective interfaces. Edges encourage processes through selection and overlapping in that they are both boundaries and meeting places. An edge is selectively permeable as an end and an intersection. The edge as end holds in or out encouraging overlapping and subsequent interaction. As intersection the edge catalyses interface and exchanges with other entities and spaces. Edges are thus both resistant and porous in a selective permeability that can also be environmentally responsive. As organic membranes are environmentally responsive to porosity so too are our walls as cultural membranes. Whilst windows allow a certain level of perceptual exchange across a wall, a door or gate enables a completely different level of “privileged exchange.” Privilege here means entities need to possess certain conditions in order to penetrate the edge. This may be size, shape or a time related. Entities have a pass, a visa.



Figure 12. The edge as gate way and city “raison d’eter”

This adaptable porosity of the edge condition is key to the success of its adjacent territories as places and their subsequent growth into constellations of places as city through the intensity of routes and foci at the lines (edges) of change and exchange. An edge is in itself a focus (foci - the extent “end” we perceive) and an intersection; consequently edges catalyse routes which in combination, catalyse places, which tend towards centralities as a kind of perceptual and conceptual holding - folding together. These centralities anchor the self psychologically and can be split into private or public typologies. The house as home is an example of private centrality and is the essence of the act of dwelling.²⁸ Public centralities tend to be urban spaces or (accessible) foci of some intensity. Here space as place is an in-between that holds and resists having the effect of gathering through the membranous resistivity of their surrounding edge conditions. These public places in cities constitute a three-dimensional plurality of edge phenomena acting together to co-locate “space and time” enabling an overlapping of certain processes in space and their subsequent interaction (Fig. 12). Places gather processes in a catalytic space - time hiatus generating events. Place identity is related both to the unfolding physical qualities of the space and the processes as unfolding sequential actions within it. There is a space, process interdependence of edges defining place where place co-locates processes within space developing events that reciprocally reinforce that places identity and recognition. Times action is revealed where change happens, and edges as boundaries are where changes occur. The edge is where happenings intensify; it is the co-location of phenomena in place that catalyses events. “All human action takes and makes place. The past is the set of places made by human action. History is a map of these places.”²⁹



Figure 13. Concert square “place” as a three-dimensional plurality of edge conditions

Topographic locations with dynamic edge-mental conditions tend to develop into serial places as city. The friction generated by the density of a city’s edge conditions generating overlap to gathered

processes, enabling an intensity of events. City is event-mental reflecting an underlying structured edge condition system associated with our activities and expectancies as preferences of perception (Fig. 13). These perceptual preferences appear to be in an *aufhebung*³⁰ state. We develop a perceptual distance between ourselves and the perceptual landscape, accommodating many of its patterns in schemata, whilst preferring complexity and ambiguity in the perceptual landscape. This contradiction is also reflected in the social structuring of the inhabitants of a city. Nurses, policemen and sanitary workers help maintain a structured distance of the perceptual landscape by keeping sickness, crime and rubbish away, whilst artists, actors and designers venture to generate a complex and interpretive experiential landscape as cultural events. “We are able to experience the world as keeping its distance, in part because many other people are preventing it from collapsing in on us.”³¹



Figure 14. Reconstructing the city events, cyclical and unique

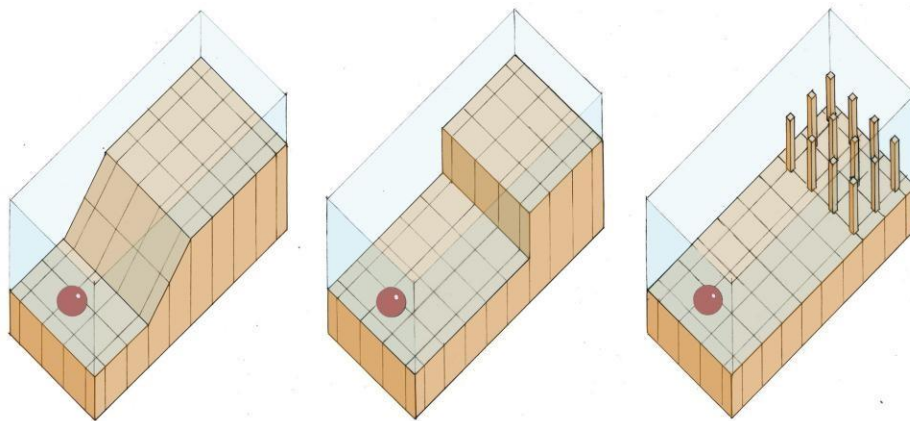


Figure 15. Simple topographic edge conditions, single medium; left to right; slope; cliff, field

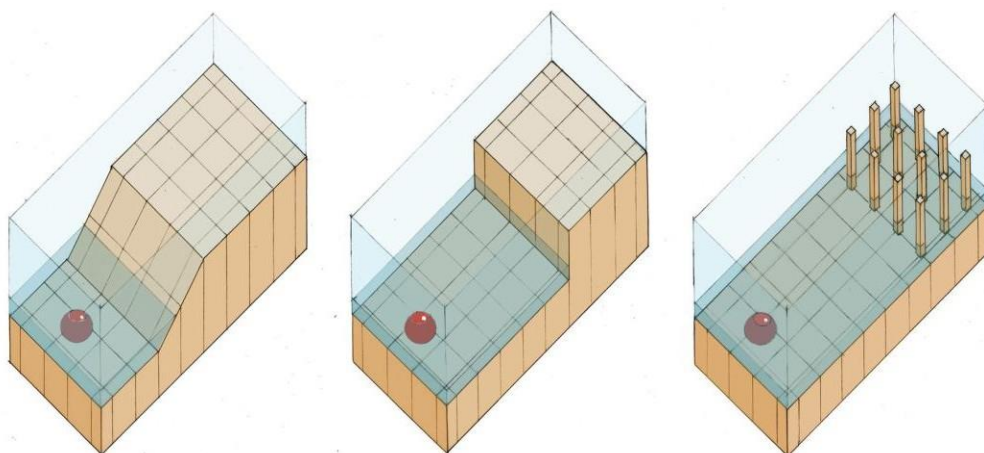


Figure 16. Simple topographic edge conditions, dual medium; left to right, slope, cliff, field.

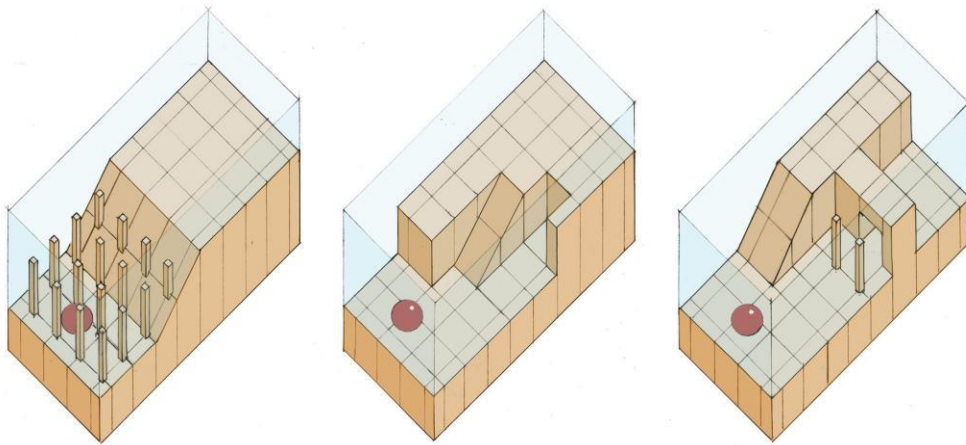


Figure 17. Combination and permutation examples of topographic edge conditions, single medium.

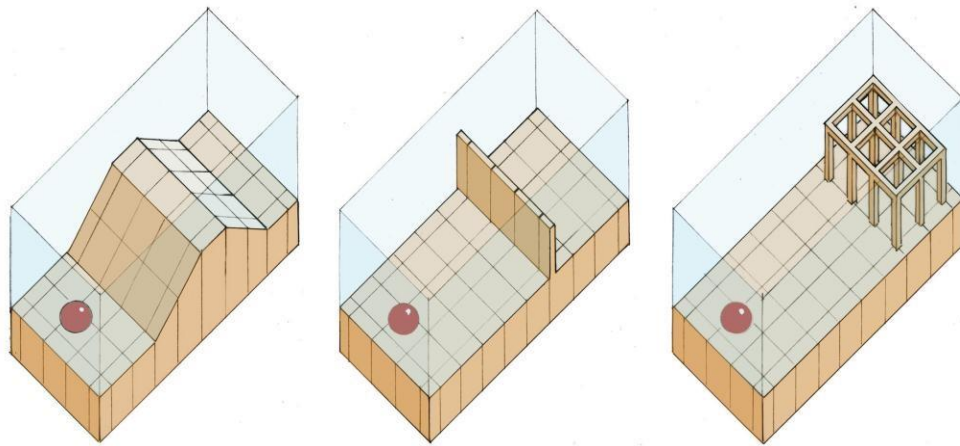


Figure 18. Artificial edge conditions as habitation, left to right; mass, plane, frame

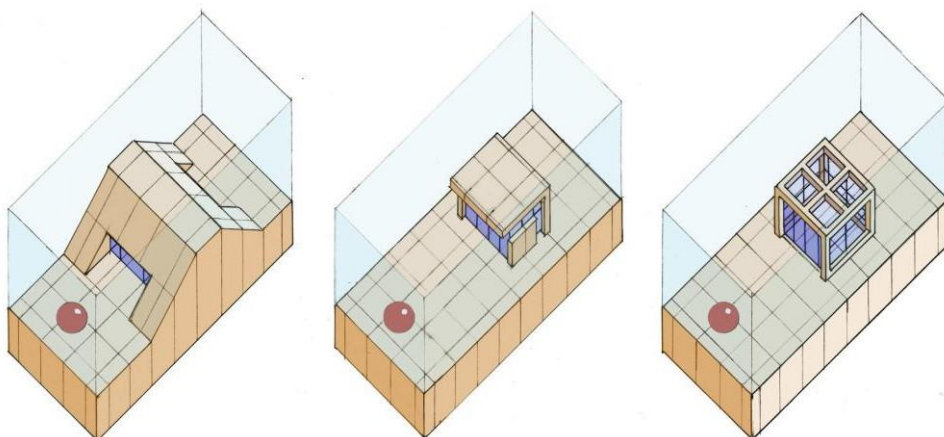


Figure 19. Artificial edge conditions as habitation, left to right; mass, plane, frame

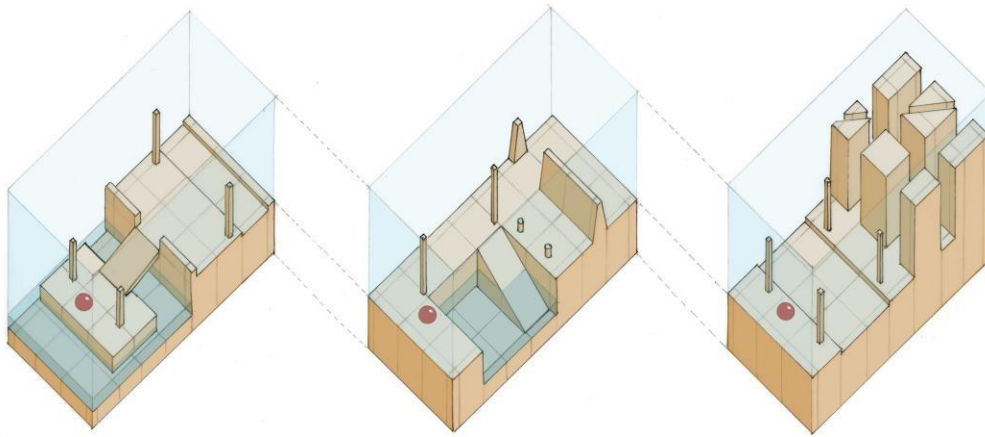


Figure 20. Serial edge conditions: pier and promenade; dock and wall: ring-road and city-edge

NOTES

- ¹ Kevin Lynch, *The Image of a City*. (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1960), 99-102. The interpretive abstraction of Lynch's terms was so that they could be applied to both the natural and artificial (cultural) perceptual landscape related to a series of urban projects undertaken in Liverpool and Kansas City.
- ² Rapoport, Amos and Robert E Kantor, "Complexity and Ambiguity in Environmental Design." *Journal of American Institute of Planners* 33, no. 4 (1967): 210.
- ³ Stewart, David and Algis Mickunas, *Exploring Phenomenology: A Guide to the Field and Its Literature, 2nd Revised Edition* (Columbus: Ohio University Press, 1990): 09.
- ⁴ Martin Heidegger, "Being and Time: A Translation of 'Sein und Zeit,'" trans. Joan Stambaugh (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996): 170. Dasein "entangled-disclosed, thrown-projecting being-in-the-world which is concerned with its own most potentiality in its being-together with the 'world' and in being-with with the others." Taken from an explanation by Craig M. Nichols, "Primordial Freedom: The Authentic Truth of Dasein in Heidegger's 'Being and Time,'" (presented at Thinking Fundamentals, IWM Junior Visiting Fellows Conferences 9 (Vienna, 2000): 02.
- ⁵ John Wylie, "Depths and Folds on Landscape and the Gazing Subject," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24 (2006): 526.
- ⁶ Georg Simmel, "Bridge and Door (Brücke und Tür)," translated by Mark Ritter, *Theory, Culture and Society* 11 (September 19, 1994): 05.
- ⁷ James T Todd, "The Visual Perception of 3D Shape," *Trends in Cognitive Science* 8, no. 3 (March 2004): 120.
- ⁸ Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space* (Ypsilanti, MI: Beacon 1969): 223, quoted in Jean Pellerin, "La Romance du Retour," *Editions de la Nouvelle Revue Française* (France : 1921).
- ⁹ Jean Piaget, *The Psychology of Intelligence* (Totowa, NJ: Littlefield Adams & Co., 1960), (Routledge, 1999): 08.
- ¹⁰ Maurice Merleau-Ponty. *Phénoménologie de la Perception* (Paris : Gallimard, 1945), English edition *Phenomenology of Perception* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962).
- ¹¹ Edward S Casey, *How to get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time, in Senses of Place*, ed. Steven Feld and Keith Basso (Santa Fe: H. School of American Research Press, 1996): 22.
- ¹² Michel de Certeau, "The Madness of Vision," trans. Michael B. Smith, *Enclitic* 7:1, no. 26 (1983): 24-31.
- ¹³ Bredlau, Susan M. "A respectful world: Merleau-Ponty and the experience of depth." *Human Studies* 33, no. 4 (2010): 411-423.
- ¹⁴ Alphonso Lingis, *The Imperative* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998): 53.
- ¹⁵ James J Gibson, *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (Ithaca N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1976): 117.
- ¹⁶ Flora Samuel, *Le Corbusier and the Architectural Promenade* (Switzerland: Basel Birkhauser, 2010): 223.
- ¹⁷ Gordon Cullen, *The Concise Townscape* (Architectural Press, 1961)(New York: Routledge, 1971): 15.
- ¹⁸ James V Stone, "Object Recognition: View-Specificity and Motion-Specificity," *Vision Research* 39 (1999): 4032.
- ¹⁹ Maurice Merleau Ponty, *Le Visible et L'invisible, Suivi de Notes de Travail*, ed. by Claude Lefort (Paris: Gallimard, 1964). The Visible and the Invisible, followed by working notes trans. by Alphonso Lingis (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968).
- ²⁰ Giles Deleuz, *Le Pli : Leibniz et le Baroque* (Editions de Minuit, 1988); trans. Tom Conley, *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque* (London: The Athlone Press, 1993).
- ²¹ John Wylie, "Depths and Folds on Landscape and the Gazing Subject," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24 (2006): 530.
- ²² Casey, Edward, S., "Taking Bachelard from the Instant to the Edge," *Philosophy Today* 52, no. 51 supplement (2008): 32.
- ²³ "Mechanical Marvels Clockwork Dreams," YouTube video, from a BBC documentary presented by Professor Simon Schaffer; directed by Nic Stacey televised by BBC on October 21, 2013, posted by Brett Merde, February 6, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8OAA7yn_Km8
- ²⁴ Peter Haggett, *Locational Analysis in Human Geography* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1966): 32.
- ²⁵ Martin Heidegger, "The End of Philosophy and the Task of Thinking." In *Basic Writings*, ed. David F. Krell. San Francisco: Harper, 1976): 375.
- ²⁶ Simmel, Georg, "The Stranger," in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, translated and edited by Kurt H. Wolff (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1950), 404.

²⁷ Victor W Turner, "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites de Passage." In *The Forest of Symbols*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967): 23.

²⁸ Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space* (1969).

²⁹ Philip J. Edington, "Groundwork for a Spatial Theory of History," *Rethinking History* 11, no. 4 (December 2007): 465.

³⁰ Gans Hegel, *Aufhebung or Aufheben*. There is a dialectic interplay of terms or concepts, which through conjunction both preserves and amends their meaning to a heightened level. To destroy, to recreate in a new form elevated yet preserved. Transmute is the closest English term, see John Grier Hibben, *Hegels Logic: An Essay in Interpretation* (New York: Charles Scriber and Sons, 1902): 313.

³¹ Susan M Bredlau, "A Respectful World: Merleau-Ponty and the Experience of Depth," *Human Studies*, 33, no. 4 (December 2010): 422.

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FINDING DEPTH

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INTRODUCTION

... a city ought to grant - a depth that accommodates with dignity the diversity of its people and their histories. (Carl 2012, 1)

High streets are very much on the political and media agenda. Mary Portas and her *review*, the Mayor's *Outer London* fund and numerous articles in the mainstream press scream 'clone town' and 'ghost town' in catastrophic tones (NEF 2004). This paper seeks to examine the way we understand high streets through a review of the available literature, and to propose an alternative, more layered and complex understanding of the depth of city that underlies and supports them. High streets are both strong (as major arterial traffic routes) and fragile (the businesses they support have tiny margins, and can disappear in a heartbeat). They also serve people excluded from more prestigious public realms and are the common place or territory for those who are increasingly excluded from public life. It is no coincidence that Peckham, Walworth and Tottenham high roads were also the sites of the 2011 riots. Maintaining the high street's metabolism is an ethical as well as an economic project and I propose that understanding their complexity will enable their preservation.

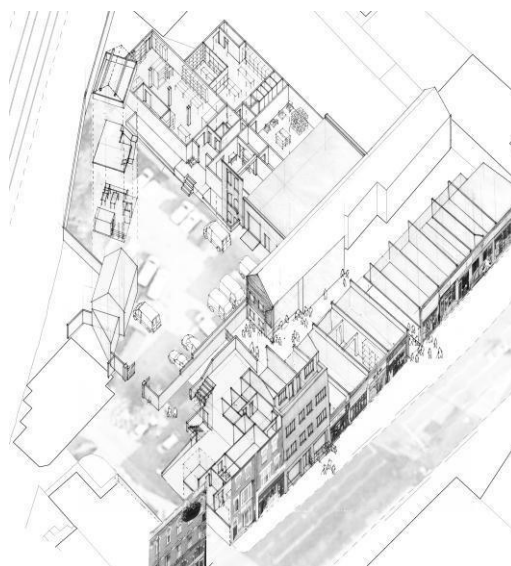


Figure 1. 'Depth' of case-study block in Tottenham. Author's research drawing.

FINDING DEPTH IN THE LITERATURE

The literature on high streets falls into two broad categories; those which views high streets as an economic landscape those which views them as a site for social interaction. Yet a uniting theme is a focus on the high street as what Suzie Hall (2011, 2546) calls “a linear aggregation of mixed uses and mixed users”. This is a view of the high street primarily as the publicly accessible uses at ground floor level, predominantly shops and the idea of the high street as little more than a row of shops is ubiquitous in both the academic literature and the mainstream media.

But high streets are more than this: the shop fronts are a skin wrapped around a much more complex and deeper metabolism. According to Vaughan et al. (2013) it is the presence of small units behind the façade of high streets, containing manufacturing, light industrial and office space which “serve as an ensemble to generate movement around and through the town centre”. Gort Scott et al. (2010) also note that behind the frontage are what they describe as more ‘transient and temporary’ units, of a small size which allows for adaptability. Retail is not in itself a source of vitality, but rather its presence is a symptom of the high street’s ability to sustain civic activities. UCL and Gort Scott’s *High Street London* provides a useful and relevant typology for defining what a high street is, which runs counter to the idea that they are just rows of shops. They identify ‘connected’ high streets, running outwards from central London, linked by ‘concentric’ high streets around central London. They also identify ‘detached’ high streets, which are not linked to the network, and ‘blobs’ of retail activity, where high streets have extended their reach and form part of identifiable town centres (Gort Scott and UCL 2010, 57). A ‘healthy’ town centre needs to recognise the relevance and interconnectedness of all types of uses (Ravenscroft 2000; Gort Scott and UCL 2010; Vaughan and Griffiths 2013). There is a deep spatial, social and economic structure *behind* the facades. This structure includes business, manufacturing, civic or social buildings. In addition, this depth also contains residential streets, which have a reciprocally supportive and reproducing relationship with the high street.

The physical depth of the high street is most clearly addressed through Fiona Scott’s in *High Street London* (2010). The drawings capture the spatial depth relationship and layering of space adjacent to the high street quite effectively, yet there are some key elements which appear elsewhere in the literature which are absent. No study uses a system of identification that reveals the complexity of the depth which begins to be revealed above.

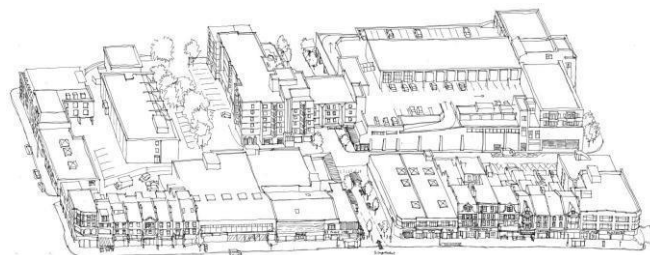


Figure 2. The depth of a block sketch. Author: Fiona Scott (2010 p. 68-69) Here, the entrance to a supermarket in an Ealing block is unassuming from the high street, but to the rear of the façade is a library and block of flats – hidden behind a video shop, pound shop and clothing store.

Understanding the urban through temporality is an important but neglected element of the study of cities and ‘adaptability’ is the persistence of the high street in some (changing) form over time. Temporal rhythms as an element of depth make an appearance in the literature, although their complexity is rarely addressed. For Amin and Thrift (2002), daily rhythms allow the city to be

‘known and negotiated’. In enormous cities there is relatively little chaos because of the predictable and regular nature of occupation. They include Lefebvre’s (1996) notion of rhythms which ‘present themselves without being present’ (p.223); such as opening times and traffic movement and control, and Allen’s (1998) definition that city rhythm is not related to coordination of routines in a citywide sense, but rather the daily movement of people in a ‘process of renewal’. This conception neglects the layered nature and varying pace of temporal rhythms (both cyclical and ongoing) embodied in the physical form of the city and high street. For example, although there is a daily rhythm in a cafe, the frontage or interior layout may also change every five to ten years as owners change, or upgrade their property. The shop as premises changes only very infrequently, as extensions to the rear are made, or two shops are knocked together to make a larger space.

A brief view of planning applications granted on Tottenham High Road since 1950 shows very few major developments. Instead, the majority are incremental changes; change of use, construction of single storey buildings in yards, erection of signs, changes of shop fronts. For Batty (2002), cities are primarily ‘spatial events’ (my italics), with variation in events in terms of duration, intensity, volatility and location. He argues that the element of time may be the missing link which brings together the spatial and social analyses which frequently occupy different academic spheres. This is useful, because one of the components of *depth* is the varying temporality of different structures, but Batty’s notions of ‘volatility’ and ‘intensity’ are illusive concepts; is a child going to school more or less ‘volatile’ than a driver loading a van? To make a hierarchy of ‘events’ in this manner reduces the complexity of temporal phenomena and does not go far enough in the exploration of the layering of embodied activity articulated by space and place.

While many social accounts of the high street document the presence of ‘social interaction’ between different social groups, the only one which begins to acknowledge the depth and complexity of these relationships in terms of *when* they take place is Suzi Hall, in her excellent and detailed ethnographic study of the Walworth Road (2009a). Her description of activity in ‘Nick’s Caff’ close to grasping the nature of the problem:

The rhythm within Nick’s Caff was integral to its space...The Caff opened between six thirty and seven in the morning and closed approximately twelve hours later. It was open seven days a week, but closed on Sundays before lunch... The rhythm of the Caff across the day brought moments of intensity and relative quiet... delineated not only by the physical layout of the tables, but also by the fluctuating patterns of use throughout the day, ushering in the waves of different kinds of clientele at particular time intervals. (Hall 2009a, 125)

There is something particular about the nature of high streets that engenders peaceful co- existence, which may not necessarily be found in other spheres (Dines et al. 2006). A theoretical view which sheds light on this is the notion of ‘boundaries’, or the way in which people identify and categorize others both socially and symbolically, from the discipline of social psychology (Michèle Lamont and Molnár 2002). For Hall (2009a), the ‘caff’ was a bounded place, symbolically different to other places that its regulars might inhabit, in which friendships could exist across racial and class lines which might not penetrate into other places – making spatial the social boundaries between ethnicities. This echoes Oldenberg’s (1997) notion of the ‘third place’, an accessible, local place (beyond home and work) in which people can socialise. According to Mehta and Bosson (2010) who examined ‘third places’ on main streets in the USA, such places tend to be distinctive and recognizable, permeable to the street, and with provision of seating and shelter – just like the ‘caff’ on the Walworth Road. Yet the notion of ‘boundaries’ cannot adequately contain the physical and social complexity of the high street and its depth. It is significant that those who have come closest to revealing the true nature of the complexity (Scott and Hall) of depth are both trained architects, because this is fundamentally a phenomenon which exists the physical dimensions, of space and time.

REVEALING DEPTH: A HERMENEUTICS OF PRAXIS

In the light of the brief survey of literature on high streets, we now turn to an examination of theoretical and philosophical ideas which will help to find and understand *depth*. Depth is a metaphor, but could also potentially serve as a concrete term to be investigated, the question is: how?

Hermeneutics is a branch of phenomenology, a philosophical stance about the nature of knowledge and the means of human access to it which seems to offer an appropriate methodological approach. Although in the social sciences the impact of doubts about the positivist project really started to hit during the 80s and 90s, in philosophy the storm had started brewing a long time before. In the early 20th century. Husserl, the ‘father of phenomenology’ (Polkinghorne 1983), revolutionised epistemology by developing the distinction between the natural and phenomenological forms of understanding the world (Husserl & Hardy 1999). He challenged the previously accepted Cartesian dualism of reality and argued that the lived experience consists both of the external world and the internal perceptive experience of that world. One cannot exist inside the world and observe it objectively, as though from outside (Husserl & Hardy 1999). After Husserl, Heidegger considered the nature of being, in that the person’s being-in-the-world cannot be separated from the world. Therefore he called human beings *Dasein* or ‘beings in the world’ (Heidegger 1967).

In *Truth and Method* Gadamer re-coined the name ‘hermeneutics’, questioning ‘method’ as a means of accessing ‘truth’, instead appealing to the hermeneutic interpretation of history (or tradition), as a means of finding the truths which are absent from the epistemological world of ‘method’. Gadamer characterised the involvements of Heidegger’s beings-in-the-world as reciprocal, akin to a conversation. This involvement requires creativity, or interpretation, in order to structure the whole from the available parts, and have access to the parts from the whole.

However, creativity is not the same thing as ultimate freedom within an unbounded ‘space’ or Carl’s (2012) ‘freedom-from’. Instead, it draws on the latent order (*depth*) which offers a structure of references of the world, a layered and articulated structure of embodiments to which the ultimate reference is *physis* (nature or earth) (Vesely 2004). Gadamer’s exposition of the nature of play sheds light on this and is a helpful metaphor for understanding. Once a person is within the ‘field of play’ (*Spielraum*), all of their actions are then within the game. They may have personal aims such as winning (or cheating), but all actions serve the game, and the only way to escape is by leaving the field altogether (an impossibility in the case of the embodied world). The game does not control what people in it do, instead it offers a set of structured possibilities (rules, place, objects – ultimately with reference to a shared sequence of embodiments which ends with the most common-to-all - *physis*) within which choices can be made (Gadamer 2013). This is Carl’s (2012) ‘freedom-for’, and hermeneutics is the creative interpretation required for involvement-in-the-world.

As the world has its epistemological expression in the concept of self consciousness and the methodologically developed rule of certainty, of ‘clear and distinct perception’, so also the human sciences of the nineteenth century felt a comparable foreignness with respect to the traditional world... The spiritual creations of the past, art and history, no longer belong to the self-evident domain of the present but rather are objects relinquished to research, data from which a past allows itself to be represented (Gadamer 1975, 58)

CONCLUSION

It is impossible to inhabit the entire city simultaneously, yet this is what city theoreticians attempt, through maps and aerial views. The rendering of the city into a containable, flat image of itself (which can be numbered, organized, and ultimately controlled) is a Cartesian split which suggests that people can stand outside the city and view it as a complete entity. Observing the ‘natural world’, for Vesely (2004) (to which our only access is being-in-the-world) from the outside to gain understanding of its

order is impossible, because we are always inside it. As such, the city itself is the only way to truly contain *depth*, and access to the deep structure is only available through interpretation of fragments, such as the French café or high street. To reveal the order of time, space and culture, the ‘text’ must be carefully interpreted in the context of the interpreters own experience and life world, as a hermeneutics of praxis.

Rather than trying to engineer social justice as many major planning projects and high street studies seek to do, understanding in terms of *depth* allows us to ask questions about ethics at a fundamental level. City life is the inhabitation of a series of settings, supported by the structure of claims outlined above. *Depth* is a constituent of the ‘common ground’, and what is common-to-all is inevitably also concerned with ethical understanding, so depth and ethics are part of the same ontological order. Freedom is only meaningful if it is structured, with the structure allowing the city’s inhabitants to make sense of the natural conditions and to be free within a given range of possibilities. In short, depth allows for places in the city for all the things that need to happen. Only then can they happen.

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LOCATIVE NARRATIVE AND AN IPHONE APP: MANCHESTER AS A MYTHICAL CITY

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In this paper, the depiction of Manchester is examined through four different yet linked media representations from the 1950s to the present. These are, an iPhone app, which shows archive film of the city, two novels, and a feature film. All involve navigation of the city's streets and landmarks by the viewer, or by the protagonists of the fictional representations.

The paper argues that far from a real picture of Britain's second city. These literary and filmic versions of Manchester show it to be a dystopian place of the imagination, and that this mythical Manchester still persists in the unconscious as a grey and depressed zone.

The Manchester city centre of today, post the IRA bomb of 1996 and subsequent reconstruction, is a regeneration success story. The textile warehouses of Princess Street, built to resemble Florentine palazzos, burnish red on a summer's evening, as the crowds stream between the lights of Chinatown and the night-time culture of Canal Street and the Gay Village. But the Manchester of the imagination as represented in literature and film, is a profoundly different place, a city of 'ruins, dust, deserted streets, blocked canals'¹, and of rain and decay. A post-industrial Hades.

This Manchester of the imagination, is understood in reality and in its cultural depictions through traversing its streets and bus routes, through "wayfaring" (in Tim Ingold's formulation)², the lymph systems that connect the parts of the city together. And both real and imagined places exist through change and erasure, as buildings are torn down or blown up, leaving visual and historical traces in photographs, or film, or in the memory. The palimpsest of layers of meaning that subtly interact to create a textured picture of the whole.

In collaboration with Marion Hewitt, the director of the North West Film Archive, and app developer Darren Dancey, I explored the narrative of Manchester over the last 100 years, in an iPhone app, *Manchester Time Machine*.³ This is the first app to combine archive film with GPS to enable the negotiation of historical Manchester, overlaying the present with a century of filmed history, from the Whit walks of 1911 to a student demonstration in 1971. The GPS and compass enabled app allows you to view a city centre location and to see it in the past, the choice of 100 films picturing a city's history from multiple viewpoints.

The opening of the Manchester Ship Canal in 1894 had triggered a boom in building of those cotton warehouses and civic buildings, and early filmmakers captured a place and an atmosphere of spirit and pride. The brash optimism of the Edwardian era is represented through scenes of bombastic police marches, the crisp white dresses of young girls parading on Whit walks down Market Street, and the seemingly chaotic mix of transport technologies in the streets, as horse-drawn cabs jostle with steam

lorries, electric trams and the early examples of the soon to dominate motor car, which narrowly avoid crowds of scurrying pedestrians.

There are hints at how emerging technologies fostered that optimism. A float passes the Town Hall in 1920 advertising the Midland Cinema, and ‘films where you can see yourself on the screen’. But the ebullient self-image of Manchester turns darker with the Second War and the destruction of the Christmas blitz of 1940, reducing much of Corporation Street and Piccadilly to rubble.

The narrative arc of Manchester, which seemed to have clawed its way out of the slums of the world’s first industrial city, turns darker as that industry is left behind. A ghostly illuminated tram passing by the Town Hall on VE day in 1945, and the destruction by fire of Paulden’s department store in 1957, seem like symbols of the city’s decline, and by the twentieth century the persistent image is of rain, smog, and inner decay. Partly this was true of most British industrial cities of the time, but whereas London was driving forwards through youth, music, fashion, and creativity to the iconic era of the swinging 60s, visitors to Manchester saw only a bleak absence of life.

As de Certeau notes, the city can be accessed in two ways: from outside through the map or from within as a pedestrian.⁴ But the city can also be accessed through its myth, its resonance in the imagination, and the depiction of Manchester through Time Machine, whilst appealing to a nostalgic rewriting of the urban landscape, has echoes in three works that have depicted the city as a blackened and faintly evil dystopia. In Michel Butors’ 1956 novel *L’Emploi du Temps*⁵ (translated as *Passing Time*⁶), W.G. Sebald’s *The Emigrants* 1992⁷ and the 1960 British film noir *Hell is a City*⁸, Manchester appears in turn as a malevolent entity, a place of terminal decline, and a metaphorical Purgatory. Even in the 1950s, this was not a recognisably accurate depiction of the city: instead it relates to a view of Manchester which goes back to the mid-nineteenth century, when Engels wrote about the condition of the working class, and the squalid conditions endured by the inhabitants of Little Ireland, just south of where Oxford Road station stands today.⁹

Just what creates the myth of the city is shifting and intangible. Some cities seem to have the power of myth, of inhabiting the unconscious, whereas others do not, and this is not always the product of a city’s size. Of course London, New York, Berlin, inhabit an inner space and have a numinous presence through their appearance through history, or film, or literature or music. A city is always more than its buildings and streets, it is also its stories, its energies, its ideas. But some smaller cities also inhabit the space of myth, for example Liverpool.

There is a statue in Liverpool’s Matthew Street of the great psychologist Carl Gustav Jung, despite the fact that he never ever visited the city. In 1962, just as the Beatles were about to put their birthplace on the world stage, Jung wrote in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, of a dream he had had of Liverpool many years before. He saw ‘greyish-yellow raincoats, glistening with the wetness of the rain’¹⁰, but had also a vision of unearthly beauty, as he equated the city in his dream as ‘the pool of life’.¹¹ Jung’s Liverpool was both a real city, but also a powerful marker in his unconscious, stretching between two contrasting poles of grey bleakness and life enhancing energy.

Manchester also has a place in the collective unconscious, combining the real and imagined buildings, the weather, the character of the people, its post-industrial landscape, and its history, but also perhaps redeemed by music in the 1980s, and its sudden transformation through what became briefly the most famous club in the world, the Hacienda. The Manchester of myth as represented in fiction is a dark place, but in order to fully experience that place, even in its darkness it must be traversed.

Thus all the works I cite here, two novels, a film, and an app, involve the negotiation of the city, walking its streets, or traversing it via its bus routes. They reflect Deleuze’s concept of the rhizomatic narrative, when narrative connections proceed not via a linear chain of events, like a single root, but more like a tuber root system, a net where any point can be connected to any other point.¹² Whilst Deleuze may have meant this as a model for the conductivity of ideas, it also functions as a powerful

metaphor for systems of non-linear narrative, the strategies of hypertext which computer systems eventually made possible.

Although written thirty years before hypertext, Michel Butor's *L'Emploi du Temps* prefigures the form in a fascinating way. It was written by Butor, a writer in the nouveau roman group, which includes Alain Robbe-Grillet, and although set in the fictional northern British town of Bleston, is plainly based on Manchester, where Butor had worked from 1951-3 as a language assistant at the University.

The protagonist, Jacques Revel, comes to work at the Bleston company Matthews and Sons, and seems to get trapped in the city, which reflects the grey post-war grimness of Britain as a whole, and the North in particular. His journeys criss-crossing the city by bus are represented in inordinate detail, and the web of bus routes that lie upon the city become a net which renders him unable to escape. His treasured possession is the bus map, purchased by him from the woman he would come to love, Ann Bailey¹³, and the routes become a figurative rhizome which is reflected in the episodic structure of the novel.

It is ostensibly a diary of the year he spends in Bleston, written retrospectively, but whilst there is increasing complexity, there is very little narrative resolution, and the novel does not so much end, as stop dead. Jacques hates Bleston, hates the soot-blackened buildings, the insipid food, the cold reserve of the people, but more than that he comes to feel that the city has ensnared him, and as mysterious fires erupt across Bleston¹⁴, that it is somehow decaying from within.

The description of the novel's English translation, *Passing Time*, on the back of the original John Calder edition gives a jauntily upbeat view of the story – 'the atmosphere of a British industrial town is perfectly captured, and this French view of England will delight British readers'¹⁵. But most readers must have been appalled by Jacques' frozen welcome, and state of helpless entrapment in a place he had come to see as a labyrinth, with no way out.

One of those readers was the acclaimed German author W.G. Sebald, who also came to Manchester to work at the University, but in the late 1960s, and whose view of the city was if anything even more corruscating than Butor's. His Manchester is stagnant and on the brink of ruin, a vision of unrelenting gloom, without light or hope.

Sebald, who seemed until his untimely death in 2001 to be a possible winner of the Nobel Prize for literature, made his name with a series of novels which mix fiction and essay with what seems like documentary autobiography. He said of his works 'the big events are true while the detail is invented to give the effect of the real'¹⁶. In his 1993 Novel *The Emigrants*, Manchester features in one of the four stories about Jewish emigrants from Nazi Germany. The unnamed yet Sebald-like narrator befriends Max Ferber, a painter (based on Frank Auerbach) who works on his paint-encrusted canvases in the decaying Salford Docks, a mocking nod to the optimism of the Ship Canal opening 60 years before. Max, like Jacques Revel, is trapped in Manchester/Bleston and, but this time for good; 'Manchester has taken possession of me for good. I cannot leave, I do not want to leave. I must not'.¹⁷

Sebald read Butor's novel during his two stays in the city in 1966–8 and 1969–70, and wrote a long poem *Bleston: a Mancunian cantical*¹⁸ while he worked there. Obviously influenced by Butor, it prefigures *The Emigrants* in its bleak views of 'Soot covered trees', starlings "huddled together on the sills of Lewis's big warehouse", and ships offshore "waiting in the fog".¹⁹ Sebald's view is so unrelentingly gloomy that his experience of Manchester (like Butor's, from the point of view of a European immigrant) must have been blended with the inner melancholy which permeates all of his novels. Or as has been suggested²⁰, his picture is a projection of post-war German guilt, felt by the survivors (Sebald was a Bavarian catholic) and exemplified through his Jewish refugee characters.

But Sebald's view is loosely corroborated by the 1960 Val Guest film, *Hell Is A City*, a late British Hammer film noir, filmed on location in and around Manchester. Here the city is seen as a changing but decrepit landscape, still scarred from the war, where what threatens to erupt is not a mysterious conflagration but simmering female sexual tension.

A killer is on the loose, and the opening night-time travelling shots from a police car, over a brassy jazz score, make Piccadilly seem like the centre of Chicago or New York. But overlaying this is a working-class northern landscape of billiard halls, bookies, and illegal pitch and toss games on bleak hills surrounded by factory chimneys.

Most of the action takes place in the city centre, and as with the novels, there is a strong sense of traversing the streets and rooftops, literally in the spectacular denouement. The protagonist Inspector Martineau clammers at roof level rather improbably from Castlefield to the eaves of the Refuge Assurance building on Oxford Road (now the Palace Hotel), to overpower the armed villain Don Starling. As they grapple high above the streets, in the background Oxford Road station is clearly being rebuilt, a telling example of erasure and renewal of the city's fabric.

Don Starling's getaway car is American, but far from a glamorous symbol of 1950s excess, this one is a seedy pre-war Buick, fitting in well with the overall rundown atmosphere of the film. And when he drives outside Manchester to dispose of the body, the countryside is not as in most films of the era, a place of health and escape. More the windswept moors are cold and forbidding, an eerie prefiguring of the chilling events of the Moors murders which would occur within a couple of years of the film's release, and which also contribute to the dystopian myth of Manchester.

Some of the locations for *Hell Is A City* have been swept away, but there are muffled traces which show through faintly, despite the rubbing out of the buildings. The robbery of a bookmaker's van takes place in a fictional Higgitt's passage, off Corporation Street in the city centre, which was in reality a narrow alley called Cromford Court. The whole area was redeveloped shortly after the film was made, to become the vast Arndale shopping centre, and then again in the 1990s after the devastation of the IRA bomb, but the name Cromford Court still survives as one of the "streets" in the Arndale, a muted footprint of a lost history.

At least one Manchester landmark appears in nearly all of these cultural texts, and is unchanged to the present day: Strangeways prison, the symbol of the corruption of Manchester/Blestone, with its characteristic hexagonal shape. Butor refers to Blestone's 'safeguard, a six pointed star with the penitentiary in its centre, the image of which had appeared to me like a black crystal....A negative of the gleaming mark imprinted on Cain's forehead'²¹.

Sebald's narrator goes to the one-time Jewish quarter around the 'star-shaped complex of Strangeways prison'²² on his increasingly long walks on Sundays, overcome by 'aimlessness and futility'²³. He roams the city and is always amazed how anthracite-coloured Manchester 'displayed the clearly chronic process of its impoverishment and degradation to anyone who cared to see'²⁴. And at the end of *Hell Is A City*, we see the forbidding exterior of the prison, as a knot of bystanders stands outside, and a Manchester Guardian placard proclaims 'Starling To Hang'²⁵.

There are numerous echoes in these sources of the internalised image of Manchester. In *The Emigrants*, Max Ferber lodges at 104 Palatine Road, the same house that the austere and often tortured philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein stayed in when he came to study aeronautics at the University in 1908²⁶. The fires that consume Blestone from within are paralleled by the 1957 destruction of Paulden's department store off the Oxford Road by fire, which is one of the film scenes in *Manchester Time Machine*.

Always the overwhelming connotation of the city's traverse is less the freedom of discovery of the "derive", or the pleasure of navigation of the story, but rather the pacing of the floor of the trapped prisoner. Jacques Revel feels he cannot escape Blestone, and refers to the parallel of Theseus in the

Minotaur's Labyrinth²⁷. Sebald's narrator returns from visiting Max Ferber in hospital, walking through the Hulme estates regenerated in the Seventies, but already decayed again²⁸ past derelict warehouses to the Midland hotel, which the owners would be surprised to know was 'on the brink of ruin'²⁹. And yet there are premonitions of the new myth of Manchester that would arise in the 1980s.

Don Starling is cornered by Inspector Martineau in a two-storey Castlefield building, just around the corner from the fictional Hotel also where Sebald's narrator comes to lodge, eight years later. In the background through the railway bridge, can be glimpsed the yacht-building showroom that would become what Newsweek called in the 1990s the most famous club in the world, the Hacienda.

Manchester today has largely assimilated its Victorian past; the world's first industrial city has co-opted its cotton warehouses into attractive apartment blocks, or restaurants and bars. Lewis's department store, where Inspector Martineau meets a streetwalker at the end of *Hell is a City*, is now a branch of Primark. Where Sebald's Max Ferber found Manchester deserted, this would be unrecognisable to the tens of thousands of revellers who swell the night-time economy and the pubs and cafes every weekend, (many of them students living in the city centre, some in converted Victorian mills).

Manchester Time Machine, like the other texts quoted here, maps the city through its past, but also points to another, internalised Manchester. There is a direct path that leads from Engels and the misery of Little Ireland, through the despair of Butor and Sebald, to the pessimism of Joy Division and Morrissey. The famous Anton Corbijn photograph of Joy Division in the Hulme estates (the same ones that Sebald's narrator trudges through) freezes an image, a myth of Manchester that paradoxically resonates as truthful, even as it is at odds with the bright lights and swarming crowds of the literal city.

The four literary and filmic sources quoted all show that this frozen image persists as a disconnect between the everyday Mancunian experience and the city's place in the imagination, perhaps to a greater extent than in other cities. The pleasure that can be gained by the negotiation/navigation of the streets and buildings becomes in these representations the relentless pacing of a prisoner in a condemned cell, unable or unwilling to escape. The myth of Manchester mixes the real buildings of today with layers of real and imagined history, a film of soot from two centuries of industrial chimneys, that may have been removed in reality, but persists in the unconscious.

NOTES

- ¹ Janet Wolff, "Max Ferber and the Persistence of Pre-Memory in Mancunian Exile", in *Melilah*, 2012 Supplement Memory, Traces and the Holocaust in the Writings of W.G. Sebald. (Guest editors: Jean-Marc Dreyfus and Janet Wolff) 1. Accessed Dec 20th.2013 <http://www.manchesterjewishstudies.org/storage/melilah/2012/s2/6.pdf>
- ² Tim Ingold, *Being Alive; Essays on Movement, Knowledge, and Description* (New York: Routledge, 2011).
- ³ *Manchester Time Machine* (2012). Manchester Metropolitan University and North West Film Archive (Version 2) [Mobile application software]. Retrieved from <http://itunes.apple.com>
- ⁴ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press 2002).
- ⁵ Michel Butor, *L'Emploi du Temps* (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit 1956).
- ⁶ Michel Butor, *Passing Time*, trans Jean Stewart (London: Jupiter 1965).
- ⁷ W.G. Sebald, *The Emigrants*, trans Michael Hulse (London The Harvill Press 1996).
- ⁸ *Hell is a City*, DVD, directed by Val Guest (1960 London: StudioCanal 2005).
- ⁹ Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the working class in England* (London: Penguin Classics 2009).
- ¹⁰ Carl Gustav Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (London : Fontana Press 2005), 223.
- ¹¹ Jung, *Memories*, 223.
- ¹² Janet H. Murray, *Hamlet on the Holodeck*, (Cambridge Mass, The MIT Press 1997), 132.
- ¹³ Butor, *Passing Time*, 38.
- ¹⁴ Butor, *Passing Time*, 121.
- ¹⁵ Butor, *Passing Time*, rear cover.
- ¹⁶ M. Jaggi, "Recovered memories", *The Guardian Profile* (22 September 2001).
- ¹⁷ W.G. Sebald, *The Emigrants* 169.
- ¹⁸ Janet Wolff, *Melilah* 3.
- ¹⁹ Janet Wolff, *Melilah* 4.
- ²⁰ Janet Wolff, *Melilah* 4.
- ²¹ Butor, *Passing Time*, 254.
- ²² W.G. Sebald, *The Emigrants* 157.
- ²³ W.G. Sebald, *The Emigrants* 156 ²⁴ W.G. Sebald, *The Emigrants* 156 ²⁵ *Hell is a City*, Val Guest.
- ²⁴ W.G. Sebald, *The Emigrants* 16.
- ²⁵ Butor, *Passing Time*, 299.
- ²⁶ W.G. Sebald, *The Emigrants* 231.
- ²⁷ W.G. Sebald, *The Emigrants* 233.

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MILAN 2033. SEEDS OF THE FUTURE - HOW THE CURRENT RESEARCH AND DESIGN EXPERIMENTS WILL SHAPE OUR LIVES IN THE CITIES OF TOMORROW

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INTRODUCTION

In 1863 it has been founded in Milan the original nucleus of what will become the Politecnico di Milano. 150 years later, in addition to celebrating this anniversary, the university took advantage of this important event to create, over the course of an entire year, a journey to rediscover its origins and identity and to reflect on its role in the future development of the city and its surrounding territory.

It is within this framework that *Milan 2033. Seeds of the future. 150 years of the Politecnico di Milano* took shape: an exhibition, in collaboration with the Triennale di Milano, which looks to our next twenty years and how the research and design experiments currently underway will shape our lives in the city, in Milan and in other realities throughout the world. “How will we travel, how will we live and how we will work (and study) in 2033?” and moreover “Which new communication technologies, materials and energy sources will our everyday world be made up of?” These are the questions that were put to a group of professors and researchers from different disciplines called on to take part in a large scientific committee.

METHODS

It has been possible to address the theoretical and creative effort implied by those challenging questions only through an extensive multidisciplinary approach: for this reason *Seeds of the future* is a collective exhibition, involving a scientific committee of 50 professors in 12 Departments of the Politecnico di Milano in a debate between different areas of knowledge.

A true multidisciplinary approach, however, is always easier to mention than to achieve. The main question to address was a feasible way for an institution like the Politecnico di Milano, where so many different disciplines and backgrounds coexist, to design coherent visions for the future. Actually architects often have visions related to the physical dimension of the city (the so called bricks and mortar approach), engineers nurture technological visions, but are often hyper-specialized and therefore necessarily partial, and designers are more interested in forms of social innovation.

Various impromptu meetings took place on three different topics of our everyday lives -*living, working, moving around*- and three transversal themes that permeate our daily life -*energy, new materials and ICT technologies*. The produced material, characterized by a "multiple and different point of view of the city", constituted the foundation for the subsequent work: on one hand to organize

and sort the collected fragments of the future, and on the other to tell the story of the emerged contents, avoiding cryptic or didactic styles and languages.

To work on this systematization, two variables were borrowed from the European research project *Spread 2050 Sustainable Lifestyles*¹ and used to organize the collected material. One variable is linked to the kinds of technology and the other to the leading values and principles supporting society. Technologies can be mainly pandemic (i.e. globally adopted dominant technologies) or endemic (i.e. emerging in different ways in the various local contexts). With regard to the values that support growth processes, it must be said that these values can, on the one hand, chiefly favor individual subjects (individual persons or companies) whose capacities make them rise above the context and that are able to successfully compete at a global level. On the other hand, they may also prevalently support communities of people (such as institutions or self-organized communities) who share responsibilities and generate the kind of “collective intelligence” that is often behind many cases of innovation. In the first case, the focus is on the best, in the second case on the communities.

The two axes of technology and social principles create four quadrants, which must be considered distinct but equally legitimate scenarios that occur in all three sections (move, live and work) of the path of the exhibition:

- *The governed city: technologies offered by the global market support forms of innovative management for the common good.* In this scenario the city of the future calls for a strong focus on the decision-making process, the enhancement of social networks, timely communication and the need to participate in collective decisions. The task of those who govern the city will be, even more, to define the rules of co-operation, adjust standards to encourage innovation and manage negotiation processes between different social groups. The modern factory is completely different from that of 50 years ago. Sectors such as photonics, bio-robotics and smart materials have led to the progressive and constant replacement of physical products, with services that are increasingly immaterial. The technology is "softer", clean and not harmful to health. Therefore the factory is back to town, even in residential neighborhoods, in form of mini factories or desktop factories. At one time, the factory had to be located away from the home. Today the opposite is true: cross-contamination between production, research, art and finance is what matters. It's important to encourage informal relationships via the Internet and the physical closeness. A balance has finally been established between working conditions and lifestyle: working space and working hours are eventually inclusive, the massive commuting of workers and the distribution of goods through long distance logistic are no longer required. The smart grid allows residents to optimize energy and water consumption. Depending on the time and the destination, the use of high speed trains, public transportation, electric cars and/or bike sharing services is encouraged by the local municipality.
- *Innovation on a global scale: pandemic technologies for individuals who work at an international level.* The “universal language” of technology and entertainment and the global brands unify the world culture in a whole environment. We face the challenge to make more efficient use of resources, optimize energy consumption and provide timely services when needed. Energy production is therefore without borders. Digital worldwide platforms are used to connect all public utilities such as electricity, gas, water, waste management, mobility, emergencies and security. Huge worldwide platforms for goods and services production and distribution are even more ramified: the operational sales and service activities are conducted through international branches, whilst the R&D&I activities¹ are concentrated in a large research centre in the home country. The long-distance journeys are made through suborbital flights (which can connect Milan and Sidney in 4 hours) and electric, automatic flights link cities in the middle distance. Personal mobility can be solved through hybrid flying vehicles, that can take-off and land vertically just like a helicopter: normally they are battery

powered, but during the take-off the extra power of a bio-fuel engine is provided. The quality of life in the city centre has improved a lot, there's less traffic and more public transport, the air is finally breathable. The small local shops can be supplied every day with fresh, zero miles food. The apartment is a super- equipped capsule, which not only saves energy, but can produce it for its own consumption. Its extension is reduced, but the location is central and prestigious. The historical and the technological urban fabric mix and overlap in layered hybrid buildings.

- *The talent of individuals: endemic technologies for individuals (makers, new entrepreneurs and new generation artisans) who work locally.* In order to meet the new demand for more personalized products and services, a new production system is already being created thanks to the availability of technology, the accessibility of common experiences, to the openness to the community and networks of expertise. Youth entrepreneurship initiatives give life to start-ups that appear as a small business or a high-tech craft, located in the basement and ready to meet demands on the other side of the world. Production may even be performed by consumers themselves, the makers, with 3D printers. In these micro-enterprises, the factory is replaced by a simple flat, often the home of the entrepreneur, as it was the case for artisans in the past. The entrepreneur does not require large amounts of capital and risk, but rather creativity and a strategic vision. The manual dexterity allows makers to buy low-cost kit to transform second-hand vehicles into efficient vehicles powered by an electric battery. Bottom-up collaborative services are put in place to share cars and bikes on a peer-to-peer basis.

- *The energy of communities: local technologies for a group of individuals who share community and solidarity values.* In a connected world, small is not small, and local is not local. What is now small and local is also a node of the Internet. Its ability to be relevant, therefore, does not depend on its size, but on the nature and quality of its connections. Hence, the potential feasibility of a new socio-technical distributed system is born, in which the “global” emerges from the connection of a multiplicity of “local systems”, which have a scale and a complexity understandable and controllable by the community residents. To live away from large urban centres is no longer detrimental, and it is possible to match the employment opportunities with the pleasure of slowness. Thanks to technology, to live in the countryside doesn't mean feeling isolated: public transportation, or car pooling and car sharing services reach out to the hinterlands and solutions of integrated subscription make the cost of mobility affordable. Public space dominates. Through the voluntary exchange of expertise and time, it is possible to access many collaborative services without spending money. Social relations are the main form of welfare; people help each other to live a more relaxed life, holding out against the effects of a momentous crisis. Self-construction, co-housing and shared living spaces provide affordable and convenient accommodation, equipped with energy-saving technology and Internet connection.

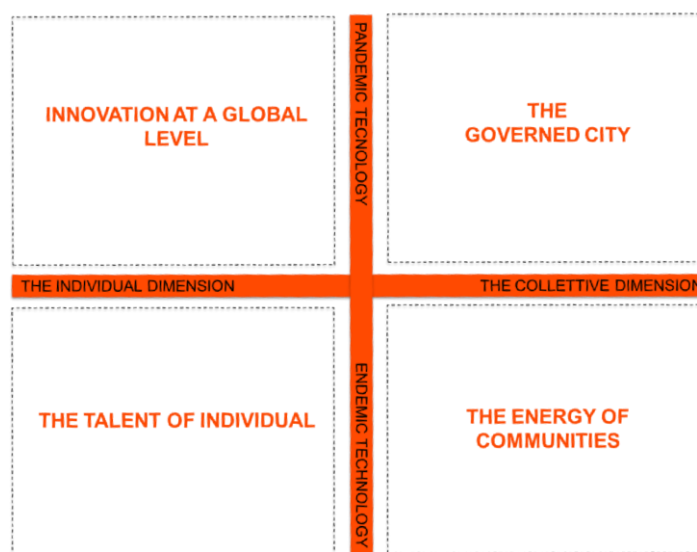


Figure 1. The systematization matrix

The brief model outlined here was used to classify suggestions and the current kinds of innovation, to speak about what everyday life in Milan could be like in 2033 and to tidy *memorabilia* related to the recent history of the Politecnico di Milano.

RESULTS

The exhibition unfolds smoothly and without interruption through 12 installations, which develop the four scenarios according to the three main themes of *mobility*, *housing* and *work*, intersected by the transversal ones of *energy*, *materials* and *ICT*. The installations consist in transparent glass totems, “inhabited” by the transparent images of the future citizens of Milan in 2033, featured by students, colleagues and friends of the Politecnico di Milano. When asked, through the visitors’ simple gesture of tapping the glass, they tell us about their journeys and work, their home and what they eat, the children’s education and what it means to grow old... Every narrating voice is synchronized with an animation projected on the floor. A sketch, like that of a pencil on a notepad or chalk on a blackboard, interprets and visualizes each of the 150 stories, which constitute the core of the exhibition. The sketch is surrounded by a dashed bounding box, because in technical drawing you use the dashed line to design something hidden by something else. Similarly the future is not in front of us, but it hides behind the present time/space.

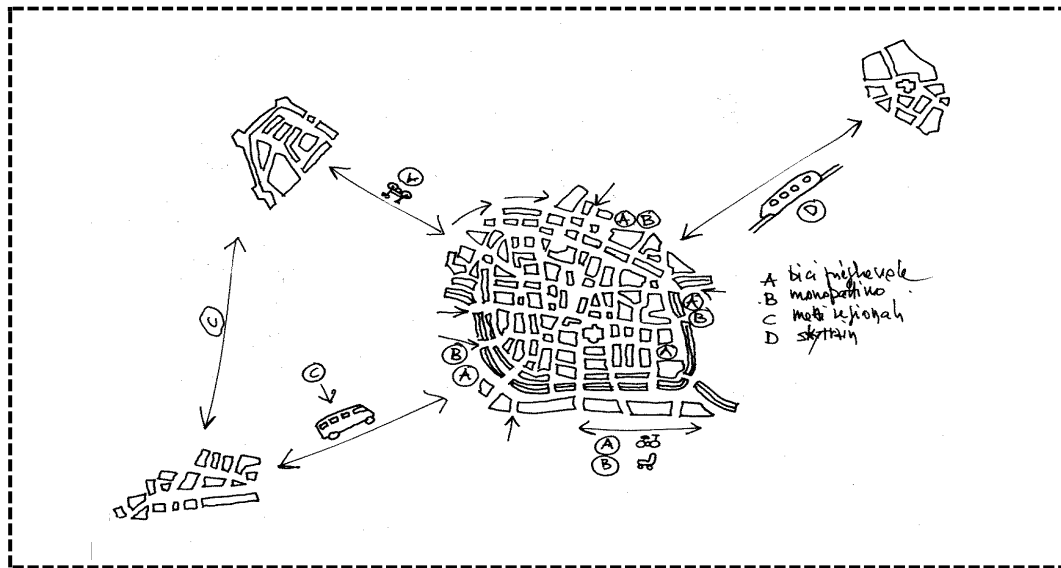


Figure 2. The sketches which illustrate the story

The glance on the sequence of totems stimulates the visitor to compose endless montages, combining the images by proximity, causality, analogy. Everyone can cut them differently and no default viewpoint is privileged. The environment is designed as a "project sheet" on which to walk in order to know, without a unique or fixed path. The sketch, as a manual practice, becomes a privileged language: materializing the line in movement, it explains, predicts and illustrates something that has yet to exist, leaving room for any changes during the work in progress. The resulting environment is dialectical and immersive and endowed with unexpected dynamism.

Along the path real objects reveal other stories within the story. The parade of the so called *memorabilia* expresses the historical and mnemonic substrate of the exhibition. These projects, prototypes and products, which have been designed over 150 years by distinguished professors and students of the Politecnico di Milano, have introduced forms of disruptive innovation in the past and still carry the meaning of "future visions in the past". Therefore they function as connectors of visible and invisible dimensions, events and people far away in space and time.

Hanging on the wall of the gallery you will find the so-called *Seeds of the future* collection, which presents projects and case studies, sometimes still in the very early stages of development that may have a significant impact on our future lives. These include examples of important international architectural firms next to photographs of more ordinary - but still rare - products, services or buildings; models being studied and tested in the university's laboratories next to prototypes made by big companies and research centres.



Figure 3. One of the twelve interactive totems with the interview to a Milanese of 2033 about the mobility.

CONCLUSION

The exhibition features 150 stories from everyday life, some advanced and others more traditional, some focusing on the talent of the individual, others more on a collective dimension. The scenarios may come true or they may occur in an opposite way. In 2033 some of the seeds of the future presented will still be in the germination process, others fully developed, while others will disappear without a trace; we will recognize ourselves more in some, and less in others. This is not what matters. It is important to focus on possible futures that encourage us to reflect on ourselves, how we envision ourselves over the next twenty years and which actions should be taken in order to outline what we hope will become a reality.

At this point, one might wonder why we have chosen a timeframe of 20 years and not of 10 or 50 years.

20 years is a period of time short enough to avoid simple science fiction clichés, but extensive enough to catch a glimpse of possible changes - some small, with a limited impact, others more radical - in our days. Innovation occurs at different speeds in various fields, from the accelerated pace of ICT technologies, from energy research and new materials to the slowest fields of infrastructure and construction. We will all be 20 years older: young people will be adults and adults will be elderly, the elderly will be extremely elderly, newborn babies will be 20 years old. If we close our eyes and think about how we will live, instead of a completely different world, we see a changed world, perhaps even profoundly, which is inevitably rooted in the world of our daily experience.

The interesting feature about this near future is that the way change is designed is up to us. We are the ones that, starting from the problems and opportunities of today, have to design the future. In order to design the future we must have a vision of where we want to go and put relevant technical solutions to the test. Like a child that looks to life and approaches the age of 20 with many opportunities and possible futures, each person will have to choose their own. Not starting from scratch, but building on the shoulders of the previous generations that came before them.

Therefore, understanding where we want to go is the first and decisive step: towards a world that is fairer? More sustainable? With more or less freedom? With more or less individual responsibility? But equally crucial is our ability to build technical solutions that are capable of opening new doors. The two dimensions, values and techniques, are closely intertwined and it would be wise to work on their relationship.

The imaginative language of the exhibition is invented by Studio Azzurro, a framework of artistic research that expresses itself through the languages of new technologies. The group of video artists established in 1982 by Paolo Rosa, Fabio Cirifino and Leonardo Sangiorgi, has been exploring the poetic and expressive possibilities of these means, so crucial to contemporary relationships, through the realization of sensitive and interactive environments, theatrical performances and films, internationally acclaimed, for over 30 years.

On this occasion they wish to arouse curiosity and stimulate confident reflections about our own future, in tune with the design responsibility that the Politecnico di Milano has been spreading from Milan to the rest of the world for 150 years.

Those expecting to see the fiction special effects will be disappointed. The animations are produced through a simple pencil and every 3D hyper-realistic rendering is accurately avoided. The resulting poetic and deliberately abstract images are intended to trigger emotions and thoughts, rather than to disclose complex scientific content or anticipate what our reality will be like in 20 years time starting from now.

These scenarios, which are very different from one another, stress a significant underlying decision not to aim at a single all-embracing future, but on the contrary, to aspire to a multitude of possible, multiple, changing, permeable, combined, high tech and low tech, advanced and traditional futures, in which everybody will be able to freely organize their daily life.

The future development of the project itself is actually under evaluation in the form of a *Seeds of the Future* observatory and a think-tank of the “Made in Polimi” design scenarios.



Figure 4. The Memorabilia parade along the exhibition path.

NOTES

¹ SPREAD Sustainable Lifestyles is a European research project (2011 -2012) coordinated by the Centre on Sustainable Consumption and Production (CSCP, Germany) which also included the participation of the INDACO Department of the Politecnico di Milano. The project involved different actors (including entrepreneurs, researchers and representatives of civil society) that aimed to develop visions of sustainable lifestyles in view of 2050. (www.sustainable-lifestyles.eu).

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THE SHANGHAI PARADOX

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INTRODUCTION

This paper outlines my ongoing research on the use of traditional symbolism and its utilisation in contemporary architecture of the Chinese global city. It specifically examines the landmark architecture of the Pudong, or the “new” Shanghai. Is there a contradiction in imagery when architects adopt traditional motifs in contemporary skyscraper architecture? Designs such as Cesar Pelli’s Petronas Towers (1994) in Kuala Lumpur use traditional Islamic patterns in the floor plans and façade detail. However, in the case of Shanghai, the three landmark buildings of the Pudong as shown in Figure 1; the Jin Mao Tower (1999), the Shanghai World Financial Centre (2008) and the Shanghai Tower (under construction at the time of writing), all reference fengshui and cosmology. The paradox in this case is that under law of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), geomancy, including fengshui and cosmological symbolism, is defined as a feudal superstition and its practice illegal¹.

This paradox occurs due to the widespread use and reliance on fengshui narratives in contemporary Chinese architecture, the purpose of which is cultural signification. Using traditional practices and symbols, fengshui and cosmology become part of the design statement and the imagery of the building. Furthermore, while fengshui plays a role in the beliefs of many Chinese people, the value given to, and the recognition of signs and symbols are different to the various communities that make up greater China. Anthropologist Allen Chun writes in great detail about the complexity of defining “Chineseness”². Within the desire to localise architecture in major urban centres, architects need to be careful not to be naïve when relying on overarching assumptions about an appropriate symbol of Chinese culture.

Fengshui is an ancient historical Chinese philosophical system that was traditionally implemented to inform the selection of auspicious sites intended for the location of dwellings and graves. Its purpose was to create a harmonious relationship between heaven and earth, the gods and humans. Over time it has been ritualised and now globalised. The Chinese characters feng (wind) and shui (water) comprise the single linguistic term fengshui. The definition of fengshui varies from ‘geomantic omen’³, to more detailed definitions such as Feuchtwang’s “Feng (wind) + Shui (water), as a single term stands for the power of the environment ... Behind it is a whole cosmology of metaphysical concepts and symbols. By placing oneself well in the environment fengshui will bring good fortune”⁴. Fengshui developed within a Chinese agrarian society as an adaptive response to the local environment. It is not a singular and coherent practice. Even from its earliest development, fengshui was a dual system — one technique used land formation and the other used the compass — to determine the qi (life force) of a particular location. These methods of practice are termed “Classical fengshui”. The schools within the Classical tradition continue to evolve and adopt regional variations within China as well as other areas

in East Asia. In addition to regional differences, the meaning and value placed upon fengshui can be uneven.

Traditional imagery of the city has shifted from state and religious to a more corporate patronage. The skyscraper signifies the transition from older economies such as agrarian and industrial to service. The similarity in requirements in the function and accommodation of these cities provide homogenised environments. The differentiation of cities of cities has become reliant on the brandscape⁵ and the marketing and branding of symbolism as a method of differentiation⁶.

Thus the experience of the city is no longer limited to physical interaction with the urban fabric. It incorporates an “imagined” or “hyperreal” environment. This imagining is integral to the marketing and advertising of place, with the purpose of promotion in the network of global city competition. Architecture in this case is a tool in the marketing and branding of place. There are many terms applied to this phenomenon – “Mediascape”⁷, “Mediatecture”⁸, “Brandscape”⁹, the “Themed Environment”¹⁰, or the “Culture of Consumption”¹¹ – all of which describe a vision of the city designed not only for function, but also for media consumption. Iconic buildings and skylines have become political and commercial devices for differentiation between cities so that we can automatically recognise, say, Hong Kong from Sydney, or Shanghai from New York.

Specific to Shanghai there are a number of key factors included in the reading of the symbolism that is common in many post industrial cities, but in this case with a Chinese twist. The development of the Pudong as the “new” Shanghai has developed at a rapid rate as the city transforms from an industrial economy to a service-based one. Shanghai was dubbed by Deng Xiaoping as “the head of the dragon”, to act as the financial centre of the PRC. Shanghai of the 21st century was designed as a window to modern China that the Chinese political leaders wanted as a reality for the nation as it entered its place as a world leader. The Pudong – the “new” Shanghai – was designed from a base of distinction from the colonial trade port of the late nineteenth, leading to the early twentieth century, and now as a centre for the world of commerce, trade and service.

The centrepiece of the Pudong is the Lujiazui Financial District (LFD). Set on the opposite riverbank to the historic Bund, the focus of the LFD is the three super-tall towers: the Jin Mao Tower (JMT), Shanghai World Financial Centre (SWFC) and the Shanghai Tower (ST). All three of these towers were designed by American architectural practices and these three buildings have architects’ design statements that acknowledge the principles of fengshui and traditional of geomancy as being important to a means of identification and localisation. Some of the statements amount to a kind of “fengshui- wash” of the projects, not strong on content, or is it not strong on intent?

“Before” and “after” images of Shanghai have resonance with those of the “Southbank” or “Docklands” developments. Examples include the re-development of other river cities such as London and Melbourne, where warehousing and shipping stores were once located. In the case of the Pudong, this development was not only to house commerce and trade, but also to function as a sign, signifying that “China is open for business.” The Pudong was set up in direct competition with its own national cities, more especially Hong Kong, but significantly and most strikingly Shanghai re-emerged onto the world stage in a very short period of time.

The concern with “cultural sensitivity” in the design of the landmark buildings is evident in the architect’s design statements. All of the landmark buildings describe a fengshui narrative, complete with cosmological references, as proof of their “Chineseness”, and localisation of the architecture. They are on a world stage after all, and much of the rhetoric barely conceals the reality that these buildings are designed to impress, and underline their role as locating Shanghai as a world leading new city while demonstrating a conspicuous Chinese identity.

THE JIN MAO TOWER

Architects Skidmore Owings and Merrill describe the design of the JMT as “... a landmark that represented the prosperity and wealth of Shanghai’s future but also embraced the most advanced design concept and technological innovation”¹². In other words, it would be a “world’s best”, heroic by proportion, but have underlying Chinese qualities – in this case fengshui symbolism.

The translation of the name Jin Mao is “Golden Prosperity”, a name that resonates at all levels of Chinese culture, reflecting a desire for good fortune, health, luck, happiness, and mostly wealth. The building is located at 88 Century Avenue, and the building is 88 stories in height. The structural grid and setbacks devised by the project architect, Adrian Smith, were based on the use of the number eight.

Eight is significant in Chinese culture due to the extensive use of homonyms. The number eight is an extraordinarily auspicious number. Eight or “ba” in Mandarin Chinese sounds similar to “fa” which means to “prosper”. (This also has equivalence in Cantonese). Thus the repetition “88” equates to “double happiness”, and “888” is to “prosper, prosper, prosper”.

Smith reinterpreted the pagoda as a skyscraper¹³. The traditional purpose for a pagoda was to enhance the geomantic qualities of a particular area. To be correct, a pagoda should have an odd number of levels, not eighty-eight. The inference is that, if it looks about right, the actual numbering and geomantic characteristics become less an issue for contemporary high-rise towers. However, despite technical inaccuracies, the use of a superstitious device as an appropriate form for the first super tall skyscraper in the PRC is an interesting one.



Figure 1. The landmark buildings of Lujiazui February 2014. Jin Mao Tower (centre), Shanghai World Financial Centre (left) and Shanghai Tower - under construction (right). Photograph by author.

As the first of the three landmark towers planned for the LFD, the JMT demonstrates a combination of modern global-city typology (the skyscraper), with postmodern motifs (historic and cultural references to Chinese culture). The use of geomantic form (the pagoda) and deference to cosmology/superstition (the substantial integration of “eight” into the design) is a paradoxical representation for a building that fronts the “new” Shanghai and places China on the world stage via its architecture. While there are successful precedent buildings that combine the modern skyscraper with traditional symbolism, in this case, considering the political location, these symbols can easily be deemed reactionary.

SHANGHAI WORLD FINANCIAL CENTRE

The second of the landmark buildings is the SWFC designed by American architects Kohn Pedersen Fox. The building opened in 2008, and until the “topping out” of the Shanghai Tower in October 2013, this building was the tallest in Shanghai. The developer for the project is the Japanese Mori Group. The original SWFC design had a circular aperture at the cap of the building, to represent the Chinese cosmological symbols of the round heaven and the square earth¹⁴. The aperture also assisted to reduce the structural loads of the building caused by wind pressure, and so it works on a number of prosaic and symbolic levels.

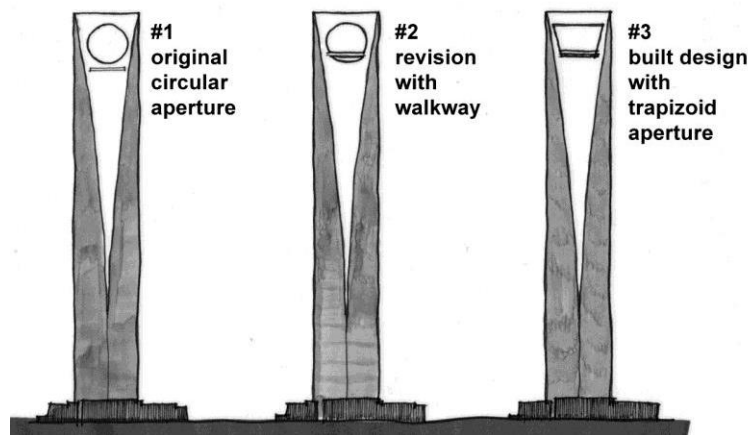


Figure 2. Evolution of the design of the SWFC aperture. Graphic by author.

However, this original design quickly became controversial. The unintended reading of the design, when linked with the Japanese developer, was that the aperture resembled the “Rising Sun” of the Japanese flag. As the setting sun shone through the aperture of the building over Shanghai, the glow of a symbolic “Rising Sun” would be the most dominant, and tallest symbol in the Shanghai skyline when viewed from the old Shanghai. Adapted from Hurewitz, Figure 2 describes the design evolution of the aperture to the SWFC¹⁵.

Relations between Japan and China have developed in tension many times over hundreds of years. Memories of the Japanese invasion and occupation in the 1930s still inform contemporary relationships between the two nations, which are at best politically frosty and economically competitive. Opponents to the original design included the then Mayor of Shanghai Chen Ling Yu, who took exception to the resultant imagery, which clearly raised memories of the past, and would further sour Sino-Japanese relations. Amendments to the design included the introduction of a footbridge to break the purity of the circular form, however, the aperture was later significantly altered to the current trapezoid. Aside from design it is interesting that the architects remain intent on maintaining a cosmological reference in the design narrative.

A square prism – the symbol used by the ancient Chinese to represent the earth – is intersected by two cosmic arcs, representing the heavens, as the tower ascends in a gesture to the sky. The interaction between these two realms gives rise to the buildings form, carving a square portal at the top of the tower that lends balance to the structure and links the two opposing elements – the heavens and the earth. Soaring above the city skyline, the Shanghai World Financial Center stands as a symbol of commerce and culture that speaks to the city’s emergence as a global capital... Ibid.

There are a few interesting points suggested here (aside from the fact that a trapezoid is not a square). The first is the acknowledgement that a Chinese cultural link is an important factor as the architects

attempt to localise the building. The use of the circle and square is not an uncommon design device in contemporary architecture in Shanghai. The second is that the choice of localisation tool – cosmological symbolism – is this an appropriate decision for a city representing an atheistic government with a history of discrimination against old traditions and practices, in particular during the Cultural Revolution; and one that outlaws that practice of fengshui as a feudal superstition to this day (while paradoxically adopting all its benefits)?

SHANGHAI TOWER

The final of the landmark trio is the ST designed by Gensler architects. The building was topped out in August 2013 and is scheduled for completion in late 2014. In Gensler's 2008 press release for the building, the design statement noted that the building's form was a metaphor for the spirit and of Chinese philosophy. It referenced "the spiral as a symbol of the cosmos in Chinese culture"¹⁶. Aside from the fact that the spiral is not a symbol of the cosmos in Chinese culture; why was there a need to include anything about Chinese cosmology in the architectural design? There has since been a subsequent amendment to the design statement that now describes the spiral as symbolic of "the emergence of modern China as a global financial power"¹⁷.

While we associate the concept of fengshui with China, the actual practice - the ability to own, operate and advertise fengshui services within the PRC is illegal. While fengshui masters do work in China, they must do so from cities such as Hong Kong or Singapore. It is only through academia in the areas of architecture and anthropology that research of fengshui is permitted. Due to its status as a feudal superstition it is still considered contrary to notions of modernity for a contemporary world nation¹⁸.

Fengshui has developed over millennia. It shares a common symbolic language that spans many disciplines, however, fengshui in the context of contemporary architecture in the PRC appears to have little to do with traditional practice and more with an interpretation of associated symbols. In its contemporary practice there is a greater distinction between traditional and classical applications, compared with more modern versions, or, as Architect and fengshui authority Cate Bramble has aptly dubbed "Mc Fengshui"¹⁹.

Since the earliest push for Modernity and in some part a Westernisation of Chinese culture, the process of modernisation became complicated because of a political, cultural and theoretical stance, that while there should be westernisation and modernisation – it should be undertaken with Chinese characteristics. Within this context, fengshui may be considered as a "quaint" Chinese practice, however it is still illegal, and still considered anti-modern. This perception has existed from the Republican Movement of the early twentieth century. Sun Yet Sen, in his "Three Stages of Revolution", bundled fengshui and geomancy in with slavery, foot-binding and opium as significant deterrents to modernisation in China²⁰.

Given the heterogeneity of function and appearance of the global cities, it is not unexpected that to distinguish one city from another requires an appreciation of locale and a particular cultural identity. These provide a label or a local brand of distinction, designed to set it above other cities in the global village. There have been many attempts to capture a "Chinese Essence" to reflect these notions in contemporary architecture. There is greater success in other genres of building design, such as IM Pei's Suzhou Museum, than the design of skyscrapers, and in particular the super-talls with some type of Chinese characteristics is complex, without the result looking kitsch. The nature of this kind of building leaves limited room for representational manipulation, thus the use of symbolic motif - say of numbers of floors (88 being popular in China), decorative devices (such as the cap, or hat of the building), or the shape of the plan, are all used as a methods of cultural identification.

Two questions arise which require further research on my part. The first concerns the use of fengshui symbolism in this context, and whether this denotes a western interpretation of Chinese culture for consumption by an external audience (whether Chinese or not). When analysing the new architecture of the Pudong, and in particular the three landmark towers, a complexity arises with the use of architectural motif. Assumptions made about symbols that may at first appear to be appropriate, but may be in fact the opposite. In the case of the Jin Mao Building, the eighty-eight floors and an emphasis on the use of number eight was reported by the architect to be a client request and not part of a localisation agenda as per the use of the pagoda. Thus, as a client request is this a subversive act, or simply a reflection of deeply ingrained concepts within Chinese culture?

The second area of research concerns the processes of globality. Does the demand of globalisation and architectural imagery make this paradox just an interesting anomaly? Thus the application of these fengshui concepts, through interpretation or by process, inextricably changes the understanding of the Classical practice, and reinforces a McFengshui understanding or reduced picture of the practice.

We need to understand the notion of “What is Chinese?” This requires critical consideration. The issue is more complex when we take into account the illegal status of fengshui within the People’s Republic of China, despite its common and highly regarded practice at all levels of urban design, construction and placemaking in Chinese cities elsewhere. Chinese culture operates over a number of levels, it is not a simple society, sometimes static, other times led by legislative rule, and some of it harsh, sometimes revolutionary and in upheaval, and other times controlled by mutual and traditional practice, and fengshui is an exemplar of the latter.

In other Chinese cities, such as Singapore, fengshui masters are advertised as part of building projects and the use and practice of fengshui are given more promotion. Hong Kong is different again, while on one hand the city is known as the “epicentre” of fengshui, the narratives are more significant than the literal practice. However in the case of Shanghai, in the current political context, fengshui, geomancy, and cosmological references remain a paradox when represented in the skyline of this global city. On one hand the designs promote a sense of Chinese cultural identity (although which one?), but on the other hand, this endorsement is an illegal one.

NOTES

- ¹ Chinese Communist Party, 'Document No. 19. The Basic Viewpoint and Policy on the Religions Question during out Country's Socialist Period.' (Chinese Communist Party, 1982).
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- ² Allen Chun, 'Fuck Chineseness: On the Ambiguities of Ethnicity as Culture as Identity', *Boundary 2*, 23 (1996), 111–38.
- ³ Anthony Paul Cowie and others, *Concise English-Chinese, Chinese-English Dictionary* (Beijing; Hong Kong: The Commercial Press; Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 131.
- ⁴ Stephan Feuchtwang, *An Anthropological Analysis of Chinese Geomancy*, Second (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1984), p. 2.
- ⁵ Anna Klingmann, *Brandscapes: Architecture in the Experience Economy* (Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2007).
- ⁶ Wally Olins, *On Brand* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004).
- ⁷ Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).
- ⁸ Christoph Kronhagel, *Mediatecture* (New York: Springer, 2010).
- ⁹ Klingmann.
- ¹⁰ Mark Gottdiener, *The Theming of America: Dreams, Media Fantasies, and Themed Environments*. (Boulder: Westview Press, 2001).
- ¹¹ Steven Miles, *Spaces for Consumption Pleasure and Placelessness in the Post-Industrial City* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2010).
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- ¹³ Donald McNeill, *The Global Architect: Firms, Fame and Urban Form* (New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 130.
- ¹⁴ Kohn Pedersen Fox, 'Shanghai World Financial Center, Park Hyatt, Shanghai', *KPF*, 2013.
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<http://www.atimes.com/atimes/China_Business/HD08Cb05.html> [accessed 5 November 2012].
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- ¹⁷ Gensler, 'Tallest Building in China Breaks Ground: Design Completes Super-Tall District, Showcases Sustainable Public Space' (Gensler, 2008) <<http://www.gensler.com/#projects/58>> [accessed 5 November 2013]
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THE INTERDEPENDENCY OF IMAGE AND MATERIAL SPACE: THE ROLE OF DISCOURSE IN NEIGHBOURHOOD DEVELOPMENT. EXAMPLES FROM BERLIN, GERMANY

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INTRODUCTION

The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines *image* literally as “a tangible or visible representation” and figuratively as “a popular conception (as of a person, institution, or nation) projected especially through the mass media”¹. This paper examines the meeting point of these two definitions, namely the interaction between the physical and visual aspects of the city and its popular conception, through the examination of two case studies in former East Berlin.

The poststructuralist and constructivist viewpoints of new cultural geography highlight both the dependence of structures on their cultural framework and the constant production and reproduction of culture by various actors; thus culture and its components can be understood as deeply interlinked and constantly under construction and revision². Semiotics allow us to analyse culture, and in this case its subordinate part “image”, by disengaging signs and symbols from their culturally embedded meaning³; in this way, the social production of meaning and its implications for the social production of spatial realities can be empirically examined⁴.

Thus, this paper will trace the development of the image concept in cities from two related disciplinary perspectives, architecture and cultural geography. This paper, whose findings are based on the author’s recently completed dissertation, seeks therefore to connect the theoretical, constructivist, and poststructuralist aspects of new cultural geography with real neighbourhood development in former East Berlin after the fall of the Berlin Wall, thereby creating a link between image and material space.

THE IMAGE OF THE CITY, THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE, AND SEMIOTIC LANDSCAPES

The theoretical underpinnings of this argumentation are formed by two key works in architecture and sociology dealing with spatial cognition, Kevin Lynch’s “The Image of the City”⁵ and Henri Lefebvre’s “The Production of Space”^{6,7}.

Kevin Lynch’s seminal text⁸ explicitly brought the idea of image to the forefront for the first time, albeit primarily in a denotative sense⁹. Lynch’s work concentrates on the literal aspect of image, namely its physical and visual characteristics (i.e. with relation to perception and negotiation of the physical environment), and explores “meaning” and “identity” from the pragmatic point of view,

specifically with relation to legibility and navigability¹⁰. Lefebvre's work, on the other hand, is concerned with the theoretical conceptualization of spatial units and relationships¹¹. In "The Production of Space", he examines an actor-based, constructivist perspective in which spatial relationships and negotiations exist both in connection with and independent from the built space.

These two texts approach two sides of the city's symbolic cognition and spatial composition. Where Lynch examines the way that users "read" the physical landscape from the perspective of the planner and architect, Lefebvre theorizes how actors produce socio-spatial relations independent of, in connection with, or even in spite of the physical materiality. Both works deal with spatial cognition and the relation between the user and space, however while in Lefebvre's work the power to create (social) space lies squarely in the hands of the user, Lynch concentrates on a quasi-paternalistic relationship between the architect as creator and the user as consumer.

The examination of the production of space and its relation to image are not a purely academic endeavour; the constructivist concept of (re)production finds inherent resonance in the physically productive practices of urban planners, architects, and landscape architects. Indeed, grassroots interventions, linked for example to the "right to the city" movement¹², show that the productive actions of planners and users interact with each other on many levels, both symbolic and material. Therefore, the examination of the literal symbolism of urban image à la Lynch¹³ or Alexander¹⁴ through semiotic interpretation¹⁵ presents a novel entry point to the study of the connotative aspects of image. Or, as Rem Koolhaas put it, "if space is invisible, all theory for the production of *space* is based on an obsessive preoccupation on its opposite: substance and objects, i.e. architecture"¹⁶.

NEGATIVE IMAGE: STIGMATIZATION

When the image of a neighbourhood is primarily composed of negative modifiers, the area is often described as "stigmatized". The concept of stigma and stigmatization in empirical sociological, ethnographic, and geographical research harkens back to Erving Goffman's 1963 book "Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity"¹⁷. In the case of neighbourhood stigmatization, the neighbourhood is defined in some way as "deviant" from the socio-cultural ideal, either from its built space form or, more typically, the (assumed) characteristics of its residents¹⁸. Stigmatization is primarily transferred through popular culture and the media, and can pose a significant barrier for urban redevelopment efforts¹⁹. Stigmatization is a particular problem in social housing complexes²⁰ (especially post-war housing estates²¹), where "image management"²², in particular through branding efforts, have been developed to cope with the discriminatory effects of a negative image²³.

THE INSTRUMENTALIZATION OF IMAGE: MARKETING AND BRANDING

Whereas stigmatization often implies a passive or diffused transference of image and its respective symbols and signs through the media and popular culture²⁴, marketing and branding imply an active instrumentalization of these traits to gain a social or economic advantage²⁵. Urban marketing often highlights existing tendencies in order to profit from them in the short or long run (i.e. through the marketing of a city as "creative"²⁶, or the identification and emphasis of specific popular, "hip", and bohemian neighbourhoods²⁷). Increasing de-industrialization and the expansion of the tertiary sector in combination with postmodern discourses of added-value through branding²⁸ have shifted image, symbolic capital, and immaterial values into the foreground of urban development and the global competition between cities. In order to succeed in this competition, cities must actively manage their image, creating brands, slogans, logos, and other signs and symbols that they then use to create a unique and recognizable concept which can be exploited for tourism, investment, and a range of other uses²⁹.

COGNITIVE GEOGRAPHIES OF POST-WALL EAST BERLIN

The development of Berlin's cognitive geography is intrinsically linked to political power constructions in the time directly after the fall of the Berlin Wall³⁰. The author was able to show in her recently completed doctoral research that the importation of West German elites necessitated by the accession of the German Democratic Republic (GDR – East Germany) to the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG – West Germany) was pivotal in the simultaneous importation of West German spatial discourses directly after the fall of the Berlin Wall³¹. Additionally, significant changes to the semiotic structure of the symbolic landscape, for example through the removal of monuments or replacement of street names, were significant for the further development and entrenchment of these discourses and the urban development paradigms that they set in motion³².

The research completed in the dissertation above also established that Berlin's lack of industry, stemming from the historical division of the city, has led to path dependence in the handlings of main actors today and the post-Wall economic development of the reunified city³³. The dearth of corporate headquarters and productive industry necessitates a disproportionate and, more troubling, involuntary dependence on the service sector, tourism, and "creative industries"³⁴.

Therefore, the creation of current-day paradigms in the city can be linked to a semiotic reinterpretation of existing structures in a new (West German) discourse on the one hand, and the pressing need to reorient the economic development of the city in the face of globalization, the expansion of the tertiary sector, and financial difficulties on local, national, and global levels on the other. Modifications in national welfare laws and the changing contours of the Berlin housing market have formed the backdrop of these processes, and a self-reinforcing cycle of socio-spatial segregation that continues to gain momentum³⁵.

Friedrichshain

Friedrichshain's built space is characterized by the industrial-era tenement housing typical for inner-city Berlin, punctuated by ensembles of socialist classicism and small groups of slab housing complexes. During the 40 years of German division, the tenements, unrenovated since their construction before World War I, were allowed to fall into further disrepair; GDR housing policy concentrated on new construction as a more affordable solution for post-war housing shortages. The lowest rung on the state housing allocation hierarchy, unrenovated tenements in the inner city, in particular in Friedrichshain and the neighbouring district of Prenzlauer Berg, housed a disproportionate number of 'undesireables' or outcasts from the socialist ideal – artists, political dissidents, unmarried young people, etc. Protests against the oppressive Socialist regime were held in these neighbourhoods in the years leading up to its overthrow, and both districts were home to numerous squats, thus further increasing the area's image as young, dynamic, and a seat of counterculture.

Marketing interventions in the last 10 years have particularly exploited this image³⁶, leading to a boom in tourism and "creative industries" throughout the city, but particularly in Friedrichshain³⁷. Capitalization on the spatial connection between these profitable industries and inner-city tenement housing has led to a semiotic connection between the built space type and use/user type; in this way, inner-city tenement housing has been discursively brought into connection with a young, hip, creative, educated and mobile public³⁸. The removal of rental stock from the market (often to create vacation rental properties) and gentrification have driven up rent prices and led to widespread displacement of the original working-class residents and low-income or welfare-recipient households.

Marzahn

Marzahn is the largest slab housing complex in the former GDR, with housing intended for up to 100,000 residents³⁹. The differential development in architectural discourses in the FRG and GDR meant that Marzahn, a typical late modernist housing complex, and the IBA 1987, a postmodernist flagship project in urban planning and development⁴⁰, were being constructed simultaneously on the Eastern and Western sides of the Berlin Wall, respectively, just a few kilometres from one another.

East German modernist housing was used in the housing allocation process as a form of reward for conformity to party line and the socialist ideal⁴¹. For this reason, at the time of German reunification, the peripheral housing estates in the East enjoyed a very positive image, and were populated by socio-political elites, young families, and industrial and state workers. Through the transference of the West German semiotic connection between the built space type “post-war housing” and “social housing”, Marzahn has experienced severe stigmatization since 1990. In this way, Marzahn has been brought into discursive connection with unemployment, immigrants, and other social ills before these, in fact, were problems in the district. The long-term effects of stigmatization combined with the displacement of low-income households out of the inner-city have created a self-fulfilling prophesy of the stigmatization that continues to deepen to date⁴².

CONCLUSION

Built space and its popular conception, and their respective development paths are intrinsically linked; changes to the image affect the demographic composition of the neighbourhood and vice versa. Why is this important? While existing studies implicitly link image management and urban development in an indirect and non-empirical way, anything more than an assumed causal link between image and development has not yet been hazarded in any study known to the author. This paper has therefore tried to briefly show the interdependence of image and material space on an empirical basis.

NOTES

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³ Daniel Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2007).

⁴ Mark Gottdiener and AP Lagopoulos, *The City and the Sign: An Introduction to Urban Semiotics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986); Mark Gottdiener, *The Social Production of Space*, 2nd ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994).

⁵ Lynch, *The Image of the City*.

⁶ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.

⁷ In the interest of brevity, only a very short introduction to this material will be presented here. For a thorough examination of urban semiotics and urban image construction, please see Mary Dellenbaugh, "Landscape Changes in East Berlin after 1989: A Comprehensive Grounded Theory Analysis through Three Case Studies" (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 2014).

⁸ Lynch, *The Image of the City*.

⁹ P. Weichhart, *Entwicklungslinien Der Sozialgeographie. Von Hans Bobek Bis Benno Werlen*. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2008), 171.

¹⁰ Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 8–9.

¹¹ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.

¹² David Harvey, "The Right to the City," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27, no. 4 (2003): 939–942.

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¹⁵ Geoff Stahl, "Urban Signs/Signs of the Urban: Of Scenes and Streetscapes," *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research* 1 (December 21, 2009): 249–262; Geoff Stahl, "Urban Semiotics," *Encyclopedia of Urban Studies* (Sage Publications, Inc, 2010); D. Scott Canevit, "Production of Space: Urban Semiotics," 2011, <http://www.scottcanevit.net/urbansemiotics.html>; Gottdiener and Lagopoulos, *The City and the Sign: An Introduction to Urban Semiotics*; Gottdiener, *The Social Production of Space*; Mark Gottdiener, *Postmodern Semiotics: Material Culture and the Forms of Postmodern Life* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1995). ¹⁶ Rem Koolhaas, "Junkspace," *October* 100 (April 13, 2002): 176, <http://www.cavvia.net/junkspace/>.

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GEOPOETRY: GREENWICH PENINSULA

Author:

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Affiliation:

DE MONTFORT UNIVERSITY, UK; THE SORCERER'S APPRENTICE

Performance text delivered at conference:

The two speakers (designated by the letters G. & S.) sit on chairs at either end of a table, looking out at the audience. Between them, on the table, is a megaphone, with which each speaker announces the Set, the Game, the Ruling, and the Score. These announcements are marked in bold text.

G. PROLOGUE: GREENWICH MERIDIAN

S. Down a wandering path

I have travelled, Where the setting sun Lies upon the ground,

The tracks are hard and dry Smoothened with

The weather's wear, My mind did move With them that had Before me been,

Trodding down the ground A track for me to follow, Leaving marks for others A sign for them to follow.

G.– David Dudgeon, *Tracks* (1999), from a cast-iron milepost that stands where the Thames Path crosses the Greenwich Meridian, above which is written:

G.*This is one of 1000*

mileposts funded by The Royal Bank of Scotland to mark the Millennium and the creation of the National Cycle Network.



Figure 1. Greenwich Meridian, Thames Path.

S. FIRST SET: GEOPOETRY THEORY

S. Game 1: Traffic Island

- S. So, shall we start?
G. Is that a question?
S. Doesn't it sound like one?
G. Aren't you sure?
S. Aren't you?
G. Is repetition allowed?
S. Allowed by whom?
G. Why are you asking me?
S. Whom else should I ask?
G. Am I qualified to answer?
S. Are you qualified to ask?
G. Ask about what?
S. Shall we find out?
G. How do we start?
S. Haven't we already?
G. Okay, what is geopoetry?
S. Geopoetry / dʒiə:(ʊ)'pəʊtri / *noun*. E21. [f. geo(graphy) + poetry.]

Poetics. A theory and practice that locates poetry in the place and performance of the text. For the geopoet, the text is only the score for the performance, the performance the precipitate of the event, and the event a collective realisation specific to the time, place and makers of its happening. The point of a geopoetry reading is not to use sites as background, illustration, context or stage to the texts, but to use the texts to articulate these places, the passage between them, and the journey they compose. This journey, from one place to the other, is as much a component of a geopoetry reading as the texts themselves. The footsteps of the geopoetry walker are like syllables in the words of the poem, articulating – like the click of the tongue / in the mouth of the speaker – the space of the city they cover. The poetry of the reading is not in the text but in the act of reading itself. We want to do to space what poetry does to words.

G. Statement: 1-love.



Figure 2. Traffic island, Blackwall Lane.

Game 2: the river gardens

G. How can you ‘do to space what poetry does to words’?

S. What does poetry do to words?

G. What does poetry do to space?

S. Is that a non sequitur?

G. Aren’t they allowed?

S. Does that count as a question?

G. Did you ask one?

S. About poetry?

G. Is that what we’re talking about?

S. Wasn’t it about space?

G. What kind of space?

S. How many kinds are there?

G. What kind are we in now?

S. Is it real or virtual?

G. Are we producing or consuming?

S. At work or at play?

G. In public or private?

S. Doesn’t it depend on the place?

G. Don’t you mean space?

S. Is there a difference?

G. The distinction between space and place describes something particular to the contemporary city. Space is always and everywhere the same, without inherent qualities or qualitative distinctions. Space is a commodity, with dimensions that can be measured, valued and exchanged. This has transformed our relationship to the city into one that is quantifiable, like the cost of office space per square foot. Place, by contrast, is specific and relational, with a social history and qualities produced and reproduced by the collective actions of its inhabitants. Place always has a temporal dimension within which we engage with the physical city, generating a sense of place. If space is an east-bound train on the Jubilee Line, and the time is 8.44am on Wednesday, the 2nd of April, 2014, then the place is North Greenwich tube station. Space is to place what language is to the spoken word: the abstract legislator of its concrete articulations.

S. Statement: 1-all.



Figure 3. Billboard, The River Gardens.

Game 3: piper's wharf

- S. What are 'concrete articulations'?
- G. Don't you know what concrete is?
- S. Can words be concrete?
- G. Can they be abstract?
- S. When are they not?
- G. When they're concrete?
- S. Aren't they always?
- G. Does that mean yes?
- S. Is that what you think?
- G. Are you avoiding the question?
- S. What question was that?
- G. Are words abstract or concrete?
- S. What would you say?
- G. What do I think?
- S. Is that what I said?
- G. Is that your answer?
- S. Does it sound like one?
- G. Are we playing a game?
- S. Don't you know the rules?
- G. The rules of what?
- S. Haven't you been listening?
- G. Have you been speaking?
- S. Am I not speaking now?
- G. Do you have something to say?

S. As the urban environment is increasingly privatised, the space of the city has become increasingly prescribed, with the main, if not exclusive, purpose of making and spending money. The majority of city-dwellers live out their lives along a well-inscribed triangle between home, work and the repeatedly revisited sites of consumption, the distinctions between which have become increasingly blurred. But though the function of urban space is largely dictated by its design, the relationship between space and use is not as fixed as the architect, property-developer, land-owner or state would have us believe. We are still able – briefly and increasingly illegally – to appropriate these spaces, to 'misuse' them, and, for a moment, transgress their interdictions, opening the place they legislate to other readings. Geopoetry is one way of doing this.

G. Statement: 2-1.



Figure 4. Piper's Wharf.

Game 4: central park

- G. Are you talking about trespassing?
- S. Trespassing on what?
- G. Is that what you mean by transgression?
- S. Does transgression have a meaning?
- G. Can meaning be transgressive?
- S. On what would it trespass?
- G. Is that what transgression means?
- S. Isn't it like walking?
- G. But can't you walk anywhere?
- S. Have you tried to?
- G. Where can't you walk?
- S. Where can you?
- G. But what does that have to do with reading?
- S. Can you read anywhere?
- G. Can you read anything?
- S. What can't you read?
- G. Where can't you read?
- S. Are there no rules to speak of?
- G. Are there any rules to speaking?
- S. What are the rules of walking?
- G. PARK RULES. We want everyone to enjoy this park, so please, NO:
- Fires or BBQs
 - Organised ball games or studded footwear
 - Unauthorised vehicles
 - Flytipping
 - Unauthorised events or sports. Dog owners, please:
 - Keep your dog on a lead
 - Clean up after your dog
 - Keep your dog under control.

Anyone who breaks these rules will be asked to leave the park immediately and irresponsible dog owners will be fined. Dog wardens operate in this park.

This park is private land owned by Greater London Authority Land and Property Limited, part of the Mayor of London.

S. Statement: 2-all. Set point.



Figure 5. Notice board, Central Park.

Game 5: mitre passage

- S. Is this some kind of play?
G. Why, have you forgotten your lines?
S. Or is it a cultural critique?
G. Which culture did you have in mind?
S. Or a sociological study?
G. A study of what?
S. What's it about then?
G. Didn't you read the title?
S. But why Greenwich Peninsula?
G. Have you seen it lately?
S. The place or the plans?
G. What's the difference?
S. Is there a difference?
G. Between the buildings and the pictures?
S. Have you ever seen somewhere with so many images of itself?
G. What are they depicting?
S. Whom are they describing?
G. How would you describe them?
S. What language would you use?
G. In what language are they written?

S. The city is a discourse, and this discourse is an actual language: the city speaks to its inhabitants, and we speak our city, the city in which we live, simply by inhabiting it, by wandering through it, by looking at it. Yet the problem is to extract an expression like 'the language of the city' from the purely metaphorical stage. If we want to undertake a semiology of the city, the best approach will entail a certain ingenuity on the part of the reader. It will require many of us to attempt to decipher the city where we are, starting, if necessary, with a personal report. Gathering all these readings by various categories of readers, we would thereby elaborate the language of the city. This is why I would say that the most important thing is not so much to multiply surveys or functional studies of the city, as to

multiply the readings of the city, of which, so far, only the poets have given us some examples. For the city is a poem.

– Roland Barthes, ‘Semiology and Urbanism’, 1967.

G. Statement: 3-2. Game and First Set.



Figure 6. Billboard, Mitre Passage.

SECOND SET: READING GREENWICH PENINSULA

Game 1: Ravensbourne College

- G. So, where are we?
S. Don't you know?
G. But what are we doing here?
S. Where else should we be?
G. Isn't this an institution of higher learning?
S. Higher what?
G. But what's it doing here?
S. Why shouldn't it be here?
G. In an entertainment district?
S. Isn't it a shopping centre?
G. Was it always here?
S. What are you getting at?
G. Don't you think it's an odd location?
S. Should I?
G. Shouldn't you?
S. How many students come here?
G. How often do they come here?
S. How much do they spend here?
G. What do they buy here?
S. Whom do we have to thank for being here?

G. We want to make sure our students have the skills and ability to succeed in the creative industries of the future. Design and communication industries will continue to be transformed by technology. It makes sense for us to put Apple at the centre of our learning strategy, because Apple's technology is so significant in that transformation. Apple is designed for innovative teaching and learning, and suits

our pedagogical approach really well. It also supports the image of international excellence we want for the college as we move to an amazing new building in Greenwich. The design of that facility – from shared spaces for collaboration to fabulous digital studios and suites – reflects the future creative environment in which Apple has such a big stake. The move will open up great new learning and commercial opportunities as we move past the London Olympics, and Apple is key to achieving our goals. What could be better practice for the working world of tomorrow?

– Professor Robin Baker, Director and Chief Executive of Ravensbourne College, *Apple in Education Profiles*, 2014.

S. Statement: 1-love.



Figure 7. Foyer, Ravensbourne College.

Game 2: the o2 arena

- S. What is the O2 Arena?
- G. You mean the Millennium Dome?
- S. How much did it cost?
- G. In today's money?
- S. Does a billion pounds sound too much?
- G. Who paid for that?
- S. Whom do you think?
- G. Wasn't it the National Lottery?
- S. Doesn't that mean us?
- G. And who owns it now?
- S. Didn't they sell it to the Anschutz Entertainment Group?
- G. Aren't they a U.S. corporation?
- S. Does that surprise you?
- G. How much did they pay?
- S. Would you believe £1?
- G. Is that what they mean by public-private investment?
- S. Why else would business get involved?
- G. Is that a rhetorical question?

S. However much architectural projects have a seeming objectivity, however much the producers of space may, occasionally, have the best intentions in the world, the fact is that volumes are invariably dealt with in a way that refers the space in question back to the land, to a land that is still privately

(and privatively) owned. Built-up space is thus emancipated from the land *in appearance only*. At the same time, it is treated as an empty abstraction, at once geometric and visual in character. This relationship is both a practice and an ideology: an ideology whose practitioners are unaware that their activity is of an ideological nature, even though their every gesture makes this fact concrete. The supposed solutions of the planners thus impose the constraints of exchangeability on everyday life, while presenting them as both natural, normal and technical requirements – and often also as moral necessities, responding to the requirements of public morality. Here, as ever, the economic sphere has common cause with the moral order.

– Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 1974.

G. Statement: 1-all.



Figure 8. Billboard, O2 Arena.

Game 3: greenwich peninsula

- G. Who else comes here?
- S. Aren't there local residents?
- G. Why do you say that?
- S. Didn't you see the signs?
- G. What signs?
- S. Something about affordable housing?
- G. What do they mean by 'affordable'?
- S. Does that mean the rest is unaffordable?
- G. Have you seen how much they cost?
- S. How many are affordable?
- G. Wasn't it 35%?
- S. What do you mean 'was'?
- G. Didn't you hear the news?
- S. About the new agreement?
- G. So how much of the new housing will be affordable?
- S. How much do you think?
- G. Is that what they mean by 'a new sustainable community'?
- S. Sustainable for whom?
- G. What brought this about?
- S. Isn't it something to do with the takeover?

- G. Have you heard of Knight Dragon?
- S. Aren't they a Hong Kong corporation?
- G. Haven't we been here before?
- S. But what difference will it make?
- G. One of the key drivers for the current proposal is to utilise approximately £50 million of the affordable housing grant that is currently allocated for use on the Greenwich Peninsula master plan. The original condition for the grant allocation was that the affordable housing would be built by 2015. As part of the current proposal, agreement has been reached with the Greater London Authority to extend the deadline in respect of 380 of the 646 affordable homes to 31st December, 2017. The percentage of affordable housing that is to be secured across the 11 plots is approximately 21%. Normally, where such levels of affordable housing grant are provided on a site, the Council would expect to secure in the order of 35% affordable housing. However, the Greenwich Peninsula site is subject to certain unique and exceptional circumstances that mitigate against such an outcome. These principally relate to the cost to the Government of remediating the site and providing the new infrastructure such as roads, parkland, riverside walk and river wall improvements between 1997 and 2004, and the terms under which the Government then sold the Greenwich Peninsula land to Greenwich Peninsula Regeneration Limited for redevelopment. – Minutes of the meeting of the Royal Borough of Greenwich Planning Board on the *Proposal to modify the Deed of Planning Obligation in respect of Development at Greenwich Peninsula*, 28 February, 2013.

S. Statement: 2-1.



Figure 9. Billboard, North Greenwich Pier.

Game 4: peninsula square

- S. Could I ask you a question?
- G. Isn't that a question already?
- S. Are we on public land?
- G. What does that mean?
- S. Is it for public use?
- G. What use did you have in mind?
- S. Does the public own it?
- G. Can the public own land?
- S. Must property always be private?
- G. Private from whom?

- S. Can there be property without privation?
G. What do you think?
S. So who is being deprived?
G. Whom do you think?
S. Aren't you just playing on words?
G. Does this sound like a game?
S. Are you going to answer my question?
G. Does it really matter?

S. Peninsula Square is private property. Management reserve the right to refuse admission or to request any person to leave, where it is reasonable to do so. Anyone creating a nuisance or disturbance or behaving in an unreasonable manner will be required to leave.

No right of way, *public or private*, is acknowledged over Peninsula Square. Any use of this land is with the permission of the landowner. The ways on this land have not been dedicated as highways, bridleways or footpaths, nor is there any intention to so dedicate them.

G. Statement: 2-2. Set point.



Figure 10. Notice board, Peninsula Square.

Game 5: peninsula quays

- G. Is this where we're heading?
S. An image of our future?
G. A beacon for 21st-century living?
S. The haves and the have-nots?
G. For richer for poorer?
S. In sickness or in wealth?
G. Gated communities?
S. Private security guards?
G. Ghettos for the super rich?
S. New slums for the newly poor?
G. Corporate ownership?
S. Ownership of what?
G. What have you got?
S. But does it matter, at the end of the day?
G. Does what matter at the end of the day?

S. Does it matter who owns London?

G. *Dispersal Powers*. These provisions establish a power to direct people away from an area where they are engaged in, or are likely to be engaged in, anti-social behaviour. This is a power for constables and Police Community Support Officers to issue a dispersal direction to any person aged 10 and over to leave a specific area and not return for up to 48 hours. The use of this power must be authorised by a police officer of at least the rank of inspector. Knowingly breaching the direction is a criminal offence. There is also a power to require property that has been used (or is likely to be used) in the anti-social behaviour to be surrendered.

The test that needs to be met is that the constable has reasonable grounds for suspecting that the person's behaviour in the area is contributing to anti-social behaviour (which is behaviour that causes harassment, alarm or distress) or crime or disorder in the area or is likely to contribute to anti-social behaviour or crime or disorder in the area; and that the direction is necessary for the purposes of reducing the likelihood of the occurrence of anti-social behaviour or crime or disorder in the area.

– Home Office, *Memorandum on issues arising under the European Convention on Human Rights in relation to the Anti-Social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Bill*, 18 October, 2013.

S. Statement and legalese: 3-2, Game and Second Set.



Figure 11. Tunnel Avenue, Peninsula Quays.

THIRD AND FINAL SET: GEOPOETRY PRACTICE

Game 1: Thames Path

- G. So, what do you do?
- S. For a living, you mean?
- G. What do you do to keep yourself busy?
- S. What field am I in?
- G. What path are you on?
- S. What career am I currently pursuing?
- G. What's your profession?
- S. How am I employed?
- G. What line of work did you say you are in?
- S. What's my business?
- G. What job do you do?
- S. What do I do to make money?

G. How do you pay your way, these days?
S. What type of work is it that I do?
G. How do you manage to make ends meet?
S. What, precisely, do I do to get by?
G. How do you keep the wolf from the door?
S. What sort of thing do I do for a crust?
G. What's your game?
S. How do I live?
G. What are you doing, exactly, with your life?
S. You haven't understood me: I'm not talking about 'poems'. It is towards poetry that we are gravitating. There is no knowledge other than knowledge of the particular. There is no poetry other than the poetry of the concrete. It matters very little to me whether I am right or not. I do not seek to be right. I seek the concrete. That is why I speak. I do not acknowledge the right of anyone to question the premises of speech, or of expression. The concrete has no other form of expression than poetry. I do not acknowledge the right of anyone to question the premises of poetry. And I do not acknowledge criticism. It is not to criticism that I have devoted my days. My days belong to poetry. Make no mistake, sniggerers: I lead a poetic life. *A poetic life* – pray engrave that expression on your minds. I do not acknowledge the right of anyone to re-examine my words, or to quote them against me. They are not the terms of a peace treaty. Between you and me, it is war.
– Louis Aragon, 'The Peasant's Dream', 1926

G. Statement and rhetoric: 1-love.



Figure 12. Thames Path.

Game 2: ordnance crescent

S. Are you planning a demonstration?
G. Why do you say that?
S. Isn't that a megaphone?
G. Is that a problem?
S. Were you planning to use it?
G. Is that your business?
S. Do you want me to make it my business?
G. What is your business?

- S. Where are you going?
G. Why do you ask?
S. Do you mind if I accompany you?
G. Who do you work for?
S. Why do you think I have to tell you?
G. Are you a cop?
S. Do I look like a cop?
G. Do you mind if I take your photo?
S. Do you want me to confiscate your camera?
G. Do you have the authority to do that?
S. Do you want to find out?
G. What is your authority?
S. What do you think?
G. Are you making this up?
S. Does it sound made up?
G. Or did this happen?
S. Why don't you find out?

G. Dressed in the black jacket, grey trousers, white shirt, black tie, shiny boots, peaked hat, dark sunglasses, ID card and other accoutrements of a security man, approach individual members of the public who stop in the apparently-public but in fact privately-owned Peninsula Square, and with an insistent sweep of your hand say to them in a tone of bored authority: *'I'm sorry Sir (or Madam), you'll have to move on.'* Don't try to explain your actions, or respond to questions or confrontation. Whether the person obeys your instructions and moves on, or whether they challenge you as to why they must, who you are, or what authority you have, give them a handout printed with a text asking them about their awareness of the extent of private ownership of public space in London and the degree of control of its owners over our actions when on it.

S. Statement: 1-1.



Figure 13. Ordnance Crescent.

Game 3: morden wharf

- G. But what's this got to do with poetry?
S. What do you mean poetry?
G. Why can't you just write a book?

- S. Would you read what's in it?
- G. Whom do you think will listen?
- S. Whom do you listen to?
- G. Why not write something poetic?
- S. Is the poetic worth writing about?
- G. Is this really the task of poetry?
- S. What is the real task of poetry?
- G. Aren't there venues set aside for poetry readings?
- S. Why do you think they're set aside?
- G. Aren't you inflicting yourself on the public?
- S. Do you think I'm what's afflicting the public?
- G. Can't you respect private property?
- S. Do you mean the land that we walk on?
- G. Aren't you just looking for trouble?
- S. Do you think I have to go looking?
- G. Are you ready for the consequences?
- S. Aren't we already living with them?
- G. But what, exactly, are you hoping to achieve?
- S. Poetry performed is the dramatisation of the limits of speech and freedom, or it isn't poetry. All the rest is bed-side reading for judges of poetry prizes, the stock-in-trade of summer reading lists for beach holidays, or the destination of Christmas book-vouchers for relatives you never see. I piss on Poems on the Underground beside adverts for smart phones. I piss on poet laureates and their honours- list-courting subservience to the monarchy. I piss on poetry festivals funded by Lottery money in English country villages. I piss on open-mic poetry pub nights for paying amateurs. I piss on professional poets and the self-congratulating apparatus of tasteful publishing that supports them. I piss on poems read by politicians at the graveside of people they wish they had been. I piss on the poetry of sense and sensibility when the language we breathe is choking in the grip of corporate speech. Poetry performed is the dramatisation of the limits of speech and freedom, or it isn't poetry.

G. Statement and Repetition: 2-1.



Figure 14. Brenntag Chemicals, Morden Wharf.

Game 4: victoria deep water terminal

- S. What are we doing here?
- G. When?
- S. Isn't it tomorrow?
- G. Isn't what tomorrow?
- S. Aren't we here for a reason?
- G. What reason is that?
- S. Where are we going?
- G. Where would you like to go?
- S. How long will it take?
- G. How long have you got?
- S. What time do we start?
- G. What time will you arrive?
- S. How many people will be there?
- G. How many will turn up?
- S. What will I have to do?
- G. What would you like to do?
- S. Would I have to read?
- G. Would you like to read?
- S. What can I read?
- G. What would you like to read?
- S. Can anyone come?
- G. Do you have to ask?
- S. Would you like to answer?
- G. If you would like to be part of tomorrow's geopoetry walk around the Greenwich Peninsula, we have provided a map of the route we will be taking, the texts that will form the basis of the reading, the sites where we will largely read them, and the approximate time we will be there. That should allow you to find us and join in. Whether you wish to come to a single reading or the whole walk is up to you. You may turn up and chose to read a text; you may listen to one that's being read; or you may bring your own text along and read it at some point on the journeys between locations. However, since a geopoetry walk is as much about the journey between the places as the readings themselves, we strongly suggest that you come to more than one location, whether as reader or listener, speaker or walker, audience or performer.

S. Statement: 2-all. Match point.



Figure 15. Victoria Deep Water Terminal.

Game 5: blackwall tunnel

- S. Is that our final answer?
G. Who's answering?
S. And we won't answer any more questions?
G. Haven't we established that?
S. Then we have nothing more to say?
G. Is that what we said?
S. Do you know what Guy Debord said?
G. Who?
S. Were you there in September 1960?
G. When?
S. Have you heard of the ICA meeting?
G. Where?
S. *'We're not here to answer cuntish questions!'*

G. Statement: 3-2. Game, Set and Match.



Figure 16. Blackwall Tunnel, south exit.

SHRINKING CITIES: A SUSTAINABILITY ASSESSMENT OF ECO-URBANISM STRATEGIES

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INTRODUCTION

St. Louis as a Shrinking City

Shrinking cities are characterized by "the decline of urban population and economic activity... it results in excess spaces, buildings, and obsolete properties... Shrinkage is a form of urban transformation that occurs in a radical manner without any initial changes in the local physical space in which it takes place."¹ Pendall,² calls this process "thinning", while Rae,³ defines the shrinking city as "undercrowded", defined by both population loss and persistent and widespread housing vacancy. St. Louis ranked #1 in the top 25 most declining cities in the Northeast and Midwest, 1950-2000.⁴ In 2012 the estimated population of St. Louis was 318,172,⁵ a decline of approximately 63% from its peak of 856,796⁶ in 1950. This exodus was the result of a combination of factors such as deindustrialization, suburbanization, and white flight.⁷ Disjointed areas, reflected as unplanned, abandoned and vacant land in the urban fabric with vacant buildings in various stages of decay, are a result of this decrease in population density, and stand witness to the city's sustained demographic loss for over 60 years.⁸

Today, St. Louis experiences many of the common problems of shrinking cities, including job losses in the metro area in every industry except education and health services,⁹ countless complaints of weeds, illegal dumping and rodent infestation,¹⁰ food deserts in a large percentage of the city neighborhoods,¹¹ and high violent crime rate.¹² In 2012, the city declared approximately \$1.5 million in Total Direct and Overlapping Debt.¹³ As the city becomes more unattractive, the people who can afford leaving, move out.^{14 15} This is evidenced by the US Census Bureau Data,¹⁶ which reflects a high and increasing percentages of the poor, handicapped and elderly within the remaining population. Consequently, the fiscal difficulties associated with a reduced tax based become apparent, as the city cannot afford its own upkeep.¹⁷

ECO-URBANISM IN ST. LOUIS

"The widespread demolition of urban fabric suggested another urban design alternative: that large areas of the shrinking city might ultimately become a new form of landscape, with natural areas, suburban lawns, and even urban farms."¹⁸ The eco-urbanism movement replaces the traditional mindset and goals of economic growth and expansion with sustainability and improved quality of life. The transformation of vacant plots into socially inclusive and environmentally sensitive proposals becomes an attractive and viable option due to the availability of abandoned land at low prices.¹⁹

Eco-urbanism strategies have become increasingly relevant in St. Louis, most notably reflected in the City of St. Louis Sustainability Plan (STLSP) 2013. From the non-profit sector, Gateway Greening and the Great Rivers Greenway District have also played a central role in promoting eco-urbanism strategies in the forms of community gardens and greenways, respectively.

In addition, growing interest in the eco-urbanism movement is also evident in the project brief of recent competitions for the city of St. Louis. The Pruitt-Igoe Now competition called for design ideas that could re-imagine the 57-acres site that once held the infamous Pruitt-Igoe public housing project.²⁰ In 2012, Washington University in St. Louis, in partnership with the City of St. Louis, organized the Sustainable Land Lab Competition (SLLC). The competition brief called for "innovative projects that can transform vacant lots into assets that advance sustainability."²¹ In 2013, the Sustainable Neighborhood Small Grant Competition (SNSGC) was launched by the City of St. Louis. The competition was an opportunity for neighborhood organizations, individuals, religious organizations and community groups to propose projects that would help improve livability and enhance quality of life at a local level.²² Many of the proposals submitted in the three cases, including the Pruitt-Igoe Now competition that did not explicitly stress sustainability, integrated eco-urbanism strategies.

THE CITY OF ST. LOUIS SUSTAINABILITY PLAN

On January 9, 2013, St. Louis City officially adopted the City of St. Louis Sustainability Plan (STLSP). The Plan aims to gear the city towards triple bottom line (TBL) sustainability by emphasizing a holistic and comprehensive response that seeks economic prosperity, social equity and environmental health through a series of suggested strategies.²³ Eco-urbanism strategies such as greenways, parks and community gardens were included in the plan as viable alternatives to vacant land.

To move this plan forward, the City of St. Louis decided to participate as one of the ten pilot cities whose sustainability efforts are currently being compiled, assess and report under the Sustainability Tool for Assessing & Rating (STAR) Community Rating System, a national sustainability framework, rating system, and software platform. STAR weighs community level outcomes and the implementation and preparation of local actions, against a set of standardized sustainability objectives for evaluating, quantifying and improving the livability and sustainability of US communities.²⁴ The involvement of the Mayor's office with initiatives such as the SLLC and SNSGC were also part of this effort.

THE SUSTAINABLE LAND LAB COMPETITION

Between November 2012 and April 2013, the Sustainability Office organized the first Sustainable Land Lab Competition (SLLC). The competition was part of the Sustainable Cities Conference co-organized by the Mayor's Office and the Sustainability Office of Washington University in St. Louis. The competition invited teams to transform vacant land into two-year lease living laboratories showcasing innovative ideas and integrated strategies for transforming vacancy, one of St. Louis region's greatest challenges. Competition entries were encouraged to meet TBL sustainability as defined in the STLSP. It then provided seed funding to kick-start the implementation of finalist projects under the Sustainable Land Lab initiative. Old North St. Louis (ONSL) was chosen as the pilot neighborhood, with the Sustainability Office working closely with the Old North St. Louis Restoration Group (ONSLRG), a non-profit organization pursuing a comprehensive revitalization plan for the neighborhood.

On April 9, 2013, six projects were selected to proceed on five lots (two finalists merged their projects due to synergies in their approach): Our Farm (Bistro Box/ Renewing Roots Urban Farm), Chess Pocket Park, Mighty Mississippians, Sunflower+ Projects, and HUB: Hybrid Urban Bioscapes.

ESTABLISHING A METHODOLOGY

Projects

Projects for this study were selected based on location; as a criterion the physical site was required to fall within the neighborhood boundary. This ensured that projects not only could affect local residents, but also could in turn be affected by the local residents themselves. Projects were identified and classified based on whether the strategies used fit either one or both eco-urbanism categories.

Eco-urbanism strategies	
Productive Landscapes	Recreation & Leisure Areas
Community (vegetable) garden	Riparian floodplain
Pollinator nectaring garden	Waterfront/watercourses
Flower garden	Plaza/quadrangle/Sitting area
Fruit tree	Playground
Apiary	Recreational trail/ Greenway
Livestock breeding ground	Street art
Poultry farm	Sports field
Organic composting area	Dog park
Remediation/brownfield reclamation	Pocket park
Stormwater management	Urban forest/Woodland
Biofuel production site	Wildlife observation

Table 1. Eco-urbanism strategies.²⁵

Sustainable Land Lab

As a result of the SLLC, five proposals were selected to be implemented in ONSL: Our Farm (former Bistro Box and Renewing Roots Urban Farm), Chess Pocket Park, Mighty Mississippians, Sunflower+ Projects, and HUB: Hybrid Urban Bioscapes.

Our Farm consists of a small restaurant built from surplus cargo containers (Bistro Box), and a scalable urban agricultural network (Renewing Roots Urban Farm). Agricultural produce from the site is to be used in the restaurant. As of today, only the greenhouse has been implemented. Chess Pocket Park provides a permanent outdoors community chess venue. Through providing recreational activities and fostering community interaction, it seeks to increase the residents' quality of life. Thus far, construction of the project has not started.

Mighty Mississippians provides a modern agricultural and sustainable living model, based on regional history, as well as modern permaculture practices. The project heavily emphasizes educational outreach, through demonstrations and community involvement. The Sunflower+ Project explores bioremediation via the growing of sunflowers. The goal is to turn vacant lots into attractive sites for redevelopment. In addition, the sunflowers produced in the process can be sold.

HUB: Hybrid Urban Bioscapes proposes a pollinator nectaring garden and a community gathering space. The nectaring gardens aims to increase productivity of the nearby community vegetable gardens by fostering pollinator presence, while the gathering space allows for community interaction. Currently, the gardens are complete, while construction of the gathering space is still in progress.

Under Freixas & Moyano's Eco-urbanism Strategies Chart²⁶, all five projects were categorized according to their proposed strategies.

Eco-urbanism strategies	Sustainable Land Lab				
	Our Farm (Bistro Box + RR Farm)	Chess Pocket Park	Mighty Mississippi ans	Sunflower+ Project	HUB: Hybrid Urban Bioscapes
Productive Landscapes					
Community (vegetable) garden	x		x		x
Pollinator nectaring garden					x
Flower garden			x	x	x
Fruit tree			x		x
Apiary					
Livestock breeding ground					
Poultry farm					
Organic composting area	x				
Remediation				x	
Stormwater management	x	x	x		x
Biofuel production site				x	
Solar cell farm	x				
Wind farm					
Recreation and Leisure Areas					
Riparian Floodplain					
Waterfront					
Plaza/Quadrangle/Sitting areas	x	x		x	x
Playground					x
Recreational trail & Greenway					x
Street Art			x		
Sports field		x			
Dog park					
Park/ Pocket park		x			
Urban Forest/Woodland					
Wildlife observation					x
Bird watching					
Fishing					

Table 2. Sustainable Land Lab Competition. Eco-urbanism Strategies.²⁷

Other Eco-urbanism Projects

There are a total of nine other identified eco-urbanism strategies in ONSL (excluding those under the SLLC). Each project's amenities and affiliation was identified as a first step in the categorization of these projects as productive landscapes and/or leisure and recreation activities.

Location	Name	Affiliation	Amenities
2714 N 13th St.	13th Street Community Garden - Hub Garden	Gateway Greening	Community vegetable garden Fruit trees Pollinator nectaring garden Hoop house Poultry farming Rainwater Management Organic Composting Sitting area Playground Tool shed
1501 Hebert St.	Hebert Community Garden	Gateway Greening	Flower garden Trees Arbor Sitting area
1100 St. Louis Ave.	Ames VPA Butterfly Garden	Gateway Greening Ames VPA Elementary School	Pollinator nectaring garden Sitting area Sculpture
1430 & 1444 St. Louis Ave.	Old North St. Louis Community Garden	Gateway Greening	Flower garden
1225 Warren St.	Haven of Grace Garden	Gateway Greening The Haven of Grace	Vegetable Garden (not in use) Flower Garden Sitting area Sculpture
1450 Monroe St.	Kabot Farm House Community Garden	Gateway Greening	Vegetable Garden Fruit trees Poultry farming Organic Composting
1406 Dodier St	Wingmann Park		Flower garden Trees Sitting Area
1323 Clinton Street	Old North St. Louis Rain Garden	Metropolitan Sewer District	Rain Water garden
1301 St. Louis Ave.	Northside Workshop Garden	Northside Workshop	Vegetable garden Flower garden Apiaries Organic composting area

Table 3. Other Eco-urbanism Projects in ONSL.

Eco-urbanism strategies	ONSL Community Gardens								
	2714 N 13th St.	1501 Hebert St.	1100 St. Louis Ave.	1430 & 144 St. Louis Ave.	1225 Warren St.	1450 Monroe St.	1406 Dodier St.	1323 Clinton Street	1301 St. Louis Ave.
Productive Landscapes									
Community garden	x	x				x			x
Poll. nectar. garden			x						
Flower garden	x	x		x			x		x
Fruit tree	x					x			
Apiary									x
Livestock breeding									
Poultry farm	x					x			
Org. compost area	x					x			x
Remediation									
Stormwater managm.	x							x	
Biofuel prod. sites									
Solar cell farm									
Wind farm									
Recreation and Leisure Areas									
Plaza/quadr./Sit.	x	x	x				x		
Playground	x								
Recr. trail/greenway									
Street Art			x						
Sport field									
Dog park									
Park/Pocket park									
Urb. forest/Woodland									
Wildlife observation									
Bird watching									
Fishing									

Table 4. Eco-urbanism Strategies in ONSL Projects.

Indicators

An indicator is an easily identified feature of a society that can be measured, changes over time, and is taken as revealing some underlying aspect of social reality.²⁸ Commonly used indicators are those that are derived from official statistics (material) and from community values and goals (immaterial),²⁹ and lead to specific quantitative or qualitative measuring tools, respectively.

Projects are to be assessed based on a series of indicators developed under the lens of the TBL sustainability. In developing these indicators, the study first reorganized the seven functional categories of the STLSP under the TBL. The relative importance of the category weighed on the TBL goals determined its association and position in the matrix.³⁰ The seven goal areas of STAR were then

studied using the same process, while cross-referencing them with the functional categories of the STLSP. STAR provided methods for measuring these indicators.³¹ Last, indicators for the study were defined in each dimension of sustainability (social equity, environmental health, and economic prosperity) based on the above to fit the neighborhood scale addressed by the present study.

TBL Goal	Functional Categories in City St. Louis Sustainability Plan ³²	Goals in STAR ³³	Indicators for Methods
Social Equity	Health, Well-being, & Safety: 1. Encourage Physical Activity, Fitness, and Recreation 2. Advance Positive Behavior, Nonviolent Conflict Resolution, and Crime Prevention 3. Increase Access to Healthy, Local Food, and Nutritional Information	Health & Safety: 1. Active Living 2. Safe Communities Food Access & Nutrition	Health & Safety: 1. Physical Activity 2. Crime & Perception of Safety 3. Availability of Healthy Food
	Urban Character, Vitality & Ecology Arts, Culture & Innovation Empowerment, Diversity & Equity: 1. Encourage Civic Engagement, Transparency, and Leadership Education, Training & Leadership: 1. Nurture Leadership and Management Capabilities in Business, Government, and Neighborhoods	Education, Arts & Community: 1. Community Cohesion Equity & Empowerment: Civic Engagement	Community Building: 1. Neighborhood Pride & Satisfaction 2. Beautification /Aesthetics 3. Civic Engagement 4. Outside Partnerships 5. Local Leader Development
	Urban Character, Vitality & Ecology: 1. Preserve the City's Historically and Architecturally Significant Districts, Buildings, Landmarks, and Landscapes Arts, Culture & Innovation Empowerment, Diversity & Equity: 1. Promote Youth Development, Education, Engagement, & Empowerment Education, Training & Leadership	Education, Arts & Community: 1. Historic Preservation 2. Educational Opportunity & Attainment Economy & Jobs: Workforce Readiness	Education: 1. Local History Awareness, Education & Appreciation 2. Skill Development 3. Participation in Educational Activities

Environmental Health	Education, Training & Leadership: 1. Increase Environmental Literacy Urban Character, Vitality & Ecology: 1. Strengthen Use, Access and Programming of Civic Amenities, Public Spaces, and Streets 2. Support and increase the City's Greenscape, including its Existing Park System and Urban Tree Canopy	Built Environment: Public Spaces	Eco-Appreciation: 1. Eco-Literacy 2. Connection between Person & Environment 3. Intentional Open/Park Space
	Health, Well-Being & Safety: 1. Reduce Toxins in the Environment 2. Promote Energy Efficiency and Utilize Cleaner Forms of Energy 3. Minimize Landfill-Bound Waste	Climate & Energy: 1. Waste Minimization 2. Greening the Energy Supply Equity & Empowerment: Environmental Justice	Environmental Improvement: 1. Toxin Removal 2. Litter Reduction 3. Waste Reduction 4. Use of Alternative Energy
	Urban Character, Vitality & Ecology: 1. Promote Urban Conservation and Revitalization of the City's Unique Biodiversity and Natural Resources Infrastructure, Facilities & Transportation 1. Reduce Greenhouse Gas Emissions 2. Manage Stormwater and Wastewater to Protect and Enhance Property and Natural Systems 3. Advance Health and Resource Efficiency in Buildings	Built Environment: 1. Community Water Systems Climate & Energy: 1. Greenhouse Gas Mitigation 2. Resource Efficient Buildings 3. Resource Efficient Public Infrastructure Natural Systems: 1. Green Infrastructure 2. Invasive Species 3. Natural Resource Protection Water in the Environment	Eco-System Management: 1. Local Biodiversity 2. Use of Local Materials 3. Greenhouse Gas Mitigation 4. Stormwater Management

Economic Prosperity			Cost-Benefit Analyses of New Projects: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Startup Costs Costs of Leaving Land
			Vacant <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Local Tax Revenue Operation Costs Direct Income
	Urban Character, Vitality & Ecology: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Support Designated Districts that Focus on Job Creation and Economic Prosperity Prosperity, Opportunity & Employment	Built Environment: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Infill & Redevelopment Economy & Jobs: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Business Retention & Development Local Economy Quality Jobs & Living Wages 	Neighborhood Capital: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Reinvestment / Redevelopment Job Creation

Table 5. Developing Indicators.

METHODS

Four methods of measuring indicators were identified: Resident Survey (A), Systematic Observations (B), Key Informant Interviews (C) and Archival Data (D). These were assigned to the previously identified indicators. The Resident Survey and Archival Data are quantitative methods of data collection that record variations in social life in terms of predetermined categories: 1. data are numbers or attributes that can be ordered in terms of quantity or magnitude, 2. most often used as evidence to support claims, statements and hypotheses.

Systematic Observations and Key Informant Interviews are qualitative methods of data collection designed to capture social life as participants experience it rather than in categories predetermined by the research: 1. data are mostly written or spoken words or observation, 2. data do not have a direct numerical interpretation, and 3. exploration is most often the motive for using qualitative methods.

The use of triangulation as a method for study for research questions intends to give measurement validity and authenticity to the research.

TBL Goal	Indicators		Measuring Tools			
			A	B	C	D
Social Equity	Health and Safety	Physical Activity	x	x		
		Crime & Perception of Safety	x		x	x
		Availability of Healthy Food	x	x		x
	Community Building	Neighborhood Pride & Satisfaction	x			
		Beautification /Aesthetics	x	x		
		Civic Engagement	x	x	x	x
		Outside Partnerships			x	
Environmental Health	Education	Local Leader Development	x		x	
		Local History Awareness, Education & Appreciation			x	
		Skill Development			x	
		Participation in Educational Activities	x		x	x
	Eco-Appreciation	Eco-Literacy	x			
		Connection between Person & Environment	x			
		Intentional Open/Park Space		x		
	Environmental Improvement	Toxin Removal			x	x
		Litter Reduction	x	x		
		Waste Reduction	x	x		
		Use of Alternative Energy		x	x	x
	Eco-System Management	Local Biodiversity		x	x	
		Use of Local Materials		x	x	
		Greenhouse Gas Mitigation	x		x	x
		Stormwater Management		x	x	
Economic Prosperity	Cost-Benefit Analyses of New Projects	Startup Costs			x	
		Costs of Leaving Land Vacant			x	
		Local Tax Revenue				x
		Operation Costs			x	
		Direct Income			x	
	Neighborhood Capital	Reinvestment/ Redevelopment		x	x	x
		Job Creation			x	

Table 6. Measuring Tools for Indicators.

(A) Resident Survey. (B) Systematic Observation. (C) Key Informant Interviews. (D). Archival Data.

Resident survey

Surveys are the most common and versatile operation for data collection to quantitatively measure social variables. In formulating the Resident Survey, existing surveys that examined similar indicators were used as a framework. Original questions were then modified, in order to obtain specific measurable data required for this new research. Question sets were used to reduce idiosyncratic variation. The extent of the mailing area for this survey was determined as a quarter-mile radius from eco-urbanism strategies. At the present time, the Resident Survey has been finalized and mailing will occur by the end of March.

TBL Goal	Indicators		Surveys
Social Equity	Health and Safety	Physical Activity	International Physical Activity Questionnaire ³⁴
		Crime & Perception of Safety	Criminal Victimization & Perceptions of Community Safety in 12 Cities, 1998 ³⁵ Neighborhood Satisfaction Survey ³⁶
		Availability of Healthy	Measuring availability of healthy
	Community Building	Food	foods: Agreement between directly measured and self-reported data ³⁷
		Neighborhood Pride & Satisfaction	Minority Youth Health Community Mobilization Survey ³⁸ Neighborhood Satisfaction Survey ³⁹
		Beautification / Aesthetics	Neighborhood Satisfaction Survey ⁴⁰ Littering Behavior in America ⁴¹
		Civic Engagement	Neighborhood Cohesion Instrument ⁴² Minority Youth Health Community Mobilization Survey ⁴³
		Local Leader Development	Minority Youth Health Community Mobilization Survey ⁴⁴
Environmental Health	Eco-Appreciation	Eco-Literacy	Values and Proenvironmental Behavior: A Five-Country Survey ⁴⁵
		Connection between Person & Environment	Connectedness to Nature Scale (Mayer & Frantz, 2004) Nature Relatedness Scale ⁴⁶
	Environmental Improvement	Litter Reduction	Littering Behavior in America ⁴⁷ Values and Proenvironmental Behavior: A Five-Country Survey ⁴⁸
		Waste Reduction	Values and Proenvironmental Behavior: A Five-Country Survey ⁴⁹
	Eco-System Management	Greenhouse Gas Mitigation	Values and Proenvironmental Behavior: A Five-Country Survey ⁵⁰

Table 7. Relevant Surveys for Indicators.

Systematic observations

The observation of natural social processes is a method for gathering data in the field in a fixed manner, in order to make a record of the presence of certain activities, subjects, or objects in either the site strategy, or in its close vicinity. It is generally used to supplement interviews and survey data. In addition, this method aims to obtain both quantitative (counting the amount of subjects present) and spatial data (recording the location of the subject at the time of observation). The extent of the Systematic Observations for this project was determined as a quarter-mile radius from eco-urbanism strategies. Specific methods of implementing Systematic Observations were determined for different indicators.

TBL Goal	Indicators		Observation of Activities, Subjects or Objects
Social Equity	Health and Safety	Physical Activity	Presence of people conducting physical activities, trails & greenways
		Availability of Healthy Food	Presence of vegetable gardens and grocery stores
	Community Building	Beautification /Aesthetics	Presence of street trees and urban furniture
		Civic Engagement	Presence of participating residents in community
			centers/places of worship that act as community centers & volunteers in community project
Environmental Health	Eco-Appreciation	Intentional Open/Park Space	Presence of people utilizing public open space
	Environmental Improvement	Litter Reduction	Presence of litter
		Waste Reduction	Presence of recycling bins
		Use of Alternative Energy	Presence of solar cells, wind turbines etc.
	Eco-System Management	Local Biodiversity	Presence of local flora y fauna
		Use of Local Materials	Presence of local materials used in community projects
		Stormwater Management	Presence of bioswales, detention or retention ponds, rain gardens, rainwater barrels or other stormwater management structures
	Neighborhood Capital	Reinvestment/ Redevelopment	Presence of new or recent redevelopment

Table 8. Systematic Observation of Activities, Subjects or Objects.

Key Informant Interviews

To measure many of these indicators, it is necessary to have knowledge of the area or situation under study. Key Informants Interviews aim to gather qualitative data from representatives of various groups affected who represent a range of perspectives. The interview schedule includes open-ended questions outlined but is flexible in the order in which they are asked, and in allowing additional questions to be asked as deemed relevant. Possible key informants were identified for the evaluation of different indicators.

TBL Goal	Indicators		Key Informants
Social Equity	Health and Safety	Crime & Perception of Safety	Neighborhood Stabilization Officer
	Community Building	Civic Engagement	LLC Teams / Project Leaders / Neighborhood Figures
		Outside Partnerships	LLC Teams / Project Leaders / Partners
		Local Leader Development	LLC Teams / Project Leaders / Regular Participants
	Education	Local History Awareness, Education & Appreciation	LLC Teams / Project Leaders / Neighborhood Figures
		Skill Development	LLC Teams / Project Leaders / Regular Participants
		Participation in Educational Activities	LLC Teams / Project Leaders / Neighborhood Figures
Environmental	Environmental	Toxin Removal	LLC Teams / Project Leaders
Health	Improvement	Use of Alternative Energy	LLC Teams / Project Leaders
	Eco-System Management	Local Biodiversity	LLC Teams / Project Leaders
		Use of Local Materials	LLC Teams / Project Leaders
		Greenhouse Gas Mitigation	LLC Teams / Project Leaders
		Rainwater Management	LLC Teams / Project Leaders
Economic Prosperity	Cost-Benefit Analyses of New Projects	Startup Costs	LLC Teams / Project Leaders
		Costs of Leaving Land Vacant	St. Louis City Government
		Operation Costs	LLC Teams / Project Leaders
		Direct Income	LLC Teams / Project Leaders
	Neighborhood Capital	Reinvestment/ Redevelopment	LLC Teams / Project Leaders / Neighborhood Figures
		Job Creation	LLC Teams / Project Leaders

Table 9. Key Informants.

Archival Data

Archival data refers to the source of quantitative evidence gathered from existing records or documents to answer the intended research question. The consulted and analyzed material will aid in establishing comparisons, verifying or challenging existing findings, or drawing evidence from disparate sources, among others. Specific archival data sources were identified for the evaluation of different indicators.

TBL Goal	Indicators		Data Sources
Social Equity	Healthy and Safety	Crime & Perception of Safety	St. Louis Neighborhood Crime Data
		Availability of Healthy Food	USDA Food Access Research Atlas GIS Data (Presence of Vegetable Gardens and Grocery Stores)
	Community Building	Civic Engagement	LLC Team Records
	Education	Participation in Educational Activities	LLC Team Records
Environmental Health	Environmental Improvement	Toxin Removal	LLC Team Soil Test Results
		Use of Alternative Energy	LLC Team Records GIS Data (Presence of Solar Cells, Wind Turbines etc.)
	Eco-System Management	Greenhouse Gas Mitigation	GIS Data (Presence of new trees and alternative fuel stations)
		Rainwater Management	GIS Data (Presence of bioswales, bioretention ponds, rain gardens, rainwater barrels or other rainwater management structures)
Economic Prosperity	Cost-Benefit Analyses of New Projects	Local Tax Revenue	Tax Records
	Neighborhood Capital	Reinvestment/ Redevelopment	Building Permits GIS Data (Presence of new or recent redevelopment)

Table 10. Archival Data Sources.

DISCUSSION

"The neighborhood is a social and geographic concept that plays an increasingly important role in research."⁵¹ Lynch calls the neighborhood "the basic building block of the city,"⁵² as each neighborhood represents a unique set of conditions that gives rise to "one context for community life."⁵³ Shifting up to the larger scale of the city means a loss of this specificity, as well as a decrease in reliability and measurement validity. Conversely, a shift down to the smaller scale of the individual project, results in a loss of consideration of potential synergetic relationships within projects. ONSL, as the site of the SLLC, requires the specificity of the neighborhood scale. Given the high number of eco-urbanism strategies in the region, studying synergies at this scale also becomes extremely significant.

Most of the current projects in ONSL are small interventions sited within single lots, which require lots of manpower to operate. This is probably a result of them being implemented by small neighborhood groups with fewer resources than large organizations. While residents are certainly not below par in terms of their capability, the sheer number of vacant lots simply overwhelms the total capacity of the 1916⁵⁴ residents. We hypothesize that future strategies will need to avoid relying on the community manpower.

The STLSP and STAR overlap heavily in their functional categories and goals, and also adhere well to TBL sustainability goals. However, the STAR as a rating system evaluates the city only at a point in time or over a short period. A one-time evaluation through STAR will not reflect changes that require maturation, or long-term trends. Recertification is hence important to maintain the score's validity and reliability.

Although present research covers the development of a methodology yet to be implemented, one of the goals of the larger study is to build a flexible framework that can adapt to other neighborhoods within St. Louis, as well as other shrinking cities. Therefore, the current methodology must be tested in neighborhoods with different conditions from ONSL. Future research plans include assessing neighborhoods selected from the SNSGC and a control neighborhood (no eco-urbanism strategies), and in doing so, introduce modifications that will make this methodology more universal.

In addition, future research plans discuss evaluating the differences between a top-down and a bottom-up approach in the implementation of eco-urbanism strategies. Our studies in ONSL involve examining the top-down approach, characterized by: 1. the neighborhood organization (ONSLRG) serving as the main community contact, 2. the lack of community involvement due to a specific directive from the competition organizers. The new neighborhoods studied (SNSGC finalists) will exhibit a bottom-up approach, characterized by: the community itself proposing, implementing and operating these projects.

This new research question requires consideration of the implemented strategies' longevity, scalability and replicability. Our current methodology needs to be modified to assess these new indicators. We hypothesize that SNSGC's impact on the longevity of strategies will be greater due to the community involvement, while the SLLC strategies' future after the two-year lease remains uncertain.

Problems may also develop with regards to the Resident Survey: 1. as the SLLC did not promote community involvement and ownership in the projects, return rate will be low, 2. informal feedback highlighted survey exhaustion as a problem in ONSL, 3. the economic crisis has nationally affected property values, and might lessen perceptions of an increase due to beautification efforts, 4. community awareness may be low as educational components of most projects are currently not present, 5. the projects' effects may go beyond their two-year lifespan.

It is also expected that future research will use the results of this assessment to compare efficiency between isolated strategies (e.g. a vegetable garden owned and maintained by a single resident) and strategies linked in synergetic networks (e.g. HUB of the SLLC). It is hypothesized that much of the success of eco-urbanism strategies in St. Louis is curtailed by the dearth of synergetic relationships between existing strategies. We hypothesize that the top-down approach will foster more synergies due to the use of a neighborhood strategic plan.

NOTES

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ARCHITECTURE AND CONSCIOUSNESS - GOD IN REVERSE

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INTRODUCTION

To exist and to be conscious of one's existence is the greatest gift of the universe and/or highly improbable. That we have evolved to create consciousness on earth pre-supposes the evolution of consciousness elsewhere in the universe. If one accepts that after the "big bang" consciousness began an evolutionary process of forming (the model being Earth), within conditions that both made it possible and through which survival was enhanced, then it follows that as the universe expands, consciousness is expanding also. This paper attempts to link architecture and consciousness, as part of this expansion, to form a future vision for cities.

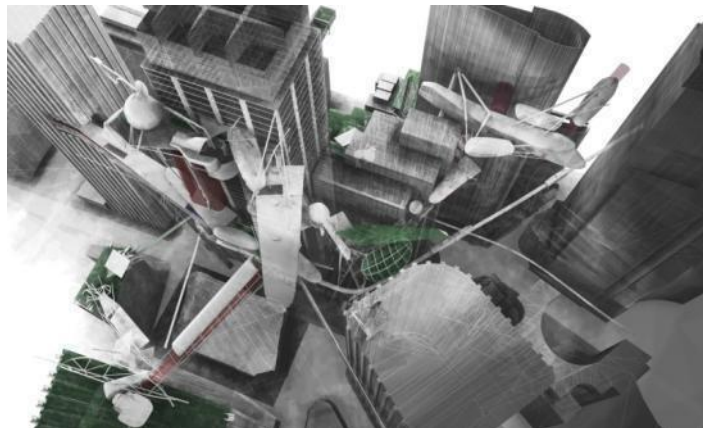


Figure 1. Governor Phillip & Macquarie Towers Parasite Proposal, p. 74 - 75, Goodwin, R, *Porosity: The Architecture of Invagination*, (Melbourne, RMIT University Press, 2011)

Definitions of consciousness are many and varied depending on your philosophical position:

consciousness (knowledge in the state of being conscious)

1. The state or condition of being conscious.
2. A sense of one's personal or collective identity, including the attitudes, beliefs, and sensitivities held by or considered characteristic of an individual or group: Love of freedom runs deep in the national consciousness.
3.
 - a. Special awareness or sensitivity: class consciousness; race consciousness.
 - b. Alertness to or concern for a particular issue or situation: a movement aimed at raising the general public's consciousness of social injustice.

4. In psychoanalysis, the conscious.

I am interested in a positioning of consciousness within notions of what urban architecture is actually becoming, bearing in mind that architecture has for so long dealt with issues well beyond shelter and safety. “Collective consciousness”², which implies a scale beyond the individual, is an idea which also swims within the many philosophical dilemmas associated with consciousness, and must be included. This paper seeks to place collective consciousness within the discourse surrounding Internet communications and current global manifestations, such as the Arab Spring ³ and the Occupy Movement⁴.

The communication revolution has given rise to new ways of thinking about our human consciousness. If you apply this digital model for storing and disseminating information as a metaphor for the mechanisms of consciousness, then the idea of a connected consciousness across the universe, notwithstanding issues to do with time and space, seems plausible. Currently, data storage buildings and banks for companies like Google dot the globe and pre-empt a situation where this might be the task for all architecture. I like the idea that architecture is becoming an extension of our consciousness. Conscious architecture could combine data storage with types of data responsiveness. Without knowing what form this will ultimately take, the combination of these performance issues implies the possibility for city architecture to cancel itself out, in terms of symbolic value, to become invisible or at least physically indeterminate.

This consciousness expansion created by architecture, becoming itself conscious, could eventually develop a “machine” of consciousness equal to or parallel to the power we now ascribe to a higher being or God. Rather than God making the universe however, I propose that the universe will ultimately create God.

HENCE THE PHRASE, “GOD⁵ IN REVERSE”, IS BORN

This God will arise as a result of manifestations of infectious architecture possessing the ability to hold consciousness and collective memory both digitally and physically. Coupled with living conscious beings, architecture will transform from “a calcification of consciousness”, or exoskeleton, to become a promiscuous extension for all consciousness. According to this way of thinking, architecture forms an expression of thought rather than an expression of control over “nature”⁶, as in Modernism. Once we think of architecture and its engine “capital”, its structured other, as a formless process, architecture’s ability to react to functional pressures becomes more agile.

“Open the door HAL” “I’m sorry Dave, I can’t do that”, still reverberates through time, along with Stanley Kubric and Isaac Asimov’s prediction of conscious computers, well before the Internet was in place. Problems exist in terms of the discourse surrounding programmed behaviours, which can simulate consciousness and intelligence relatively easily. At issue is the way in which humans perceive the world, in terms of symbolic meaning. According to Richard Schlegel: “Computers are programmed with fixed definitional algorithmic functions, which simply do not amount to the emergence of the same symbolic reflections necessary for true thought or consciousness to arise”.⁷ Alternatively David Chalmers, within his paper “A Computational Foundation for the study of Cognition”, states that: “Computers perform computations and the right kind of computations are sufficient for the possession of a conscious mind”.⁸ Within this huge debate, and as a lubricant to my argument in relation to architecture, Susan Blackmore draws me to the “Theory of Memetics”⁹ and its relationship to objects. Memes are fragments of information, which we distort slightly with every action of mentally storing them.

So, via Blackmore’s theory, it follows that if consciousness expresses this subjectivity of translation, then the machine must also, in order to gain consciousness. In doing so, the machine acquires its own intellect and “memetic drive”, to use her words. Therefore, as computers accumulate and deal with

their own “mistakes”, a form of real consciousness emerges. This suggests that computers, which deal with memes rather than numbers, are a pathway to consciousness. Memetics forms a toehold for the creation of a repository of consciousness. Couple this with the physical memory contained in fragments of material or architectural ruins and the capacity for material to store memory or subject emerges. Buildings innately hold these meme-like subjective forms. For thousands of years built form has received the marks, stains and deformations of memory. From pre-historic petroglyphs, to early texts carved in stone, to murals and timber carvings, from fingernail scratches to bodily fluids, our buildings are made and burnt and buried and exhumed to tell their stories. Running our fingers across these marks, like blind men, we can mumble the names and feelings of fallen strangers, like some humanoid vinyl-recording machine. One only has to stand at the Western Wall in Jerusalem, to appreciate the resonant ability of material to link with thought.

We stand mute in front of a boy’s suitcase in the Liebskind-designed Jewish Museum in Berlin and read the text about his murder in the Holocaust. The suitcase architecture is telling us far more than we can stand. Together within new technologies of display in Liebskind’s building, the suitcase forms a powerful extension to the meaning of architecture. Liebskind distorts our senses with spaces of isolation and instability, taking us back to hear the voices. But imagine today’s suitcase uncovered in the future, holding a laptop computer, iPhone and other fragments of technological memory, waiting to have their software deciphered and plugged into the memory banks of a new consciousness enhancing architecture.

Can the formation of a conscious architecture be expressed both physically and immaterially? If so, where are the early examples of this phenomenon?

The Kowloon walled city in Hong Kong, demolished in 1993, was a great example of what a city can become without regulation and resources. Disadvantaged socio-economic groups created this three-dimensional street, prejudicing easy connectedness and access over private space and making communications and social construction within the walled city strong. The Kowloon city model was a shared responsibility in real physical terms. There was no city council, only a collective consciousness. Public space wove through the labyrinth connecting all spaces directly with the TV aerial-covered roof replete with food gardens. The agglomeration of buildings functioned like a crude analogue brain or organism. The structure spoke to an innate desire within city architecture to understand its inhabitants. The human species is wired to create such structures, as are termites with their nests. Such social activity and constructions arise from our shared DNA, itself proof of collective consciousness.

Another brain-like architectural formation, which can also be called a global city, can be found in our interconnected air transport system. If one looks at all airports and planes as one building linked by metal tubes in the sky, then another Kowloon emerges. However, airport architecture has seemingly unlimited funds and a great programmatic drive. Its social construction is complicated and politically vulnerable.

Warfare can be analyzed as an example of a potentially conscious architecture also. As a form, war can generate instantaneous transformation and porosity via catastrophe. Cities are re-planned and politically re-wrought in the crucible of political conflict. This is fast architecture acting like a giant eraser, but still a function of communication technologies and armies. This is the other city, which desires to sleep – to be unconscious – to be annihilated the antithesis of the conscious architecture thesis.

High-rise cities are the creation of Modernism and its technologies. Hence, their computer systems are also rooted in Modernism’s DNA. The work of Pentti Haikonen sees current computing as inadequate, subject to its rule-making foundation in Modernism. “The brain is definitely not a computer. Thinking is not an execution of programmed strings of commands. The brain is not a

numerical calculator either. We do not think in numbers.” Haikonen proposes: “...a special cognitive architecture to reproduce the processes of perception, inner images, inner speech, pain, pleasure, emotions and the cognitive functions behind these. This bottom-up architecture would produce higher level functions by the power of the elementary processing units, the artificial neurons, without algorithms or programs”.¹⁰

A conscious architecture can build on the existing memory of cities which form a fertile bed for transformation. All existing architecture needs to remain and be cleverly adapted. This echoes a similar discipline to the one expressed by climate scientists for “no more coal to be mined”. In other words, we need to define the city as a “perpetual state of becoming”¹¹ rather than a utopian ideal. Modernism forms a good substrate of physical memory on which and through which to build our new conscious cities.

“Destroy nothing, and rethink all”, Robert Smithson, the great Land Art artist, put it most succinctly in 1971 when referring to time based changes in his work, especially the partially buried buildings such as “Partially buried Woolshed” 1970. Smithson further elaborates:

“Unlike Buckminster Fuller, I’m interested in collaborating with entropy. Some day I could like to compile all different entropies. All the classifications would lose their grids...After all, wreckage is often more interesting than structure. At least, not as depressing as Dymaxion domes. Utopian saviours we can do without”¹²

Fundamental to the rethinking of all cities as conscious will be the realisation that one public ground plane is simply not enough to accommodate the healthy social construction of the street, especially within cities like Beijing and Shanghai, which each have twenty million people.¹³ Stephen Holl’s project in Beijing “Linked Hybrid” is a clear indicator of this future territory. However, the linkages need to be far more complex. Like the flow of electricity in the brain, so too must the connective tissue of cities become three-dimensional. Cities are primarily held together by their social construction, the glue being language and culture, demanding one-on-one physical interaction in order to thrive. In order for city architecture to become conscious, public space must infect all aspects of architectural program in three dimensions. Ideally, all high-rise housing corridors will eventually behave like streets, and new elevated ground planes will dissipate pressure of entry to a variety of levels and programs. Form doesn’t follow function - it simply follows the demands of social and cultural construction. The final shapes of architecture are never reached and hence are irrelevant as external forms. Their interiors are the spaces of meaningful architecture as with Constant’s “Unitary Urbanism”.



Figure 2. “Monkey Models” Zone 2, 2005, p. 190, Goodwin, R,
Porosity: The Architecture of Invagination, (Melbourne, RMIT University Press, 2011)

It appears that our consciousness is demanding these changes, especially in the “post ideology age” in which we live.¹⁴ The Occupy Movement¹⁵ and even the Arab Spring¹⁶ can perhaps be cited as early examples of this phenomenon. Each revolutionary discourse is directed and led by the collective communication systems of Facebook, Twitter and even Instagram. Each movement has a collective head or collective consciousness driving its desire for change. Each asks of architecture that it help sustain this movement. The current disconnected architecture within cities is not porous¹⁷ enough in terms of its internal connections to enable the physical movement necessary to sustain peaceful revolutionary actions. This is also due to a lack of amenities such as toilets, ambiguous places of communal congress within all commercial and private structures, as well as free public connections to electricity and the Internet. A level of connected consciousness is not a replacement for democracy or other political structures – it is a forum through which such ideas can be manifest and can be trialed.

THE NEW CITY WILL GROW LIKE A CORAL REEF

If we are stupid, so is nature. Erosion is hardly intelligent, nor is gravity. How they operate together, however, is extraordinary. I believe that consciousness is gravity’s other:¹⁸ they both act as glue. The idea that Nature (read everything) is “beautiful” (sublime)¹⁹ is also no longer helpful. It is a construct that is only several hundred years old and also a device of outdated religions. Cities are types of landscapes or eco-systems in themselves, born of perspectival positioning, as aberrant as the rivers and mountains formed under pressure by our colliding continents. Architecture redefined as an organism becomes the new ground or foundation of culture and its attendant consciousness.

By valuing the formations of contingency above the formation of order, architecture as we know it can disappear.²⁰ In my paper “Coral Typology”²¹ I have set out the possible rules for such an age:

Coral reefs form the edge condition of certain continents, exhibiting exquisite fragility and complexity of life. They are a metaphor for the complex equation of transformation within all natural systems. Within this thesis, Coral is used to explain, predict and form an armature for the changing nature of cities in the 21st Century. Fundamental to this argument is the belief that a system of complex and continuing “organic” transformation of existing structure (buildings), within cities, is more desirable than seeking the cleared site or the modernist “tabula rasa”²².

Urban development is perpetually in a state of becoming²³, forming the architecture of accumulation within the age of contingency²⁴, despite Modernism’s attempts to create permanent order. Hence it follows that the city is like a coral reef and as such needs re- classification, into a system of equal complexity to that of our complex environment with all its current dilemmas. Coral Typology is as much an experiment as it is a true typological study of the architecture of transformation. (see diagrams below)



Figure 3. Coral Reef Lab, 2013, Goodwin, R., Coral Typology, in press

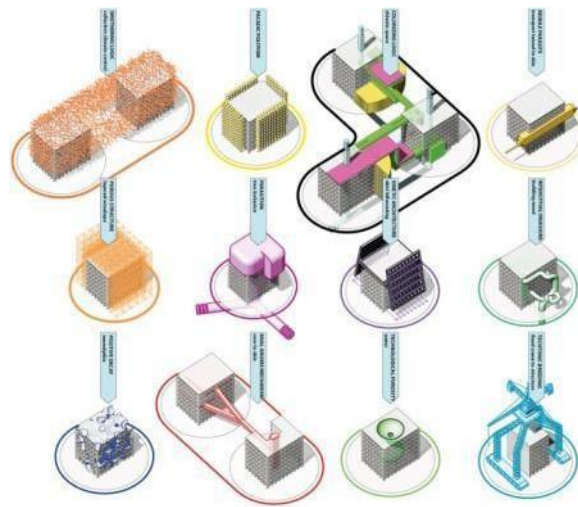


Figure 4. Coral Reef Typology, 2013, Goodwin, R., Coral Typology, in press

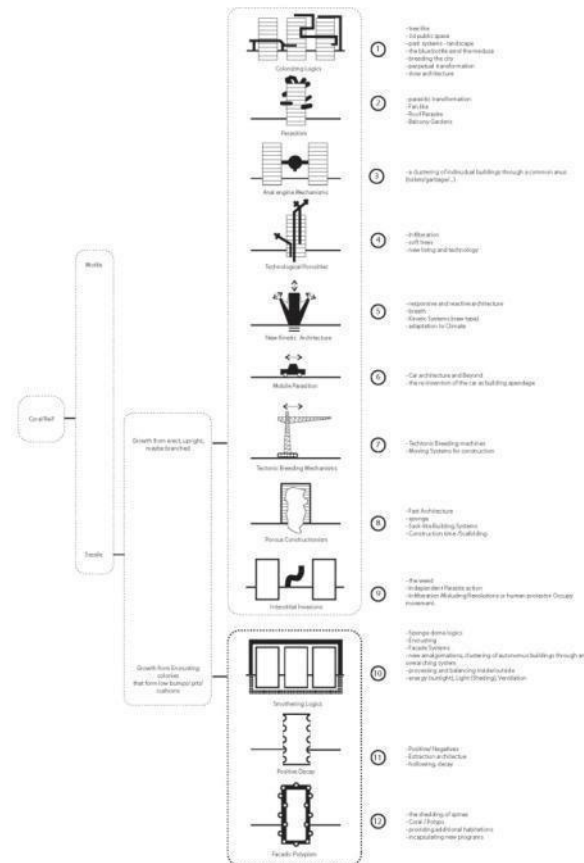


Figure 5. Coral Reef Typology, 2013, Richard Goodwin

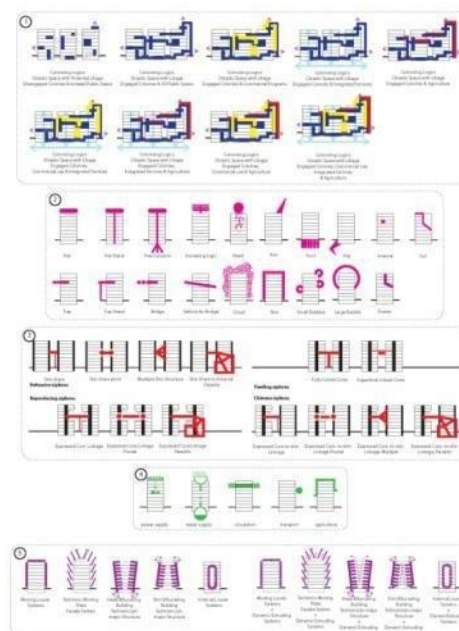


Figure 6. Coral Reef Typology, 2013, Richard Goodwin

I call this new architecture the architecture of invagination.²⁵ In my book, “Porosity the Architecture of Invagination”, I introduce this idea under the title “Architecture is Elsewhere”. Porosity theory accepts that types of public space exist within private space. I named these “chiastic” spaces. Through

research over six years, these spaces led to an understanding of how “porous”, in terms of access and delay, each city building was at a particular time. I created an indexed system to score each building. When this information is modeled in the computer and subjected to pressure it expands these spaces beyond the building envelope to express graphically “What a Building Desires”. Across large areas of city we can diagnose connections and zones of possible connection between buildings. As an aid to urban planning, this information can lead to the composition of urban planning instruments within particular zones, allowing for commercialization and new public space.

The explosion of forms, within buildings, begins to understand the social construction of a city as well as the city’s desire of dynamics for Porosity.²⁶ These explosions also lead to ruptures in this crystalline ephemeral surface. These expressions of possible new connections produce manifestations of “what a building desires” to do next externally and internally. This drive from the inside is the architecture of “invagination”. It is born from the inside and leads to new connective tissue between buildings, which will in time, embrace our roads and rapid transit services, and give us new elevated ground planes. Simply put this is a call for even denser cities than we have today. Why? Because cities are the things humans do best.

In this form of endless embrace between buildings, old and new, the city starts to heal itself of self-interested buildings to form a more cohesive single building, like Constant’s Unitary Urbanism.²⁷

So what does this say about the city in terms of consciousness? To start with we have to ask how consciousness relates to the physical world. Descartes proposed that consciousness resides within an immaterial domain he called *res cogitans* (the realm of thought), in contrast to the domain of material things which he called *res extensa* (the realm of extension).²⁸ This he called Cartesian Dualism. Alternatives to this notion formed Monism²⁹ (introduced in the 18th century by Christian von Wolff in his work *Logic* (1728)), which held that there was only one realm of being in which consciousness and matter co-exist. This very co-existence might find the philosophical answers to a technological revolution, which becomes an organic extension of human consciousness. However, I don’t wish to elaborate on the complexity of this philosophical debate, nor do I wish to be seen as “mystical” as followers of Descartes would claim. That is the task of philosophers. I am an artist/architect – playing seriously. The term Monism was to designate types of philosophical thought in which the attempt was made to eliminate the dichotomy of body and mind and explain all phenomena by one unifying principle, or as manifestations of a single substance.

The Western art lens provides historical meaning and content in a process of re-contextualization of all artworks within the “white cube”. This knowledge enables an artwork to transcend its material existence, becoming in some ways conscious of that fact. The seminal work of Joseph Beuys and his use of the materials of fat and felt serve as but one example of this thinking. Animal fat³⁰ as his symbol of endless re-generation sits within many museum glass terrines, a mute and drying testament to the ability of the gallery lens to help it to transcend materiality within our consciousness. It is the power of these signifiers, enriched with layers of narrative and shamanism that infect the viewer’s consciousness. In some ways this fits with Monism. Across the universe, God in reverse combines consciousness and matter to eliminate the idea of architecture as a solution or answer but rather as a permanent state of becoming. What will this look like? It doesn’t matter. It will look like nothing or as messy as any eroding mountain range or a continuous organism.

CONCLUSION

So, in conclusion and in line with this abstract of an idea, God does not exist yet, but she is on her way to being created. This birth is best summarized with an illustration: an egg, for our particular “consciousness conditions” on earth, has a nucleus containing Classicism³¹, the Enlightenment³²,

many Religions, and many cultures. Within the body of the egg are mitochondria, the cell's energy source. Within our system these mitochondria are our artists, architects and philosophers. The sperm contains the complex DNA of the typical Indian slum circa 2014. The fertilization is a reconfiguration of these three major forces:

1. A continuous and linked organic architecture (Constant's Unitary Urbanism³³)
2. The immaterial other (the Internet transformed by computation beyond numbers – a memetic drive)
3. The understanding of an architecture, which prejudices social construction and culture, over form (the Indian slum)

The new life form is the “organism of contingency”³⁴ (Coral Typology of Architecture³⁵) and the genesis of “an architecture of consciousness” ultimately wired to create God.

NOTES

¹ The American Heritage® Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition Copyright ©2000 by Houghton Mifflin Company. Updated in 2009. Published by Houghton Mifflin Company. All rights reserved.

² As introduced by Émile Durkheim; “*The totality of beliefs and sentiments common to the average members of a society forms a determinate system with a life of its own. It can be termed the collective or creative consciousness.*” Kenneth Allan; Kenneth D. Allan (2005). *Explorations in Classical Sociological Theory: Seeing the Social World*. Pine Forge Press. p. 108. Through to Mary Kelsey and John D. Greenwood (2004) with related terms such as *hive mind*, *group mind* and *social mind*. As well as Burns and Egdaahl, Burns, T.R. Engdaahl, E. (1998) *The Social Construction of Consciousness. Part 1: Collective Consciousness and its Socio-Cultural Foundations*, *Journal of Consciousness Studies*, 5

³ The *Arab Spring* refers to a series of anti-government uprisings in various countries in North Africa and the Middle East, beginning in Tunisia in December 2010.

⁴ The *Occupy Movement* is an international protest movement against social and economic inequality, whose main tool – of protest – is the occupation of public space. The first example of this being “*Occupy Wall Street*”.

⁵ God (noun) (in Christianity and other monotheistic religions) the creator and ruler of the universe and source of all moral authority; the supreme being. Oxford Dictionary, Oxford University Press, 2013.

⁶ Nature (noun) [*mass noun*] the phenomena of the physical world collectively, including plants, animals, the landscape, and other features and products of the earth, as opposed to humans or human creations. Oxford Dictionary, Oxford University Press, 2013. The idea of Nature in Western Philosophy is a developing one which has its roots in Aristotle (Physics: I – IV 384–322 BC) through Francis Bacon (The Advancement of Learning 1605), Thomas Hobbes (Leviathan 1651), and on to Descartes, Immanuel Kant, Nietzsche, Richard Rorty et al.

⁷ R.H. Schlagel, “Why not Artificial Consciousness or Thought?” *Minds and Machines Journal*, Volume 9, Issue 1 (1999), 3-28.

⁸ David Chalmers, *A Computational Foundation for the Study of Cognition*

<http://consc.net/papers/computation.ps>.

⁹ Susan Blackmore, “Consciousness in Meme Machines” *Journal of Consciousness Studies*, 10, (2003), 4-5.

¹⁰ Pentti O. Haikonen, *The Cognitive Approach to Conscious Machines*, (Exeter, UK: Imprint Academic, 2003)

¹¹ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987).

¹² Ann Reynolds, *Robert Smithson, Learning from New Jersey and Elsewhere*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2003) 197 (quote with sources in; notes, Chapter 4, No. 9, 285).

¹³ Richard Goodwin, *Porosity: The Architecture of Invagination*, (Melbourne: RMIT University Press, 2011).

¹⁴ Slavoj Žižek, *Violence, Six Sideways Reflections*, (London: Profile Books Ltd, 2009), 34.

¹⁵ The *Occupy Movement* is an international protest movement against social and economic inequality, whose main tool – of protest – is the occupation of public space. The first example of this being “*Occupy Wall Street*”.

¹⁶ The *Arab Spring* refers to a series of anti-government uprisings in various countries in North Africa and the Middle East, beginning in Tunisia in December 2010.

¹⁷ Richard Goodwin, *Porosity: The Architecture of Invagination*, (Melbourne: RMIT University Press, 2011), 42-54.

¹⁸ Other, (*adjective & pronoun*) used to refer to a person or thing that is different or distinct from one already mentioned or known about. Oxford Dictionary, Oxford University Press, 2013.

¹⁹ Some key texts which have shaped our idea of the sublime include; Kant, Immanuel. *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime*. Trans. John T. Goldthwait. University of California Press, 1961, 2003. Burke, E. *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, Oxford University Press, USA; Reissue edition, 2008. Dessoir, Max. *Aesthetics and theory of art. Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft*. Translated by Stephen A. Emery (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970).

²⁰ Jeremy Till, *Architecture Depends*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2009) 1, 3-62; Chapter 1, Contingency.

²¹ Richard Goodwin, *Coral Typology*, in press.

²² Tabula Rasa, Latin meaning ‘*Blank Slate*’ originating from the epistemological theory of the mental state of humans at birth. Starting from Aristotle’s “inscribed tablet” (*On the Soul (De Anima)*, W. S. Hett (trans.), pp. 1–203 in *Aristotle, Volume 8, Loeb Classical Library, William Heinemann, London, UK, 1936.*), through Avicennian (*De Anima (Fi’l-Nafs)*, F. Rahman (trans.), London, UK, 1954), John Locke (*An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Kenneth P. Winkler (ed.), pp. 33–36, Hackett Publishing Company, Indianapolis, IN, 1996.), the writings of Sigmund Freud and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and picked up in the ‘*Tabula Rasa Urbanism*’ and

architecture of the modernists, a notable example being Le Corbusier's, Plan Voisin Paris, 1925 or Mies van der Rohe's Farnsworth House 1951.

²³ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987).

²⁴ Jeremy Till, *Architecture Depends*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2009) 1, 3-62; Chapter 1, Contingency.

²⁵ Richard Goodwin, *Porosity: The Architecture of Invagination*, (Melbourne: RMIT University Press, 2011).

²⁶ Richard Goodwin, *Architectural Design Research: Project-Based Design Research and Discourse on Design*, Vol 2, No 1, (Ed. Brent Alpress, RMIT, Melbourne, 2007), 45-46, 76-78.

²⁷ Mark Wigley, *Constant's New Babylon, The Hyper-Architecture of Desire*, Rotterdam, Witte de With, Centre for contemporary art / oio Publishers, 1998, p. 225.

²⁸ René Descartes, *Meditations on the First Philosophy*, J. Cottingham (trans.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

²⁹ Cristian Wolff, *Logic, or Rational Thoughts on the Powers of the Human Understanding with their Use and Application in the Knowledge and Search of Truth*. [German Logic] London: Printed for L. Hawes, W. Clarke, and R. Collins, 1770. Also: Hegel, G. W. F., *Hegel's Logic: Being Part One of the Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences*, trans. William Wallace (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

³⁰ For example; the Joseph Beuys artwork, *Vitrine*, 1949 – 1966.

³¹ Classicism, (*noun*) the following of ancient Greek or Roman principles and style in art and literature, generally associated with harmony, restraint, and adherence to recognized standards of form and craftsmanship, especially from the Renaissance to the 18th century. Oxford Dictionary, Oxford University Press, 2013.

³² *The Enlightenment*: a European intellectual movement of the late 17th and 18th centuries emphasizing reason and individualism rather than tradition. It was heavily influenced by 17th-century philosophers such as Descartes, Locke, and Newton, and its prominent figures included Kant, Goethe, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Adam Smith. Oxford Dictionary, Oxford University Press, 2013.

³³ Mark Wigley, *Constant's New Babylon, The Hyper-Architecture of Desire*, (Rotterdam, Witte de With, Centre for contemporary art / oio Publishers, 1998), 225

³⁴ Jeremy Till, *Architecture Depends*, (Cambridge Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2009), 1, 3-62; Chapter 1, Contingency.

³⁵ Richard Goodwin,, *Coral Typology*, in press

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A PRACTICAL UTOPIA: SOCIOLOGY, SOCIAL PRACTICE, AND THE METROPOLIS

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At the turn of the twentieth century, a Chicago-based architect named Dwight Perkins designed a prescient metropolitan plan for the American city that reimagined the polis as a terrain for sociological investigation and political activism. Perkins collaborated with social scientists affiliated with the University of Chicago to leverage design as a vehicle for social change. He argued that strategically placed, small-scale interventions – recreation centers, public schools, nature preserves – would ameliorate the devastating impact that unplanned growth had on the urban poor and advance democratic social ideals in a city disproportionately inhabited by immigrants and highly segregated by race, ethnicity, and wealth.¹

Not only did Perkins pioneer in understanding the city as a heterogeneous collection of cultural groups, but the manner in which he visualized the city – its architectural representation – was itself mediated through the lens of the social sciences. He abandoned illusionistic rendering techniques and illustrated the city as a series of sociological data-maps that combined statistical facts on population density, disease transmission, mortality rates, and criminal activity with geographic projections of Chicago. Rationalizing the city in this way helped him to convince city officials to spend tax money on designing public spaces and amenities that would benefit all classes of society. To realize his ambitions, he tirelessly galvanized public support, lobbied politicians, served on municipal park and school boards, helped draft legislation, and even filed legal suits. Working for decades through public and private channels, Perkins slowly succeeded in realizing, at least to some degree, most of his environmental reforms.

Overlooked by histories of urban planning, Perkins's nascent social practice deserves attention precisely because it contributes to a critical reappraisal of the meanings and functions of cities. Mediating the city through sociology challenged traditional “bricks and mortar” urbanism that viewed the metropolis primarily as a physical entity because it took into consideration the social space of cities. His modest proposals, grass-roots activism, and diagrammatic renderings also challenged utopian visions that advanced provocative yet impractical urban transformations. Refusing to flatten the complexity of modern cities into either empirical facts or fictive ideals, Perkins opened up an actionable middle ground, a “practical utopia” that in its feasibility had transformative potential. Ultimately, his example helps us explore questions relevant to contemporary urbanism, such as the efficacy of research-based practices, the ambitions and limitations of community engagement, and the meanings of public space and democracy in cities today.

SHADOW URBANISMS: CHICAGO'S "OTHER" PLANS

Chicago was in a veritable state of emergency when Perkins published his metropolitan plan in 1905. Years of unprecedented and unplanned expansion had produced tremendous growth and profits, but also intractable class conflict, violent labor disputes, unspeakable living conditions, and political corruption. Little more than a frontier outpost in 1840, Chicago ruled an economic empire by 1890 that stretched from the Ohio Valley to the Rocky Mountains, connecting the agricultural and ranching industries of the west with the commercial and manufacturing centers of the east. It dominated the nation's meat slaughtering and packing industries. A population explosion accompanied such extraordinary economic growth, as people poured into the city looking for jobs. The population in 1840 had been 4,500 people; by 1900 it was 1.7 million.² Compounding these challenges was a disproportionately high immigrant population. Foreign-born individuals or children of immigrants made up 77% of the population in 1900. Most were uneducated, unskilled laborers who worked primarily in industrial occupations.³ By the turn of the century, Chicago was congested with industrial facilities spewing forth pollution and products alike and manned by an increasingly disgruntled labor force that together with widespread environmental degradation threatened democratic self-government in the eyes of many community organizers. Jane Addams, a pioneering social scientist and founder of Hull House settlement, spoke for many when she concluded that "the idea underlying our self-government breaks down" under such circumstances.⁴

Alarmed by the mounting social and environmental crisis and hoping to galvanize city officials into action, Perkins appropriated new statistical analysis techniques pioneered by social scientists at the University of Chicago to present compelling and irrefutable evidence of modern social calamities in his metropolitan plan. Superimposing data on population densities, rates of mortality, diphtheria, typhoid, and crime over Chicago's street grid, he created five oversized data-maps that served as his principle illustrations (Figures 1-3).⁵ Combining demographic data with geographic projections allowed Perkins to demonstrate that crowded, poor communities lacking in schools, parks, and public space were also the most dangerous and unhealthy in the city. Data mapping enabled Perkins to prove a correlation between the built environment and social problems. His environmental determinism challenged nineteenth-century beliefs attributing poverty to individual failure and personal shortcomings.⁶ It had a profound impact on modern architecture and urbanism because it suggested that improving the built environment could help resolve social problems.

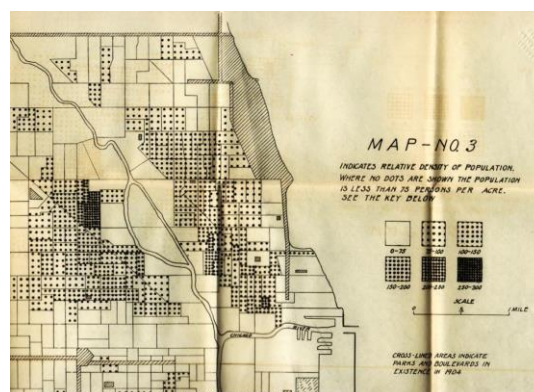
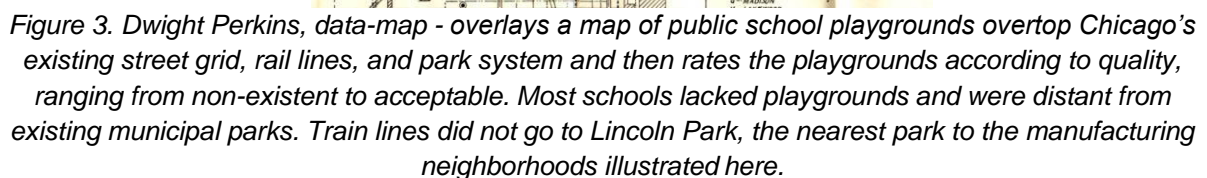
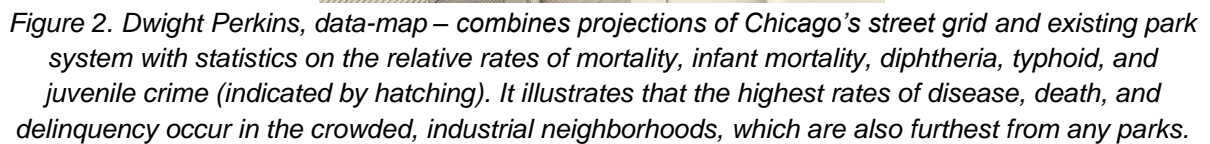


Figure 1. Dwight Perkins, data-map - population densities superimposed over transportation lines, street grid, and rivers.



AMPS | Ravensbourne University London

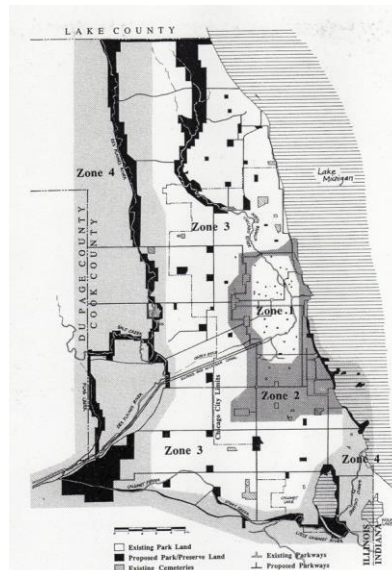


Figure 4. Dwight Perkins, *Metropolitan System (1905)* – sundry parks, playgrounds, and community centers created a network of public spaces to organize Chicago.

Two pioneering sociologists and political activists, Addams together with another named Charles Zueblin, had experimented with data mapping prior to Perkins, and they strongly informed his methodology and social politics. Perkins worked closely with both reformers through their mutual involvement in Chicago's settlement movement.¹¹ Social settlements were privately funded organizations that offered sundry assistance programs to underprivileged people, such as public lectures, continuing education classes, vocational training, legal counsel, childcare, athletic programs, and so on. They were not charities, however. Chicago settlements evolved in close connection with the new discipline of sociology then emerging at the University of Chicago. Sociologists considered them "a window into the sociology department" because they provided a base of operations from which to interact with the urban poor, investigate socio-urban phenomena, collect data, and experiment with solutions to social problems.¹² Settlements were, in some ways, sociological laboratories.

Social democracy was the ideological engine behind the movement. As the modern market economy evolved into a complex web of mutually dependent relationships, progressives came to understand that social relations were likewise reciprocal.¹³ As Addams wrote, in a democratic country, no higher political or civic life can be achieved except through the masses of people, and so "the good we secure for ourselves is precarious and uncertain...until it is secured for all of us and incorporated into common life."¹⁴ Driving these democratic ambitions were theories of social psychology espoused by John Dewey, also a professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago during these years. Social psychology conceptualized individuals as inherently social beings whose values were shaped by their environments. Challenging the liberal ideology that individuals were atomistic and purely self-interested, Dewey argued that men were inextricably grounded in social communities and therefore mutually dependent.¹⁵ Perkins matter-of-factly summarized such theories when he described his conception of community centers as based on the premise that "what is good for the whole is good for the individual, and vice versa."¹⁶

Addams spearheaded the first sociological investigation of a modern American city in collaboration with fellow activist Florence Kelley, which they published in 1895 as *Hull-House Maps and Papers*.¹⁷ A collection of essays supplemented with factual census schedules and two multicolored maps depicting demographic data on the nineteenth ward in Chicago, the document was a bellwether of the

increasing influence that sociology had on urbanism and politics. Hired by the United States Department of Labor in 1893 as Special Agent Expert in charge of Chicago, Kelley spent years collecting statistical data on the ward's national and ethnic composition, wages, occupations, and housing conditions, which she then combined with a street map of the district to draw conclusions about the relationships between ethnicity, environment, and poverty (Figure 5).¹⁸ The introduction to *Maps and Papers* emphasizes the objectivity of the report. Kelley painstakingly surveyed every house, tenement, and room in the ward and then corroborated the data obtained by cross-referencing responses. For example, statements made by different workers in the same trade confirmed the accuracy of wages, unemployed seasons, and so forth. Described as a “photographic reproduction” of Chicago’s slums, the authors insisted *Maps and Papers* simply presented actual conditions versus advancing theories, that their method of research was scientific and verifiable.¹⁹ Complimenting the quantitative maps were qualitative essays, including one written by Zueblin, examining the cultural conditions of poverty in Chicago, such as sweat labor, slavish factory conditions, government corruption, and ethnic segregation.²⁰ Together the essays and maps were one of the first definitive statements of environmental determinism, holding the physical and cultural environment responsible for the poverty, degradation, isolation, and disease that plagued the underprivileged in Chicago. Today it is considered a pioneering sociological tract.

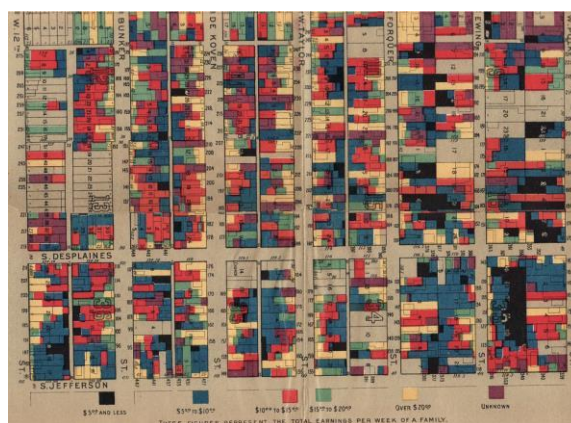


Figure 5. Florence Kelley and Jane Addams, Wage Map – example of data mapping from Hull-House Maps and Papers, 1895

Zueblin, more than Addams, advocated specific spatial solutions to the social predicaments described in

Maps and Papers. In addition to teaching sociology at the University of Chicago and establishing a settlement house there and at Northwestern University, both of which Perkins designed, Zueblin also was president of the American League for Civic Improvement, author of several books on city-beautiful planning, and cofounder of the *American Journal of Sociology*. Cities, for Zueblin, were preeminently democratic because they were collectives. To this end, he tirelessly lobbied for cities to build squares, parks, schools, and other civic centers – spaces where social democracy could be practiced. The public awareness and sense of mutual responsibility that characterized metropolitan life would foster a new civic spirit based on cooperation that, he believed, could ameliorate many of the injustices of the market revolution.²¹ He advocated for small, neighborhood playgrounds more than any other civic space. In 1898 he published research in the *American Journal of Sociology* detailing statistics on public park access in Chicago that Perkins later reproduced verbatim in his metropolitan plan. Zueblin’s analysis of population densities and park acreage proved that overcrowded, working-class neighborhoods suffered disproportionately from a lack of green space:

4,720 people to each acre of park space compared to 234 people per acre in affluent wards. A map of Chicago combining data on the locations of playgrounds and parks, population density, and railroads proved his point (Figure 6).²²

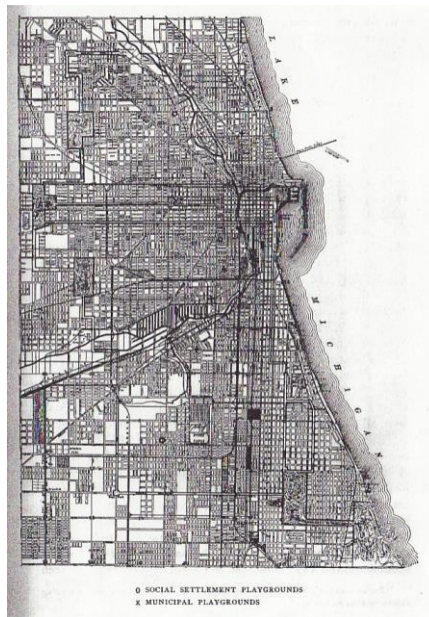


Figure 6. Charles Zueblin, 1898 Map of Chicago overlaying street grid, manufacturing zones, transportation routes, and existing parks and playgrounds.

Centered on the seeming banalities of census data, statistical analysis, and quotidian spaces, what was radical about the urbanism advanced by Addams, Zueblin, and Perkins was their willingness to accept the existing conditions of the city and to advocate for local, piecemeal improvements over dramatic and total reorganizations. When Perkins mediated the metropolis through the social sciences, he challenged modernist planning paradigms based on comprehensive, tabula rasa approaches. In this context, a comparison to Chicago's most celebrated urban renewal scheme, Daniel Burnham's *1909 Plan of Chicago*, is instructive, because Burnham's approach is indicative of many modernist planners in that he envisioned a wholesale recreation of Chicago, which he illustrated in ways that aestheticized the metropolis more than grappled with its existing complexities.²³

Burnham's ambitious project married grandiose neoclassical monuments with spacious, axial boulevards that recalled Baron Haussmann's reinvention of Paris four decades earlier. The lynchpin of Burnham's plan was a towering, domed civic center rising over forty stories, which he illustrated with an oversized folio drawing that unfolded to convey its imposing scale relative to its surroundings. Burnham spared no expense hiring seven gifted artists to design the illustrations for his plan. He even volunteered \$10,000 of his personal money towards the color-printing expenses. The final product was impressive. The images plied viewers with fantasies of a unified, neoclassical cityscape punctuated by uncluttered, axial thoroughfares, grand civic centers, and formal gardens and plazas. Many of them are drawn from an aerial perspective so elevated that strolling pedestrians look more like swarming ants than men, traffic all but disappears, and the curvature of the earth is even visible (Figures 7-8).²⁴

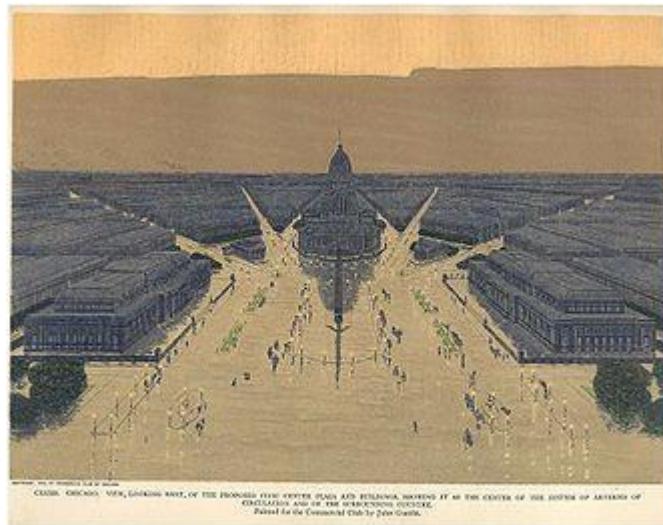


Figure 7. Daniel Burnham, 1909 Plan of Chicago - bird's eye view showing axial boulevards cutting through Chicago's downtown urban fabric, neoclassical backdrop of buildings, and a grand civic center ordering the plaza.



Figure 8. Daniel Burnham, 1909 Plan of Chicago -bird's eye view of proposed spacious boulevard

Perkins, on the other hand, visualized the city in purely diagrammatic terms – there are no images of architecture in his proposal. Juxtaposing the forms of representation used by the two architects to illustrate their plans reveals about their inimical strategies towards environmental reform. Burnham's illustrations, while stunning, are more suggestive than definitive. One of the most incongruous aspects of his architectural renderings was that they entirely ignored the modern commercial architecture pioneered in Chicago, such as skyscrapers and warehouses. Burnham flattened the actual variegated cityscape into an imaginary and uniform fabric that served mainly as a backdrop to grand neoclassical gestures. People are mostly missing from the illustrations, reduced to undifferentiated specks decorating an impersonal, vast cityscape. The approach is top-down, transforming Chicago into a tabula rasa for Burnham's creative imagination. The illustrations operate autonomously as art objects first and planning documents second, a characterization born out by the fact that each published copy of his plan was individually numbered as part of a "deluxe limited edition" akin to a fine art publication.²⁵

When Perkins employed data-mapping techniques, which relied on scientifically obtained facts rather than imaginative drawings, he shifted the focus of his plan to the social realities of poverty, overcrowding, crime, social inequality, and disease that constituted the lived experience of the city for many people. Data-mapping had an additional advantage over picturesque rendering in that it allowed Perkins to translate subjective human suffering into a calculable science, which meant, at least in theory, that such misery could be ameliorated using rational means. Diagramming rather than drawing also meant that Perkins relinquished creative control over design specifics. Understanding that other architects would build his proposed neighborhood centers and that communities should have input into their design, Perkins's proposal was a framework rather than a blueprint. When he discussed the architecture of community centers in other contexts, he focused exclusively on their plans, not their exterior aesthetics, because it was their programming that was most important, not their style.²⁶ His networked system of redundant community centers lacked the drama of centrally located, monumentally conceived civic buildings. However, Perkins championed modest interventions over radical, visionary changes because they were feasible and encouraged broad participation by engaging local communities and ordinary people. His system was also flexible. A network organized around multiple, dispersed centers rather than a few centralized headquarters, his plan could accommodate future population growth. It could also be constructed in phases, one neighborhood center at a time. Such practical solutions together with the scientific character of his illustrations imparted an objective, rational quality to his project that helped him convince skeptical City Council members to act on his proposals. In short, Perkins's metropolitan plan read as empirical facts and actionable suggestions, not utopian dreams.

A PRACTICAL UTOPIA: TOWARDS A CONTEMPORARY URBANISM

The emergence in the 1980s of a neoliberal state predicated on free-market economic policies, deregulation, and excessive privatization of resources has created alarming levels of income inequality, social disparity, and xenophobia that recall the *laissez faire* conditions under which Perkins worked. The spatial manifestations of our contemporary cultural crisis would probably look familiar to him as well: the proliferation of spontaneous communities in developing countries, environmental destruction, and the atrophy of the public sphere, just to name a few. Perhaps unsurprisingly, there is symmetry between the architectural and political strategies advanced today by designers such as Teddy Cruz, Elemental, and Urban-Think Tank and Perkins's nascent social practice. All center on local community engagement, political activism, and discreet architectural interventions, working in the gap between moribund cultural institutions and the public to create a new civic imagination capable of not just making things, but of making things happen.²⁷ Though Perkins never executed the entirety of his metropolitan vision, he did realize significant portions of it. His strategies for doing so might offer poignant and replicable examples for how contemporary designers can realize social change.

Perkins advanced his cause by collecting data, working with nonprofits, organizing interest groups, lobbying government officials, and publishing pamphlets in ways that prefigure contemporary research-based practices and grass-roots activism. For example, in 1897 he collaborated with Zueblin to establish the Municipal Science Club, a civic organization that sponsored events, conducted environmental surveys, distributed leaflets, and generally pressured the Chicago City Council on issues related to environmental reform. He worked closely with Alderman William S. Jackson to convince city officials to establish a municipal department charged with constructing and maintaining playgrounds around the city. For several years he held official appointments designing schools for the Board of Education and recreation centers for the Lincoln Park District. He was also a nascent environmentalist, campaigning for years to preserve native prairie landscapes around Chicago as co-

founder of the Prairie Club, president of the Northwest Park District, and chairman of the Forest Preserve Commission.²⁸ Acting through these civic entities over the course of twenty years, Perkins slowly succeeded in realizing many of the public spaces he had envisioned in 1905.

Perkins believed in the power of ordinary, private citizens to realize palpable changes to the status quo, to “do something” about the challenges confronting modern society. He advanced small-scale, piecemeal interventions because they were feasible, affordable, and less disruptive to communities. At the same time, he recognized the limitations of private philanthropy, arguing that truly public, tax-supported initiatives avoided the paternalistic nature of charity because they “derive their support and authority...from the people themselves.”²⁹ So he lobbied politicians, drafted legislation, and otherwise worked to institutionalize progressive reforms at the state level, to make social change permanent. He understood that public spaces were the backbone of democratic society, and dedicated his architectural practice to creating them for all classes of people. Considering the reactionary postures prevalent today regarding security and surveillance, manifested in the proliferation of “privately owned public spaces” and gated communities, Perkins’s trust in others and his optimism about the democratic process suggests a certain faith in public life that seems forgotten today.

This is not to say that his practice was an uncomplicated exercise in community building. Public protests, labor disputes, and insufficient funding delayed or impeded many of his projects. For example, local residents frequently opposed clearing slums to make way for parks or schools because it destroyed their homes and businesses, even if for a good cause.³⁰ Land speculators looking to maximize profits drove up real-estate prices when the city tried to purchase vacant lots for playgrounds or acquire undeveloped woodlands for public parks. But these struggles could also be read as the contentious, disputatious - one could say democratic - process of compromise that comes with an architectural process dedicated to social practice.

Perkins, in short, understood cities as contested social and political spaces as much as architectural ones. In doing so, he arguably sacrificed vision for contingent progress, but the sociological basis of his practice opened up an actionable middle ground, a “practical utopia” that in its feasibility had transformative potential. His omission from histories of modern urbanism could, perhaps, be regarded as a sign of his success – schools, playgrounds, and community centers are today considered so fundamental to modern cities that we take their existence for granted.

NOTES

¹ Dwight Heald Perkins, *Report of the Special Park Commission to the City Council of Chicago on the Subject of a Metropolitan Park System*, Chicago Historical Society (compiled 1904, printed 1905).

² John Hogan, *Class and Reform: School and Society in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1985), 2.

³ Ibid, 2-3; David Nasaw, *Schooled to Order: A Social History of Public Schooling in the United States* (Oxford: Oxford

University Press, 1979), 93. Unlike earlier waves of immigrants from Germany and Northern Europe, the majority of immigrants settling in Chicago after 1880 were from southern, eastern, and central Europe, dramatically altering the ethnic composition of the city and contributing to a perceived threat on the part of native-born Americans. These immigrants held 50% of jobs in the meatpacking, quarrying, woolen textiles, coal mining, and blast furnace industries and almost 70% of jobs in in copper mining, iron mining, and suit, cloak, and coat production.

⁴ Jane Addams, "Hull-House, Chicago: An Effort Towards Social Democracy," Chicago Historical Society [1900?], n.p.

⁵ The association of juvenile crime with biological disease should be noted, the implication being that Perkins and other progressives considered delinquency a sort of moral pathology that could be cured through physical intervention.

⁶ Allen B. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlement and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1924* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press 1967; reprinted 1984), 16.

⁷ Perkins, *Metropolitan Park System*, 54-55; Dwight H. Perkins and Howell Taylor, "The Functions and Plan-Types of Community Buildings," *The Architectural Record* 56, n.4 (October 1924): 289-302; see also Fiske Kimball, "The Social Center, Part III: Civic Enterprises," *The Architectural Record* (July 1919): 29-46.

⁸ Perkins, *Metropolitan Park System*, 32; 64-71.

⁹ Perkins and Taylor, "The Functions and Plan-Types of Community Buildings," 289-302; Kimball, "The Social Center, Part III: Civic Enterprises," 29-46.

¹⁰ Public schools eventually eclipsed other types of community centers, such as playgrounds and settlements, as the preferred instrument for advancing progressive social politics, in part because attendance was mandatory. See Perkins, "The Purpose of School Buildings," draft of a speech read before the National Education Association, probably January 24, 1910, Perkins Papers, Box II, Folder 2; also Dwight Perkins, "School Buildings," Typescript, Chicago Historical Society.

¹¹ The Perkins family had established two settlement houses, one of which Perkins was a lifelong board member. He regularly attended lectures at Hull House, Chicago's first settlement founded by Addams, and the two corresponded for decades, with preserved letters ranging from 1897-1932. Perkins and Zueblin collaborated frequently on architectural and social projects, and Perkins designed the two settlement houses founded by Zueblin at the University of Chicago and Northwestern Settlement. They remained close friends their entire lives. See Eleanor Ellis Perkins, *Perkins of Chicago* (Evanston, Illinois: Self-published, 1966), 52-3, 89-90; Dwight H. Perkins, Architectural and Personal Papers, Chicago Historical Society, Box IV, Folders 6 and 11; *Jane Addams Papers*, Special Collections, University of Illinois at Chicago; and Typescript of Origins of Municipal Science Club, Perkins Papers, Box III, Folder 2.

¹² Albion Small, quoted in Mary Jo Deegan, *Jane Addams and the Men of the Chicago School, 1892-1918* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1988), 34-35; David, *Spearheads for Reform*, 79, 113. Albion Small was on the faculty of the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago. His interpretation of settlements as sociological laboratories was shared by many prominent social scientists and settlement leaders, including Graham Taylor, Robert Park, and Robert Woods.

¹³ Addams, "Effort Towards Social Democracy," 226.

¹⁴ Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910), 116.

¹⁵ For an excellent account of the relationship between John Dewey's theories on social psychology, pragmatism, and progressive social politics, see James Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870-1920* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

¹⁶ Perkins and Taylor, 290.

¹⁷ Residents of Hull House, eds. *Hull-House Maps and Papers: A Presentation of Nationalities and Wages in a Congested District of Chicago together with Comments and Essays on Problems Growing out of the Social Conditions* (Boston: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company, 1895).

¹⁸ Deegan, 56, 58.

¹⁹ Agnes Sinclair Holbrook, "Map Notes and Comments," in *Hull-House Maps and Papers*, 11-14. The invocation of photography as a type of objective, data-recording method is significant because it reveals early attitudes towards the new medium, namely that photographs were scientific and objective because they were made with machines (cameras) and their prints were reproducible. In this way, photography seemed to have more in common with industry and mass production, operating beyond the subjective, artistic influence of the photographer in a way not possible in the fine arts of painting and sculpture. Muckraking photojournalists such as Jacob Riis seized upon the political potential of photography to document urban poverty in an effort to galvanize social change.

²⁰ For example, see: Charles Zueblin, "The Chicago Ghetto," Florence Kelley, "The Sweating System," Ellen Gates Starr, "Art and Labor," and Julia Lathrop, "The Cook County Charities," all in *Hull-House Maps and Papers*.

²¹ Kevin Mattson, *Creating a Democratic Public: The Struggle for Participatory Democracy During the Progressive Era* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 23-24, 27.

²² Charles Zueblin, "Municipal Playgrounds in Chicago," *American Journal of Sociology* 4, no.2 (September 1898): 145-158. Zueblin and Perkins were both part of a broad "play movement" that aimed to advance democratic social politics through neighborhood playgrounds, athletic competitions, and games that fostered a sense of cooperation among diverse children. See Henry S. Curtis, *The Play Movement and Its Significance* (Washington DC: McGrath Publishing Company with the National Recreation and Park Association, 1917); Luther H. Gulick, *A Philosophy of Play* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920); Joseph Lee, *Play in Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923); Dominick Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals: Organized Playgrounds and Urban Reform, 1880-1920* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981); and Benjamin McArthur, "The Chicago Playground Movement: A Neglected Feature of Social Justice," *Social Service Review* (September 1975): 376-393.

²³ Perkins certainly was aware of Burnham's urban-planning strategies. He worked for Burnham from 1888-1894 and managed Burnham's Chicago office while the latter was engaged coordinating the 1893 World's Fair. Though the aesthetics of Burnham's urbanism cohered around a nascent city beautiful movement predicated on neoclassical architecture and Beaux-Art planning ideals, his broad strategy – top-down, tabula rasa planning – was shared by many modern planners, such as Le Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright.

²⁴ Carl Smith, *The Plan of Chicago: Daniel Burnham and the Remaking of the American City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 74, 90-91.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 85, 94.

²⁶ See Perkins and Taylor, "The Functions and Plan-Types of Community Buildings," 290.

²⁷ Teddy Cruz, "Democratizing Urbanization and The Search for a New Civic Imagination," in *Living as Form: Socially Engaged Art from 1991-2011*, ed. Nato Thompson (New York and Cambridge, Massachusetts: Creative Time and MIT Press, 2012), p. 58. A growing contingent of architects has embraced design philosophies centered on "social practice" or "social consciousness" during the past decade as a response to the successful expansion of neoliberal politics. Their overlapping strategies encompass participation, community engagement, nonprofits, and local interventions. An outstanding example is the effort by Estudio Teddy Cruz to ameliorate the difficulties faced by Latino populations in San Diego and Tijuana, such as his Maquiladora project and work in San Ysidro, California. Recently activism has entered the museum, as institutions such as The Museum of Modern Art and the Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum organize exhibitions focused on social praxis and even commission designers to advance new solutions for problems related to climate change, inadequate housing, and unplanned growth. See Nato Thompson, ed., *Living as Form: Socially Engaged Art from 1991-2001*; Bryan Bell and Katie Wakeford, *Expanding Architecture: Design as Activism* (New York: Bellerophon Publications, 2008); *Small Scale, Big Change: New Architectures of Social Engagement* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2010); Barry Bergdoll and Reinhold Martin, eds., *Foreclosed: Rehousing the American Dream* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012); *Rising Currents: Projects for New York's Waterfront* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2011); Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, *Design for the Other 90%* (New York: The Smithsonian Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, 2007).

²⁸ Perkins was intimately involved with the creation of the Cook County Forest Preserve, spending years lobbying politicians and drafting legislation. See Jennifer Gray, "An Everyday Wilderness: Dwight Perkins and the Cook County Forest Preserve," *Future Anterior* 10.1 (Winter 2014); and Rebecca Retzlaff, "The Illinois Forest Preserve

District Act of 1913 and the emergence of metropolitan park planning in the USA," *Planning Perspectives* 25, no. 4 (October 2010): 433-455.

²⁹ Perkins and Taylor, "Functions and Plan-Types," 290.

³⁰ *1908 Annual Report of the Lincoln Park Commissioners*, 10; *Official Proceedings of the Lincoln Park Commissioners*, v. 7, August 1907-December 1910, 94 and 114.

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BIOMIMICRY AND CITY DESIGN

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CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS

What are the challenges facing cities in the 21st century? What balance should there be between the aesthetic, the functional and the natural in urban areas? What evolutionary level are human beings at as a civilization? What criteria should be taken into account and what should hold our attention? Facing the current and future challenges that urban design and development must respond to; understanding their complexity and tackling their magnitude must be the top priority. Therefore, a systemic approach and innovative strategies capable of bringing together different forms of urban planning may show us the way ahead.

Nature is a rich source of inspiration ideally suited to addressing challenges of this size. Historically, humans tried to understand the natural world through observation and endeavoured to apply what they have learned for the satisfaction of their needs. What we now know as Biomimicry is attracting increasing numbers of design teams in their quest for understanding and designing present and future cities.

THE CHALLENGES

Cities emerge as a development of human settlements and appeared as a result of changes in lifestyle that had evolved as the species survived and thrived. During the last century and a half control of resources and mastery of different energy sources allowed humans, slowly at first and later more quickly, to become independent of the environment in which they lived. They have been able to cast aside natural cycles such as the weather and surrounding conditions, and have been able to create lifestyles, including urban developments, which have little or nothing to do with life in the natural habitat. Nevertheless, barring the sceptic who still refuses to see the impact that our development is having on the planet -and for us as a species- most people are aware of the issues every time a new page of the book of reality turned.

One aspect that we must clearly consider is that planning for the coming years will face frenetic population growth. Today we already number over 7 billion, but by 2050 population is estimated to have increased to over 9 billion, of which over 1 billion will be in Africa alone¹. From that point, population growth will level off at around 11 billion due to the stabilization in the number of children together with the increase in life expectancy. This stabilization will only occur if the poorest get out of the poverty trap, children survive and the population has access to family planning²³. This population increase is already having and will continue to have a great impact on cities, which are already home

to very large populations. Some cities are experiencing such tremendous growth that increasing resources allocated to cover the needs of their inhabitants are no longer available.

Given that the control of population growth on the planet is based on improving standards of living, there will also be a corresponding increase in resource consumption. This means that in the future, with a stabilized world population, it will be necessary to meet these demands in a sustainable way to prevent a Malthusian catastrophe⁴. In the face of this evidence, inevitable population growth and increased consumption of resources will make it necessary to find viable, long term answers.

There is a model, in which a huge amount of variables engage, evolve, adapt, transform and consume resources in a sustainable way. It is nature. Mankind has always observed nature; in fact we have always been dependent on it for our survival. This is what is now known as Biomimicry. It can be defined as observation, discovery and learning from nature to inspire sustainable solutions to the challenges we face. For the 3.8 billion years, that there has been life on earth, it has been finding answers to the innumerable challenges and offering sustainable solutions that can be learned. We need to understand the utmost importance of preserving each and every living species, because every time that one becomes extinguished, we are losing forever the opportunity to learn something important for our own survival as a species. In addition, the system is inevitably altered. If one piece is lost then the whole system has to find a new balance which in turn affects all the other pieces with unpredictable consequences.

At this point, it is worth quoting E. O. Wilson who said in "The Creation"⁵ that "If insects were to vanish, the terrestrial environment would collapse into chaos soon." This quotation is supported by the biologist Jonas Salk who reportedly said that "if all insects on Earth disappeared, within 50 years all life on Earth would end. If all human beings disappeared from the Earth, within 50 years all forms of life would flourish." From this perspective, it makes sense to think about what aspects are neglected in the construction of our cities, especially in relation to materials, design, recycling, lighting, size, dealing with catastrophes and determining which criteria will help us to evolve and develop in the future.

INSPIRING SOLUTIONS

What can we learn from the way that ants forage? The existing relationships between fungi mycelium with the roots of the trees? The perfectly coordinated flight of a flock of starlings or a shoal of anchovies? Water management done in a rainforest, or developed water strategies that desert organisms use? Cell growth? The huge variety of materials and structures that life has developed with only a handful of the elements of the periodic table? How does a forest recover after a fire? In nature, processes are circular and the word trash is banished from the dictionary. The core principal of Nature is, in Janine M. Benyus' words, that Life creates conditions conducive to Life⁶.



Figure 1. Incomappleux Inland Rainforest, BC, Canada (Flickr CC Jason Hollinger)

The number of people adopting biomimicry in different areas around the globe is constantly growing. Scientists, designers, engineers, architects, economists, sociologists, entrepreneurs, etc., are able to take advantage of what nature has to offer to find sustainable solutions and offer a future opportunity in the context of an 11 billion global population.

With this perspective in mind, how do we imagine cities will be in different regions of the world in 50 years with 2 billion people more? How in 100 years with another 2 billion on top of that? And how would we like them to be? The answers may be clear, but the solutions are not. We would envision cities in which the quality of all areas is good, where there are no marginal areas, where people live together conducting activities that provide real benefit and a positive impact for all, where the air is clean, where water is plentiful, where pollutants are not generated, where cities do not modify the climate of the area, where feeding inhabitants is not a problem but an opportunity...

Cities behave not like machines, but as organisms whose starting point is the nature of the people who inhabit them. So cities, in their territorial area, have broad parallels with natural systems, from organisms to ecosystems.

When urban planners, architects and engineers design a city, they should consider the long term. Understanding how what is designed affects the system, whether it is a building, a neighbourhood, a city, region, or nation, or even a continent. This is what may be defined as a systemic approach to urban development.

A concept in nature that underlies the importance of integrating is what we call "ecological succession"⁷. This refers to the replacement of elements in the ecosystem by others over the course of time. Thus, a given area is colonized by increasingly complex plants. At every stage and at every moment there appears a species better adapted to existing conditions, which would not have succeeded had it had not been for the existence of the first plants. Environmental conditions permitting, the appearance of moss and lichen is succeeded by grasses, then shrubs and finally trees. The stable state is reached after development has been completed, and this is called climax. In the process, changes occur between members of the same species. For example, new trees replace the old. Ecological succession starts when a natural or anthropogenic cause clears a space of the biological communities present, or is severely altered. It is therefore essential that every action carried out in the city be analyzed from this point of view. We need to ask ourselves whether this is the right time and not another, if what is going to settle makes sense, and what role will it have in the future. Taking what you have and creating opportunities for the future summarizes what determines this concept.

Another basic aspect in land management is the transport network, namely the connection of different foci of interest in an optimal way to maximize the use of resources. Here again, nature optimizes transport and communication networks. For example, the circulatory system in vertebrates transports nutrients and oxygen to all body cells and eliminates the residues produced therein. This represents a complex network which, however, is organized using a low amount of genetic information, has the maximum length and density of blood vessels and capillaries using the least amount of tissue and transports the maximum using the minimum effort⁸. Nature provides inspiration by showing the most accurate and balanced solution.

What can be said in relation to city management of vital resources like water? We can see how rain water quickly runs into the sewage system where different water qualities are mixed. This flow goes straight to the treatment system, where it is all treated together. After being used in industrial processes, water quality is reduced to its lowest levels. In nature, water management is impeccable. If we look at the dynamics of water in a rainforest in Brazil, Indonesia or the Congo, much of the vast amount of water that falls goes back to the atmosphere as result of evapotranspiration. This helps to preserve weather and biological cycles. Another significant portion is retained in the soil, preventing surface erosion by water flow. This system also cleans and purifies water when it passes through the

ground frame, which works as a large scale water-filter. This scheme should serve as a guide for us to design cities that retain water, boost its utilization and favour evapotranspiration in order to preserve the original climate in the region.

Our cities produce large amounts of waste, toxic emissions and greenhouse gases as result of their activity. In nature there is also a flurry of activity, however waste produced by an organism at one stage becomes the starting point for generating closed cycles, rendering the term “residue” superfluous in nature. Why can activities in the city not be organized in such a way that what the few don’t need others will be able to use? We can think of cities as a huge opportunity to remove carbon dioxide and other gases from the atmosphere by getting our construction materials from these gases just as coral reefs obtain carbon from the atmosphere and fix it. A systemic vision of the city is needed to take advantage of the opportunities to integrate operational strategies, thereby closing the circle.

A last but crucial aspect of the analysis of the city is that it must begin in the location where it is found, in particular with reference to the features that shaped it. In this way it can be better understood, since in nature everything is perfectly adapted to where it is, there are no general solutions, only those within the system.

Where should we therefore concentrate our new vision? On long-term solutions, management of the basics, like any organism, on consumption and recycling, and on needs assessments geared to the system.

THE PATH

Understanding the interrelationships, boundaries, growth, resource management, processing and transportation, etc. which are permanently sustainable in nature, is increasingly bringing biologists in multidisciplinary teams of designers. The symbiosis that it creates is generating powerful and rich sustainable proposals adapted to the singularity of each place.

The methodology consists of deep understanding of Nature Life’s Principles that have been shown to be a perfect combination towards balance and sustainability. These principles are: evolve to survive, adapt to changing conditions, be locally attuned and responsive, use life-friendly chemistry⁹. The more these principles are integrated in design the closer to nature sustainability the design will be. So during design phases it is important to evaluate them against Life’s Principles.

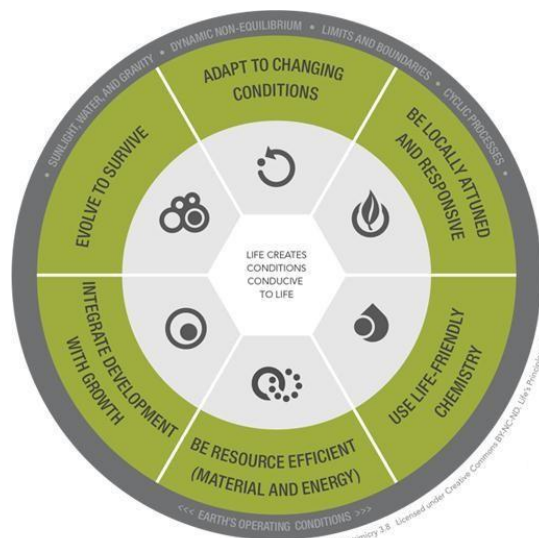


Figure 2. Life’s Principles

...WORK IN PROGRESS

What might seem utopian is starting to become real, defining new planning paradigms. Here are some interesting examples:

Khed sez and lavasa

Nature-inspired city design bases the alliance between HOK, one of the largest architectural firms in the world with Biomimicry 3.8, a consultant who put biologists and designers together to implement biomimicry in city planning. In India, they have planned the cities of Khed Sez and Lavasa¹⁰, where the specifics of the local ecology have been integrated in the design, and lasting interventions made to minimize the impact on the environment and the site where these cities are planned. In Lavasa, for example, an area affected by monsoon rains, where rainfall is concentrated in a few months while the rest of the year the site is arid, the planning involved creating designs that approach water management in the manner of the moist deciduous forest that once existed but which agricultural practices drove to deforestation. The forest effectively managed the water, maintaining soil quality and storing water during the dry season by preventing evaporation after the rainy season.

Rocinha favela

The concept of “ecological succession” is integrated in the project conducted by Jan Kudlicka to regenerate the Rocinha favela in Rio de Janeiro¹¹. As a result of his deep understanding of the “favela ecosystem”, this project seeks strategies to create spaces that contribute to social and economic development of the community. The project plans two stages of intervention. The first looks to consolidate existing buildings instead of removing the urban frame, improving urban structural safety and regenerating façades to improve indoor hydrothermal quality. In the second stage, buildings will be organized vertically, stratifying certain functions that are carried out in the neighbourhood, e.g. commercial and service areas at ground level, including medical centres, schools, markets, pharmacies, etc. The upper floors will be used for residences and, finally, roofs will become public space for people to move through, for children to play on in playgrounds, as well as outdoor cinemas, and cultivation areas to produce food that can then be sold on the ground. Regeneration provides a future for slum areas, offering an opportunity to biomimicry inspired solutions based on the system and answers from playing with elements within its own system

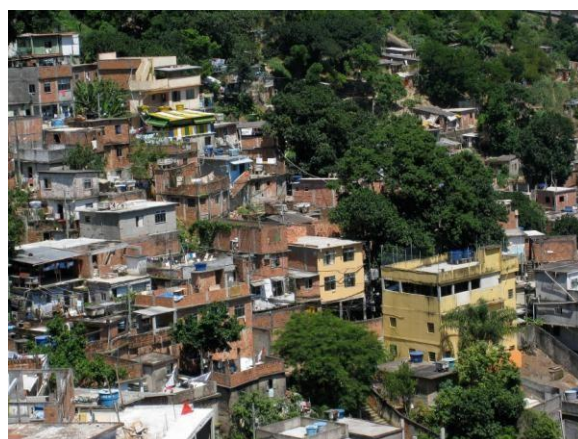


Figure 3. Rocinha favela, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil. (Flickr CC Alicia Nijdam)

Kalundborg

The city of Kalundborg in Denmark has developed an industrial ecosystem.¹² Since the 1960's, public and private enterprises buy and sell waste products from industrial production in a closed cycle. A residual product of one enterprise becomes the raw material of another, and key resources such as gas, steam, cooling water and gypsum are shared among different industries, thus benefiting the economy and the environment alike. Excess heat is used in activities such as fish farms, greenhouses and homes and many other by-products that become usable by other industries or are sold to companies nearby. The aim is to reduce resource consumption and achieve a significant reduction in environmental impact. Several educational institutions have developed curricula and classes about Kalundborg and the model is being exported to different industrial areas all over the world.¹³



Figure 4. Kalundborg, Denmark. (Flickr CC Life in Bonn Green)

Road planning with slime mould

Several experiments, using *Physarum polycephalum*, a slime mould, have found that during its foraging, it creates optimized networks for the transfer of nutrients. In the experiments, geographical locations of most populated urban areas are represented by oat flakes to study what would be an optimal layout of transport links between these urban areas from the "mould's point of view". Results of these experiments show that the mould forms a network in the experimental space, isomorphic to a network of major motorways¹⁴ in the different countries studied. This could be a seed for future science of biomimetic urban and road planning.



Figure 5. *Physarum Polycephalum*. (Flickr CC i- saint)

DREAMING OF THE FUTURE

The enormous challenges that will face us as a species in the coming decades will find a powerful ally in nature, which has, until now, largely been on the receiving end of our development but which has already solved it once before.

NOTES

- ¹ United Nations Population Division, *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2011 Revision* (NY: UN, 2012) ² Hans Rosling, *Don't Panic – The Facts About Population* (Wingspan Productions, broadcasted on BBC November 7, 2013).
- ³ Danny Dorling, *Population 10 Billion*, (Constable & Robinson Ltd., 2013).
- ⁴ Thomas Robert Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, (1798).
- ⁵ Eduard Osborne Wilson, *The Creation, An Appeal to Save Life on Earth*, (NY: W.W. Norton and Company, 2006).
- ⁶ Janine M. Benyus, *Biomimicry: Innovation Inspired by Nature*, (Harper Collins, 2002).
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- ⁸ Charles Little, Vladimir Mironov and Helen Sage, *Vascular Morphogenesis: in Vivo, in Vitro, in Sapio* (Springer, 1998).
- ⁹ Biomimicry 3.8, *The Biomimicry Resource Handbook: A Seed Bank of Best Practices*, (2013).
- ¹⁰ John Gendall, "Architecture that imitates life," *Harvard Magazine* Sept-Oct (2009): 9-10.
- ¹¹ "Regeneration of the Favela de Rocinha Slum / Jan Kudlicka," ArchDaily, accessed January 12, 2014. <http://www.archdaily.com/?p=146314>.
- ¹² "Kalundborg Industrial Symbiosis. Wastes used as resources," Asknature, accessed January 12, 2014. <http://www.asknature.org/product/b08979c20b2d379a8af64fa83826db34>.
- ¹³ "Kalundborg Symbiosis," accessed January 12, 2014. <http://www.symbiosis.dk/en>.
- ¹⁴ Andrew Adamatzky and Jeff Jones, "Road planning with slime mould: if physarum built motorways it would route M6/M74 through Newcastle," *International Journal of Bifurcation and Chaos* (2010): 3065-3084.

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DRAWING AS A THIRD PARTY PHENOMENA: EXAMINING THE METROPOLIS AS A CONTESTED CONCEPT, OFFERING A PLATFORM FOR MULTIPLE AND DIVERSE EXAMINATIONS OF THE CITY TO MULTIPLY AND RECONFIGURE OUR READINGS OF THE CITY

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INTRIDUCTION

On remembrance:

In the spring of 2009 Nicolas Bourriaud proposed the term ‘Altermodernism’ announcing a new era following Postmodernism to describe aesthetic proposals critically engaging with an increasingly global context ¹. This ‘new’ term is deployed as an explorative platform in search of a 21st century modernism, very different from Postmodernism for example, which is setting us after or outside the historic period of modernism. As such, Altermodernism does not exist in linear reference to a previous timeframe yet acknowledges history as a network of intersecting timelines where it becomes increasingly more difficult to think and thus design outside or after history yet much more appealing to sustain within its mesh of time.

John Ruskin describes in his sixth chapter of the ‘Seven Lamps of Architecture’ ² the importance of a narrative capacity implicit to architecture and urban design. In this pursue of story telling, architecture thus exemplifies its capacity to engage with the idea of recall, setting up a state of remembrance for its users. He describes the architectonic body, in line with literature, to perform as part of a cumulative memory underlining the memorial and monumental values of our built environment. Very much in line with writing, this conveyance of historical information is described to perform in the stone surfaces shrouding space where metaphors, in the form of ornamentation, support its users ‘remembrance’.

As children after modernism we have learned to deliberately dislocate and abstract historical associations in favour of an industrial vocabulary, celebrating concepts of objectifying abstraction. If we do however engage with historical tradition such as in Ruskin’s oeuvre we find ourselves locked into a taxonomy of styles, isolated from a present and contemporary discourse. Even Ruskin eventually recognises his stylistic legacy of the Pseudo-Gothic to have resulted, as he describes, “*in an accursed Frankenstein monster of my own making*” ³.

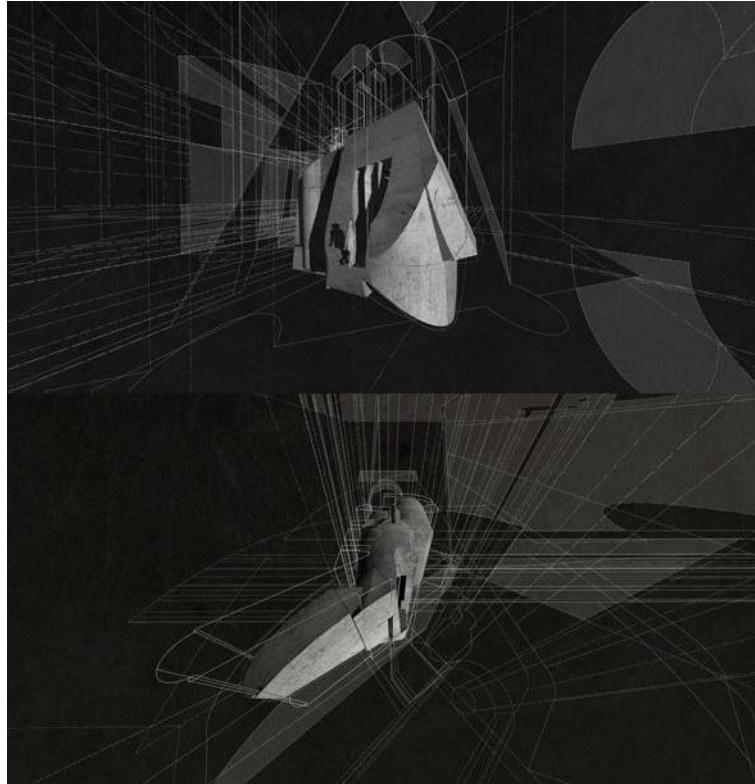


Figure 1, 2. *The Keepers Cenotaph* by Ephraim Joris, London, 2013: drawing historical traces to cast a figure.

As a conduit into modes of reading the city as part of a cumulative memory, we (Architecture Project) propose a critical attitude towards the representational tools by which we design, analyse and describe urban space, both in practice and education. More in particular how classical representational tools (i.e. plan, section, elevation), in line with architectural professional codes, combined with modes of phenomenological reading through autographic media, aim to install its users ‘remembrance’.

In this article, I seek to unpack the need to juxtapose material ideas and concepts against layers of historical and social information when we, as designers, work within an urban fabric. Through the commentary of a selection of our drawings, this is explained as a process of inclusion, aiming to incorporate a multitude of contextual information, seen and unseen, particular to a site and across different timeframes. Important here is that spatial compositions, embracing memorial and monumental values, do hold qualities of ‘strangeness’ and stand explicitly different against their material setting. As such, any iconic linkage is avoided, supporting the driving principle of dislocating form from its conventionally associated meaning or symbolic value, without denying the presence of such values.⁴

PLURALITY OF SYSTEMS OF INTERPRETATION

In a world where memory has become part of a global culture the social act of remembering has changed in our recent history. Not so long ago history provided relative stability in its representations of past events. This stability has been shattered and ‘*today we think of the past as memory without borders rather than national history within borders*’; *today memory is understood as a mode of representation and as belonging to the present.*⁵

Through the work of our practice (Architecture Project) we engage with the idea of the past performing through the present. Such practice is not marked by the design of explicit memorials tied

to official histories of specific communities; yet aims at a process of including residues of (perhaps mythical) narratives when we design new urban interventions. As such, our work does not want to gravitate towards designing places for exception yet involves designing places of the everyday. In recent work, and perhaps in seeming conflict with the previous statement, our work references ideas on mortality, not so much to commemorate the death but to instill a specific experiential, sensory quality. A quality we have all experienced when we pass a grave and are confronted with death as we become conscious of the presence of human remains. In this moment we experience a halt in our everyday life and seem to be carried to another place⁶, a place usually submerged within the self. In this moment time collapses to a dense mesh through which we experience a lingering consciousness stretching into an immensity of time-space; a vastness approaching a state of nullity. It is such description of monumentality, as incalculable enormity, we have been looking for, to complement the annotation of the material with a phenomenological monumentality; in such a way that a certain place or object allows us to feel or perceive something beyond itself.

It is thus important for us to set ourselves outside the practice of designing exceptional spaces in that such spaces often become substitute environments upon which political agendas are transposed unavoidably diminishing the richness and diversity of individual experience. We contemplate architecture and urban design freed from compensating moralizing tactics for it cannot embody any truths or act as a correction of life (such as in war memorials). Architectonic body does not have to warn or remind us, but can remain ‘empty’ and in doing so become endlessly more forceful.

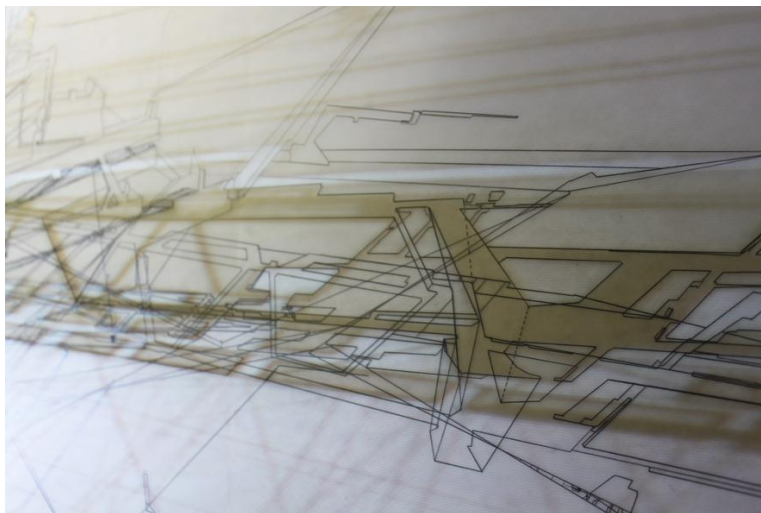


Figure 3. The Gate Drawings by Riet Eeckhout, 2013: drawing historical traces to define new field conditions.

“How would the painter or poet express anything other than his encounter with the world?” exclaims Maurice Merleau-Ponty at the start of his seven lectures on science and perception⁷. Around the same time, Jean-Paul Sartre states Architecture to mediate between the outer and the inner worlds by means of its suggestive and mediating metaphors⁸. This metaphorical performance does not limit itself to a symbolizing relationship; the metaphor is implicit to the world and spaces we inhabit. As designers we aim at such mediating performance to gaze at the world and our being in it as we draw and model space. Architecture and urbanism as such, is a performing event.

‘Gaston Bachelard introduces in his 1957 *La poétique de l’espace* the concept of topo-analysis⁹; ‘a psychoanalysis of places’, in such, studying our phenomenological relationship with places. The object of study here is not merely architecture; the aim is to study how space (that what exists within and around architecture) accommodates consciousness or as Bachelard denotes; reverie. A

consciousness accommodated by a collapse of time; where multiple pasts and present come together. Any attempt to locate this moment however, would allow us to understand the placeless-ness of this event. Past and present do not come together in one point. Any definition of such point would be a falsifying act. As designers, interested in generating structures of consciousness, as we study our spatial being, we can only enter an incalculable enormity to experience vastness beyond any point.

TRACING THE PERFORMANCE OF SPACE

Our practice, like most others, is often led by preconceived sculptural images as we mediate within a network of intersecting timelines. They manifest themselves as figurations lingering in the poesis of each project. As part of our design method, we strive for a resistance of these figurations and eliminate implicit figurative qualities by deploying a drawing discourse of ‘replay’, as I will explain later, through which we include a multiplicity of historical data yet subtract any form of narrative which would lead to figuration. We use the term figuration to denote levels of conventionally associated meaning or symbolic value; often through the use of archetypical historicised elements in the composition of cities; something we thus want to avoid. This sets up a practice of paradox; negotiating the architectonic body as figure in the storey telling of place yet resisting figuration (avoiding subordination to the preconceived image) and therefore designing presence through levels of absence. Projects born out of this practice exist as ‘circulatory systems’ including video, sound, drawing and writing with the aim to define a broad practice-platform with a central methodological concern; language as primary material - designing the figure freed from its figurative role.

This drives a design discourse where iconic linkages are avoided, supporting the aim of dislocating form from its conventionally associated meaning. To establish this, drawings have become instruments of internal dialogue.¹⁰ They guide a process of discovery setting up a continual recording of boundaries as a graphical manipulation of a site or volume. These recordings, subject to site-specific parameters, seen and unseen and across different timeframes, set up a multifaceted interchange between drawing and context yet aim at repressing any passive recording of nostalgic clichés. The outcome negates the creation of an architectural metaphorical mark (buildings as symbols or icons) and instead aims for the description of a new and highly contextual object/landscape supporting a state of remembrance; reciprocating an active gaze towards history interweaving multiple pasts with present.

As intrinsic part of this practice the drawing is used as detour, only to arrive at a more direct interest in the mediating metaphorical performance of spaces. Here we look at symbolising relationships freed from the picturesque. We do this by drawing through levels of sensation rather than drawing representations of an a priori formal vocabulary (historicised archetypes). Symbolising relationships in space are explored through ‘the making visible of forces’, sequentially moulding form. One could look at this drawing practice as an aesthetic sensing of forces within the space of the drawing to trace the performance of a given or designed space. As children of a modern world we have become very distant to such practice. However it is important to remind us that for certain cultures throughout history such practice has been on the foreground. To illustrate, we could look at differences between ancient languages.

In Anglo-Saxon sentence structure the verb is subordinate to the noun for example. This partly supported the development in western civilisation of an enlightened view of the world where a Cartesian understanding of things allows us to describe the world as the relationship between objects. So when we speak of a ‘house’ in English we denote an object or a cluster of objects. With this, we can identify a principle keystone to the inherent characteristic of a consumer society wherein everything can be defined as an object¹¹, even the sensory aspects of life, ultimately to be turned into

quantifiable commodities. As designers we have trained ourselves to think and work through concepts of objectifying abstraction to describe and engage with abstract space; privileging the objective over the element of experienced space.¹²

When we look at the Hebrew language for example we can see a sentence structure where the noun is subordinate to the verb. When we speak of ‘house’ in Hebrew we denote a performance and not an object. Therefore ‘house’ becomes ‘housing’ and the idea of an abstracted object is replaced by the idea of a performing space. Our preoccupation with sensation is not only a strategy to look at experienced space but also allows us to proclaim a feeling of discontent, of a disagreement of form, of current form as a normative formal language; a guiding force in our consumerist apparatus. As such, the drawing exists in a state of destruction claiming back territory of freedom from this normative imprisonment. At the same time it exists in a state of becoming, of en-forcing new form towards unimagined spaces. In the drawing of these spaces, or more specifically the drawing towards these spaces, different levels of figuration are mediated. The architectonic figure could be described as signifying form deeply embedded in a cultural language. Figures could be archetypal elements such as sash windows, front porches, pitched roofs or clock towers. When we speak of negotiating the architectonic body, as figure yet resisting figuration in the storytelling of place, the none-figurative is not accomplished through abstraction but through a process of isolation and replay.

ISOLATION AND REPLAY

As I watched my son, seated on the dusty steps of a vacant building, somewhere in the centre of Brussels, staring with awe to 4 cranes performing a ballet of demolition, I witnessed something wonderful. After an hour of uninterrupted gazing he stood up and walked to his pram to pick up his toy-crane, once seated again he started to re-enact the witnessed spectacle with his toy-crane. It seemed he had become so engulfed by this performance he needed to process his viewing of the world through replay.

In general, our drawing discourse is initiated by isolating a figure from its original narrative framework. With ‘The Gate Drawings’ the first ‘act’ of the drawing entails a minute manual tracing of historical information on the site as historical drawings and film footage are projected onto a drawing board. The process of tracing repeats itself multiple times to create series of densely stratified drawings. *“Projecting onto a drawing board at large scale and sitting at the pixel end of the image, allows one to reside in a position so close to the representation that one can only see parts of the totality. In this instance, one is not able to reflect and take critical decisions (informed decisions), one is only able to surrender uncritically to what is visible in close up, and cannot relate the pixel to the exact representational categories they belong to. One starts to engage with a thinking process resisting the representational”.*¹³

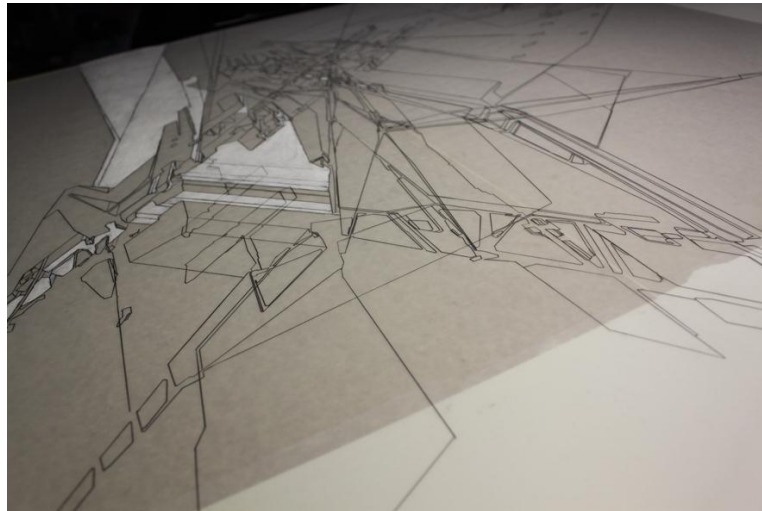


Figure 4. The Gate Drawings by Riet Eeckhout, 2013: drawing historical traces to define new field conditions.

As such, the figure (and with it, the person drawing the figure) is placed in an empty field allowing the drawing of the figure to become site. Within this field, the act of drawing accommodates the tracing of forces through which a process of reconfiguration takes place. The isolation of the figure does not install inertia yet accommodates a looking, an exploration of the figure within the operative field of the drawing. Through the isolation of the figure, its relational symbolic ties are momentarily broken and the figure becomes image. In Lacanian terms, the figure trans-locates from the symbolic order to the imaginary order or what has been described as the pre-mirror state; the moment in the psychological development of a child where it fails to recognise itself in the mirror yet only sees the image of another child. One could say that through this process of drawing, a momentary state of psychosis is established where the figure becomes image, disrupting any relation to signified meaning.

Here the act of figuration has been compromised and the drawing enters a state of the figural, as described by Foucault.¹⁴ In this state of the figural (the non-figurative yet non-abstract) relations between image and object are broken. The image as such, does not illustrate the object anymore and becomes pure image. The drawing in this momentary state of psychosis halts the act of figuration in the performance of the drawing and instead submits the image as image without reference but to itself. Such image accommodates an inwards looking and reveals a self-exploring figure. With this type of drawing we can invest in sensation freed from the demands of representation and thus pre-set architectural vocabularies. If one describes the pre-set vocabulary within architecture and urban design as a set of figurative figures it is important to understand that the drawing freed from the demand of figuration does not erase the figure. Figures remain present in the drawing however within the drawing there is the emergence of figures freed from figuration.

This state of the drawing; the state of psychosis, dislodged from reality, is only momentarily. In such a way that at certain points the drawing becomes an illustration of architectonic and urban space again. As such, the shift from the representational to pure image is at some point reversed; the drawing shifts from pure image back into a representational state. This moment of the re-representational marks a moment in the drawing where its symbolic relationships are re-established after a process of isolation and replay. This confirms the drawing as detour, only to arrive at the study and design of symbolising relationships in architecture and urban design yet freed from the picturesque, the cliché or the archetype.

With *The Keepers Cenotaph* we worked with a site of historical significance yet suffering greatly from an almost total erasure of its mnemonic properties. The project started with ‘visiting’ deleted urban scenes, places with ghostly properties connecting our world with an intangible past. The drawing process starts with the definition of a principal cast, a maximum extrusion in relation to the site’s geometry, from which multiple subtractions are taken to cast that-what-is-not, such as references to deleted scenes, hence the not-visible gains presence as void. These subtractions reference tombs and vaults without referring to actual historic objects on site. While the cemetery is a relevant reference in this project the act of objectifying the past is avoided in order to focus more on an aesthetic sensing or replay of dormant histories. We describe the design of such places as the result of composing spaces, objects and times¹⁵.

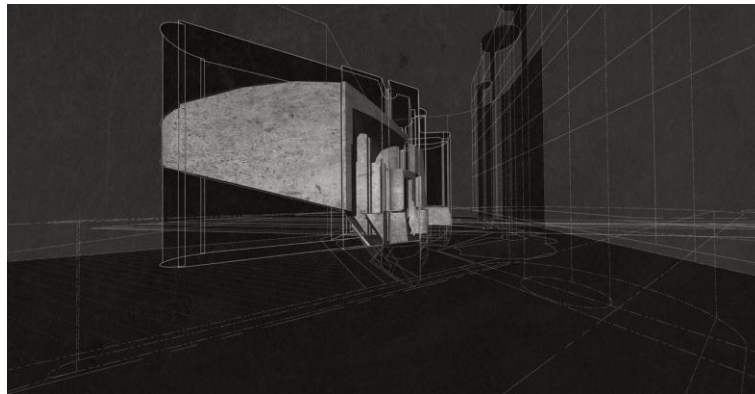


Figure 5. The Keepers Cenotaph by Ephraim Joris, London, 2013: historical traces define interior space.

MEDIATING THE CITY

The drawing is not a matter of composing form or harmonies but is occupied with unravelling implicit forces within existing forms and harmonies as found within the city. This implicates the impossibility of new form for it allows only the investigation of forces within form¹⁶. As such the act of drawing engages in the unravelling of forces within the memorial realm of the city in order to bring into presence that what is absent.

Paul Klee sates in his famous formula ‘not render the visible but to render visible’. Similarly, Monet paints forces of light and Bacon paints forces of de-figuration, energies that are invisible unless made evident through third party phenomena such as Newton’s apple falling from the tree. We see our drawings as third party phenomena; indirectly making visible, as opposed to typical architectural drawing practice which annotates a projected state of the visible¹⁷. As we design future states of our urban environment we cultivate a design process of instability, a working towards disremembering the presence of figuration. In order to dislodge the act of figuration from the figure we subject the figure to a process of catastrophe; series of manipulations through projection, retracing and subtraction. Only then are we enabled to reconfigure our readings of the city and work along a path of utmost expedience, only to enable a conversation with the unknown.

NOTES

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REPRESENTING HISTORICAL NARRATIVES IN THE URBAN SPACE. THE MAKING OF THE HERITAGE SPACE OF RHODES (1912-1950)

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INTRODUCTION

In the beginning of the 20th century, Rhodes (the capital city of the Dodecanese island complex) was an Ottoman town with no perceived heritage space or predominant built heritage paradigm to represent a common past. Following political changes, it would become a testing ground for two different political regimes, in their effort to articulate ideology, imprint notions on social organisation of the present, and consolidate political hegemony by using History. A colonial empire that turned to fascist ideology and a republican nation-state dedicated to western ideals would promote specific built typologies to heritage monuments, and remodel the walled city, so as to verify their view on the history of the place. This paper deals with the urban interventions of the Italian colonial and Greek interim administrations (1912-1943 and 1947-1950, respectively) on the walled part of the ancient city and the important role of the media in diffusing new articulations on the local history and in propagating the significance of built heritage brought forward by each administration.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Dodecanese island complex was seized by Italy from the Ottoman Empire during the Italian-Ottoman wars (1912). The islands were formally annexed to the Italian state as a ‘Possession’, following the Lausanne Treaty (1923), and remained under Italian control before they were incorporated to Greece in 1947 according to the terms of the Paris Peace Treaty (1947).

THE WORK OF THE ITALIAN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION (1912-1943)

The Italian administration began implementing its urban heritage preservation agenda even during the ‘uncertain’ period of provisional control (1912-1924), when it restored key buildings of the walled city in a manner highlighting their association with the medieval Order of St John, thus underpinning the medieval origins of the city. In addition, it developed a legal framework that controlled every private intervention to buildings it considered as historically significant. Incorporation of the islands to the Italian state (1924) provided the necessary legal means that enabled the Italian administration to intensify its urban transformation programme, and to compile an urban plan (1926) for a new colonial city around the walls. Architectural and urban interventions were planned, designed and overseen by local colonial institutions, such as the ‘Superintendency of Monuments and Excavations’, the ‘Office of Architecture’, and the ‘Directorate of Public Works’.

The creation of the heritage space of Rhodes

Within almost 30 years, from the identification of potential heritage buildings¹ and the restoration of the highly symbolic *Hospital of the Order of St John*² to the finalisation of the last regulatory plan (1942) just before the surrender of the Italian forces (3/9/1943), the image of several parts of the walled city would have been altered beyond recognition. In particular, the N, NE, E and SE part of the city would convey the image of a typical fortified city of knights, a medieval western European bastion in the East.

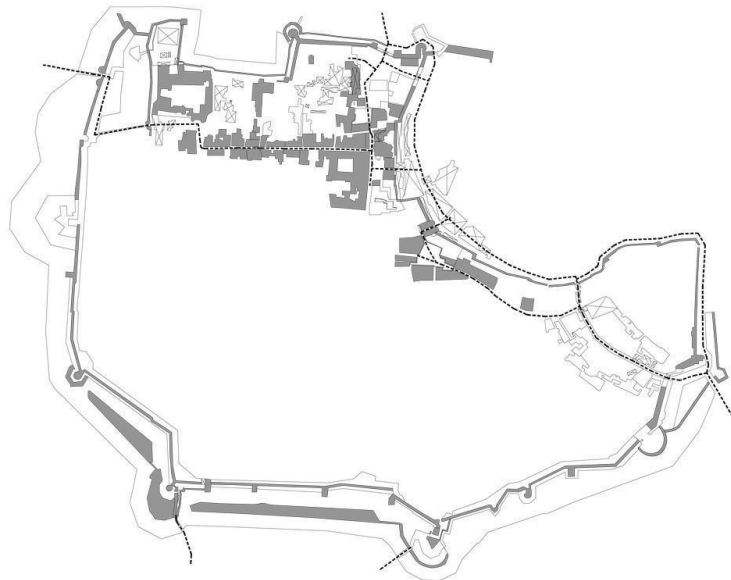


Figure 1. Urban interventions in the walled city by the Italian administrations (1912-1943).

The Italian administration's urban refurbishment program included restoration projects of specific built typologies³ (almost exclusively from the period of the Order of St John) and the regulation of the existing urban form through new squares and open spaces. Built heritage that did not fit the desired imagery was demolished and replaced with new administration buildings that were dressed in a neo-medieval architectural style⁴. The neo-medieval style was devised by Italian architects working for the Italian administration and strongly reflected the general morphology, scale, and materiality of the restored heritage buildings.



Figure 2. The building of the Compagnia Commerciale Italiana per l'Egeo, built in neo- medieval style (1929-1930, architects: P. Lombardi and R. Petracco).

Building and urban interventions in the city can be seen as a means of mass communication, as a specific message is being communicated to a mass audience through a carefully constructed image(ry).

HISTORICAL NARRATIVE AND MONUMENTS

Restored heritage monuments, new buildings in neo-medieval style and new open spaces staged in a set of (restored and reconstructed) medieval walls, gates and towers, revealed a new historical narrative which pointed out the medieval character of the walled city as the only ‘authentic’ and ‘true’. The resultant heritage space is similar to a theme park that spoke of the everyday routine of the Knights, and emphasized the noble and benevolent qualities of the medieval Order of St John: Knights fought for Christian faith (as reflected by the restored bastions, the city walls, the moat and other military positions), they did charity work in the service of God (witnessed by the hospital of the Order), they had honour and served justice (as seen in the Courthouse of the Order), they had a hierarchical system of organisation (as reflected by the Grand Master’s palace), they were Christians (witnessed by the Castle Cathedral, the Virgin of the Burgh and numerous chapels), and they resided in groups according to nationality (as seen in the ‘hostels of the tongues’). The constructed heritage space referred to pre-defined and directed readings, which limited misinterpretations and implied specific cultural presumptions which helped in the acceptance of the imposed social conventions of the political present of the time.

NATURALISATION⁵ OF HISTORY: TOURIST GUIDES, CINEMA NEWSREELS, DAILY PRESS

Colonial media of the time gave a lot of publicity in the urban transformation project of the city, underlining every time the Italian administration’s duty to bring forward the ‘true’ historical character of the place. Such media would include tourist guides, cinema newsreels, and articles in the daily press. Texts and audiovisual means produced by the Italian administration aimed in popularising the interpretative code through which the newly ‘constructed’ heritage monuments would acquire meaning. As decoders, these means constitute hegemonic interventions⁶ that set up a common reference framework in which the new Past is understood. Tourist guides comprise a privileged field of popularisation and dissemination of a new narrative on the local history⁷. Heritage monuments and tourist guides complement each other, as the latter is the medium that explains to the reader what to look for in a monument when standing in front of it and how to perceive what he sees, while anchoring signifieds to determined narrative contents. Tourist guides published by the Italian administration supported and reproduced the approved reading of the local history, and propagated the importance of the heritage monuments that were brought forward by the colonial administration.

Short documentaries on history and built heritage and newsreels on the refurbishment project produced by the Luce film institute⁸, gave the ‘unsuspected’ audience aspects of the city, full of semiotic meaning, focusing on the same heritage monuments as tourist guides, and reproducing the same narrative content. To the audience of metropolitan Italy, they helped establish direct relationships between medieval past and colonial Present, and helped to solidify the idea that it was the right of the Italian administration (as cultural successors of the medieval Order) to continue to impose social identities and political hierarchies to the local population.

Similarly, the newspaper of the Italian administration, *Messaggero di Rodi*, aimed in shaping public opinion, and in our case promoted wide acceptance for the restoration of the medieval character of the walled city. It regularly included articles that described in detail restoration and urban projects, always highlighting their contribution to the restoration of what was promoted as the true character of the

city. Newspaper articles also propagated the ‘self-evident’ of the medieval character of the walled city and the ‘obligation’ of the Italian administration to restore it and to bring it forward.

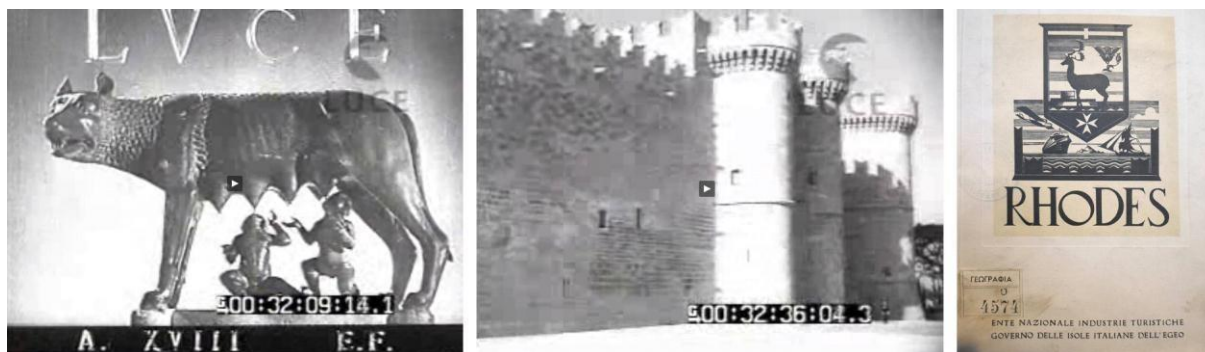


Figure 3. (left, middle) *Giornale* No 51 (25/06/1940): *Nel sole di Rodi*. Newsreels like this propagated the significance of the restored monuments. (right) Cover of the tourist guide published in 1933 by the State Tourist Department of metropolitan Italy (ENIT) and the local Italian colonial administration.

THE WORK OF THE PROVISIONAL GREEK GOVERNMENT(S) (1947-1950)

During the period between the Paris Peace Conference (1946) and Paris Peace Treaties (1947), the Greek government sent a team of experts to the islands to gather information that could be useful for their annexation into the Greek state⁹. One of the commissioned reports was dealing with the question of how to re-signify the heritage space of Rhodes in a way to fit the dominant discourse on greek national history, which was based on the unity and continuity of the nation throughout the ages. In his text, ‘*the question of form*’, architect and academic Dimitris Pikionis brought forward the importance of *image* and *form* of the built heritage stock in promoting Greek national identity and proposed a series of measures most of which would become (local) laws by the interim provisional governments (1947-1950)¹⁰. Recognising the architectural value of the Italian interventions, he restricted the focus on heritage typologies and urban spaces that had escaped the attention of the previous Italian administration.

‘The question of (heritage) form’ (1947)¹¹

Issues raised in the text deal with, (a) the restoration of the ‘original’ plan and shape, (b) the use of coating on external facades to undermine the significance of unwanted built heritage, (c) the use of new building materials, (d) the importance of the vernacular architecture in contemporary culture, (e) the symbolic value of architecture and its role in achieving social consensus, and (f) the symbolic value of urban green. For the walled city of Rhodes in particular, D. Pikionis proposed a series of practical measures, such as (a) the promotion of the byzantine origins of heritage Muslim mosques, (b) the expropriation and state management of the ottoman heritage buildings, (c) the rationalisation of urban form, by creating new straight axes visually connecting the new important heritage monuments,

(d) the establishment of archaeological sites in the open spaces that were created after the aerial bombardment of the city in 1944, (e) the study of ancient topography through archaeological excavations and the re-establishment of ancient streets, (f) the promotion of a local vernacular that would reflect the imagery of the vernacular of the rest of the Aegean islands, (g) the invention of a new architectural language, that would incorporate elements of the newly discovered local vernacular.

New heritage monuments

The narrative content of the heritage monuments brought forward by the Italian administration was redefined within Greek national narrative frames. New monuments supported a version of local history that emphasised the Greek nation as the dominant subject of the local history. New heritage monuments were identified by the Greek provisional administrations¹² and would include archaeological sites, byzantine churches and chapels, restored structures of the Order of St John and heritage examples from the Muslim quarters of the city. As the Ottoman period was re-approached, it was discovered that significant monuments in the Muslim quarters originated from older byzantine structures. Byzantine history and heritage had already been assimilated into the official Greek historiography, a century earlier¹³, as the link between Antiquity and the Present.



Figure 4. The orthodox church of Ag. Paraskevi, which had been converted into a mosque during the Ottoman period, restored to its original use.

Discovered byzantine structures emphasised the presence of medieval Christian Hellenism in the built heritage mix and would also provide a strong counterbalance against the restored buildings of the order of St John. Along with future archaeological excavations, they would provide evidence for Greek claims on the heritage space. In the new historical narrative, medieval buildings of the Order of St John were attributed to Greek local artisans and master builders who had worked according to the standards and practices of ancient and byzantine traditions. In addition, parts of the walled city (such as streets) were identified to originate from the ancient city. Typical architectural elements of heritage buildings were incorporated into the national architectural vocabulary. External staircases, for instance, were seen as a variation of the Aegean-architecture common theme.

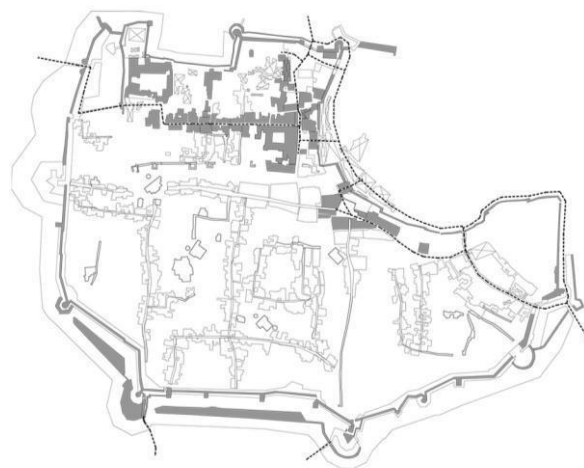


Figure 5. The new heritage space of the walled city.

Propagation of the new local history

During the period of incorporation into the Greek state, the local provisional governments and the Greek governments published texts that re-negotiated local history and diffused new historical narratives. Such publications include treatises on local history and culture, written by local experts and mainland academics¹⁴, tourist guides and popular fiction¹⁵, all of which helped to consolidate new historical narratives as the only true and possible version of history.



Figure 6. Covers from publications on the history and heritage of Rhodes.

In an age of extreme shortages and hardships, such publications were probably the only means available to reach wider audiences (although there are a few cinema productions and newsreels that gave a glimpse of the new territories to the Greek mainland audience). Popularised treatises on local history and culture would become the main medium to propagate new narrative and interpretative schemata on the origins of the heritage space. Facts and myths from local history were re-evaluated according to their national compatibility, and were used to signify the periods of the new history of Rhodes. Milestones and monuments that antagonised the national view of history were undermined. In the depiction of the local historical timeline, the emphasis shifted from the medieval to the ancient (and more widely accepted as “Greek”) times, while the nationalised byzantine past was confirmed in the Muslim built heritage.

Research on issues that highlight the Greek character of local history and culture would become a field of activity of specialised state institutes, such as the Archaeological and Historical Foundation of the Aegean (1947) and the Folk Archive of the Dodecanese (1949). The former aimed in the purification of local History from foreign- driven falsifications¹⁶, while the latter aimed in the promotion and popularisation of every form of folk culture¹⁷.

The discovery and popularisation of vernacular forms of dwelling

Particularly interesting are those publications that deal with the discovery of folk culture and vernacular architecture. The study of folklore would contribute to the diffusion of the concept of common nationhood across the local cultural conscience, while the recently discovered vernacular architecture would be seen as a variation of the Greek traditional island architecture theme. Greek mainland scholars had already articulated an idealised, achronic, pre-industrial, Christian past and a classless, Christian, rural, imaginary community in the core of the nation since the early 20th century. For them, as with the new experts of the local folklore, this imagined community permeated the historical continuum undisturbed by any respective present¹⁸ and referred to a vague, but national, past. Publications on the vernacular architecture of Rhodes and the rest of the islands, pointed out archetypal typologies that referred to Greek national forms, thus providing tangible evidence for the concept of cultural continuity with the ancient past.

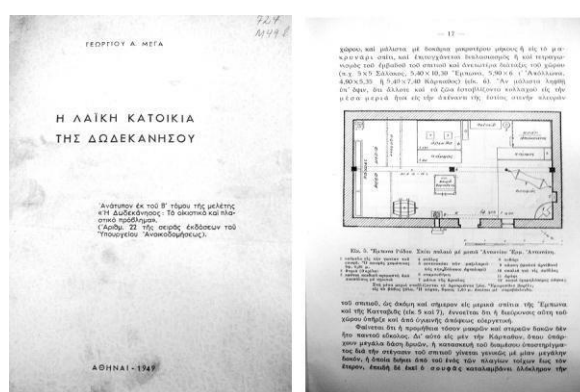


Figure 7. Example of publication on the local vernacular architecture: G. A. Megas, *Vernacular housing in the Dodecanese (in Greek)* (Athens: Ministry of Reconstruction, 1949).

The quest for vernacular architecture was confined strictly to rural, family-housing typologies belonging to the Greek Christian population. Typologies that referred to urban dwelling, industrial production, non-Christian faith, or different national groups, were excluded. The typical example of the local vernacular was identified with flat-roof, single-room, rural houses which resembled the Cycladic heritage paradigm.

CONCLUSION

The example of Rhodes reveals how the construction and management of heritage space can be employed in order to legitimise the hegemony of a certain power in the present, and the importance of media in diffusing and naturalizing new narratives and interpretations. The Italian and Greek administrations, although different in ideological principles and social aims, employed the same means in order to appropriate the heritage space of Rhodes through different readings, and to render their political hegemony historically legitimate. Urban interventions included restoration of specific built typologies, regulation of the urban form and construction of new buildings in architectural styles that embed elements of the constructed past. The resultant heritage space would provide tangibility to dominant narratives of local history. Both administrations defined the narrative content, as well as the ideal form and image of the heritage paradigms, and both produced texts and films in order to propagate and diffuse their versions of local history and culture.

NOTES

¹ ‘*Elenco dei monumenti delle Sporadi: Le tredici Sporadi*’, a publication of the Italian ministry of Education in 1913, includes a list of ancient and medieval buildings of the city of Rhodes. Its entries constitute important evidence on what constituted historically and culturally significant for the Italian administration. The list can be found also in G. Gerola, “Monumenti medioevali delle tredici Sporadi (appunti di viaggio)”, *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene*, vol.I (1914).

² Converted to the city’s first archaeological museum during the first years of the Italian provisional rule.

³ Preservation methods ranged from scientific to empirical. Reconstruction ‘*in stile*’ was considered as an acceptable practice, as it not only helped to bring out the monument’s historicity, but highlighted the administration’s ability to recreate monuments anew by using new and contemporary techniques [R. Santoro, “I restauri degli edifici medievali di Rodi” in *La presenza italiana nel Dodecaneso tra il 1912 e il 1948*, ed M. Livadiotti and G. Rocco (Catania: Edizioni del Prisma, 1996), 247]. New techniques in an old theme supported the right to appropriate medieval heritage and the claim on cultural relation to the medieval Order.

⁴ The neo-medieval architectural style is deemed positively even today, as it did not lead to mere fake reproduction of past forms, but led to architectural products of their own right [B. Kolonas, *Ιταλική αρχιτεκτονική στα Δωδεκάνησα 1912-1943* (Italian architecture in the Dodecanese 1912-1943, in Greek) (Athens: Olkos, 2002), 34-35]. New administration buildings in the walled city dressed in this style would fill-in urban gaps resulting from the demolition of structures of unwanted narrative content, or the rationalisation of urban form.

⁵ ‘Naturalisation’ refers to the acceptance of particular mental and interpretative patterns as the only true contingent of social reality. A *naturalised* social objectivity conceals the contingent character of social reality. Production and consolidation of meaning are key mechanisms in the stabilization of power relationships and their acceptance by various subjects (Concept taken from E. Laclau and C. Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy. Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London: Verso, 1985), chapter 2).

⁶ Hegemonic interventions are articulations that restore the clarity of meaning and help a discourse to dominate over competing others [E. Laclau, “Power and representation” in *Politics, Theory and Contemporary Culture*, ed. M. Poster (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 282].

⁷ Such publications include: A. Maiuri, *Rodi. Guida dei monumenti e del museo archeologico di Rodi* (Rhodes: Italian Military Administration, 1918); Ente Nazionale Industrie Turistiche, *Rodi, la leggendaria isole delle rosse*, (Roma: Ente Nazionale Industrie Turistiche, 1925); Ente Nazionale Industrie Turistiche, *Rhodes, l’île des Roses*, (Rodi: Governo delle isole italiane dell’Egeo, 1933).

⁸ The Luce film institute was founded in mainland Italy in 1924 and in 1926 was put under the control of the fascist government becoming a means of propaganda. Short movies and newsreels of the Institute were screened by law before any commercial movie.

⁹ The gathered information was published in K. Doxiadis, ed., *Δωδεκάνησος- τετράτομος μελέτη του υπουργείου Ανοικοδομήσεως και συνεργατών του* (Dodecanese- a four volume study by the ministry of Reconstruction and its associates) (Athens: Ministry of Reconstruction, 1947).

¹⁰ Decrees covered issues which relate to the organisation of competent authorities, the identification of heritage structures and the establishment of a heritage list, the regulation of building activity in heritage areas, the regulation of the archaeological process etc.

¹¹ D. Pikionis, *Το πρόβλημα της Μορφής* (The question of form, in Greek), in *Το οικιστικό και πλαστικό πρόβλημα*, ed. K. Doxiadis (Athens: Ministry of Reconstruction, 1950), 93-122.

¹² The first heritage list would be compiled by the Greek military administration in 1947. Its amended version came out a year later in 1948 by the General Administration of the Dodecanese.

¹³ The Byzantine period had already been incorporated into the official Greek narrative on national descent [See K. Paparrigopoulos, *Ιστορία του ελληνικού έθνους από των αρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι των νεωτέρων* (*History of the Greek nation, from Antiquity to modern era*, in Greek) (Athens: N. Passaris publishers, 1865-1874)].

¹⁴ Such publications include: A. G. Vrontis, *Ιστορία της Ρόδου* (History of Rhodes, in Greek) (Rhodes: State Press of Dodecanese, 1948); G. A. Megas, *Η λαϊκή κατοικία της Δωδεκανήσου* (Vernacular housing in Dodecanese, in Greek) (Athens: Ministry of Reconstruction, 1949); Ch. Karouzos, *Ρόδος (Ιστορία- Μνημεία-Τέχνη)* (Rhodes: History-Monuments-Arts, in Greek) (Athens: I. Papachrisanthou publishers, 1948).

¹⁵ Such as: A. Tarsouli, *Δωδεκάνησα* (Dodecanese, in Greek) (Athens: ‘Alpha’ I. M. Skazikis publishers, 1947).

¹⁶ Resolution no. 16522, Gazette of the Military Administration of the Dodecanese, Issue 31, 12/06/1947.

¹⁷ Resolution no. 17563/1563, Gazette of the General Administration of the Dodecanese, Issue 34, 15/11/1949.

¹⁸ For Greek Folklore scholars, identification of rural culture with peoples' culture would bring the idealization agricultural society's value system. For them, rural culture embodies and safeguards all national values (A. Kyriakidou- Nestoros, *Η Θεωρία της Ελληνικής Λαογραφίας* (Theory of the Greek Folklore, in Greek) (Athens: The Modern Greek Studies Association for Culture and General Education, 1978), 184-185.

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CONTESTED TERRAINS AND DISCORDANT FRAMES: (RE-) PRESENTING THE CHANGING CITY

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INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, conflict and contestation have been one of the main conditions of urbanity. Urban space, and its patterns, configuration and inhabitation have developed as location of, framework for, catalyst for, and response to various conflicts and their negotiation. The underlying causes of urban conflict comprise social, economic, ethnic, ecological, spatial and political issues – often overlaid on and compounding each other, and fueled by density and an often more than critical mass of people and capital. One could subsume that therefore urban conditions often have a catalytic effect on conflicts latent in a society or culture and become manifest first and foremost in cities. Consequentially, urban form in general can be read as a result of the ongoing negotiation of these conflicts, and the palimpsest that we tend to call “big city”, “urban agglomeration” or “metropolis” with its visible and hidden layers is but a series of battlefields.¹ Conversely, as film co-evolved as medium with the spatio-political realities of 20th century cities, its representations of urban realities can shed light on contemporary conditions and interpretations of urbanity. Beyond, film can operate as one of the few modes in which disenfranchised and marginalized individuals and communities can actually attain a degree of representation, and subvert the capitalist-hegemonial agendas and interests that shaped the urban form and conditions that marginalize them, enabling them to develop, represent and enact much more inclusive and socially and environmentally just visions and versions of city.

FILM AND CITY – A CONTESTED CO-EVOLUTION

The evolution of technologies that made the 20th century city possible has also made possible the modern motion picture. McDonald suggests that the developments of the modern city and the cinema have been not only simultaneous but interlocked, and that the city has been central to two very different strands of film history: first, as environment for melodrama in Hollywood mainstream (from Harold Lloyd’s comedies to film noir). Secondly, “the modern city has been a frequent subject film identified with and often claimed by two traditions of independent cinema: documentary film and avant-garde film.”² Uricchio argues that, “The motion picture evolved during a period of tremendous urbanization. Its development, survival and spread were, to a great extent, a function of this growth. From the outset, there was a natural interaction between the rapid developments of urban life and the medium capable of observing and commenting upon it.”³

To early filmmakers, the city displayed the key characteristics of modernity—the increasing speed and standardization of time; the rise of consumerism and the movement of capital; the emphasis on

spectatorship, distraction, and entertainment; a focus on technology, expediency, and mobility; and concerns with overstimulation and ephemerality. The city paved the way for the cinema.⁴ Indeed, “Modernity can best be understood as inherently cinematic...and cannot be conceived outside the context of the city.”⁵ Classic films, such as *Berlin, the Symphony of a Great City* (Ruttman 1927), a film arranged to simulate the events of single day; Vertov's *The Man with the Movie Camera* (1929); and Cavalcini's *Nothing But the Hours* (1926) canonize the urban experience in a particular way, exploring and exploiting film's ability to render the vibrant chaos and intersecting patterns of simultaneous movement and action that characterized the modern city, not dissimilar to Cubism's deconstruction of linear and hierarchical space on canvas.

Ruttman, who wanted to honor Berlin as the quintessential modern European metropolis, uses the symphony structure as analogous to the structure of city life. Equivalent to the relation between musician and orchestra, “in the city the individual contributions of millions of people are subsumed within the metropolis’ mega-partite movement through the day, a movement that reveals several predictable highs and lows, culminating in a symbolic fireworks that celebrate the conclusion of the metropolis’ productive daily and weekly cycle.”⁶

Writes Weihsmann “The cinema is certainly an exemplary product of urban modernity, but it is also a producer of urban culture and civilization.... From its beginning, film has been linked with the metropolis and the motion picture medium has featured the cityscape frequently and prominently...the city was the primary subject matter of early avant-garde cinematography in the mid-1920s. A new genre was born: “city film,” or, better, “city symphonies.”⁷

The camera was initially seen as a recorder of fact and scientific reality, Weihsmann further notes: “Thus the realm of cinematography was of documentary value, and ‘reality’ became a synonym of ‘actuality.’”⁸ The emergence of editing techniques, in particular the cinematic montage, which, much like collage, allowed cinematographers to deconstruct and reassemble footage, subverting or emphasizing its original spatio-temporal order, quickly became the only language that was able to represent how the city was perceived. Referencing Kevin Lynch’s idea of ‘imageability,’ Weihsmann suggests that, “architectural form relates to the form of film as one text to another, in terms of a structure composed of so many patterns, or rather fragments of structure or language, organized in time through space. Film becomes analogous to the modern perception of the city, continuous sequences of space frames perceived through time...a silent witness of reality...depicting the hidden yet omnipresent and commonplace character of everyday existence in public places.”⁹

With a growing awareness of urban realities hidden underneath the modernist-utopian master narrative, a second theme about cities began to emerge during this same period: the city as nightmare. Based on the tenet that cultures reflect and construct the social reality of the modern era, “a number of forms of expression and modes of critical analysis arose to make sense of the dramatic and rapidly changing social reality in the city.”¹⁰

In narrative film, the city emerged as a place with human affections: evil, sinister alienating (achieved primarily by the use of shadow and light) in 1920s and 1930s film noir. This portrayal of the sinister city was lost with the introduction of color, until more recent films such as “*Blade Runner*” (Ridley Scott, 1982) and “*Batman*” (Tim Burton, 1989) successfully resurrected it, introducing the post-modern, apocalyptic vision of the “neo-noirs,” such as “*The Man Who Wasn’t There*” (Joel & Ethan Coen, 2001) and Christopher Nolan’s “*Following*” (1998) and “*Memento*” (2000), and culminating in more recent “post-apocalyptic” films, such as “*28 Days Later*” or “*I am Legend*”. The presence of urban space, with its different appearances of order and disorder, carries a large part of the narrative expression, and cultural ideas about moral values, social hierarchy, and the role of the individual in society. The city’s role in film noir clearly transcends that of mere “setting”—it acts as both symbol and main character in Helphand's¹¹ sense.

Early film theoretician Bela Balazs contends that “The screen provides us with more and more examples of machinery and factory work as the menacing examples of a smoke-blackened destiny. We see the machine acquire a face in film, its movement transformed into a terrifying expressiveness. We have seen more than once how the neutral “terrain” of a factory becomes a grim “landscape,” a landscape both alive and lethal.”¹² This applies very much to the appearance of the city in film noir. His argument that landscape in the cinema can be read like a human face for its mood and is never neutral suggests that film is a modern art that can most authentically address the horrors of industrialization and urbanization. This shift coincides with the racial tensions, decay and neglect that in mainstream media became increasingly synonymous with the American industrial city before and after World War II.

Bauregard writes, “The postwar traumas of the large cities thereby travelled beyond the actual sites of deterioration and neglect. By doing so, they exacerbated the ambivalence toward cities that Americans have embraced for over half a century. In turn, postwar decline fused urban ambivalence to widespread anxieties about racial relations, prosperity, national identity, upward mobility, and personal safety. The city became the discursive site for society’s contradictions, and anxiety emerged as the discourse’s dominant quality.”¹³ This understanding of city as contested terrain, a location of discourse, and a localized discourse itself, marks a distinct shift from the city as monolithic-modernist master narrative, emphasizing the rational and utopian and articulating what Habermas calls the “project of Enlightenment,” to the postmodern city as a “heterogeneous, diachronous, polyvocal, and uneven” construct.¹⁴

If “time, fragmentation, decentralization, militarization and surveillance are among the most important attributes of the postmodern city”¹⁵, then it is clearly visible in contemporary narrative film, such as Sam Mendes’ “City of God” (2004) or “Breaking and Entering” (2006) as well as in Spike Lee’s documentaries on post-Katrina New Orleans, “When the Levees Broke” (2006) and “If God is Willing and da Creek Don’t Rise” (2010). All of these films engage post-colonial cities that are both battleground and active agent. Consequently, these films with their “gritty” appearance of urban reality and particular modes of camera work and editing offset a sleek, dynamic and “cool” rendering of city as a backdrop in TV shows and TV ads that reference the current hegemonial culture.

FILM AS EMPOWERMENT

Spike Lee reappropriated the “city symphony” to construct a counter-hegemonial narrative in his “Do the Right Thing” (1989), showing one day in the life of people on one city block. While in Vertov’s and Ruttmann’s films individuality is subsumed within the machine of the city.¹⁶ “Rien que les Heures” introduces a set of individuals through which the workings of the city and their consequences are rendered. Spike Lee goes much further, forming a dialectic opposite to “Berlin: Symphony Of A Big City”... “Individuality is virtually irrepressible, people find ways of distinguishing themselves, often by directly confronting those around them.”¹⁷ Lee’s city is not constructed by the suppression of individual personality into a “harmony”, but through the “friendly or hostile interactions of particular citizens.”¹⁸ This clearly replaces the notion of overarching harmony” (with all its hegemonial connotations) with a much more “polyphonic” understanding: conflict is thus rendered as intrinsic and central to city life.

“Do the Right Thing” goes further in critiquing and supporting the very notions of a multi-cultural democracy – Macdonald calls it a “democratic polemic”.¹⁹ Lee’s setting, one block in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, can be seen as representative of the city as a whole. Its citizens in their African American ‘ghettos’ are typically presented as stereotypes and usually marginalized by the media in general, and both mainstream and independent cinema. Lee demonstrates that in the very variety of these marginalized citizens lies the “energy of democracy”.²⁰ The film ends in the

violent destruction of an Italian pizzeria. While Cavalcanti's "Nothing but the hours" shows crime as not only "an inevitable dimension of city life, but one of the things that renders city life exciting and romantic", "Lee suggests that, while violence is inevitable in the racist version of capitalist democracy, it is anything but romantic"²¹

"Do the Right Thing" truly forms a counter-narrative, deconstructing city and rendering urban conflict not only as intrinsic, but *integral*. And while history (and build form) are usually written by the victorious and the powers that are, cinema has the possibility to give a voice to those marginalized and disenfranchised and infuse the reading of urban form and occupation with another layer critical to understanding its history and current condition, rendering a "thick" reading²² necessary to understand and engage issues of uneven urban development, social and environmental justice, capital hegemony and the right to the city.²³

This becomes nowhere clearer as in Spike Lee's documentary "When the Levees broke" (2006) and the successor "God Willing and da Creek Don't Rise" (2009). It presents the untold stories and history of the Lower 9th Ward and its citizens in New Orleans, its systematic discrimination, ignorance, and ultimate exploitation. This tale appears too familiar – any postcolonial study of third- and fourth-world countries would render comparable narratives and insights, but to see it unfold in a first-world nation is disturbing. It is not the destruction of Katrina that is truly disturbing²⁴ – it is the underlying dysfunctionalities and injustices of the political, cultural and economic systems that were revealed in the aftermath. Lee succeeds in not only mercilessly exposing those and their perpetrators, but in telling a story of the traditions of defiance, resilience and resistance that created the Lower 9th Ward as both place and community. For the first time, a mainstream audience across the US was exposed to this powerful counter-narrative – showing that the Lower 9th Ward is not merely a disposable – or developable - piece of land below sea level, and its citizenry not something that could be displaced without conflict or consequence.

The predominant narrative that rendered the Lower 9th Ward and other low-lying areas as "green space" or "park" provided a seemingly unarguable conclusion, driven by topographic "facts". The ignorance of cultural, social, economic and historic conditions and processes with the goal of remaking the city in a different (neo-liberal and whitewashed) image is indeed typical of the ruthless way the processes of capital accumulation and hegemonial power.

Film then has at least the potential to be one of the few modes in which disenfranchised and marginalized individuals and communities can actually attain a degree of representation, a "voice", in the very processes that marginalize them²⁵ – aided by the availability and easily attained mastery of a technology that was in the realm of privilege a decade ago. Often relying on personifying the consequences of processes that are considered 'anonymous' – such as globalization, urban renewal, border security etc. - such films facilitate an understanding of not just the process itself, but its fallout. Ultimately, they disallow the audience to pretend that there are no real consequences and that the processes as such are automatic, inevitable, beyond their (or anybody's) control, and hence nobody can be held accountable.

THE CITY AS CHARACTER

If the spatial and cultural form of "city" is a result, however dynamic and ephemeral, of how the aforementioned conflicts and differentials play themselves out spatially and socially, how they "take place", then film is uniquely suited to understand and analyze these processes. Film as a medium is at least three-dimensional – it adds the dimension of time to the two-dimensional screen, creating a more and more perfect illusion of a four-dimensional – real - space. Parts of actual experience can be provided by film, such as movement, activity, temporal and spatial change. The medium can even create more than perfect illusions of place, it is able to go beyond and change the temporal and spatial

context of reality, thus creating a "heightened reality". It's "unique and specific possibilities can be defined as dynamization of space and, accordingly, spatialization of time,"²⁶ it is "free of the limits of time and space."²⁷ Cinematic place (and its constituting processes and conditions) can then be interpreted as "subject", "setting", "character" and "symbol".²⁸

These constructs of cinematic place allow to enhance, and literally make visible processes and phenomena otherwise hidden. Vertov's and Ruttmann's use of camera angles, time-lapse photography, overlay and split-screen edits emphasize the choreography of movement and change typical of the urban condition. There are a great number of films that mise-en-scene and aestheticize the urban conflicts in different ways and to different ends, but all succeed in creating the illusion of "place", and revealing the cultural and social interactions that make those places.

The "Ghetto", "the Hood" or the dystopian urban ruins, left over after some catastrophe that is mostly alluded to, but barely ever explained, are often functioning as "supporting actor" – or, in Helphand's sense, as character. They are much more than just the setting in which the urban conflict plays itself out - they are an integral part of it, whether as studio pastiches or as real locations.²⁹ In different ways all of these films represent the connection between the "place" and the "action" portrayed within the frame. Beyond, every single one of them is reflective and revelatory of the critical discourses outside of the cinematic frame, around the time of the inception and shooting of the footage.

CONCLUSION

The study of city in film, and of film in and of the city, as outlined here in snapshots of a complex history, illustrates how the study of the interrelation of landscape and film might form the basis of an analysis of a different kind—one that foregrounds the development of city over time, understood as ongoing interaction between place and people. Abbas suggests that "the practices of the cinema constitute a kind of empirical evidence for an understanding of urban space but also that such evidence is not necessarily evident and only emerges through visual-spatial critique."³⁰

The change in the ways urban conflicts and their "places" are represented in cinema is not only a portrait of their actual qualities, properties and conditions, but also indicative of different perspectives, readings, attitudes, and interpretations, and hence can be analyzed to understand the relationship between society and the processes it employs to resolve conflicts – or not - and their manifestation in places.³¹ Looking at how the manners in which urban conflicts are negotiated and the urban condition is represented and present inside and outside of the cinematic frame invites the question to what degree the cinematic frame allows for a projection back onto the frames and conditions of actual urban situations and conflicts³², and its agency in changing them.

On the background of Baudrillard's concept of "hyperreality"³³ one could suggest that the close interrelation and co-evolution of cinema and city and its mutual influences might create a situation within which the city mediates film as much as film mediates the city.³⁴ A more thorough exploration of this mutual mediation, the question of "authorship" of urban conditions and processes, and the agencies of urban form and cinema seems promising, in particular in regards to independent cinema. The question of representation and empowerment (who / what / how / to what end) seems to be particularly interesting. If nothing else, it might involve people and interests that are usually excluded from the decision-making processes about urban form.

NOTES

- ¹ Sebastien Marot *Sub-urbanism and the Art of Memory* (London: AA Productions, 2003)
- ² Scott Macdonald, *The Garden in the Machine. A Field Guide to Places about Film*. (University of California Press, 2001), 149.
- ³ William Uricchio, W. "The City Reviewed: Berlin's Film Image on the Occasion of its 750th Anniversary". *Film and History*, 18(1) (1988): 17.
- ⁴ Through the capturing of images and editing there is a sense of motion through space. In the context of modernist filmmaking the city street became the laboratory, recording the passage of time so significant to the modernist sensibility, and the opportunity to eschew constructed sets for the "reality" of city life. Accordingly, Siegfried Kracauer and Walter Benjamin associated the photographer with the wandering flaneur. Vidler (1993, 55-6) quotes Sergei Eisenstein's celebration of montage as collision and in a comparison of architecture as cinematic montage, reformulating architecture as "frozen music", and argues that in modeling how we move through space "architecture is film's predecessor." (Anthony Vidler, "The Explosion of Space: Architecture and the Filmic Imaginary," *Assemblage* 21 (1993): 55-6.
- ⁵ Leo Charney and Vanessa R. Schwartz ed. *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 2.
- ⁶ Scott Macdonald, *Garden in the Machine*, 152.
- ⁷ Helmut Weihsmann, "The City in Twilight: Charting the Genre of the 'City Film' 1900-1930," in *Cinema and Architecture*: Melies, Mallet-Stevens, Multimedia, ed. F. Penz & M. Thomas (London: British Film Institute), 9-10.
- ⁸ Helmut Weihsmann "The City in Twilight: Charting the Genre of the 'City Film' 1900-1930," in *Cinema and Architecture*: Melies, Mallet-Stevens, Multimedia, ed. F. Penz & M. Thomas (London: British Film Institute), 9.
- ⁹ Helmut Weihsmann, "The City in Twilight: Charting the Genre of the 'City Film' 1900-1930," in *Cinema and Architecture*: Melies, Mallet-Stevens, Multimedia, ed. F. Penz & M. Thomas (London: British Film Institute), 9. 10
- ¹⁰ F. Stout "Visions of a New Reality: The City and the Emergence of the Modern Visual Culture," in *The City Reader* ed. R. T. LeGates & F. Stout (New York: Routledge, 2nd ed., 1999), 143.
- ¹¹ Kenneth I. Helphand "Landscape Films," *Landscape Journal* 5(1): 1-8.
- ¹² Bela Balazs, *Bela Balazs: Early Film Theory: Visible Man and the Spirit of Film* (R. Livingstone, Trans., London: Berghann Books. 2011, originally 1924/1930), 54.
- ¹³ Robert A. Beauregard, *Voices of Decline: The Postwar Fate of U.S. Cities* (New York: Routledge, 2003): viii.
- ¹⁴ Linda Krause and Patrice Petro ed *Global Cities: Cinema, Architecture, and Urbanism in a Digital Age* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 2.
- ¹⁵ Nezar AlSayyad, "From Postmodern Condition to Cinematic City," in *Urbanism: A History of the Modern from Reel to Real*, ed. Nezar AlSayyad (New York: Routledge, 2006), 17.
- ¹⁶ Scott Macdonald, *Garden in the Machine* 172 17 Ibid. 172, 173.
- ¹⁸ Ibid. 173.
- ¹⁹ Ibid. 173.
- ²⁰ Ibid. 173.
- ²¹ Ibid. 174.
- ²² see Marot, *Sub-Urbanism and the Art of Memory*.
- ²³ for some of these concepts and frameworks, see Henri Lefebvre, *Le Droit à La Ville* (Paris: Anthropos, 1968) and Neil Smith *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital and the Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984).
- ²⁴ The author has been closely involved in the recovery of the Lower 9th Ward from Autumn 2005 on.
- ²⁵ e.g. "Trouble the Water (Tia Lessin and Carl Deal, 2009), a documentary made by two Lower 9th Ward residents.
- ²⁶ Erwin Panofsky "Style and Medium in the Motion Pictures," in *Film: An Anthology* ed D. Talbot (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967, Panofsky's article was originally published 1934/36), 18.
- ²⁷ Dziga Vertov, *Kino-Eye. The Writings of Dziga Vertov* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984, originally published 1924), 15-17.
- ²⁸ Kenneth Helphand, "Landscape Films" in *Landscape Journal*, 5(1), 1986.
- ²⁹ as in "Training Day", or Robert Altman's "Short Cuts", which provides a stunning cross-section and socio-cultural topography of Los Angeles, or the settings of Fernando Meirelles's films, "City of God" and "The Constant Gardener", both filmed in actual informal settlements, the latter in Kibera, outside of Nairobi, and considered to be the largest slum in the world.
- ³⁰ Ackbar Abbas "Cinema, the City, and the Cinematic," in *Global Cities: Cinema, Architecture, and Urbanism in a Digital Age* edited by Linda Krause and Patrice Petro (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003):

144.

³¹ See also J. Hopkins "A Mapping of Cinematic Places: Icons, Ideology, and the Power of Misrepresentation" in *Place, power, situation, and spectacle. A geography of film*, ed. Stuart Aitken and Leo E. Zonn (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1994), 47-63.

³² In a very literal way, the increasing presence of "urban screens", as in Times Square in New York, or Piccadilly Circus in London, suggest to explore the potential to explore the agency to "reflect " or "project" back. See Timothy W. Luke, *Screens of Power: Ideology, Domination and Resistance in Informational Society* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989).

³³ Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991, originally published in French in 1984). See also Steven Best and Douglas Kellner, "Debord and the Postmodern Turn: New Stages of the Spectacle," *Substance* #90 (1999): 129-156.

³⁴ Oscar Wilde's "Life imitates Art more than Art imitates life" comes to mind.

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CITIES AS MEDIATOR OF ARCHITECTURAL INTERIORITY: A THEORETICAL DISCOURSE

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INTRODUCTION

Cities and human interiority

An understanding of social phenomena in cities is essential in gaining insights into how built forms and spatial conditions affect city dwellers. Apart from social activities and interactions, these phenomena also contain various expressions of human interiority, which are reflections of the city in which we live, work, and play. These reflections range “[b]etween submission to the intolerable and outraged revolt against it...” as the populace “...defined a human existence within the walls and along the passages of their streets.”¹ Based on our interiority, our responses toward cities differ among individuals. However, there have been many events throughout history that individuals reacted in unification—as a social entity—toward certain circumstances. These social phenomena are evidences that cities and their architecture have a vital role as mediators as:

*Buildings are the formative element of the city, and in their interior space the human dimension, physical and spiritual, is to be re-established; they are a kind of fortress of reality in an ever-changing environment of new needs and circumstances.*²

Within the “fortress” of reality, exists the interplay among exterior, interior, and interiority.³ This phenomenon was prevalent in fin-de-siècle Vienna when liberal elites took control of the city especially through the new development of the Ringstrasse. The unique character of the Ringstrasse somehow upset many Austrian intellectuals and the term “Ringstrassensti became quite a general term of opprobrium by which a generation of doubting, critical and aesthetically sensitive sons rejected their self confident, parvenu fathers.”⁴ The overall discontentment seemed to have stemmed from the way the city was designed and built as prominent nineteenth-century cities were transformed from the medieval “city of God” into the “city of man.” Georg Simmel provides an explanation that the psychological foundation of the nineteenth-century modern metropolis comprised of the preference for money economy and “blasé” intellectuals, caused “passionate hatred of personalities like Ruskin and Nietzsche for the metropolis.”⁵

Simmel further theorizes that metropolitan social ambience comprising of money economy and changes in social interactions, partially influenced by urban spatial condition, caused urbanites to develop urban disease known as agoraphobia—a psychological illness that stemmed from anxiety of city living in the nineteenth century.⁶ He further elaborates that agoraphobia-inducing urban spatial conditions are made up of vast open space such as public plazas and spatial exclusivity of architecture that can draw invisible territorial borders within the city. Therefore urbanites are left alienated with no

sense of belonging in the space. Anthony Vidler, based on Georg Simmel's pathological diagnostic of nineteenth-century metropolis, asserts that this kind of psychopathology by sociologists reveals "a unique sensibilities of urban space", which are "reciprocally interdependent with society."⁷ Hence he further exemplifies Siegfried Kracauer's observation that the urban "spatial images are the dream of society" that can be deciphered to reveal social reality.⁸ Inferentially, the deciphering can be achieved through investigating prominent spatial images as well as expressions of interiority of those affected by the city.

For instance, within the unique ground of fin-de-siècle Vienna, expressions of human interiority namely art, music, and interior architecture shared a certain distinctive direction. In art, the society was stunned by Gustave Klimt's controversial paintings that abandoned the prevalent academy style.⁹ Klimt's artistic expression united an otherwise scattered debate of what was modern. In music, Schoenberg's atonal music was an expression of rebel against mainstream classical music axioms as much as a rebel against prevalent conservatism manifested in architecture and city form.¹⁰ As a close friend of Adolf Loos, Schoenberg admired Loos's interpretation of "modern" in his interior architectural design and believed it to be appropriate for modern man.¹¹ Similarly, for Wiener Werkstatte designers, their various secessions aimed to stir up alternative aesthetic in place of the engulfing classical aesthetic that they believed to be unfit for modern life.¹² Krafft-Ebing, a prominent psychologist also contributed to the discourse with his diagnostic of neurasthenia—a sickness of the nerve from overstimulation of urban life—, which further exaggerated the effect of the city.¹³ Working closely with Kraft-Ebing, Josef Hoffmann of the Wiener Werkstatte offered a cure through exposé to geometrical-based aesthetic and sunlight.¹⁴ Hence these phenomena warren for an argument that this unified expression of human interiority was in response to one significant factor—the city.

Out of the many expressions of human interiority, the focus of this paper is, however, on architectural interiority. This is within the theoretical framework of human and built environment that values the interplay between how one shapes the other and vice versa. Through hermeneutic investigation and interpretation of an agglomeration of various sources with the aim to reenact the distinctive city and spectator phenomenon at the turn of the 19th century, this paper strives to understand the relationship between urban form and theoretical development of architectural interiority during this crucial time in history.

NINETEENTH CENTURY CITIES AND ARCHITECTURAL INTERIORITY: THE RINGSTRASSE MODEL

Apart from necessities of commerce, cities crystallized through beliefs as well as superstitions. To conquer fear natural in all humans, leaders used cities as tools to proclaim normalcy in life as "[t] he city is a great place to release, a new world, and also a new oppression..." and "...an essential piece of equipment for psychological domination."¹⁵ Politically, those who govern do strive to minimize anxiety among their citizens therefore "sovereign power" of leaders and the "paranoid psychal structure was preserved and transmitted by the walled city."¹⁶ To sustain order in the society, cities resonated with beliefs of the population at large hence they were similar in forms comprising of axial arrangements, places of worship, and sacred monuments.¹⁷ As cities developed, they also carry the power to influence and control their population, which resulted in various social phenomena.

One such social phenomenon took place in the Ringstrasses in fin-de-siècle Vienna. Designed as the seat of power for liberal elites, the physical form of the city (comprised of a band of public buildings such as the city hall, theatres, and university) was intended to bounce power back to the elites it surrounded.¹⁸ Instead of the conventional Baroque planning that uses buildings to emphasize open space, architects of the Ringstrasse diverted the focus toward the buildings. The streets did not join to

create a vista but blended into the flow of the ring resulting in an independent boulevard that led to nowhere in particular and expressing no subordination to any hierarchy.¹⁹ In architecture of the Ringstrasse, there was an extensive preservation of classical style in the facades of the buildings, which were criticized as pretentious as well as were considered the expression of oppression toward younger generation of Viennese.²⁰

In addition, in the 1900s, the innovation in printing and press led to more democratic use of the power of communication when newspaper and magazines were more readily available. Cities such as Vienna became a “city of newspaper and journals” where one can get “paper and periodicals for every section of the community.”²¹ Urbanites gathered in coffeehouses— mostly filled with newspaper and periodicals—on the Ringstrasses, and debated about unfolding political and economic situations as well as art and architecture.²² The overall social condition resonates with Georg Simmel’s observation of the “blasé” character of modern man that was influenced by rapid changes in the city. These changes stimulated individuals to develop an “...intellectualistic quality, which is thus recognized as a protection of the inner life against the domination of the metropolis...”²³

While intellectual arguments boiled in the coffeehouses on Ringstrasse, their interior décor reflected new idioms in interior architectural design. During this period, the design can be distinguished into two main types. The first type based on the Vienna Secession and blended existing conservative lifestyle with aesthetically focused design of Art Nouveau and the style of Wiener Werkstatte. The second type focused on philosophical value of interior space that can correctly reflect the modern life and rebelled against prevailing conservatives.²⁴ Further, as the city faced with intense political events of liberalism and anti-Semitism, the new middle class tried to establish their own identity and voice their opinions, which was reflected in the interior of public as well as private domains.²⁵ This was also viewed as a form of “refuge” or an “escape” from the confusion in the urban life, which was progressing at the speed that architectural style cannot keep up.²⁶ Hence the inevitable borrowing of old, traditional style.

Throughout history we see the use of cities as means of control but for the Ringstrasse the manifestation of this control was highly tangible. For instance, the powerful aristocrats who were slowly losing their grips on the economy expressed their intentions in keeping their power through investments on residential projects with pretentious facades.²⁷ The aim was to lure in the younger middle class people who were the true mechanism in the economic engine. This did not go unnoticed as architect and social critic Adolf Loos openly criticized this condition:

*The Viennese landlords very much enjoyed owning such a palace; the tenant also enjoyed living in one. The simple man who had rented only one room and a w.c. on the uppermost floor, was overcome with a blissful feeling of feudal splendor and lordly grandeur whenever he looked at the building from outside.*²⁸

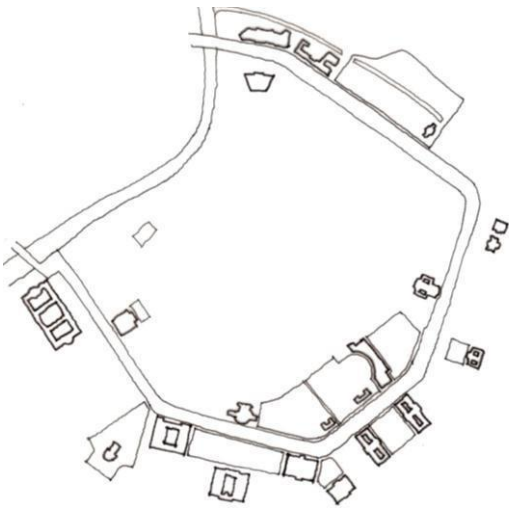
Loos also provides more extensive critique of the city of Vienna in terms of superfluous ornamentation in his famous writing “Ornament and Crime.” Further, in his design work like Muller House in Prague, Loos expressed the need to provide a refuge from this pretentious condition and designed interior space that emphasized private living by turning the occupants inward and covering windows with sheer or opaque curtains.²⁹ Loos also extended his theory into the design of public places like the revolutionary Café Museum, which bluntly took a stand in contrasting with the surrounding conservative style with light and airy space, red bentwood furniture, and plain façade.³⁰ This sort of rebel was fueled by the new generation of Viennese who seek refuge from desperation of city life. Many of Loos’s clients were well- to-do and influential people from various occupations and from several cities.³¹ These clients were very much aware of how this new approach to design was controversial but they were willing to support it nevertheless.

An important theory in architectural interiority that Loos proposed was to provide a refuge to the pretentious city life that urbanites were facing. This was well received by his clients who wholeheartedly allowed Loos to demonstrate his theories in their homes.³² In order to fulfill aesthetic sensibilities without the use of conventional ornaments, Loos introduced the spatial plan or the “Raum Plan” as a mean to achieve visual satisfaction.³³ Steps and built-in furniture were used to define functions instead of walls and doors. The result was the impressive “acrobatic space” that also integrated activity and social interaction thus liberated architectural interiority from conventional theories of antiquity and classicism.

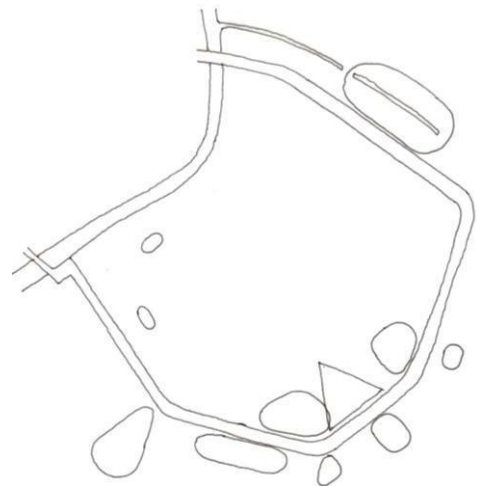
On another front, amidst the flamboyant backdrop of Art Nouveau and ostentatious Victorian style, Josef Hoffmann and Krafft-Ebing collaborated to create Perkersdorf Sanatorium as a place to cure neurasthenia that was plaguing urbanites. The important theory for architectural interiority proposed in this project was to employ simple geometric shapes particularly squares as basis for the design of floor, walls, ceilings, and furniture.³⁴ This was believed to calm the nerves through visual perception hence improving neurasthenia. This new idea was later adopted by designers and opened doors for nonrepresentational designs in architectural interiority.

CONCLUSION: THEORETICAL DISCOURSE

The form of the city of Vienna and the Ringstrasse at the turn of the century was unique in three aspects namely inverted Baroque layout, non-hierarchical design of the main boulevard, and the use of classical style on public and residential buildings. (Figure 1) These urban forms also resonate with Simmel’s characterization of agoraphobia-inducing spatial condition, which are the “vast open space” that has no visual frame of the wide boulevard and public plazas in front of buildings and “spatial exclusivity” caused by classically defined architecture of the Ringstrasse.

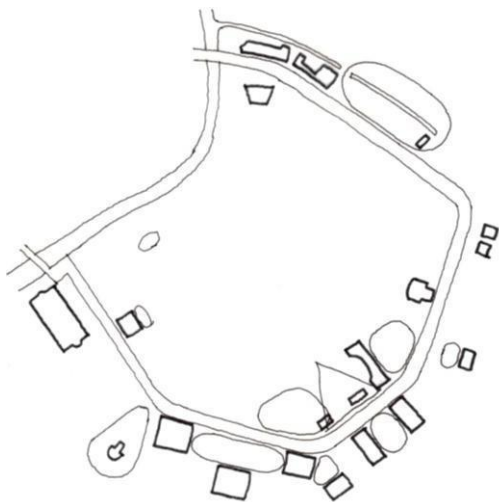


Form of open spaces



Parks and Plazas

Inverted Baroque Layout: Open spaces frame the buildings



Open space and main buildings



Non-Hierarchical design of the main boulevard

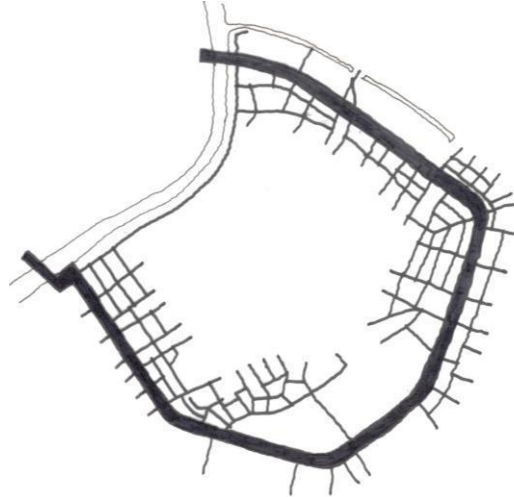


Figure 1. Analysis of city form: the city of Vienna in nineteenth century.

Further, the review of historical records of the development of architectural interiority reveals that the responses to these urban forms and spatial conditions in the form of preference for interior architectural design appear to depend on the worldviews and social stratifications of the urbanites. This can be summarized as:

1. Conservative: Urbanites who were mostly aristocrats as well as those benefited from their philanthropic acts. They generally received the formulae of the Ringstrasse without resistance and perceived the city as progressive. The architectural interiority preference revolved around classicism and traditionalism. (Figure 2)
2. Liberal: Urbanites who were mostly middle class Viennese. They viewed the city as a place to work, live, and entertain and were content as long as their needs were provided. The architectural interiority was a combination of traditional and current trends such as those of Wiener Werkstatte. (Figure 3)
3. Revolutionary: Aesthetically sensitive elite urbanites, mostly artists, musicians, and architects, who felt compelled to express their interiority in tangible forms as the city form disturbed them. Architectural interiority preference included revolutionary unadorned style with deeper philosophical stances such as by Adolf Loos and Otto Wagner. (Figure 4)

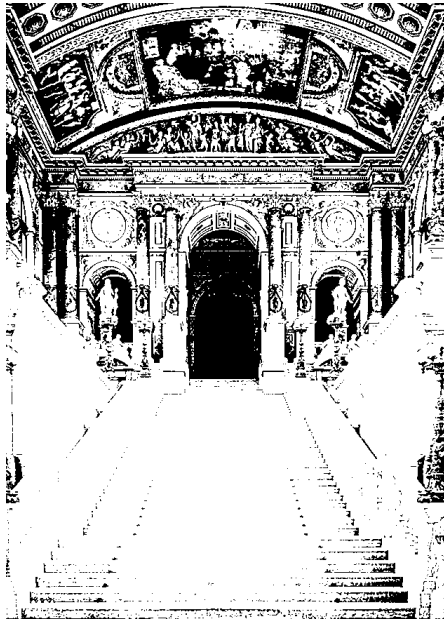


Figure 2. Vienna Opera House adapted from “The Opera House interior Vienna Austro- Hungary” by Snapshots of the Past, CC-BY-SA-2, Wikimedia Commons.

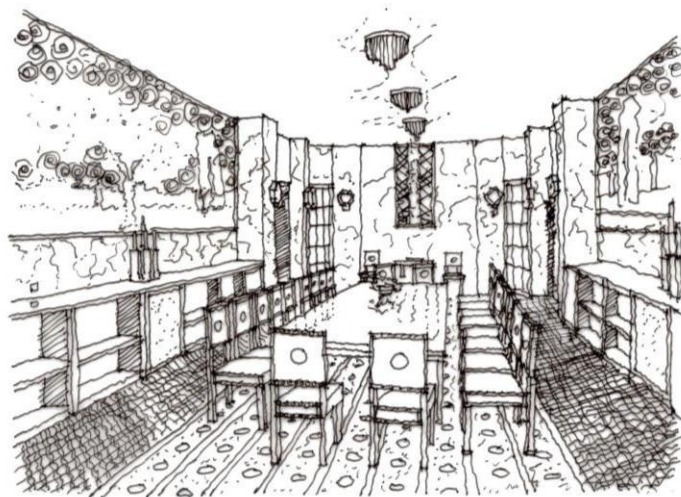


Figure 3. The dining room in Palais Stoclet, Brussels by Josef Hoffmann and the Wiener Werkstätte.

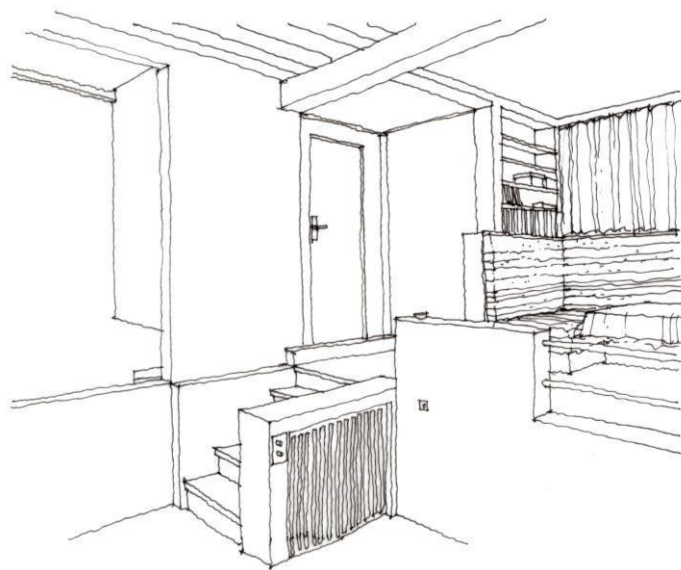


Figure 4. The hall of the Moller House, Starkfriedgasse 19 by Adolf Loos.

CONCLUSION

The Ringstrasse in fin-de-siècle Vienna stood as an evidence of how urban forms and spatial conditions can mediate social interactions and expressions of interiority. Particularly, the phenomenon was due to the interplay between extreme tangible manifestation of oppression through urban and architectural language and aesthetically sensitive individuals. These distinctive conditions have fueled intellectual activities that led to unprecedented advancement in architectural interiority theory.

This also reflects the theory posed by George Simmel that nineteenth century cities tend to produce “intellectuals” due to their ability to stimulate rationality among urbanites through vast open space and metropolitan ambiance of money economy. Although it is still inconclusive whether this is a positive or negative outcome due to on going debates on effects of Modernism. The implication lies that the architectural interiority, as one form of spatial images, can be an important reflection of how urbanites feel toward the city. This opens up the possibility of further research on investigations of current architectural interiority in cities to reveal partial picture of how one may feel about the city.

NOTES

- ¹ Anthony Vidler, "The Scenes of the Streets: Transformations in Ideal and Reality, 1750-1871", in *Scenes of the Street and Other Essays* (New York: Monacelli Press), 17.
- ² Ronaldo Giurgola, "Reflections on Buildings and the City: The Realism of the Partial Vision", *Perspecta* 9 (1965):111.
- ³ Inferring from Catherine Ingraham on interior as space for interiority, Petra Perolini asserts that there is a connection between the built environment and our inner being. Petra Perolini, "Bringing Interiority to interior design", *Zoontechnica*, 2 (June, 2012), access February 15, 2014, http://zoontechnica.com/occ_web/issue_02/issue_02_essay.Interiority.html#pg_issue_02_.essay.Interiority.html
- ⁴ Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Random House, 1981), 25.
- ⁵ Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life" in *The Blackwell City Reader*, ed. Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson (Oxford and Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2002), 14.
- ⁶ Anthony Vidler, "Agoraphobia: Spatial Estrangement in Georg Simmel and Siegfried Kracauer", *New German Critique* 54 (Autumn, 1991), 32.
- ⁷ Vidler, "Agoraphobia", 32.
- ⁸ Vidler, "Agoraphobia", 33.
- ⁹ Isabella Ackerl, *Vienna Modernism 1890-1910* (Vienna: The Federal Press Service, 1999), 24.
- ¹⁰ Holly Watkins, "Schoenberg's Interior Design." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 61:1(Spring 2008): 127.
- ¹¹ Watkins, "Schoenberg's Interior Design", 127.
- ¹² Ackerl, *Vienna Modernism 1890-1910*, 15.
- ¹³ Leslie Topp, "An Architecture for Modern Nerves: Josef Hoffmann's Perkersdorf Sanatorium," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56:4(1997): 433.
- ¹⁴ Anne Massey, *Interior Design of the 20th Century* (Singapore: Thames and Hudson, 2001), 62.
- ¹⁵ Kevin Lynch, *Good City Form* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1981), 9.
- ¹⁶ Lewis Mumford, *The City in History* (New York: MJF Books, 1989), 39.
- ¹⁷ Lynch, *Good City Form*, 79.
- ¹⁸ Ackerl, *Vienna Modernism 1890-1910*, P.9
- ¹⁹ Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, 32.
- ²⁰ Ackerl, *Vienna Modernism 1890-1910*, 9-10.
- ²¹ Leon Botstein, "Gustav Mahler's Vienna," in *The Mahler Companion*, ed. Donald Mitchell and Andrew Nicholson. (Oxford University,1999), 26.
- ²² Ackerl, *Vienna Modernism 1890-1910*, 17.
- ²³ Simmel, *Metropolis and Mental Life*, 12.
- ²⁴ Tag Gronberg, "The Inner Man: Interiors and Masculinity in Early Twentieth Century Vienna," *Oxford Art Journal* 24:1(2001): 74.
- ²⁵ Ackerl, *Vienna Modernism 1890-1910*, 9.
- ²⁶ Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, 38-42.
- ²⁷ Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, 54.
- ²⁸ Loos refer to Vienna as "Potemkin city" and that strolling along the Ring gave the feeling of being surrounded by aristocrats. Adolf Loos, "Spoken into the Void." in *Collected Essays 1897-1900* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982), 95.
- ²⁹ See discussion on Adolf Loos's interior design works in: Beatriz Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity* (Cambridge, MA: the MIT Press, 1994).
- ³⁰ The design was considered radical by Loos's contemporaries as they called it "Café Nihilism." August Sarnitz, *Loos* (Koln: Taschen, 2003), 23.
- ³¹ August Sarnitz, *Loos*, 7.
- ³² Loos was more than an architect to his clients as they continued good relations long after the projects were completed. August Sarnitz, *Loos*, 16.
- ³³ August Sarnitz, *Loos*, 12.
- ³⁴ Massey, *Interior Design of the 20th Century*, 62.

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CITYSCAPES OF DESTRUCTION AND REBUILDING: CINEMATOGRAPHIC IMAGES OF BERLIN IN THE NINETIES (HUBERTUS SIEGERT'S FILM BERLIN BABYLON) AND ART PRACTICES IN THE TRANSITIONAL CITY OF CHRISTCHURCH AFTER THE EARTHQUAKES 2010/11

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INTRODUCTION

What happens when a modern Western city is struck by unforeseen political upheavals or a natural disaster which change the cityscape once and for all? My two cases are the cities of Berlin after the fall of the Wall and Christchurch in the South Island of New Zealand which experienced devastating earthquakes in 2010 and 2011. My paper will outline the differences between the two causes of city spectacles of disappearances, demolitions and rebuild. These are given by the circumstances and causes of major city transformations: a natural disaster on the one side and the political 'earthquake' of the fall of the Wall and unification. By focussing on the significance of the arts for the experience of the transitional cityscape of Otherness, further major differences appear. Berlin in the heyday of her transitional stage in the nineties - the period of the media slogan of the "biggest construction site in Europe" - called for a comprehensive representation of the physical changes and the ambitions of the rebuild project. It is no coincidence that it was a cinematic work of art which took up the challenge. I am talking of Hubertus Siegert's film on Berlin's rebuild in the nineties, shot over four years between 1996 and 2000: *Berlin Babylon* (2001) which will be the example of analysis of the Berlin part of my paper.

For obvious reasons there is no cinematic masterpiece which reflects on Christchurch as a transitional city with its images of destruction and rebuild. What we have in Christchurch instead are a wide range of creative responses to the transitional city after the earthquakes including a large number of grassroots initiatives such as the projects of the organisation Gap Filler as well as a vibrant art scene of temporary uses of space. The Free Theatre's latest production, *Canterbury Tales*, performed at the second Festival of Transitional Architecture on 25-28 October 2013, will be my main example of the exploration of the current artistic interpretations of the cityscape of the inner city of Christchurch.

My claim is that both cities, Berlin and Christchurch, are symptomatic of two different phases of postmodern urban image creation in the way they relate to postmodern consumerist and event culture - in terms of the "society of spectacle" (Guy Debord) or a festivalisation of urban culture. The gigantic

architectural and planning ambitions in Berlin were not only directed at a successful city branding but they were also accompanied by top-to-bottom festivals and staging of the city. Siegert's film is a true mirror of the postmodernity of city planning and city staging for which the Berlin building project had become a milestone in the nineties.

In Christchurch it is striking that artistic responses to the devastation can be labelled optimistic and that they are concerned with the emotional involvement of the people in the city rebuild. This is what can be called the up-to-date stage of postmodern urban image production where the arts in particular play an essential role. In any case, at the current stage the city image creation in Christchurch goes far beyond a disaster response. It may even be a model case for the re-invention of urban identity through creative-artistic means.

BERLIN BABYLON: A POETIC DOCUMENTARY ABOUT ARCHITECTURE AND CITY TRANSFORMATIONS IN BERLIN THE NINETIES

Let me turn now to the film *Berlin Babylon*. It is a film about buildings and architecture. There is no plot and no biographical experience of the city in transition; the hero of the film is the monumental enterprise of city planning and the perceptions of it during the building period. It is inspired by a criticism of the dogmatism of the planners, and it is spellbound by the tantalizing views of the construction sites, which the film tries to preserve in beautifully photographed impressions. The editing of this film was concluded in 2000, and the film premiered in 2001 at the *International Panorama Festival* in Berlin. Prominent architects (e.g. I.M. Pei, Helmut Jahn, Rem Koolhaas and Renzo Piano, Günter Behnisch, etc.), developers, politicians, urban planners, builders, and manual workers are seen at work. In its final editing, one has to say, the movie is something beyond a documentary - it is a poetic documentary or an essay film, where the film auteur comments on what he shows, referring to the mythical or philosophical theme of cities' memories as being rebuilt and destroyed, including one outstanding sequence of digital images of the "storm of history" and a voice over quoting a passage from Walter Benjamin's "Angelus Novus"¹.

As a leitmotif, the film aims at a metaphorisation of the spectacle as an eerie return of the mythical tale of the building of the Tower of Babylon, a tale which is predominantly biblical in origin, and has come to us through the myth of the hubris of the builders of a tower reaching the sky told in the Genesis (Genesis, 11, 1-9). Hubris, or the feeling of melancholy resulting from the enormity of the task and the incredible haste of the city's rebuilding programme, is suggested by the tracking shots of the actual building process and by the statements coming from the protagonists involved. At the discursive level the film is highly instructive: we are told about the major aims of the "critical reconstruction" in Berlin's city centre: the healing of the wounds of a retarded city centre, the city of voids and fragments which was the heritage of the GDR and post-war city planning of the West. The central event in the film is the building of the Potsdamer Platz which is presented in shots over a period of 4 years.

More so, Siegert's film is a symbolically charged urban drama. The impressions of a chaotic cityscape of transformations and rebuild are inscribed in the film in Berlin as a metropolis which has an outstanding role as a historical capital and has served many times to understand the fate of modernity and the discontinuities of German history. There are the mythical references to building towers out of the "rubble" of history as to be seen in the reference to Benjamin. Siegert also integrates archive material in the footage covering a period of 60 years. But predominantly, Berlin in the period of Siegert's film was the city of cranes, the wrapped city, the city of scaffoldings, a city ripped open by huge holes dug into the ground. Despite the apparent criticism of the dogmatism of the planners or rather because of it Siegert has an interesting aesthetic formula for the psychological impact of the

construction sites. For him, the aesthetic openness of the construction site was a phase of “utopia” before the concept the planners had for Berlin’s centre became a new reality. Siegert says:

“All what was barren, ugly – what may well make claims of grandeur and the sublime – is demolished, built over, erased, until the city has lost its quality as a reservoir of memory. In this situation, the construction site becomes a last moment of utopia. The buildings sites themselves were fascinating and remarkable in their dimensions and in their density for German standards. They were beautiful because they were threatening.” (“Blickwinkel”)

The consequence of Siegert’s fascination with the aesthetics of the cityscape of demolition and rebuild combined with a “documentary” investigation of the planning and building process are the dialectic features of the film: Verbal statements versus choreographed images, for example poetic effects of shots of huge prefabs sliding effortless through the air, the poetic sequences of the underwater works and the night shots with their fantastic illuminations, etc. Some shots suggest a return of nature in the cityscape which is dominated by pure technology. The most striking contrast is between the bird’s eye view and the locations below, suggesting an alternation between the flat historical city and the emerging towers at Potsdamer Platz.

I would now like to turn to a concluding evaluation of the film by introducing cultural concepts which deal with the everyday life mythology of phenomena which are crucial for this paper.² In Berlin, the cityscape of voids and construction sites are charged with social cultural debates. There are the famous “Voids of Berlin” (Andreas Huyssen) products of the city’s more recent discontinuous history (see Barthes). The construction sites in the *Schaustelle Berlin* in the nineties were a huge media event, understood in its symbolic significance for the Berlin Republic as a metaphor for an intensive societal and cultural change. Slogans such as the “thrill of discontinuity” contributed to the metaphorical status of the construction site as a place of adventure, danger, excitement.³ But Siegert metaphorised the spectacle by alluding to universal symbols and associations. These transcend the biblical tale of film and are to be found in the suggestive and emotionalised tracking shots of eerie effects of Berlin’s demolitions and building sites. I am suggesting here that cultural concepts can be applied to the film which belong to a wider spectrum of the aesthetics of the urban and to the “uncanny city” (James Donald) in particular.⁴

An urban uncanny would emerge in places and moments when the city dweller still makes disturbing, disquieting experiences in today’s urban environment. In Freudian terms, this means the state of mind of “familiarity” which is suddenly overwhelmed by the unfamiliar, the uncanny, the secret and enigmatic which are rooted in the familiar -- the regressive dimension of the “Unheimliche”. A cityscape of ruins, voids and building sites is such a place which triggers the ambiguous emotions of “mythologies of everyday life” (Roland Barthes) in contemporary consumerist society. *Berlin Babylon* explores a heterogeneous spectrum of perceptions and attitudes toward a cityscape of Otherness. This Otherness could be used by city marketing; it contributed to the party mood at festivals, but *Berlin Babylon* brings out the emotional ambiguities of the uncanny as an “uneasy space between the physical city and the imaginary”.⁵ The construction sites appear as gloomy ghosts in the postmodern society of spectacle.

ARTISTIC PRACTICES AND PERFORMANCES IN THE POST-QUAKE INNER CITY OF CHRISTCHURCH WITH AN EMPHASIS ON THE PERFORMANCE *CANTERBURY TALES* BY THE FREE THEATRE

The devastations of Christchurch’s inner city and the damage done to its suburban areas are spectacles on their own which certainly have movielike qualities. What I would like to outline here are the alliances between the arts and everyday experience of the cityscape. What are the chances for a representation of the mythologies of this urban Otherness in a work of art? Christchurch at the current stage offers the perturbing sight of ruins and vacant lots, of demolition works and some construction

sites going up in the inner city. Different from Berlin, voids and city transformations have no socio-political meaning resulting from history. It is my claim that the arts make a difference in stepping into the collective experience of the return of an archaic city Otherness. It is up to the arts - in a broad sense of creative processes - to interpret the experience and to deliver a message. This is what is occurring in the various artistic and performative projects in Christchurch which, in some way or another, aim at engaging the population in their attitudes and emotions toward the transitional city. One aspect of the up-to-date postmodernity in Christchurch's rebuild is that the plans for the inner city and the current temporary uses of space profit very much from the ideas of a city revival in terms of an artsy city as a desirable urban lifestyle quality. Indeed, national and international visual and performing artists are attracted to the city and given the opportunity to exhibit and creatively transform spaces through installations, murals, sculptures, graffiti etc.

Among the grassroots initiatives and artistic activities in Christchurch are connectional attempts which aim at the "subversive" dimension of practices and affective appropriations of space in the meaning of the influential theory of Michel de Certeau in his essay "Walking in the City".⁶ The Gap Filler initiative understands its creative temporary projects as an interrogation of the private use of urban space and also as a criticism of the blueprint for the inner city.⁷ And so does the Free Theatre's performance of *The Canterbury Tales* which was the centrepiece of the FESTA event in October 2013.⁸ Not only is the theatrical form chosen for this performance one of "walking" through a section of the former red zone of the inner city: a Carnavalesque procession of giant puppets, masked performers and musicians - there are theoretical contexts of the performance which stem from the director of the Free Theatre, Peter Falkenberg, George Parker, the organiser of FESTA, and many other co-operators. They bring to the point what has been discussed in critical and intellectual and artistic reflections on the rebuild: what matters is not so much the "Concept City" (de Certeau) as conceived in the rebuild plans, its large infrastructure projects and ambitious designs. Rather they aim at the population's imaginative responses to the present, the past and the future. They wish to appeal to the audience's memories, dreams and desires for healing the wounds in their environment. A "subversive" element of the nightly Carnavalesque event has to be seen first as a reflection of the Free Theatre on the heterotopias of the cultural encounters in Christchurch: the Pasifika and English cultural heritages. The performance addresses the issues of place making and of city identity.

The centrepiece of the play is, of course, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Christchurch in New Zealand has been billed the most English city outside England ever since the colonial period. This is due to some neo-Gothic architecture which was destroyed or damaged in most places in the February 2011 earthquake, including the landmark Cathedral. As often in Falkenberg's productions, the actual inspiration of the historical text is a selective one, here consisting in clues to some of Chaucer's tales and a selection of characters which were presented either in the puppets or in groups of performers. Chaucer's text plays a minimal part but the medieval atmosphere is rendered through the singing of medieval songs and the playing of drums. Main puppet characters in the play are for example the Knight, the Scholar, the Merchant, the Wife of Bath and a number of Friars (one of which bore the traits of the controversial Earthquake Minister Gerry Brownlee). The other side of city identity is represented in the performances of local groups such as Pacific Underground as a representative of the Christchurch Maori community. The procession culminates in a karanga (welcome) and a fanfare performed by local Nhai Tahu artists and the Christchurch Symphonic orchestra in front of the broken shell of the Christchurch cathedral doomed for demolition. The gloomy cityscape and its broken monuments are part of the play. Interestingly, Falkenberg's production provides (reflected) parallels with a more recent popular event in Berlin on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Wall: the performance by the French Theatre group Royal de Luxe *Giants in Berlin* (October 2009).

The performance of the Free Theatre is based on collaborative ideas and the participation of the audience. The procession passes a number of installations erected by students from Architectural and Design departments all over New Zealand and Australia and includes a "Night Market". The Free Theatre performance itself falls into several projects of groups of performers. One of them is entitled "Angel of History", which is a reference to Benjamin, realised through images of catastrophe and sounds of lament. This is a surprising parallel to the sequence in Siegert's film, an intertextual reference certainly not recognizable for the audience but part of the conceptional work of the Free Theater team. The whole play is no less critical than Siegert's portrait of the "builders": the Merchant can be understood as a collective figure for the entrepreneurs' attempts to profit from the rebuild of the city. Chaucer's troupe is unendearing, despite the fun the puppets provide for the spectators. It reflects the timeless circumstances of conservatism, hypocrisy, selfishness and drama that occur in society. Falkenberg's productions tend towards a Brechtian didacticism together with a Bakhtinian sense for the hybrid and the Carnavalesque. The staging of Carnavalesque hybridity serves to interpret the images of the current stage of devastation and rebuild in Christchurch. It is also an aesthetic device for capturing the "uncanny" of this cityscape and to captivate the emotions of the spectators in their visit of the destroyed city centre.

CONCLUSION

It seems interesting to me that there are parallels between the play *Canterbury Tales* and the film *Berlin Babylon* with regard to the mythologies of the uncanny. I would also like to apply the cultural theories of Michel de Certeau to both of my examples. Not only can the most recent Christchurch production *Canterbury Tales* with its procession through the city be seen in this light, but also the film *Berlin Babylon*, which vacillates between the rationality of the "Concept-City" in the portrait of city planners and city builders on the one hand, and the "anthropological, poetic and mythic experience of space"(de Certeau⁹) on the other. Here the tracking camera takes the role of people's affective everyday practices under extraordinary circumstances. The construction sites can become allies for the subjective appropriations of space by the city dwellers.

One can ask why these parallels appear in two cultural productions which are separated by a considerable time gap and originate from very different types of cities. For one, the two cities are connected through the experience of destructions, demolitions and rebuild, albeit to a different extent. I would like to point out the fact that the cases of these spectacles in Western cities - large or small - are rather limited. Perhaps a comparative project dealing with artistic responses to abrupt city transformations or natural disasters could be promising, a project that could include the city imaginations after Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, for example. I chose the Berlin example because of the powerful metaphors in Hubertus Siegert's film. The case of Berlin in current global city debates is certainly "old" but the urban experiment of the

90s is still historically outstanding, and, as Siegert's film shows, has been highly inspiring for filmic experimentation which comes with a high level of cultural reflection on cities.

The Christchurch example stands for an update of postmodern city image production which I would like to see in the European tradition of reflecting on identity and place. The performance of *Canterbury Tales* belongs to the processes of intensive discussions of the "transitional" in Christchurch which started soon after the earthquakes. This led to variety of artistic responses to the devastation and also an interesting international academic interest in urbanistic-artistic experimentation in post-quake Christchurch. Among these activities, *Canterbury Tales* is certainly the most comprehensive attempt at a multilayered, "mythological" imagination of the city.

NOTES

¹ Walter Benjamin. "Über den Begriff der Geschichte," in W. Benjamin. *Gesammelte Schriften I.2.* ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser. Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1974, passage quoted in the film 697 f. ² I would not like to see Siegert's film as a mere footnote in German film after unification revolving around the "ever the same" principle as it is claimed by Evelyn Preuss in her chapter "The Collapse of Time. German History and Identity in Hubertus Siegert's *Berlin Babylon* (2001) and Thomas Schadt's *Sinfonie einer Großstadt* (2002)". In *Berlin: the symphony continues: orchestrating architectural, social and artistic change in Germany's new capital*. Ed. by Costabile-Heming et al.(eds). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004, 119-142, here 134.

³ Franz Profener. 'Flirting with Disaster. Zur Symbolgegenwart der Baustelle', in *Zeitzeichen Baustelle. Realität, Inszenierung und Metaphorik eines abseitigen Ortes*. Ed. by F. Profener. New York: Campus, 1998, 13.

⁴ James Donald. *Imagining the Modern City*. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1999, 71.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Michel de Certeau, "Walking in the city", in M. d. C.. *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984, 91-110.

⁷ See my paper "Art and other creative projects in transient spaces in Berlin after the fall of the Wall and in Christchurch after the earthquakes 2010/2011." In *Urban life and contemporary Arts*. Conference proceedings from the contemp Art 13 conference, Dakam, Istanbul, 10-12 April 2013, 102-115.

⁸ The experimental Free Theatre emerged as an independent entity in 1979 at the University of Canterbury. In October 2011 it made already an intriguing contribution to the post-quake city culture with the theatrical event 'The Earthquake in Chile' performed in one of the remaining heritage churches and based on communal practices.

⁹ "Walking in the City", 93.

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NOT IN MY CITY: RURAL AMERICA AS URBAN DUMPING GROUND

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INTRODUCTION

During the last twenty years, designers and planners have firmly fixed attention on the patterns and processes of urbanization. The contemporary city is touted as the key to technological, economic and cultural innovation while rural decline is accepted as inevitable. This resignation to the eventuality of rural decline has facilitated an exploitative relationship between urban hubs and their rural hinterlands. In the United States, Locally Undesirable Land Uses (LULUs) are increasingly being pushed out of cities and into rural areas. Looking for stable economic investments, policy makers and officials in rural areas across the country actively court landfills, prisons, and meat production and processing facilities in hopes of creating new jobs and generating revenue for towns in need of economic revitalization. The siting of such unsavory land uses typically exploits disadvantaged and unempowered communities and makes the rural-dumping ground paradigm particularly problematic. While the economic benefits of LULUs are largely unproven, the negative environmental and social consequences can be wide ranging. Landfills and livestock operations, for example, pollute land, air, and water resources, negatively impacting biodiversity and public health. As an out-of-sight-out-of-mind strategy, the geographic displacement of these ecologically and socially damaging systems enables relocation over reformation. By analyzing the geography and design of meat production and processing facilities, landfills, and prison complexes, this study seeks to illuminate the extent to which unwanted urban land uses are impacting rural areas today.

RURAL LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION AND PROCESSING

At the turn of the 20th century, slaughterhouses were common fixtures of the urban landscape. Cattle and hogs were transported by rail to stockyards in Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis and Kansas City, where they could be processed and distributed to nearby markets. In response to national trends of urbanization and industrialization, animal processing emerged as one of the first mass-production industries in the United States, from which Henry Ford is thought to have derived his mode of assembly line production. Slaughterhouses were not hidden from the public eye, but rather celebrated as icons of progress and innovation. In fact, during the World Columbian Exposition in 1893, more visitors explored the Chicago stockyards than any of the Exposition's other novel attractions.¹

After the publication of Upton Sinclair's exposé, *The Jungle*, however, the fascination with this industrialized slaughter was gradually replaced by a collective distaste for the brutality of the meat processing industry. As Richard Bulliet describes in his book *Hunters, Herders and Hamburgers: The*

Past and Future of Human-Animal Relationships, contemporary American society “continues to consume animal products in abundance, but psychologically, its members experience feelings of guilt, shame and disgust when they think (as seldom as possible) about the industrial processes by which domestic animals are rendered into products.”² To assuage our collective cultural guilt, the slaughterhouse was relocated, but not reformed. By the mid-1950s, spurred by advancements in refrigeration technology and the expansion of the Interstate Highway system, packinghouses were relocated to be closer to livestock producers.

As processing facilities industrialized, a shift also occurred from raising livestock in small numbers on geographically widespread medium-sized farms to producing livestock in much larger numbers on fewer farms known as Confined Animal Feeding Operations, or CAFOs. A CAFO is a regulated animal feeding facility that confines a large number of animals for more than 45 days in an area that does not produce vegetation during the growing season. Economies of scale, modern machinery, biotechnology, and global trade have encouraged the development of this highly efficient mode of production. The US Environmental Protection Agency classifies an operation as a CAFO if it houses more than any of the following number of animals: 1,000 cattle, 2,500 pigs, 10,000 piglets, 55,000 turkeys, 125,000 broiler chickens, or 82,000 laying hens.³

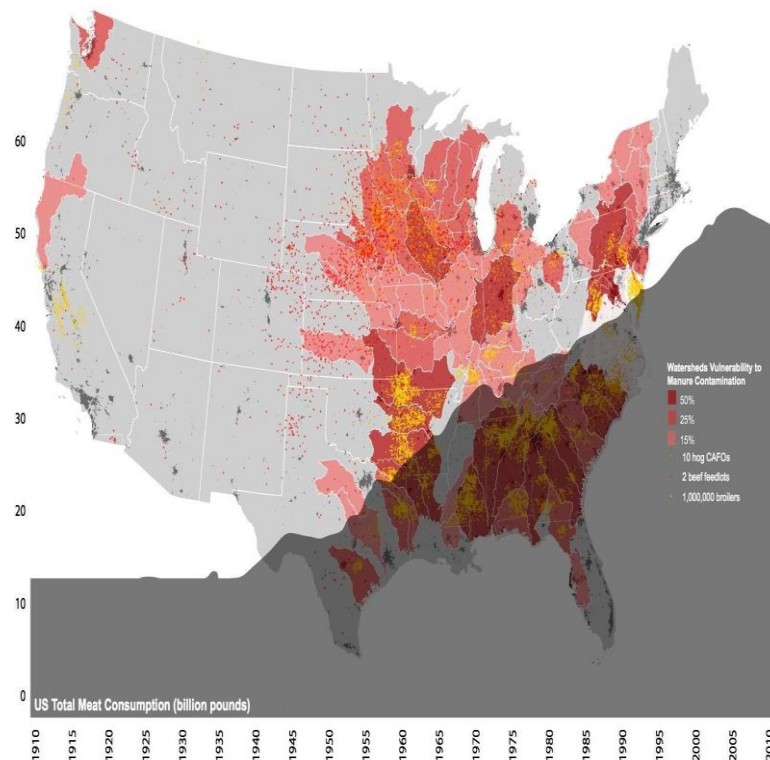


Figure 1. Mapping livestock production, meat consumption and watershed contamination⁴

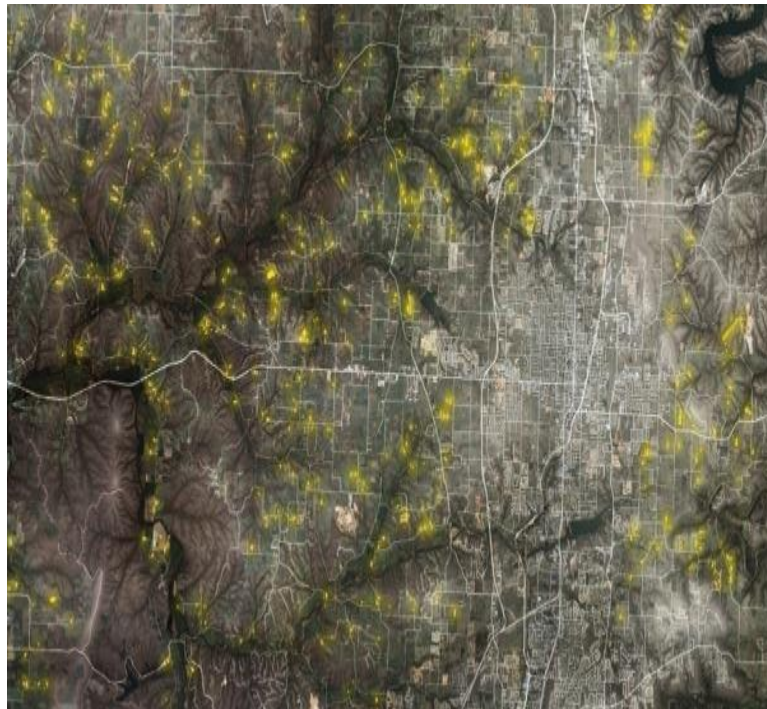


Figure 2. The siting of poultry CAFOs along hydrologic corridors in Northwest Arkansas makes the watershed particularly vulnerable to contamination⁵

With so many resident animals, it is not uncommon for a single CAFO to generate the same amount of waste as a city of 100,000 people.⁶ The waste is often left untreated to sit in barns or large lagoons before being sprayed or spread on adjacent fields. Problems arise when the scale of massive production outstrips the ability for waste to be applied to and safely absorbed by the surrounding fields and farmland. Fields may be too wet or the surrounding area not large enough. Rain may wash manure from lagoons, piles and fields into ditches, creeks, and subterranean drainages, contaminating the watershed. In the United States, such waste has polluted 35,000 miles of rivers and has significantly contaminated groundwater in 17 states.⁷ According to the Pew Commission, over 1 million Americans are estimated to take their drinking water from such contaminated groundwater.⁸ Today, most urban livestock production and processing operations have been decommissioned. Unlike the grand buildings of the Union Stockyard Era, the architecture of the contemporary slaughterhouse is generic and placeless. Set back from the street and restricted from public access, the nondescript structures are designed to look like any other factory. Such designed indifference has enabled the livestock industry to remain largely unchallenged over the years. Meat processing has always been physically demanding, unpleasant and dangerous work, currently performed by a mostly immigrant labor force. There has been, however, a significant change in where this unsavory work occurs. Sociological and anthropological research in meat-processing “boom-towns” such as Garden City, Kansas and Brooks, Alberta, Canada has shown that the negative effects of slaughterhouses and feedlots can often outweigh perceived economic benefits. Such effects include rapid shifts in demographics, increases in crime, and strains on local infrastructure, healthcare and other social services.⁹

If the realities of meat production and processing were rendered visible, society would be compelled to advocate for a more local, sustainable, humane, transparent and just system of meat production. Excess waste from confined feeding operations and processing by-products could be used to support sustainable aqua and agricultural systems. Rotational grazing strategies could protect soil quality,

while creating valuable habitat for grassland species. Smaller, multi-species processing facilities distributed more evenly across livestock producing regions, could encourage small-scale husbandry practices while improving quality of life for both animals and workers alike. However, the geography and design of the contemporary livestock industry leaves little to encourage such change. Away from populated areas and hidden behind a generic façade, the industrial obscurity enables Americans to avoid the collective moral dilemma of animal consumption.

RURAL DUMPING GROUNDS

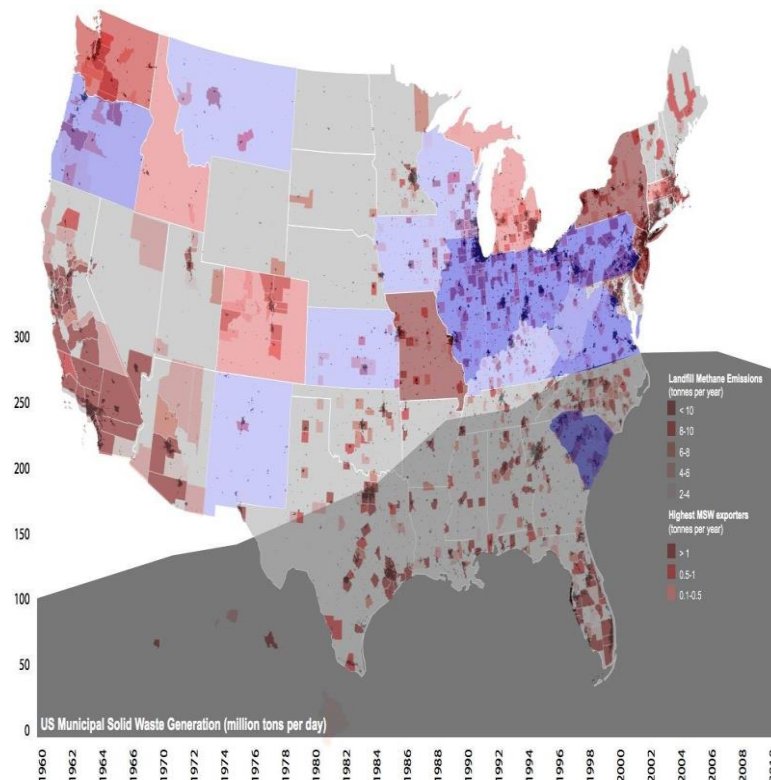


Figure 3. Mapping municipal solid waste generation, export, and emissions¹⁰

Just as livestock farms generate too much waste for nearby land, most American cities generate too much solid waste for local landfills. Beginning in the 1800s, urban solid waste management was established as a local responsibility, with waste sent to local municipal dumps. As urban waste began to outpace the holding capacity of local landfills and the environmental consequences of waste disposal became apparent, legislation in the 1970s forced the closure of open urban dumps nationwide and required regional planning for municipal solid waste management. Today, the United States has a total of 1,908 active landfills: 128 are sited in the Northeast, 668 in the South, 394 in the Midwest, and 718 in the West.¹¹ These landfills pollute the air, and when improperly designed, can contaminate the water table with toxic leachate. Though the federal government established strict laws for the construction and maintenance of landfills, living in close proximity to a landfill is associated with increased likelihood of disease. The adverse health effects near individual landfill sites can include low birth weight, birth defects, and certain types of cancers.¹²

With local urban communities unwilling to tolerate the noxious smells and environmental consequences of landfills, more urban trash is winding up in rural communities where political resistance is minimal. Taking into account tipping fees and land values, the economic advantages of

waste export can be immense. The difference in tipping fees ranges from \$11 per ton in the Midwest and Southwest to more than \$100 per ton in the Northeast.¹³ With such an extreme price differential, states with higher tipping fees have a big incentive to transport their waste long distances. This leads to waste accumulating in rural states, where population density and average incomes are lower.

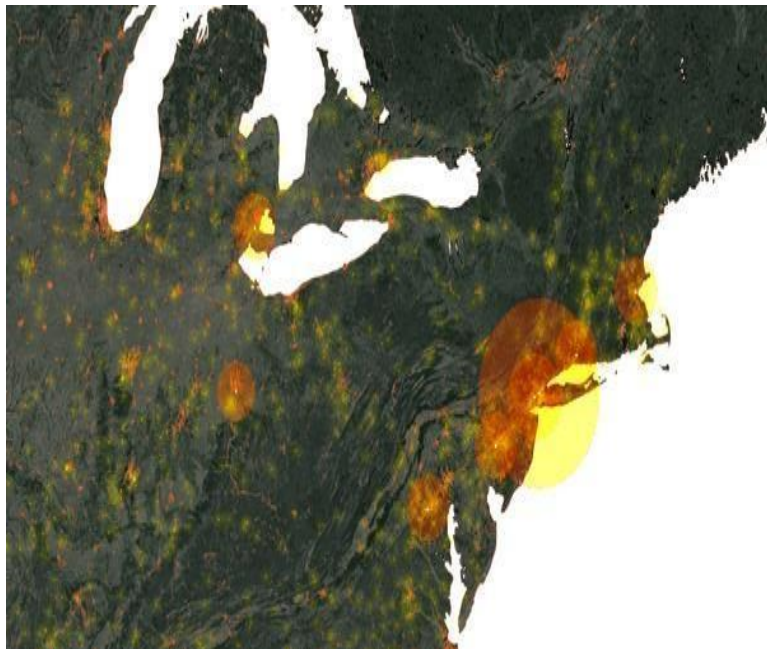


Figure 4. Mapping rural landfills and primary urban waste exporters of the Northeast¹⁴

Exporting municipal solid waste (MSW) to less densely populated areas has become the norm for metropolitan regions like New York City. When the notorious Fresh Kills landfill, at one time the largest man-made structure in the world and an icon of America's waste problem, closed, the city of New York committed to exporting its trash to regional landfills. Each year, the city exports approximately 6 million tons of trash by truck and rail to landfills and incinerators in New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia and South Carolina. Such waste export raises numerous environmental and social justice concerns. Each year, trucks travel 40 million miles to dispose of New York City's waste alone.¹⁵ Transporting MSW such long distances exacerbates environmental damage by contributing to greenhouse gas emissions. This transfer of waste also allows wealthier communities to push their environmental costs onto predominately low-income communities in rural areas.

Transporting urban garbage to far away rural locations allows urban inhabitants to avoid confronting the consequences of excess waste. Urban populations push their waste into someone else's backyard, forcing those communities to deal with air pollution and groundwater contamination that is a result of affluent, consumptive lifestyles. By re-conceptualizing waste as an opportunity, the relationship between urban waste generators and rural communities could be a positive one. A recycling and post-consumer manufacturing industry could bring much-needed jobs to rural areas, while compost facilities could provide organic compost for regional farms. With the consequences of waste left hidden in far away landfills, however, little remains to incentivize urban communities to place more value on recycling, re-using, composting, and manufacturing goods that are built to last.

RURAL PRISONS

The rural communities that import urban trash are often the same communities that compete for prisons, each a culturally unappealing and non-productive industry that requires large tracts of land.

Since 1980, the majority of new prisons have been built in non-metropolitan areas, and as a result, the majority of predominately urban prisoners are now housed in rural America. In fact, in the United States today, prisoners outnumber small family farmers.¹⁶ During the last three decades, rising incarceration rates coupled with the decline of rural economies have resulted in prisons emerging as a "growth industry" in rural America.

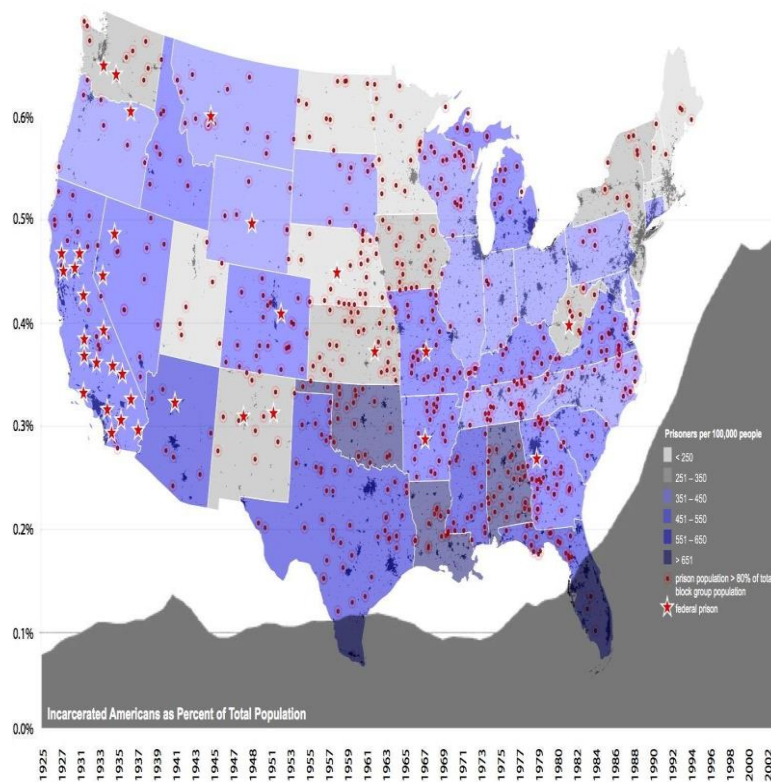


Figure 3. Mapping inmate density¹⁷

The promise of a secure growth industry has started a bidding war between small towns competing to host new state prisons. The prison site selection process is the result of a complex interchange between local and state officials. Towns selected for prison sitings are typically chosen because they meet infrastructural requirements (e.g. proximity to highways, sewer and water accessibility) and they offer land for a competitively low price. This has led many towns to take out loans in order to upgrade their infrastructure and to sell their land for far below market value.¹⁸

Regrettably, the promise of economic growth as a result of the prison industry has remained largely unfulfilled in rural America. Research on the prison boom indicates that, when compared to non-prison towns, new state prison communities experience less growth and see increased levels of unemployment and poverty.¹⁹ This phenomenon results from the fact that the prison industry fails to create any type of economic bond with its host town. Prisons do not depend on adjacent small towns for the vast majority of their inputs, including employees. The majority of prison jobs go to commuters from other towns who are better qualified than members of the host community.

Surrounded by razor wire and high walls, prisons are commonly surrounded by a substantial spatial buffer that separates the prison from society at large. Prison facilities are thus isolated from both the urban communities that supply the inmates and the rural communities in which they are sited. The geographic and architectural concealment of prisons belies the fact that there are over two million incarcerated people in the United States today. This concealment allows the special interest groups

that are profiting from the prison industry to grow their businesses while most of the American population remains unaware of what is transpiring in remote regions of the United States. This paradigm of spatial secrecy is not immutable. By removing landscape barriers and developing new architectural typologies, designers could help uncover the realities of incarceration and, in so doing, encourage society to enact change.

CONCLUSION

We seldom think about where our trash goes, how animals are slaughtered for meat, or what happens to the 2.3 million Americans locked behind prison walls. This is no oversight – it is designed. The remote siting and placeless design of livestock operations, waste management systems, and prison complexes allow society to avoid confronting the unsettling nature of wastefulness, slaughter, and imprisonment. From water contamination to increased crime, the ecological and social consequences of such designed indifference can be wide ranging. Hidden from public view, the ecologically and socially damaging nature of these industries will remain unchallenged.

Architects and Landscape Architects are uniquely positioned to examine these systems and develop scenarios, typologies, and generative spatial principles that reconcile rural resources with urban demands. With considerate design and participatory planning, ecologically and socially damaging urban industries could potentially be transformed into assets for rural communities. Expanded free range and sustainable husbandry methods, coupled with small scale processing and distribution networks, could improve the quality of life for both the animals and the people responsible for their slaughter. Recycling and post-consumer manufacturing enterprises could help to enliven stagnating rural economies. Urban food and land waste could be composted and used as fertilizer in a new model of nutrient efficient agriculture. A new prison typology that allows the public to see beyond its walls, figuratively if not literally, might force society to reexamine the racially and culturally complex realities of incarceration. Though far from comprehensive, these potential solutions should be a springboard for further design investigation. The time has come to identify synergies and strategies hidden within existing urban-rural relationships. In so doing, designers can contribute to a more sustainable, humane, and fair future for rural and urban communities alike.

NOTES

- ¹ Dorothee Brantz, "Recollecting the Slaughterhouse" *Cabinet, A Quarterly Magazine of Art and Culture* (2001): 118-23.
- ² Richard Bulliet, *Hunters, Herders and Hamburgers: the Past and Future of Human Animal Relationships*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).
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- ⁵ Chicken House (point), Arkansas State Highway and Transportation Department, 2006.
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- ⁷ Imhoff.
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- ⁹ Amy Fitzgerald, "A Social History of the Slaughterhouse: From Inception to Contemporary Implications," *Research in Human Ecology* Vol.17, No. 1(2010): 58-69.
- ¹⁰ Environmental Industry Association and U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, Landfill Methane Outreach Program (LMOP), April 2008.
- ¹¹ "The State of Garbage in America," *BioCycle*, (2010), accessed December 15, 2013
http://www.biocycle.net/images/art/1010/bc101016_s.pdf
- ¹² Martine Vrijheid, "Health effects of residence near hazardous waste landfill sites: a review of epidemiologic literature," *Environmental Health Perspectives* 108 (2000): 101-112.
- ¹³ Kristin Engel, "Reconsidering the National Market in Solid Waste: Trade-offs in Equity, Efficiency, Environmental Protection, and State Autonomy," *North Carolina Law Review* 73 (1995).
- ¹⁴ Google Earth, 2013.
- ¹⁵ "Taxes In, Garbage Out :The Need for Better Solid Waste Disposal Policies in New York City," Citizens Budget Commission 29
- ¹⁶ Tracy Huling, "Building a Prison Economy in Rural America," in *Invisible punishment: the collateral consequences of mass imprisonment*, ed. Meda Chesney-Lind et al. (New York: New Press, 2002).
- ¹⁷ United States Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2009.
- ¹⁸ Huling.
- ¹⁹ Terry L. Besser and Margaret M. Hanson, "The Development of Last Resort: The Impact of New State Prisons on Small Town Economies," *Journal of the Community Development Society* 35 (2004): 1-16, accessed October 16, 2013, doi: 10.1080/15575330409490129.

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THE BENIGN CITY

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My city is a city on a memorable and mythical river with a network of streets that span and intersect each other. To go from one edge to another you have the choice between land, boat and tunnel.
Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*.¹

INTRODUCTION

The author of this paper is President Emeritus of the Liverpool Architectural Society, a WAN (World Architecture News) International Health Care Judge and Reader in Architecture, Liverpool John Moores University. He has practiced in Africa, Glasgow and Liverpool and is the editor of the online publication *DIY City*. He is developing an online research project about therapeutic environments and has been commissioned to write on the relationship between the built environment & dementia. He has been invited as a VIP Guest to The DIMHN (Design in Mental Health Network) in Birmingham, UK, and in 2014 was awarded The Roscoe Citizenship Award. His city is Liverpool.

In 1923 The psychologist C. G. Jung dreamt that the city of Liverpool was the 'Pool of Life'. For this author, it is his city of vitality - primarily a city of the soul. In that spirit, the following narrative represents a non-scientific stream of consciousness that draws together many different influences, in time, space and place. It is focused on Liverpool but is premised on the idea that it may be possible to psychoanalyse a city as Sigmund Freud might have done, or that we can acknowledge the soul of a city as Jung would have done.² It explores thoughts on the notion of the *benign city*.

The idea of benign cities was discussed at *The Benign City Workshop* at Liverpool University, on the 12th March 2014.³ This paper comes out of thoughts around that event can considers Liverpool, as with many other cities, as a place we can define as "getting better" after the "illness" decline or shrinkage.⁴ As a city in "decline" some may also compare places like Liverpool to a body or mind in a state of depression.⁵ The medical model of benign, as in a tumour, suggests a dormant state – perhaps an apt analogy. In contrast to the overwhelming negative view of depression or tumors however, it may also be possible to think of the benign as fostering its counterpoint, vitality – as Andrew Solomon has done.⁶

The word benign can mean gentle, warm and friendly and a *Benign City* can be essentially a Healthy City, as developed and considered by Professor Dr John Ashton and The World Health Organisation Healthy Cities initiative. A Benign City is, in this sense, seen as a counterweight to The Shrinking City and becomes vital to urban recovery. As described in the narrative of Esmedune,⁷ or in the more factual text *Healthy Cities* by Jason Corburn,⁸ the Benign City can rise from the ashes like the mythical Phoenix.

It is the argument of this text that there are a variety of comparable and complex ways that Benign Cities can re-develop and reconstruct themselves; commercially, through their community spirit and activities, through arts projects such as the Liverpool Biennial, and through Situationism. A Benign City then, is a dormant city that is capable of re-inventing itself through various forms of positive growth and the discovery of new relevant industries, activities, cultures, and more – in this sense, it reflects ideas that this author has examined in previous texts which revolve around the idea that Liverpool is a collective urban ‘laboratory of shadows’.⁹

In 2008, Liverpool was European Capital of Culture and declared World Heritage City. Since then there has been a deep economic recession and urban shrinkage has continued in the outer city. However, the Local State¹⁰ has become more self-reliant and discovered new forms of DIY¹¹; new forms of economic retail; alternative strategies for planning have emerged, and new developments in community architecture have been seen. The city has three modern civic universities, City Pride,¹² and now an elected City Mayor - all contributing to what can be defined as ‘urban stability’.¹³ Some might argue that Liverpool is thriving. However, in contrast to this positive picture, parts of the inner and outer city suffer from high unemployment and by all European social and economic standards it remains a very unhealthy city. There are also many ‘inner city’ areas that remain in a state of economic depression and can be easily defined as ‘deprived’. Liverpool then, evidences all the contradictions of what we expect from a Benign City.

LIVERPOOL - THE BENIGN AND THE CONTRADICTIONARY

The Commercial City: *Liverpool One* is a new commercial and retail district in the city centre that attracts large numbers of visitors and tourists. It was based on a major Urban Design Master Plan led by twenty five architects and a single land owner, the Duke of Westminster. It was completed over four years ago and is a highly popular and successful retail redevelopment.¹⁴ It is typical of many commercially led regeneration projects across Europe and is often signposted as an indication of the city’s ‘economic vitality’.

Community and the pro-social city: In very different circumstances, The Eldonian Village represents a major redevelopment of a former industrial site into new dwellings and community facilities. It developed gradually over thirty years and was led by a resident community based cooperative association. In 1987 The Eldonian Urban Neighbourhood, adjacent to The Liverpool docks, won the *Times RIBA Award* as the most outstanding example of community enterprise in the UK. In August 2004 The United Nations granted the same community a World Habitat Award - a first for any community based project in the UK. It is an example of what this author has defined as a pro-social DIY City.¹⁵

The city of the arts: In 2008, according to fashion magazine *Vogue*, “it was all happening in ‘Liver-cool!’” The *Sunday Times* said it was “glam up north”. Liverpool was populated by “up for it, shopping and grooming mad women”. ‘Liver-cool’ was given a real media moment. Over 350 events took place: music, visual arts, performing arts, street-theatre, architecture, sport and heritage activities. 2008 was a “celebration of culture for everyone”. Highlights included The *Turner Prize* being hosted in the city; a Gustav Klimt Exhibition; performances by Sir Paul McCartney and Ringo Starr; The Tall Ships Race being held on the River Mersey; Sir Simon Rattle conducting the Berlin Philharmoniker at Liverpool Philharmonic Hall; The 5th International Biennial in the city; the hosting of the MTV Europe Music Awards; and a Le Corbusier exhibition in the Metropolitan Cathedral Crypt. The city was being promoted and ‘regenerated’ through the cultural industries.

The city post-arts: Following Liverpool’s acknowledgement as the 2008 European Capital of Culture, the city has continued to host art and cultural events in a way not seen in this generation. Examples include the Liverpool Sound City, Light Night, Africa Oye, the Liverpool Biennial¹⁶; the

International Festival of Contemporary Art, and the spectacle of the Sea Odyssey "Giants". These artistic moments have been closely entwined with the city and its heritage and have consequently provided an opportunity for Liverpool's architectural culture to be utilised. Specifically, the Biennial has engaged with public spaces, derelict buildings and the cultural institutions of the city.

The shrinking city: Alongside the developments that have taken place, and the arts events the city has seen, Liverpool still has large areas of vacant land in the inner city waiting to be explored, appreciated and developed. Despite the success of the *Liverpool One* shopping development in the city centre, there is still evidence of urban shrinkage in residential areas. Indeed, Liverpool was identified by The Shrinking Cities Programme as a 'shrinking city' and, thus, an area in decline. Detroit and Rust Belt cities of the US are comparable in many ways.

The exploited city: All the contradictions one sees in a place like Liverpool pose the question, who has benefited most from the retail and commercial developments that have been so visible in the city in recent years? The same question can be asked of its arts events. Many areas of the city remained cultural deserts during the 2008 events and, with further government cuts to funding for areas in the North of England, the problem of lack of access to cultural and artistic opportunities – not to mention derelict buildings, unused land and lack of community and civic spaces – looks likely to increase in the deprived areas of the city.

THOUGHTS ON THE BENIGN AND THE CONTRADICTIONARY – WHAT OUR CITIES NEED

Liverpool then, can be seen as a microcosm of the contradictions of any Benign City – a place in which problems exist and answers can be found; a place out of whose decline a re-emergence can occur. It is a place and, a series of processes, that gives us multiple ideas of what the Benign City of the future, here and in other places, needs to have, should have, could have and could be. Some of those ideas include the following.

Education and the city: Benign Cities need radical re-education following the ideas of Ivan Illich and de-schooling society.¹⁷ New free universities are called for where social history is used and not mis-used. Learning to read is vital to facilitate the widest possible access to knowledge and, as such, institutions such as the International Reading Organisation, now a Global phenomenon, have to find a home in our cities.¹⁸

The engaged city: We must ask how people can participate in remaking cities and architecture. For example, there are over 26,000 schools in the UK for 4-18 year olds that remain largely empty in the evenings and during holidays. Underused schools are missed opportunities that are socially excluding knowledge and wellbeing. If we harness these spaces for the *University of The Third Age* we can contribute to the formation of partnerships and the building of stronger communities.¹⁹ The people of our cities have the imagination needed to do this.

The socially connected city: Social networking, weaving hubs, spokes, core and periphery are now on the new social and health agenda. We must ensure people interact and engage with each other in the Benign City. Our cities will have to be therapeutic - places in which walking is a priority for example. More cars in a street mean less community friendships.

The healthy city: Questions such as obesity need to be raised in our cities to counter 'food deserts' – those areas in cities in which healthy food is hard to come by under the barrage of fast food outlets and convenience stores selling processed products. Local authorities have the power to control the location of all kinds of food stores across the city and can, should, intervene in issues like these.

The city aging and the home: Benign City has to be an Age Friendly City for the growing population of 60 plus. Issues such as security at home, healthy sleeping patterns, socialness and neighbourliness are important and increase life expectancy. The aging process has to be something that doesn't mean a loss of independence. Urban research has to be focused such 'real' issues.

The city of streets: The places we live in need to be designed with people in mind. How can we encourage pro-social behaviour and ensure safe streets? How can streets be more active, and can we learn from games' theory, alleys and urban playing? Here we need to consider the city as a habitat for humans, animals and birds. Indeed, trees are as vital in the urban street scape as buildings.

The historic city: There is still much to learn from the iconic setting of the small town and the history of town gatherings in older cities. Theorists of yesterday still have lessons to offer - Christopher Alexanders' pattern statements, Jane Jacobs community driven thinking, and Kevin Lynch's modelling forms.²⁰ Might the modern version of a medieval city be relevant to the 21st Century?

Forgotten Places and People: Benign Cities are made of forgotten and hidden spaces.²¹ These are secret spaces off the tourist tracks. In these places life goes on outside the strict control of planners, architects and politicians. The vibrancy in these places give us all the evidence we need that the solutions to the problems of our cities don't have to lie in outside investment and outside control or design. Regeneration can be kick started using the assets and architecture already possessed by the communities in our cities. Using collaborative social engagement, small gestures can create spectacular intrusions over time. Vacant land and derelict buildings can be transformed by people themselves. Communities can be re-engaged with the areas in which they live.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS AND STREAMS.....

For a short time in 2008 Liverpool forgot its problems and had a carnival. Mersey-pride was back in the air and for some people at least, "the glimpse of a future made a fleeting appearance." In that context a text this author wrote some years ago comes to mind. *Esmedune 2000: Vision of Dream*²² is a narrative about a future Healthy City and a changing river; a city built on slavery and the Golden Triangle of Trade. It is a text about a barefoot doctor walking through the city in an anthropological way. In it, the city is seen as a Phoenix rising through renewal and urban transformation.

The free thinking of *Esmedune 2000: Vision of Dream* is the type of thinking we need to apply to the future of our cities. This type of thinking will not come from government or regulators and, as a result, Benign Cities and their regions will need to be given greater responsibility for their own futures.²³ Why can't we make a hydro-electric barrage across the River Mersey, make it work, and use it to foster a new Renaissance? Why can't we build new housing for the people of the city and find land for community developers? Why can't we work in new ways?

It is true that cities are made and remade through political and economic processes but new responsible societies need to be nurtured at grass roots level too. Here we find the creative imagination and the will to create and develop healthy, sustainable and creative new places and communities. Central to this ambition however is public participation in the making of our declining, failing and ill cities.

It was mentioned at the outset of this paper that we can think of an analogy between a dormant, benign or shrinking city and the state of depression. We can also think of it as analogous to a person with classical pneumonia. In both cases it can continue down the vortex of disintegration, or it can recover on the strength of its own systems. It can cure itself from within. A new age city is a possibility... but participation, autonomy and collaboration are central to it. Urban change is feasible on this basis. Yes it happens through external intervention, but it also happens on the basis of people's own initiative. Liverpool reveals this.

NOTES

¹ Calvino, Italo. 1974. *Invisible cities*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

² The relationship between definitions and understandings of cities and psychology has a long history threaded through the 20th century. It has been dealt with extensively in the writings of Anthony Vidler. See: Vidler, Anthony. 2000. *Warped space art, architecture, and anxiety in modern culture*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press; Vidler, Anthony. 2008. *Histories of the immediate present inventing architectural modernism*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

³ The Benign City (2014) Workshop Liverpool University, Foresight Centre. 12th March 2014, with appreciation to Professor Rhiannon Corcoran and Dr Jane Rees. The content of this paper emerged from musings during and after the workshop. Acknowledgement must therefore be given to the speakers: David McAleavey (Free Co-operation Higher Education: A Practice that Aspires), Minna Lyons (Does Knowledge of local history increase pro social behaviour exploring the links through experimental psychology), Cherie McCracken (Age Friendly Cities), Emma Boyland (Determinants of obesity : The role of the Built Environment), Nicola Headlam (Net methods for a therapeutic city), Hilary Dreaves/Thomas Fischer (The role of impact assessment in the development of policies, plans, programmes and projects for benign cities), Norma Raynes (The Role of the school : a model for accessing this resource to contribute to the making of benign cities), Robert Huxford (An idiots guide to research based urban design and management), Graham Marshall (Place making with people in mind), Professor Andre Brown (The architecture of Benign Cities), Tom Dickens (Urban behavioural ecology), Sophie Povey (The Reader at Calderstones), Robert G MacDonald (DIY City & Drawing of City), Professor John Ashton (The Ecocity and Health in the 21st Century), Mick McKeown (Democratising our cities: civic voice in the context of mental health), Rosie Mansfield (Relative Inequality: Testing the Wilkinson and Pickett Hypothesis), Sophie Wickham (Inequality and psychosis: Search for specificity) , Katie Bristow (Improving equity of access to primary care mental health-the AMP model), Rhiannon Corcoran (Places Change Minds: Design Matters), Andy Barwell (Things, Stuff and Folk: Notes from Somewhere else), Future directions - discussion led by Professor Rhiannon Corcoran.

⁴ Oswalt, Philipp (ed.). 2006. *Atlas of Shrinking Cities, Atlas der schrumpfenden Städte*. Hatje Cantz, Berlin.

⁵ Hollander, Justine B. 2011. *Sunburst Cities, The Great Recession, Depopulation and Urban Planning in the American Sunbelt*. London, Routledge.

⁶ Solomon, Andrew. Ted Talk: *How the worst moments in our lives make us who we are*. Filmed, March, 2014. Vancouver, Canada.

http://www.ted.com/talks/andrew_solomon_how_the_worst_moments_in_our_lives_make_us_who_we_are

⁷ Ashton, John. MacDonald, Robert. *Esmedune 2000, Healthy Cities, Vision or Dream?*

<http://www.johnrashton.securemachines.co.uk/documentbank/Esmedune%202000.pdf>

⁸ Corburn, Jason. 2013. *Healthy City Planning, from neighbourhood to national health equality*. London, Routledge.

⁹ MacDonald, Robert . "City as Laboratory of Shadows". In: G. Cairns (ed.), *Architecture, Media, Politics, Society*. Vol. 3, No.4. January 2014. <http://architecturemps.com/back-issues/>

¹⁰ For a definition, see: Cockburn, Cynthia. "The Local State, questions what became of The Local State? Neo-Liberalism, Community development and Local Government". In: Mick Carpenter (ed.), *Community Development Journal*. Oxford University Press. 2010.

¹¹ The emphasis of DIY City is on the potential of community urban development. Not all architecture is made by star architects; artists, communities and others have a role to play. For an expanded description, see: MacDonald, Robert (ed.) *DIY City*. 2008. Liverpool John Moores University Press, Liverpool.

¹² City Pride, as used here, refers to pride in a city by its inhabitants of all persuasions. City Pride or Liverpool Pride is also a weekend festival to celebrate Liverpool culture, but specifically gay culture, , held annually in the city. It now has an audience of 75,000. Up until 2010 Liverpool was the largest British City not to hold a Pride Event.

¹³ Urban Stability is seen as either neutral or unstable. Stable conditions tend to occur in small urban complexes and can effect health and industry positively. A city achieving improved Urban Stability shows better conditions in public health, employment and industrial production. For a definition, see: Vaucher Gail. *Eight Stable Urban Environmental Characteristics*. Army Research Laboratory, White Sands Missile Range, New Mexico. 2014.

¹⁴ For an outline, see: MacDonald , Robert. *Architect in Paradise*. Discussion and debate about the Liverpool One retail district in: Louise Thomas and Sebastian Loew (eds.) *Urban Design Journal*, Summer Issue, 2008. No.107, pp 24-25.

¹⁵ MacDonald, Robert (ed.) *DIY City*, 2010. ebook. Liverpool, Liverpool John Moores University Academic Profile.

¹⁶ Information on the Biennale provided by Elizabeth Edge. The Architecture of Biennials, MRes Postgraduate

Dissertation at Liverpool John Moores University.

¹⁷ Ivan Illich (1926 –2002) was an Austrian social critic. His most celebrated work was *Deschooling Society* (1971) in which he criticised education as practiced in modern economies. He argued it was institutionalized and posited self-directed education. See: Illich, Ivan. 1971. *Deschooling society*. New York: Harper & Row.

¹⁸ The International Reading Association (IRA) is an international professional organization. Created in 1956 its aim is to improve reading instruction, facilitate dialogue about research on reading, and encourage the habit of reading.

¹⁹ The *University of the Third Age* is an international organization whose aims are the education and stimulation of mainly retired members of the community - those in their third 'age' of life. See: <http://www.u3a.org.uk/>

²⁰ See for example: Alexander, Christopher, Sara Ishikawa, and Murray Silverstein. 1977. *A pattern language: towns, buildings, construction*. New York: Oxford University Press; Jacobs, Jane. 1961. *The death and life of great American cities*; Lynch, Kevin. 1960. *The image of the city*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

²¹ Information provided by Catherine Traynor, a founding member of RAAD who apply a situationalist approach to urbanism and have developed projects that set out to discover forgotten, unknown and secret urban spaces. They are based in Liverpool.

²² Ashton, John. 1988. *Esmedune 2000: vision of dream, a healthy Liverpool*. Department of Public Health, University of Liverpool Press.. pp3-47.

²³ The Heseltine Institute for Public Policy and Practice. *Charting New Territory for public policy and practice*, 2014. Liverpool, Liverpool University Press.

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CREATING FIGURES: WHY RE-IMAGINING URBAN STRUCTURE SUPPORTS A REGENERATIVE URBAN MODEL

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INTRODUCTION

Some authors describe the contemporary metropolis like the field where co-exist simultaneous strategies of exploitation of fragmentary opportunities provided by the specific conditions of places (Florida¹, Bagnasco², Solá-Morales³): physical (geography, infrastructures, etc.), social (people, culture and local values, etc.) and economic conditions. In their opinion, the causes of the ‘lateral’ development of the city could be (i) the relationships between the different elements of the land mosaic (Forman⁴) and (ii) the fragmentary logics of the current urban realities. This important process of transformation would integrate the classic ‘lineal’ growth, more related to the urban rising along infrastructures. The result of these interactions is the change of scales in the performing of contemporary urban phenomena. Several authors have been interested in studying this new reality, called ‘exopolis’ (Soja⁵), city-region (De las Rivas⁶, Portas & al.⁷) or metropolized territory (Indovina⁸, Monclús⁹). Those not-conventional approaches are necessary to understand the contemporary urban condition and its complex, unstable, transient dynamics. Nowadays, several traditional concepts and ideas have become less useful and too rigid to achieve this target. This lack of effectiveness regards the discipline as a whole, divided between sectorial analysis and fragmentary solutions. In our opinion, using figures as ‘images with the potential to represent new territorial realities’ is one of the most important steps to produce an innovative and non-conventional understanding of post-metropolitan (Soja¹⁰) urban space.

This paper is aimed at explaining why figures are more useful than images to understand the complex urban pattern of current territory (see 1.), as well as demonstrating this idea with the case studies of Valladolid and its emerging urban area (see 2.). The result is a way to show the structure of this territory, which is more coherent with a contemporary narrative of space, and closer to its spatial and temporal dimensions. This is something not completely original but in this paper we present our views on it.

TOWARDS A COHERENT TERRITORIAL – LAND, LANDSCAPE, URBAN REALM-REPRESENTATIONS

Nowadays the debate about the representation and understanding of complex contemporary space in planning is based on three trends, which generate three specific results, often:

- Maps reflect the traditional research of an all-encompassing and more and more precise –

but static-description of current reality.

- Overlay mapping breaks up and composes dataset and different information. This process produces several sectorial indicators, which are a useful support for decision-making and evaluating regional and urban planning. Often these representations mix conventional scales and describe the spatial situation as a collection of fixed frames (as a diorama).

- Figures are the most important form of expression for the designer and the planner. They are something more than the combinations between maps and sectorial diagrams, because they are ‘representations’ that take into account reality and ‘projects’ that look to the future.

According to Secchi¹¹, in our planning works we rethink the material reality and structure of territory and we rediscover their potential. In this process, figures are not a new form of drawing the reality: they are an innovative way to understand territory (a result of the combination of traditional forms of representation).

Mapping exopolis: from images to figures

From geometry, a ‘figure’ is a continuous set of points and the existing relations between them. It is an entity, characterized for a specific identity. In painting and sculpture figure is the medium that embodies the reality that represents, in both analytical and synthetic ways. A figure is deeply related to the background and those two concepts are somehow inseparable. If we translate this idea into the planning, figures will be maps that contain a process of selection, interpretation and assessment. Passing from figurative arts to rhetoric, figure is an expedient to strengthen some elements of the discourse. Therefore, according to the studies in literature of Génette¹², studying figures of the territory could be a useful knowledge tool and this work is the key to exceed the hiatus between real and potential space. Consequently, this approach could be useful to improve the traditional methodology of planning and achieve a better understanding of territory.

This is possible because our figures represent a territorial pattern formed by the existing reality and open to those that ‘could be’ - like ‘transduction’¹³. For this reason, figures in planning are not simple descriptions but a re-combination of information (objects, orders and sequences, relations and overlaps, process and dynamics). The purpose of this frame is to find opportunities and create an interpretative field, the only one effective in design projects. With figures, we would avoid the representation of territory as a catalog, and produce a complex representation of the urban structure, closer to functional models of space. Then, for us, a figure is an idea and a set of figures is an interpretation of the territory.

According to Capestro¹⁴, figures are the only way to understand discontinuous and changeable topics, away from the continuity, the order and the rationality. Hence, they are the tool to assimilate, manage and encode the contemporary transformations of the territory, something that the traditional planning approach cannot achieve. In our figures, we consider the urban geography and the society that lives in it. This double presence is the base to understand the relationship between territory and local processes, whereby the society uses, organizes and inhabits the space. With figures, we understand every specific morpho-typological structure because they are produced by the interaction between humans and their environment (the habitat constituted by the urban-rural mosaic). However, our research is not a morphological-based study. Our interest in figures comes from their polyhedral nature: they are the key to strengthen and re-compose an imaginary about the spatial reality. Figures present an urban pattern with its opportunities and all the opportunities that ‘could take part’ in its evolution process. We will try to demonstrate the evocative power of figures in the case study of Valladolid and its emerging urban area.

An innovative representation of valladolid urban structure

The shift from images (maps and diagrams) to figures (a combination of them) allows perceiving the potential adaptability of every concrete place. For this reason, in each case, we face off the conventional representation (a map that describes the reality) and the new one (a visual, graphical, and synthetic diagram based on a hierarchy interpretation). The strength of these figures depends on their evocative power, which involves the concrete starting reality (with its own codes) and its possible evolution alternatives. Valladolid (Fig. 1) is the largest city in Castile and Leon (2.5m hab., 2011), a vast region (94,225 km²) located in the centre of the continental Spanish plateau. Several factors characterize the location of the city (315,000 hab. in 2013) and its metropolitan area (450,000 hab. in 2013).

The city has two clear profiles: on the one hand, Valladolid is a Regional Capital and, on the other hand, it is a modern industrial centre. The city reflects these two characters, because of its size and the nature of local economy, where a solid industrial sector (Renault, Michelin, agro-industrial activities, etc.) coexists with an important university and several research centres (De las Rivas¹⁵, EU¹⁶). That is, Valladolid occupies a strategic position in the North-West of Spain, and is one of the largest interior cities in the country. Both these factors, one-dimensional and the other one positional are the key to comprehend and develop the city potential.



Figure 1. The polinuclear structure of the emerging urban area (1st Figure)

SET OF FIGURES - CITY STRUCTURE – GROUP OF RELATIONSHIPS

We understand/read Valladolid structure as the physical support – formal, functional and symbolic – of its emerging urban area, and we break down the ‘articulated geometry’ of this global system into three basic and complementary (couples of) figures: (2.A.) mobility, (2.B.) centres and places, and (2.C.) open spaces. These figures are an *unconventional* representation of three interconnected sub-systems. They correspond to major ‘groups of relationships’ that articulate the manifold and mediated

urban reality: flows, activities, and local ecologies.

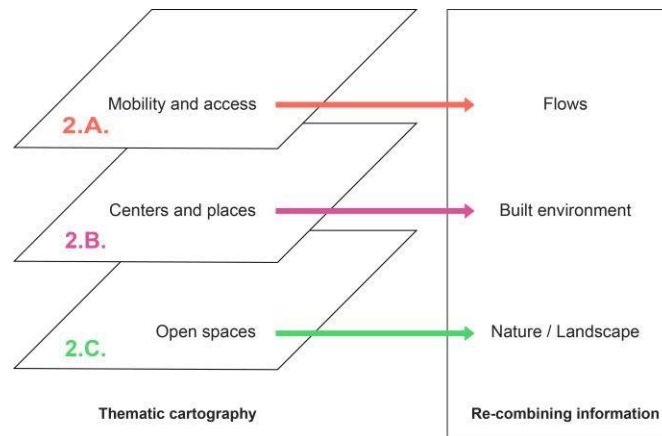


Figure 2. A re-combination of information

We can simplify these three layers in their main spatial components: Mobility system (the roads), this is not the whole urban structure, but an important part of it, because it determines the level of accessibility to the different territory fragments. Road network is the skeleton articulating both (i) the ‘full’ – the system of centers and places adds ‘the built’ to that plot, and (ii) the empty – open space system, the physical environment, the ‘natural’ site.

The ‘extraordinary/unusual’ thing of every figure (couple) itself is not the thread seemingly sectorial that formulates it and directs the selection of elements for composing it, but rather that selection – especially in the second figure of every couple – exceeds the strictly associable thing to the group of sectorial relationships that identify the system for reporting, deforming and imaging on what in another of the systems can help to compose.

Mobility and access: from truck to pedestrian.

Possibilities of connectivity and accessibility can be foreseen through the drawing of neutral road geometry. In this first system of triad structure, a second more in-depth vision narrows these possibilities by attributing of hierarchies and typologies according to their sections and/or the mobilities they host. From those diagrams and their readability, we can evidence fractures, barriers and imbalances in the system and in its historical generation gaps, and we can also show/reveal its potential transformation into a system more efficient and compatible with the structuring of the city from public space. In it, public transport and alternative mobilities (pedestrian areas and cycle lanes) play an important role, as well as the interfaces between them, places conceived for exchanging. Therefore, there appear elements that will also necessarily build the other two skeleton/framework systems.

In case of Valladolid:

The first map (Fig. 3 a.) is defined by the basic geometry of the road network. This allows us to visualize, without interferences, the degree of accessibility of every part of the urban territory, its degree of urbanization and the regularity-irregularity of its geometry. Some relationships from figure 1 (Territorial model) occur in form of radial and ring routes. Among them, the presence of the E80 reinforce even more the NE-SO direction, parallel to the Pisuerga river, as a principal axis in the urban development.

The second figure highlights the continuities, the radial system, the ring-shaped pattern, and those patterns formed by natural or artificial/infrastructural axes (the railway route will be underground and

the released space will be transformed into a green corridor). Those axes begin and end at the intersections between the local and the supra-scale. Thus, those spaces become ‘city gates’ which *could* connect the city core to the territory, and some interstitial could become a new element of identity (intermodal *centers* or doors).

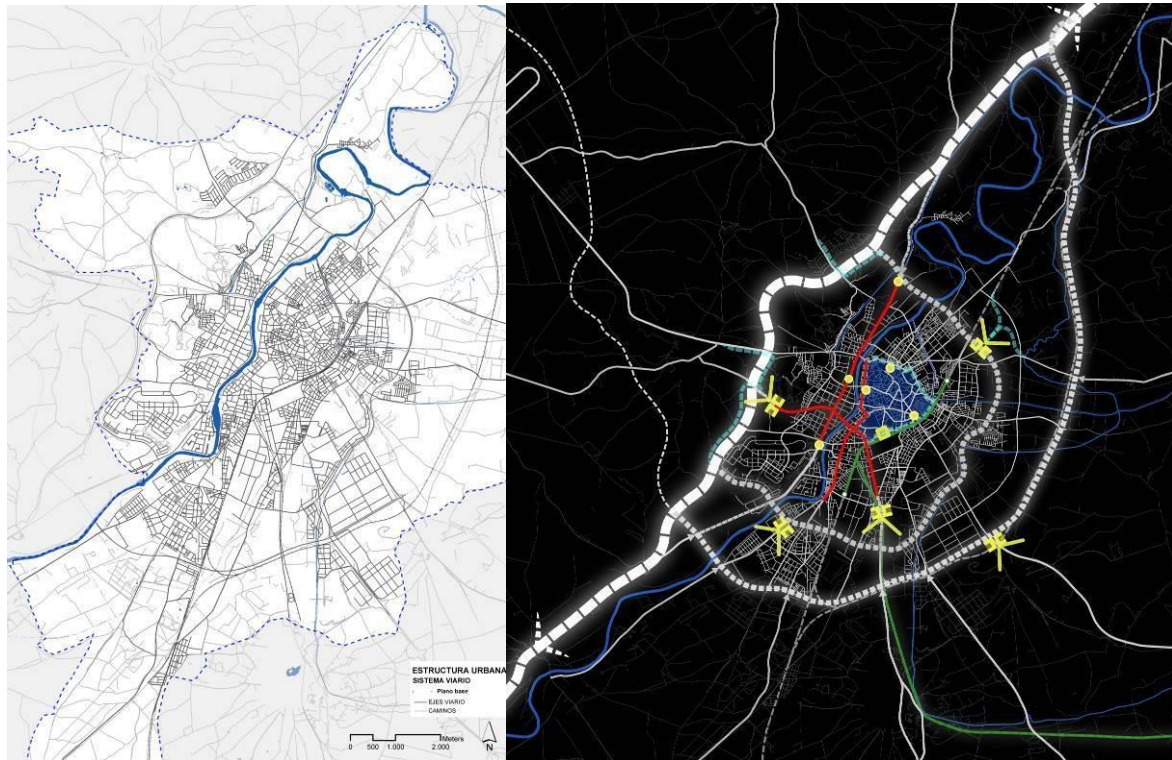


Figure 3.a. Road networks map and Figure 3.b. Mobility and City gates

In this dynamic and incisive vision, every layer or system of the structure, moves part of its projective load to the others, precisely to the figures that represent them. Thus, the neutral representation ‘a.’ of the mobility system, has moved to the others, that is to say, they take implicit this selective decision in its background.

Centers and places (neighbourhoods, sectors with homogeneous urban fabric and with specific identity)

Recognition and location of different urban uses and the singling out of those, among them, that bring people together – be it in their pure diversity or in their segregation as identifiable groups, in timetables or ages, in social classes, in work groups, or in the activity to which the congregation responds. It allows us to map diagrams of more or less hot and extensive points that warn about where the stresses occurs and where the ingredients for city life are combined or can do it. Access to equipments and services informs us on the degree of compaction and mixture of uses in the city. Identification of broad spatial areas, mainly as ‘neighborhoods’, the ultimate substratum of every urban reality (from parish and guild to segregated residential development, the public housing or to the ‘campus’ of a given activity), this recognition makes the detection of such access and mixture easy: what is the goal of each service and how many people serve those equipments to?

The road system also allows defining the Valladolid’s neighbourhood shape and distribution. The base map of services in neighbourhoods (Fig. 4.a.) is a reading of the fragments created by the road geometry. The white space of the first figure is now the ‘built realm’ and this material composes and

materializes the different neighbourhoods. In this heterogeneous set we catalogue all those elements that are expression of an ‘equipped city,’ and product of the ‘welfare state’ policy developed in the last 20-30 years in Spain. At the same time, we mark the commercial functions, presences that are part of the deeper roots of the city. They are organized in big areas or in diffused systems.

The second figure emphasizes this order, gathers uses and gives them names. Both among and inside them, lines from first system recur and are reinforced: There are commercial streets, belonging to historic areas or the central core; there are medium or large areas or campuses – parks, industry, university, etc. – that explain some of the gaps identified in the above-mentioned road system; and there are several services, with more or less size, spread out in the territory, linked to infrastructures.

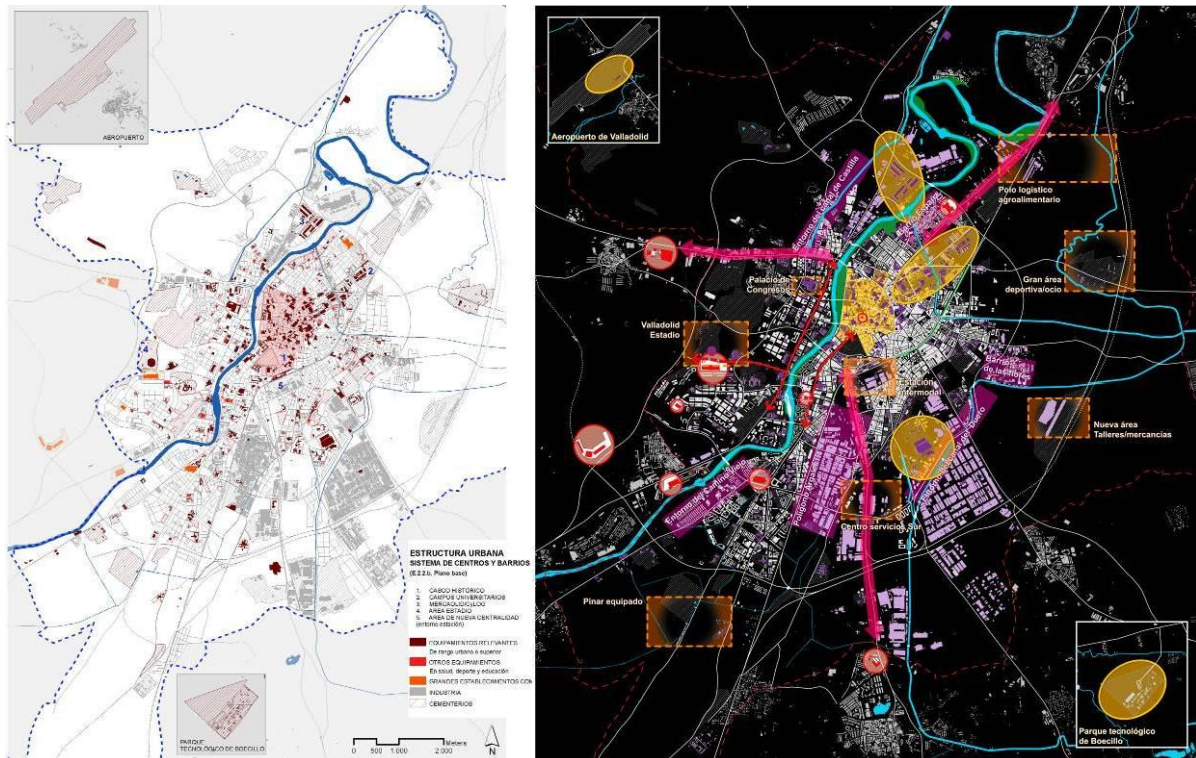


Figure 4.a. Services in neighbourhoods map and Figure 4.b. Centrality Areas

This figure also permits the definition of the ‘centrality areas’ related to urban roles founded in directional activities, ranges of equipment and their relationship with the mobility network, especially in those areas where these two systems interact (the city gates). At the same time, we try to physically link those ‘extracorporeal’ elements to the city that they mostly depend on, sheltered (and feedback) on lines of forces that the above system discovered.

Lattice of open spaces

This system is about to detect the open spaces and the real elements where biodiversity and/or multiculturalism of the city reside (the biotope and *sociotope*), or where they may do it: from the square to the walk, to hydrological network at all scales, to agriculture space, to wooded slopes... The precise articulation of these pieces that contribute to the ‘natural’ and social quality, will multiply their own potential. It has to try to program a human scale city, in harmony with nature, and has to know what to ask the other two systems for getting it.

The initial figure (Fig. 5.a.) marks the most important public open spaces of the city, emphasizing the most consolidated ones. We also refer to the initial figure of mobility (Fig. 3.a.) as background. It

allows focusing on whether some of those axes contain consolidated ‘green lines’ – from wooded canopies to pedestrian routes, and, of course, the ‘blue lines’ (rivers, canals and their edges). In a city between water courses, these offer the vital advantage of any green-blue network that is trying to consolidate itself and today is more or less hidden.

The final figure reflects planning strategies; it condenses local ecologies and their aptitudes to concentrate, in a defined physical and environmental reality, the sustainable future (our ‘hope’ for the city), rooted in the local memory. Thus, the base map we use in this story-telling is an orthophotograph, *a priori* one of the most objective reality representations, for capturing the ‘*genius loci*’ of what has been constructed, and what that system could build: the capacity for preserving and/or regenerating our spaces of identity, natural and built, park and square, the urban scene par excellence, concerning the ‘emptiness/urban voids/open places.’

We rely on that base, on the initial image of this series (Fig. 5.a.), and on that one considered useful in the other two systems, for formalizing in this final figure (Fig. 5.b.) two possible ‘Green Rings,’ one on urban scale and another on a large/territorial scale. They connect the territory and the city across the large ecological corridor, the fluvial riverbeds, and other green lines, or historical paths that still exist, hidden, in the regional landscape. We try to rediscover them. This green double structure is a network of spaces that reinterprets the elements of edge, valuing the border effects and recovering opportunities of connectivity in the banks, the slopes and the former cattle routes.

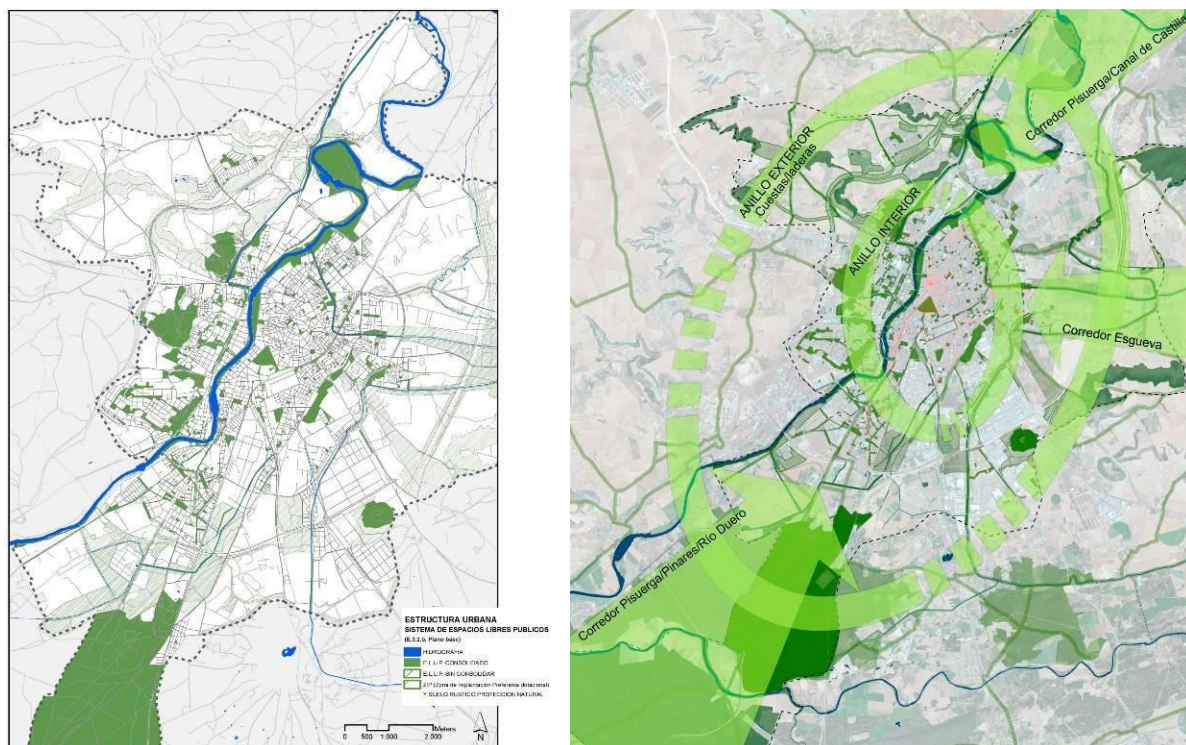


Figure 4. a. Public open spaces map and Figure 4. b. Two green rings

The result is a vision where we place or emphasize hidden relationships between differentiated parts of this **rus-urbe** territory (land mosaic, Forman). These relationships are landscaping, visual, and **potentially walkable**. The first system reappears in its nicest version. We close the circle.

CONCLUSION: FIGURES FOR A REGENERATIVE URBAN MODEL

Is it possible to create a new ‘cognitive cartography’ useful for planning? Lynch¹⁷ detected the difficulties of our cities to generate a ‘structured image’ in people who live in them. Conventional maps are not able to propose comprehensive or significant data in this regard. We have to draw the future city in a different way, like a set of new built realities because city of the future is a result of the dynamics of the existing city. Like situationists and other establish – including Jameson¹⁸ – our urbanity needs new perspective for mapping its complexity. Creating figures, not only images, is an attempt to work in this direction.

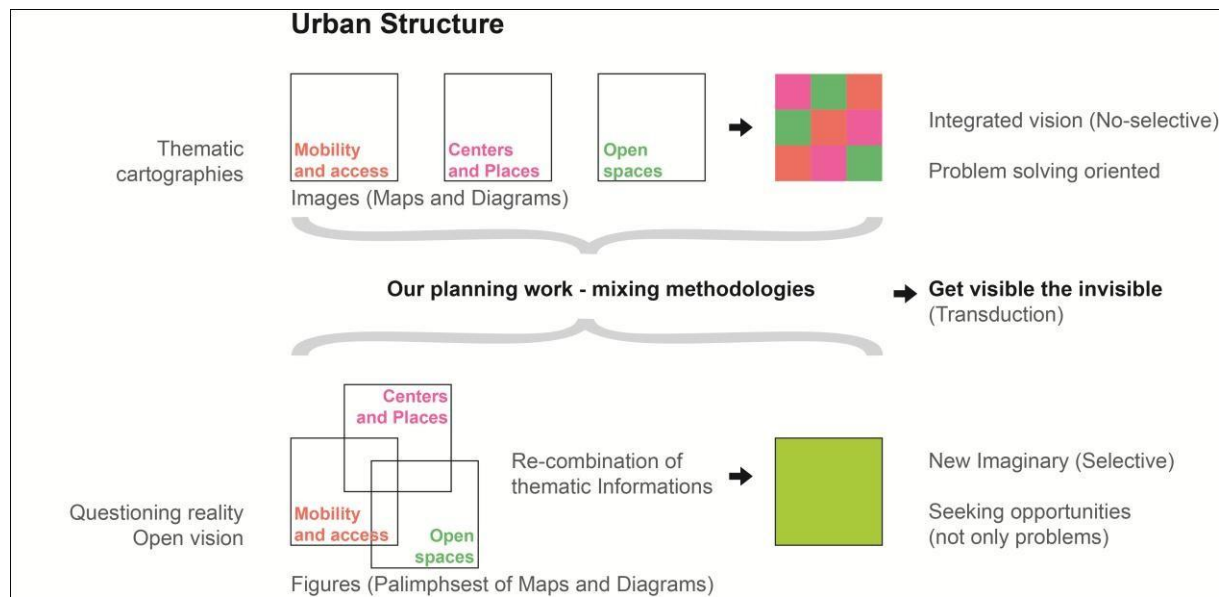


Figure 6. Figures as vectors for a better understanding

The first step is to combine scales – regional, urban, local, singular places – through the performing of the local landscape features. In this sense, landscape is both a tool and a design target. The second one, on our proposal, is related to the understanding of ‘urban structure,’ like a combination of three factors: mobility, urban centralities and open spaces. With a design-oriented reading of the city morphology, these three systems allow working on different urban strategies and places by standing out their links or connections. For instance, the natural constraints of place are not a restriction but an opportunity for built environment. For this reason, urban structure needs to enhance the role of spaces. The connection of every system with a clear image (figure) offers a reference in the uncertain path of urban understanding.

NOTES

- ¹ Richard L. Florida, *Cities and the creative class* (New York: Routledge, 2005).
- ² Arnaldo Bagnasco, (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2003).
- ³ Manuel de Solà-Morales 'Contra el modelo de metrópolis universal'. In *Lo urbano en 20 autores*, edited by Angel Martín (Barcelona: UPC Ed., 2004), 99-104.
- ⁴ Richard T. T. Forman, *Land mosaics: the ecology of landscapes and regions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
- ⁵ Edward.W. Soja, 'Inside exopolis: scenes from Orange County', in *Variations on a theme park*, ed. by Mikael Sorkin (New York: Hill & Wang, 1992), 94-122.
- ⁶ Juan Luis De las Rivas, 'Hacia la ciudad paisaje. Regeneración de la forma urbana desde la naturaleza' *Urban NS05* (2013): 79-93
- ⁷ Nuno Portas & al., *Políticas urbanas I and II: Lisboa und o Calouste ulben ian*. 2003 & 2011).
- ⁸ Francesco Indovina, 'La metropolización del territorio Nuevas jerarquías territoriales', in *La explosión de la ciudad*, ed. by Antonio Font et al., (Madrid: Ministerio de Vivienda, 2004), 20-47.
- ⁹ Francisco Javier Monclús, *La ciudad dispersa: Suburbanización y nuevas periferias* (Barcelona: Centre de Cultura Contemporànea de Barcelona, 1998).
- ¹⁰ Edward.W. Soja, 'Regional Urbanization and the End of the Metropolis Era', in *The New Blackwell Companion to the City*, ed. by Gary Bridge & Sophie Watson (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 679-689.
- ¹¹ Bernardo Secchi, 'Figure del rinnovo urbano' *Casabella* 614 (1994): 16-17 12 rard enette, (Paris: Seuil. 1992).
- ¹² Henry Lefebvre, *Le droit à la ville* (Paris: Anthropos. 1968)
- ¹³ Antonio Capestro, 'Interpretare i territorio della complessità' *Firenze Architettura, I quaderni 1* (1997): 18-29
- ¹⁴ Juan Luis De las Rivas, *Estado de las ciudades de Castilla y León* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León. 2010).
- ¹⁵ European Union, *State of European cities report: Adding value to the European Urban Audit* (Brussels: European Union Regional Policy. 2007).
- ¹⁶ Kevin Lynch, *The image of the city* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1960).
- ¹⁷ Fredric Jameson, *The geopolitical aesthetic: cinema and space in the world system* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992).

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REMOTE HOMES: TOWARDS A NOMADIC URBANISM?

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“If home is not necessarily a spatial concept, it is nonetheless often lived out as if it were such.”

David Morley, 2000

The question of home placement is relevant to our contemporary structures of lifestyle since two important phenomena have destabilized the traditional notions of home and identity: globalization and the Internet. Contemporary western society is fluid; a teleological construction of time and space has been transformed into more mobile and immaterial structures. Thus mobility and virtuality are two key components of social configuration.¹ If we take these ideas into consideration the following questions arise: How do virtual realities affect the notions of identity in space? How is identity structured in a highly virtualized and mobile society? Are we obliged to transform and remodel our identities constantly?

OF HOMES AND ISLANDS

The novel *Mundo del fin del Mundo*² depicts the voyages of three nomadic travelers through the inhospitable islands of the Chilean “Land of Fire”. All have lost their homes; all long for them and their past. One particularly interesting anecdote is the story of a seaman whose home was a sunken boat in the middle of the sea:

The *Paso del Ona*³ was a low keel cutter that my father had bought after a storm had destroyed the Fiona against the reefs of Punta Diego. I was born in the *Paso del Ona* and until now I felt/knew it as the closest idea of home. But this boat does not exist anymore. When my father died, I did as I should: respecting his manners and myths, I tied the body to the rudder and I sunk the boat in the deep waters of the Gulf of Sorrows.

The notion of “home” is therefore comparable to a remote island; both are entities created from narratives. Islands are locations onto which we project our fantasies, places that are better dealt with through literature than through science⁴; the same can be said about “home.” “Home” can never be defined as a unique and stable entity; it is movable, remote, intangible. What is home for one is not home for another. There are almost as many notions of what constitutes the home as there are people on this planet.

THE MIGRANT, THE EXILED AND THE TRAVELER

Ultimately, there are three principal identities within contemporary society: the migrant, the exiled and the traveler. These three figures are integral to the discussion about the distribution and conformation of space, especially in urban contexts. Many factors have led to the exponential growth

of people inhabiting places that are “not their own” – from where they are not natives. World politics issues (dictatorships, wars, civil-wars, etc.) have led to increasing numbers of exiled people; world economic issues (poverty, lack of opportunities in education and work, dangerous environment etc.) to immigrants; and faster means of communication (Internet, airplanes, English as a “global” language, etc.) for travelers. These three identities raise questions wherever they are and challenge traditional notions of identity and nation. For example, how do the current 200 million immigrants in the world⁵ deal with their “foreignness” and how do they settle in new environments? “Home is wherever you have a job,”⁶ said a Turkish migrant in Germany. Typically, families migrate to richer countries to provide their children the opportunities they didn’t have: education, health services and proper nourishment. The historic tendency of migrants to consolidate nation-of-origin based communities and constitute “little” countries of their own (Little Italies, Chinatowns...) is changing. Increasingly, neighborhoods, especially cosmopolitan neighborhoods, are not nation-based, and continuous research is done to understand new neighborhood dynamics. This provides an even more complex sense of identity for the inhabitants of each district and city.

The most radical identity is that of the exiled, as they don’t have the opportunity to return to their place of origin. For them, “home” - conceived of here as their national birthplace – might as well be a sunken boat. They must reformulate their identity and their notions of belonging. Home is banned for them, placed in the land of nostalgia and memories. When something irreplaceable is forever forbidden it becomes an integral part of your daily life: in this case, the pursuit for the lost home. Exiled people and refugees generally leave their places of origin, their homes, in an abrupt manner, leaving them without any belongings with which to start their new lives. Refugees, asylum seekers and exiled people are forced to find a new place of residency and make it their home in a short period of time. Entire villages and cities living in precarious situations has become the norm, temporal accommodations turned into everyday living settlements.⁷ A considerable amount of the temporary refugee camps end up as permanent villages; settlements that modify the identity of the natural environment as well as the identities of the refugees.

Finally, the traveler, the so-called perpetual tourist who is always on the road, visits new countries and cities, working temporary jobs to continue the journey. The traveler holds a passport and collects a profit from it by gaining stamps on its pages; in many cases the traveler does not pay taxes due to their continuous movement. The consolidation of the traveler’s identity has come from the boom of ever faster means of transport, widespread virtual communication, and the merging of different cultures and languages into one common language, the “broken English.” Travelers have also contributed to new distributions of spaces; nowadays, hostels, restaurants and pleasure/party facilities are found in areas that were once “closed,” for example remote beaches in Southeast Asia and Latin America. Alongside this move, international food and culture has boomed and spread throughout the world. An “exotic and extravagant home” has been established, repeating itself in different places, culminating in what could be called ‘tourist gentrification’.

VIRTUALLY AND SIMULACRUM

We live in a fluid society where social institutions such as “home” have become elusive due to many factors, amongst them high-speed and low-cost means of communication and continuous mobility⁸. Furthermore, post-modernist and post-structuralists thinkers have highlighted that these new technologies (e.g. Internet, virtual environments, city computing, etc.) have destabilized the paradigm of representation.

In modern times (1789-1914) knowledge was based on a subject-object relationship where science and evidence played an important role in the construction of reality. In the so-called post-modern times⁹ the subject-object relationship was challenged and fractured leaving only signs that refer to

other signs, no utter reality. Jean Baudrillard notes that we live in a world where there is only simulacrum. He argues that the subject tries to understand the object, but since the object can only be understood through signs, the object can never be fully attained. Instead, the subject is seduced by the object. Seduced in terms of its original Latin meaning: “to move away.” Therefore, when attempting to understand human life we end up being seduced by it, drawn towards a simulation, a state of hyperreality:

Abstraction today is no longer that of the map, the double, the mirror or the concept. Simulation is no longer that of a territory, a referential being or a substance. It is the generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal. The territory no longer precedes the map, nor survives it. Henceforth, it is the map that precedes the territory – precession of simulacra – it is the map that engenders the territory...It is the real, and not the map, whose vestiges subsist here and there, in the deserts which are no longer those of the Empire, but our own. The desert of the real itself.

A clear example of this hyperreality is the new emphasis in architecture on rendering models. An architecture project nowadays can be restricted to its rendering. Within the renderings are depictions/simulacra of virtual/real spaces, bringing some discussion points to the table: Does rendering promote new utopic concepts? Does rendering distance itself from the “real” space of architecture? Furthermore, it is interesting to see the distinction between a rendering close to reality and a more “distanced” one. The notion of Accurate Visual Representation (AVT), refers to the necessity of developing architectural renderings that are as close as possible to reality, that depict the building as it would actually look when built into the city, land, or territory.

To further explain the concept of simulacra, Baudrillard distinguishes between simulation and dissimulation. Dissimulation supposes a presence that needs to be covered or falsified; simulation supposes an absence that needs to be simulated or created. How can the “true” simulated features be distinguished from the “true” real ones? Simulation implies production, falsification and, above all, replacement. The architectural renderings are simulations of space in the most radical way. They simulate true buildings in true spaces. Renderings simulate reality in a hyperreal way, by its own fabrication of reality, it goes to the extreme of classifying them as more or less real depictions of reality.

In 1994 Paul Milgram developed a scale that ranged between virtuality and reality called the “virtuality continuum”¹⁰, and which aimed to measure the position of a certain entity or environment within its own parameters. The scale makes the following distinctions; real environment, augmented reality, augmented virtuality and virtual environment. Augmented reality is regarded as the depiction of a real environment through computer-generated input. Like the GPS app that generates a complex database of directions and strategic points into the city, or the real-time statistical matrix displayed in a football match broadcast. Augmented virtuality would then be “real” effect portrayed into virtual environments, such as the projection of a non-virtual object into a virtual environment through different technological strategies. These two notions merge with the fluid notion of the ‘real’. Can the “simulated” – virtual – home be replaced by the “real” – material – home, and vice versa?

How does virtuality configure home spaces nowadays? Is simulation of togetherness part of our new notion of home and space? The attitudes of Skype users can tell us about communication habits in private households in Europe:

While the phone call often required the narration of events and was therefore focused on past events that were not necessarily shared by the two speakers, the Skype sessions are focused on the present. They allow people to be together in the present and often collectively, a few people on either side of the webcams. The change of time frame supported by the webcam and the low cost of long connections, modifies the sense of participation. By enabling people to go on doing things at home

without being uniquely focused on the conversation, people rekindle the sense of intimacy that is created by sharing a space with someone you care for.¹¹

If we take into consideration these ideas, we come to the question; how are strategies of ‘home’ developed in a hyperreal world? Could we think of apps that allow you to wake up listening to the songs of the birds of your native town? Could there be a way of living in rendered virtual spaces that come closer to new notions of identity and place? Could there be hyperreal dinner tables where all the members of the family could meet even if they reside in different continents? Furthermore, could it be feasible to imagine the creation of hyperspaces that adjust to individual desires and identities?

The concept that seems appropriate now is the one of the hologram, also addressed by Baudrillard¹². He discusses how holograms destroy the game of illusion through the game of reproduction; they represent the destruction of the “real” by the creation of its double (stand-in). Does the simulacrum (hologramatic image of the other) of sharing the same space create a notion of a hyperreal home? Or could we think of an identity not related to space, that is closer to ideas and people?

CONCLUSION: NOMADIC HOMES?

We live in a world shaped by fast means of communication and constant social and economic mobility. These new conditions have contributed to a new view of the world in which the modern subject-object relationship has been shifted to give priority to a post-modern paradigm where signs only refer to other signs without a “reality” (in hard terms). This new representational paradigm and the new world conditions have led to a destabilization of notions of identity and home; and since there are millions of people that now reside in localities outside their birthplaces (immigrants, exiles and travelers) the question regarding home settlement strategies is becoming ever more relevant.

Therefore, “home” is an elusive and, to some extent fictional, term that involves cultural practices and is a term that cannot be captured in one definition. Thus it becomes problematic to question the possibility of a new, and fixed, notion of home. Living in a fluid society has transformed the pursuit of happiness from an enlightened wish of humanity into an individual desire. The anchoring of the individual as the primary social unit has created the necessity of formulating and transforming life according to that individual’s wishes or desires. Individuals are therefore forced to create their own surroundings and to adjust them to their desires. This process of territorial displacement calls for new adaptability tools and skills.

For example, faster means of communication such as the Internet enable virtual coexistences which can create intimate atmospheres for people living in different places around the world, such as long Skype calls. Could we consider these forms of communication and adaptability nomadic?

If we take a closer look on a nomadic people, such as the Mongols, we find some interesting concepts for approaching the physical/virtual creation of space for elusive identities and roaming fixed spaces¹³. A part of the Ulaanbaatar urban landscape to date still maintains *ger* districts, where basic supplies (such as water and electricity grids) have been installed in some parts of the city. These supply grids match the nomads’ behaviors by remaining even when the *gers* are not there, in order to receive the nomads again the following year. These nomadic settlements question the traditional notion of home as a constant place. Refugee camps, migrant districts, hostels and virtual realities do the same. “‘there’ (where you are not) has ceased to exist in a planetary scale and we now inhabit a massive ‘here’ that we inevitably and without alternative share with the rest of humanity.”¹⁴

The issue of nomadism has not yet been solved in our society since nomadic behavior is seen as the behavior of the outcast who defies notions of property, nationality, belonging and citizenship. Often nomads are seen as homeless and uncivilized (when taking an extreme position); but more and more inhabitants of cities and towns around the world engage with nomadic behaviors.

To categorize nomads as homeless seems to reflect an outside view on nomadism. It has also traditionally been thought that nomadic peoples do not own their land, a view that has not been shared by the nomadic people themselves. To understand nomadism as homelessness and landlessness is constructing the ‘nomad’ as the other to the settled people and the culture that staying put creates.¹⁵

Self-made and improvised homes can be seen everywhere: slums are chaotic and undefined grids that emerge out of necessity in a very fast manner (e.g. Mumbai, Calcutta, Mexico City, Manila, Lagos); refugee camps also are implemented in question of days out of the state of emergency.

It is important to analyze these structures and to learn from them as well as to observe the appropriation of places and the development of rituals used to settle/define homes. These home-making rituals could be, among others, the placing of belongings in a familiar manner; long-intimate Skype calls with beloved ones, community settlements of people with the same or similar cultural background.

Are we as individuals (citizens) forced to elaborate, create and simulate our own “homes” and identities permanently? And if so, can architecture suggest new practical/hyperreal structures for making the world livable? Will physicality continue to be the most important premise when planning the distribution of spaces in cities? Should emotional relation to place of residency be taken into account when envisioning new neighborhoods? Furthermore, can we truly imagine a non-physical placement of our emotions? Is nomadism the new form of living, and if so, how will contemporary society and urbanism adapt to it? These questions refer to the basic inquiry of space construction; time will show the impact of virtual space in relation to the production of identities and homeliness.

NOTES

¹ Zygmunt Bauman was born in Poland in 1925; in 1971 he fled to his country of origin due to anti-Semitic policies. Now he lives and works in England. Bauman is a recognized sociologist who coined the terms “liquid” and “solid” modernity to describe contemporary society. Liquid modernity refers to the lack of ulterior meaning of structures and the end of a belief in progress and closure of human development. On the book *Liquid Modernity*, Bauman reflects upon identity: “The search for identity is the ongoing struggle to arrest or slow down the flow, to solidify the fluid, to give form to the formless. Yet far from slowing the flow, let alone stopping it, identities are more like the spots of crust hardening time and again on the top of volcanic lava which melt and dissolve again before they have time to cool and set.” Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000).

² Luis Sepulveda was born in Chile in 1949. Since his youth he travelled as much as he could, always taking a notebook with him. In his youth he was a leader of the student movement in his home country and in 1973, after the coup d'état lead by Augusto Pinochet, he was imprisoned for two and a half years. Thanks to the help from the German branch of Amnesty International he was relocated in home arrest which he managed to flee, and subsequently went underground for one year. International entities again helped him and he was sentenced to eight years of exile in Sweden. He flew to Europe but on the first layover in Buenos Aires he managed to escape and remained in Latin America until 1979 when he changed his residency to Germany. He has lived in Europe for over three decades, and regularly writes about Latin America. The book quoted here narrates his first journey back in Chile since his departure in 1977. Luis Sepulveda, *Mundo del fin del Mundo* (Madrid: Tusquets, 1994).

³ The Ona People was one of the last aboriginal groups in South America to be reached by Westerners. They were located in the now-called Land of Fire of Chile and Argentina. The mother of this seaman was part of the Ona people.

⁴ Judith Schalansky was born in the German Democratic Republic (DDR) in 1980. When she was a child she spent hours looking at maps and fantasizing about going to “exotic” faraway places. She lives, writes, and is an artist in Berlin. “An island offers a stage: everything that happens on it is practically forced to turn into a story, into a chamber piece in the middle of nowhere, into the stuff of literature. What is unique about these tales is that fact and fiction can no longer be separated, fact is fictionalized and fiction is turned to fact.” Judith Schalansky, *Pocket Atlas of Remote Islands: Fifty Islands I Have Not Visited and Never Will* (Essex: Penguin Books, 2009).

⁵ Information retrieved from the International Organization of Migration, <http://www.iom.int/>.

⁶ David Morley was born in 1964 in England and still lives there. He narrates that during his childhood his home turned around the television; it was the instrument that kept the family spatially together and was the means to bring the external world into the privacy of their lives. He is an anthropologist and a poet and has focused his attention on the phenomenon of home placement and identity. Morley, David, *Home Territories, Media, Mobility and Identity* (London & New York: Routledge, 2000).

⁷ According to UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) there are currently 42.5 million of forcibly displaced people, thus refugee camps are sprawling across the world: <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c11.html>.

⁸ Bauman, Zygmunt, *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000).

⁹ Numerous thinkers have criticized the notion of “post-modernism”; one of them was Zygmunt Bauman who defied it with his notion of “liquid modernity” mentioned above. Bauman, *Liquid Modernity*.

¹⁰ Milgram, Paul and Herman Colquhoun, “A Taxonomy of Real and Virtual World Display Integration,” *Mixed Reality: Merging Real and Virtual Worlds*, ed. Yuichi Ohta and Hideyuki Tamura (Tokyo: Ohmsha and Berlin: Springer Verlag, 1999), 5-30.

¹¹ Stefana Broadbent, digital ethnographer, has made different studies of how new technologies affect human behaviors. Broadbent, Stefana, “Transforming the Home,” *L'intimité Au Travail* (Limoges: Editons FYP, 2011).

¹² Kellner, Douglas “Jean Baudrillard”, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2013 Edition), <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2013/entries/ baudrillard/>

¹³ Willenius, Annu born in 1974 in Finland; has made different analyses on some urban strategies developed in Mongolia, especially in Ulaanbaatar. Mongols have been closely thought of as the ultimate stereotype of nomadism, since the Mongolian Empire lead by Genghis Kahn adopted many of the nomadic tactics of their people to attack and conquer its opponents. In 2008, as Wilenius notes, 57% of Ulaanbaatar’s population lived in *ger* districts (31% in self-built houses); this is an indicator of a highly nomadic behavior. The Mongolian *ger* is a traditionally used structured used by nomads in the steppes of Central Asia; it is made out of a wooden circular frame with a wool felt cover which resists the harsh climates of the region. These structures can be transported and its construction takes about 2 hours. *Ger* districts are settlements (communities) of people that arrive and live

in the peripheral areas of the city. Willinius, Annu, "In Search of the City / Nomad / Understanding Freedom," *Mongolia: Perception and Utopia* (Kerva: Kerava Art Museum Publications, 2008).

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

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THE GHOSTED CITY: UNREPRESENTED X-FACTORS

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POST VS. LATE-INDUSTRIAL

Post-Industrial Cities

Post-Industrial cities are still in operation shifting to different industries and urban structures. While the late-industrial city ceased to exist after the elimination of a manufacturing industrial economy, the post-industrial city is a still present condition of cities transitioning their industries into economically viable sectors. This is the condition known more commonly within the urban landscape. Cities such as Detroit, Michigan, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Youngstown, Ohio are examples of an industrial America that is presently working to transition these cities. In the condition of post-industrial the city assets have an opportunity to flux for alternative industrial programming.

LATE-INDUSTRIAL CITIES

Late-industrial cities are those extinguished after their industrial uses. Late-industrial describes recently deceased cities such as the late Picher, Oklahoma, a city recently dissolved because of its reflexive handicap to the changing industrial demands of the present. Natural resources determined geographic developments across the American landscape at the beginning of the twentieth century. The industrial revolution and increasing population created high demand for materials and thus the extraction of materials became big business developments in resource rich landscapes. Sites across the country were established relative to their resource deposits creating “Company Towns” dependent on the local industry and national demands.

LATE-INDUSTRIAL CASE

History of Picher

The demands of World War I created an early twentieth century industrial boom in America. Increasing orders for weapons, devices and ammunition led to the rapid material extraction in natural resource rich lands of Middle America. The Tri-State Mining District including northeastern Oklahoma, southeastern Kansas and southwester Missouri was a historic lead-zinc mining territory at this time. Picher Mining Company established mines in northeast Oklahoma and rapidly grew to a sustainable company town.¹ The mines of Picher extracted more than fifty percent of the lead used for ammunition during WWI. The material resource became the city’s single assets and economic driver relative to the demands of WWI. The natural resource infrastructure of Picher existed for a specific task and a definitive quantity of lead. This single-industry limited the city’s ability to develop beyond

the lead-zinc mining. The city grew only to service the miners and their family, providing only the most fundamental social infrastructures creating a swelling single industry quotient.



Figure 1. Picher, Oklahoma 1931 (Library of Congress).

The limited development in cities like Picher transformed them into late-industrial cities within a single century. The post-industrial counterparts resiliently responded but also have infrastructures developed around strategies of manufacturing and production rather than resource extraction. In the case of Detroit, MI and other rust-belt cities during World War II the automotive factories were able to transfer production modes from that of the car to tanks and bomber planes. These large factory spaces presently have the ability to be reprogrammed unlike mining shafts of the Middle American mining towns. This elastic use of space is the tipping point between a late or post-industrial city.

TAR CREEK SUPERFUND SITE

Along with Picher, Oklahoma's inability to adapt beyond the single industry, the mining practices resulted in massive contamination of the water supply of the area. Tar Creek Superfund Site was once labeled the largest environmental disaster in the United States, covering approximately 115 square miles. The Tri-state Mining District was over 500 square miles of mining infrastructure and company towns. The effected superfund site encompasses five of these towns; Treece, Kansas, Hockerville, Picher, Cardin, Commerce and North Miami, Oklahoma. Buyouts in Picher, Cardin and Treece and Hockerville created complete ghost towns around the toxic Tar Creek.

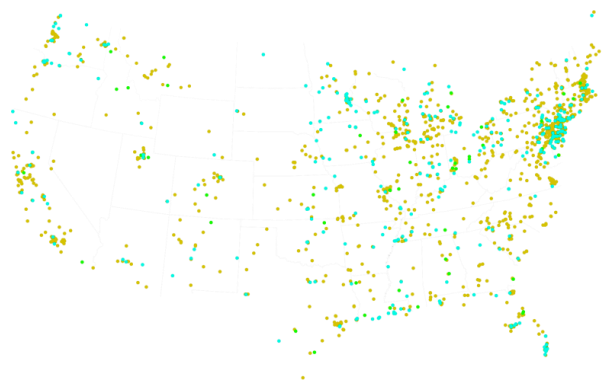


Figure 2. Superfund Sites (by author).

THE GHOSTED INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPE

Footprint

Richard Brook and Nick Dunn “use the term ‘map’ loosely to describe any form of representation that reveals unseen space, latent conditions or narratives in and of the city.”² To map within the loose terms allows operations between disciplines, medium and modes to extract. The work laid out lends focus to the city and its geographically proximate constituents. Extrapolating the practices beyond the city and into the hinterland, where many of the supporting territories exist, may provide insight to latent hinterlands and their passive effects on the networked cities, specifically the relationship between cities and their industrial counterparts. Manuel Delanda expresses this relationship as “the intensification of the flow of knowledge also affected the dynamics of cities and their industrial hinterlands.”³

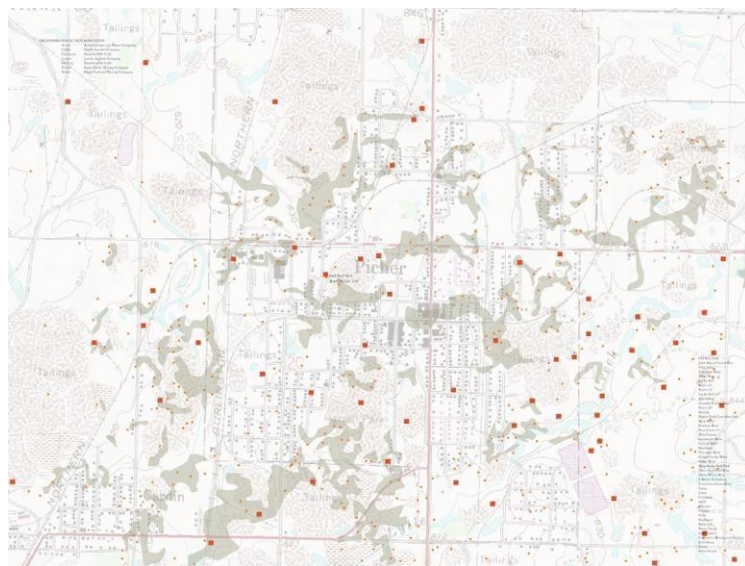


Figure 3. Picher, Oklahoma original town plan, mine shafts and underground cavities (by author).

The historical footprint created by Picher Mining Company and the town grown around it will remain. Municipalities were recently dissolved erasing the civic condition. While the largest environmental disaster, the ability to invest in the displacement of residents so the landscape is abandoned as in rather than preparing remediation treatments. Borrowing from René Daumal’s reduction of x in his 1928 essay *Pataphysics and the Revelation of Laughter* “to know x = to know (everything - x)”⁴ there exists an intriguing operation to evaluate conservation situations. Imagine a context with x , now remove x , what effect does it have on the content? This is the nature of x , less than physical. X becomes the ghost of something and its effects. Place and space are tethered to the same relationship of the physical and the ghost.

Invention, addition, utilization, removal. Expanding the boundaries of how we engage in the practice begins with stretching its parameters to its limits. By bringing attention to these non-sites across different landscapes, it will reveal to the profession the broader context and discourse outside of itself. Acclimating ourselves with adjacent practices gives abilities of handling new programs and social complexities that architecture has before been unable to deliver. While these sites late-industrial sites end with the same characteristic of a ghosted x -factor the traces of their coming to be may be quite different. Through these traces and variables, common places and divergence are amplified, this

brings them back into the conversation not as a ruin but an active engagement of after the built form. The site operates through a narrative to showcase emergent conditions between history and artifact. As Peter Eisenman explains in his essay *Diagram: An Original Scene of Writing*, “as a generator a diagram is a mediation between a palpable object, a real building, and what can be called architecture’s interiority.”⁵ It can then be said that the narrative mapping operates as a diagram to expose the relationships between the site, event, artifact and discourse to generate new associations. Deleuze explores emergence and the diagram in the scope of a diagrams authenticity, in his essay *The Diagram* “It is like a catastrophe happening unexpectedly to the canvas, inside figurative or probabilistic data. It is like the emergence of another world....The diagram is the possibility of fact - it is not the fact itself.”⁶

A series of cities have been eliminated from the industrial landscape because of the treacherous harm that has been done because of such activities. The resolution of these late-industrial spaces takes up Gertrude Stein’s perspective that “in America there is more space where nobody is than where anybody is. That is what makes America what it is.”⁷ This moment in American culture the memory of specific sites are slighted for the benefits of a collective national history. In the case of Picher Oklahoma, it provided support to a critical history of WWI while simultaneously being eliminated from memory in the vast American landscape.

NOTES

- ¹ Margaret Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns*.
- ² Richard Brook and Nick Dunn. *Urban Maps: Instruments of Narrative and Interpretation in the City*. (Ashgate, 2011), 3.
- ³ Manuel de Landa, *Geological History: 1700-2000 AD* in *A Thousand Years of Nonlinear History*. (New York: 2000), 91.
- ⁴ René Daumal, *Pataphysics and the Revelation of Laughter*, in *Pataphysical Essays*, ed. and trans. Thomas Vosteen (Cambridge: Wakefield Press, 2012), 8.
- ⁵ Peter Eisenman "Diagram: An Original Scene of Writing" pp 27.
- ⁶ Gilles Deleuze, *The Diagram* in *The Deleuze Reader*. pp 194-199.
- ⁷ Gertrude Stein, "*The Geographical History of America*" 1936.

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THE URBAN GRID: CONTROL AND POWER

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"Those who have the power to command and produce space possess a vital instrumentality for the reproduction and enhancement of their own power. Any project to transform society must, therefore, grasp the complex nettle of the transformation of spatial practices".¹

INTRODUCTION

Every society produces monumental structures that commemorate and encapsulate its ideals. Pakistan, post independence, was no exception. As with any other country, there is no greater testament to the creation of Pakistan than the design of the capital city itself. For those that helped found this city claimed "the Master-plan is our constitution, the constitution for the city for the country²". This paper postulates that the act of design is not just an innocent act of creation but also one which is bereft of struggles of power in space. The aim is to decipher how the city master plan exerted control and through it power over the space, through tracing the historical roots of the various tools of control and their trajectories. The exertion of power is interpreted in terms of Michel Foucault's elucidation of various kinds of powers that are manifest in an urban scape. Power is always exercised within a "territory", aimed at a "population". Population is understood in terms of not only the number of citizens, rather its characteristics, its arrangement with the forces of power, natural resources, wealth and activities³.

Foucault categorized three broad categories of power. "Sovereign power" is enforced through the obedience of absolute law, and disobedience results in severe punishment. "Disciplinary power" is a procedure in which the population is regulated through a complex system of surveillance and by regulating the organization of space and time of the population's day-to-day activities. "Governmentality", which he defined in terms of the rise of the idea of the state, is power crafted to develop systems and procedures to administer individuals and population at every strata not just the political or administrative⁴.

With these didactic tools, the paper aims to understand the true intentions of the master plan as envisioned by its designer Doxiadis and by Ayub Khan, the man who envisioned the new capital as the mark of identity of the new nation and the people of this very nation. In the course of this endeavor, the paper also considers, what was understood to be, the success and failure of the master plan of the city and the portrayal of this success in terms of the modernist framing of this design and its post-modern transmutation. The theoretical claims of this paper hinge on the consequences of this for the conceptual framing of the non-western post-modern city.

THE INDIGENOUS URBANSCAPE AND COLONIAL CANTONMENTS

Pakistan, the territory, existed as part of the Indian sub-continent for about two hundred years under the colonial rule of the British. Since the inception of their rule in the sub-continent, the British imposed their sovereign juridical power over space, as reflected in their spatial layouts for the colonies. The urban reforms coincided with the locals' accession into the armed forces and other administrative departments of the colony. This combined with the spatial reforms provided a framework that helped encapsulate the locals into a web of "sovereignty". As the British tried to conform the locals to their civilized ways, they introduced areas for Indian hired soldiers, officials and military forces in cantonments. In contrast to the indigenous layout of the organic city of Rawalpindi, the cantonments were planned in a much more regimental manner.

The native layout of the city was characterized by streets wide and narrow that ran through the "Mohallas", the local neighborhoods. These streets were thriving social spaces where interaction amongst the people occurred during all times of the day. These veins of interaction sometimes flowed into bigger spaces of social gatherings such as market places or big public squares that provided collective space for wedding, holiday celebration and political meetings. "These spaces were not considered part of any individual neighborhood, and had only the broadest social affiliations, permitting circulation of any person or vehicle for any purpose at any time⁵".

The spaces that characterized the lifestyle of the people who dwelled within them were deemed confusing and unordered by their colonizers. The multitude of streets were unnumbered and seemed infinite. The social status of the inhabitants was indiscernible from the physical characteristics of the houses, the various social groups were multifariously spread throughout their area, making "surveillance" and "control" almost impossible for the colonizers.

The cantonments that the British laid out in the colonized territory consisted of separate areas for the hired Indian soldiers and British officers. The cantonment was intentionally kept at a distance from the rest of the city. The Indian soldiers were to be quarantined from the rest of the local population. The typical layout was of regimental: linear, grid like streets and roads with well spaced bungalows, churches, with clubs and municipal facilities nestled in between and important military stations at the periphery so the entire precinct could be monitored. The distribution of the population within the cantonments was also done according to their status in the government. Circulation could be monitored easily. While typically every cantonment in the country was the same, the one in Rawalpindi was considered one of the largest. These spatial layouts were implicit of the spatial and the social differences between the colonizers and the colonized⁶.



Figure 1. The old map of Rawal Pindi.

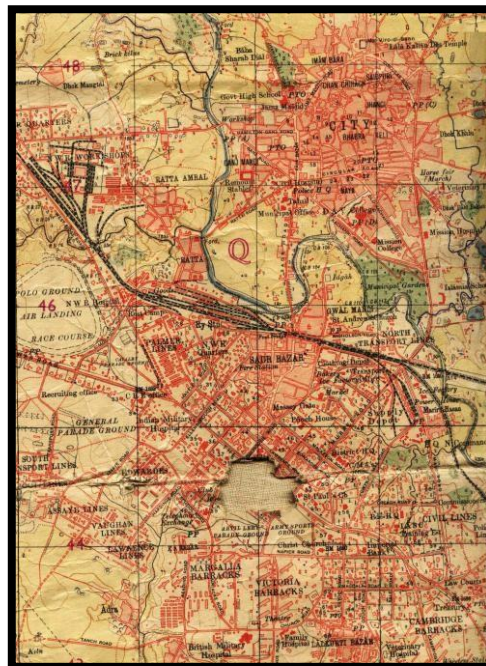


Figure 2. The Colonized Area in comparison to the indigenous areas of the city.

The British visibly and physically demarcated a line between the civilized and the indigenous communities by putting the railway line as a buffer between the two. For locals to gain access to the reformed spatial boundaries, they had to be employed by the Colonial authorities. The new spatial reforms brought about a new class of citizens with a new identity, a new purpose and new sensibility towards their space within the city. They were educated about how a township or a larger city should function in the refined European ways. More pertinently, a new governable entity on which their sovereignty would be exercised was given birth. This later would transform into a nuance of spatial memory with which they would discern their new capital.

THE NEW CAPITAL: CONTINUATION OF THE COLONIAL LEGACY

In 1947, when Pakistan came into being, several of its new citizens had to abandon their hearth and homes and flee towards a newly formed country, a place that they could call their own, devoid of all colonial stigmas. But, it was a country whose specific geographic parameters and bearings were still under dispute. It was this change in their "territory" that initiated a movement for "reterritolization", pertinent for the existence of the new state.

Pakistan needed a new capital, a new center for "governmentality". It needed to recreate an identity for the inhabitants that could be a source of pride for their citizens. Islamabad emerged as the best location for the capital, situated at close proximity to two of the four provinces. Lying on the Grand Trunk road, the site offered advantages as a center for the region's economic development and facilitated circulation to the rest of the country. In addition, it offered cheap rural land, which decreased development cost and enabled the new city to be built from scratch, allowing greater order and reform. Islamabad was officially declared the final site for the creation of the new capital in 1960. The President at the time was the former Chief Martial Law Administrator Mohammad Ayub Khan.⁷ While the country was in dire need of a new capital and a new identity, the new President had an agenda of his own. The proximity of the new site to Rawalpindi was pertinent to the new bureaucratic military government. Ayub could keep an eye on the army, which had its headquarters in Rawalpindi⁸. The official report stated that the nearby existing city would offer Islamabad considerable aid in facilities and initial housing needs. Rawalpindi was immediately made the interim capital. It was to be parasitically used for its air transportation, the existing railroad and highway connections amongst several of its other assets. Rawalpindi, based on the principles of the preceding colonizers, already had the seeds of governmentality sown in its urbanscape⁹. Islamabad and Rawalpindi were separated by the vast expanse of a green belt. Each of the cities was to grow at its own definite parallel routes, never to converge paths. The organic city of Rawal Pindi was never to contaminate the ordered city of Ayub's dreams, fresh on its way to conform to the idea of governmentality. It was only to interact with those outside its precinct once they had conformed to its territorial rules. But mostly it had to quarantine itself so it may initially setup an internal order, before infecting the rest of the country.

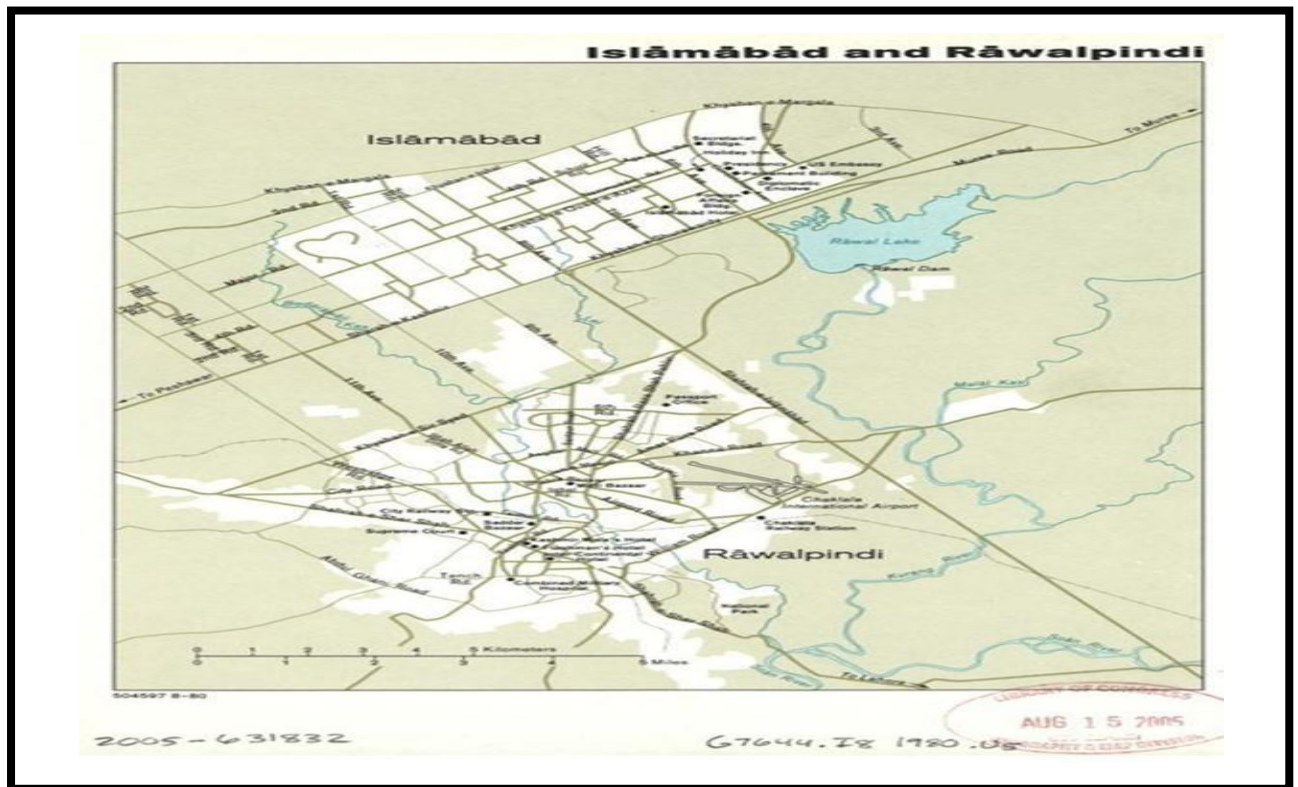


Figure 3. Islamabad and Rawal Pindi.

Here it is pertinent to point out that the idea of a modernist capital itself depicts a continuation of the colonial legacy, the grid of the masterplan used as a 'heterotopia'¹⁰ to mirror a vision of a utopian capital. Islamabad was the utopia that the country needed to break away from the preceding colonial stigma, yet became its underpinning conceptual framework.

As Michel Foucault would put it, the very act of creating a new capital is the quintessential manifestation of "sovereign" power. The hidden agenda of Ayub's grand scheme of the control of the bureaucracy through spatial configuration further elucidated his role as a military dictator. His intention was to isolate the capital and its bureaucratic and regular population, so it may be contained and controlled. He wanted to quarantine the populace and distance "civil servant" far from the centers of urbanity so they may be contained and disciplined¹¹. Ayub claimed that he wanted to curb the interaction amongst intellectuals, business leaders, politicians and bureaucrats in order to avoid "corruption. The bureaucrats had to relocate against their volition, they needed to be disciplined, obligated into compliance.

Here we must consider the intentions of the master planner as well. While Ayub envisioned in the capital the isolation of the bureaucracy as a means to control the country, Doxiadis saw it as a means to control the modern city of the 1960s. For Doxiadis, Islamabad was a conceptual experiment in Ekistics, his science of human settlements¹². "The influence of the diverse in origin and cosmopolitan population of Karachi on government administration would be eliminated, if the Capital were to be a capital only without non-official civilian population located in it and pulling it in different directions....the capital should be in a place where the business community does not come in contact with administration on a social level¹³".

THE PLANNING OF THE CAPITAL

After a thorough analysis of the existing culture and prevalent values of the populace, a report titled "The impressions from the site - the necessary data" was published by Doxiadis, who believed in designing the new city based on the habits and cultural values of the inhabitants. The design for the "New Capital" required a new philosophy. The answer to that Doxiadis found in the 'ekistical unit', which furnished him with a new architectural vocabulary to articulate the new city. "Ekistics caters to designing their habitat initiating with the human unit. The fifteen scalar elements that the hierarchal order comprises of are the Anthropos, room dwelling, dwelling group, all the way to the scale of the city, metropolis and megalopolis and so on. Doxiadis advocates that each space; its shape size and volume has to be dealt with at the corresponding scale level separately first, and then make sure that it connects the ladder, from top to bottom in a nested hierarchy of functions, with all its corresponding elements¹⁴".

The fifteen scalar elements assisted in defining the city's overall dimensions and the dimensions of the basic grid square, the modulus, which by continuous repetition forms the master plan for the city. These anthropic moduli are accumulated from larger blocks or sectors. These Sectors are comprised of a five- level hierarchy, dividing the populace into five distinct groups, as shown in the Table below¹⁵.

Class Community	Population
V	30,000-40,000
IV	10,000
IIIV	2500
III	100
II	1-4

Table 1. Population Distribution

These dwelling groups are self-sufficient and self-contained in terms of their day-to-day needs. In the heart of every sector is a civic center or a "markaz" consisting of business, medical, recreational, and civic activities. In every Class V Community, there is space for a post office, a fire and police station, a large mosque, food and clothing markets. For the Class III Community, there is the provision for a primary school, a small mosque and a small market, and for every Class II Community accommodates a kindergarten and a children's playground. A similar hierarchal order can be discerned in the allocation of spaces for facilities as health, recreation and sports. Every markaz was to be self-sustained, to unite various social categories and economic functions. It set up a framework within which the populace was to self-discipline itself, to become "governmentalized".

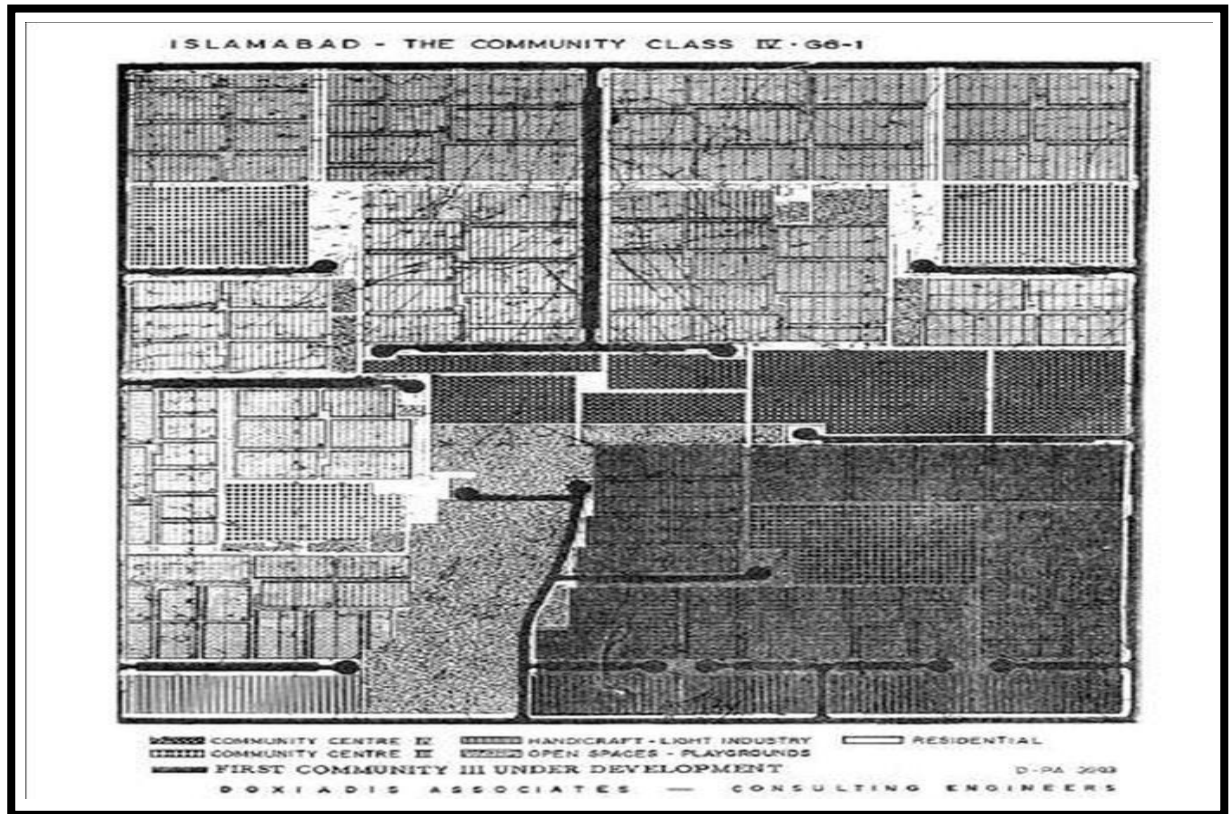


Figure 4. Community Class IV, sub sector G-6-1

This module is iterated around the city, maintaining the unity of scale, but differing in its minute configuration depending on the topography of the site. It forms an organization of various land use zones into communities of the same order. However, the designer intended that each level of the community be laid out so that its boundary is seen from its center and the whole of its area be encapsulated in a warp of "surveillance".

The organization of the social order was based on the spatial and functional array. The residents that were to inhabit the sectors were conceptualized as the "population", the subject of "security", administered not controlled, organized by the national bureaucratic hierarchy, as opposed to being based on family values, religion, ethnic groups or regional affiliations, all of which are of paramount importance in Pakistani society. "Civil servants who have more or less the same income and belong to the same class of civil service should be allocated to similar units. Houses given to peons should all be of the same nature, of the same design, and the same accommodation capacity. Otherwise, bad feelings would be created among civil servants belonging to one and the same class." ¹⁶

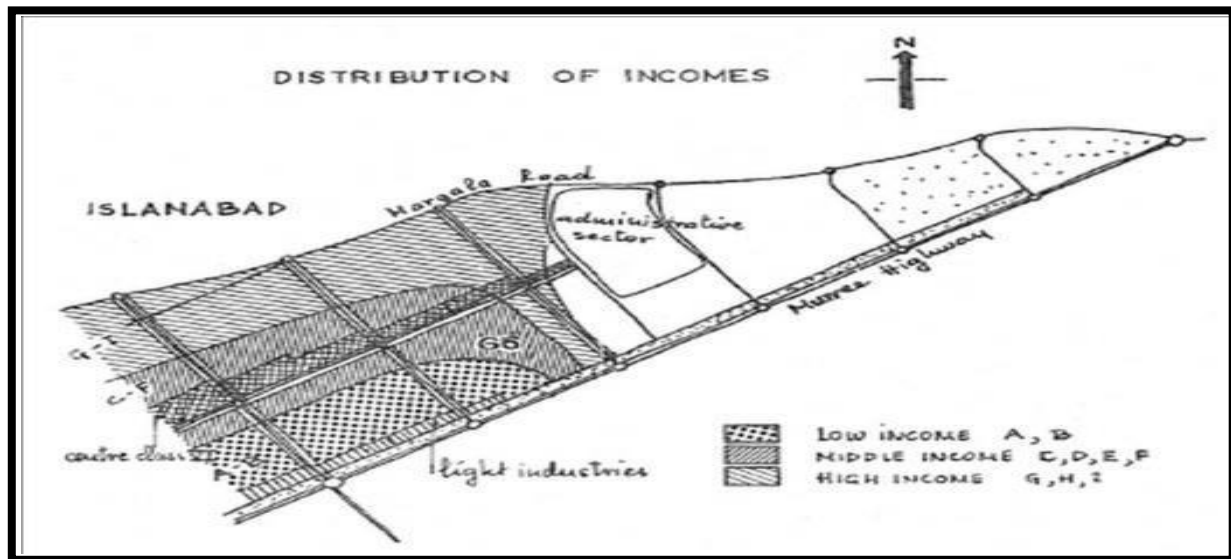


Figure 5. Doxiadis drawing showing the spatial layout of the house types based on income

The mixing of these varying populations was based on the idea of a gradual integration of the lower income group to mature to the level of the higher income group so that they would eventually form a cohesive strata of society. Also to ensure the lower income may serve the needs of higher income class, this strategy resulted in a society that was based predominantly on government scale and ranking as a representation of the general order of social status, a further reinforcement of the governmental form of control.

CIRCULATION

The hierarchy within the sectors is replicated within the circulation for the spaces of the city. The highways were designed as being 1200 feet wide with roads being 600 feet. The roads that permeate the residential sectors are the third category of roads 100-300 feet wide. The last vein of circulation that travels within the residential space caters to vehicular and pedestrian movement. The segregation of the two is evident in the Class V Community where a road system differentiates between the human and vehicular movement. Pedestrian circulation within the human community also follows a hierarchal order from smaller pedestrian streets to larger ones of a Class II Community to the center of a Class III Community and so forth. The spaces and their functions change scale according to the changing hierarchy of the commuting roads, forming a cohesive strata at every tier.

The human scale and that of the machine are kept clearly distinct, and the elements of road design strictly observe the requirements of segregation. The highways around the metropolitan are designed according to vehicular activity that the capital intended to make a trend. This multi strata circulation that Doxiadis planned for the capital was meant to manage the flow of people, capitals, goods and ideas at various levels within the hierarchy of the sector to the scale of the city. Circulation in context of the urban planning is the quintessential practice of 'governmentality'¹⁷. Doxiadis enforced this to setup a certain order within the community, to enforce zoning regulations, segregate residential and administrative zones, increase control over the labor force, to curtail commercial activities in residential areas, to curb encroachments of roads and green spaces, but mostly to setup a framework for circulation through which actions of the citizens could be disciplined. "The machine becomes a major commodity in serving human needs by providing transportation within as well as to and from the city. The unit of magnitude, man, was replaced in our cities by the new unit, the machine, which covers, a proportionately much larger space, drives at much higher speed"¹⁸.

The new type of planning brought about a new social order. It was the citizens sense of ownership of the space that was to coerce them into the realm of governmentality. Their living spaces now represented not the individualistic character but the integrated human community. It brought about a modified representation of the "the middle class" and morphed it into a "society" and within it the populace was turned into governable entities¹⁹.

THE MASTERPLAN AND ITS EVOLUTION

The grid grew out of the sectors, providing a cohesive net for the city. The Jinnah Avenue cleaved down the center of the city, connecting the Presidency located in a commanding position on top of a hill, visually and symbolically to the city. It formed the core of the city, the pulsating vein of circulation. Next to the Presidency are other state buildings such as the Supreme Court, the Parliament, the National Assembly and other state buildings, all subservient to the Presidency. "The President is on the hill and the parliament is under his feet²⁰". Adjacent to the avenue is the Blue Area, or the main civic economic center of the city. The civic center is developed in a strip running south west, which is the main direction of the town's growth. The residential and the light industrial zone follow the same trend.



Figure 6. Jinnah Avenue connected to the Presidency

"The entire conception assures free movement of traffic and facilitates speedy orientation as people, when moving towards or from the administrative sector, will be travelling at right angles to the hills. The administrative sector is developed in an elongated synthesis. In this way communication between various administrative services can be carried out in a rational manner, whereas at the same time possibilities of the future development of the city towards a predetermined expansion area are maintained²¹".

As the grid mutated its static cells of sectors dynamically, the city began to grow as an organism. Its flexibility of growth turned the city into a "Dynapolis". "On the basis of this we can now build our entire grid; a grid which, although consisting of static cells based on the human scale, can develop dynamically and unhindered into the future, into space and time²²". The Grid serves multiple purposes. It acts as the heterotopia that morphs the capital into a governable utopian precinct. It provides a framework which defines the mode of habitation, the means for the state to exercise its power. Its elasticity has the ability to set a parameter in hierarchal strata from an individual unit,

progressing to the scale of a dynapolis, going all the way up to the level of a megalopolis for the citizens to discipline themselves and conform to an idealistic idea of population, providing the state a panoptic view of the affairs of the city.

AYUB'S INTENTION

For Ayub, the Masterplan became a tool to isolate and compartmentalize the populace, based on their stature in the government, either to be rewarded or punished based on their association with the government. Now that a grid organized the city, everyone could theoretically be traced to specifiable coordinates and be monitored. Ayub aimed to divide and rule in a habitat where the social status of an individual was reduced to the place of residence that the state had allocated to him or her. These settlements were venues for exercising disciplinary power, and the circulation system that was proposed to steer them in the web of governmentality was morphed to facilitate or prevent movement when the government pleased.

The utopia of the modern capital was built out of the relics of its pre-colonial spatial order. The political program of the bureaucratic military government and the spatial organization of the new metropolitan complex paralleled the British colonial government's political objectives and the spatial orders through which it attempted to realize them. The division of the population was highly reminiscent of British Colonial practice of allotting houses corresponding to the resident's salary level and position in the government bureaucracy. It was not a new system of governance that the inhabitants had to mould themselves into, rather one that was deeply embedded in the collective conscience of the nation and its imaginary.

In the colonial period public space (that in the indigenous culture existed as a set of malleable coordinates with an unfathomable perimeter) was replaced by a regimental markaz - a place of assembly within every sector. The spaces that were once defined by the events conducted within them now emerged as parts defined by their coordinates on a strict grid, with a fixed axis and dimensions. Their success as part of the master plan depended on their use as it conformed to the intended use. The inherent paradox in the design of the capital was in the intention of the designer and the innuendo of Ayub's ideology at the time. On paper and then later on ground, the city was borne with distinct schizophrenic intents. Doxiadis's ekistics might have evolved into a scheme of spatial 'governmentality' but it was the actions of Ayub that morphed it into a 'sovereignty'.

No segment of the population was excluded from categorization. All citizens were sifted into layers of class, incomes, social statuses, making it easy to discern who to rule and how to rule them. Their every movement was strategized - when and where they dwelled and how they communicated and circulated within the city. The spatial precinct of the capital was the amphitheater for this charade. In an ironic Modern statement, and as an assertion of a break from colonial power, Islamabad became a manifest representation of that which it claimed to annul.

NOTES

- ¹ Tim Cresswell, *Geographic Thought: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Wiley-Blackwell).
- ² Mathew S. Hull, *Government of Paper* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 57.
- ³ Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 70-72.
- ⁴ Ibid, 108.
- ⁵ Mathew S. Hull, *Government of Paper* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 46.
- ⁶ Robert Aldrich and Kirsten McKenzie, *The Routledge History of Western Empires*, (New York: Routledge, 2014), 338-339.
- ⁷ Mathew S. Hull, *Government of Paper* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 38.
- ⁸ Mathew S. Hull, *Government of Paper* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 40.
- ⁹ Mathew S. Hull, *Government of Paper* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 39-40.
- ¹⁰ Heterotopias are referred to as 'other spaces' the grid is perceived as a heterotopia as its the articulation of the roads and the buildings that gives it meaning, it does not exist on its own.
- ¹¹ Markus Daechsel, "Sovereignty, Governmentality and Development in Ayub's Pakistan: the Case of Korangi Township," *Modern Asian Studies* (2011), 149.
- ¹² Government of Pakistan, unpublished secret "Report on the Location of the Federal Capital," CDA: 31. Doxiadis made all necessary arrangements to ensure that the capital does not only accumulate bureaucrats, even though most of the population already accounted for were the Bureaucrats.
- ¹³ Mathew S. Hull, *Government of Paper* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 44.
- ¹⁴ C. A. Doxiadis, "Architecture in Evolution." Annual Discourse at the Royal Institute of British Architects, London, (1960): 13-18.
- ¹⁵ Mathew S. Hull, *Government of Paper* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 50-51.
- ¹⁶ Mathew S. Hull, *Government of Paper* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 54.
- ¹⁷ Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 64.
- ¹⁸ C. A. Doxiadis, "Dynapolis: The City of the Future," Lecture at the OSLO ARKEITEKTFORENING, (1960), 77.
- ¹⁹ A theory made before 'governmentality', Foucault, Society Must Be Defended, 37-50.
- ²⁰ Mathew S. Hull, *Government of Paper* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 50.
- ²¹ "Islamabad the Capital of Pakistan", Constantinos A. Doxiadis, Architect and Urban Planner, accessed January14, 2014, http://www.doxiadis.org/files/pdf/Islamabad_project_publ.pdf.
- ²² C. A. Doxiadis, "Islamabad. The Creation of a New Capital" , *The Town Planning Review*, v.36, no.1 (1960), 12.

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RHETORIC OF SHOWING –WAYFINDING AS MEDIATION OF THE CITY

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INTRODUCTION

Wayfinding systems as parts of information-design are generally regarded as a rhetoric-free area, which is only about the transmission of information and not about the persuasive use of signs. Information-design is assumed to be the rhetorical *degré zéro* – in the style of the *rhétorique générale* (Dubois 1974)¹ – in design. The present text is based on the belief that there is no *degré zéro* of pure meaning and will show that wayfinding systems are in no case to be reduced to the duty of transmission of ‘pure’ information.²

On the other hand, the cooperative relation of rhetoric and design is emphasized from different angles of the design-field. As the designer Per Mollerup says: “It has sometimes been suggested that the difference between commercial and non-commercial signs is that commercial signs persuade while non-commercial signs inform. That is a truth within limitations. All commercial signs inform and many non-commercial signs include elements of persuasion.” (Mollerup 2013, 87) Gesche Joost goes one step further by varying a quote of Kenneth Burke: “Wherever there is design, there is rhetoric.” (Joost 2006, 211). And Arne Scheuermann and Annina Schneller are discussing in a research through design project at Bern University of Art the rhetorical consequences of a reduction of information-design to the delivery of ‘pure’ information. By focusing on signs in public transport they found out that next to the logos-level the visual rhetoric is essentially based on elements of ethos and pathos (Scheuermann 2012, Schneller 2013). So, these are approaches in and through design and, till now, there is almost no equivalent effort for this research topic in rhetorical theory. The present text tries to formulate some principles and to create a basis for the lacking rhetorical theory in the realm of information-design. This text aims at laying the groundwork for the so far lacking rhetorical theory by raising some issues and highlighting some spots:

Way-showing is an act of showing and acting is only possible for subjects. So, what does it mean to say that wayfinding systems are showing the way? What exactly do signs show, if it is said they show the way? Who shows something by using signs? To whom is something shown and what for? Every act of showing implies a social intention, which specifies the purpose of the act and clarifies in which regard the act was performed. So, in which regard is the shown object relevant, what for and to whom? Because showing is in that way always an act of interpretation, this question opens the entrance to a rhetoric of showing. This is the starting point to find or develop rhetorical strategies of showing. The present text’s objective is to lead close to this point, but it can’t be expected that the wide variety of possible strategies could be unfolded within this framework. The main thesis of the present text is that

these strategies make clear that within a rhetoric of showing way-showing is part of persuasive motive-creation.

This approach is, of course, first of all a theoretical one, which means that, since this paper is not a case study, the only duty of the given examples is to illustrate the claims. Once they are understandable and acceptably described, it may be possible to do case studies using the terminology and methodology developed in this paper. A rhetoric of showing will – in a practical sense – makes clear that wayfinding-systems are not only an important part of every place-making process, they are, more fundamentally, building blocks in the creation of meaningful environments. Since the creation of meaning is the key concept of the transformation of spaces into places, this paper is also to be understood as a theoretical basis of place-making.

A note on the groundbreaking work of Kevin Lynch: Especially in *The Image of the City* Lynch is directly concerned with questions of wayfinding. Nonetheless his work is left out in this paper for two reasons: First, for Lynch three terms are central for any approach to the city-image. These are identity, structure and meaning. Since his inquiry largely leaves out the third (meaning), which is to be stressed by any rhetorical analysis, this paper is closer to other urban theorists like Amos Rapoport. As the concept of place-making emphasizes and as Rapoport points out “environment is more than physical [...] Thus one acts towards objects in terms of meaning, that is, objects indicate to people how to act” (Rapoport 1990, 60). Second, Lynch focusses on urban structure and mental maps, while he says little about the role of signs and wayfinding-systems in the process of image-creation.

RHETORICAL FUNDAMENT

A rhetoric of wayfinding understands rhetoric as being more than an attempt to transfer rhetorical figures from the verbal realm to the pictorial, but rather understands rhetoric as a structure. Such a structural understanding of rhetoric is within the New Rhetoric given by the work of Kenneth Burke which builds the fundament of the following theory. There are four central terms to be introduced here: motive, situation, act and form.

The term ‘motive’ is one of the pivotal terms in Burke’s whole work. Motive does not mean an isolated reason to explain in a criminological sense human action, but rather it means a linguistic pattern of explanation and justification to describe a situation so that an act becomes understandable. Motives are, like Burke says, “shorthand terms for situations” (Burke 1954, 29). That means: Motives are expressed solely through linguistic forms, which symbolizes experience and creates a connection to reality. Reality, to outline Burke’s ontological background, is constituted through linguistic constructed relations and that’s why reality is always an interpretation of reality. It is reflected, selected and deflected by our terminologies. So, for Burke, motives are terms of interpretation, and on the basis of these terms, reality can be interpreted as a such-and-such perceived reality. Since interpretative accesses to reality always structure the so interpreted reality within a larger frame of orientation, motives are at the same time regulating and meaningful parts of orientation. Motives are like atoms of orientation, you build them to interpret the situation you’re within.³

Two aspects of motives are also important to note. First, the naming of a motive is not irrelevant. Language itself is a motive and not only a medium for description of motives. “The names we give to motives shape our relations with our fellows. Since they provide interpretations, they prepare us for some function and against others, for or against the person representing these functions. Moreover, they suggest how we shall be for or against.” For example: “Call a man a villain, and you have the choice of either attacking or cringing. Call him a mistaken and you invite yourself to attempt setting him right.” (Blankenship/Murphy/Rosenwasser 1993, 77-78) That’s why “naming is one of the ways space can be given meaning and become place.” (Cresswell 2004, 9)

Second, it is remarkable that motives create a scope of action, widening it and at the same time

restricting it. When Burke says motives are shorthand terms for situations, then motive is to situation like act is to scene, as so far as a motive always includes strategies to handle situations. It is in this respect important to mention that situation is not to be seen as something which lies before any motivated access and is quasi-objectively given, so that it could be said motives were responses to situations, but both are circular bound to each other.

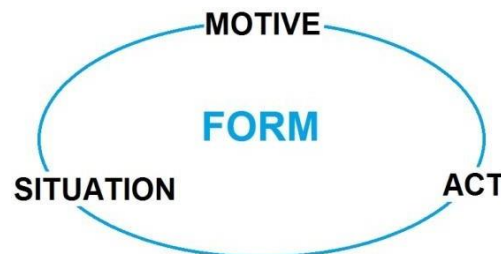


Figure 1.

To quote Burke: “One tends to think of a duality here, to assume some kind of breach between a situation and a response. Yet the two are identical. When we wish to influence a man’s response, for instance, we emphasize factors which he had understressed or neglected, and minimize factors which he had laid great weight upon. This amounts to nothing other than an attempt to redefine the situation itself. In this respect our whole vocabulary of motivation is tautological.” (Burke 1954, 220.) What Burke calls tautological here is describing the circular relation between motive and situation and is a result of the recursivity of every orientation-process. Werner Stegmaier calls this the paradox of self-reference: “The self-reference is justified by the external reference; the external reference of orientation is the sense of its self-reference.”⁴ (Stegmaier 2008, 13) So tautological doesn’t mean what tautological means for an argumentation, in short, that it is ineffective. Tautological means the possibility of transformation so that motives can function as shorthand terms for situations.

Finally, form is the overall principle, “the way of uniting motive and symbol, situation and act.” (Blankenship/Murphy/Rosenwasser 1993, 84) A “work has form insofar as one part of it leads the reader to anticipate another part.” (Burke 1931, 124) In this sense of uniting, wayfinding-signs as form is to be shown in the following.

Note that there is a certain similarity in Burke’s concept of situation and the difference between space and place. While spaces are physical entities, places are always connected with situations in the above mentioned rhetorical sense, involving motives to act accordingly and create thereby a specific meaning. Thus, place-making in the sense of an “expression of the cultural values of communities and social organizations through the design and use of public and private space” (Winikoff 1995, 20) has to be grounded on a rhetorical motive-creation. Moreover, as we will see, a rhetoric of showing explores that the link between wayfinding and place-making is given by motive-creation.

SHOWING

“To show something means to act!”⁵ (Wiesing 2013, 42) But neither pictures, nor pictograms, guidance systems nor signs are able to act. Avoiding any kind of mythology in picture-theory, which would assume that dead things could act, we have to conclude that the phrase of way-showing through wayfinding systems is not only elliptical; in fact it is a categorical failure. Non-mythological talking about showing implies answering the following question: Who shows whom what with which intention by the use of which instruments?⁶ This is the question to be answered by a rhetoric of showing. The following text will concentrate on questions of the referential and social intention as well as on questions concerning the agencies of showing in reference to urban wayfinding systems.

The scene – the referential intention

The question of *What* is the question of the referential intention of the showing-act (Wiesing 2013, Tomasello 2008). Where should the attention be directed on? In every instance if a medium is used to show something – a picture, a finger, a graphic structure, a pictogram – the medium itself has to be shown first. First of all the attention has to be directed on the showing-medium, then the user has to realize that an object is used as a showing-medium to show something different from itself and, finally, the user has to detach his attention from the showing-medium and to move it to the intended referent. Showing is therefore always doubled and needs a specific design to make the movement of the attention possible. Because the movement both to and away from the showing-medium is a necessary condition of any successful act of showing by wayfinding systems, and because this condition is describable as an extremal-problem (in every instance the wanted solution is both a maximum in attention-keeping and a maximum in attention-losing or transparency), the designed form of the showing-media has to be based on the rhetorical category of the aptum/appropriateness.

The first part of the described movement is sufficiently often object of design research (among others: Berger 2009, Mollerup 2013): typeface, color, contrast, placement and many more are means of attention movement in the first sense. The second part of the movement is in comparison almost unexplored. How to create the needed transparency? In reference to our question: What is shown, if the presentation of the showing-medium was successful? While the finger as archetypical showing-medium primarily directs the attention to the line of sight, showing with the help of wayfinding systems is much more complex. Lines of sight are only useful to show, if the sight on the intended object is free. On the other hand directions of ways to a target object could successfully be shown even if it is not possible to see the intended object, but it is possible to see the way. Location checking on maps, defining the position of oneself on you-are-here-maps and also routes on schemes could be objects of the referential intention of an orator's showing-act. The referential intention becomes rhetorically interesting, if by the choice of a certain referent an emphasis, a valuation or another form of preference takes place, in other words: if certain forms of social intention affect or determine the referential intention.

The purpose – the social intention

Every instance of showing is always an act of showing something. But nothing could be shown as itself, it has to be shown as something. We can point at a car – more exactly we just can show a direction –, but it only becomes relevant if we point at it as the car of a friend or the source of danger or the possibility to hitchhike or whatever. Because of this showing something is always a kind of sense making and to show something to someone means to communicate a certain sense. Referential calls for social intention and vice versa. To put it otherwise: Showing is a form of let-seeing (Sehen- lassen) of something as something, it is an act of semantic identification and the interpretative acts done with semantic identification are the invitation to the core of a rhetoric of showing – and, of course, the core of any attempt for place-making. It is the social intention of the showing-act which persuasively affects people, because if objects of the environment are interpreted as objects with specific qualities, then, by the same token, situations – in the above mentioned rhetorical understanding – were interpreted as such-and-such situations. These interpretative accesses are – as we saw with Burke – the starting point of preferences in acting, believing and feeling. The outstanding quality of wayfinding systems is that the social intention is communicated to the user so subtle and covered by his own belief in the neutrality of such systems, that he in fact recognizes it – otherwise the showing-act would fail – but normally he perceives it as natural, not worth to question. The rhetorical dimension of wayfinding remains therefore often subtle and only occurs when something goes wrong, showing-acts fail or are perceived to be strange.

The Agency – rhetorical strategies of showing

Signs in wayfinding systems could be classified in four types depending on the main function they have: identification, directional, description and regulation signs⁷. (Mollerup 2013, 60) For the present inquiry are identification and directional signs of primarily interest, because for these types the instruments are often more evidentially such as hierarchizing, narration and over all semantic identification. By the use of such instruments signs help to create meaning and to persuade the user, tourist or city dweller of the character of urban destinations, boulevards, piazzas or even whole cities. In this last chapter I want to focus on questions of such forms of meaning-creating.



Figure 2. Happy Trails Dallas. A failure in social intention, the form of smileys bites the objective to command and prohibit

Directional signs are signs used to show the direction to certain destinations. In that way they define what counts in a given context as destination, what is preferable to reach, lovely to visit or desirable to experience and moreover in what manner it is valuable. They show by the use of proper names, terms, hierarchies, pictograms and arrows. Directional signs “tie ‘here’ and ‘there’ together.” (Mollerup 2013, 92) The binding together of here and there enables the spatial relation, which is necessary for directional signs to perform their duty to show directions of destinations within a continuum. On the other hand a semantic relation may rise out of the spatial relation.



Figure 3. Directional sign in Ulm. Neither the destinations nor the distance to them has an action-leading function, but the spatial relation creates a kind of semantic relation, placing Ulm in a list of the most important cities of the world.

“Identification signs state the name, function, or nature of a location.” (Mollerup 2013, 60) Therefore identification signs are prototypes of semantic identification in the realm of wayfinding. They do not merely summarize the character of a place, but help to create such a character for the interested visitor. Places for example were transformed into historical, political or cultural meaningful scenes. This process of transformation is realized not only by the use of the verbal realm, but also through the effective placement of pictorial media. However, their actual effectiveness derives from his use as medium to perform a showing-act, as a medium used to concentrate the users attention on it and to move, in a second step, from the sign to the now scenic identified place in front of it. Identification signs are the clearest evidence for a genuine rhetorical transformation: the “attempt to redefine the situation itself.” (Burke 1954, 220) To put it otherwise: Identification signs may create action-leading motives.



Figure 4. Identification sign in Seattle library. Of course this room is not a living room, but in identifying it as a living room, people may act (with limitations) as if they were at home, feel safe, relax, and meet friends in a homey atmosphere. Moreover your actions have to express that you assume responsibility as you do for your home



Figure 5. Identification sign in Warsaw. The Willy-Brandt-Square is the place of the Warsaw genuflection (Kniefall). This symbolic gesture is promoted by the sign, identifying the place as a historic, quasi-religious scene by expressing a genuflection-motive.

That’s the rhetorical bridge necessary to come from the quotation that identification signs state the nature of a location to the following: “Identification means establishing identity. [...] For the purpose of communication the name of the place represents all these qualities.” (Mollerup 2013, 90) And different names create different identities and are leading to different forms of action – as we saw with

Burke. Because identification signs are used to identify a given place as a such-and-such situation, they create motives on whose basis actual action at certain places become understandable, describable and to a certain degree predictable. That is by the same token to say that identification signs are essential building blocks within the above mentioned motive-circle. Their function as wayfinding-element is primarily not wayshowing, it is motive-creation. You can't show a way, without reference to a certain kind of desirable motive to go the way.

CONCLUSION

Of course, whoever wants to create meaningful places will not only rely on the use of wayfinding signs, but will pull out all the stops – architectural cues, urban forms, local promotion, etc. – to support this creation. After all – that's what the concept of place-making like every rhetorical approach turns out – the successful creation will not be done by the designer or urban planner but through the people's use of the place. Nonetheless the rhetorical process does not end up in pure contingency, since there are cues for identification to deliver persuasively by the designer or urban planner to create motivational situations, that is, to transform spaces into places. "In other words, it is the social situation that influences people's behavior, but it is the physical environment that provides the cues." (Rapoport 1990, 57) In cities, where almost every space is – in questions of meaning for the dwellers – in fact already a place, the task of place-making is not so much to transform 'empty' spaces into meaningful places, but to turn places of one character into places with a different character, evoking different situations and leading to different kinds of action. This is exactly what was above called a redefining of the situation itself and has always a rhetorical dimension. To face this wide process the rhetoric of showing has to be extended to a whole rhetoric of place-making.

NOTES

¹ The rhétorique générale has coined the term degré zero to describe and explain the possibility of relative stability of the meaning of a word within communicational exchange. This concept is with reference to Ivor A. Richards to be interpreted and rejected as an instance of the proper meaning superstition.

² Although the rhetorical point zero does not exist, and neither pure neutrality, pure objectivity nor pure information exists, it is important to note that nevertheless designing a wayfinding system means to operate at the rhetorical point zero. Neutrality, objectivity and 'pure' information are rhetorical modes of affect.

³ To quote Burke: "Motives are subdivisions in a larger frame of meaning; this larger frame of meaning is [...] an orientation." (Burke 1954, 19).

⁴ Original: "Der Selbstbezug ist auf den Fremdbezug ausgerichtet, der Fremdbezug der Orientierung ist der Sinn ihres Selbstbezugs."

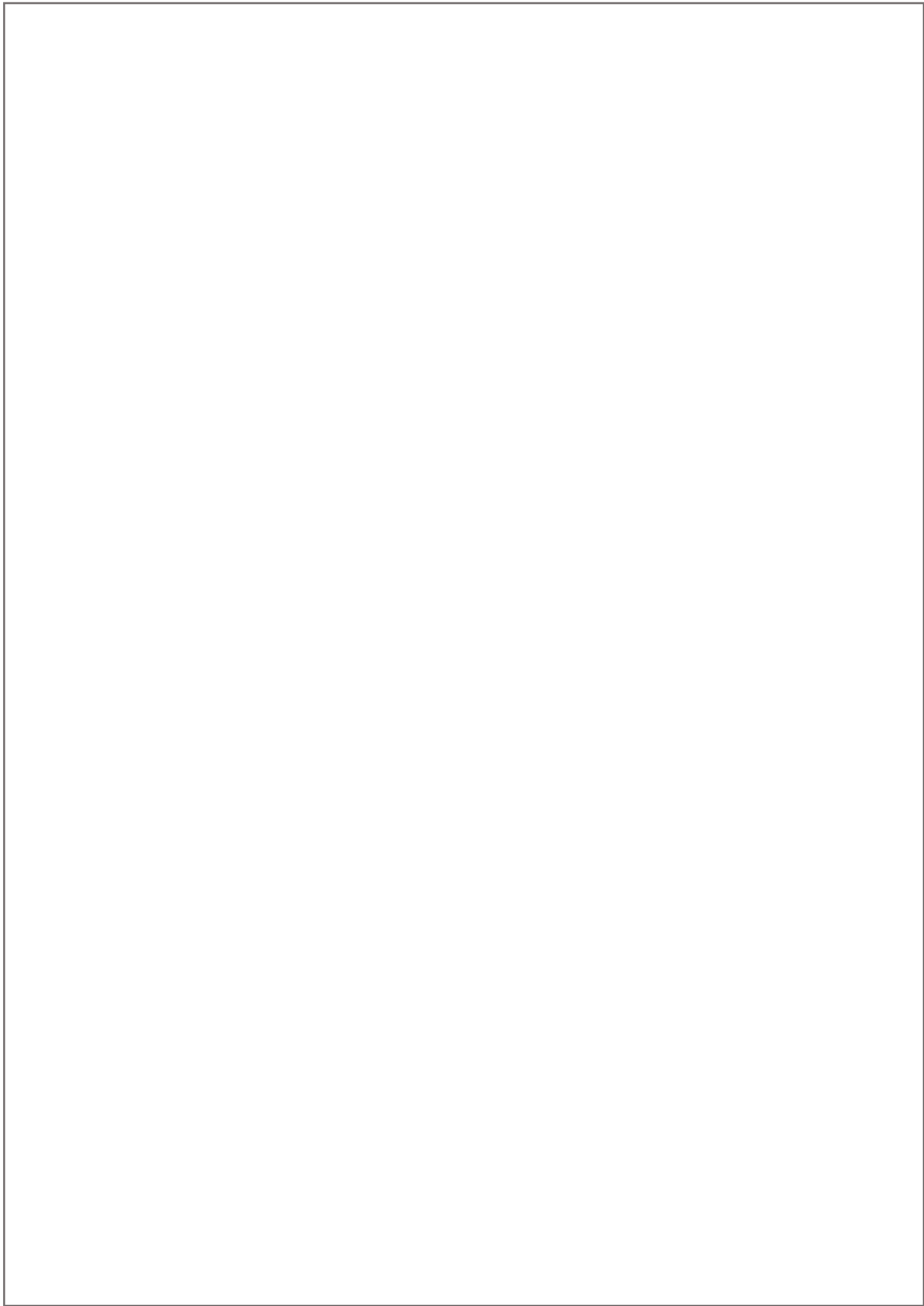
⁵ Original: "Etwas zu zeigen, ist eine Handlung!"

⁶ This question expresses the five terms of the Burke'ean pentad. For Burke, every complete statement says something from five perspectives: from the perspective of the agent, act, scene, agency and purpose. In that way the raised question is: Who (agent) shows (act) whom what (scene) with which intention (purpose) by the use of which instruments (agency)?

⁷ Two remarks: First, in a complete rhetoric of wayfinding the differentiation of types of signs has to be developed along rhetorical categories. This work is still to be done. Second, there are next to identification phenomena of course many different forms of rhetoric also discussable: for example a rhetoric of command, authority, a rhetoric of nativeness in handwritten signs, and many more.

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