Housed by Choice-Housed by Force

Homes, Conflicts and Conflicting Interests

AMPS Proceedings Series 5

AMPS PROCEEDINGS SERIES 5

University of Cyprus/The Cyprus Institute; AMPS
Nicosia: 21-22 January, 2016

Housed by Choice – Housed by Force: Home, Conflicts and Conflicting Interests

ARCHITECTURE_MEDIA_POLITICS_SOCIETY
Amps

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AMPS PROCEEDINGS SERIES 5. ISSN 2398-9467

INTRODUCTION

Housed by Choice – Housed by Force: Home, Conflicts and Conflicting Interests

This publication is the product of the conference Housed by Choice – Housed by Force held in Nicosia, Cyprus in 2016. Taking as its starting point the social, political, cultural and economic complexity of its host city, this conference sought to understand the range of conflicting interests and factors that shape the housing of our towns and cities in both normal and extreme scenarios. It was interested in international cases from politically charged environments of military conflict zones to the socially conflictive contexts of developer-led gentrification; from local resident initiatives to globally applicable design ideas. This publication reflects these concerns.

This publication, and the conference which it documents, were organised by the research organisation AMPS, its academic journal Architecture_MPS, the University of Cyprus and The Cyprus Institute. It formed part of the AMPS program of events, Housing – Critical Futures.

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HOUSING CHOICE WHEN FORCED. INQUIRING SUBJECTIVE WAYS OF HOUSING TEMPORALITY IN TRANSFORMING URBAN VILLAGES. CHINA.

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INTRODUCTION

In Xian Cun, an urban village in Guangzhou, a massive inflow of migrants could be interpreted to alter the entire village and the modes of life for both local villagers and migrant residents in regard to physical fabric and socio-spatial patterns, but reasons for change are equally inflicted by responses to a general urbanization and pressure from the overall city related to modernization and new economic conditions. Subjective ways of coping with transformation and change in spatial practice of home and belonging with a majority of the population being temporary migrant residents, and ways of negotiating spatial positioning within a village in forced decline is exemplified in this text.

I will build on a long term research done in relation with my PhD where I visited, registered and did interviews in Xian Cun annually since 2007. The work with the PhD ended in 2011 but I visited the village again in 2012 and 2013. I have interviewed local villagers, authorities on various levels and migrant residents during all states of growth and decline and focused on documenting responses to change of ambience.

SOCIO-SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION IN THE URBAN VILLAGE

Xian Cun was an ancient rural village with a built up housing area of about 430 times 450 meters. After the expropriation process where fields turned to new development areas this housed area constitutes one big block within the urban grid of the new central business district in the city of Guangzhou. In 1990 the village had a population of 2240 persons; nearly all of them local villagers. This was the end of an era population wise, both in this specific village and in the entire Pearl River Delta where the Special Economic Zones and Open Coastal Cities attracted labour intensive production.

There is a Chinese saying that the urban villagers stopped growing crops and started growing houses. Through this shift the main income for many local residents became the rent out to migrant residents in their houses[1]. During the 90-ies and first decade of 2000's the population in the village increased heavily with an influx of rural-urban migrants. In 2003 the village had 33 890 residents[2] and in 2005 the village had 51 868 registered residents[3]. One can speculate how the actual number is higher both due to illegal rented spaces resulting in unregistered dwellers and the many quick handovers not accounted for in the statistics. The increased population counted rural-urban migrants coming from nearly all provinces of China to work in the service industries and building sites. They brought with

them different languages and customs to a neighbourhood of massive change.

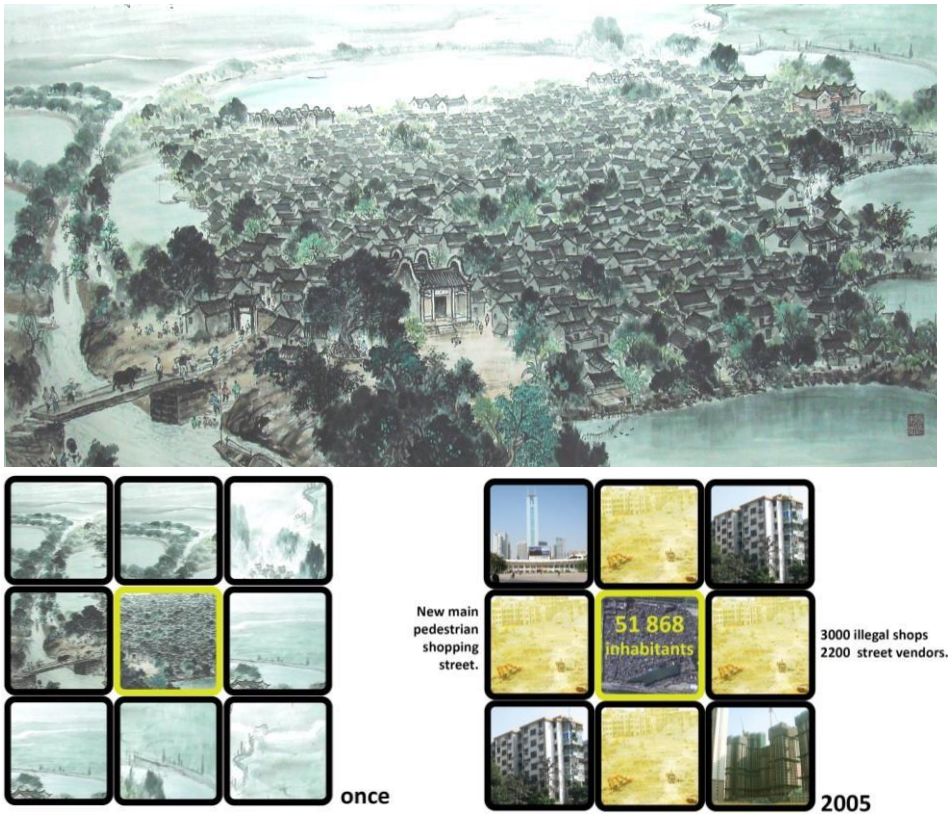

Figure 1.Ancient painting of Xian Cun. Illustration of Xian Cun transformation by author.

CONSOLIDATING CHANGE

During the period of densification the village transformed into an urban block with paved streets and a closed sewage system. Buildings grew from 1-2 stories up to 7-9 stories with cantilevers stretching over the streets from both sides. The physical changes became indications of optimism towards growth, renewal and urbanization in an ambience where the village was seen by its residents to bridge the urban gap. Still, some local villagers were growing vegetables in their backyards while the tallest building in the world was being erected two blocks away[4].

VILLAGE CORPORATE CULTURE

When a Chinese urban village get their fields expropriated for urban development the village as a corporate get economical compensation and the right to develop part of their former fields into industrial areas or new urban quarters. All villagers are shareholders in this company and are granted interests to replace their former salary as farmers. Some village corporates run very well, while others hardly have interests to share[5].

DOUBLE BIASED SPATIAL POSITIONING

One can think of the tenure system in Chinese urban villages as a dual spatial practice both in regard to the difference in interests by the village corporate and the singular local shareholders and in regard to the spatial interests of the local villagers versus the migrant residents[6]. The houses within the village are juridical more difficult to expropriate than the fields, and for the houses the compensation goes directly to the family and not to the villagers as a whole. In Xian Cun the village committee and the village corporate management supported a demolition process that was to result in the entire

village to be replaced by new high-rises. The singular villagers had a more differentiated idea of pain and gain and were afraid of losing the income generated when leasing out rooms and apartments in their houses. For many the compensation they would get could not make up for a new flat and an income to sustain a life in the city[7].

During the densification process when the majority of the population were migrant residents in Xian Cun the migrants faced restrictions in the way they were allowed to use the common spaces of the village as this was amenities catered for and by the local villagers. Parks and ancestor temples, the school, kindergarten and the streetscape were all made for the local villagers and only in limited degree welcomed migrant residents. These biased conditions created very different ways of grounding spatial positioning in the village, and spatial negotiations and ideas of spatial belonging manifested in very different spatial practice among the local villagers and migrant residents[8].

In 2003 3920 illegal shops were reported, as stated in the yearbook[9], in 2005 they counted 2200 street vendors[10]. All of them had to negotiate the use of the streets with the risk of being caught by the patrols that could throw them away or confiscate the goods. Balancing risk and gain was therefore essential in their practice of street use. Streets were narrow and an empty spot was almost immediately replaced by other street vendors. While nobody were allowed to territorialize a streetscape on a permanent basis, one could say that the street vendors in general as a group did a continuous occupation of common space within the village through temporary and subjective positioning, when settling for a few minutes or hours in a place before heading to a new place and leaving the site for the next vendor[11].

TEMPORALITY AND BELONGING

The average length of a stay for a migrant resident in Xian Cun before the eviction was about 6 months according to the village authorities. For many migrants the village provided work, networks, a social scene and everyday services within the city. 50 % of the clients to food markets, clothes shops and restaurants within the village were living outside the village. The village made up a dense migrant settlement with influx and out-fluxes on a large scale on a daily basis, creating a neighbourhood where local residents became alienated and migrant residents were surrounded by strangers having to face rapid change and continuous transformation all through the period described.

In the interviews I did the migrant residents would often emphasize the temporality in their presence and an urban aspiration reaching beyond the village where they resided. They would emphasize an attachment to the city rather than a belonging to a specific urban village[12].

Even in their definition of home the role of temporality was embedded. While the word for home in Chinese; *dja*, literally means both *house*, *home* and *family* many of my informants had come to redefine this as family bonds across borders rather than a place to call home. With this mental change, they handle the uncertainty and instability of life in the city by abolishing the traditional conception of 'home'[13]. Perceived as a multi-scalar belonging[14] that capture broader both regarding time and space, this mean in some situations they can relate to a more dynamic and flexible structure of 'home' while for other situations this creates a new type of vulnerability as a more 'subjective home' makes more individual demands without providing the security of the a hometown. The urban village does not replace the role of the hometown in this respect.

THE FENCE

As part of the preparations to the Asian Games in 2010 the village got beatified with unison pale yellow painting, plantings and a tall fence encircling the village. The fence was lined with big posters urging people to behave civilized and depicting idealized images of the modern city. This treatment

happened with villages visible from major streets all over the city. The makeover was not a process of improving the living conditions or facilities for the residents of the villages, but rather a way to hide off the unwanted image of an urban category needed to build the glossy image of the central business district, in Xian Cun's case being in the vicinity of the opening ceremony held in the new Central Business district. The urban village did not fit into the narrative of prosperity and progress while the large population facilitating this shift depended on the village and not the urban neighbourhood for their presence in the city. This first fencing was the visible start of an eradication process and a halt in the process of assimilating the village to the surrounding urban development.

The fenced village is both an example of a site and a population within being "put in place" and being "out of place" within the urban realm as described by Tamara Jacka[15] in her notion of emplacement through social control, where she emphasize how people get placed in particular relationships with other people and with their physical environment. When renting an apartment inside a confined urban village, they find themselves in neglected migrant enclaves, not representing the wanted image of the modern Chinese city. If the village is visible from the outside, it is a thorn in the eye of the wanted 'harmonious image' of the city. If the village is hidden behind fences depicting the idealized city, it is an image that shows a modernization that does not include villages in the city.

Figure 2. Fenced village and stripped houses. Authors photograph, 2011

PROCESSING A DECLINE

In Xian Cun the fence indicated a shift into a period of enforced replacement, ending in expulsions and total demolition. Throughout this process living conditions were put on trial with purpose made hinders used with increasing force by the local authorities to provoke a rapid decline. Deliberate removal of vital public services, demolitions and a standstill in the garbage handling was means used to transform an urban block with a population of 50 000 residents into a pile of brick fragments and a few hundred stubborn local villagers.

The first functions that were demolished were the new food market built in the 2000s, the kindergarten, the school and the hospital, all from around 1990. These were all common village facilities and removing them was like officially closing down the village, management wise. The local

villagers who refused to move set up shuttle busses to get their children to school, and a new informal food market was established in the reminiscent of the school yard by migrant residents. While the village was hidden behind a fence, the demolition process within the village was very visible for the residents living on the inside. Piles of brick were left to block the lanes, and the stand still in garbage collection resulted in garbage stored in emptied buildings and on the street.

SPATIAL RESISTANCE BY THE LOCAL VILLAGERS

As a response to this planned impediment informal initiatives were established, new paths were found around the gravel and the local villagers set up a system of volunteers cleaning the streets. For the local villagers it became important to unite and stage the continuous spatial engagement to the common village facilities, also when they had been physically removed. I witnessed for instance a banquet hosted inside the confines of the former Confucius school. It had for a decade been rented out by the village authorities as a bicycle shed, but was torn down in the demolition process. Through this manoeuvre the plot was seen again to be open for villager initiatives that regained the site as a common place.

Figure 3. Local villagers host a banquet in the reminiscent of a former common building, Courtesy by Malte Lech. December 2011

Drying clothes on racks hanging out of their window openings from houses partly demolished with doors and windows removed provided a sign of fresh presence within a landscape of decomposition. These practices were different spatial manifestations than the daily demonstrations that happened in front of the village hall and can be understood as a demonstration of resistance through acting everyday normality.

Another way the local villagers stated their presence and spatial positioning was by putting up red flags on all buildings where residents neglected to sign off their property rights. This constituted a counter message to the official posters stating how many villagers had signed the handover agreement for their houses.

Figure 4. Signs of habitation behind the fence. Authors photograph, 2013

MIGRANT TEMPORARY SPATIAL NEGOTIATION

During spring 2011 semi-official patrols were sent in to knock on doors of migrant residents urging them to move out, but the migrant residents working in the central business district and construction sites were quickly replaced by new residents working on the demolition of the village. In the initial phase of the demolition phase gatekeeping and restrictions to enter the village without a residence permit meant the migrant share of residents sunk quickly. Still many of the migrant residents kept a relation to the village in decline. I talked to a vegetable seller who formerly had a stand at the food market and lived in the village. After the demolition of the food market they returned to their hometown but moved back to the city once the new temporary food market was established in the village. They lived in the neighbouring urban village and came walking to Xian Cun on a daily basis to sell vegetables in the former school yard.

In January 2011 a request came to shut down all shops and workshops in the village. I witnessed how many shop owners found new temporary ways of operating, behind closed gates or with activities less visible from the street and how this was responded with unpredictable electricity and water supply. This enforced a practice by the workshops being more and more off grid. They were located in the village but operating in contradiction to the expected by the authorities.

NEW MAIN SHOPPING STREET LOOKING AHEAD

In 2003 the village authorities started to build Lan Qing, the new main pedestrian shopping street in collaboration with the city authorities, facing the new main axis of the business district. It brought together the existing row of shops from the village with a new long building housing shops, restaurants and parking. The new street was wide and with sufficient daylight unlike the old main street of the village. The facades of the new shopping street became the ideal put forward by the village authorities, with its' row of commercial signs all being equal in size and in a strict line. The street was tidy and with no street vendors or illegal activity. In the new building the village authorities hired out the commercial spaces directly. Many shops and restaurants in the street represented big Chinese brands seen all over the city. It was almost as if this part of the village had a city camouflage, it was assimilating the city, creating a new type of symbiosis between the city and the village.

In late 2008 the village authorities payed for the new shopping street to get new paving. It became the preferred street to buy formal suits and trendy clothes. In summer 2010 both the paving from 2008 and the low buildings built in 2005 were demolished and replaced by a fence and plantings. The low building was demolished leaving the street with shops on only one side. Most of the former shops were gone and replaced by shops facilitating the needs of the demolition workers needing pickaxes,

helmets and work shoes.

In 2013, after all these various urban states and rapid shifts I saw emerging informal vegetable fields in soil pockets on the brick-piles in the former street along a holey fence and buildings being emptied out. This does not need to be interpreted as a sign of a completed circle, from farming to urban growth, decline and back to farming. I will argue how this agency was just another temporary response on a spatial opportunity emerging in a transforming urban landscape and a visible manifest of how a subjective positioning by a migrant resident depending on these spatial opportunities find a space of negotiation in the midst of the central business district. This is one among many signs of urban ambitions and a challenging of the massive temporality of the urban ambience enacted through a multi-local positioning, relating to both the urban village, the city and beyond. The urban village is an arena where the residents, through their everyday practice and attitudes subvert diverse boundaries, not only that of the urban-rural divide, but equally important that of their own subjective experience of connecting to multi-scalar urban spheres, through local-local relations, within and beyond the urban village.

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BUILDING UNIFORMITY, LIVING IN UBIQUITY: COMMUNAL SPACES VOID OF CONFLICT, VOID OF MEANING

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INTRODUCTION

In Cyprus, contemporary affordable housing, mostly led by developers, promises an antidote to the small spaces, small windows, lack of storage spaces and the reduction of common spaces to a circulatory minimal found in most contemporary residential blocks in urban environments. In Eastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean region, housing blocks for low income families, workers and refugees[1] have been criticised in the past as stark, dehumanizing, universal, sterile and mechanistic. Housing complexes were rendered responsible for many social problems, like social disintegration. This paper focuses on the design idioms and special conditions of mobility in Cyprus, and its aim is to study closer the architectural and social value of common spaces in housing projects. Today the development and establishment of processes that generate shared identities based on use of common spaces, is an important issue in contemporary architectural discourse about equal opportunities and sustainable interaction of multicultural societies in European cities.

These communal spaces in housing complexes are of varied typologies. They can be open, closed or permeable, have the form of courtyards, landscaped gardens, or amplified landings. They are perceived, sometimes successfully and others unsuccessfully, as spaces of social interaction, association and identification. In this context this paper considers open spaces in housing projects – beyond their primary function as circulation plateaus– not through the Modernist notion of public space (e.g., generic, empty space that is 'flexible' enough to accommodate variable uses), but rather as non-preprogrammed spaces; spaces that are 'unstable' and can be transformed by users.

THE HOUSING BOOM IN CYPRUS

The city of Paphos has a remarkable history, which can be traced back 2,300 years. The ancient town of Paphos was founded in the late 4th century BC by the last King of PalaiPaphos, Nicocles. PalaiPaphos was one of the most famous places of pilgrimage for the ancient Greeks and one of the city-kingdoms of ancient Cyprus.[2] New Paphos was such an important town that by late 2nd century BC became the capital of the island. However during medieval times, New Paphos was reduced in size and its inhabitants gradually moved to a new residential area.

Unlike other Cypriot cities, Paphos spreads across two distinct geographic areas, which were developed in different chronological phases: the new Paphos and the Paphos town centre (Ktima) commonly referred to as Kato (Lower) and Upper Paphos, respectively. The economy of the city has grown rapidly after 1974 based on tourism and the construction sector mainly operating in Kato Paphos and the nearby areas. In parallel, and on a different scale, during the last four decades Cyprus

has been transformed from an agriculture-based economy into an international provider of economic services. Significantly, together with the sector of economic services, the construction sector and tourism benefited the economic growth of the country: tourist arrivals have increased almost 600% in a decade and a half. Similarly, there was a threefold increase of the construction sector between 1995 and 2008.[3]

This proliferation of the construction sector should not be regarded as irrelevant to tourist growth, as Cyprus gradually became an international provider of holiday houses. The mild climate of the island and the low cost of living, as well as the low taxation and aggressive incentives for property ownership benefited significantly the real estate market. The construction sector grew 175% between 2000 and 2007, while the overseas market grew 2500%, from 450 houses sold in 2000 (3.6%) to 11,281 (53.1%) in 2007.[4] This transition had a striking effect on the real estate market, as the average pricing of dwellings (euro per square meter) experienced an annual increase of 15% between 2000 and 2008.[5] As a result, house ownership has been rapidly transformed from a social necessity of the local market to a commodity of the international real estate market. The impact of this change was severe, not only on the architectural quality of dwellings, but most importantly on the quality of the built environment.

Figure 1. Aerial view of Paphos that highlights the geological rim that separates the old part of the city from its Port and Kato Paphos.

SUBURBANIZING THE CITY

Of all Cypriot cities, this spatial transformation had the greatest impact on the urban space of Paphos. The seaside 2017 Cultural Capital of Europe is considered among the most contested urban environments having historically layered pasts yet perplexing present-day realities. The distinction between the old town and the UNESCO World Heritage Site in Kato Paphos, the social and spatial coherence of which is currently challenged by unplanned touristic developments, has created a sharp

division in the city that is also reflected in their inhabitants' demographics, with local residents living in the old town and tourists being secluded in the sea front. The impact of this invisible division on the lived experience of the city is intensified by the topography of the landscape, with the old town stretching atop the hill while being separated from the World Heritage Site by means of the geological rim (Figure 1). In particular this paper studies the Universal area (Figure 2), which exhibits all the typical characteristics of newly (after 1990s) built-up areas in most Cypriot cities, in order to rethink the relationship between the challenged built environment of Paphos and the complexity of its cultural landscape (home to British expats, Cypriots, Chinese, Russians, Georgians, Greeks and others).

Figure 2. Aerial view of the Universal quarter.

Both the central government and land developers considered the popularity of Paphos as a tourist destination an opportunity to enter the international market of holiday residence. To this end, successive, large-scale expansions of the city planning scheme were executed, which were highly disproportional to the real needs of the local communities. This expansion was pursued in order for land (and therefore housing) prices to stay low and be competitive in the international real estate market. The production of urban space though was restricted by the design of these housing developments, which were planned as low density residential areas with typical, universally appealing amenities and communal facilities that respond to the lifestyle of summer dwellers and their ephemeral stay on the island (Figure 3). Today these areas of the city are inhabited by even less residents than the low density of their city planning scheme was meant for, as: a) the oversupply of built up urban areas has led to their partial development, and b) only a fraction of their inhabitants is permanent.

Figure 3. Typical communal facilities to support the lifestyle of summer dwellers and their ephemeral stay in the housing complex.

HOMES ON A PERMANENT VACATION

Arguably, these conditions of the built environment defy the already challenged identity narrative and lived experience of Paphos. First, these residential areas became mono-functional as a direct result of the inability of non-residential (i.e., central) uses to emerge in areas with a low density of permanent population. Second, the numerous undeveloped areas and empty plots fragment the continuity of the urban space. As stipulated in the relevant planning legislation (*Town and Country Planning Law*), the construction of public amenities (including roads and open green spaces) is a responsibility of each private landlord and is a prerequisite for the acquisition of planning permission. Thus public amenities are constructed only after a landlord decides to develop the land. In the context of this kind of incremental procedure of urban space production, roads and pedestrian routes that have been designed by the central planning authority to connect to the existing circulation network are frequently leading to dead-ends, while open green spaces remain incomplete, reinforcing the fragmented hypostasis of urban space (Figure 4). In addition to this, the common use of a tree-structured network pattern in the urban planning of these areas –to achieve low noise pollution and pedestrian-friendly design– impacts the overall accessibility of built space (Figure 5). Significantly these design-led decisions limit daily transportation means to private vehicles. Third and most important, social interaction in these residential areas has been reduced to bare minimum as a result of the cumulative influence of low population densities, extensive use of private means of transportation, lack of central uses, limited accessibility, and incomplete open green spaces, on socialisation processes.

Figure 4. Dead-ends are very frequent on the circulation network of typical housing projects, as is the indefinable public space around these settlements.

Together with the challenged and fragmented structure of the urban space, the business model of these housing projects also affects the architectural qualities of the built up areas of the city. This is so because these housing projects are usually designed to be attractive to a *statistical mean*, as they are addressed to a universal clientele that comprises the potential market of buyers. The attributes of this market and the reasons for real-estate investment in this case are convoluted. First, the buyers of these properties may never live in Cyprus - a great deal of sales is taking place for citizenship and visa acquisition purposes only. Among other EU member states, Cyprus offers one of the most competitive and flexible citizenship and visa programs in Europe, which allows non-European people to work, travel, study and live anywhere within the European Union. Second, the socio-cultural characteristics of this target group vary greatly, and Paphos is already a multicultural place: 64% of the population is Cypriots, 28% are EU citizens and 8% are non-EU citizens.[6]

Figure 5. The common use of a tree-structured network pattern in the urban planning of these housing settlements results more often than not in isolating and fragmenting public space instead of facilitating, promoting and intensifying its occupation and use.

As the most profound products of these socio-economic particularities of Cyprus, the housing developments of Paphos are characterised by *ubiquity* and *uniformity* because they are designed and built to attract an audience as wide as possible. These design preferences are applied in practice carelessly, without respecting the identity of the place (Figure 6), and at the same time by ignoring the social and cultural sustainability of the city as a whole. In areas like the Universal quarter the dominant housing pattern is a particular type of housing complex – a divergent evolution of suburban housing.[7] This *urbanized summerhouse* type is preferred due to its low construction cost and its capacity for accommodating amenities, like communal pools and small gardens, which facilitate the function of the dwellings as summer houses. This approach to integrating communal spaces in housing has a negative impact on the intensity of social interaction and opportunities for occupation of shared spaces, as it provokes the fragmentation and clustering of the latter into smaller, more private pockets of social interaction. Each owner controls the social interaction that is taking place on these private open air spaces and in doing so these spaces do not offer opportunities for surprise and unexpected encounters - the overabundance of sensual stimuli and the events that are typically fostered in an urban space and are usually attributed to the 'vitality' of the city.

Figure 6. New and old housing projects at the Universal quarter defy the context and identity of the place.

CONCLUSION

Unlike complex urban environments, contemporary housing developments lack the capacity to social adaptation and change. Fragmented territories contested by the rapid growth and unplanned tourist developments, like the Universal, offer no alternatives to the historic parts of the city. On the contrary, the lack of visual continuity and functional organization in the urban fabric weakens the relationship of new and old, natural and man made, communal and private. This fragmentation challenges the operation and support of cultural activities and the sharing of *common resources* of the city, like the networks of built and open spaces (e.g., roofs, courtyards, arcades, patios, pavements, squares and landscape), as well as networks of ventilation, natural lighting, shade, odours, and in general microclimate. As some of these spatial resources are scattered across the urban landscape, unassociated and inaccessible, they prevent their users (i.e., inhabitants and visitors) from orienting themselves, from reading the organization of public and open space - via cognitive structures - and eventually from 'making sense' of their environment.

Distinct from the sterile experience of these new, quasi-developed areas of Cypriot cities, multi-cultural urban environments of metropolitan areas offer a rich experience to their citizens, with their complexities, indeterminacy, and abundance of possible interactions that are accessible by the wanderer, local or tourist. Individuals in these places, through the action of walking, interfere with physical constructions, points of interest, points of stasis and complex situations of interaction. These places also offer to their users opportunities for communication and exchange of information. In doing so they act as a matrix of structured or sensual, uncertain, *thick* moments that alert or relax the body, distract the senses and disrupt continuity of movement. All these situations are socially defined by each individual actor's narrative and they depend on agency. Spatial agency and geometric configuration of the city can create opportunities for the emergence and continuous reconfiguration of the experiences mentioned above via the cognitive activities that are usually triggered by each user's passage through the cityscape.[8]

STAGING A CITY'S 'VITALITY' *AND/OR* OFFERING THE COMFORTS OF SUBURBANIZATION?

In light of this, contemporary housing efforts in Cyprus should move away from the uniformity of their built environment and the ubiquity of the designated public space which instead of provoking stimulation, they receive their users' contempt. Concluding, through the analysis of the everyday realities of Paphos, this paper suggests that housing efforts in Cyprus should rethink the role of communal spaces, and the design of their respective infrastructure, in the context of the holistic development of the city they belong to - and at the same time reconsider these spaces' contribution to the social and cultural sustainability of the place. Specificity, identity, contest, multiplicity, diversity, locality, playful engagement and autonomous interaction, inclusiveness and accessibility are only but a few qualities that new housing projects should pursue if they want to achieve successful, and therefore sustainable, integration in - and the re-activation of - the existing urban fabric of the Cypriot cities. Even in cases where the city paradigm is adopted in the development of a housing and mixed-use complex, there is a sharp distinction between the designated public space that celebrates the vitality of the city but is engineered as socially easy – simplified - space, and those places that foster the messiness, uncertainty and contested identity of "real" urban space. Yet in their best case scenario/implementation, the former are characterized by the mono-dimensional identity and lack of opportunities for the emergence of creative accidents that would add richness to the lived experience of occupying the shared territories of the city, and in doing so they feel like staged experiences that offer a simulation of the city's vitality with the comfort of suburban housing.

NOTES

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SENSE OF ATTACHMENT IN RESIDENTIAL ENVIRONMENTS: A CASE STUDY IN FAMAGUSTA

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INTRODUCTION

Home is a starting point for human and their final destination during the day. It is known and felt as a soothing and comfortable place. People leave their homes going to work and doing social activities, and then return with new experiences. As long as home has the capacity of satisfying the eminent human needs such as self-esteem and thought, it would be a safe environment mentally. Home is an isolated area we return to after experiencing different dimensions of the world every day.[1] It is highly significant that we can name it as the centre of the world for human. It is an extensive and complicated concept having various dimensions and aspects which make it difficult to propose a single and comprehensive definition. Home is considered as a physical place which is a primary shelter and basic need of the family. It is a place where residents do not feel discomfort. Its inner space should have enough variety in order not to make the residents tired or bored. Le Corbusier introduces home similar to an envelopment which makes a true connection between the outer space and the biological phenomena of the human in accordance with certain conditions. Today, many of human and social values are neglected because of the life pressure, radical approach toward life, and centrality of economy. At the present time we see apartment units located in residential blocks, hidden behind uniform and similar windows, which makes it even difficult to be recognized from outside not only by guests but also by family members.[2] Many of residential buildings and neighbourhoods are designed without considering the occupant's interaction with surrounding environment as it is in the case study (Figure 1). This makes people feel no attachment to their home and neighborhood and leads to an identity crisis, monotony, and disharmony which overshadow all the environmental and social dimensions of life in the urban society. Therefore, it is necessary to pay more attention to occupants, their needs and the images they have about their living space and home as a determining factor influenced by housing features. Among the issues on which housing has significant effects are psychological threads and influential mental and behavioral characteristics of human. It is proven that the efficiency of urban space depends on its conformity with human activities. However, because of some disorders in a number of present buildings and neighborhoods, finding solutions to improve environmental conditions and strengthen the sense of attachment to residential environments is significant. Therefore, in this research the possible problems of a residential area in Famagusta will be discussed at the first stage.

Figure 1. The case study, Kaliland neighbourhood, located in Famagusta, Northern Cyprus

The concept of home becomes more challenging when immigration and permanent residency are concerned as well.[3] Cyprus currently accommodates three groups of people; native people, international students who come from other countries and are not few in number, and immigrants. Home, therefore, has different meanings to these people. It is important to note that one of the principals and essential requirements of human life is to have a durable focal point in life, which preserves the human identity over time. And this focal point is home. Therefore, there would be a question; how is it possible to strengthen the residents' sense of attachment in a residential area?

BACKGROUND

Housing issues in Cyprus date back to the pre-industrial period.[4] According to Alpar and Pulhan,[5] Cyprus has experienced six periods regarding the housing issues. These periods are: The British Colonial period (1878-1960), the Cyprus Republic period (1960-1963), the Conflict period (1963-1974), the period following the division of the island (1974-1983), the period following the establishment of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in the North (1983-2004), and the recent period after EU membership of the South (2004-). Each of these periods shows special socio-cultural, political, and economical differences and transformations which have consequently affected housing issues in certain manners. Since the division of Cyprus into Northern and Southern parts, both parts have been experiencing the consequences of the division. A significant issue in this regard is population replacement. The internal conflict has not only brought physical separation, but also caused social segregation in the island. After division and between 1974-1983, which divided Cyprus Island into the Greek Cypriot South sector and the Turkish Cypriot North sector, the houses left and abandoned by the Greek Cypriots in the North were occupied by the displaced people from the south. But in the southern part new housing developments were needed for the refugees urgently.[5] A significant point in this period is the relocation of people and population transfer, and its consequences and influences on people's sense of attachment to their new living places which had not been theirs originally. There has been an increase in demand for housing which has led to rapid development in urban areas and caused an outstanding changes and deformation in the fabric and identity of both urban and rural areas.[6] Undoubtedly, the re-activation of the construction sector in North has attracted the interest and investments internationally regarding housing.[7] The most common method, although along with some differences, has been social housing, for which was a high demand in Cyprus in the late British Colonial period between 1925 and 1960. For the first time in Northern Cyprus, social housing appeared between 1983 and 2004 according to social housing laws of 1978.[5] 'State housing' program initiated to meet the needs of low-income people. Although the results show a relative satisfaction for housing condition in Cyprus, some goals have not been successfully reached, such as sustainability. There are still some challenging qualitative problems with the housing environments,[8] among which lack of place attachment can be a possible one.

Generally, in order to design residential spaces, it is necessary to take the primary principals into consideration. One of these principals is space boundaries. Spaces which have gradually been constructed in habitats and cities during the human life have a form and sense different from the previous ones. Here we will review some different types of space which should have cognizable boundaries and can be distinguished from each other. First; spaces available for citizens as public places according to their inalienable citizenship rights, including shopping centers, cafes, restaurants, parks and etcetera, which are open to the public. At the first step, the act of finding a suitable location and determining the limitations of it should accurately be done, since these spaces might turn into landmarks of the residential area. The landmarks in residential areas can play important roles in strengthening the sense of attachment.[9] Second; spaces which citizens keep in their minds as certain parts of their residential environment. These types of space can be simply seen on the low-traffic secondary passageways, as well as in some European historical cities and also Istanbul. An exceptional fact about the resemblance between the social spaces and urban communication is that proper zoning and urban design in residential areas can increase the sense of attachment to the place. Although the passageways and shopping centers, in fact, are public spaces, those appropriately located in residential zones and have a good design can create the sense of privacy and attachment in residents. Thus, spatial separation can be reached by defining the entrance of the building or the related zone and emphasizing the boundary of the passageways. Another significant factor is human, which is also the main factor in architecture, hence the reason architecture depends on this factor. The residential architecture determines the extent of the human comfort and should be able to meet their needs. Considering the local people's background in designing the residential environments is also necessary, as in the case study of this research we see permanent and temporary inhabitants from different countries, cultures, and backgrounds. Forms, materials, symbols, signs and the architectural identities could involve culture and the social history. Taking the materials and construction standards into consideration and also proper use of the principles and construction methods will result in a successful architecture. Physical aspects of architecture should be considered for two reasons; meeting the physical needs of human and influencing human spirit and soul. Residential architecture, according to its nature, is created in space; therefore, it needs proper spatial organization. Elegance couldn't be installed on architecture or hanged from it. Instead, it should be manifested from inside of it. On one hand, home is the center of feelings, affections, thoughts, individual and family attachments, and on the other hand it reflects the culture of its time, and culture is a part of human background. Home should have the capacity of affecting the human spirit and plays its significant role to make the human presence in the family and society more vivid. All over the world, culture by culture, housing is formed under the cultural, social, economic, and environmental conditions. Housing plays the role of a medium in sustaining culture. Different generations may live in a house. Today, this belief that 'making any changes in traditional architecture is wrong' does not exist anymore, since it does not meet the new and important needs of today life. But what kinds of changes are efficient and desirable in architecture? Any changes in architecture, whether gradually or rapidly, can cause conflict and duality between customs and beliefs (culture), and the function of residential space, and makes insufficiency in the human-environment interactions as long as it is not along with the necessary and sufficient knowledge about the user's culture and customs.

FIELD STUDY

Kaliland is a special area in Famagusta which has a particular identity and some specific values. Like any other place, it has physical and non-physical aspects and creates feelings in its residents. These feelings create a sense of attachment in them, a sense which forms the identity of the place. It is

necessary to consider the human's mental imagination and perception of the area as an important factor.

SENSE OF ATTACHMENT

The previous researches on different dimensions of place attachment form essentially the base of the definition of place as a social environment. Thus, the place attachment is mainly interpreted as a sense of belonging to the social environments. Some researchers such as Altman and Low emphasize the social role of place and refer to the socio-cultural communications and interactions occurred in the place.[10] They describe place attachment from a social perspective. However, some other researchers put the stress on the role of physical elements as another important factor in creating the sense of attachment and believe that it is necessary to pay attention to physical dimensions in the process of creating this sense.

Social attachment which is mainly created based on the social interactions in environment is formed according to the social environment theory. From this perspective, environment is a kind of belonging and a composition of social elements in which the individual seeks his own attachment. In his well-known book, *the language of space*, Lawson refers to the social rules of the environment as design standards and unwritten rules, and explains the society's valuable norms which are resulted from the social interactions and culture.[11] With the purpose of identifying the architects and users' intended differences, it is explained that one of the most important issues about the environment is lack of attention to its social dimensions and insufficient attention to physical elements by designers. Clarifying these differences, Gifford puts the stress on the need for reviewing and identifying the difference of the users and designers' intended meanings of the urban environments.[12]

Physical attachment is derived from physical elements and components of the place as a part of cognitive process and human identity. In their research, Riger and Lavrakas, refer to the main role of the physical attachment as a rootedness according which human keeps the environment and its physical elements in mind to create the attachment.[13] Proshansky, emphasizes the necessity of putting the physical elements of human environments into consideration along with their role in human's personal identity formation and continuation. Putting the stress on the role of physical attachment to the environment as a part of place identity, he explains it as a part of personal identity and finally the social identity in different environments.[14]

The sense of place, on the other hand, is a factor which makes a connection between human and place and creates unity as a result. According to Tuan, it is an abstract distance between oneself and place which makes it possible to perceive the place.[15] But is this unity felt in the considered case study? Following the research, data from the case study are collected through observations, questionnaires, and also documentary research. Since the author of this paper has been living in the case study about two years, it was also possible to arrange interviews during the survey. A combination of local people and international students currently live in Kaliland. 95 percent of the residential units are apartment units, plus 5 percent single houses and villas. The questionnaires are distributed mainly among the residents of apartments. But before reviewing the results, it is necessary to mention to the current problems of housing in the area. One of the problems housing development has faced in Cyprus during recent years is putting a significant emphasis only on supplying the demands for housing without considering cultural, social and sustainability issues. This approach only meets the physical aspects of housing quantitatively and ignores the interests, affections, values and feelings. Thus, important issues that need to be considered in this regard include; appropriate site location, and considering the principals and standards of the architecture and urban development such as the width of the streets and passageways, residential units' adjacency, view, lighting and etc. These factors are influential because they determine the condition of the residential environments. Conversion of the town into a temporary quarter, remaining public spaces limited, reduction in socio-cultural

communications, and lack of spatial diversity can be the results of the loss of sense of attachment in the living places which makes the residents unwilling to interact with the environment. Thus, the mentioned issues are the possible problems of the case study according to the assumptions.
The factors investigated through the questionnaires are in 10 simple questions; to find out whether the residents feel happiness in daily life, have memories of their living place, feel secure, understand any meanings of their living place, remember their homes in case of leaving, feel bored or lonely where they live, feel close to their neighbors and have a good relation with them, and, care about their neighborhood or not. The questionnaires are distributed randomly between 30 residents of the selected area. Table 1 shows the results of this survey. For instance, for the security factor, 80 percent of participants have a positive feeling. It means there are fewer problems with security in the case of study. But the results show lack of social involvement among the residents. There are some recommendations offered in this article in order to decrease the problems and increase the sense of attachment. On the other hand, there is 'sense of place' which is a mental perception of the environment and conscious feeling about that. Since this sense involves human in an inner communication with place, the perception and feeling would be grafted onto the semantic context of the environment. This causes the space to be changed into a place with specific sensational and behavioral characteristics for the person.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Disagree / Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I feel happy with my apartment	50.00%		26.66%	23.33%	
I have significant memories of my apartment	53.33%		33.33%	13.33%	
I feel secure in my residential environment	-		20.00%	80.00%	
My residence has special meanings to me	13.33%		36.66%	50.00%	
I will forget about my living place if I move away	63.33%		13.33%	23.33%	
I feel bored where I am living	33.33%		20.00%	46.66%	
I feel lonely at my neighborhood	60.00%		26.66%	13.33%	
I feel close to my neighbors	60.00%		26.66%	13.33%	
I have a good relationship with my neighbors	63.33%		20.00%	16.66%	
I care about my neighborhood	10.00%		16.66%	73.33%	

Table 1. The results of the questionnaires

In addition to creation of sense of comfort in human, Sense of place supports one's desired cultural implications and social communications in the society and in the specific place when they experience the environment, reminding them of the past experiences and reaching their identity. From a psychological perspective, human needs to have sensational, emotional and spiritual experiences of their living place. This need can be met by a kind of consubstantiation and close interaction with the place they live in. The researches in this field show that in addition to physical elements, environment includes messages, implications and codes which people decode and realize according to the roles, expectations, motives and other factors. This common sense arisen in human after perception and

judgment of a specific place is in fact the sense of place. It is significant in coordination of human and environment, creation of sense of attachment to the environment, and perpetuating the human presence in the place. Place attachment also reflects the main components of socio-cultural life. In fact, attachment to a place means having a link or connection to the place in a positive manner.[16] It is a sense that converts a space into a place with specific sensational and behavioral characteristics for human. According to Rapaport,[17] from the phenomenological perspective, sense of place is defined as a reality and the nature of the place, showing the importance of place implications and messages which are decoded and realized based on the roles, expectations, motives and other factors. From this perspective, the perception and judgment formed in the one's mind based on decoding the mentioned implications results in creation of sense of place.[18] Thus, by considering the sense of place as a concept created after realizing the place, we can understand the close relation between this concept and the perception of the place.

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Participation is a social behavior which is based on the individual and collective beliefs and interests. It is the involvement of the members of a community in the decision making process. In fact, the essence of participation is the common interests of the individuals in the society, as well as their common interests in the group. Participation is defined by having a share in something and profiting from it, or taking part in a group and therefore cooperating with it.[19] Social participation indicates voluntary activities through which members of the society take part directly or indirectly in the affairs related to their neighborhood, town or village to form the social life. The results of the survey indicate that the case of study lacks social involvement as assumed in the hypothesis. Although participants declare that they care about their housing (more than 73 percent agreed), there is no significant relationship between neighbors. Social connections takes place in different ways,[20] for instance, the number of friends and relatives living in the neighborhood and their informal social activities, the number of friends living in the neighborhood who are usually invited to the family events and ceremonies, social connections, the relationship of the neighbors who communicate with each other, the extent of the social networks, and probably many other factors.[21] Based on these factors, providing more public spaces in residential zones for neighbors and their social communications strengthens the residents' sense of attachment and belonging to the environment. The case study shows an inappropriate status in this respect. Although there is enough space for designing more useful public spaces, it is still lacked (Figures 2 and 3).

Figures 2 and 3. Potential open space in Kaliland

There is also the possibility to make a better use of the available spaces between the buildings (Figures 4 and 5). Another variable is to consider the external appearance of the area and the buildings.[22] Façade is a significant criterion, since it defines unique characteristics for the building. It is a layer, separating the interior parts of the building from the outdoor. The external walls of a

building are one of the basic foundations of aesthetic appearance of the city, in addition to having functional values. Façade is visually the social face of the building through which communications with surrounding environment takes place. Unfortunately, inappropriate façades have led to visual disorders and confusions in passageways in Kaliland area. All buildings' façades are nearly similar and the only difference between them is different colors (Figures 6 and 7). Lack of applicable laws and regulations in this regard has caused the town and neighborhoods lose their identity. Due to the rapid implementation of residential projects and economical limitations, developers have to use quite simple and similar materials for the façades. We have provided images hereunder illustrating facades in Kaliland residential area. Psychologically, dull monotony in facades of the buildings has negative effects on the residents and the environment is accordingly deprived of the vitality and dynamism. People barely find unique signs for their own apartment except colors. Consequently, their sense of belonging and attachment to their homes decreases. Such walls efface any visual diversity and finally result in residents' reluctance.

Figures 4 and 5. Unused spaces between the buildings

Figures 6 and 7. Similar and unattractive façades

RECOMMENDATIONS TO INCREASE THE RESIDENTS' SENSE OF ATTACHMENT

The lifeless and inactive spaces between buildings could be changed into dynamic places for neighbors meeting through increasing the equipment, providing creative playgrounds for children, designing sufficient and suitable public places in the area, and making some trails and paths together with enough green spaces. The appearance of the area also could more beautiful, dynamic and inviting by taking some strategies in action, including constructing attractive and convenient terraces in front of the buildings, breaking the façades into filled and concave forms to create visual rhythm, and finally, using a variety of materials with different colors and textures (Figure 8).

Figure 8. Abandoned terrace with no special design

The results of the research show that construction of new residential buildings without considering socio-cultural, physical, and psychological aspects will cause failure, since lack of these criteria leads to a gradual diminution in spatial and characteristic values as well as residents' sense of attachment. Thus, by applying the following recommended strategies in environmental design, it will be possible to take a major step toward improving the spirit of this residential area and making it as sustainable as possible. The recommended strategies would be as follows; creating playgrounds for children inside or near the area to increase the neighbors social interactions, designing sidewalks and paths along with adequate green spaces, designing terraces with the function of yard in front of the buildings, providing sufficient and suitable public places in the area, paying more attention to the design of the facades, using diverse colors and textures in the façades, modifying the urban design of the area, and redesigning the access roads to the area.

NOTES

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RELOCATION AND PLACE ATTACHMENT: HOUSING DESIGN AS AN ENABLER OF BELONGING

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INTRODUCTION

Place attachment can be described as an emotional bond between people and places [1], usually residential, implying securing feelings in the object of attachment, sense of belonging, desire of proximity, and wish to come back when away[2]. Moreover, the disruption of place attachment through forced relocation (such as in a context of conflict or natural disaster) can have severe health and psychological effects[3]. Potentially complicated in any context, the need to provide housing becomes very difficult when limited land for a growing number of population forces to relocate from the rural to the urban environment, and it may involve breaking with long stablished socio-cultural traditions and structures. The aims of this paper are therefore threefold: first, to critically review previous evidence[4] that relates place attachment and unconscious place-specific daily routines, presenting time-space routines as a key element in the development of a sense of belonging; second, to illustrate *spatial sequence* in Malaysian domestic space as an enabler of belonging for those dwellers that relocate from traditional housing to modern apartments. And third, with the results of the aforementioned study, to provide further evidence of the social dimension of place attachment as played out in a residential context. In doing so, this article expands on current literature supporting the need for a perspective on place attachment that reflects its socially constructed nature[5].

THE TEMPORAL DIMENSION OF PLACE ATTACHMENT

Place attachment implies a temporal dimension, connecting past and present and expecting continuity of the relationship with the object of attachment in the future, pointing at memory as a connector between people and places. There is, therefore, a clear connection between place attachment, rootedness and length of residency. However, it has been argued that emotional bonding and sense of continuity can be achieved in places where one has not lived long, at the same time that living in one place for a period of time is not necessarily followed by a sense of belonging to this place. People can bond with new places through various forms of memory [6], including declarative (explicit) and procedural (implicit).

Although there are not certainties about the exact processes through which people bond with places, it has been argued that six interconnected processes contribute to sustain or erode people's attachment to a particular place[7]. One of them is place interaction. Place interaction involves a more or less regular set of events that unfold through time in a place. Without noticing it, we tend to integrate our actions with the surrounding environment through everyday behaviours, in a pre-reflective corporeal awareness called "body-subject" [8]. Researchers have pointed to body-subject contributing to the

experienced dimensions of place, including place attachment rooted in unconscious routines[9]. These regular actions and routines sustain a sense of belonging, at the same time that the sense of belonging strengthens the routines[10], becoming therefore inextricably linked. Time-space routines are a way of place interaction where individual actions and social encounters merge together as grounded in place[11]. David Seamon (1980) saw them as the basis for a meaningful relationship with place. They are acquired through experiencing a place, and therefore normally develop in time. When we relocate we break out time-space routines, disrupting habit memory, until new routines are built in the new place.

People whose sense of belonging is mostly grounded in procedural memory (unconscious routines) may respond to relocation in a more negative way[12]. In the context of forced relocation, this paper tries to identify time-space routines supported by spatial sequences as an architectural mechanism through which relocated people may become attached to those places that may be unrelated to their history or long-time residence, or may even be culturally alien.

RELOCATION AND PLACE ATTACHMENT: THE CASE STUDY OF MALAYSIAN MODERN APARTMENTS

Urbanisation and relocation

Along with the overall population growth in Malaysia, the proportion of urban population has been increased from 26.8% in 1970 to 61.8% in 2000, and Kuala Lumpur and its metropolitan area has seen more concentrated growth in the past century. To cope with housing shortage problem in cities, the Malaysian government and local authorities have constructed affordable houses under the Public Low- Cost Housing Programme (PLCH) from the First Malaysia Plan (1970-75). The main objective of the programme is 'to improve the quality of life, eradicate poverty among the low-income group and to resettle the urban squatters'.[13] In Kuala Lumpur, however, due to the high land price, the choice for house types has been quite limited; both the public sector and private sector opted for a higher density type, apartment housing. In particular, for the low-cost housing developments, which should satisfy the regulation of 'less than RM 25,000 of unit price', the high-rise could be the only option. Consequently the house buyers or renters had no other option but to choose the multi-storey housing which is radically different from their previous residences. The 2010 population and housing census shows that apartment housing occupies 19.9% in the whole country, but when Kuala Lumpur is taken alone, its proportion goes up to 66.6%.[14] Those who were accommodated in the apartments were not only from rural areas outside the city but from squatter settlements within the metropolitan area. In any case, adapting their family life to the new multi-storey dwelling was a significant challenge for them, disrupting their existing routines.

Life style in the traditional house

The traditional way of domestic living in Malaysia was based on the detached house with some typical spatial characteristics. The first and most defining characteristic of Malaysian house is the level distinction. As the house was raised on stilts, the strong distinction between the elevated wooden floor as a house and lower earthen floor as a yard has been generated; and further, the elevated floor was modulated to provide a level difference between rooms as shown in figure 1.

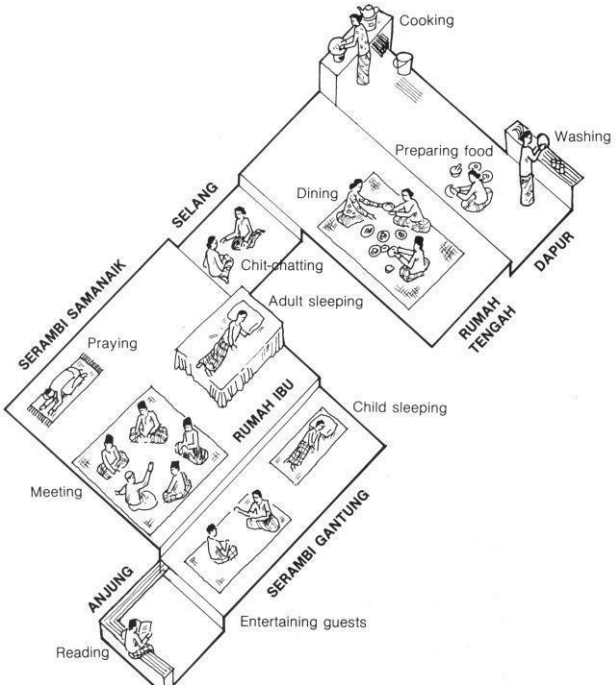

Figure 1. Domestic activities in the traditional Malaysian house (Yuan 1987)

In this indigenous setting, higher levels were allocated with cleaner activities and the lower levels with 'dirty' activities in a symbolic sense – thus the yard represented the dirtiest outside domain. The second characteristic is the open spatial sequence. The spatial layout of the house was following the linear sequence of order without partitions. This partition-less layout enabled better ventilation in the humid tropical climate and better communication between members of a big family. Within this open sequence of space, residents could define each functional space by the structure of the building and changing floor levels. The third characteristic is the symbolic division between the front space and back space. The front represented a formal male zone while the back a informal female zone. It is in the front zone where you could find the formal entrance and guest receiving space which is related to male activities. The back side on the contrary is the area where females cook and family dines which causes aromas, evaporation, and food wastes, all related to a counter-concept of clean and dry – thus dirty. In addition, the surrounding yard also acted as an essential field to enable entering and exiting with a front door and a back door, and to support outdoor household chores. The spatial sequence based on these three characteristics (level distinction, open spatial arrangement, and front-back division) interlinked with each other were part of traditional rural dwelling in Malaysia. This spatial sequence supported unconscious everyday actions that signified the belonging of the dwellers to a community with a common tradition. The dynamics of family hierarchy, gender division or religion were embedded in the spatial sequence and as such it was a key element in the development of a sense of belonging.

Enculturation of modern apartment houses

Apartment houses in Malaysia appeared from 1970s when the low-cost housing was built by the public sector to deal with the growing number of urban dwellers. The booming of this multi-storey housing in urban areas implied a radical departure from the traditional domestic culture because it has no connection to the yard which was an essential carrier of old way of living. Although it was not possible to map the old domestic habits onto the new collective dwelling, through the trial and error process in the 1970s and 80s, the apartment housing in Malaysia has gradually transformed to make a culturally adapted solution for local residents. Those three characteristics of the traditional house had

been practiced as a norm for centuries but it had to find a way to be adapted to a totally new environment.

First, the old characteristic of level distinction has been applied to the floor levels of the unit plan. From the public corridor or staircase, the floor of the entrance hall is raised up a few inches and from here, the same level of floor is maintained to the living area of dining and living room. What is so unusual in Malaysian apartment is that the floor level of the kitchen is often dropped a few inches from the living area. Without exception, the kitchen is served by an adjacent auxiliary room called a drying yard. It supports the kitchen with cooking, storing, laundry and drying – thus drying yard. Accessing this room from the kitchen, one experiences another dropping down of floor levels. In a sense, the hierarchical stepping down of floor levels from the living-dining area to the kitchen and then to the drying yard is following the order of 'clean to dirty' which resembles the same order in the traditional house. Other 'dirty' areas such as bathrooms and balconies also have their floor levels lowered. It can be observed that those with lowered floor are the rooms potentially exposed to water, whether it is from rain, cooking, washing, or laundry. As in the traditional house, those rooms with more formal and clean activities are given a higher level of floor.

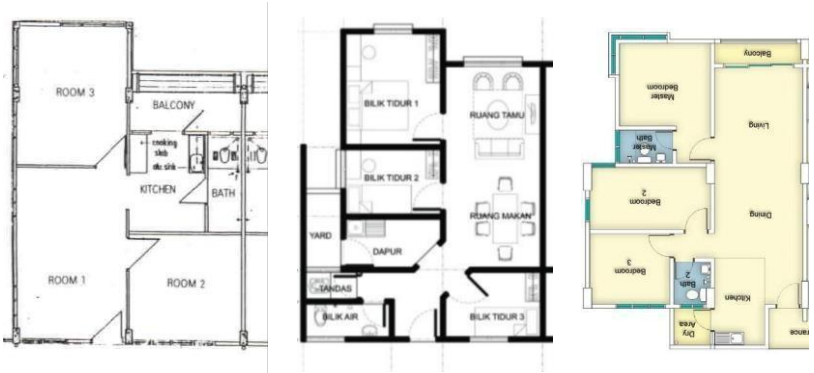

Figure 2. Low-cost apartment units (1970s and 90s) and mid-cost unit (1990s)

Second, we can find the trace of open spatial sequence of the traditional house in the open family gathering area of living room and dining room. In most of the plans, this gathering area is directly connected from the entrance hall and ends with a balcony in the open front side of the building. What is unique in Malaysian plan is that this open sequence is almost always visually noticeable when entering the house. For this, other smaller rooms such as bedrooms, bathrooms, and drying yards are pushed to the farther side of the unit plan, making another cluster. Although these rooms are now partitioned and segmented, by putting them together on one side, the plan successfully generates the feeling of old 'open sequence'.

Third, the old characteristic of front-back division had to be re-arranged. There was a confusion in the early days of apartment planning on which side is the front and which the back. It is mainly because the apartment house has only one access door unlike the traditional house which has two, one in the front and one in the back. If we consider the unit entrance as a formal front, then the living room deserves to be linked to it in the old sense, but as an informal back door, the kitchen would be a suitable space to come first. In some of the earlier plans, the kitchen and dining room appeared in the farther side of the unit from the entrance as shown in the first plan in figure 2. In later plans, however, the living room was mostly located at the end of the sequence, which is the actual front side in the perspective of the whole building block, and the kitchen near the entrance. This solution can be interpreted in two ways. It can be said that the most important formal space, the living room, needs to be in the most favourable spot for better sunlight and ventilation, thus in the farther side from the entrance and communal access corridor. On the other hand, it is equally arguable that modern family

life in the apartment house is getting more secluded from the neighbours and thus the symbolic meaning of entrance became more informal, rendering it as if a back entrance in the traditional house. In any case, the advancement of home technology has made it possible that the kitchen acquire the status to be displayed on the entrance side with its clean modern appliances and become an integrated part of open living zone.

The most unique feature in the apartment planning in Malaysia is the drying yard. This multi-unit housing has the most restricted condition compared with other housing types in terms of its incapability to replace the function of the yard on the ground. In the traditional house, the yard was the outdoor space where all sorts of house chores such as body washing, laundry, drying, big scale cooking and stockbreeding took place. The drying yard in the apartments is a minimised version of the old yard. Always connected to the kitchen, it accommodates various functions including cooking, washing and drying. It works as a semi-open backup space to replace the old yard in the traditional house; thus it seems natural that its floor is in the lowest level in the apartment house.

Problems remaining: detachment from neighbourhood

Although Malaysian apartment houses have evolved to adapt to vernacular characteristics of dwelling in many unique ways, the high-rise apartments are still considered as the least desirable choice amongst all housing types. In fact, dissatisfaction in the high-rise apartments is a common response in many countries, but in Malaysian cases, it is more complicated. First of all, the unit plan is provided in a smaller size than what is necessary. In average, there are 4.3 persons per occupied housing unit in Malaysia as of 2012,[15] and it has been repeatedly reported that the size of the unit is too small.[16] However, because of the high price of housing development, it is not easy to buy a house in the city that has enough size for families. In addition, unlike detached houses, there is no possibility of expanding the given space layout of the plan.

Apart from the dissatisfaction in the unit plan, a more serious problem can be found from the structure of neighbourhood. Malaysia is a multi-racial country, consisting mainly of Malays, Chinese and Indians, but people living in the rural area or urban squatter settlements used to live within a homogeneous racial group. Relocated to new apartment housing, their neighbourhood needs to be re-structured in a very short period of time – in the context of mixed races from all different regions. Lacking mutual understanding, residents tend to lose their previous sense of belonging to the community. This often leads to an ongoing conflict between groups especially for those people forced to move from the squatter settlement to the low-income public housing.[17]

CONCLUSION: HOUSING DESIGN AS ENABLER OF BELONGING

The particular case of Malaysian traditional rural housing shows how time-space routines that become unconscious in time can sustain a sense of belonging to a particular community, given the social aspects supported by these (family hierarchy, gender division, religion, community). When relocation involves breaking out these routines, as in the case of dwellers that moved from traditional rural settings to multi-storey apartment housing in Malaysia, the sense of belonging can be replaced by dissatisfaction, sense of alienation or even conflict. The previously studied evolution of Malaysian apartment housing that tried to maintain the time-space routines present in traditional dwellings illustrates spatial sequence as a factor that helps enabling belonging. What this particular case shows also, is that considering indoor spatial sequences is not sufficient if other social aspects are not taken into consideration, such as those that relate the dwelling to its context within a community (interaction, gathering, support, security, etc). Malaysian urban dwellers, especially those with lower income, have been housed by their 'choice', but in the broad perspective of social change, they are housed by economic 'force'.

ACKNOWEDGEMENTS

This research is a part of the research project, 'Development of Incremental SI(Structure-Infill) Housing for the Low-income Population in Malaysia' by Northumbria University and Universiti Teknologi Malaysia supported by the Newton Fund, Institutional Link Grant from the British Council (Application ID: 172733176)

NOTES

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[2] M. Lewicka, "In Search of Roots. Memory as Enabler of Place Attachment", in *Place attachment. Advances in Theory, Methods and Applications,* ed. L. C. Manzo and P. Devine-Wright. (Oxon: Routledge, 2014), 49-60
[3] D. Tall, "Dwelling: Making peace with space and place", in *Rooted in the land: Essays on community and place,* ed. W. Vitek and W. Jackson. (New Haven: Yale University Press), 104-112
[4] D. Seamon, "Body-subject, time-space routines, and place-ballets", in *The human experience of space and place*, ed. A. Buttimer and D. Seamon. (New York: St Martin's Press, 1980), 148-165. See also P. Connerton, *How modernity forgets.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
[5] L.C. Manzo, "Exploring the Shadow Side. Place Attachment in the Context of Stigma, Displacement, and Social Housing", in *Place attachment. Advances in Theory, Methods and Applications,* ed. L. C. Manzo and P. Devine-Wright. (Oxon: Routledge, 2014), 178-190.
[6] T. Beatley, *Native to nowhere. Sustaining home and community in a global age.* (Washington: Island Press, 2004)
[7] D. Seamon, "Place, place identity, and phenomenology, in *The role of place identity in the perception, understanding, and design of the built environment,* ed. H. Casakin and F. Bernardo. (London: Bentham Science Publishers, 2012), 3-21
[8] M. Merleau-Ponty, *The Phenomenology of Perception.* (New York: Humanities Press, 1962). See also D. Seamon, "Physical and virtual environments: Meaning of place and space", in *Willard & Spackman's occupational therapy,* ed. B. Schell and M. Scaffa (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Williams & Wilkins, 2012), 202-214
[9] C. Allen, "Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology and the body-in-space", *Society and Space,* 22(2004): 719-735. See also D. Seamon, *A geography of the lifeworld.* (New York: St Martin's, 1979)
[10] M.T. Fullilove, *Root shock.* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2004)
[11] J. Jacobs, *The death and life of great American cities.* (New York: Vintage, 1961). See also D. Seamon, "Body-subject, time-space routines, and place-ballets", in *The human experience of space and place*, ed. A. Buttimer and D. Seamon. (New York: St Martin's Press, 1980), 148-165.
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THE SCARRED SKIN OF CYPRUS: WATER AS AN INTERVENING INFRASTRUCTURE FOR THE HOUSING CONDITION ALONG THE GREEN LINE OF CYPRUS

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Our contact with the world takes place at the boundary line of the self through specialized parts of our enveloping membrane. Skin is the mediator that integrates our experience of the world with that of ourselves. My body remembers who I am and where I am located in the world. My body is truly the navel of my world, not in the sense of the viewing point of the central perspective, but as the very locus of reference, memory, imagination and integration.
Juhanni Pallasmaa, The Eyes of the Skin[1]

INTRODUCTION

The Buffer Zone of Cyprus was established primarily by a British army officer, General Peter Young, in 1964, when he drew a cease-fire line across a map of Cyprus in green grease pencil.[2] In this project, the cut line is studied in parallel to a line drawn on the skin prior to a cut by a scalpel—and water, perhaps similar to blood, is treated as an intervening infrastructure in understanding the resultant border conditions. The project suggests four architectural gestures that speculate on the relation of water to the line and the direction of the flow. The encounter of the pencil with the land is metaphorically exemplified as a surgical incision (in Kokkina), an open wound (in Avlona and Akaki), a stitched wound (in Nicosia), and the remaining scar (in Pyla).

The Green Line is a double-drawn line that cutting across the entire island comprising two "forward defensive position" lines which are separated by a Buffer Zone of 112 miles in length and of varying width.[3] In the report of 1976, the Secretary General indicated that neither side could exercise authority or jurisdiction beyond its own forward military line.[4] This resulted in creating a no-man's land within the zone along with polarized national identities towards the North or the South. The Green Line constructs four states in Cyprus: (1) the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, currently in control of the northern part of the island; (2) the Republic of Cyprus, currently in control of the southern part of the island; (3) the UK Sovereign Base Areas, in control of ninety-nine square miles of the island; and (4) the 11,280-mile-long UN Buffer Zone covering around 134 square miles or three percent of the island.[5]

The translation of a line drawn on a paper map to a palpable landscape with its topographical, gravitational, and land division and ownership has created an intertwined collocation at the intersections of geography, cities, and walls. The "invasion of walls inwards into the city, or outwards around the city"[6] has created a range of variances in inhabitation of these divided singularities between the North and the South. The divisive line, drawn by forces greater than topography or

demography, cuts through the water current at certain locations. This is dissimilar to the conventional division of segregations, which used to be along the current of the stream. Conforming to rules of liquidity, water is one of many entities that follow their own rules of permeability.

Considering an infrastructure that takes the scarcity of water as its focus, this project proposes a series of large-scale installations to examine the relation of the physical landscape and the formation of social life to the built structures. The following four interventions, running from west to east of the Buffer Zone (in Kokkina, Avlona-Akaki, Nicosia, and Pyla), illustrate the mediation of water in designing landscape and architecture settlements through which the meaning of borderscapes is unearthed.

Kokkina Exclave: The Case Of A Bleeding Incision

Kokkina Exclave is a coastal exclave surrounded by mountainous territory, with the Morphou Bay on its northern flank.[7] Arching from coast to coast and occupied on its concave side by the Turkish Army's military camp and on its convex side by Greek Cypriots, it further confounds the habitual situation.

Estimations demonstrating that desalination in Cyprus could satisfy the water demand despite climate change have initiated the development of the last intervention. In farther west at the Mediterranean Sea as the bleeding cut is drenched under the water, it permits the ocean water to enter a drainage system trough the structure that runs from coast to coast along the double partition. The water becomes desalinated at multiple locations to supply housing settlements along this area. Affected by low and high tide in the daytime and at night, the structure becomes recurrently visible and invisible, while there is always water flow underneath (Figs. 1–3).

Figure. 1. Kokkina Exclave, Collaged photograph and Drawing

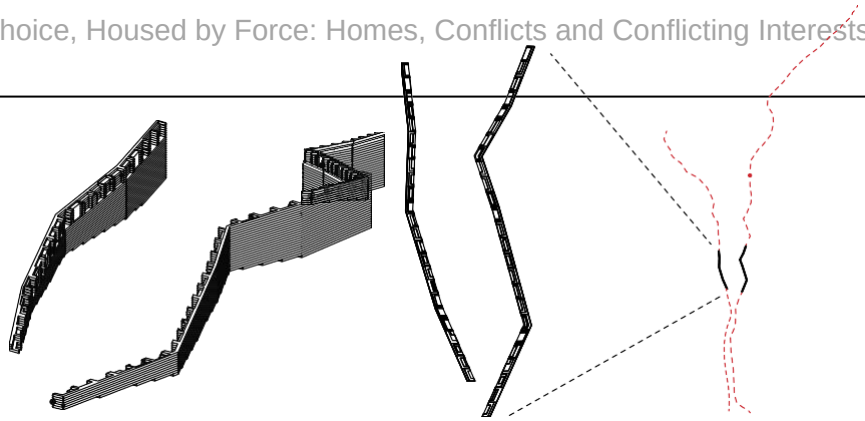

Figure. 2. Kokkina Exclave, Design Proposal Drawings

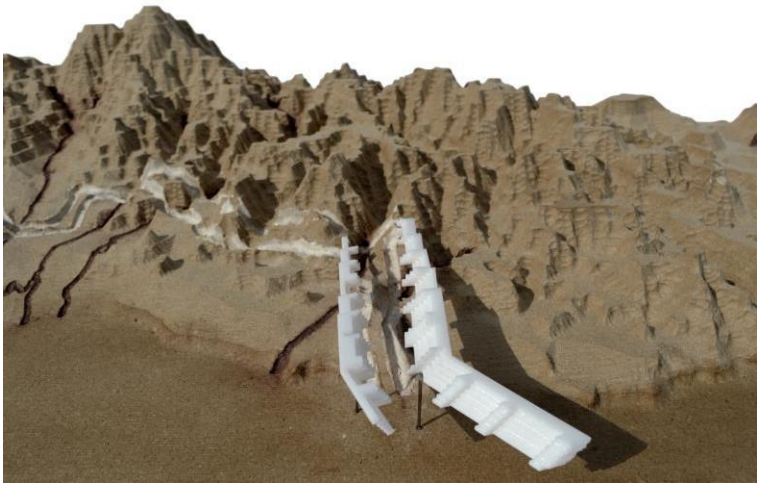

Figure. 3. Kokkina Exclave, Prototype Model on Milled MDF

Avlona, Akaki: The Case Of An Open Wound

Avlona (in the North) and Akaki (in the South) are two villages located on either side of the double-lined Buffer Zone. They both share the water provided by the Akaki River, which runs from the foothills of the Troodos Mountains.

Here the stream of water dissents from the permeability of the Buffer Zone in alienated borderlands. This has created a ground for intervention where the partition, water, and villages meet. A walk-through bridge that purposefully connects the North to the South punctures the Buffer Zone at two points: these are the locations that it branches off from to direct water towards various points in each village where the purifying systems are located. These systems provide drinkable water to adjacent residences for both sides (Figs. 4–6).

Figure. 4. Avlona-Akaki, Collaged photograph and Drawing

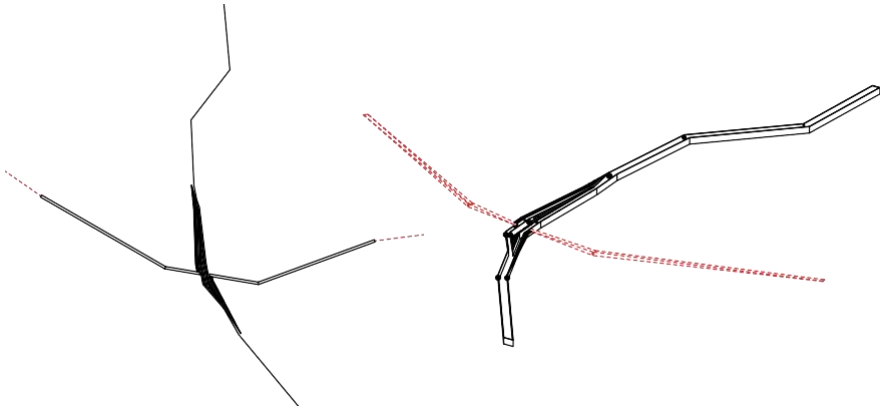

Figure. 5. Avlona-Akaki, Design Proposal Drawings

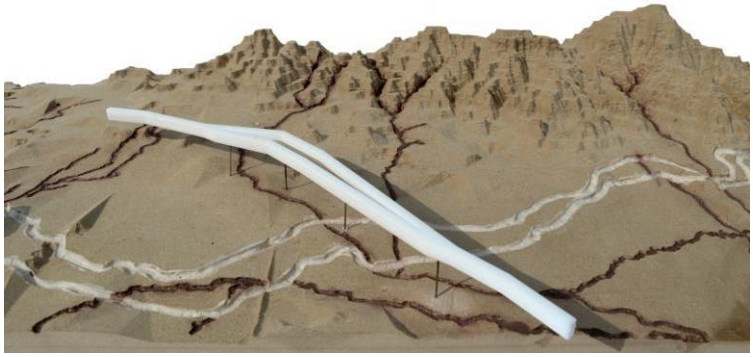

Figure. 6. Avlona-Akaki, Prototype Model on Milled MDF

Nicosia: The Case Of A Stitched Wound

Nicosia is divided above ground but unified below. This is due to gravity and economics having conspired to prevent the duplication of water and sewerage infrastructure. The underground connection of the water sewage system transcends the city's regional topology; it is a network space in which proximity is not metric and where inside and outside are not objects or attributes that lie within a set of boundaries.[8] A different topology is created: the fluid topology for network spaces. This emphasizes a fluid spatiality of the social in which entities are in a state of transformation and can be distant, different, and at the same time similar in different places or at different scales.[9]

The proposed storm-water management system stitches the double partition line from North to South

and from South to North. This is to represent entities that are connected, although invisibly and through an underground system. The structures run across the wound where its grooved surface catches the storm water and directs it sideways to the North and South. The structure collects and directs the water farther, to the underground reservoir underneath each housing unit or multiple-unit dwelling, where a further purification and supply system is incorporated. The excess water could then be directed to the existing system that runs below the city (Figs. 7–9).

Fig. 7. Nicosia, Collaged photograph and Drawing

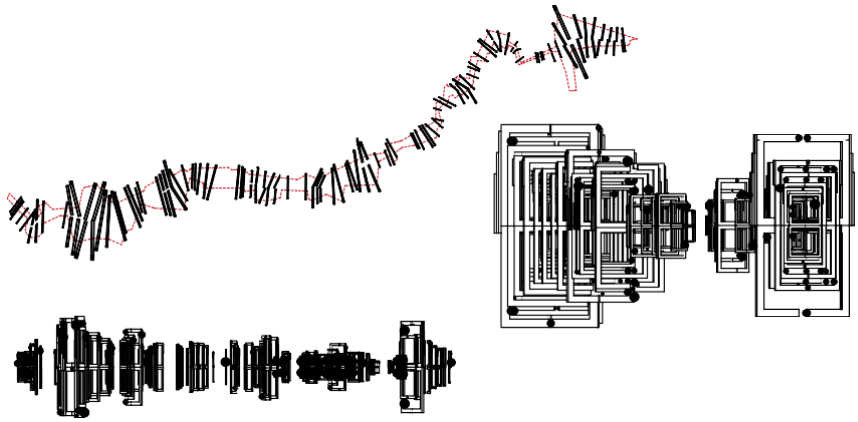

Fig. 8. Nicosia, Design Proposal Drawings

Fig. 9. Avlona-Akaki, Prototype Model on Milled MDF

Pyla: The Case Of A Remaining Scar

Pyla is one of the five inhabited villages within the Buffer Zone. The pinnacle of the United Nation's

Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus's success has been this village. It is the only mixed village that remained in Cyprus after 1974–75: despite its location inside the Buffer Zone, its inhabitants were neither directly nor indirectly forced to flee. In this town, the jurisdictional claims of the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot regimes are neutralized by UN authorities. This is to avoid tensions that replicate the ups and downs of the Cyprus conflict. Pyla is thus often idealized as the normal state of "being" in Cyprus, how Cyprus without the conflict should be or would have been.[10]

In this intervention, a rainwater harvesting system is accommodated under the outdoor space of each housing unit. The infiltrated water enters the drainage system in the street that runs towards the water reservoir located centrally to the system and to the town. The structure of the reservoir steps down to reach its lowest point at the core. Its surface is paved with porous material and allows for water storage through the edges to sink down to the water table. After entering the water table, the collected water could be consumed through wells or pumping systems and returned to housing communities. (Figs. 10–12).

Fig. 10. Pyla, Collaged photograph and Drawing

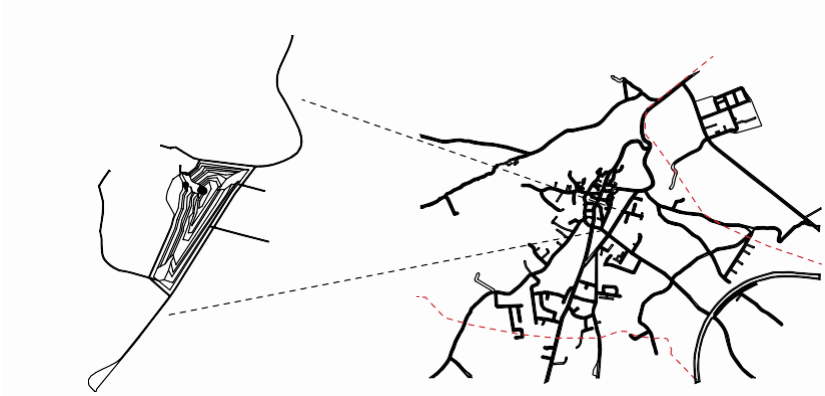

Figure. 11. Pyla, Design Proposal Drawings

Fig. 12. Pyla, Prototype Model on Milled MDF

CONCLUSION

While the double-drawn line of the Buffer Zone may not afford the inhabitation and growth of humans in a literal sense, it did provide for growth of two marginalities of a divided skin. Shifting movements of territories, people, and dwellings, along with the movements in subjectivities and their accompanying complexities, has created asymmetrical nationhood in towns and villages within, along, or across the Buffer Zone of Cyprus, whereby the North and the South no longer inherit their embedded geographical meanings.

The establishment of the partition has consumed hundreds of buildings within or adjacent to the Buffer Zone.[11] Remnant architecture has become one of the many materials—among them "sand bags, oil barrels, concrete, corrugated iron, brick, and barbed wire"[12]—that constructed the partition space. Here, by becoming acquainted with the functional characteristics of such materials, the spatial qualities of remnant housing are reduced from a space of inhabitation to a layered space of partition. In spite of the polarized condition and the attempt to seal entire borders, there still remains the permeability not only of physical bodies, natural resources, and wild life, but of traversing of the most prominent "immutable mobile,"[13] the cultural exchange. Here, water, a scarce resource in Cyprus, could be possibly seen as a medium to question architecture (of partitions) where no intervention aims for demilitarization or reintegration but is only suggestive of the dialectics of cultural conditions.

Although border-objects are generally imagined as technical lines drawn as thinly as possible and perhaps reduced in their spatial occupancy so much that they become virtual, such Buffer Zones as the Cyprus Green Line are established in discontinuous thicknesses. This geographical thickening of the laceration of earth over-emphasizes the border space as a place, a dwelling for power relations. Dwelling, as viewed by Heidegger, is a complex relation of embodying the landscape and environment: "Dwelling is not the occupation of a world already built but the very process of inhabiting the earth."[14] It is the one that affords scope for growth and movement. Life, in this sense, is lived in the open, rather than being contained within the structures of the built environment.[15]

By providing settlements, architecture communicates to its audiences, who are the inhabitants of buildings. Its entanglement with semiotics is therefore inevitable. Architecturally utilizing the permeability of water could intervene in shaping the meanings of the borders. This—although excluding transcendence or regression—could bring subjective interpretations simultaneously, through which the space, time, and habitation of the borders could be reassessed. If the point of reference, the locus of the place, is displaced, if the materialization of the object changes, the skin will no longer be the borderscape between the self and the selfless. It will become a space of thresholds, with a gradient range of in-between places and no absolute distinction between the outsider and the

insider. “Displaced bodies, distant both as foreigners to where they have come to and strangers to where they have come from,”[16] continue to occupy the skin of the earth.

This project was an investigation into threshold spaces in border-zone conditions. Architecture, being an inevitable occupant of these in-between places, performs as a projection of possible conditions that are politically created and socially creative via the delicacy of their occupancy. The United Nations Buffer Zone in Cyprus is one of few border spaces that contains a range of separation and division conditions that extend beyond geographical means of national place making. Similar to other border conditions, the Green Line of Cyprus also evolves towards the formation of social constructs on the outermost membrane of the earth: the analogical skin.

NOTES

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THE GENIE SHOULD BE OUT OF THE BOTTLE: UNDERSTANDING THE MYSTERY OF HOUSING PRODUCTION IN CONTEMPORARY TURKEY

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WHY HOUSING?

Housing question is more than what is seen on the surface. It is more than a source of rant and easy money, and the crazy projects of the neoliberal governments. It is more than a thing which is exchangeable in the realm of equivalences. It's more than a fictitious capital or a stock which can be bought and sold in the market place. Housing as 'a special kind of commodity', which is produced to exchange in the market place, is both the things that I listed above and more. The mystery of the housing as a commodity comes from the historical, institutional and structural conditions that it is produced. On the one hand, housing production is dependent on the general tendencies of capital accumulation at the most abstract level; on the other hand, it is historically mediated within particular social formations[1]. Understanding the mechanisms of the mediation of the house-building sector through different forms of state has a great importance in order to capture "real concrete": production of housing as a commodity, formation of house-building industry and its transformation into the real-estate sector. The aim of this paper is then not to study mass housing construction and urbanization in itself, but to approach these through a study of the restructuring processes of the state, of capital accumulation and of class relations in the neoliberal era. In this paper, the Turkish state is taken as the intersection point to discuss all these dimensions. More importantly, in the Turkish case, the state is both founder and the main actor of the housing market as an entrepreneur.

In the late 1980s, Turkish Mass Housing Administration (TOKI) was founded to 'enable' the housing market in order to solve the housing problem in accordance with the World Bank's key policy document titled *Housing: Enabling Markets to Work*[2]. Although Turkey's housing market structure was different from other developing countries, it took quite similar path with the others and relied on the private sector production to solve the problem. At the beginning of the 2000s, it became obvious that the enabling markets approach in itself was 'far too sanguine' in terms of solving the housing problem and there is a need to go beyond enablement of the private sector through restructuring state institutions in order to reach economic and social objectives. TOKI was restructured along these lines through series of legislations and it became the highest urban planning institution which caused widespread social discontent because of its unaccountable public authority on the housing market.

This paper aims to understand the structural restructuring of TOKI as an 'effective state' institution and asks why TOKI has eliminated mechanisms of any participation in decision making after 2000s.

Does this authoritative tendency belong to the particular stage of Turkish economic development? In what ways does it converge and diverge from policy suggestions of international financial institutions?

Real Concrete: TOKI As The Focal Point Of Corruption Scandals

I want to build my paper on a thought provoking experiment to explain TOKI. If someone makes a Google search about the Administration, she would probably see that it is one of the most debatable Turkish institutions that became the focal point of corruption scandals in both national and local levels. People brought suit these corruptions many times. The charges that these suspects were facing are illegal opening of Turkish State's properties to construction, illegal opening of naturally and archeologically protected areas to construction and approving construction permits despite earthquake risks in particular areas. Unfortunately and not surprisingly, many times, law simply did work for neither bureaucrats nor the investors.

What can we infer from that story?

The dominant explanation, in both state and academic levels, is based on approaching TOKI as the ideal example of the failure of the Turkish state in terms of building effective state institutions to enable the national housing market. But why? What are the reasons of these failures? Is it about bureaucrats? Is it about inefficient business environment? Or both? Is it enough to say that this is typical situation for any "developing country" which has been defined many times as the rentier state, crony capitalist state, the third world state which has corporatist past or strong state tradition? As I will discuss in the following parts, the methodological reference point of these discussions are 'market oriented institutionalism' that became dominant after 1990s with the institutional turn of the international financial institutions cannot provide satisfactory explanations. This is why the Administration that I'm working on provides a great opportunity to show the explanatory power of market-oriented institutionalism and its limitations.

In this paper, I will map out the market-oriented institutionalist thought of line appeared as the questions that I listed above. Secondly, I will speculate on the possible answers that can be derived from these questions. Then, I will build an alternative perspective to formulate the questions and put an alternative tool kit to approach the administration.

TOKI OR ENABLING THE HOUSING MARKET THROUGH STRENGHTENING THE EXECUTIVE

Foundation of the TOKI in 1984 can be thought as the very first outcome of the 12 September 1980 military coup. It is an obvious outcome of the rise of executive initiated by the military. It is a central regulatory public institution which was tasked with providing necessary conditions to enable the construction of mass housing projects. State's role in mass housing construction was providing cheap credits to the contractors, developers and construction firms. Its main duty was to fasten the formation of mass-scale housing production in contrast to the pre-capitalist-hybrid forms of the housing production. The administration took a share from the state's budget and this is how it provided cheap creditors for the contractors. After the 1997 economic crises, TOKI faced many financial difficulties and became a useless state institution.

After being idle for almost ten years, TOKI was reborn as an enormously powerful institution in 2003. The government's 'Emergency Action Plan' declared its major urban aims as the 'regeneration' of squatter areas and provision of social housing for low-income groups[3]. Although the plan sounds like a welfare policy on the urban land market and housing market, this project will states that the main aim of the government is restructuring of state as an active agent in the market since the state needs to finance itself in the era of austerity. TOKI's institutional restructuring is a part of 'effective state'

formation and expansion of state capacity. Between 2002 and 2014, TOKI has been empowered through a series of legislations. It has been given to powers to regulate the zoning of all public land; to form its own companies in national and international level, to regenerate squatter areas; to finance itself though profit-oriented project; to regulate its own tendering process out of the public procurement law; to be out of the Turkish Chamber of accounts' control. Additionally, Land Bank's (Emlak Bank) assets have been transferred to TOKI and the Bank transformed into the Real Estate Investment Trust of which major share held by TOKI. This Trust is the monopoly of the sector which initiates the important step for the financilization of real estate sector.

HOW DOES MARKET-ORIENTED INSTITUTIONALISM APPROACH INSTITUTIONAL RESTRUCTURING IN GENERAL AND TOKI IN PARTICULAR?

Market-oriented institutionalism emerged when the failures of Washington Consensus development paradigm became increasingly evident after the outbreak of series of financial crises in Mexico, East Asia, Brazil, and Argentina. The decade of 1990s was described by the international financial contagion, crony capitalism capital flights, lack of transparency and government failures by many politicians, policy makers and academics. It was accepted that there is a need to formulate a new development paradigm. Stiglitz, became the flagship of the new paradigm, which I called market-institutionalism, through refuting the minimal state obsession of the Washington Consensus.

The works of Acemoglu, Rodrik and Stiglitz are chosen to discuss the fundamentals of market-centered institutionalism. They are the most influential figures on the preparation of the road-map of policy proposals written by international financial institutions. Their approach rests on three grounds. Firstly, capitalist market economy needs design and support since it is a social system that cannot be left to it[4]. Secondly, since the predictions of convergence have not realized, there is a need to explain divergent and uneven development of global capitalism[5]. Lastly, there is a need to focus on the history of capitalist development in order to go beyond the a-historical assumptions of the classical economics[6]

Approaching TOKI Though Market-Oriented Institutionalism

As a first statement, TOKI as a national institution can be different from housing institutions in other countries as long as it works for convergence of exchange relations for the national and international markets. They define institutions with reference to North and argue that economic convergence does not necessarily cause convergence of institutional forms[7].

Secondly, in the Turkish case, the 'invisible hand' of the housing market does simply not exist. The lack of information in land market, tenure structures, zoning laws and regulations of the formal housing market cause severe problems for both buyers and sellers[8]. The externalities and imperfect knowledge limit the capacities of housing market. Thus, TOKI's centralized power to appropriate land, to zone the land, to have partnership with private companies, to plan urban regeneration projects are seen as a necessity to institutionalize the invisible hand of the market.

Thirdly, the question is no longer whether the institutions matter or not, but, 'which institutions matter and how does one acquire them. According to Stiglitz[9] and Rodrik[10], in between laissez-faire model of Washington Consensus and socialist heavy state planning model, there is a wide spectrum that developing countries formulate. The proper balance should be found between autonomy and embeddedness of the state[11]. Acemoglu states that both strong states and weak states create distortions in the economy and they act as impediments to economic development[12]. But how? How should the states achieve the optimal balance between state and the government? And in particular: Is TOKI able to find the balance between state intervention and the market? The general question is answered by

them in a very open ended way. They argued that the only way to create the effective institutions is *Getting the Institutional Setting Right*.

Fourthly, in order to get the institutional setting right Stiglitz advices two important strategies for the developing states. First of all, policy makers need to identify the state capacities and formulate the role of government in accordance with these capacities. Secondly, since the government's capacities are not their density, policy makers need to develop strategies to expand state's capacity[13]. What should be expected from the state is to formulate capacity-enhancing reforms through introducing better incentive structures. Rodrik argues that the most critical institutional challenge is to restructure institutions for going beyond the rent transfer between 'unscrupulous businessmen' and 'self-interested bureaucrats'[14]. Stiglitz warn the readers about two important limitations of the state which are states are potentially less responsive about possible supervision compared to the private sector and it has inherent lack of credibility. For the market-oriented institutionalist account, the state is a potentially corrupted institution which needs to be balanced with market intervention.

Why Did TOKI Not Able To Get The Institutional Setting Right?

Without any doubt, TOKI is a necessary institution to make the housing market work. TOKI's institutional restructuring after 2000s can be seen as an attempt to increase Turkish state's capacity in housing sector. TOKI's capacity was increased by series of laws which were mostly legalized as decrees force of law without any parliamentary discussion. The new profit-sharing model which is developed by TOKI after 2000s to finance low income housing can be seen as another attempt to enhance the institutional capacity. Without taking any share from the state budget, TOKI gained its autonomy. TOKI became an embedded institution through making 9 percent of national housing production.

But how this institution became the nodal point of the corruption scandals? Why was not it able to find the right balance between state and the market? Why does it discourage investors to work with TOKI? Is it about the very nature of state as a potentially corrupted institution, as Stiglitz warns us many times? Is it about not being able to change the political institutions in Turkish context, as Acemoglu points out? Is it about, rent-seeking state bureaucrats and the self-interested entrepreneurs, as Rodrik insists on?

I think none of these questions are powerful enough to explain why TOKI failed to build a transparent and efficient national housing market. Since the questions are not about contradictory process of market formation, the answers of them cannot be real answer. They cannot go beyond doing the theories of the absence. Like: Lack of capacity, lack of transparency, lack of efficiency...

For me, since the task of science is 'to reduce the visible and merely apparent movement to the actual inner movement', there is a need to formulate different question.

FORMULATING ALTERNATIVE QUESTION: WHY THIS CONTENT (ENABLING THE HOUSING SECTOR) TAKE THIS PARTICULAR FORM (TOKI)?

Rise of TOKI as an uncontrollable public institution beyond almost any democratic control is the very outcome of the need of effective state restructuring in the current phase of capital accumulation. The "fetishism of state capacity" is the fetishism of well-functioning market without any impediment. Approaching state above and beyond politics cannot provide enough tools to understand the complicated relationship between state and the market. So it becomes impossible to make an institutional analysis beyond descriptions of effective, rentier, corrupted states and bureaucrats.

This is why there is a need to approach state in an alternative way. With reference to Poulantzas I argue that the capitalist state as a social relation which 'incorporates into its heart the class struggle

itself'[15]. Each corruption scandal and the failure of effective state restructuring is the outcome of contradictions of capital accumulation.

Critical Approach To TOKI

Firstly, in contrast to the market-oriented institutionalism, TOKI does not determine the social groupings in the housing sector. TOKI as the state apparatus is the materialization of class relation and it is the very outcome of the contradictions of capital accumulation in the present phase of capitalism.

Secondly, there is a need to go beyond methodological individualism based on the assumption of utility maximization and rationality of both individuals and ruler (state)[16]. It explains the corruption as the natural outcome of the permanent tension of interests between ruler and agents. It does not give satisfactory explanation to the failure of the effective state except blaming self-interested motives of the bureaucrats. In contrast, I propose to conceptualize social classes with reference to the relations of productions, and social formation. In addition, there is a need to distinguish fractions of classes in order to explain their relationship with the state. In the case of TOKI, it is obvious that, the housing market is divided between small-scale and big-scale investors. TOKI supports different scales in different projects. Moreover, in the current phase of capitalism, housing market emerges as an opportunity for the national capital (Bryan) which produces, sells and reinvests in national space. TOKI's corrupted relationship with the different fractions of capital should be seen as a complex outcome of the investment constraints of the capitalist classes in contemporary phase.

Thirdly, in contrast to the market-oriented institutionalist approach, state is not organized as a diffused decision centers in which the plural interests of the 'power groupings' or 'pressure groups' represent their interests[17]. The capitalist state is organized as a result of dominance of one of the powers above others. The dominance of executive over parliamentary in the contemporary phase is not a technical error in the operation of state. In contrast, the rise of executive, as an institutional reality of our age, is the outcome of structural modifications in the relations of production in the current phase of capitalism. The decline of the parliament, the institutions of the representative democracy and the power of political parties in favor of the executive, bureaucracy and the state administration are the main characteristics of the authoritarian statism which is materialized TOKI[18]. TOKI, above the municipalities and other local governments, is the only body to formulate housing projects. Since market-oriented institutionalism does not make a connection between state and its economic role in different historical conjunctures, it is unable to analyze why TOKI's institutional structure drastically changes after 2000s and how it excludes any participatory mechanism in housing policy.

Lastly, the institutional structure of the state is reorganized in relation to its economic role. For the case of TOKI, its important to ask how previously 'marginal' or unprofitable fields like housing became important for the valorization, reproduction and revalorization of capital[19]. State's integration to the subordination of totality of socio-economic fields to the capital accumulation process results in remarkable politicization of popular struggles related to these spheres[20]. State loses its legitimacy since people be aware of the fact that social policies, like housing, are directly connected to the interests of the capital. As a result, certain major contradictions emerged within the state in between its economic role and its role in maintaining order[21]. This is why, TOKI's housing policies, especially in terms of urban regeneration cause many social discontents all over the Turkey.

CONCLUSION

In order to understand the mysterious rise of the housing production in Turkish case, there is a need to ask the following question: Why this particular content, the capitalist state, take this particular authoritative form? To provide a scientifically satisfying answer, there is a need to work on

institutions through going beyond the market-oriented institutionalist paradigm. There is a need to go beyond the fetishism of the effective state in order to see how capitalism in the contemporary phase turned into authoritative institutions for the sake of the market and at the expense of any democratic intervention as it is seen in the TOKI example. Turkish state's role in both formation and deepening of the housing sector is vital, so an analysis without a state theory cannot enlighten the housing question in Turkish case.

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BARE LIVES IN INVISIBLE CITIES: THE EXAMPLE OF A SETTING OF A STOPOVER

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INTRODUCTION

These redundancies,[1] herein introduced as bare lives, like other figures of Giacometti embarked on 'ship of fools' and disembarked in Invisible city.[2]

Nowadays, many are those who abandon their grounds to seek new ones. They do not consider the cost, physical or psychological. They can be characterised as ‘border citizens’ as this sense defines their lives repeatedly. They pursue a better life, by trying to end up in Western capitals. They are forced to become part of the immigrant flow created from the ongoing conflicts in the world politics scene, leading to unstable conditions and eventually war. As a result of globalisation, the new status quo leads to the expansion of the gap between the wealthy states and the less prosperous ones.[3] Therefore, the ground seems to cave in for many people who determinedly flee and by abandoning everything behind, aiming to start over fresh. Through painful procedures the flow is released, crosses borders between cultures and identities, recomposing or rebuilding spaces at an urban ground.

In these conditions, in our cities a new, invisible city appears, which locals can see, perceive but simple pass by. The city begins to be inhabited by forms of multicultural cohabitation, not only in its centre, but also, beyond its limits giving a new dynamic to the city. The common concept of a community is transformed, as it does not represent a neighbourhood or ethnic group.[4]

It is a fact that the recent increase of immigrants already causes conflicts and the signs of an imminent eruption emerge, causing us to react. So lets' reflect or, on the other side, let's bring back the 'ships of fools' as were presented by Michael Foucault[5], in the end, it might be the only widely acceptable solution in the largest migration challenge after World War two, which the continent is forced to face.

The challenge of the researcher

Residents without choice are a contemporary challenge and have constituted the researcher with a significant challenge. Another challenge to the selection of the project/study statement was the mandatory movement of some unwelcome subjects towards the world capitals. Who are those that have no permanent home, change settings, not because of choice but because of conditions? The stage has been set, the roles are given and the dis-placed people[6] become the central characters of the drama being unfolded lately. The specific groups of people being referred here are refugees, requiring asylum, immigrants or illegal immigrants; bare lives that left forcibly from their grounds, due to political, economic and geographic reasons.

In today's world, the subject of migration/immigration is ubiquitous, and architects should attach themselves to this movement, drawing attention to the dangers that lurk.

Based on above statement, the present paper leads one's 'view' in other visual sights of architecture, in theory and in practice, in which 'many will see, but a few will perceive'. More specifically, this paper deals with, what we call, 'Bare lives in invisible cities'.

Bare lives are defined, as the subjects while invisible cities are the spaces in which they move, temporarily or dwell for a longer period. It is, therefore, an open epic chapter of the modern unavoidable immigrations that will be described, because it constitutes a chapter of a current epic time although it is no apprehend by many. In general, this study does not intend to stage a tearful drama of poverty, but seeks to introduce an alternative architectural solution in extreme conditions, aiming to discuss and propose a new type of co-habitation in the city.

The researcher is aware that the task to provide architectural solutions for such a sensitive subject is not straightforward. However, there has never been a more appropriate time for design proposals, which correspond, to this problem and a broader debate about the issues raised by migration/immigration. In any case, the practice of designing with an illusion for a purely virtual development by crossing our fingers and without considering the cultural, political, social and religious differences which eventually lead to clashes, is out of date.

THE PHENOMENON OF REDUNDANT HUMANITY[7] AND THE 'RECEPTION CENTRES'

As mentioned above, in the centre of the so-called "bio-political body,"[8] the displaced ones rejected from the world order (immigrants, asylum seekers, without-legal-documents) 'moving' or being transferred from one place to another lie today. These are the excessive or redundant population, who are deprived of adequate means of survival and for whom the planet is fast running out of places to put.[9] It can be, therefore, said that the current redundancies have been caught in a continuous pass mode, hovering in a spatial vacuum, in which time has stopped; waiting and wondering how to start their lives. This question is set to the architect.

Until today, as a respond to this 'uncomfortable' situation, the European Union provides the so-called 'reception centres'. Giorgio Agamben and Zygmunt Bauman evaluate these centres and designate them as 'camps where wasted lives, live'[10], like a prison or a ghetto. One might say that these camps are conceived and designed as a gap in time and space, built in the most remote and isolated parts of the country as possible - these 'permanent/temporary camps' are selected having as main criterion the greatest distance from 'civilization'.[11] Obviously, the main design idea of these centres perpetuates xenophobia and meiktofovia[1], increasing stereotypes about the grimness of the great unknown.

Schematically, it could be said that they define a black and white setting, built away from the world, where our protagonists just survive.

Apparently, the European Union (E.E.) devotes much time and gray matter in the design of increasingly sophisticated ways to set and fortify its borders, and to devise the most appropriate discharge procedures from those who simply seek shelter and food. [12] At last, E.E. restricts its social role, strengthens and expands the criminal intervention choosing a security policy. However one thing is certain; the doors might be closed sharply, but the problem will not disappear. With such superficial strategies the relief tends to be short; the locks may keep the problem away from our sight and thoughts, but surely do nothing to control or weaken those forces, which create those "wasted lives."[13]

Overall, the redundant humanity is increasingly caught in the crossfire; forced or frightened to leave their countries and simultaneously denied access to many others. They do not only change their place; they lose their place on Earth. As mentioned by Zygmunt Bauman: "They are thrown to nowhere;" to the "non-places" (non-lieux) of Marc Auge, "the cities of nowhere" (nowherevilles) of Joel Garreau and "the ship of fools" (Narrenschiffen) of Michael Foucault.[14]In the current paper, those 'places' raised by Bauman and others, replaced as terms from the Invisible cities.

SUBJECT: BARE LIVES

In general, who are the so-called redundant humans? Refugees, requiring asylum, immigrants or 'illegal' immigrants? One thing is certain. They now are stateless people.[15] Bourne identities. Zygmunt Bauman in his book "Wasted lives" describes them as "the waste products of globalization."[16] *Think for a moment that you lose a set of everyday things, and people in which your social existence is based, home, family, work, assets.* These people, being in a continuous movement and a vague waiting state, have nothing more than their unprotected and bare life.

The attention falls to the latter as in the current paper the protagonists are introduced as 'bare lives.' Giorgio Agamben introduced the term in order to describe a person without rights. "Bare life is the situation in which a human being turns to a carrier, only carrying its ordinary biological functions rather than rights," he says.[17] In addition, Zygmunt Bauman points out "these others, at the instant they find themselves outside the borders of their homeland, are deprived of the support of any recognized state authority which can take them under its protection, to defend their rights and to protect them against foreign forces."[18] In simple words, the displaced people are isolated from every element of their identity except of this: that of being without place.

Bare life is therefore the "*passenger par excellence*: that is, the prisoner of the passage" (borrowed from Michel Foucault) and he goes on saying "the land he will come to is unknown - as is, once he disembarks, the land from which he comes. He has his truth and his homeland only in that fruitless expanse between two countries that cannot belong to him."[19]

Schematically, observing bare lives, they seem like the figures of Giacometti in his sculpture entitled "City square",[20] uniform figures leave the observer with the impression that they swing, ever seeking for their identity, temporarily shaping their lives and waiting, never losing faith, always hoping in a better future. In this research, they are observed, building their own architecture, 'the architecture of silence' which is all but silent in contrast with its name.

SETTING: INVISIBLE CITIES

This research (2012-2013), having defined its subjects, attempts to set them in the invisible cities' grounds. What is the definition of an Invisible city? Where is it located? What kind of new spatial relations are formed? What is the role of the architect under these new conditions; which alternatives are recommended? These are some questions require answers.

This moving population, whose flow is unrestrained and at the same time depends on the same conditions of a fordist capitalism and globalisation, it is impossible to settle in specific places like a house, a school, a work place and so on. [21] This flow is a movement, which penetrates, closed borders and differentiates city grounds. The 'foreigners', therefore, are increasingly encountered in the city and reside anywhere: in deprived neighbourhoods, in outdoor accommodations, in abandoned buildings.

The violent alienation, leads them to the search for a space to inhabit that is no longer their 'home', but a place where the 'others' live.[22] They transform public space into private and invent intermediate spaces such as sidewalks, overdrafts, urban spaces.

Under these conditions, the modern city could be defined as a combination of 'spaces'. These are not identical one to another; therefore the overall image of the city forms a multicultural network creating a variety of images within the city; by the elite enclaves until the enemy ghetto. One might say that a new map appears on the city ground, another 'fabric' woven underground, that of an Invisible city.

The researcher intends to create an invisible city through her own perspective. The architectural proposal briefly described in the following paragraph.

'A SETTING OF A STOPOVER[2]

This research, having defined its theoretical framework, attempts to build its design proposal. The resulting design has aimed to give place to those who are silenced and proposes an organized solution for the people for whom no international status could guarantee a safe place.[23] So what is presented here is an open accommodation centre for asylum seekers in the city as opposed to the hidden reception centres provided from the E.E as described earlier in this document. Subsequently a detailed description of the proposed design is given, called: *'without montage: A setting of a stopover'* focusing on the key design decisions which compose the design proposal.

Design Objectives

The overall aim is to develop an architecture of silence, hence the introduction of a humble architecture from this project. The experiment proposes a new form of cohabitation, as a reception area or a meeting place, avoiding the creation of a ghetto. That's why, in this project, *the concept of limit, is taken not as the point where something concludes, but as the start of existence.* Below the key design requirements, are presented.

- Economy: Given the general negative sentiment for this people, creating a proposal with a significantly low budget, adds to the challenges the designer has to face. In this context, a wise choice for the form of the accommodation unit as well as choice of materials, can offer an interesting prospect in order to make the proposal more realistic.
- Standardization of the form – not repetition: The project must provide a simplicity in the form for ease of construction and at the same time avoid a tedious repetition.
- Diversity: An important objective is to create a proposal with a distinctive appearance. The architect wants to exploit available old things and new ones to create a fresh place while keeping a low profile.
- Re-use of materials and restarting people's lives: The proposed scenario requires a new habitat place for newcomers from a variety of many different cultures. On this basis old things will be arranged in a new way while as time goes by, and people here will lay the foundation for their new life.

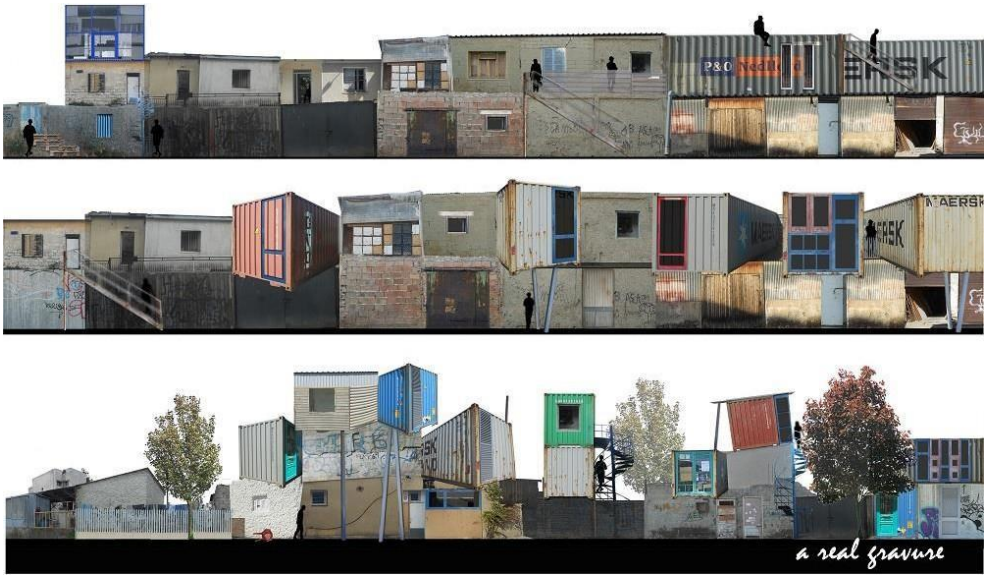

Figure 1. A real gravure: a surreal backdrop

Design Brief

The architectural concept is based on a minimum functional unit, a slightly modified container (40ft HG), which will act as the basic element of our proposal in the frame of the following design parameters: dimensions, low cost, portability, abundance, re-use, simplicity, aesthetics.

The design proposal is developed around *an internal open space (courtyard) that is of common use*. This becomes a centre related to the daily routine for the guests and *is the core of* the total number of units set the boundaries. Common functions and facilities (feeding, health care and legal support, leisure, etc) are locating in the ground floor (open and closed spaces), creating a public or/and semi-public space that will ideally operate as a centre of daily life. The accommodation facilities are located on the upper floors in order to achieve privacy.

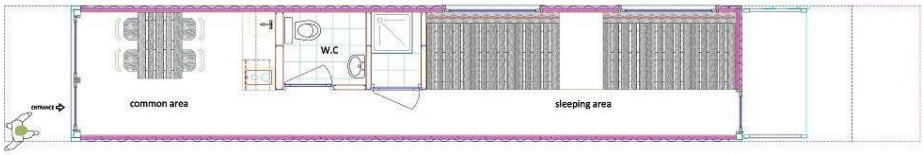

Figure 2. Accommodation unit

Figure 3. Accommodation centre - Ground floor

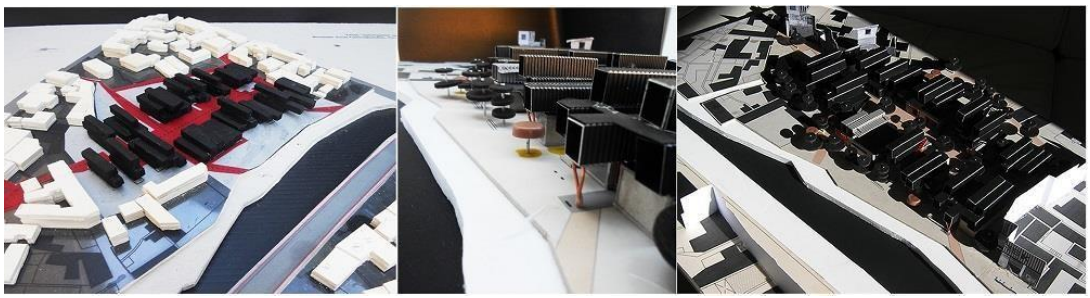

Figure 4. Accommodation centre (physical models)

Special attention is given to the materials, as the fundamental design decision. A brief analysis and an explanation for the selection of the particular materials are given in the following paragraph.

Materials

The crucial aspect of the design concept, was to create a modest eco-friendly construction and at the same time to embrace the project with a sense of modernity. Following these thoughts, the proposal was developed on a recently widespread architectural approach, the so-called Re-use Architecture. The setting is therefore built by using every kind of old furniture such as tables, chairs, windows, doors as well as pallets and crates.

In practice, the sideviews of the container – representing the ground floor – give way to bricklayers, cast concrete and glass while for the other levels old door frames and windows are used to set the scene, by giving the facades a rhythmic diversity. In the same concept, the interior is composed by a set of pallets and crates, which form all the furniture - kitchen, beds, and wardrobe.

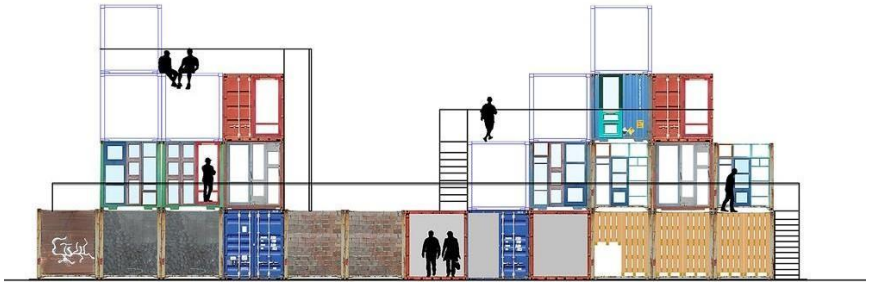

Figure 5. A setting of a Stopover

Figure 6. Re-use Architecture: Section of the unit

It is in a fact that such an architectural approach attracts architects and owners all around the world as it introduces a remarkable architectural vocabulary. Today there are completed many architectural examples of such solutions. Apart from the work of Shigeru Ban that first introduces such ideas, the Vegan House by Block Architects could be a similar approach (2014).[24] In any case, this type of architecture offers promising prospects in order to start a substantial discussion about the 'unsolved' problem of immigration and the need to be housed.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMEDATIONS FOR FARTHER RESEARCH

Given the current policy and feelings towards immigrants, one might say that such an intervention may seem a utopia. Being aware of a utopian approach and having in mind the extreme conditions of these people, emphasis has to be given to a realistic scenario and an easily achievable design. However a question keeps rising. Could one change the status quo? Obviously, the subject of migration/immigration is vast and within an open-ended discussion, is much more complicated than theory or any design, it is real life. Nevertheless, it is becoming clearer that architectural thinking should be modified under these new conditions, looking towards organized solutions for the

mentioned categories of people, for whom no international status could guarantee a safe place. Today, the architect is called upon to weave the thread in the cities between those spaces, 'Other spaces'[25] and yet to devise intermediate areas, which will be the missing link between that 'Other city', the invisible city and the 'real' one.

In one of his literary documents Vasilis Ladas points out: "Take water with you, the future is expected to have megadrought,"[26] as architectural practice has a difficult task in its attempt to find the right balance between meiktofovia and coexistence with the 'others'. It is clear, that common building development programs seem to be useless and obviously do not correspond to the described reality.

There is a discussion rising lately in Greece and Europe that refugees might be spread in several multi- storey residential buildings (there is a stock of empty apartments) in several cities. Although this idea sounds as offering independence and far away of the picture of a ghetto, it raises problems similar to those they claim that will be avoided. Ordinary urban planning or architectural approaches cannot tackle the observed phenomenon.

Based on all the above, it is obvious that a standard solution does not exist. Each invisible city should be unique as unique is the place hosting it. There are directions, as well as opportunities to get out of the 'mess', that cannot be always found in sophisticated designs, but could perhaps be discovered among creative, economic and simple actions. Architecture should not only be a medium for momentary impressions. Architecture is a tool to improve lives and it is now more widely understood that architectural practice should encourage such a social development. Potential solutions are open and ongoing.

One thing is clear. Refugees, asylum-seekers or immigrants, the today's 'damned', deserve our attention and to a certain point our solidarity. There are universal values in the world, which of the protection of life comes first. The words of Italo Calvino in "Invisible Cities" are absolutely representative as it is time to "seek and learn to recognize who and what, in the midst of inferno, are not inferno, then make them endure, give them space."[27] Besides, in a world where we all are expendables "the victim is unknown, familiar. The victim, like truth is relevant."[28]

NOTES

[1] Zygmunt Bauman, *Wasted lives: Modernity and Its Outcasts*, trans. Marcos Karasarinis (Athens: Katarti, 2005).
[2] Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*, trans. Anteos Xrisostomidis. (Athens: Kastaniotis, 2004).
[3] Eleni Tzirtzilaki, *Dis-placed, Urban nomads in the Metropolis: Contemporary Issues Concerning Movement, the City and Space* (Athens: Nissos Academic Publishing 8, 2009), *225-226.*
[4] ibid, *243.*
[5] Michel Foucault, "Stultifera Navis," In *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, trans. Paris Mpourlakis (Athens: Kalentis, 2007).
[6] Eleni Tzirtzilaki, *Dis-placed, Urban nomads in the Metropolis: Contemporary Issues Concerning Movement, the City and Space* (Athens: Nissos Academic Publishing 8, 2009).
[7] Zygmunt Bauman, *Wasted lives: Modernity and Its Outcasts*, trans. Marcos Karasarinis (Athens: Katarti, 2005).
[8] Eleni Tzirtzilaki, *Dis-placed, Urban nomads in the Metropolis: Contemporary Issues Concerning Movement, the City and Space* (Athens: Nissos Academic Publishing 8, 2009), 243.
[9] Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Love: On the Frailty of Human Bonds,* trans. George Karampelas (Athens: Hestia,2007).
[10] Giorgio Agamben, *Form of Life* (Athens: Eleutheriaki Koultoura, 2002), 42.
[11] Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Love: On the Frailty of Human Bonds,* trans. George Karampelas (Athens: Hestia, 2007), 209.
[12] Zygmunt Bauman, "Humanity in motion," In *Liquid Times: Living in an Age of Uncertainty*, trans. Konstantinos Geormas (Athens: Metaixmio, 2009).
[13] Zygmunt Bauman, *Wasted lives: Modernity and Its Outcasts*, trans. Marcos Karasarinis (Athens: Katarti, 2005).
[14] Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Times: Living in an Age of Uncertainty,* trans. Konstantinos Geormas (Athens: Metaixmio, 2009), 82.
[15] Vasilis Ladas, *Mousaferat: One thousand and one nights of a refugee camp* (Athens: futura, 2008), 30.
[16] Zygmunt Bauman, *Wasted lives: Modernity and Its Outcasts*, trans. Marcos Karasarinis (Athens: Katarti, 2005).
[17] Giorgio Agamben, *Form of Life* (Athens: Eleutheriaki Koultoura, 2002), 41.
[18] Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Times: Living in an Age of Uncertainty,* trans. Konstantinos Geormas (Athens: Metaixmio, 2009), 67.
[19] Michael Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason,* trans. Paris Mpourlakis (Athens: Kalentis, 2007).
[20] Alberto Giacometti, Angela Schneider, Lucius Grisebach, Elizabeth Clegg, "Alberto Giacometti: sculpture, paintings, drawings," In *Scale in Giacometti's Sculpture* (Munich, London: Prestel, 2008).
[21] Eleni Tzirtzilaki, *Dis-placed, Urban nomads in the Metropolis: Contemporary Issues Concerning Movement, the City and Space* (Athens: Nissos Academic Publishing 8, 2009).
[22]ibid, *246.*
[23] Hanna Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (Milano, 1996).
[24] "Vegan House/Block Architects," *ArchDaily*, June 14, 2015.
[25] Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces, Heterotopias." In *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité*, 1984, 46-49.
[26] Vasilis Ladas, *Mousaferat: One thousand and one nights of a refugee camp* (Athens: futura, 2008), 30.
[27] Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*, trans. Anteos Xrisostomidis (Athens: Kastaniotis, 2003), 198.
[28] Mahmoud Darwish, *State of Siege, trans.* Aggeliki Sigourou (Athens: Maistros, 2010), 179.

1 The increasing pluralism and the cultural diversity in the urban environment create the feeling of meiktofovia. The latter is defined as the fear of the irritatingly chaotic and unfamiliar character of the social environment in the city, which intensify the tensions and the division's trends (Zygmunt 2009, 146).

2.The term stopover is used in order to emphasize the temporary character of the accommodation center as it aims to be nothing more than middle point between its guest's old life and their new one.

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FORCED TO LIVE DEAD IN PUBLIC SPACE: AN EXPERIMENT OF DEMOCRACY IN ROME

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INTRODUCTION

Last 21st December 2015, Marco Impagliazzo, director of S. Egidio a charitable body devoted to helping people who have found themselves homeless, presented the so called *Michelin Guide for the Poor 2016*[1]. The guide offers insightful information about hostels, places that serve daily free meals, public toilets, and so on. However, the guide also comes with a series of important figures, numerical data and statistics that indicate the number of people who are homeless in Italy; particularly in the city of Rome, where I, as part of FREUMh, am carrying out the project described in this paper.

According to the study and statistics provided by Marco Impagliazzo, the number of rough sleepers in Rome is 7709 while the capacity to shelter people accounts for only 2300. This implies that, according to the census more or less 5400 people find themselves in the condition of sleeping rough, using both temporary sheltered areas, e.g. portico areas or through the temporary occupation of unused and abandoned buildings overnight.

It was December 2014 when, while walking nearby St Peter's Sq. in Rome we found a conspicuous number of people sleeping rough in a portico area just a few steps away from Bernini's colonnade. The image of about forty people sleeping rough next to a place that should be devoted to mercy, provoked strange feelings. It was a mixture of anger and incredulity, together with disappointment. It was annoying to notice the seeming indifference to people sleeping rough during the winter by passers-by that were walking the portico area.

As FREUMh we thought something could be done and decided to get in touch with this group of rough sleepers through a series of encounters. We were interested in understanding the dynamics that could characterise the life of a person who lives on the street. The project so far has involved around ten encounters with this community of rough sleepers while in the meantime a series of meetings and interviews involving charitable bodies and both cultural insiders and outsiders[2] were led.

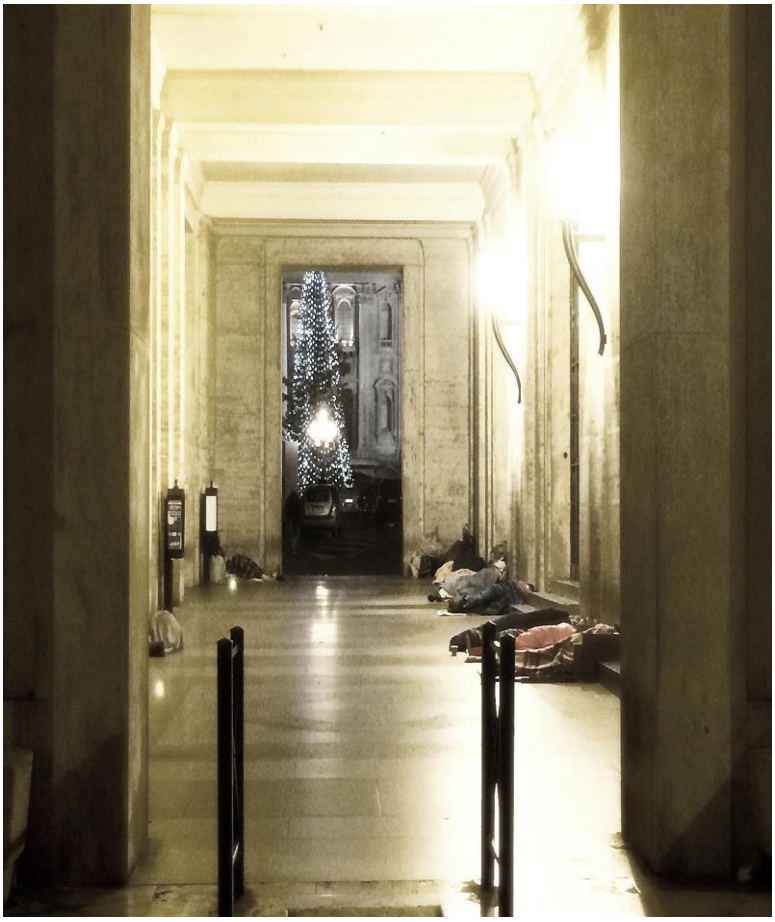

Figure 1. The portico area during night

This paper describes the experience we have been carrying out so far. It will initially address the issue with homelessness and rough sleeping, according to qualitative analysis of the data we gathered through the interviews with passers-by in St Peter's Sq, people who volunteer for charitable projects and people who are not involved in any charitable project, interviewed outside the context of St Peter's Sq. In particular what emerged from the interviews is twofold: First, the incapacity of passers-by to cope with the encounter with homeless people on the street. This incapacity determines the exclusion of the other. Second and consequently to this incapacity, it emerged a desire to house people who sleep rough. However, particularly this last aspect is somehow in contrast with the data we gather from the encounters we had with the community of individuals who identify as homeless and who utilise the portico area near St Peter's Sq.

By taking into account the work of Judith Butler and Davide Susanetti, the paper will firstly address the will to house homeless people as a universalisation of desires. The projection of one's individual private into the political sphere of the public. Secondly, the paper will argue about the possibility of developing new strategies for dealing with the issue with homelessness in public space. One that is based on the account provided by Butler and Susanetti of a dialogue with the dead together with the use of a provotype[3]. Rough sleepers may be regarded as specters. They are the living dead. Therefore this condition requires a different methodological approach. One that is based on Susanetti's suggestion of an inversion of the gaze.

Projection of Desires in Public Space

As mentioned in the introduction, the project combines the use of a cultural probe- provotype together with ethnographical studies. In this first part, the paper focuses on the project's presentation and interviews we had with charitable bodies and both cultural insiders and outsiders. This initial account is useful in order to outline a first important aspect concerning the presence of rough sleepers in public space. The aspect with cultural domains- tolerance that determines exclusion of the other. This is the aspect that the philosopher Slavoj Žižek defines as the incapacity of extricating oneself from his/her cultural background, which prevents a proper understanding of the other.[4]

How are rough sleepers perceived by passers-by when on the street? The question with perception was one of the first aspects we were interested in investigating. We were concerned with a seeming public indifference to people sleeping rough in winter we witnessed while encountering the community who utilise the portico area in St Peter's Sq. The question concerning the perception towards rough sleeping was asked to people in different situations: Either directly in St Peter's Sq or outside the context of the Square and the portico area. The answers we received from both cultural insiders and outsiders reflect a mixed feeling of indifference and confusion[5].

If on the one hand, a group of cultural outsiders interviewed was claiming that the presence of homeless peole in the city of Rome goes unnoticed due to the conspicuous number of individuals who sleep rough on the street. On the other hand, when people were interviewed directly in St Peter's Sq, the perception of people who sleep rough on the street can be summarised in the following statement: "Yes, I noticed them, but what can I do? I gave them some coins and moved away!". In this second case, people are aware of the presence of people sleeping rough on the street. However, interviewed passers-by found themselves in the condition of being incapable of coping with that type of encounter. The same feeling was experienced by Ruggiero a male in his late twenties who serves with me at a charitable project in Edinburgh[6]. When he was asked about the perception of individuals who are homeless on the street, he reported how the perception of a same subject in two different contexts, i.e. the Convent where The Homeless Project takes place and the streets of Edinburgh, changes completely. He in fact stated:

I notice the difference between seeing a same person in the Convent, when I am serving food and when he is on the street. I feel myself ineffectual! I don't know how to help!

From what emerged during the interviews with both cultural insiders and outsiders, it seems that whether there is an awareness of the presence of rough sleepers in public space, homeless people are acknowledged as forming part of a socio-cultural background. However, the aspect that emerged with feeling or finding oneself helpless when encountering rough sleepers in public space may offer some more clue about the perception of homelessness.

Analysing Strange Objects in Public Space

In this respect, it is not simply the case of a strange or unfamiliar object. One that, once it is decontextualised, moved from a familiar context, e.g. the comforting environment where a charitable project takes place, and projected into the contingency of public space results extraneous. Rather, it is the simultaneous condition of perceiving an individual as extraneous to a context and yet acknowledging him/her as in need. This process underlies certain mechanisms in the observers that require to be further analysed.

In fact, the presence of homeless people on the street puts individuals, i.e. passers-by in St Peter's Sq in an analytical modality. They try to understand a human condition. Žižek apropos writes that "the object assumes clear and distinctive features only if we look at it "at an angle", i.e. with an "interested" view, supported, permeated, and "distorted" by desire (emphasis already in the article, FG)"[7]. In other words, there is a movement of cultural and social insights that from a familiar inside is

projected into an unfamiliar outside. This aspect will be also discussed in the second part of this paper in the analysis of Judith Butler's account. It will be described as the relationship between the private and public or political sphere. For the now moment it is interesting to note that this projection of socio-cultural insights that passers-by carry out is effectively a projection of desires. They are projected onto the person who is homeless on the street for s/he is perceived as missing something[8], e.g. money, house or food. The same desire was in fact expressed by the interviewees with regards to the necessity of housing homeless people. An aspect that was pointed out quite strongly and as two divergent positions during one of the project presentations to Caritas, one of the most important charitable bodies in Rome that deals with issues concerning homelessness and urban poverty; and also to Archbishop Konrad Kraiewski, the Papal almoner.

In particular, when the project was presented to Caritas and to Archbishop Kraiewski they both pointed out how the presence of individuals sleeping rough on the street is somehow tolerated (by public authorities, general public, police, and so on). However, what both of them stated was also the desire to "open the eyes to the city"[9], by putting pressure on local authorities and the city council to open unused buildings, e.g. abandoned army bases or schools to host homeless people.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH MERCY?

The question one may be tempted to ask at this point is: What is wrong with mercy[10]? Perhaps, wrong is a strong word, particularly in an academic context. Probably, by saying what is the danger with mercy would have sounded more appropriated. However, the use of the word wrong here does not have any judgmental connotation. Rather it aims to express a sense of rupture. A breaking with a certain attitude we regard as an exhausted way to deal with socially unaided people.

Judith Butler in the essay titled *Can one lead a good life in a bad life?* Argues about what she describes as the cynical response. Butler writes: "There is always the possibility of a cynical response, according to which the point is precisely to forget morality and its individualism and dedicate oneself to the struggle for social justice. Pursuing this path, then, we might conclude that morality has to cede its place to politics in the broadest sense."[11] In this respect what the philosopher is arguing is a type of path that, in order to realise ideals of justice and equality, may universalise values. The universalisation of values then comes as an effacement of the I and as an absorption into common norms, i.e. the homeless person must be housed.

Butler's argument follows a twofold analysis: First, the aspect with the differentiation of values that characterises the life of a person. Second, the argument with private and public- the private sphere as the support to the public. According to Butler, differentiation of values implies that it is not possible to determine the value of an individual's life without determining the structure that gives value to life and establishes differences among lives. Life is therefore not just what an individual is living but also the interactions within a system in which one is just a part.

Differentiation of Values: Highlighting the Community

In the last passage, Judith Butler seems to advocate for a type of value that is not determined by economical wealth. This aspect is surely part of what can be regarded as a good and successful life. However, she asserts that the value of a life should be measured also according to the social ecology around an individual's life and whether that social ecology determines also forms of support for that life[12].

During one of the encounters with the community of people who identify themselves as homeless in St Peter's Sq., Mauro a male in his mid-forties defined the portico as a refuge[13]. He did not intend the portico area as an emergency shelter. Rather the area represented for Mauro a safe place where to sleep over night together with his friends. Safety, in fact is not granted by the mere fact that the area is next to a highly surveilled area and the presence of police nearby may prevent malicious people to

harm or harass the community of rough sleepers. Safety for Mauro was depending on the presence of people who are kin to him. The same feeling was also described by Stefano and Barbara a couple in their late-forties that sleep in the portico as well. Despite, they used the word ‘slumdog’ to describe the condition and quality of life underneath the portico, Stefano and Barbara pointed out how the space is also the place where they meet their friends and find mutual support[14].

On the one hand it is possible to argue that the type of support identifiable below the portico area assumes the form of a community of people, who share a common space (not just) to sleep over night. On the other hand, this type of support is due to uncertainty. Homeless people experience a condition, which is determined by the absence of any bond with the life they were living before. Therefore this absence is substituted and replaced with a new type of support that derives from other people sharing and experiencing the same condition and that is based on mutual support[15].

Figure 2. One of the encounters with the community of homeless people

Figure 3. Tait presented and discussed with the community of homeless people in St Peter's Sq.

'Useless Suffering': Denying the Community!

However, the value of the social structure highlighted by Mauro, Stefano and Barbara enters into contrast with its representation. That is to say, the perception of the presence of people who are homeless by passers-by and general public is influenced by the latter's private sphere. Consequently, this highlights how the private sphere has permeated into the public sphere.

In this respect, by taking into account Hanna Arendt's relationship between private and public, Judith Butler points out how the public sphere is determined by the reproduction of the private. This is a movement that leads from the private to the public. Butler mentions the example of ancient Greek polis and how public space at that time was not conceived as a space of multilingualism. Greek was the only language that permeated also the public sphere. People who entered into that sphere without speaking Greek where considered as barbarians. Butler notes that the condition of being slaves was the point of convergence in the relationship between private and public. Slaves in fact were regarded as both having no value and speaking an incomprehensible language[16].

This account is useful not simply because it establishes a link with Susanetti's argument on spectres in ancient Greece, which will be analysed in the following section. Rather, the argument with slaves seems to represent an element comparison with the life of homeless people. With regards to having no value: Despite the life of the people who inhabit the portico is characterised by the presence of a social structure- they are a community based on mutual sharing and support, this aspect is not noticed by the general public. It remains, to use Butler's words, “a useless suffering”[17]. It is a *pre-political action*, an act of resistance against a public sphere permeated by protocols concerning the use of public spaces. In fact, when the project was illustrated to Archbishop Krajewksi, the work was introduced as a collaboration with the community of people using the portico area to sleep over night. The Archbishop suddenly interrupted the presentation, pointing out how these people were not a community but simply individuals utilising the space. He then added that his office was aware of the situation. However, they kept the eyes closed in order to allow these individuals to sleep there. The aspect with speaking an incomprehensible language instead was already discussed before. It is directly related to the incapacity manifested by the interviewees to cope with a situation that is regarded as unfamiliar.

Living Dead in Public Space

At this point it is possible to outline two aspects: First, the projection of the private into the public sphere. It does not only manufacture a closeness towards the other, whose is perceived as extraneous

and unfamiliar. Rather, by preventing individuals from seeing the social support that characterises the life of people living on the street, the reproduction of the private into the public sphere determines an absence of value. Butler asserts that this is what designates a life which is considered not life, or only partially-living, or already dead[18]. Second, the perceived absence of value determines attitudes towards homeless people that can be described as charity, e.g. allowing homeless people to sleep rough by using the portico, or giving them some coins and move away. However, charity is not solidarity. In fact, the former can be rooted back in the word desire, which was already analysed in the account provided by Žižek. The latter instead means mutual responsibility. Solidarity admits the idea of a network or of interconnection among individuals, which is one of the salient aspect we pursued in the design of the provotype.

DIALOGUING WITH THE SPECTRES

These two aspects, i.e. homeless people regarded as partially living a life and the shift from charity to solidarity, have characterised the development of a methodology that combines ethnographical studies with theory and transposes these into an object. As an important account, we considered the encounters with the community of rough sleepers in St Peter's Sq. as a dialogue with the dead, an interrogation of spectres as described by Davide Susanetti in the book *Atene Post Occidentale* (litteraly Post-Western Athens). This acknowledgement, although perilous, is fundamental in order to clarify certain aspects outlined by Butler. In facts, they have delineated the lines of enquiry we started from as researchers and practitioners.

Susanetti describes the interrogation of the dead in ancient Greek culture as a ritual. This implies the use of blood by the person who is interrogating the spectre. Blood was the vehicle through which the dead could speak and open to truth those who were seeking for answers. However, Susanetti argues also that blood is on the one hand, an extraneous element to the spectre. On the other hand, blood constitutes the subjectivity of the person who is interrogating the spectre. Susanetti warns that blood, by running through the spectre could lead to a mystified truth[19]. In effect, in metaphorical terms the aspect with blood can be seen as a warning identified with the danger to sympathise with the homeless person. This could have led us to cease to distinguish their authentic voice, e.g. the necessity, emerged during the interviews and project presentations, of housing homeless people- the universalisation of desires. Furthermore, as designers the same desire can be identified in the numerous projects of pop-up temporary shelters for homeless people. Conversely, Susanetti is concerned also with the possibility of considering spectres as simply the other. This entails a relationship with alterity that determines a demarcation of domains. The other, i.e. the person who is homeless belongs to an unfamiliar socio-cultural domain and therefore s/he is excluded.

Inverting the Gaze

However, Susanetti suggests the possibility of an inversion of the gaze: “Spectres are the only true plane of reality while events are just the shadows of a metaphorical theatre.”[20] This inversion of the gaze determined the strategies we used to design the provotype. It is a piece of dynamic street furniture, which incorporates recycled cardboard that could form both city bench and temporary mattress. The object is not only thought for the homeless person nor for the passer-by but for both[21]. Hence, the concept was to make the provotype a shared object while provoking questions with regards to the liminal and contentious sharing of the space of the portico.

Tait – The Adjustment is Ten

The object explores several themes, functioning as a reminder: First, the democracy of public space. The object attempts to transform the portico from a public space of exclusion into a space of encounter for diverse social and cultural actors. By incorporating digital contents accessible through

our website, the aim is to outline aspects concerning the community of homeless people that emerged during the encounters, i.e. the aspect with being a community that is based on mutual support or the effort these people put to clean up the portico every morning and keep it clean throughout the day. Second, democracy through fragile dialogues. Democracy must be built through dialogue. This object establishes a dialogue due to its fragility. The object is made out of cardboard and it is fragile, demanding that users take care of it. By doing so, each user indirectly takes care of a remote other, manufacturing a form of remote dialogue in a network of involved people. The third theme is concerned with a witnessed indifference towards social injustice with regards to the production of social waste. The materiality of the object, recycled cardboard, extends a metaphor: Production of social waste has potential to remediate and convert new sets of relationships[22].

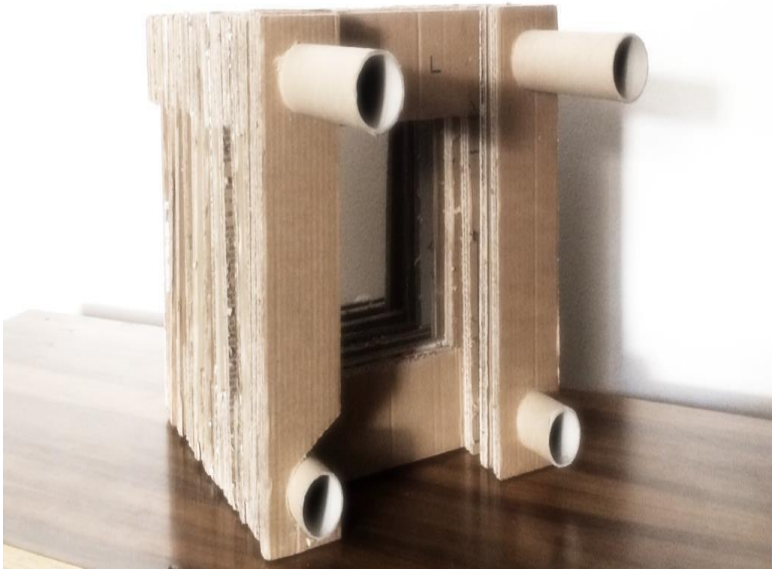

Figure 4. Tait- one of the realised provotypes

Figure 5. Tait's mechanism

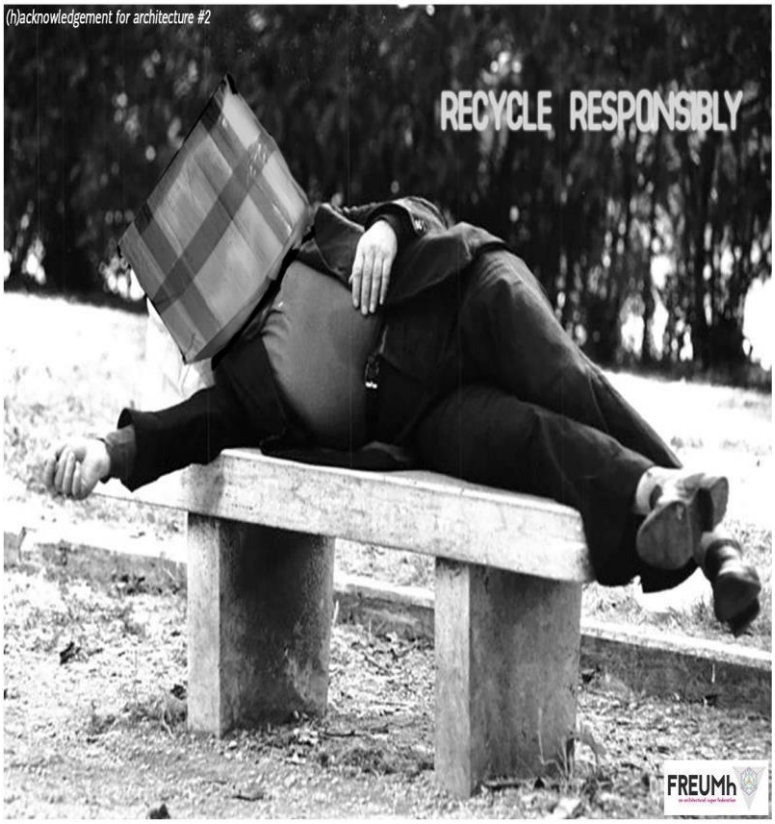

Figure 6. One of the image used to rise awareness on the production of social waste

CONCLUSION: AN EXPERIMENT OF DEMOCRACY IN PUBLIC SPACE

Butler contends that, to live a good life in a bad life involves the manufacturing of conditions that allow the collective to establish forms of dialogue. This implies neither to affirm one side or the other but to allow people to manufacture a network[23]. While carrying out the ethnographical study we were faced with two contrasting views: The will to house homeless people and, by contrast, the fact that the community who inhabit the portico area do not demand to be housed. Within these poles lies a tension between dominant and dominated classes. This is why we insist on manufacturing a dialogue that could lead to the definition of a common. A common good that can transcend social and cultural (and political) differences. The object therefore it is not thought for a specific user[24]. It aims at defining a right to the city, in the sharing of public space[25] and a right to be housed that does not afflict only homeless people but a larger part of excluded people. In this respect we believe our project defines a different modality of architectural activism[26] that does not deploy acts of protest as a mechanism of inclusion[27]. Rather it seeks for a dialogue through the direct activation of the parts involved, i.e. the community of homeless people and passers-by. It brings to light aspects that have so far remained mostly in the shadow in order to determine more mutual relationships among individuals.

NOTES

[1] The original name is The GUIDE "WHERE to eat, to sleep, to wash oneself". However, articles reporting its most recent presentation are only in Italian. Further information, although outdated are available at http://www.santegidio.org/index.php?pageID=228

[2] Cultural outsiders are defined as subjects whom do not have particular affinity with homelessness, nor do they volunteer for some charitable body involved in projects for homeless people. By contrast, cultural insiders are subjects involved in charitable projects for homeless people. See Ellis, Caroline, Adams, Tony E, and Bochner, Arthur P., "Autoethnography: An Overview," 2010, http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114- fqs1101108.

[3] The aim of provotypes is "to expose and embody tensions that surround a field of interest to support collaborative analysis and collaborative design explorations across stakeholders [i.e. rough sleepers, passers-by, charitable bodies]." See: De Boer, Laurens and Donovan, Jared, "Provotypes for Participatory Innovation" (DIS 2012: In the Wild, Newcaslte, UK, 2012).

[4] Slavoj Žižek, "Tolerance as an Ideological Category," *Critical Inquiry*, no. 4 (2008): 660.

[5] The philosopher Françoise Dastur discusses the notion event as encounter in a phenomenological fashion. She describes how for a schizophrenic subject the experience of reality is confusing. It does not offer any handle on how to deal with it, determining an exclusion of the outside. See Françoise Dastur, "Phenomenology of the Event: Waiting and Surprise," *Hypatia* 15, no. 4 (2000): 178–89.

[6] The Homeless Project, led by the Sisters of Mercy at St Catharine's Convent in Edinburgh. The project provides food for 200 people, both people who find themselves homeless and elder people who are in need. See: http://www.mercycentre.org.uk/HomelessProject.htm

[7] Slavoj. Zizek, "Looking Awry an Introduction to Jacques Lacan through Popular Culture," 1991, http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=48716.

[8] In this respect, it is interesting the account by Slavoj Žižek. The philosopher makes the example of the Phantom of the Opera and the missing nose that makes the phantom so ugly. The example of the missing nose is used to argue about two aspects that characterise everyday reality: The existence without appearance (indifference or exclusion towards the homeless person) and representation without existence (the homeless person is missing something). This aspect will be taken back later in the analysis of Susanetti's account on specters. See: Slavoj Žižek and Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling, *The Abyss of Freedom / Slavoj Žižek. Ages of the World / F.W.J. von Schelling* (Ann Arbor, Mich. : University of Michigan Press, [1997], ©1997., 1997), http://ezproxy.lib.ed.ac.uk/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat00234a&AN=edinb.1870340&site=eds-live.

[9] This expression was used by Monsignor Feroci, director of Caritas Roma during the presentation of the project and interviews we had with them.

[10] Mercy in this respect could be framed within what Žižek has defined as merciful totalitarianism. The philosopher in one of his works recalls his personal experience during the years of Tito's totalitarian regimes in the Balkan region, arguing how the use of very restrictive rules was not aimed at establishing a regime of fear. Rather, it was more due to a will to transmit a merciful image. See Žižek, "Tolerance as an Ideological Category."

[11] J Butler, "Can One Lead a Good Life in a Bad Life? Adorno Prize Lecture," *Radic. Philos.*, no. 176 (2012): 9–18.

[12] J Butler, "Can One Lead a Good Life in a Bad Life? Adorno Prize Lecture," *Radic. Philos.*, no. 176 (2012): 9–18.

[13] The idea of refuge can be also framed within what argued by Gil Doron about homeless people as urban nomads. See: Gil M. Doron, "The Dead Zone and the Architecture of Transgression.," *City* 4, no. 2 (July 2000): 247–63.

[14] With regards to the encounters with the community of people who are homeless, it is interesting to note how the issue with homelessness was symptomatic of significant life experiences. The ethnographical study in this respect agrees with the studies carried out by Cameron Parsell in Cameron Parsell, "'Homeless Is What I Am, Not Who I Am': Insights from an Inner-City Brisbane Study," *Urban Policy and Research* 28, no. 2 (2010): 181–94. In fact, no participant described their condition of homelessness as defining their identities. Instead, the interviewees defined themselves, referencing their family or other life and working experiences.

[15] During the encounters, Dario a male in his fifty's asked me whether I had lost some weight and gave me food and a fruit juice. At that point I said I wanted to pay something for that kind offer and he replied to me: *Fabrizio, the important thing is that you are not ashamed and keep coming to visit us!*

[16] Butler, "Can One Lead a Good Life in a Bad Life? Adorno Prize Lecture."

[17] In the passage about pre-political actions Butler writes: "If we define politics restrictively as an active stance, verbal and physical, that takes place within a clearly demarcated public sphere, then it seems we are left to call

'useless suffering' and unrecognized labour the pre-political experiences, not actions, that exist outside the political as such." In this respect the reader should be reminded of other forms of denial that takes place in public space, e.g. the ban to homeless people in some of the city in the UK through the adoption of Public Space Protection Order (see the BBC podcast at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b074xvh6). Or the use of hostile architecture to prevent people from sleeping rough on sheltered areas of the city (see the article by The Guardian http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2014/jun/13/anti-homeless-spikes-hostile-architecture). Finally, the recent "anti-beggars" campaign in the city of Nottingham (see: http://www.nottinghampost.com/Nottingham-s-anti-begging-poster-campaign/story-29027403-detail/story.html)

[18] Butler, "Can One Lead a Good Life in a Bad Life? Adorno Prize Lecture."

[19] Davide Susanetti, *Atene post-occidentale : spettri antichi per la democrazia contemporanea*, 2014.

[20] Ibid. Susanetti's inversion of the gaze may sound cryptic to the reader in its interpretation. One may be tempted to link this inversion with the one championed by Zizek in Zizek, "Looking Awry an Introduction to Jacques Lacan through Popular Culture." The reference is the movie *Woman in the Window* by Fritz Lang. Zizek uses this movie to examine the relationship between dreams and reality, asserting that the true reality is actually what takes place in one's individual dream world. What happens in the dream world is however repressed then in everyday reality. This idea of an inversion of the gaze however results problematic. It may open to the idea of considering the other as a screen. As suggested by Joshua Wexler from the University of Chicago, "The other as a screen becomes a trace where the image or stereotype of the other is perceived, and projection tends to obscure the other's identity with a dynamic relationship between fact and fantasy" see: Joshua Wexler, "Alterity," The University of Chicago, *The Keywords of Media Theory*, (2004), http://csmt.uchicago.edu/glossary2004/alterity.htm.. By contrast, following what suggested again by Wexler, the inversion of the gaze that we pursued considers the other as a medium itself. This different idea of mediation implies that the provotype is the medium in as much as the people who are using it. A similar idea of mediation has been recently developed by philosopher Giorgio Agamben in the book G. Agamben, *L'uso Dei Corpi. Homo Sacer, IV, 2* (Neri Pozza, 2014). Italian version only.

[21] On the side of the community of homeless people, the object is simply an aid that prevents people from sleeping directly on the ground. We decided to call it Tait. It is an acronym for The adjustment is ten. The thickness of each panel forming the object is in fact ten centimetres.

[22] This aspect was also outlined by Pope Francis in his last encyclical *Laudato Si.* In particular the Pope writes about "a throwaway culture which affects the excluded just as it quickly reduces things to rubbish." The object wants to shed light on and activate processes of recycle of what can be defined as social rubbish: the homeless people as excluded human beings. See Catholic Church. Pope (2013 : Francis)., *Encyclical Letter Laudato Si' of the Holy Father Francis, on Care for Our Common Home.* (London : Catholic Truth Society, 2015).

[23] Butler, "Can One Lead a Good Life in a Bad Life? Adorno Prize Lecture."

[24] n this respect the object is not a solution to homelessness. As FREUMh we do not believe in solutions. They are closed processes and may assume the value of ready-made models whose are bearer of a certain rhetoric.

[25] Last May 2015 the city of Rome has hosted Public Space Biennial. The aim of the event since its establishment in 2013 was for a shared definition of public space. In particular public space is defined within the Charter of Public Space, available at http://www.biennalespaziopubblico.it/international/outputs/the-charter-of-public-space/

[26] The idea of activism that we pursued in the project challenges the common idea of activism. In fact, it may be argued how the activist remains always alternative to another poles (see Nishat Awan, Tatjana Schneider, and Jeremy Till, *Spatial Agency : Other Ways of Doing Architecture / Nishat Awan, Tatjana Schneider, Jeremy Till.* (Abingdon, [England] ; New York, N.Y. : Routledge, 2011., 2011), http://ezproxy.lib.ed.ac.uk/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat00234a&AN=edinb.1881376&site=eds-live.), e.g. the design of tiny little shelters for people who are homeless can be seen as a modality of mediation in which the designer of the shelter substitutes him/herself to the services already provided by city councils or charitable bodies. However, it should be noted that in this respect, the homeless person remains always the object of mediation. S/he passively takes what is provided to him/her. By contrast, the idea of activism we pursued is the one of working with the situation we found below the portico, without altering it. Furthermore as written in the paper, the object seeks for a direct activation of the user, intending the latter as both the homeless person and the passer-by. A further reference to the agency that already homeless people posses can be found in the article Cameron Parsell and Mitch Parsell, "Homelessness as a Choice," *Housing, Theory and Society* 29, no. 4 (December 1, 2012): 420–34, doi:10.1080/14036096.2012.667834.

[27] An example could be the project titled *Bed Sheet* by Transgressive Architecture. See: Gil M. Doron, "The Bad Sheets.," *City* 6, no. 1 (April 2002): 43–59.

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HOUSING IN THE SAND AND SOCIAL INERTIA; A CASE STUDY FROM SAUDI ARABIA

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INTRODUCTION

There are many kinds of war. They span from typical military conflicts to socially and politically charged environments, from fiscal colonization to ghostly war about information and the internet. But what about the fear of a possible war? Could housing initiatives be connected to that? What kind of design methods and standards as well as processes would that specific case entail? What other factors would add pressure towards studying and implementing housing projects in this context? What could be the possible measure of such projects' eventual assessment?

This paper commences with a hypothesis concerning that fear of a possible spreading of the so-called Arab Spring in the Arab Peninsula, and namely the Saudi Kingdom, triggered a massive state funded housing project. It will be argued that in such a case, where the overall project is basically founded on the dubious ground of political tactics, success is unlikely to happen. Focusing of the ambitious case of Saudi Arabia's Ministry of Housing (MoH), the whole argument will be discussed and gradually unfolded within the political, social, cultural, economic and technical-design conditions of such an endeavor, both before its launch-conceptualization and throughout its implementation. At the end of the day, housing and urban planning stereotypes seem to prevail and justify their title. Paradoxically though, their role in reinforcing social cohesion and political stability is acknowledged and exploited through standardization. Inertia by choice.

State-Funded Housing Initiatives In The KSA

Thirty years ago, the urban expansion of Riyadh and other big cities in Saudi Arabia was being fueled mainly by real estate land speculation. The urban sprawl and the non-contiguous and leapfrog development of the KSA cities was the direct result of massive urbanization creating an urging demand for housing and commercial facilities[1]. Paradoxically enough, it was a strictly centralized political act that defined the market's control on housing development, while denying the municipalities and their offshoot communities' substantial powers, and underestimating the looming financial, socio-political implications of sprawl[2]. As F.A. Mubarak (2004) states, "Such outward growth, as in most other Saudi cities and towns, can be seen as suburbanization without suburbia".

In the mid-eighties, the government attempted to control the expansion of undeveloped sub-divided land and to slow down the urban growth introducing the Urban Growth Boundary Policy. Three urban

development spatio-temporal “limits” (Phase I - 1995, Phase II- 2005, Phase III- beyond 2005) were employed for Riyadh as a growth management tool aiming mainly to:

1. control urban sprawl by encouraging infill development where utilities were generally available;
2. reduce cost of infrastructure provision through better coordination tied to commonly agreed phasing;
3. preserve the natural environment around the cities.

The same decree extended the scope of the study to the hundred largest municipalities of the Kingdom.

Today, ten years after the "release" of Phase III, that bold initiative is deemed a success from many aspects[3], though it failed to avoid the formation of "white lands" and to control house prices in the metropolitan areas. The current MoH project, in most cases, focuses on the empty lands left as a by-product of the Phase II and III in the cities all over the country. Other initiatives addressing different scales, specific topics and tools, and working in parallel to the MoH Housing project are: the National Spatial Strategy, the Real Estate Development Fund (REDF), the Land Information System (LIS) and later conversion to GIS, and the Metropolitan Development Strategy ArRiyadh (MEDSTAR).

Hypothesis

This paper argues that the ongoing (though currently threatened) MoH national project is a direct product of the underlying social, political and economic crisis in the KSA. Housing shortage and rapid population growth, together with other severe social failures, such as unemployment, frantic urbanization, unclear processes of political representation and negotiation, cultural ambiguity and immigration define the common ‘hot’ social ground on which the Arab Spring social unrest at the MENA region burst and the Saudi MoH project was conceived. In addition, the MoH project had to be developed in hand with the national spatial and housing development context, which, clearly, inherited a set of severe challenges to it in terms of administrative, technical and cultural obstacles colliding with the specific planning and design processes. As a whole, this massive project was, since its initiation, a critical testing ground for the whole of the Kingdom and its capacity to develop and implement its intentions.

Socio-political background

In the summer of 2015, following the recent decline in the price of crude oil and the large fiscal spending packages that were announced earlier in the same year, the government budget deficit caused project layoffs all over the Kingdom. Almost simultaneously, IMF announced that Saudi Arabia's economy is teetering on the brink and may run out of financial assets within the next five years if it maintains its current policies[4]. The government decided to freeze its funding on contracts in order to preserve liquidity, among them many projects related to urban planning, infrastructure and housing. It seems that the "Post-oil boom phase"[5], the current phase of urban development in the KSA, reaches its end.

According to the latest statistical releases[6] the population growth rate rose and remained high during the last five years at 2.55% (2014), while the non-Saudi nationals reached 33% of the total population. The last three decades, the total population increased from thirteen million and five hundred thousands in 1985 to thirty millions in 2014; the official projections[7] add another seven millions until the year 2025. The greater metropolitan areas of Riyadh, Jeddah-Makkah-Taif, and Damman-Khobar are still receiving a huge number of domestic and international immigrants every year, following an urbanization process that never actually slowed down.

The Kingdom's ruling class enjoys colossal wealth, but the country is also home to a large number of poor families mainly in rural areas, and middle-class unemployed young people who realize that they will not enjoy the comfortable life that their parents have led so far. The fact that, almost two thirds (67%) of the Saudi nationals are below twenty-five years old, coupled with the unemployment that reached 11.7% among Saudis in 2014, reveals a shadowed future for a significant percentage of the population.

Despite the efforts to curtail the suburbanization pace of the metropolitan surroundings, and the initiatives/measurements aimed at holding housing prices down, big cities still suffer from the existence of deliberately undeveloped areas ("white lands"), while 60% of Saudi families do not own their own homes[8]. Rising rents have made it difficult even for middle class people to afford housing, a fact that, according to real estate experts, is one of the underlying causes of the social unrest and the resulting political turmoil that has spread across the MENA region during the Arab Spring of 2011.

Under the increasing pressure of the factors presented above, the authorities have undertaken some really ambitious initiatives during the last decade. Among them, projects related to education (Schools and University projects), employment (Saudization, Feminization), transportation (Public Transportation Projects in Riyadh and Jeddah) and social housing (Ministry of Housing Project).

MINISTRY OF HOUSING

The MoH Project

The foundation of the Ministry of Housing was an extremely promising and strategically chosen political act. In terms of semiotics and appearances (highly valued within the given cultural context), the use of the word "housing" – isolated from any other adjacent terms (in full contrast to all other Saudi Ministries) – was intended as a straightforward message directly addressing the common feeling and the people's fundamental concern for one of the hottest topics since the oil boom; namely, the ability of the state to meet the increasing housing demand in this rapidly urbanizing society[9].

The MoH would accumulate some scarcely allocated minor authorities and host other existing initiatives of the real estate sector. MoH has been directly responsible for the management of residential property in the Kingdom. Furthermore, MoH would fully absorb the Real Estate Development Fund, right after the Fund's authorization to increase the amount per home loan to be provided to beneficiaries, from 300,000 SAR to 500,000 SAR. However, other key players would remain active, retaining intersecting areas of control. The Ministry of Municipalities and Rural Affairs (MoMRA) is one of them. That "divide and conquer" method, especially in the real estate sector was highly criticized for holding responsibility for the control of the land values and the contrasting segregation of the urban areas through this silent ongoing gentrification[10].

To dissolve all shadows and capitalize on the momentum of its founding, MoH announced its first and main project at the first month of its existence: the design and construction of one hundred "cities" (or developments) containing 500,000 houses country-wide[11]! The initial budget was set at 250 billion SAR. Most of the project sites lie in undeveloped rural areas, with only a few planned on suburban plots near the major cities (Riyadh, Jeddah, Damman). The country was divided in five parts: North, South, East, West and Riyadh. An international firm took over this last piece. The other four pieces were awarded to three consultancies (with the local one receiving two pieces: the north and the south one). Initially, numbers sounded dazzling, and the respective strategies were highly aggressive. MoH would build the entire cities, including the houses themselves. However, when the dust settled down, the project has proven itself to be extensively problematic.

Administrative setbacks

In a housing crisis, time can only inflate the situation as an auto-catalyst. Thus, despite the apparent urgency in announcing and approving schemes and projects, little was done in terms of administrative

infrastructure. The bureaucratic issues that had to be tackled were underestimated. The need to satisfy the population's increasing housing needs and quench any thoughts of discontent towards the ruling family had to come with unprecedented speed and reflexes. Thus, it collapsed under the weight of habit and the present bureaucratic structures and processes. The consultancies awarded with the MoH project were able to launch studies and conduct their first stage of design work two years after the Ministry's founding; a rather disappointing amount of time spent for a project of such a magnitude and political importance[12]. Jurisdiction problems were also apparent. The MoMRA already had some minor housing projects of its own, targeting at the same objectives as the MoH. Clashes were unavoidable. Furthermore, a set of standards set by MoMRA were used by MoH as the basis for its project. This set however was only covering several essential issues of influence and control (i.e. Mosques positioning), deriving from the Doxiadis' plans for the Superblock neighborhoods of Riyadh[13] and reinforced by a suppressive central state.

The social and cultural singularities of Saudi Arabia were colorfully displayed in the process of the project's plot allocations. This was a highly political process, in which several provinces – less dedicated to Riyadh's standings – were provided top priority regarding the MoH project implementation, in an effort to improve the popularity and influence of the royal family. The southern mountainous provinces (i.e. Asir, Abha) were amongst the first ones to be included in the process. After having been approved by the central state, each Municipality had to provide candidate plots for the designing firm to evaluate. The review process and the final selection was more a political process rather than a technical one. Still, in the most rural and remote areas, seemingly revoked laws of acquiescence, reinforced by oral Bedouin traditions, proved to be superior to any Ministerial plot decrees. In many occasions, visiting groups of engineers – accompanied by local officials – were prohibited to step on what seemed to be reclaimed as private family land, even under the threat of deadly weapons. In such cases, the subsequent negotiations between the Municipalities and the individuals would then last for many months and usually end up in land exchange arrangements.

Technical impediments

Obstacles of a more technical nature resulted in non-scientific and dubious site analysis studies. Digital information was elusive or simply non-existent, as many Municipalities still work on hand-drawn maps and plans. This would include both spatial information and statistics. In some extreme cases, the exact boundary lines of plots were empirically described, resulting consecutive clashes between adjacent property owners, local and central authorities and the subcontracting topographers. Statistics were also poor. Inevitably, all proposals were based in assumptions and lump figures. Other vital information was also missing. A logical decision to exclude residential uses from any "wadi" (dry riverbed that floods rarely year-round but with catastrophic results) and to create buffer zones was not supported properly, since a cohesive national river/wadi digital registry was missing. Hydrologists had to work on sometimes highly elusive wadis in flat lands. And hydrology models would sometimes arrive even later than the master plan approvals, resulting in major losses in time, budget and design efforts.

In some special cases, the whole project sequence wouldn't even reach the topographic survey and the overall site analysis. Access to sites allocated close to the borderline to Iraq (in the north) and to Yemen (in the south) was banned by the military for security reasons.

However, the most important impediment was the lack of national standards. As aforementioned, initially the standards of another Ministry were applied. But they were only dealing with Mosque positioning issues, underlining the importance of religious control over any logic of walkability, clustering, land-use distribution and implementation budget. In terms of architectural design, individual western engineers on the assigned firms were the ones to import standards from their own countries. This led to even the most conservative local Saudi communities being now accustomed to a

"western-like" villa typology. In parallel, the introduction of the automobile as an element of the identity of the "modern" urban classes took advantage of the non-referential modernistic street grid[14]. Standards concerning design issues also expanded to the presentation templates of the master plans of the project. Combined with the minimum experience and credentials of most MoH supervising-approving engineers, it was easier for each firm to impress their client and impose their own set standards even to the rest of the firms participating in the project. Only some key elements would be decided by the MoH, in full compliance with the central political approach on social behavior and aesthetics.

Figure 1: MoH Project site: Tathlith. A paradigm of disregarding topography (hills and wadis).

Architectural, aesthetic, social and cultural issues

So, if speed and efficiency are the key answers, could the question be: is there any room for high-end architecture and aesthetics? And if yes, could it successfully express the social and cultural outcome both desired by the Saudi state and the users of the projected developments? But, who will the users be? This project lacks the most important of all pre-studies: A social study concerning the end-user, and the pursued social context. One that would support the double transition, from a nomadic life to a permanent settlement and from a rural life to an imaginary bourgeoisie. One that would provide and potentially differentiate the true needs of the communities in terms of locality and would adjust to specific, customized properties of age, employment, culture and climate. Such a study was never part of the big picture, either due to the urgency of the project or purposely in order to promote a uniform, nation-wide urban identity that would serve the political agenda of the state.

Could this imply that the individual receiving such a 'modern villa' would happily denounce his/her own voice, will and preferences? Originally yes, since this was one of the major master plan objectives: "to have equal plots with equal accessibility in order to promote a sense of a compact community and justice in the eyes of God and the Government"[15]. So, even when local authorities pushed the MoH for faster and more palpable results (for the satisfaction of the people) and MoH decided to abolish the villa design and concentrate on the design/implementation of the infrastructure, locality principles didn't apply.

Another particularity was the fact that the lack of standards (in all disciplines involved) was often replaced by the introduction of negative standards, or things to be avoided, directly by the MoH officials to the designers. Most of them were concerning the road network, though their implications

would extend to the overall urban morphology produced. The most glaring example was the specific order to avoid designing crossroad junctions. To the designers' surprise, the reason for that directive was not related to driving safety concerns addressing the higher accident risk the crossroads would imply. Instead, a religious symbolic perspective was presented, solely based on the bird's eye ("google earth") view of the development. This was indicative of the central state's strong intention to forge a superficial, uniform behavioral pattern for its civilians, by tampering with and reproducing urban design stereotypes as a means of social manipulation.

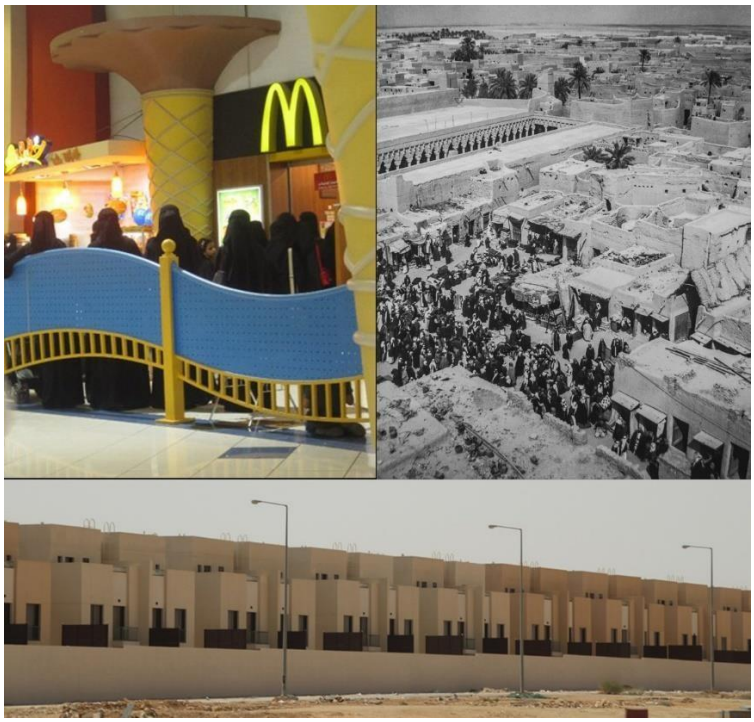

Figure 2: From mild and organic urbanism to cultural cacophonies (source: Apostolos Kyriazis archive and Saudi Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities – top right).

Master planning

All aforementioned issues were constantly stalling – if not discarding the main project's time schedule, creating vicious circles of communication between the planners and the supervising bodies. Nevertheless, the Ministry founded the master plans to moving sand and trapped its end-users to yet another real estate dead end. The stereotypes used may only benefit superficially but in the long run, laze and subjugate the citizens to an unsustainable life style, to political sloth and social inertia.

Concept Formalism and Zoning

Provided that all analysis studies were submitted, approved and consisted of no prohibitive information, the concept stage was to be designed and submitted for each site. One concept alone would be selected to proceed to full design. Hence, the road network, residential plots, community facilities and public spaces would have to be displayed in a free-hand way of minimum information displayed and main statistics estimated. However, the MoH definition of a concept was limited to a "Google Earth" perspective, disregarding the natural context, topography, orientation, views and all sustainability factors addressed at the urban scale. Formalism was unavoidable, with symmetrical approaches being forwarded.

Zoning was also on the MoH desirables list, since its clarity would guarantee equality amongst all villa owners and better control of the public spaces. The main Utility stations would fit at the corners

of the plots neglecting the topography (at a point that "the water tower can stay at the lowest point, we can afford more pumps") and disregarding any neighboring development/ land use, pedestrian passages or existing mixed use areas.

Figure 3: MoH Project site: Bisha. A symmetric vision, completely isolated from its urban context.

Urban sprawl, urban stereotypes and social inertia

So, is there any intentional infliction of such housing stereotypes in a project of this magnitude? Or was this the only choice available? The absence of options in plot dimensions and housing typologies and the unexplained perseverance on the "western" villa typology[16], combined with the prohibition of crossroads and other technical issues, resulted in a seamless, uniform, monotonous urban morphology, barren of density fluctuations, where cars can reach everywhere and walkability is a notion both unexplored and obsolete at the same time. This urban sprawl would provide the easy way against all achievements on local traditions and sustainability[17]. It sanctifies the individualism of the single plot – western villa approach (with all its privacy amendments), flattens any character displaying initiative under the justification of equality and enchains the users.

All across the non-extensive literature concerning housing in Saudi Arabia there are even fewer reports on the true reasons of the benchmarking transitions reshaping the region: from the local vernacular courtyard house to the western villa with permanently curtained windows[18], from the organic volumetric arrangements and the windy sikkak to rectangular plots of 6m high walls[19], or from the bustling souqs to indifferent, geometrically perfect but soulless public spaces[20]. Especially the adoption of the villa conveys a stereotype experienced in the USA during the similar car and consumption boom in the sixties, detached however from all "sleeping cities" criticism and being seemingly unable to go through all similar social conquests ever since. The superficiality on the use of imported stereotypes reveals a diverse society in transition and its high inertia. But despite the fact that the sustainability scene globally argues for solutions based on locality and tradition[21], the Saudi state somehow relies on a state of apathy and negation while willing to ensure its political stability. Inertia by force.

Ineffective renegotiation

Even if most of the bottlenecks of the project were orally explained at the presence of the Ministry officials, there was no mechanism established to tackle them. Administrational issues were partially resolved through individual efforts and personal contact, as accustomed. However, technical and architectural obstacles were too fundamental to bypass and had already been embodied into the local system of urban governance and personal relations.

Since the first major inefficiency indicators had been visible, the Saudi government has made several convulsive attempts to modify things: The Ministry hired (2013) one of the four original companies for consultation regarding design approvals, without however unifying design standards or proposing a system for their regular revision[22]. Also, the Minister's position, a highly political choice made by the royal family, was reassigned two times since MoH founding[23]. Nevertheless, all these gestures were only targeting the program's efficiency rather than its qualitative parameters.

Still, the pressure on the supply side for middle and low class housing remains unaddressed. For the full agenda of the Saudi state since the oil boom was hinging on supporting the real estate monopolies through irrational urban growth strategies and on sustaining extreme levels of social segregation[24]. What the MoH project represents on a country-wide scale, some recent developments concerning the major Saudi cities reflect the other side of the real estate coin: After fueling the land market speculation and being threatened by a potential fiscal and social collapse, the Saudi government recently decided an unprecedented measure wave for subsidies' cut, including an "undeveloped urban land tax"[25]. The details and asterisks of this late effort are still undisclosed, however it is quite doubtful that the real estate oligarchies (including members of the government) will eventually indemnify and redeem themselves for decades of exploitation or that the commercial prices will become low enough for a wider social specter to afford.

CONCLUSION

It wasn't the chronic high unemployment rates, extreme social segregation and scanty housing options themselves but the fear of an expansion of the Arab Spring phenomena that would jeopardize the political status quo in Saudi Arabia in 2011 that triggered the founding of a special Ministry of Housing and the launch of an unprecedented public housing program countrywide. Indirect evidence supporting this hypothesis (discussed by everyone but the officials) is the sketchiness of this endeavor at all levels. Administrational conflicts, cultural side-effects and technical inadequacies were constantly in the picture. But, despite the theoretically updated input from western firms and engineers participating, the Government insisted on forwarding specific urban stereotypes by the introduction of obsolete standards. The proposed urban morphology, barren of any social, economic and environmental sustainability factors – vital for such a demanding environment – and of any architectural and urban design elements of cultural significance and continuity, was only serving the central state's purposes to individualize, flatten and control communities and to depoliticize the public agenda[26].

Apart from the total failure of the project, it is proven that a publicly funded social housing program may succeed only by actively engaging the end-users along the process and by providing a speculation-free environment for all key players. Furthermore, when sustainability is the question in such demanding environments, locality and tradition can be the answer.

Unfortunately, this project was founded on sand – easily stirred by the wind. The endogenous reaction to any change has proven too strong to intercept. Concerning the latter, this was an intentional choice. This echoing failure however must become a valuable stepping stone for the introduction of more civic rights and social participation to large-scale projects.

NOTES

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SUSTAINABILITY OF URBAN AFFORDABLE HOUSING IN MALAYSIA: A REVIEW OF CURRENT PRACTICES

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INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the current practices and issues in the provision of affordable housing in urban centres in Malaysia from the perspective of sustainability. The affordability of housing for low income Malaysians has been debated over the past few decades. Recently, the debates had been shifted to the affordability of housing for the middle income groups, especially in major urban centres in Malaysia.

This scenarios is supported by both international agencies such as UNCHS and the World Bank and adapted in the Annual Demographia International Housing surveys, which revealed that Malaysia's residential market was "severely unaffordable", behind high income countries such as Singapore, Japan and the United States.[1]. Similar trend was also reported back in Malaysia, which highlighted that Malaysia has the highest household debts in Asia. From 2003 to 2013, Malaysia's household debt increased by 12.7 percent annually to reach 86.8 percent of GDP, while total household assets grew at a slower pace of 10.4 percent annually to 321.6 percent of GDP by 2013 [2]

In report by a local research think-tank, Khazanah Institute, it was revealed that although the country's average stands at 4.4 (seriously unaffordable), the urban centres in Malaysia fair even worse, with Kuala Lumpur having 5.4, followed by Penang 5.2, both fall under the category of 'Severely unaffordable'[3] (Figure 1)

The provision of affordable housing need to be sustainable in long-term, to ensure that citizens are able to attain the quality of life, while not compromising other current and future demands of life. While acknowledging that the concepts and theories on sustainable housing are wide ranging, this paper will explore the 'sustainability' from the present practices and policies directly related to the provision of affordable housing.

Area	Monthly median income	Annual median income	Market Median-3 Price	Median All-House Price	Multiple Median Affordability	Affordability	Accounted living quarters by NAPIC, 2010
Terengganu	3,777	45,324	135,972	250,000	5.5		22%
K. Lumpur	7,620	91,440	274,320	490,000	5.4	**5.1 & Over** Severely unaffordable	88%
P. Pinang	4,702	56,424	169,272	295,000	5.2		74%
Sabah	3,745	44,940	134,820	230,000	5.1		24%
Pahang	3,389	40,668	122,004	200,000	4.9		58%
Kelantan	2,716	32,592	97,776	157,740	4.8		16%
MALAYSIA	4,585	55,020	165,060	242,000	4.4	**4.1 to 5.0** Seriously unaffordable	60%
Perak	3,451	41,412	124,236	180,000	4.3		57%
Perlis	3,500	42,000	126,000	181,000	4.3		34%
Johor	5,197	62,364	187,092	260,000	4.2		73%
Selangor	6,214	74,568	223,704	300,000	4.0		81%
N. Sembilan	4,128	49,536	148,608	188,888	3.8	**3.1 to 4.0** Moderately unaffordable	74%
Sarawak	3,778	45,336	136,008	164,667	3.6		32%
Kedah	3,451	41,412	124,236	140,000	3.4		50%
Melaka	5,029	60,348	181,044	180,000	3.0	**3.0 & Under** Affordable	64%

Figure 1. Source: Department of Statistics (2015) KRI Calculations[4]

CONCEPTUAL DEFINITIONS

Definitions of affordable housing

Housing is recognized as a basic human right in Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which is related to a basic standard of living and comparable to food, clothing and medical care[5]. The core of the sustainability agenda is the assertion that satisfying the needs of the present without compromising the future generations to meet their own needs. Thus, affordable housing is a burning issue to provide shelter, which forms the core element of human needs, rather than wants.

Operation wise, housing affordability can be defined as, "Housing of an adequate basic standard that provides reasonable access to work opportunities and community services and that is available at a cost which does not cause substantial hardship to the occupants"[6] . To policy makers, financial institutions and even property developers alike, "affordable housing" simply means that one can "afford" to purchase a property and can qualify for the housing loan using one's projected income level[7]. Such definitions may satisfy the short-term social sustainability in terms of providing the needs for shelter, however it may not be good for the long-term societal sustainability, as for many people, it is not limited to qualify for mortgage loans in the beginning, but also the ability to maintain a minimum standard of living after apportioning a significant chunk of their household income for the monthly mortgage.

One objective benchmark that is used to measure the affordability of house prices is to compare it against the annual household income, a formula that is commonly used to determine the affordability of property prices, especially in urban areas. This method is recognised by the World Bank and the United Nations. Using this formula, information provided by the Malaysian based National House Buyers Association have shown that the housing scenario has reached a state of 'Seriously unaffordable' (Figure 2)

Category	Property price as multiples of annual household income (times)
Severely unaffordable	5.1 & over
Seriously unaffordable	4.1 to 5.0
Moderately unaffordable	3.1 to 4.0
Affordable	3.0 or less

Note: Housing affordability index = median annual household income/average house price

Source : National House Buyers Association KINIBIZ

Figure 2. Housing Affordability Index

Definitions of sustainability

Sustainable development is defined as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs[8]. And housing development is a key ingredient of progress and governance in any given nation. The Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation prescribed a comprehensive goals for sustainable housing which encompasses (1) durability; (2) cost effective & practical to maintain; (3) reduce life-cycle environmental impacts; (4) Conserve water, reduces runoff and treats waste-on site; (5) maximize energy conservation and efficiency; (6) Reduce building footprints, simplify building shapes and maximize space efficiency; (7) optimize building orientation; (8) healthy by eliminating toxic and harmful materials in facilities and surrounding environment; (9) support transportation alternatives; (10) reduce, reuse and recycle materials in all phases of construction and deconstruction; (11) apply maintenance and operational practices that reduce or eliminate harmful effects on people and environment, and (12) design for future flexibility, expansion and capable of safe and efficient building demolition[9].

From the micro-economic point of view, using the 'triple bottom-line' concept, sustainability could be approached from social, economic and environmental performances. According to Choguill (2007), in order to be sustainable, housing initiatives must be economically viable, socially acceptable, technically feasible and environmentally compatible. Government housing policy must be directed to achieving these desirable aims. Similarly, Tan, in his paper on *Homeownership Schemes in Malaysia for First Homebuyers,* supported this by stating that in order to achieve sustainability in housing delivery system; affordable housing schemes ought to be economically viable, socially acceptable and technically feasible.[10]

While the definitions of sustainable housing could be wide ranging, sustainability in the context of this paper, will focus on social sustainability, with the need to address urban poverty and ensure better quality of life; economic sustainability in ensuring that the financial mechanisms are healthy and stable in the long-run; and to a lesser extent, environmental sustainability in reducing building footprint.

CURRENT HOUSING SCENARIO – HOW UNAFFORDABLE

In Malaysia, over the past decade or so, the wages and income of the general population has not increased as compared to property prizes. The growth in individual earnings is not in tandem with growing costs. As a result, people found it difficult to buy and own decent houses. In the second quarter of 2015, the Malaysian Housing Price Index registered 220.2 points, which indicates that the country's home values have more than doubled since 2000. The median house prices of RM242,000 in 2014 exceeded the median annual household income of RM55,020 by 4.4 times, vis-à-vis the global norm for housing affordability at three times[11]. Local dailies reported that even middle income working professionals are unable to afford buying house based on single income and so have to team

up with a second person or a spouse to qualify for a housing loan. This shows that the unaffordability of the housing market has become critical.

	Jumlah		Bumiputera		Cina		India	
Kumpulan Pendapatan	2009	2012	2009	2012	2009	2012	2009	2012
Tertinggi 20%	9,987	12,159	8,976	10,666	12,152	15,254	9,774	13,127
Pertengahan 40%	3,631	4,573	3,272	4,123	4,560	5,836	3,569	4,589
Terendah 40%	1,440	1,847	1,300	1,686	1,897	2,455	1,547	1,937

Figure 3. The average of household income in Malaysia (US1 = approx. RM4.4)

Local public interest group, National House Buyers Association (HBA) alarmed about the risk of a "homeless generation" made up of a growing number of young Malaysians especially the lower and middle income groups, who are unable to afford their own home[12]. This situation is supported by Khazanah Nasional Bhd who found that 74% of Malaysian households earn less than RM6,000 per month and house prices in general have gone up beyond the affordable levels of most households (Figure 2).

Over and above their usual expenses, households have to make loan installment payments, approximate to be around 18% of their income at current interest rates. In a recently launched affordable schemes in the state of Penang, which were priced between RM300,000 and RM400,000, it was found that most of the potential buyers were in the late 20s or early 30s, with combined gross household income of around RM6,000, taking a 35 years loan, they need to service an interest of RM1,700 per month. With other commitment, this group was found to have the highest bank rejection rates.

According to a local think-tank, Penang Institute, affordable housing priced between RM300,000 to RM400,000 on Penang island, (second most developed urban centres in Malaysia), was still too high for the average household with a yearly income of RM60,000, based on the 2012 Household Income Survey[13]. According to the institute, the price of an affordable unit should fall within RM180,000 and RM240,000, or three to four times of the average household annual income, following the international benchmark pricing for an affordable homes.

In an effort to reduce household debts and curb speculative activities, in 2015, the financial institutions have tightened the borrowing criteria, making it harder to get a mortgage. The loan rejection rate is 35%, 30% and 26% in Selangor, Kuala Lumpur and Penang the last two years compared to 20%, 20% and 13% respectively[14]. This result in an ironic situation whereby on the one hand, people found it hard to secure houses which they can afford, on the other hand, the market seems to have houses which are not sold due to low take-up rates arising from high rejection rates of bank loans.

CURRENT STRATEGIES

The above scenario is largely shaped by speculative activities in major cities in the last decades or so. During the height of speculative activities, the activities were driven by the low entry costs with attractive marketing strategies such as Developer Interest Bearing Schemes (DIBS), exemption of down payment, and free legal fee and stamp duty. Historically, the speculative activities peaked in the period between 2007 and 2010, with the exemption from the Real Property Gains Tax (RPGT), which contributed towards the acceleration in house prices by encouraging the speculative demand for housing. After 2010, the government introduced cooling measures to curb speculative activities, e.g. RPGT and maximum loan-to-value ratio for individual and non-individual borrowers.

Despite the introduction of various cooling and cushioning measures and more stringent responsible bank lending regulations, which has cut cooled down the number of housing transactions, prices or value of houses remain high. Other than the taxation policies, other planning interventions include loosening the requirement for density, freeing up state land for housing, faster approval of projects, building houses in the outskirts and improve connectivity with better public transport, compulsory contribution from developers, etc.

In addition, both the Federal as well as state governments has initiated a number of special affordable housing schemes. The Federal Government, for example, under its Budget 2015, planned to build 80,000 units under PR1MA and 63,000 units under another housing programme. It addition, a "Youth Housing Scheme" , a scheme that encourage young families from lower and middle income groups to make their first home purchase was launched. Under this initiative, youth who qualify and are selected will be given RM200 monthly financial allowance by the federal government for the loan installments, 50% exemption to stamp duty, loan and transfer agreements, as well as 100% loan financing. Other than that, the Penang State government has also been aggressively acquire land and having joint ventures with the private sectors in developing affordable housing on Penang Island. Various projects have been launched under the Penang Affordable Housing (PMM) schemes[15].

THE SUSTAINABILITY FACTORS

Economic policies

Interventions in the housing market have mostly focused on improving affordability by leveraging on demand, either by allowing consumers to borrow more, or subsidizing the costs of houses. On the supply-side, the Federal and State governments have mainly focused on the direct provision of affordable homes, either through public agencies or through partnerships with private developers. Such measures are not sustainable, as allowing the consumers to borrow more does not reduce the cost of housing, but instead increases household debt, and the government subsidy to developers is draining the government finances.

With the abolishment of DIBS in 2014, it has somewhat contribute to reduce the speculative activities. However, there have been suggestions that DIBS should not be banned totally but selectively. The DIBS could still be useful for first time buyers, especially and young married couples who find it hard to accumulate the initial deposit payment to buy a house.

Other important measures towards curbing speculation are the imposition of RPGT on properties transacted within a short period. The RPGT has increased sharply over the years, with a big leap in 2014, where the property disposed within 3 years is taxed 30%, and 15% for disposal within 3 to 5 years (See Figure 4 below)

	Year of Disposal				
Disposal within	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
1st year	5%	10%	10%	15%	30%
2nd year	5%	10%	10%	15%	30%
3rd year	5%	5%	5%	10%	30%
4th year	5%	5%	5%	10%	20%
5th year	5%	5%	5%	10%	15%
6th year or more	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Figure 4. Trend of Real Property Gain Tax (2010 to 2014)

On the surface, the imposition of RPGT seems to provide a direct impact to property speculators. However, critics suggested that the RPGT should be imposed from the date of completion of the property and not from the date of the signing of the sale and purchase agreement as what is being practiced so far. This is given that it takes around three years for high-rise projects and two years for landed properties, to be delivered to purchasers upon the signing of the agreement. Some investors still do not mind as the interests costs during the construction period is minimal and by the time the property is ready to be occupied, it could be out of the RPGT period where they don't have to pay tax anymore and they can then sell with a good profit.

The measures taken by the government in the past two years has somewhat given results in curbing speculative activities. However, this has not brought down house price significantly. And the slow increase in personal income which has not kept up with the pace of inflation is a factor that has not been adequately addressed by the policy makers. The economic sustainability of affordable housing is thus relying on whether the income of the general population could be improved tremendously, at par with the rising costs of living and property prices.

Balancing social needs and environmental resources

Sustainability perseveres when resources are being consumed in a manner that does not compromise the opportunities of future generations. Hence the limited resources need to be distributed fairly across geography and in different sectors. The competing land use in urban area made it expensive to build cheap houses as land price is one key factor that contributes to high costs in housing. The land costs in urban centers could be as high as 40% in the total development costs as compared to less than 5% in locations outside the cities. In Malaysia, the provision of low income housing has been largely dependent on government, however, when the housing affordability concerns the low to middle income, the supply reply heavily on the private sectors. Thus the role of the government is to facilitate a climate that stimulates the property market and investment while ensuring the general wellbeing of mass housing needs is met.

In many cases, due to shortage of land, innovative solutions need to emerge from time to time. Finding new land or creating more land for development is crucial to cater to the housing needs. At times, tensions could be high due to the jostles between the social-human and natural capital. Sustainability in this sense is about finding a right balance looking at the opportunist costs, in resolving the conflict between providing housing with sacrificing environmental resources. In the case of Penang, due to the scarcity of land, over the years the State government has caught controversies with its bold moves of opening up hill lands and reclaiming land from the sea. In its most recent controversies of massive land reclamation proposal, which was reported to be the largest land reclamation project in the country covering 308 hectares with two manmade islands[16]. It has been

criticized for its infringement into vulnerable seabed, resulting in sedimentation and negatively affecting the aquatic environment that supports local fisheries. Thus, juggling with conflicting resources between social-human and natural capital are one important challenge in the sustainability of housing provision.

Sustainability in housing consumption

Besides sustaining the demands and supply side to ensure that in the long run, the pricing of houses are within reach without incurring high ecological footprints, the discourse of housing sustainability involve many other aspects in the implementation, from the initial construction right down to the consumption stages, while environmental sustainability covers the whole life cycle of the building. During the consumption stage, this includes ensuring efficient transport and connectivity where the commute between the work place and home generate least carbon emissions, and people could enjoy decent quality of life with amenities without having to invest heavily in actions detrimental to the environment. In the case of affordable housing in Malaysia, although the house quality has seen improvement over the years, generally the connectivity issue and the private transport dependency is yet to be resolved.

Besides this, sustainability in the consumption also necessitates the introduction of certain features to the houses, such as trees and greenery, open spaces, and to other extend waste recycling, rainwater and solar energy harvest. Besides this, sustainability is also to create a housing environment that practice lifestyles that consume least energy, with low maintenance of the building in its entire life-cycle. This includes access to good quality building and finishing materials without negative effects to the environment and its occupants.

CONCLUSION

The notion of affordable housing can be referred to a type of mass housing which has some elements of subsides and social obligations in mind. As this category of housing forms a large part of residential housing stock catering to majority of population, any social-economic policies or actions would result in huge impacts to the society and the environment. This type of housing calls for careful strategies as it is a case of maximizing profits with minimal resources, and managing conflicting interests among sectors, social strata and stakeholders (developers, consumers, finance institutions, etc). In the Malaysian example, the main challenge is the long-term economic sustainability, how to ensure that the housing market growth is healthy and the income of the population rises in tandem, while the challenge to environmental sustainability is to ensure that in the process, the negative environmental costs could be minimized, and how to provide enabling environment with better amenities, ensuring privacy and conducive spaces to bring up families.

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PREFABRICATED SOCIALIST ESTATE: DIVERGENT HOUSING MODEL AUGMENTED BY AN ATMOSPERE OF BELONGING

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INTRODUCTION

Based on a personal experience growing up in a typical modular ferroconcrete plate construction located in Wroclaw, Poland, this paper studies fundamental housing issues related to externally imposed political and governance structures, their short- and long-term influence on the built environment, particularly in the light of substantial changes that followed the fall of the Berlin Wall, and examines the evolution of divergent futures of similar housing developments in the region.

Additionally, the author discusses a set of converging factors that delineate the perceptual transformation of an "atmosphere of belonging" through his eyes while growing up within the confines of the prefabricated high-rise socialist estate. The analysis utilizes concepts of rationalization, nostalgic reunification, and a "home, sweet home" syndrome in order to isolate the changes within the estate and the evolution of the socio-economic system from the observer's maturation process.

The cumulative result is an analysis of housing as a basic human necessity augmented by the feeling of belonging as a basic human desire.

Global influences

The role of high-rise modular estates in 20th century urban planning is well documented and closely linked to the deliberations of the 1933 International Congress on Modern Architecture and later the creation of the Athens Charter by LeCorbusier.[1] Since then, modified by international and local conditions, divergent models of design developed in various countries. While beyond the "Iron Curtain" the designs of high-rise estates generally evolved over time either by choice or through "a trial and error" methodology, socialist large block estates consistently displayed their monotonous personalities and over time began suffering from "multiple identities disorder".[2] Polish interpretations and implementations of the ideas describing a "functional city" became quite simplistic and significantly exceeded the reactions of western nations that quickly recognized the disadvantages of uniformly designed and mass produced housing complexes.[3] In that context, one can only wonder if the book titled "Can our Cities Survive?" written by Josep Lluis Sert and influenced by philosopher Ortega y Gasset relates equally well to the ideas promoted by Modernist Architects or the future of poorly designed dwelling complexes that struggled with the interpretations of the recommendations provided within the Athens Charter?[4]

The evolution of these divergent housing models resulting from a common set of influencing ideas is clearly visible by contrasting the outcomes of the well-known Pruitt-Igoe urban housing development in St. Louis, Missouri with a fairly unknown, albeit of a similar size and design, socialist high-rise estate called Popowice, located in Wroclaw, Poland. While for a variety of external and internal reasons the buildings in St. Louis have already been demolished before the idea for Popowice was even conceived, the Polish estate lives on despite occasionally suffering from similar problems that brought the Pruitt-Igoe complex to its knees.[5] The progression of these divergent futures illustrates an important point often ignored within the design and planning communities. Despite good intensions and international discussions among leading architects and urban planners, consultations with politicians and other stakeholders, any set of recommendations that comes out of such a process does not necessarily warrant a panacea for success.[6] Even with today's computation and modelling techniques, it is certainly not possible to predict how these divergent futures would have evolved given a small change in external or internal circumstances. Therefore it is imperative to recognize that designing and planning for human condition must refrain from creating "one size fits all" final recipes, and instead employ approaches that emulate and encourage change.

External vs. National influences

While physical place, whether natural or man-made, evolves over time with or without the inputs of its inhabitants, there are two factors carrying a significant capacity for change over time: natural disasters and human-induced catastrophes. Both can accelerate or impede the rate of development, alter dwelling patterns, and shift the perception of an atmosphere of belonging among the inhabitants. For these reasons the analysis of a high-rise socialist estates in Poland must account for the greatest human-induced catastrophe of the 20th century – World War II. However, in addition to the tremendous scale of destruction of the housing stock resulting from the armed conflict, the need for the development of high-rise housing stock in Poland was equally, although over a longer period of time, influenced by the convergence of externally imposed and internally desired factors.

On the one hand the enacted shifting of administrative boundaries of the country in 1945 caused a wave of migrations from the east and repopulated newly acquired western cities with entirely new, albeit fairly homogeneous groups of people; after 1947 less than 10% of Wroclaw's residents were native to the area or resettled.[7]

On the other hand the gradually forced and occasionally reversed implementation of the centrally planned economic model on post-war Poland by the Soviet Union[8], created a demand for "clean slate" approaches to urban design and helped to justify the realisation of the new social order by the ruling elite.[9]

The influences of each separate factor can be traced to the development of many socialist high-rise estates in Poland.[10] However, the convergence of these two factors augmented by the exposure of Polish architects to western influences after the retrenchment of Stalin's regime[11], and later the wave of mandated "typification" of designs[12], the 1970's high-rise development of Popowice estate that initially attempted to follow the early modernist qualities of "functionalism, existential minimum, and maximum healthiness"[13], resulted in a spatial arrangement that can currently be described as worth "less than the sum of its parts".[14]

Sense of place vs. An atmosphere of belonging

Between 1950 and 1988 over 4 million high-rise dwelling units were built in Polish cities, which represented a living style that accommodated up to 20% of the entire population of the country before socialism collapsed.[15] The lack of cultural identity related to the new place of settlement and minuscule ethnic diversity[16] combined with very low housing style variety, created a fertile ground for

social conditioning. As such, these factors contributed significantly to the early perception of an atmosphere of belonging among the migrants who at the time not only represented a very limited ethnic diversity but were also subjugated to a manufactured reality that pushed a series of myths designed to instil in their minds specific national identity.[17] Their basic need for shelter has been fulfilled but their desire to feel a sense of belonging to their new reality never materialized.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WITH DIVERGENT FUTURES

At this point one could wonder if such sense of belonging has ever developed in the future generations that were born and raised within the confines of socialist high-rise estates? The following is an attempt to answer that question through personal experiences.

Home, sweet home

The sun has set and risen following the same pattern since I first stepped as a young child on the grounds of Popowicka estate in Wroclaw, Poland. During that time the property evolved both architecturally and socially, however not at the same rate.[18] The overall urban concept remained almost intact, many building façades regularly changed their "makeup", some flats became modernized, yet the open space transformed the most; the *natural* has overgrown like in Le Corbusier's dream and the *artificial* expanded as a result of the hydrocarbon revolution.

Encoded through the eyes of a young child, the late seventies and the early eighties still feel like an application of a "classic chrome" film simulation on a digital camera. Somewhere in their grainy textures, the fading colors preserved sweaty summer warmth accumulating in the concrete walls of the estate. Not surprisingly, activating the process of nostalgic reunification, my brain forces the phrase "home, sweet home" to slowly roll of the tongue.

The experience of growing up in a particular location conditions the brain to recognize certain combinations of images, sounds, and aromas. It does encode a specific atmosphere of a place anchored in the fourth dimension - time. Through that process, a personal bond of belonging emerges, and lingers in the brain like a scent of perfume, ready to be recalled from the subconscious and activate the nostalgic feelings of the past.[19]

The perception of an atmosphere of belonging can have various levels of intensity and certainly is not equal among individuals growing up in the same vicinity. However, it is possible that particular sets of events from the past can evoke very similar reactions in people of comparable social and location backgrounds.[20]

The atmosphere of belonging that emerged during my life in Poland can be divided into three phases. The first stage is centered on my memories that resulted from the interactions with the very rational, yet difficult to comprehend labyrinth-like layout of the estate. By layout, I do not only mean the disposition of individual buildings but also the internal configuration of the apartments and especially their clustering around a central circulation shaft. The next phase was heavily influence by the change of the socio-economic system marked by the Marshal Law of 1981 and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The last stage consisted of several extended visits to the estate after almost a decade of absence. During that time the environmental transformation instilled a form of a "multiple identities disorder" within the estate.[21] Additionally, the time of my absence from the estate contributed significantly to the perception of an atmosphere of belonging and its subsequent transformation.

A[maze]ing childhood

The Popowice estate of high-rise buildings is neatly organized in rows stretching from the southeast to the northwest at about 120 degrees. This layout stands in a stark contrast to the traditional dense fabric of the town center, featuring courtyards clustered around street blocks sparsely separated by greenery. Each 11-story building casts long shadows throughout the year. This pattern creates air tunnels that take advantage of the prevailing wind conditions. It was meant to increase the rate of natural ventilation, an idea that can be traced back to the early modernist qualities later represented by universal access to sunshine and cleansing winds, the ability to use "open green space" for improved wellbeing, and the idea of a "tabula rasa" in urban development.

Building orientation of the estate certainly contributes to the rate of ventilation, however it does not have a truly positive effect throughout the year. The variations in atmospheric pressure caused by the shadows and combined with the prevailing wind direction, make it almost impossible to simultaneously open windows on the opposite elevations because the vortex created by the pressure differential wrecks havoc on the interiors of the flats. Additionally, the concrete finished south elevation traps heat throughout the warm summer days and releases it after the sun set, making the living rooms difficult to enjoy in the evening hours.

Despite fairly significant spacing between individual buildings, the lower floors have quite limited access to winter sunshine. At the same time the upper floors enjoy generous amounts of daylight but are constantly battered by the gusty conditions of the wind tunnels.

The above mentioned analysis of the estate might certainly be a result of my professional training, however the unsettling feeling of an incorrectly design human environment has been present in my mind since the very early days of childhood. The first terrifying experience that I can recall, has its roots in the homogeneity of the estate's architectural expression, composed of randomly painted, horizontal concrete panels separated by narrow bands of windows and elusively interrupted by vertical shafts of staircases. My horror begun with an inability to identify an entryway of the cluster leading to my apartment because at that time the doorway was only discernable by its fairly small street number sign. The experience of standing outside and crying for help in hope to identify my mother's face in the maze of identical windows stretching several hundred feet haunted me in my dreams for a long time. Perhaps not surprisingly, to this day a quick look at a crossword puzzle in a newspaper brings back the residual of those memories.

The change

As human beings we adapt quickly and dismiss from out conscience the underlining cause of the problem. However, our subconscious mind longs for a solution.[22] From the standpoint of the architectural concept, the Popowice estate functioned fairly well in the late 1970's and early 1980's because the material situation of the vast majority of the society was comparably low and homogeneous. Therefore, the building elevations remained true to the original intent. However, after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the period of excessive material culture ensued and the flats became too small to accommodate the new consumption habits facilitated by the free market economy. Every square foot was needed and used to its maximum potential. In the absence of easy access to personal porches with shading devices, custom glazing, and extended planters. For some, they served as storage units protecting expensive bicycles and for others as an extension to their living rooms.

This change in the exterior elevation colors, finishes, and its function, marks a significant shift from an atmosphere of controlled material and psychological "austerity" imposed by the previous socio-economic system, to an atmosphere of uncontrolled individual expression tampered only by the lack of tools and skills that if present, had a potential to take this phenomena to a higher level. As an example, during my travels to western parts of Germany during the late 1980's and early 1990's, I

observed many mid- and high-rise estates that functioned exceptionally well despite higher levels of personal wealth among their residents. This was due to several factors: in the west the regulations favored minimum apartment sizes as opposed to a maximum that was enforced in socialist Poland. Additionally, the ability to move from a smaller apartment to a larger one due to a change in the family status was easier in the west but almost impossible back at home even after the new system took hold. Lastly, unlike the rigid and preconfigured socialist flat plate high-rise construction, the buildings of the west had more flexible floor plans allowing individual apartments to be adapted to changing socio-economic conditions.

The in-between

My time away from the country was marked by extensive travels throughout the North American continent. Those experiences have reinforced my lack of interest in the conscious analysis of the differences in the environments that I lived in during that time and the place where I grew up. It was not until I settled abroad and begun a family that a subtle nostalgic sensation emerged in my conscious mind. During the decade of absence, my experience with the socialist estate became quasi-virtual.

The feeling of belonging is comparable to wearing comfortable shoes. It takes time to adjust them into the shape of the feet. However, once the break-in period ends, they disappear from the wearer's conscious perception. In my case the new "shoes" did not fit perfectly. Despite being excited about the new environment that I have settled in, it took a considerable amount of time to adjust to the daily routine, and the question of belonging to the larger context kept "rising to the surface". While my absence was not a result of a displacement, rather a conscious and rational choice, these symptoms amounted to a nostalgic feeling about the past and grew in strength over time. More specifically, the process of rationalization gradually shifted my perspective on the less than positive aspects of the socialist estate. For instance, the labyrinth of buildings and the apartments clustered around the circulation spine became in my mind a model for a safe and coherent living arrangements. Nostalgia, as originally defined in medical terms by Johannes Hofer, was to "produce erroneous representations that caused the afflicted to lose touch with reality". Fortunately, despite being able to qualify the sentiments for my "home, sweet home" in the most rational terms, I became incapable of crossing into the territory of more passionate feelings about it. All hope was still not lost. I have accepted this self-diagnosis and opted for melancholy instead; a feeling of sadness without a particular reason - despite actually having a reason.

The return

The final evolutionary stage of my perception of an atmosphere of belonging consists of several extended visits to the estate after almost a decade of absence during which the environmental transformation instilled a form of a "multiple identities disorder" within the property. During that time some building elevations begun reverting to the original design while the rest produced an even greater visual cacophony. A new form of environmental signage appeared and the green space gave way to automobiles. More importantly, the gentrification process, both in human and real estate terms, began stifling an ability to introduce meaningful change into the estate.

It is difficult to imagine the evolution of my feelings without the subsequent return to the estate. I will probably never discover if in due time, I would have developed symptoms matching the original definition of nostalgia. However, it is certain that the homecoming prompted me to study the "home, sweet home" condition as something more than just a temporary circumstance.

The ensuing immersion in the environment of the estate brought back my childhood memories. Despite being surrounded by mature landscape of matching proportions, the buildings looked as tall

and overwhelming as I remembered them. Not much has changed, yet so much has changed. Still, encoded in my memories and reconstructed through bodily chemical reactions, I have once again experienced my personal atmosphere of belonging seemingly engrained within the estate. The feeling was joyous and authentic but quickly verified by the reality of the situation. Staircases felt really tight and uninviting. The wind tunnels and layers of deep shadows affected not only my physical presence but to a larger degree my subconscious desire to improve the shortcomings of the original urban planning idea. Perhaps "old problems die hard" and their perception becomes a function of the time away and the quality of new location.

CONCLUSION

While the internal analysis of my experiences at the estate was on going, as it often happens, an unexpected situation prompted me to research the theme of an atmosphere of belonging from a much broader perspective. I sat on a plain, traveling thousands of feet in the air next to a passenger who grew up in the same neighborhood. We chatted briefly about our childhood and growing up in the socialist high-rise estates. It turned out that our life experiences marked many similarities including a prolonged time away from the estate and a subsequent return. This event prompted me to research the phenomena of "a sense of place" or an atmosphere of belonging in more detail. Over the last 18 months I was able to identify 7 people who's life experiences parallel mine to a significant degree. These individuals grew up in the same estate, were born within 5 years of each other, left abroad in the late 1990s and were absent for 6-10 years before returning. Two settled in USA, 2 in Canada, 1 in England, 1 in Germany and 1 in France. My two control groups consist of individuals that only relocated within the country either to another high-rise estate or to a significantly different type of a residential establishment and than returned within 5 to 10 years.

While the subject pool of my research is still small, I am quite encouraged by the results. There is a strong correlation among the group of people who developed nostalgic feelings that idealize the shortcomings of the estate while living abroad. However, such position only develops after the period of settling down and establishing a family. On the contrary, the subjects in the control group who left the estate to a comparable residential environment and returned after a significant period of absence have not developed such a condition, regardless of their domestic status. Furthermore, the group of subjects living at a significantly different residential environment had a weak correlation of exhibiting the kinds of nostalgic feelings that idealize the shortcomings of the socialist estate also regardless of their domestic status. The results of this study may point to a future condition that immigration is a significant contributing factor to the evolution of personal perception of an atmosphere of belonging. Additionally, it is becoming apparent that either the more permanent settlement abroad and/or the change in the domestic status, invoke within the subjects stronger desire for nostalgic rationalization. As such the phrase "Home, sweet home" could become more symptomatic than just a temporary occurrence and characteristic to the generations that were raised in the socialist estates as opposed to the generations transplanted to them after World War II.

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TRANSITIONAL HOUSING FOR YOUNG ADULTS IN A TIME OF CRISIS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

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INTRODUCTION

Stein notes that during the 1980s, concern about housing provision for young people leaving home and moving on their own path to housing and employment was a major factor contributing to the design thinking of specialist facilities to accommodate this group of people[1]. The development of accommodation options, although uneven, has been an ongoing challenge for providers of this service[23]. The findings indicate the fact that young people's early housing choices were often difficult and significant problems existed in relation to the supply, quality and location of accommodation. Other studies have pointed to the high housing mobility experienced by young people to study or to find a job or to set up home with a partner[4]. Still many young people are not shown to be well equipped to manage independently.

Housing emerged as a critical area for housing providers for this age group, charged with engaging in positive interventions that should make a substantial difference to young people's early housing choices and to their overall sense of well-being. How young people fared in housing was not greatly associated with past events in their lives, but it was more closely linked to life events after leaving home. Taken as a whole, these findings point to the reciprocal relationship between housing choices and different circumstances in young people's lives. The paper examines best practices for positive outcomes that will allow young people to develop the skills to manage well in accommodation that is suitable to their needs at the time and where they are making the transition from the family home to independent living.

METHODOLOGY

The proposed methodology of investigation is based on relevant literature review and also in terms of physical planning, whereby the issue of housing challenges for young adults is examined through three prongs of investigation. The first prong concerns the city and regional scale of any intervention; the second examines the typology of housing units that will accommodate the target population of young adults; and the third one looks into the design of communal / public spaces as venues of increased socialization and normalization of social networks, acceptance and diversity.

Literature review

In the case of communities of young adults, the literature review indicates that in the receiving venues, many of these groups are segregated spatially and concentrated in particular housing tenures.

According to Murdie and Borgegard[5], there is considerable debate about the advantages and disadvantages of segregation. For example, the spatial concentration of an age group may enhance communication among members of the group and encourage the development of age-oriented

businesses and institutions. On the other hand, residential segregation, either spatially or in particular housing tenures, may reduce opportunities for structural integration, especially in areas such as language, education and employment.

The academic literature has been careful to emphasize both the contested nature of the term 'integration' and the complexity inherent in the different socio-economic, legal, political and cultural dimensions of the integration process[678]. Important distinctions have been drawn in the age group literature, for example, between structural integration, involving the growing participation of newcomers in society's main institutions (e.g. the housing market, labor market, healthcare system) and acculturation, implying the evolution of new identities and cultures[9]. The literature on the housing of young adults meanwhile has focused particularly on structural integration, with an emphasis on support, protection and service provision for vulnerable newcomers[1011]. Housing integration is discussed in this literature in terms of access to good quality, affordable accommodation, meeting culturally diverse housing needs and the management of the settlement process at the local community level.

Also, many of these young people experience a cluster of problems both while they are home, including placement instability, stigma and educational difficulties at school and after they leave home, including disrupted careers, periods of dependency on benefits, getting into trouble, mental-health problems and loneliness[12131415].

Young people now leave home for a broader range of reasons than the traditional ones of marriage and/or employment:[16]

- Increasing proportions leave home primarily in order to achieve independence.
- Young people who leave home under duress are at risk of homelessness.
- Repeated returns to the parental home are also increasingly common experiences, often in response to adverse circumstances.
- Independent living arrangements – living alone or with peers – are widely adopted by young people. There is an established link between shared housing and social disadvantage and a growing association between shared housing and graduates and/or young professionals. These trends are largely attributable to the growth of cohabitation as the norm and they will be spatially examined in the ensuing proposal.

GREECE COMPARED

Decent housing, at an affordable price in a safe environment, is a fundamental need and right. Ensuring this need is met, which is likely to alleviate poverty and social exclusion, is still a significant challenge in a number of European countries. The data used in this article are primarily derived from microdata from EU statistics on income and living conditions[17]. The reference population was all private households and their current members residing in the territory of an EU Member State at the time of data collection. Persons living in collective households and in institutions were generally excluded from the target population. The EU-28 aggregate is a population-weighted average of individual national figures. However, the EU and euro area aggregates that are presented for 2014 are estimates, as there was no information available for reference year 2014 for Estonia or Ireland at the time of data extraction (November 2015).

Type of dwelling

In 2014, 4 out of every 10 persons in the EU-28 lived in flats, just over one quarter (25.6%) in semi-detached houses and just over one third (33.7%) in detached houses. The proportion of people living in flats was highest, among the EU Member States, in Spain (66.5%), Latvia (65.1%) and Estonia (63.8%; 2013 data), while the highest proportions of people living in semi-detached houses were reported in the Netherlands (61.2%), the United Kingdom (60.0%) and Ireland (58.3%; 2013 data).

The share of people living in detached houses peaked in Croatia (72.6%), Slovenia (65.4%) and Hungary (63.0%); Norway (62.4%) and Serbia (60.5%; 2013 data) also reported high shares of their populations living in detached houses.

People at-risk-of-poverty

The reduction of the number of persons at risk of poverty or social exclusion in the EU is one of the key targets of the Europe 2020 strategy. The at risk of poverty or social exclusion figure, for the EU-28 average, calculated as a weighted average of national results, masks considerable variation between EU Member States. In 2013, more than a third of the population was at risk of poverty or social exclusion in five EU Member States: Bulgaria (48.0 %), Romania (40.4 %), Greece (35.7 %), Latvia (35.1 %) and Hungary (33.5 %). At the other end of the scale, the lowest shares of persons being at risk of poverty or social exclusion were recorded in Sweden (16.4 %), Finland (16.0 %), the Netherlands (15.9 %) and the Czech Republic (14.6 %). Overall, the at-risk of poverty rate has slightly decreased at EU-28 level between 2012 and 2013 by 0.3 pp. The risk of poverty or social exclusion rose by 2.1 pp in Portugal and 1.1 pp in Greece and Hungary, decreasing by 2.7 pp in Croatia and 1.7 pp in Lithuania.

Social exclusion

In the case of Greece, the percentage representing the share of young people (18-24) who are at risk of poverty or social exclusion (and/or severely materially deprived and/or living in a household with very low work intensity; Source Eurostat, 2011) as a result of their housing choices and compared to the general population risk of poverty rate is as follows:

- People at risk of poverty or social exclusion: 3.403 (in thousands) 31.0%.
- People living in households with very low work intensity: 978 (in thousands) 11.8%.
- People at risk of poverty after social transfers: 2.349 (in thousands) 21.4% (Total) 23.7% (0-17 years) 20.2% (18-64 years).
- People severely materially deprived: 1.667 (in thousands) 15.2% (Total).

Comparing the percentage of the general population at risk of poverty after social transfers (21.4%) and the respective rate of young people aged from 0-17 years old (23.7%), the risk of poverty is higher by approximately 2.3 units (2011 data) and the rate is growing over the last few years. A huge impact for the entire population has to do with the current socioeconomic crisis in Greece, with the needs for housing, food, clothing and transportation not being fulfilled especially for the younger population.

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL MIGRATION PATTERNS

In Greece, internal and external migration patterns are linked to economic and political structures that precipitate a variety of positive and negative factors that may encourage or force young people to leave their homes and move elsewhere. Newly arrived young people, as a result of recent migration patterns towards Europe, are often being viewed by majority groups as a threat to economic well-being and national identity. This is especially so for countries like Greece, which have experienced the social dislocation of the current economic restructuring and where a retrenchment, which has reduced the socioeconomic outlook of many residents[18]. At the international level, the most important factors are the increased flows and greater diversity of immigrants and refugees[19].

These factors change over time as a result of shifts in political ideology and economic circumstances. Important factors nationally include the nature of immigration policy, attitudes towards immigrants, economic restructuring and housing policy[20]. Recently arrived groups of young adults display a low level of both behavioral and structural integration. These groups exhibit considerable cultural distance from the local population and the residential segregation associated with them may be further

compounded by a desire to retain their identity[21]. In addition, the structural integration of these groups is made more difficult by the current weak economic conditions.

AVOIDING SOCIAL DISTANCE AND MARGINALIZATION

The social distance between many newcomer groups and the local residents has also increased, thus raising the potential for lower levels of integration and greater economic marginalization. In turn, this has increased the likelihood of higher levels of spatial segregation and housing segmentation at the regional scale of metropolitan areas, such as in Athens in general and some of its neighborhoods, like Exarcheia, in particular. To counter this fact, measures need to be taken that include revisiting immigration policies, attitudes towards immigrants, housing policies and economic restructuring for creating jobs. Priorities for creating jobs for young people according to their qualifications include:[22]

- Providing business grants for hiring unemployed university graduates up to 35-years-old with the objective to create new full-time jobs in private companies for unemployed graduates.
- Creating a National Network of Direct Social Intervention for unemployed young people up to 30-years-old with the primary objective to provide comprehensive services for homeless people and people living in or at risk of poverty.
- Instituting charitable work programs in the field of culture for young people up to the age of 30 with the aim to enhance employment through co-funded projects that involve the construction, promotion and preservation of cultural infrastructure.
- Strengthening vocational education and training and apprenticeship systems, with an emphasis on combining training and work experience, while further investing in work placements and internships during and after training.
- Subsidizing programs for enterprises to recruit unemployed graduates up to the age of 35 from university and technological Higher Education Institutes.
- Instituting work experience programs for new labor market entrants aged 16-24 years, in addition to a special three-year program for aiding employers through a subsidy, aimed at recruiting unemployed people with disabilities or young people at social risk.
- Financially supporting new businesses and sponsoring counselling for e.g. writing a business plan, understanding principles of financial sustainability, etc., for those who receive financial aid.
- Organizing activities to support youth entrepreneurship in the sectors of tourism, culture and the environment, according to the particular needs of local economies..

DEVELOPING ACCOMODATION RESOURCES

Although there are differing levels and types of accommodation resources across Europe, all see the need for investing heavily in improving these resources and developing a broad range of supported and independent accommodation options for young people leaving their home[23]. The evidence suggests that strategies to improve housing outcomes for young people require a number of interrelated elements:

- Investing over time to improve the range of accommodation resources to meet the differing needs and choices of young people.
- Developing formal protocols and partnerships with local housing providers to audit needs, plan developments and provide for joint assessments.
- Providing good quality accommodation, but also putting in place finance and support packages to enable young people to manage their homes and life responsibilities.

It is right then that this paper should examine particular circumstances facing this group of people in a two-pronged approach, one concerned with the socioeconomic profiling of the potential users and the other with the spatial organization of habitation. The coupling of these two prongs may then constitute

the basis of schematic proposals for spatial organizations and taxonomies that will allow for the opportunistic appropriation and development of urban sites for the housing of young people.

A South London Case Study

A prefabricated housing project for homeless people, which opened in south London, was designed for charity YMCA as factory-building housing scheme by Rogers Stirk Harbour + Partners[24]. It provides accommodation for 36 homeless young people in Mitcham, south London. The designers' modular Y:Cube scheme was intended to be easily assembled and transported, so blocks can be moved between temporary sites in the capital. Each of the 26-square-metre units has a combined living room and kitchen and a separate en-suite bedroom, as shown in Figure 1. The brightly colored blocks are stacked on top of each other. Each unit cost was between £30.000 and £35.000 and took about a week to construct in a factory and again as long to assemble on-site. Rent is calculated at 65% of the local market value, taking into account site lease and construction costs – equating to an outgoing of approximately £150 per week for each resident. The principle here is to minimize people's outlay for their rent so that they can afford to save and eventually get on the more conventional housing ladder.

Figure 1. Prefabricated housing project for homeless people in south London by Rogers Stirk Harbour + Partners.

The dimensions of each unit – ranging from the shallow pitch of the roofs to the width of the rooms within – are determined by the maximum cargo of the wide-load lorry used to transport the units from the factory to the site. The container-like spaces are craned from the lorry and stacked one on top of the other, culminating in a row of pitched-roof blocks. Wide timber decks provide outdoor space around the perimeter of a grassy courtyard in the center of the Mitcham site. The designers noted that the conventional mass-market residential sector was working in a block-by-block and brick-by-brick pattern, so when it came to quality for low costs there was real opportunity to take advantage of economies of scale by adopting an off-site manufacturing strategy.

The Case Of Athens And The Exarcheia Neighbourhood

As illustrated in the example above, the potential for success would seem to be enhanced when holistic, community-centered, inter-agency approaches are adopted, supported by adequate resources and a clear political commitment. Experience from the British and European context suggests that housing and integration strategies are more likely to work when they develop partnerships with voluntary organizations with specialist knowledge and skills, with a view to working towards more culturally sensitive mainstream provision for populations of young adults[2526].

There are many positive initiatives underway in Exarcheia, especially from within the communities of young adults themselves, such as in Figure 2. The focus of the proposal is on the development of training and placement programs acknowledging and accrediting prior knowledge and experience, as well as retraining facilities, all of which will be synthesized with the user characteristics to define the second prong of the investigation dealing with a proposed architectural typology and illustrated in a case study below for the Exarcheia neighborhood in Athens, Greece. The proposal also uses spatial appropriation of nearby existing facilities which may house spillover activities from the reception center and thus increase interaction between the resident population and the adjacent community and accommodate public and private agencies and volunteer organizations that cater to the health, safety and welfare of the community of young adults.

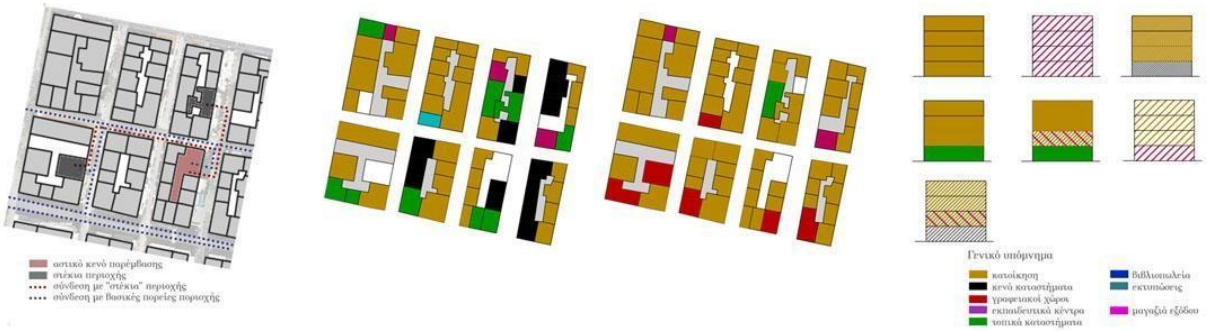

Figure 2. Proposal for opportunistic infill housing for young adults making use of underutilized urban voids at Exarcheia, Athens.

In general, attempts to include populations of young adults or to resist their exclusion have come from civil society –community organizations, campaign groups, church groups or advocacy organizations. These groups provide an important counterweight to the hostility experienced by young adults and serve as a challenge to the policies of exclusion and as a mediator for the co-evolution of immigrant and local societies in gateway nations like Greece. In Exarcheia, these groups facilitate the symbiotic coexistence of these populations and the local communities by creating a common ground for deliberation and visioning exercises that lead to informed physical planning.

However, because of the wide range of agencies involved in the housing and integration process and the uncertainties that arise from a rapidly changing policy and funding environment and exclusion of such populations from the integration process, there are also many gaps in provision and support. These include gaps in the co-ordination of housing services, inadequate communication between community organizations and mainstream providers, discontinuous funding and disparities between the priorities and expectations of the populations of young adults and those of service providers.

CONCLUSION

Despite good intentions and localized successes, there are still many obstacles to accessing descent accommodation in a safe environment that is implicit in the discourse of housing integration.[27] The challenge to housing providers and support agencies is multi-faceted. Obstacles arise from conflicting local government agendas and multiple gaps in housing provision, choice and support. Not only is it necessary to meet housing needs, but it is also important to develop practical support structures, such as those leading to employment. Promising developments include plans for more holistic thinking between housing-and-economic-related government departments. However, organizations catering to young adults are often skeptical as to whether enough resources will be devoted to these initiatives to prove effective[2829]. These positive developments must also be set in a wider legislative context and an

understanding of the marginal position of groups of young adults converging on metropolitan areas in search of housing and employment. There is a commonplace view of young adults as “outsiders” and their exclusion from consideration within government integration strategies underlines their marginality. As this group of people starts to compete for mainstream housing, jobs and other resources, they are likely to face many of the challenges experienced by settled local groups and they may very well come face-to-face with deprivation and exclusion.

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STATE-LED COMMODIFICATION AND INFORMAL/ INSECURE TENURE: A PATTERN OF TARGETING VULNERABLE COMMUNITIES IN EGYPT

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INTRODUCTION

In the ambiguous legislative climate synonymous with authoritarianism, the Egyptian state has encouraged the commodification of land and property through a raft of different policies that have de-regulated the market, driving up the prices in some places 16 fold over the last decade alone. State-led commodification in tandem with informal tenure for most Egyptians has meant the exploitation of many communities by a plethora of government and quasi-government agencies that claim their land as their own.

Through three different tenure cases lodged by the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights (EIPR) over the last four years, this paper will show how a pattern exists between state-led commodi- fication and informal/insecure tenure. The case studies show the official use of direct methods of evic- tion such as eviction orders, sequestration decrees and the falsifying of contracts. In addition, unoffi- cial in-direct methods of forced-eviction have been used such as cutting off power and water supplies as well as intimidation and torture of some residents.

The paper will also show how many of the forced evictions have happened, or been attempted, in the shadow of seemingly social motives like “upgrading unsafe areas”, “the public good”, or simply labelling the residents as “usurpers” and “squatters”.

Roots of Informal /In-secure Tenure; A Legal Labyrinth

A 1997 study revealed that 92% of property in Egypt is unregistered, of which most could never be registered. as a consequence of decades of informality, where most formal legal tenure was not sought because of complex and protracted steps to register property which could include 77 bu- reaucratic procedures and take between 6 to 14 years to complete.[2] The study also identified a stag- gering nine typologies of tenure and divided them into two groups; buildings of informal origin and, more intriguingly, buildings of formal origin (Fig 1).

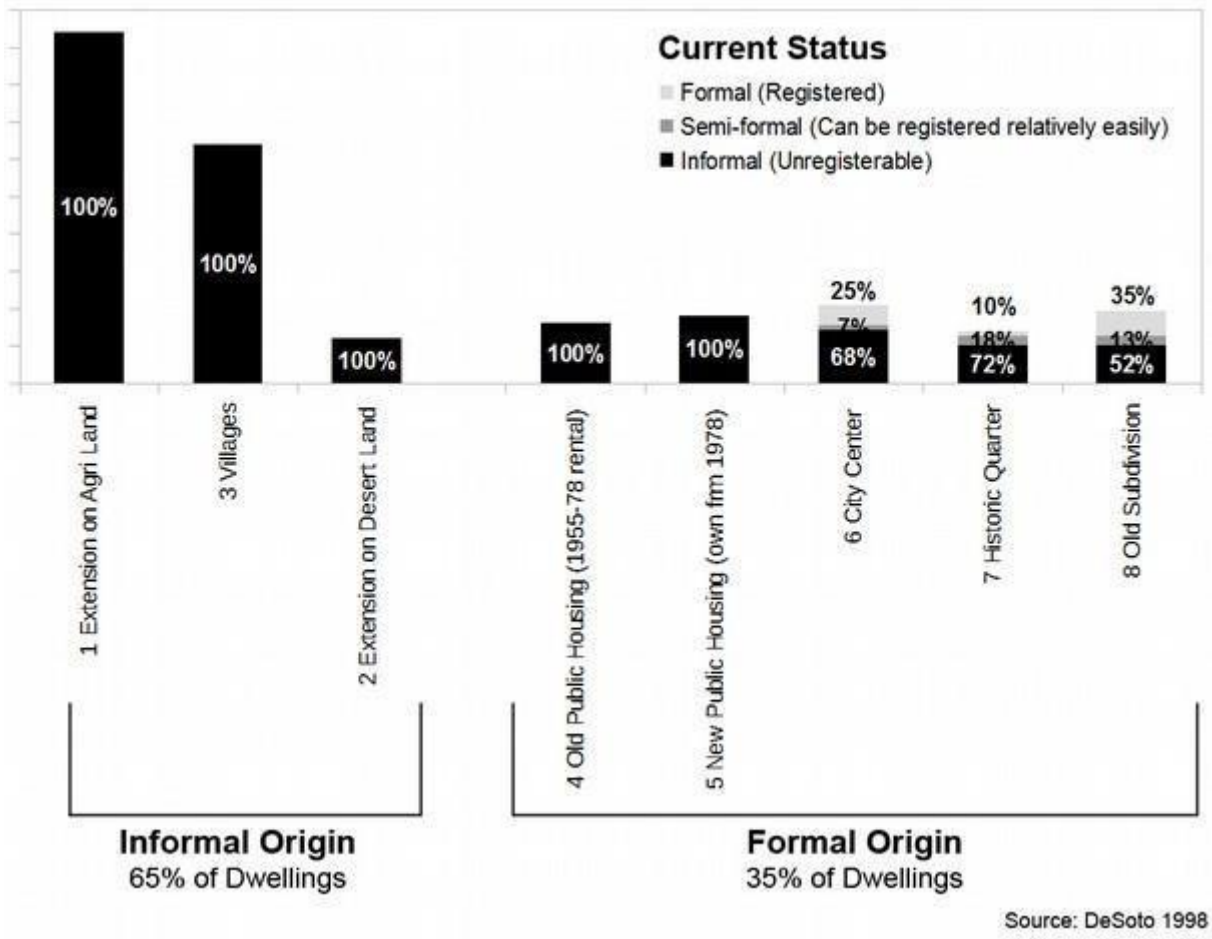

Figure. 1. Typologies of Informal Tenure in Egypt

While some claim that not all of the residents living informally are at constant risk of being evicted, as complicity between residents and key officials has bought some amnesty,[3] informal tenure has made it easy for government agencies to evict residents from a property when ever deemed neces- sary and where public backlash would be minimal. It is estimated that over 42,000 families have been subject to relocation in Egypt over the last 15 years due to so-called urban upgrading projects alone, a large portion of these relocations amount to forced eviction as little or no participation took place, while over half have been relocated to housing outside the city.[4] These statistics do not however in- clude other forms of eviction, such as those related to expropriation orders, squatting on state-owned land, and the falling of original formal tenure into informality due to a number of factors including inheritance complications, changes in the law, or illegal transactions.

All three cases in this study represent tenure that started out formally and legally, but is now considered informal (See table 1.)

In Ramlet Bulaq residents have squatted uncontested for more than 70 years.[5] Common Law allows for the adverse possession of private land if it has not been contested in 15 years,[6] in this case land belonging to the industrial Kafrawy and ‘Ezawy families. However the squatters never took their tenancy to court to formalise it, possibly because of the lack of belief in a court system that would cost them time and money they do not have, with a strong possibility that it would never be resolved.[7] In- deed if straight forward registration of formal property takes an average of ten years to complete, how long would informal tenure take?

The farmers of 'Ezbet al-'Arab were given the right to own their land in light of agrarian re- form policies in the Arab Socialist era of the 1950s nationalised large private land holdings, including that

of the Awqaf (Religious Endowments).[8] The Agrarian Reform Agency (ARA) redistributed the Khedieve's Ismail Waqf in Alexandria to small holders, registering most of the land with Real Estate Tax Registry, though part of it was not fully registered.[9] Within a decade the Awqaf was re-established, where law 80/1971 stated that the ARA should reassign all land back to it. Two years later, law 42/1973 amended that provision by stating that only land that was not redistributed to small holders would be reassigned back to the Awqaf. However the Awqaf ignored the 1973 amendment and brought most of the Ismail Waqf back under its de-facto jurisdiction, where in 1975 it revoked most farmer's ARA rent-to-own contracts and made out fixed term rental contracts.[10]

Communities	**Ramlet Bulaq, Cairo**	**'Ezbet al-'Arab, Alexandria**	**Mota'maret al-Mahalla, al-Gharbeyya**
Number of families	500 +	234+	750 +
Belligerent State Agencies	Cairo Governorate, Informal Settlements Development Facility (ISDF)	Al-Awqaf, Alexandria Governorate, Agrarian Reform Agency (ARA), housing cooperatives for state-run agencies	Misr Spinning & Weaving Co. (MSWC), Gharbeyya Gov.
Residents' Claim	Legal though unformalised squatting for over 90 years on private land of absentee landlord.	Majority rent contracts with de-facto landlord, the Awqaf. Minority private ownership after completing lease-to-own contract with the de-jure landlord the ARA	Shared ownership of units that were built using the MSWC Workers' Housing Fund on land owned by the Gharbeyya gov. in agreement.
Area of land (m^2)	29,000	1,629,600	281,400
Estimated Land Value (USD mn.)	170	1,058	263

Table 1. Overview of the three Communities Covered in this Study

Employees of the state-owned Misr Spinning and Weaving Company (MSWC) received a small house or apartment in *Mosta'maret al-Mahlla* funded through profit-a sharing scheme intro- duced in the 1950s during Arab Socialist reforms, where a portion of the worker's dividends would go to a housing fund.[11] Once an employee was pensioned off, the MSWC would issue an eviction order which the employee would present to the local council and receive a council flat on a rent-to-own basis, jointly funded by the workers' fund and the Gharbeyya governorate. However, the MSWC claimed in the late 1990s that the housing fund had been depleted, where today 750 retired workers and their families, who received eviction orders do not have alternative housing and have continued to occupy the workers' units. These the MSWC has considered as squatters and continued to file eviction orders and the courts continued to uphold them despite evidence being given that there is no alternative hous- ing and ignoring any claim that the housing was in fact a shared ownership scheme and not owned by the MSWC.[12]

ASSET MANAGEMENT OF STATE-OWNED AGENCIES IN A DEREGULATED THE PROPERTY MARKET

In 1958 the state established two distinct types of public land; public state land and private state land, allowing State-owned agencies to trade and deal in the latter.[13] This would lay the ground work for the three cases presented in this paper where government policy has constantly worked to- wards deregulating the property market in favour of boosting revenue for the state, where one prime ministerial decree saw land prices spike 116 percent overnight in the suburb-like "New Cities" around Cairo.[14] For FY 2015/2016, the New Urban Communities Authority (NUCA) that owns the New Cities announced it would generate EGP 50Bn (USD 5.9Bn) from land sales.[15]

While NUCA has been assigned mostly-vacant state-owned desert land with the sole purpose of developing it, other state-owned enterprises that should be doing something else; managing local services, cultivating agricultural land, or shock-horror, manufacturing products, have sought to monetise land they claim jurisdiction over and that is home to millions of Egyptians. Spurred on by the 1990s IMF and World Bank structural adjustment policies, these agencies have gone on an 'asset management' spree. Asset-management in concert with informal tenure thus carries a large threat of forced eviction for millions.

The state-induced property boom affected all urban land in Egypt and just NUCA, where so- called prime locations on the river-front in the heart of Cairo went up 44 percent a year over a dec- ade.[16] The General Organisation for Physical Planning (GOPP) and Cairo Governorate decided to capitalise on that boom through the Cairo 2050/2052 plan to gentrify the more lucrative parts of Cairo, of which the Urban Development Plan for Rod al-Farag was one.[17] The plan included the "demolition of unsafe shacks" and the relocation of residents in three "slum nodes" including 'Ashwaeyat Nile Towers (referring to Ramlet Bulaq), to housing estates in the New Cities outside Cairo or paying them compensation.[18] According to a former head of the Informal Settlements Development Facility (ISDF), the Ramlet Bulaq project could net them EGP 600Mn (USD 71Mn).[19]

As urban development spread informally over green field, large portions of Awqaf adminis- tered agricultural land became prime land for real estate development, making the eviction of farmers and the developing or selling off the land lucrative. Farmers in 'Ezbet al-'Arab typically rent out an acre for EGP 2000 (USD 236) per year, netting the Awqaf a mere EGP 600,000 (USD 71,000) from the 300 acre Muthalath parcel it does not legally own. In a dubious profit sharing scheme between the Awqaf and the Alexandria Governorate,[20] the latter would receive a third of the Muthalath in exchange for reassigning the land as part of the city limits, evicting the residents, demolishing any buildings on the land and servicing the new subdivisions with infrastructure, while the Awqaf stood to make EGP 6Bn (USD 706Mn).[21] The Awqaf has inventoried all of its land recently was set to boost state revenue by selling off assets worth EGP 1.2 Bn (USD 141Mn) in one auction alone.[22]

Ever since law 203/1991 came on the back of structural adjustment policies pushed through by the IMF and World Bank, the government has been trying to privatise state-owned companies, sometimes at bargain rates. The first attempt to privatise the MSWC in 2004 failed, as workers protested.[23]

A decline in production and a rise in debt, brought on by a lack of investment in the company, has recently gotten the Holding Company for Cotton Spinning and Weaving, which owns MSWC, to boost revenue through international restructuring consultants and inventorying its assets.[24] Privatising MSWC with hundreds of people living on its assets is not the best way to go, which may explain why it has demolished the homes it has been able to vacate as opposed to reassigning them to new employees. But if MSWC doesn't own the land, how would it profit? In 2009 a planned joint development emerged in the press that MSWC and the Gharbeyya Governorate will build a 5448 unit commercial housing project in place of the Mosta'mara,[25] a scheme that could be valued at EGP 1.6Bn (USD 188Mn).

MECHANISMS OF EVICTION; WRITING YOUR OWN RULE-BOOK

In all three cases, state agencies have used legal methods to evict, or attempt to evict residents even though they have had weak or no grounds to do so.

When the ISDF was set up in 2009 an amendment to the Expropriation Law 10/1990 was made allowing private land to be expropriated if it was deemed by the ISDF to be an unsafe area; the residents were in danger of natural disasters, building collapse, pollution or insecure tenure.[26] If the community was on state-owned land a simple eviction order could be issued.

The Cairo Governor did the former when he issued temporary expropriation decree 8993/2011 basing it on a report by the ISDF that classified Ramlet Bulaq as a "Level 2 unsafe area". Had it not been for a keen-eyed lawyer who noticed the sequestration decree in the official gazette, an appeal would not have been lodged.[27] The appeal was eventually won, mostly on technical grounds where the Cairo governorate was found to not have completed the formal steps to sequester the land.[28] Had they done so, it would have been very hard for the appeal to have been won.

For both the Mosta'mara and the 'Ezbet al-'Arab cases, the MSWC and the Awqaf simply ex- ploited vague or contradictory legislation. The MSWC benefited from complacent district courts, complex tenure arrangements with the Gahrbeyya governorate and missing information tying the workers' housing fund to the flats. The Awqaf seems to have relied more on either a complacent or a complicit ARA which did not fully register the redistributed small-holdings in the 1960s, as well as exploiting the many layers of legislative amendments that govern land reform.

In all three cases, slow and long acting indirect methods of eviction were used to weaken the communities as the legal cases were not strong. The Cairo Governorate has long banned the installa- tion of water and waste water networks in the Ramla, citing it as an informal area.[29] In the Mosta'mara, the MSWC has refused to repair old water piping that has polluted the drinking water, forcing resi- dents to use a well that a charity built instead.[30] In 'Ezbet al-'Arab farmers allege that the Awqaf filled in a canal as well as diverted raw sewage to a number of land parcels ruining the existing crops and any chance for new crops to grow.[31]

When residents still resisted eviction, the government agencies resorted to intimidation and violence. The court ruling annulling the expropriation order of Ramlet Bulaq cited a number of inci- dents that were used to terrorise the Ramlet Bulaq residents into selling out to the corporation that owns the adjacent luxury towers for unfairly low prices since 1997.[32] These included how no investi- gation was opened into the shooting and killing of 'Amr al-Boni by the police officer, as well as a number of recorded complaints made at another officer based at the towers for the kidnapping of chil- dren from Ramlet Bulaq and framing them for crimes they did not commit, leading the court to con-clude that the Cairo Governorate has been complicit with the tower owners in attempting to evict the residents and use the land for commercial purposes.

The Awqaf made EGP 100Mn (USD 12Mn) from selling the 'Ezbet al'Arab farmers' plots from within the main Muthalath parcel, where deeds found by lawyers investigating the case found out they were made out to three housing cooperatives affiliated to the police.[33] However it was not able to transfer the land because the farmers resisted. In 2009, Hassan Shindy, the leader of a cluster of fami- lies that protested the sale of their land was found murdered in the fields, with a warning scribbled on his clothes.[34] When even murder was not enough to terrorise the farmers off their land, the Awqaf is alleged to have rented out thugs to live in shacks on the land parcels and prevent the farmers from reo- pening the canal it had filled in to starve their crops.[35]

CONCLUSION: A MANUFACTURED INFORMALITY

A pattern of methodical abuse by the State and its' agencies of legislation governing tenure seems hard to ignore. The cases presented are but a sample of this abuse, which when scaled up to the

respective agencies' reach, would include a considerable portion of Egyptians. The Awqaf is landlord to 4000 villages and hamlets,[36] or about 15% of Egypt's rural communities where around 1.5mn families live. The ISDF has inventoried over 400 informal areas home to over 212,000 families liver, 120,000 of which are considered squatters on land owned by the state.[37] The MSWC is one of almost 200 public sector companies that are up for privatisation and where many own or administer employee housing.

With an Executive that has historically played a strong role in legislation,[38] and a fresh Legis- lator that is heavily influenced by Big Business,[39] millions of Egyptians will remain in a precarious situation where the State has all the incentive to perpetuate the informal status quo.

NOTES

[1] This research would not have been possible without the primary research in the three cases presented from the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights' Hamdi Khalaf, Muhammad al-Kashef, Samoeil Tharwat, Ahmed Hossam and Manar Kamel

[2] De Soto 1998, Dead Capital and the Poor in Egypt. ECES/ILD. http://www.eces.org.eg/Publication.aspx?Id=184

[3] Sejourne, Inhabitants.

[4] Shawkat , *Al'Adala*, 83

[5] As per documents submitted to court showing tenancy of between 50 and 70 years. Adminstritave Court, *Ruling on Case 55949/66.*

[6] Art. 968 & 969, Common Law 131/1948

[7] Interview with Ahmed Hossam, case lawyer at EIPR, 01.12.2014

[8] Agrarian Reform Law 178/1952 and laws 152/1957 for general waqf and 44/1962 for private waqf

[9] EIPR, *'Ezbet al-'Arab*. ARA decree 30/1963, dated 18.12.1963

[10] EIPR, *'Ezbet al-'Arab*. Copy of a rent contract made out by the Awqaf to one of the farmers.

[11] EIPR, *Mosta'maret al-Mahalla.* Interview with Mohamed Wadi, head of the Mahalla Pensioners' Union, 17.02.2014

[12] EIPR, *Mosta'maret al-Mahalla.* Interview with EIPR lawyer, Samuel Tharwat, who represented 33 of the families challenging eviction rulings, 17.02.2014

[13] Law 147/1957 amending Article 970 of Common Law 131/1948

[14] Shawkat. *Egypt's Deregulated Property Market.*

[15] New Urban Communities Authority,"*Wazir al-Iskan: al-'Asema al-Idareyya al-Gadida Lan Tukalif al- Dawla Maliman Wahedan... Wa Tarh Aradi Bi 50 Milyar Genieh al-'Am al-Muqbil",* 29.09.2014, Accessed: 07.01.2016 http://www.newcities.gov.eg/dispNews.aspx?ID=970

[16] According to Cairo Governor Galal Said, a land plot sold in 2005 for 8,000 Egyptian pounds ($1,050) per square meter was valued at 40,000 Egyptian pounds ($5,260) per square meter in 2014. See; Al-Borsa News, *"Al-Qahira tukhatit li-i'adit hekr abu-doma lil-kharita al-istithmariyya lil-muhafaza,"* 26.08.2014, Accessed: 08.01.2016 http://tinyurl.com/oc9l3tk.

[17] Cairo Governor Decree 7901/2009

[18] Egypt News. "*Wazir: Ligan li-Hasr al-'Aqarat Alati Tuskakel Khuturah 'ala Bulaq"*. *Egypt News*. 02.01.2011 Accessed: 08.01.2016 http://www.masress.com/egynews/11 2015

[19] Al-Borsa News, *"Sanduk Tatwir al-'Ashwaeyat Yabda' Tatwir Ramlet Bulaq"*, 06.04.2013. Accessed: 07.01.2016 http://www.alborsanews.com/2013/03/06/%D8%B5%D9%86%D8%AF%D9%88%D9%82-%D8%AA%D8%B7%D9%88%D9%8A%D8%B1-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B4%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D9%8A%D8%A8%D8%AF%D8%A3-%D8%AA%D8%B7%D9%88%D9%8A%D8%B1/Wizaret al-Awqaf – Muhafazet al-Iskandereyya, *Protocol Ta'awon 3/696*, 31.01.2008. Courtesy EIPR.

[20] The Awqaf claimed the parcel was valued at "more than EGP 9Bn (USD 1.1Bn) in a half page ad it put out on the front page of a state-owned newspaper urging the Egyptian President to enact eviction orders on the Muthalath al-Motazah land parcel because the Alexandria Governorate was slow to act. *"Istighatha Raqam Et-nein"*, al-Gumhureyya, 11.11.2014

[21] Al-Mal,*"Al-Awqaf Tabe'a Usul bi qimat 1.2 Milyar Geneih fi Mazad 'Alani"*, 11.11.2013, Accessed: 05.01.2016 http://www.almalnews.com/mobile/Pages/StoryDetails.aspx?ID=116670

[22] Beinin and El-Hamalawy, Egyptian Textile Workers Confront the New Economic Order.

[23] Daily News Egypt, *"Cotton Spinning and Weaving to pump EGP 150m investments into 8 subsidiaries"*, 13.09.2015, Accessed: 05.01.2016 http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2015/09/13/cotton-spinning-and-weaving-to-pump-egp-150m-investments-into-8-subsidiaries/

[24] Al-Ahram, "Surprise: Workers houses in al-Mahalla al-Kubra .. are state owned", 23.11.2009. Accessed: 05.01.2016 http://www.ahram.org.eg/Archive/2009/11/23/MHFZ1.HTM

[25] Prime Ministerial Decree 3096/2009

[26] EIPR was already representing 30 of the 50 young men arrested form Ramlet Bulaq, where Ahmed Hos- sam was already familiar with the community when he noticed the exproriation decree and brought it to the atten- tion of the residents there. They were able to lodge an appeal and eventually won it. EIPR Press Release: *"Al- Qada' al-Idari Yantasser li Ahali al-Ramla"*, 28.08.2013 http://eipr.org/pressrelease/2013/08/28/1802

[27] Adminstritave Court, *Ruling on Case 55949/66*.

[28] Iskanalzil,*"Badal Matshiluna, Tawaruna!"*. Short documentary. 03.10.2013 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qrIAReY7XUI
[29] EIPR, *Mosta'maret al-Mahalla.* Interview with Muhammed Wadi, 17.02.2014
[30] EIPR, *'Ezbet al-'Arab*. Interview with K.Y., Tennat of the Muthalath parcel, Alexandria, 08.01.2014
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A PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT OF THE EMERGENCY WARMING CENTRE IN INUVIK, CANADA: QUALIFIED SUPPORT FOR HARM REDUCTION THROUGH HOUSING FIRST FROM AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

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INTRODUCTION

While homelessness in developed nations is documented historically, its significance as a social problem gained significant attention in the 1980s[1]. Since then, homelessness has grown to be a perplexing and vexatious problem for policy makers, and an embarrassment to nations and communities. Within the Canadian context homelessness is at crisis levels[2]. While urban homelessness may have been the impetus for attention, one that initially occupied the foreground of research and policy development, attention to rural homelessness emerged as its own significant problem in the 1990s[3]. Rural homelessness may share key elements with its urban counterpart, but it remains on the periphery of attention as it contradicts common conceptions of health and social well-being often associated with life in rural communities. Significantly, rurality may actually add to and exacerbate the problem of homelessness in terms of health and well-being. This is particularly true in the Canadian Arctic where life is either viewed as uninhabitable or viewed as communal, mutually supportive and in harmony with nature[4]. Arguably, neither image is accurate, but the rurality and remoteness of the area coupled with the extreme weather means that there are fewer services to draw on, more acute housing needs and increased difficulty of bringing in supplies including food and building materials. This exacerbates issues of homelessness as availability of affordable and adequate housing generally cannot keep pace with demand.

To be sure, the causes of homelessness are numerous, complex and not easily solved. Substance abuse, mental illness, physical and emotional abuse, marital breakdown, loss of employment, transition from institutionalized care, and economic factors such as loss of employment, lack of affordable and/or available housing, and economic restructuring figure prominently in research[5]. Regarding socio-structural explanations, in Canada the demise of social housing programs in the 1990s is clearly linked to a surge in homeless populations, both urban and rural[6]. Similarly, in the United Kingdom, May, Cloke and Johnson[7] trace the growth in numbers of the single persons experiencing homelessness through the 1980s and 1990s with the dismantling of the welfare state and then with the increasing governmentality of neo-liberal and social interventionist policies to tackle chronic street homeless in the 1990s and early 2000s. Milbourne & Cloke[8] later suggest that the last few decades have seen increasing complexity emerge in homelessness in Australia as the demographics of persons experiencing homeless shift to encompass a wider variety of people impacted by personal and socio-economic changes in health, housing and poverty. In New Zealand

issues of street homelessness have been relatively hidden. In comparing Auckland in New Zealand to Vancouver and Edmonton in Canada, Collins[9] highlights the significant difference in welfare and housing policies of the two countries. Where Canada experienced a significant increase in homelessness in the wake of cutbacks to social housing in the early 1990s and late 2000s, Collins' research suggests that New Zealand has been somewhat sheltered from homelessness because of social housing combined with cultural practices protect socially excluded family members. However, more recent neo-liberal policies and increasing housing costs may render a different picture in the near future, as intimated by Anderson & Collins[10] in a comparative study exploring indigenous homelessness between Canada, New Zealand and Australia.

Addressing large scale socio-structural challenges in a global economic context could possibly be one of the most difficult challenges for developed nations in recent history. Neoliberal policies related to housing crises and the demise of social welfare policies have clearly taxed communities and individuals[11] leading to an expanding population of hard to house (HtH) people, those who are chronically, cyclically, temporarily or transitionally homeless[12]. The global economic collapse in 2008 propelled homelessness to new levels as nations scrambled to balance budgets through austerity measures which negatively affected social welfare policies[13].

Given the range of causal factors, it is not surprising that effective solutions to homelessness are few, and when developed, difficult to implement. Addressing large scale socio-structural challenges and simultaneously dealing with individual problems like addiction, mental health and other personal problems is clearly daunting. Yet, one possible approach that has witnessed some success is called 'housing first'. In essence,

Housing First involves providing clients with assistance in finding and obtaining safe, secure and permanent housing as quickly as possible. Key to the Housing First philosophy is that individuals and families are not required to first demonstrate that they are 'ready' for housing. Housing is not conditional on sobriety or abstinence[14].

Housing first is grounded in harm reduction philosophy: the approach that helping people from where they currently live rather than from artificial, unrealizable and agency derived goals of abstinence and sobriety results in better long term results[15].

Research supports the application of housing first models in urban and rural Canadian contexts[16], and in Australia, Great Britain, New Zealand and USA[17], particularly for homeless persons dealing with substance abuse issues. While context may dictate subtle variations, harm reduction principles stipulate that safe, stable housing, client centred care, highly integrated care teams, such as assertive case management, and transitional/supportive housing options lead to lower levels of consumption, higher levels of treatment seeking behaviour, lower levels of substance abuse and stable housing over the long term[18].

This paper seeks to detail the findings from an evaluation of the effectiveness of the Emergency Warming Centre (EWC) in Inuvik during the winter months on 2014-2015. This harm reduction project, loosely based on a housing first model provides the context for exploring comparative approaches for addressing homelessness and concurrent disorders in remote, rural areas.

RESEARCH CONTEXT

Situated in the Beaufort Delta, the town of Inuvik is the largest community in the Western Canadian Arctic. The population of Inuvik has remained relatively stable, at roughly 3,400 since the early 21st century. Roughly two thirds of the town's population is Aboriginal, largely Gwich'in and Inuvialuit[19]. Inuvik is unique in that it was a planned community developed by the Canadian Federal Government and meant to serve as a beacon for sovereignty, eventually housing the largest military installation in the Canadian north[20]. However, its role as a military outpost lost significance with the discovery of

rich oil and natural gas deposits in the 1970s[21]. The advent of oil and gas exploration brought with it a cycle of economic booms and busts with resource extraction industries taking a centre stage in economic development with companies vying for market dominance. The proposed construction of the MacKenzie Valley pipeline became a hotly debated project, for two primary reasons. First, acrimonious relationships between original inhabitants of the MacKenzie Valley and southern business interests led to the Berger Report which recommended Aboriginal land claims were to be settled before oil and gas exploration commenced[22]. Second, the estimated high cost of oil and gas extraction delayed construction of the pipeline, and when combined with market volatility, stymied further extraction research projects by oil and gas companies[23].

The impact of resource extraction is associated with the economic boom and bust cycles and the ongoing problems associated with the experiences of Aboriginal peoples. The frontier character accompanying oil and gas exploration brought with it substantial social impacts, the effects of which are still present. While the causal linkages between homelessness and concurrent disorders are debated at many levels, a substantial body of research in northern Canada identifies the negative impact of colonization, resource extraction and economic development on Aboriginal peoples[24]. Following Bergers's[25] comments, research on communities affected by resource extraction repeatedly shows that boom cycles are associated with: (a) increasing crime and addiction rates; (b) housing shortages and increased housing costs; and (c) strains on public services including health, social work and most levels of government infrastructure[26].

Starting in the early 1990s, community groups in Inuvik recognized the emergence of a growing number of visible homeless persons. A steady increase in visible homeless in Inuvik, has resulted in an overbearing demand for shelter[27]. This population is frequently referred to as chronic or long-term homeless, but this definition belies other elements of true homelessness. Hard-to-House (HtH) populations are also comprised of persons whom may be temporarily homeless, cyclically homeless or simply in transition from being housed to HtH[28]. The transition shelter established the 1990s is unable to accommodate the number of potential clients, and does not accept HtH persons under the influence of drugs or alcohol. Consequently, those HtH persons unable to access the transition shelter are left to their own devices in terms of finding accommodation. Most are unable to stay with family or friends because they have "worn out their welcome" with problem behaviours. In the past, some have stayed in the RCMP cells (Royal Canadian Mounted Police). However, the mandate of the RCMP does not include housing leaving them at risk of being cited for policy violations (e.g. unlawful confinement). Others manage to sleep under buildings or in larger sections of the "Utilidor", an above ground utility carrying service. However, the risk of serious illness, injury or death is concern in colder months of the year for those not able to access adequate accommodation[29].

PURPOSE

This research examines the effectiveness of the Emergency Warming Centre operating from October 2014 to May 2015 in Inuvik, Canada. This evaluation was situated within a wider research context that asked the question regarding what role substance abuse and mental health issues play in individual's pathways into and out of homelessness. Built on the foundations of previous research looking at rural homelessness in the Beaufort Delta by Young & Moses[30], this research focused more specifically on the effectiveness of the pilot project that emerged to redress issues of homelessness and concurrent disorders in Inuvik through the EWC. With strong initial community support in Inuvik, the Inuvik Interagency Committee initiated the pilot program in the autumn of 2013. Housed within the Anglican Church, the pilot was further expanded and reintroduced in October 2014 running through to May 2015. The Centre opened nightly from 7 pm to 9 am. It provided a safe, warm place to sleep, and dinner and breakfast. Drinking and substance use was prohibited in the Centre. However,

unlike the permanent homeless shelter in Inuvik, the EWC is accessible to people who were under the influence of drugs or alcohol.

The primary objective of the Centre was to keep the homeless population from dying from exposure. Secondary objectives of the Centre were to increase the access to supports for users of the Centre and improve their health and social well-being by providing stability in diet and warm sleeping quarters.

The purpose of the evaluation was to assess the effectiveness of the EWC in terms of the improvements in the lives of homeless persons with concurrent disorders in Inuvik. This included tracking the rate of mortality and morbidity. Specifically the evaluation posed the question does the EWC improve the health and social functioning of its users by providing stable dietary intake and safe warm sleeping arrangements.

METHODS

The research took a fundamentally community-based research approach working with the local community[31]. Using mixed methodology, the study undertook a pre and post-test of health and social functioning of a cohort of service users, or "guests" as they were referred to at the EWC. The research included interviews, focus groups and guided surveys[32]. The researchers obtained ethical review from the Royal Roads Research Ethics Board, and approval for the research in the Northwest Territories was granted by the Aurora Research Institute. Given the relatively small number of guests, the final sample was small. Nine guests were interviewed pre and post-test, in October 2014 and April 2015. Although more interviews were held, several were incomplete or withdrew their consent and thus were removed from the sample. Each guest was given a $25 gift card for completing the pre-test component and another $25 gift card for the post-test aspect of the research. The cards were redeemable at a local store.

Quantitative data was collected using a number of rigorous evaluation tools including the SF-12 Health Survey (Short Form Health Survey)[33] and the Readiness to Change Questionnaire (RCQ)[34], both of which have been subject to evaluation in terms of reliability and validity. Additional secondary administrative data was collected from the Centre itself and the RCMP. Originally the Alcohol Severity Index was included, but it was found to be inappropriate for the cultural context and nature of the research so it was dropped in the post-test. Qualitative interviews and focus groups were held with key stakeholders, including guests, staff, and board members and founding members in October 2015 and again in April, 2015. Guests of the Centre were asked about their health, well-being, lifestyle and support systems, their thoughts on the impact of the Centre, and their perspective on the community and community-based supports. Interviews and a focus group were also held with Board members and founding members, and key staff and volunteers regarding the management and functioning of the Centre. The qualitative data were analyzed for emergent themes through content analysis.

RESULTS

This evaluation provided some specific information regarding the effectiveness of the Emergency Warming Shelter in Inuvik, including suggestions for future endeavours, but beyond this it provides some insights into the effectiveness of housing first models in rural and or northern contexts.

For Inuvik, this research and the research it is built upon indicate there is a clear migration of homeless men and women into Inuvik from surrounding areas. This and the preceding research by Young and Moses[35] support the claim that services for this population are fragmented, inadequate, or ill prepared to cope with the special needs of this population. It supports the idea that mental health and addiction issues are common within the population experiencing homelessness and mental health issues are often undiagnosed and/or untreated. This is partially due to a lack of service. Similarly, there is a severe lack of supportive housing designed to support a population with specific and often

numerous issues. For example, there is evidence of multiple intersections of violence and trauma, including post-traumatic stress disorder, intergenerational trauma and harmful experiences of residential schools. These exacerbate the potential for mental health and addiction issues.

Overall, the Emergency Warming Shelter had positive effects on the population it was targeting. It provided a safe place to stay and had a short term impact on improving health through providing food and warmth. There were suggestions that during the period it was opened it provided opportunities for more and improved positive social interactions. There were some indications that the Centre may lead to health seeking behaviour, including seeking other services, and may lead to a reduction in substance use or a more controlled use of substances. Indications from the research suggest that without the Emergency Warming Shelter guests would have negative expectation of their future in terms of health and well-being, less access to positive social interactions, potential increase in substance use and increased risk of health problems, criminality and death. Looking at the findings in more detail the quantitative data provided a snapshot of two points in time. The results were inconclusive, but worth further exploration.

Quantitative data results

The results from the Readiness to Change Questionnaire (RCQ) suggest that attendance at the EWC had a positive effect on guests' intentions to reduce alcohol consumption. Figure 1 illustrates the change in intentions using the concepts developed for the RCQ. Pre-contemplative indicates no intention to change; contemplative indicates intention to change; and action indicates that the guest is taking steps to reduce alcohol consumption. The change is measured by comparing guests' scores on the RCQ scale in October, 2014 and again in May, 2015. Further analysis of these results appears in the discussion section.

October	May	#of guests
Precontemplative/Contemplative	Action	1
Precontemplative/action	Action	2
Action	Action	1
Cont	Action	2
Action	Precontemplative	1*
Missing		2

*suggests relapse

Figure 1Readiness to Change Questionnaire results

Regarding social functioning, the SF 12 contains 7 domains comprised of 12 items. These domains are listed below in Figure 2 along with the number of items associated with each domain.

Domain	Number of items
General health	1
Physical health limits activities	2
Physical health limits accomplishments	2
Emotional health limits work	2

Pain limits activities	1
Feelings	3
Physical and emotional health limit social activities	1

Figure 2SF 12 Domains

The data in Table 1 provide raw scores on the 12 items in the Sf 12. Typically, a higher score indicates a more positive outcome. In terms of social functioning, health and activities for guests of the EWC are about average, as are their spirits or happiness; however, their sense of accomplishments is low. Overall, for many items in the SF 12 the results indicate a downward trend between pre and post-test scores, from October, 2014 to May, 2015. Further analysis of the SF 12 results also appears in the discussion section.

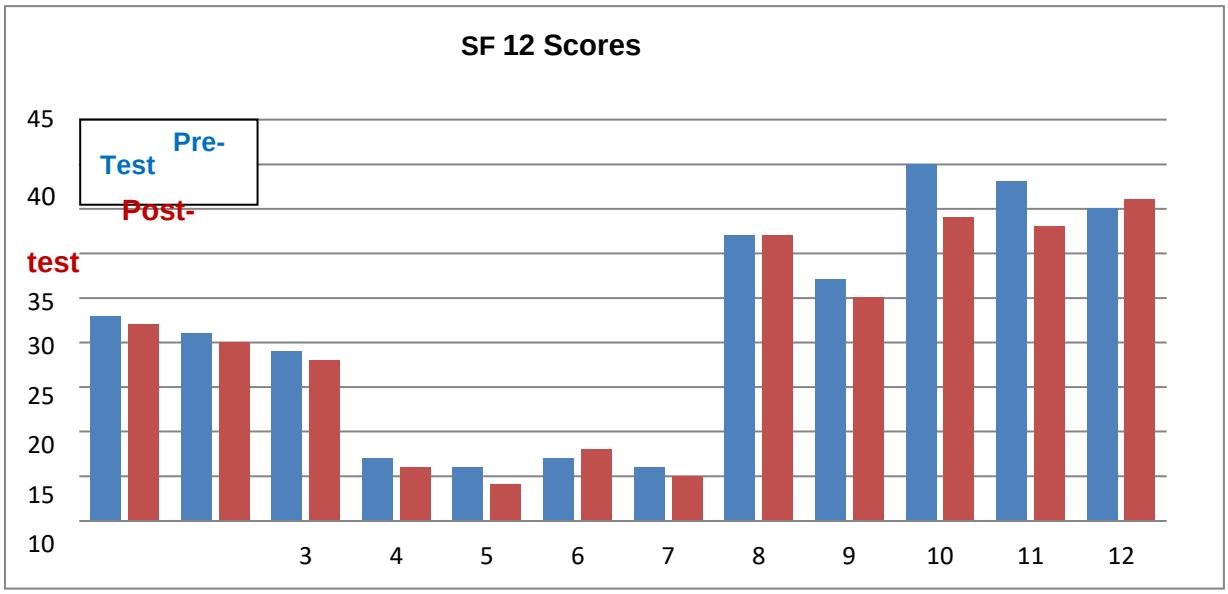

Table 1.

Qualitative data results

Rich information was gathered from the qualitative data. While the findings were not necessarily representative, they painted a picture of life for the respondents and other service users of the EWC. Interviews with staff and residents suggested that overall consumption for most guests declined with their attendance at the Centre. Notably, the Superintendent of the RCMP reported a decrease in the number of admissions to the cells over the period of EWC operation and thus a corresponding decrease in charges against guests of the Centre. Respondents to the interview demonstrated their tenacity, resiliency and survival instincts. Although a few noted a lack of compassion they had experienced in the town, they were grateful for the support they had experienced from the EWC. Respondents articulated the complexity of the homelessness situation in Inuvik. They identified some of the barriers to accessing permanent housing, the issues with battling substance abuse and the elemental challenges posed by living in the Far North. Despite their generally upbeat attitudes, they also painted a picture of boredom and disenfranchisement.

As the shelter is only open overnight, days for guests are long. The majority of respondents said that they spent most of their days walking the streets of Inuvik or shorelines of the Mackenzie River. Some suggested they spent some time with their family or friends, either on the streets or in their homes. Most respondents suggested that they spent time drinking each day. Some respondents had casual work or family obligations in which to attend. Alternatively, a few mentioned that they visited either the library or the soup kitchen during part of the day. One respondent said he used the

recreation complex to shower. At night those who did not stay at the Centre slept in tents, cubby holes, under buildings, in Utilidors and sometimes with friends or family members or in bush camps during the warmer months. On rare occasions respondents suggested they stayed at the either the other shelter or the Women's Shelter, the hospital, the police lockup/jail. The pattern did not change significantly between interview periods, although several did suggest in the second period they spent time waiting for the EWC to open. This suggests a level of habituation.

There was a continuum of use of the shelter. Some residents used it nightly, where others used it occasionally when other options ran out (for instance if they were kicked out by family or from the other Shelter)**.** The main reasons respondents gave for appreciating the EWC included: allowing them to stay independent and 'not cause a nuisance' to friends and family; providing them with a warm, safe, dry place to sleep and a place to store their belongings; having people to talk to; and not freezing to death.

Opinions were split on whether they believed the EWC could or would impact their drinking. Some said it would reduce or regularize their drinking and make it safer, but others felt it would not make a difference. Most respondents had optimistic, but realistic perspectives on their ability to stop drinking.

According to respondents, two main themes emerged when looking at obstacles to housing and general recovery. One was the lack of accessible or permanent housing and the other was alcohol addiction. The housing insecurity that respondents felt included not only a lack of access to basic shelter, but also to warmth, food and storage. It also involved a lack of respite from boredom, disrupted sleep, a lack of access to facilities to maintain basic hygiene, and insecurity of belongings. The EWC offered some respite to these areas, but not to all of them. For instance, respondents suggested that even with the support of the EWC they had nowhere to store their personal belongings during the day, nowhere to go in the day and no access to wash themselves or their clothes.

Overall, respondents demonstrated a high degree of resiliency. They reported significant levels of physical health issues, ranging from chronic to acute illness and injuries, but these issues were minimized by the guests themselves. Similarly, although most reported having no mental health issues or current problems, a number of respondents disclosed multiple traumatic experiences and significant losses. A number of experiences of psychological and physical violence were shared. There were high levels of reported alcohol use. One respondent suggested:

I am an alcoholic, it's an addiction. Right, and like I said it's my choice whether I want to or not and if you had other support though, maybe you wouldn't so much that's oh that's a factor of boredom also, there's nothing to do.

Despite this observation, most described their mental health as good. However, this may relate more to their fear of stigma or to a lack of knowledge, than to their mental health.

There was scant evidence that respondents were drawing on many services. Most suggested that they had applied for housing and were on a waiting list. Some noted that they used the Soup Kitchen, and occasionally the hospital. A few mentioned that they had gone to counselling in the past but were not currently doing so. Some noted they had previously gone to detox or substance abuse counselling, but were not currently accessing these. A few noted they occasionally accessed Alcoholics Anonymous meetings or church support. Only one respondent noted the need to seek legal help. A few respondents occasionally worked casually, although one respondent appeared to work more regularly.

Respondents noted that they needed more access to appropriate counselling, housing support, detox, a program on the land and support for obtaining identification (which is difficult to do with no fixed abode). A few noted that they had been encouraged to go back to school, but none suggested that they were currently attending classes. One respondent said:

They say oh you should go back to school but it is not easy being homeless and try to go back to school. It's not easy trying to get a job and not have anything to eat or anywhere to wash your clothes or have a shower or you know. That's tough.

In terms of social support, respondents were mixed. For the most part female respondents were more likely to suggest they had good social support networks with family and/or friends and that they both gave and received support from others.

Analysis of guest's statements illustrates that a sense of connection to family, friends and band was mixed. Most suggested they felt reasonably connected to the Centre, but noted that they had experienced prejudice within the wider community. One respondent suggested:

it's frustrating like to live in you know you set up a tent and make your little spot somewhere and someone comes along and destroys it, ignorant kids or ignorant people doing that. I don't know. I never caught anyone destroying my stuff before. Pretty sneaky.

Another stated "they see you as a lowlife alcoholic... you are still a human being...you still have feelings". Despite this, respondents generally felt a connection to Inuvik.

Respondents reported that little had changed in Inuvik in terms of services, other than the introduction of the EWC. They offered a number of ideas for services or supports that could help the community experiencing homelessness to move to independence. These included: "someone to talk to", "a place to live", help in accessing housing, support with obtaining identification, "warmth", "a laundromat", work, detox, and a graduated wet-dry shelter that moved people to independence.

DISCUSSION

The evaluation of the EWC in Inuvik provides evidence of the potential efficacy of a housing first wet shelter model for homeless persons with concurrent disorders. As a logical extension of harm reduction approaches to addiction, the RCQ data suggest that many guests of the Centre intended to reduce alcohol consumption or had already started taking steps to reduce alcohol intake. Arguably, the EWC had an overall positive effect on many guests in terms of changing alcohol consumption behaviour. However, the data from the SF 12 provides a less clear picture in terms of social functioning. With the exception of items 6, 8 and 12, the overall downward trend in the SF 12 data suggest that guests' levels of social functioning declined over the pre and post-test period. While the sample size limits the confidence placed on the results, it is possible that the impending closure of the EWC affected the results, despite the positive the change in item 6 (emotional problems interfering with work or daily activities) and item 12 (limitations on social activities due to physical or emotional troubles).

From guests' perspectives, the qualitative data provide a different and more encompassing interpretation of the EWC. The importance of the Centre for health and overall well-being was a constant theme. A safe and warm place to stay that provided some meals, a place to store one's personal belongings, shower and laundry facilities provided respite from the life of being homeless and addicted. Connecting guests with health and social services available in the community was not in the Centre's mandate, and few guests accessed resources. Clearly, the results demonstrate a need for more comprehensive, coordinated and inclusive services. This was reiterated by data collected from Centre staff. Respondents relayed that some basic structures were in place to support the guests and staff, but these were relatively rudimentary. With time these policies and processes could be further developed, including staff training. Research from several jurisdictions underscores these observations. Regarding harm reduction strategies in Canada[36], observe that housing first approaches are correlated with improved health outcomes, reductions in substance use, increased health seeking behaviours and more prosocial activities. Other research on rural homelessness in Canada echoes these findings[37]. Research on the effectiveness of 11 wet shelters, those not requiring sobriety, in Canada, England, Ireland, New Zealand and the United States, identifies the positive effects of housing first approaches on clients' well-being[38]. In all cases, however, housing first can be considered a necessary but insufficient response to the problems experienced by homeless persons

with concurrent disorders. Other necessary ingredients for serving this population include programming that addresses the myriad issues associated with homelessness and concurrent disorders. Housing first programs based on harm reduction require: a client centred approach; intensive case management that is responsive to individual clients' needs; continuous support for clients; respectful and trained staff; interagency collaboration between service providers; and access to community programming and social activities[39]. MacIntyre summarizes this approach succinctly when she states that wet shelters work because "...leaders of organizations providing these services and the staff who, on a daily basis, offer a mix of compassion, realism and professional support to people who desperately in need."[40]

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This research provided an evaluation of the Inuvik EWC operating between October, 2014 and May, 2015. The EWC was loosely based on a harm reduction approach as it offered meals and a safe, warm place to sleep for homeless or HtH persons with concurrent disorders who could not access other sleeping accommodations because they were under the influence of alcohol or drugs, or because of their behaviour. The research does have shortcomings -- it is based on a small sample of homeless persons. As well, the Centre was not designed to provide any services other than food and nighttime winter shelter, and as such, does not fit a true housing first model of intervention. Similarly, although guests can be inebriated when they enter the Centre, they cannot drink on the premises or after they have checked in for the night and therefore the EWC is not designed to be a wet shelter. These aspects alone should prove fatal to the Centre's operation, yet without the centre there is a possibility that guests of the Centre would have been at serious risk of illness, injury and death. Although the data provide qualified support for the EWC, it is clear that it served its function of keeping guests safe and alive. That the RCMP reported fewer admissions to their cells is evidence of a positive effect on the EWC in terms of the appropriate use of police services.

Overall, the results from this research corroborate much of the extant literature on housing first in term of the elements necessary for successful housing first approaches to homelessness based on harm reduction. This research established a starting point in rural, northern contexts by identifying the complex interplay of complications between homelessness, mental illness and addiction in harsh and remote environments, particularly in the wake of massive global economic changes affecting resource extraction in northern Canada. This also provides reason to challenge the status quo notion of rural homelessness articulated by Cloke and Milbourne who suggested that "...it remains the case that rurality can also be intertwined with political conservatism, moral individualism and cultural tendencies to blame the victim".[41] A holistic systems approach that recognize and address multiple and intersecting issues that lead to, and keep people within, homelessness are much more effective in terms of long term strategies. Harm reduction strategies such as wet shelters and the housing first model offer a more holistic approach, but they come with public criticism. They require clear vision, community consultation, support & education & strong allied support systems of transition. In addition to continued and larger research projects on homelessness and concurrent disorders in rural locales, future research should examine the most effective strategies used to promote and develop housing first strategies in communities lacking the infrastructure and expertise to implement harm reduction approaches to homelessness and concurrent disorders.

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INNOVATIVE HOUSING AND LIVING MODELS: AN INVESTIGATION ON CYPRIOT HOUSING IN RELATION TO APPROPRIATENESS, AFFORDABILITY, ADAPTABILITY, AND SOCIAL COHESION

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INTRODUCTION

Publications on Cypriot housing are dominated by monetary control institutions, the business sector and economic researchers whilst little is published by spatial and social disciplines. The paper dives into this gap by questioning the markets capability to provide a spectrum of choices that is appropriate and affordable for diverse population groups, and especially vulnerable groups, and can adapt to life cycles and evolving living trends.

STATE OF HOUSING

Four characteristics of the Cypriot state of housing can be observed.

First, real estate industry is an important pillar of the Cypriot economy; in 2013 it represented 11.6% of the country`s GDP despite the devastating contraction of the Cypriot construction sector.[1] Property developers have largely taken over housing and residential area development and develop land from land purchase, urban planning and design to the design and construction of apartment to individual residential buildings within the frame of local plans and area schemes but do not exceed an established, commonplace standard.

Second, the Cypriot structure of housing tenure is dominated by owner occupancy.[2] In 2011 68.6% of Cypriot dwellings fell among this category in contrast to 18.8% that were rented (figure 1).[3] Such a life-long bond calls for adaptability to life cycles, a need neglected by the housing industry and governmental housing schemes.

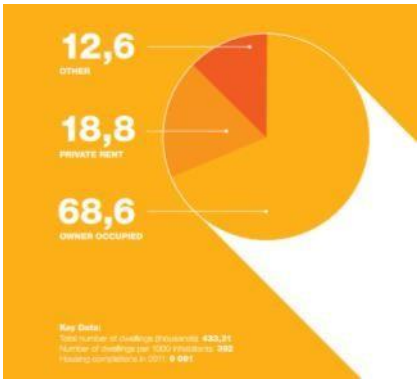

Figure 1. Housing tenure structure in Cyprus

Third, the Cypriot real estate market has been over-evaluated by approximately 30-50% at the peak in 2008. Despite of a burst of this housing bubble, the market still exhibits characteristics of overvaluation as market prices decreased by only 26% till 2014 and construction costs continued to increase at an average yearly rate of close to 5%.[4] In addition, the high level of outstanding residential loans set into relation to the GDP ratio of 70.9% in 2012 compared to an average of 52% of the EU27 shows a mismatch of financial obligations and available income.[5] Looking at the population with arrears on mortgage or rent Cyprus performs worth with a share of 8.8% of the total population compared to an average of 4.2% in the EU.[6] Such an unsustainable high price level requires affordable housing models which are given little attention.

Last, governmental housing programs are focusing on ownership. Affordable home ownership programmes are run for acquiring a primary residence for low and middle income families, large families and persons with disabilities. Housing packages include houses for purchase at reasonable prices and long-term, low-interest housing loans for low-income groups (figure 2).[7]

Figure 2. Governmental housing schemes, Cyprus

Other schemes support independent home purchase, home enlargement or upgrading of living standards through financial support targeted at specific population groups.[6] The schemes, of which more than 17.000 households benefit, are run by the Cyprus Land Development Corporation (CLDC) and the Housing Finance Corporation (HCF). [7] Cyprus has no social renting sector or cooperative renting sector[8] (figure 3) nor does it practice a legally binding agreement between local planning authorities and developers on a percentage share of social housing in new developments as other European countries.[7] The focus on the promotion of housing ownership for low income groups seems to be questionable looking at the high percentage of almost 50% of people with low income and arrears on mortgage and rents.[6]

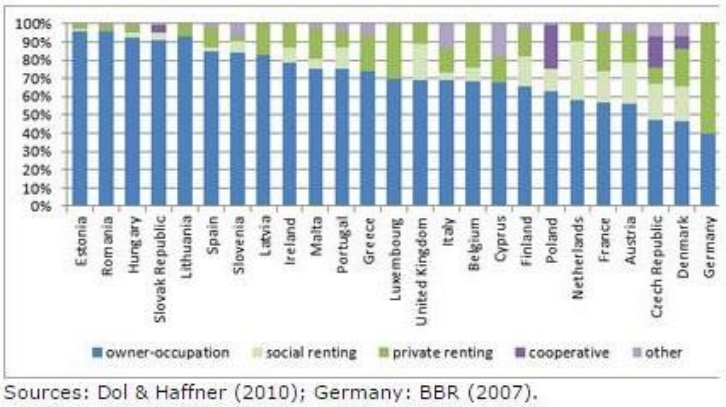

Figure 3. Housing tenures EU27 (without Bulgaria), 2008 or latest year available

In conclusion, housing choices are limited to commonplace standard. Alternative best practice affordable or adaptable housing models or housing cooperatives are missing in the Cypriot context as much as innovative housing models that respond to evolving living trends and needs.

AFFORDABLE HOUSING

Affordable housing provides low cost housing whilst maintaining high quality of living. Three factors influence the cost of housing; the housing area, the building design and the building operation.
Land is a major cost factor; the smaller the plots and the bigger the building density, horizontally and vertically, the more economical building is. Plot form and direction, the building location in relation to the street, the nearer the better, and the typology and the width of the road network also influence costs. Sharing infrastructure through communal parking, heating or power station is more cost effective. Multiple use of urban elements such as the use of streets as open space with an increased quality of stay and buildings rows that also offer noise protection through smart design reduce costs further. General daily costs of residents are reduced when shops for daily needs and schools and kindergartens are in proximity and reachable on foot. The atrium houses Pfeffingerstrasse, Leipzig, Germany, by Hertrampf and Niehus Architekten (figure 4) provide high building density. Atrium houses are the most dense form of one family houses but do not affect the living quality due to protection from outside views that guarantees a necessary degree of privacy.[9] They also correspond with the traditional, Cypriot courtyard house typology.

Figure 4. Atrium houses Pfeffingerstrasse, Leipzig, Germany (photographer Frank-Heinrich Müller)

Costs are also influenced by building design. Early basic decisions and early coordination between client, architect, engineers shorten the construction period. The questioning of custom standards, the design of the plan, the building material, the construction system, the better linking of design, construction and manufacturing, and the efficiency of site logistics are key elements of low cost building. Most important is an economic prefabrication, based on repeated elements, a simple, flexible layout with limited installation shafts and a limitation to few, well- designed living unit typologies that can also adapt to user needs. Adaptation to topography, avoidance of underground garages, open

staircases and access balconies, and a minimization of traffic space are further decreasing expenditure. The apartment house in Waldkraiburg, Germany, by Meck Architekten (figure 5), which was granted an award in a competition on affordable housing, relies on prefabrication, repetition, optimal active and passive use of solar energy, and an open space plan with a reinforced concrete pillar structure and flexible partitions.[10] It also functions simultaneously as noise protection.

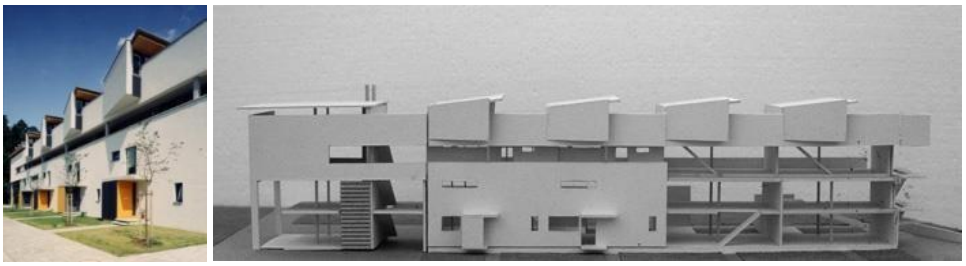

Figure 5. Low cost housing Waldkraiburg, Germany

An ecological building design does not only reduce the effects on the environment but also influences operational costs positively. The design of a low or zero energy house, a compact building mass, a good insulation along with a smart use of passive solar energy, a solar energy heating and solar panels for the heating of service water and the use of rain and grey water reduce operational costs in the long term.

ADAPTABLE HOUSING

Adaptable housing fine-tunes housing and living realities considering changing forms of living throughout the life cycle of people. The normative life cycle changes from single to couple later followed by the birth of children and the formation of a nucleus family. Such a process is reversed when children are leaving home and partners die.[11,12] During the last decades the typical pattern of the nucleus family is softened by an increasing number of singles, single parents, and patchwork families.[13] Transitions from one stage of the life cycle to another are in general affecting income available for housing, living patterns, space demands, and housing needs as in the case of elderly people who have special needs.

Models that consider changing needs are universal and flexible or adaptable housing. Universal housing considers changing needs in relation to age and ability and focuses especially on barrier-free housing.[14, 15] Flexible or adaptable housing looks at changing needs from a broader point of view, a social, economical and environmental viability. It focuses on flexibility defined by the adaptability to various social uses through different spatial arrangements based on a specific construction and provision of services logic.[16] Flexible housing can adapt to a change in income, lifestyle, living pattern or household composition, avoids relocation and decreases the costs for necessary reconfiguration. It gains a growing importance due to a trend of increasing life expectancy, a decreasing number of children and a greater geographical mobility paired with an increasing desire of elderly to live independently.

The changing needs of an American family were the base of the design of the exhibition building for the Museum of Modern Art by Marcel Breuer (figure 6). The house was designed for three life phases; rooms could be added or the use of existing ones could be changed. First, the ground floor was supposed to be completed for a young family. Then, a first floor was added for a mature family with older children and higher income and the use of rooms could be switched. Last, the aging parents could move back to the ground floor and adult children could use the first floor as an independent unit reachable by an outdoor staircase.[17]

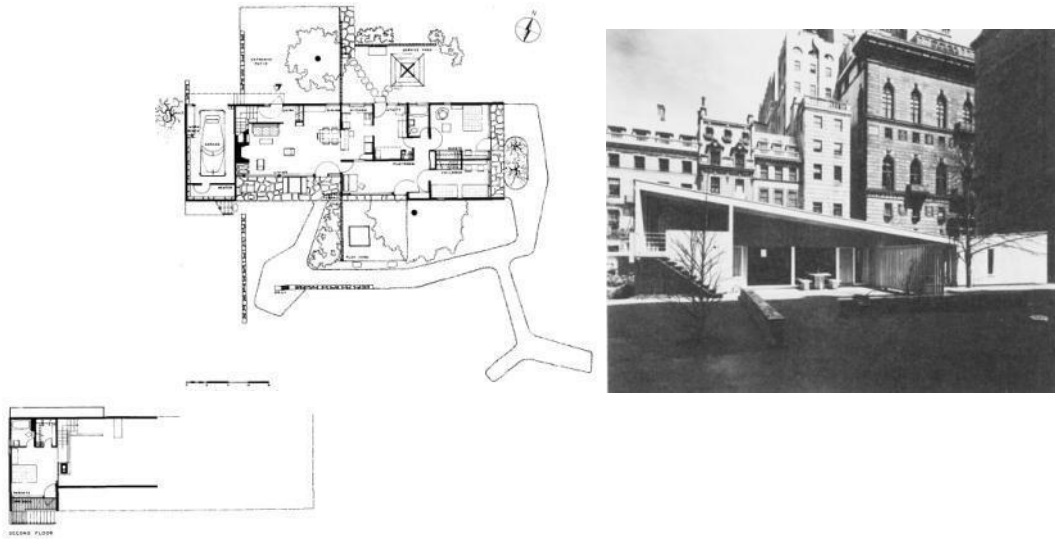

Figure 6. Exhibition building for the Museum of Modern Art

The idea of adaptation was further refined by providing an undetermined open plan and structural system, a frame, plus lightweight panels for an individual, flexible room division as in the case of the Techbuilt house by Carl Koch and the Genter Strasse housing by Steidle and Thut (figure 7). The later also put emphasis on a visually legible construction system that enables residents to do changes without prior consultation of professional experts.[18]

Figure 7. Adaptable housing Genter Strasse, Munich, Germany

STATE OF HOUSEHOLDS

Residents or user groups and vulnerable groups that should be given special attention can be identified when looking at the state of households. The family nuclei household has the biggest share of all household types in Cyprus and in the EU. Cyprus is top of the list concerning households of a couple with minor child(ren), 31.5% in comparison to 21.3% EU27 average, and still ranges among the peak five concerning couples with adult children, 17.2% in comparison to 10.1% EU27 average. The situation is though quite different when looking at lone parents, 3.3 % in comparison to 3.5% EU27 average, or single adults with child(ren), 4.3% in comparison to 4.4% EU27 average, and extended families, 2.7% in comparison to 3.2% EU27 average, where Cyprus is near to the European average (Iacovou and Skew 2011). However, when the numbers of female or male lone parents are closer looked at a severe imbalance comes to light. Whilst 88% of female parents are living in single parent households only 12% of male parents take over this responsibility. When focusing only on children younger than 25 this disparity even aggravates with 90% female versus 10% male lone parent

households.[3]

Another important population group is people above 65 (65+). 11.4% couples only of which minimum one is older than 65 years lie within the average level of 11.1% of EU27 countries. This picture changes when looking at single adult households 65+ that are with 7% least common in Cyprus compared to 13.1% EU27 average. This relatively low number might be also explained by living in extended family households.[19] Persons aged above 65 should nevertheless be given specific attention as their risk of poverty rate was in 2012 with 33.4% significantly higher than in the EU with 19.3% (figure 11).

In 2012 27.1% of the Cypriot population were at risk of poverty or social exclusion which is above the average European context (figure 8) and still rising with 27.8% in 2013.[20]

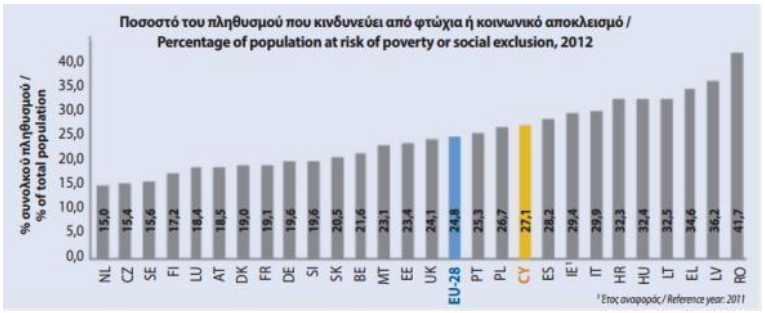

Figure 8. Risk of poverty or social exclusion, EU, 2012

The indicator *risk of poverty or social exclusion* consists of three components; *poverty rate*, *severe material deprivation* and *low labor index*. In 2013 15.3 % of the population was below the poverty line of a minimum of € 9.524 per person and year, usually calculated at 60% of median equivalent income, 16.1% were living in households with severe material deprivation, and 6.5% in households with a very low labor intensity, below 20% (figure 9).[20, 21]

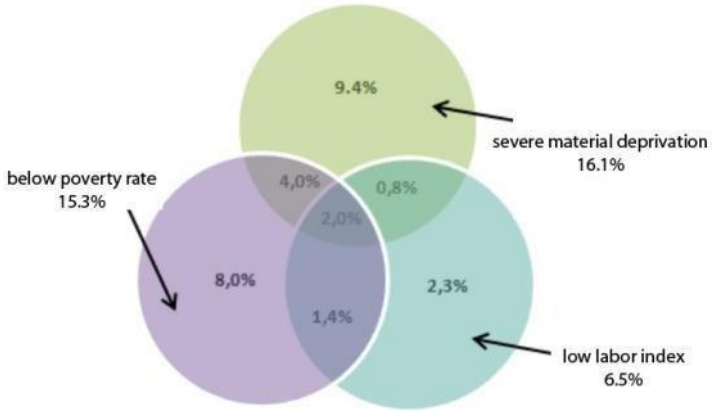

Figure 9. The three components of the indicator risk of poverty or social exclusion, Cyprus, 2013

Until 2012, the most vulnerable group at risk of poverty and social exclusion in Cyprus were people 65+. But when the disposable income of the majority of population began to decline and the income of pensioners remained stable, a relative leveling of age groups was observed (figure 10).[20]

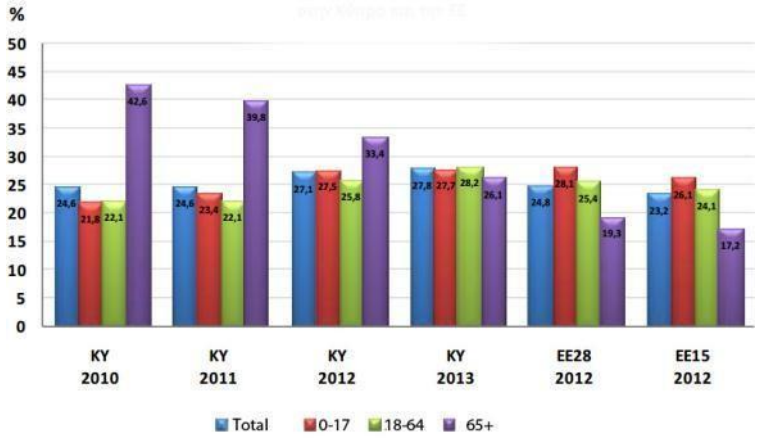

Figure 10. Risk of poverty or social exclusion by age, EU and Cyprus

In 2012 children were the biggest age group experiencing severe material deprivation with 18.1% in Cyprus and 11.8% in the EU but the EU level was significantly lower and Cypriot numbers were on the rise from 15.5% in 2010 to 18.7% in 2013 (figure 11).[20]

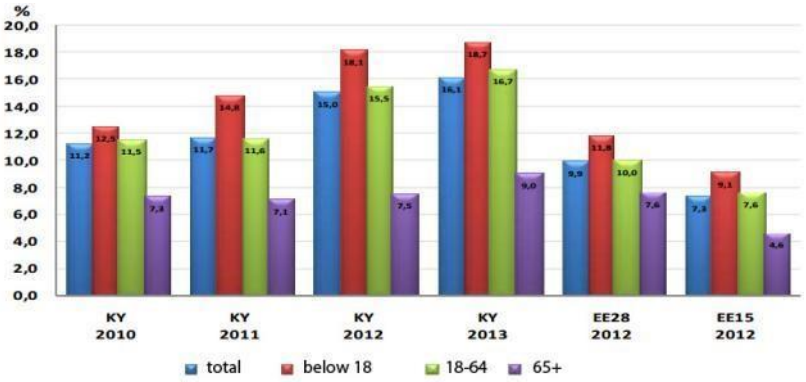

Figure 11. Severe material deprivation by age, EU and Cyprus

Also the poverty risk rate for women, 16.5% in 2013, is higher than for men with 14.1%, similar to the EU but with a bigger difference between the sexes (figure 12) and people born in non-EU countries are exhibiting a significantly higher risk of poverty or social exclusion. Data from 2010-13 also shows that the percentage of people from other EU countries is significantly rising while the level of natives remains relatively stable (figure 13).[20]

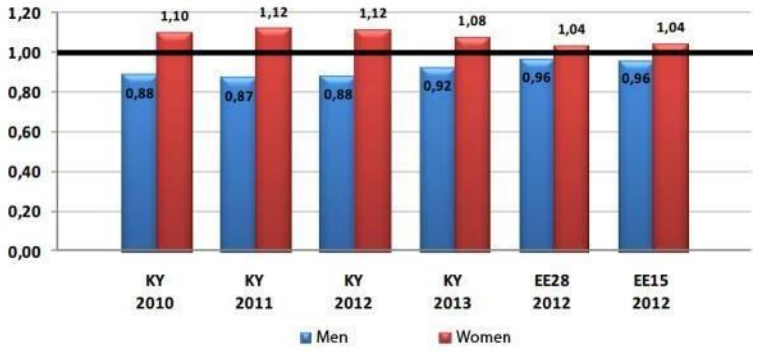

Figure 12. Risk of poverty by gender, EU and Cyprus

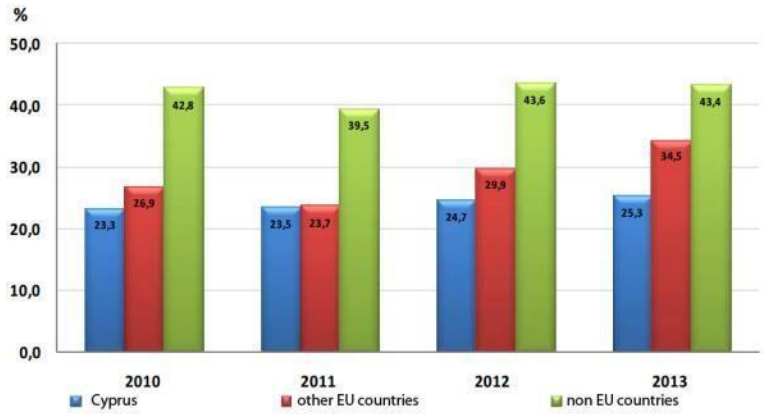

Figure 13. Risk of poverty or social exclusion by country of birth

Non-natives, women and children below 18 are at a higher risk of poverty and exclusion or suffer from material deprivation. Considering the fact that female single parent households also represent an unproportional high percentage it seems necessary to consider their specific needs of housing, educational and social support especially for non-natives who often also lack social support from family or friends. This is also valid for people 65+ who want to live independent but need more support with growing age.

HOUSING MODELS BASED ON SOCIAL INCLUSION, COHESION AND NETWORKING

Changing contemporary forms of living, from the multi-generational and nucleus family to an increasing number of singles and single parents are paralleled by a greater geographical mobility and an increase of distances between generations and result in multi-local smaller units.[13] This together with the employment of both, men and women, an increasing life expectancy, and a decreasing number of children requires innovative models of social support and more and alternative care options for children and elderly. Community housing projects provide such an alternative which is especially necessary for groups at risk of poverty and social exclusion.

The first forms, housing cooperatives, became popular in Europe in the 19th century when people in need for housing decided to help themselves through cooperation. The idea of communal living was revived by the commune movement at the end of the nineteen-sixties; its aim was to dissolve the isolation of the individual and the fixation of gender roles and to develop new forms of living and working together. [22] Around the same time the community housing development started in Denmark out of the desire for solidarity, the development of social ties, the absorption of needs for assistance and an increase of quality of life.[23] Co-housing communities consist of autonomous, individually owned dwellings and commonly owned and shared facilities.[24] Saettedammen, the first cohousing community in Hillerod, Denmark (figure 14), was also built with a flexible and adaptable construction responding to individual and changing needs of residents.[25]

Figure 14. The first co-housing community Saettedammen

Co-living was further expanded through the integration of workspaces when a new relation of

working and living emerged at the end of the 20yh century based on a more fluid formulation of gainful work and the blurring of boundaries between the two.[26, 27] It often includes the aspect of co-working in workspaces that are shared by diverse groups of independent professionals based on values of community, collaboration, skill sharing, learning, and sustainability (figure 15).[28] The combination of living and working is especially helpful for people that take care of dependent family members.

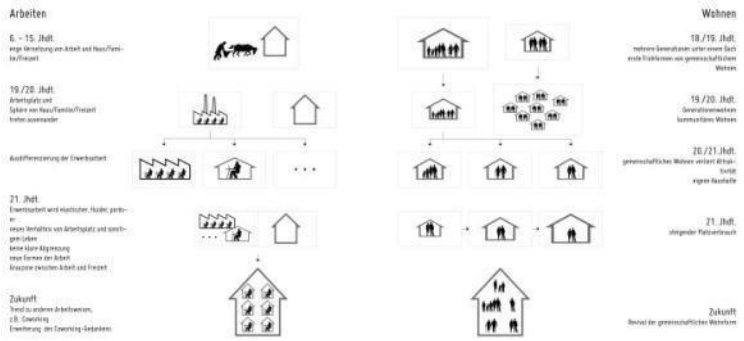

Figure 15. Development of working and living

Cohousing+ is a model proposed by Vera Cramer and Deborah Mast that focuses on both, cohousing and co-working, based on the needs of users. It provides the opportunity for living and working networks through a large choice of living and working spaces backed up by child care. The variety of residential types ranges from single rooms to various size apartments and the variety of work spaces from the classic co-working computer places, to separable office spaces, and workshops for practical activities (figures 16 and 17).

Work and living spaces are located in close proximity to common areas, shared by the coworkers and the living community. They are situated above the passages, extend over two floors, provide community kitchens, lounge areas, bars and roof gardens and also include the Prinzessinnengärten in the courtyard which can be viewed through the passageways and are open to the public. The Café on the ground floor is a meeting space for all users and the public. The outdoor area of the café is located in the Prinzessinnengärten and can also be used for the sales of goods produced in the garden.[26]

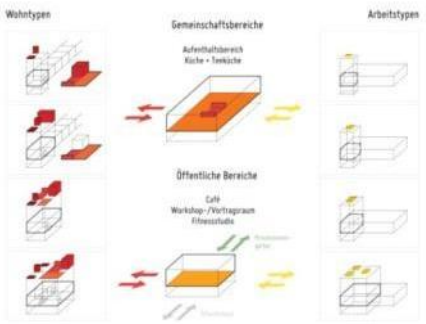

Figure 16. Cohousing+: Working, living and community spaces

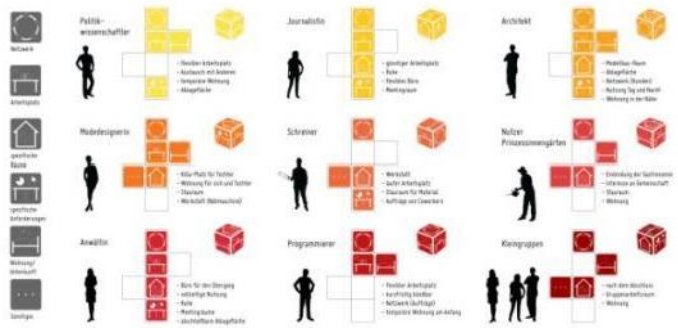

Figure 17. Cohousing+: Space combinations based on user needs

The built project Oderbergerstrasse in Berlin by BARarchitekten achieves to correspond to the surrounding urban complexity through a complex internal structure. The development of social networks of a carefully chosen mix of users (figure 20) is strengthened by spatial density and a hybrid building use including working and living spaces, restaurant, store, and art space. Focus is put on the

needs of users and flexibility concerning owner occupation (50%) and rental (50%) (figure 18), interchangeable living and working spaces, short and long-term occupation and space size. Work units vary from 5-54m2, residential units from 30-128m2 and smaller units can be joined. The five double-height studios, situated on the upper levels, provide a house in the house character and can be used as living and working spaces. Common amenities are a guest apartment and a roof terrace/garden on the last floor and a public art space on the ground floor next to the restaurant and the store, which are popular neighbourhood venues that enable interaction of the community and the urban environment (figures 19 and 20).[29]

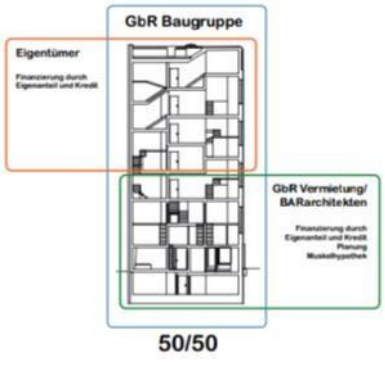

Figure 18.Oderbergerstrasse Ownership/rent

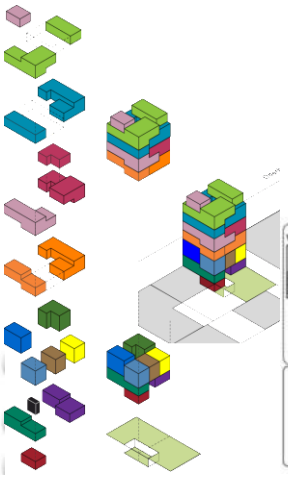

Figure 19. Oderbergerstrasse Mix of units

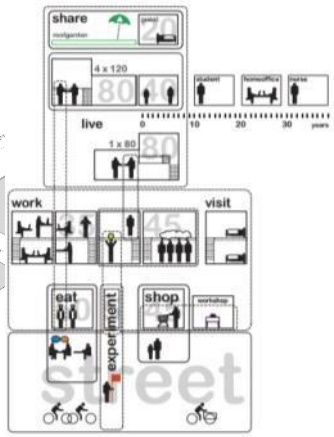

Figure 20. Oderbergerstrasse Mix of uses

The Community Area Model by Riken Yamamoto and Field Shop is taking co-living and –working a step further allowing a high degree of diversity of lifestyles and household compositions through a mixed use of living units, workspaces, communal living rooms, daycare, shops, and restaurants (figure 21).

The conceptual basis is individual living units for 500 residents combined with work spaces and common facilities but with significant differences to above described concepts The living units are for rent including low income groups for whom the burden to buy is too high and offering fast and easy adaptation to major life changes. The spatial distribution pattern differs; space for community facilities is maximized whilst individual space is minimized. A flexible layout is provided; basic units can be extended or joined according to individual needs. And, last, the space organization and the relationship between spaces are entirely different from that of a traditional living unit. The basic individual living unit *ie* is separated into an intimate space the *nema* and an exposed glazed space the *mise*. According to individual needs residents can rent varying shares of both in relation to household size and work requirements; i.e. the *mise* can either be used as a shop, and office, or an atelier or workshop or it can be used as an extension of the *nema* in form of a veranda. Kitchens and bathrooms are not part of the *ie* but are located within shared common facilities. The units can be joined horizontally and vertically

in such a way that a variety of open spaces can emerge that support social ties and community life.[30,31,32]

Figure 21. Community area model

CONCLUSION

Social inclusion and networking, affordability, and adaptability are all significant aspects of contemporary housing needs within the Cypriot context that are given little or no attention by private developers, the government and its housing agencies. Best practice examples are available to develop innovative housing models fitted to local living trends and housing needs. Concentrating on one aspect is not enough; an integrated approach is necessary to address all economical and social issues and to accomplish a sustainable solution which is possible as especially the last examples proof. Process would play an elementary role enabling the users to shape the space themselves, to learn and to develop further, and take a responsible and active part in the design of their environment. Policy makers and designers on the other hand must be open to redefine design values, to become aware and to respond to existing and emerging social needs and process, and to understand housing design as constant knowledge acquisition and development.

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